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Lech Walesa Arrival and Toast 3/20/91 [OA 6031]

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**WALESA ARRIVAL \ SOUTH LAWN
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20, 1991 \ 10 A.M.**

**MR. PRESIDENT, OUR POLISH AND AMERICAN FRIENDS. A
POET ONCE WROTE, "LET ME ADDRESS YOU IN THE NAME OF
MILLIONS." TODAY, I ADDRESS YOU IN THE NAME OF
MILLIONS WHO CONVEY THEIR ADMIRATION AND LOVE: THE
PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES. //**

**TWO YEARS AGO, LECH WALESA BECAME ONLY THE SECOND
PRIVATE CITIZEN FROM ABROAD TO ADDRESS A JOINT SESSION
OF CONGRESS.**

- 2 -

**HE IMPRESSED US THEN WITH HIS COMMITMENT TO GOODNESS
-- HIS PASSION FOR THE HARD-FOUGHT NECESSITY WE CALL
DEMOCRACY. TODAY HE RETURNS AS HIS NATION'S FIRST
DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED PRESIDENT.**

**MR. PRESIDENT, YOU HAVE LED BY PRINCIPLE AND
EXAMPLE. YOU CREATED A SOLIDARITY OF SPIRIT THAT
INSPIRED MILLIONS OF POLES TO RISK THEIR LIVES IN STEEL
MILLS / AND SHIPYARDS / AND TENEMENTS / AND TOWNS.**

AFTER WINNING THE FIGHT FOR INDEPENDENCE, YOU INSTILLED THE SENSE OF TOLERANCE ESSENTIAL FOR LETTING DEMOCRACY SET DOWN ROOTS IN AN UNSETTLED WORLD. NO WONDER YOUR COUNTRYMEN SING TO YOU: "STO LAT." [STOW-LOT]. MAY HE LIVE 100 YEARS. //

BUT YOU ALSO UNDERSTAND THAT THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM CANNOT END AT YOUR BORDERS, AND YOU PROVED IT DURING THE WAR IN THE PERSIAN GULF.

YOU JOINED US IN DEMONSTRATING TO THE ENTIRE WORLD THAT WE CANNOT PERMIT AGGRESSION TO STAND. YOU TAUGHT YOUR COUNTRYMEN THAT THE ANSWER TO TYRANNY IS INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY. IN THE PROCESS, YOU HELPED SHAPE A NEW WORLD ORDER.

THAT ORDER, OF COURSE, BEGAN IN EUROPE -- WITH THE END OF THE COLD WAR -- AND THE EMERGENCE OF A CONTINENT WHOLE AND FREE. //

YOU PLAYED A KEY ROLE IN HELPING CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE JOIN THE COMMONWEALTH OF FREEDOM. AND YOU HAVE WORKED HARD TO BUILD A PROSPEROUS LAND UPON TYRANNY'S RUINS.

THIS IS NOT AN EASY TASK. IN YOUR NEW YEAR'S EVE MESSAGE, YOU TALKED OF REFORM. POLITICAL REFORM / YOU HAVE CALLED FOR FULLY FREE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS. /

INTELLECTUAL REFORM THAT CAN HELP BEGIN THE HARD WORK OF FREEDOM. / SPIRITUAL REFORM. / HONORING THE ONE THROUGH WHOM ALL THINGS ARE POSSIBLE. //

FINALLY, YOU HAVE SPOKEN OF THE ECONOMIC REFORM UPON WHICH SO MUCH DEPENDS. // IN YOUR ADDRESS TO CONGRESS YOU SAID, "WE ARE NOT EXPECTING PHILANTHROPY. BUT WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE OUR COUNTRY TREATED AS A PARTNER AND A FRIEND." /

TODAY, WE REDEDICATE OURSELVES TO THE SUCCESS OF FREE DEMOCRACY IN POLAND AND THROUGHOUT CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE. LAST WEEK THE PARIS CLUB AGREED TO CUT POLAND'S OFFICIAL DEBT BURDEN BY AT LEAST 50 PERCENT. THE UNITED STATES WORKED LONG AND HARD TO ACHIEVE THAT UNPRECEDENTED AGREEMENT, AND WE ENCOURAGE OTHER CREDITORS TO JOIN US IN GOING BEYOND THAT 50-PERCENT LEVEL.

WE CERTAINLY SHALL: WE WILL REDUCE YOUR INDEBTEDNESS TO US BY A FULL 70 PERCENT, A PORTION OF WHICH WILL HELP POLAND FUND A NEW FOUNDATION FOR THE ENVIRONMENT.

I AM PLEASED TO TELL YOU THAT I HAVE ASKED CONGRESS TO INCREASE NEXT YEAR'S GRANT ASSISTANCE TO THESE NEW DEMOCRACIES TO \$470 MILLION -- HALF AGAIN LAST YEAR'S REQUEST.

AND SINCE THE REAL ENGINE OF PROGRESS IS NOT AID, BUT TRADE, I AM PLEASED TO ANNOUNCE TWO NEW ECONOMIC INITIATIVES DESIGNED TO HELP THE NATIONS OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE PROCEED ALONG THE PATH TO GROWTH AND PROSPERITY. THE AMERICAN BUSINESS INITIATIVE AND THE TRADE ENHANCEMENT INITIATIVE WILL ENCOURAGE BUSINESSES TO INVEST IN YOUR FUTURE.

IN ADDITION, COMMERCE SECRETARY MOSBACHER WILL LEAD AN INVESTMENT MISSION TO POLAND THIS SUMMER, LETTING U.S. BUSINESSES SEE THE GREAT OPPORTUNITIES THE NEW POLAND OFFERS. SO AS YOU CAN SEE, MR. PRESIDENT, WE WANT YOUR ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION TO SUCCEED, AND YOUR NEW DEMOCRACY TO FLOURISH. AND WE CALL ON OTHER NATIONS TO FOLLOW OUR EXAMPLE.

FOR TWO CENTURIES THE LOVE OF LIBERTY HAS LINKED OUR LANDS.

GENERAL KOSCIUSZKO (KO-SH00-SKO) WAS A FRIEND TO OUR FOUNDING FATHERS, JUST AS YOU AND HIS HOLINESS, POPE JOHN PAUL II, ARE OUR STEADFAST FRIENDS TODAY.

MR. PRESIDENT, OUR NATIONS AND HEROES HAVE LONG FOUGHT TOGETHER TO DEFEND THE RIGHTS OF MAN. THIS HISTORIC COMMITMENT FORMS THE CORE OF THE JOINT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES THAT WE WILL SIGN LATER TODAY. //

TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO, GALLANT POLISH FREEDOM FIGHTERS PRAISED THESE PRINCIPLES WHEN THEY SANG, "POLAND IS NOT LOST WHILE POLES STILL LIVE." // TODAY WE REJOICE: POLAND IS NOT LOST -- BUT HAS ONCE AGAIN BEEN FOUND -- BECAUSE MEN LIKE YOU STILL LIVE. //

GOD BLESS YOU. GOD BLESS YOUR BELOVED LAND, AND OUR UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. //

#

WALESA TOAST \ STATE DINING ROOM
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20, 1991 \ 7 P.M.

MR. PRESIDENT, MRS. WALESA. TWO YEARS AGO, BARBARA AND I HAD THE PRIVILEGE OF DINING AT YOUR HOME. TODAY, WE ARE PLEASED TO HAVE YOU AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE POLISH DELEGATION AT THE WHITE HOUSE.

IT HAS BEEN SAID THAT THE CHARACTER OF A PEOPLE IS EMBODIED IN ITS LEADERS. // THAT IS TRUE OF TONIGHT'S HONORED GUEST. / EIGHT YEARS AGO, YOU WERE UNABLE TO VISIT NORWAY TO ACCEPT THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE. /

- 2 -

TONIGHT, AMERICA SALUTES YOU AS AN APOSTLE OF PEACE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. //

SOME LEADERS REFLECT THEIR TIME. MR. PRESIDENT, YOU HAVE DEFINED YOUR TIME. // YOU HAVE BEEN RESOLUTE IN DEFEAT AND MAGNANIMOUS IN VICTORY. // YOU HAVE FOUGHT TO PRESERVE LIBERTY FOR ALL: FOR INDIVIDUALS, CHOICE. FOR SOCIETY, PLURALISM. FOR NATIONS, SELF-DETERMINATION. //

TO A CRISIS OF THE SPIRIT, YOU SUPPLIED AN ANSWER OF THE SPIRIT. AN ANSWER FORGED UPON TRUST IN GOD AND MAN.

OVER THE CENTURIES, POLAND SUFFERED THROUGH A WINTER OF ADVERSITY. BUT YOU AND YOUR COUNTRYMEN HAVE DELIVERED POLAND INTO A SPRINGTIME OF THRILLING POSSIBILITY. // YOU HAVE BROUGHT US ALL TO THE VERGE OF A NEW AND FREER WORLD. YOU HELPED A NATION, AND A PLANET, SUMMON LIGHTNESS AGAINST THE DARK. //

YOU HAVE DELIVERED THE MESSAGE OF FREEDOM EVERYWHERE. GO TO GDANSK OR WARSAW. THEY KNOW THAT BY REDISCOVERING ITS PAST, POLAND IS UPLIFTING THE FUTURE. // MR. PRESIDENT, UNDER YOU POLES HAVE LEARNED ANEW THAT THE INDIVIDUAL, NOT THE STATE, IS THE VOICE OF TOMORROW. // YOU HAVE USED THAT VOICE TO UNLOCK MINDS, AND BOUNDARIES. ENLARGING POLAND'S HORIZONS -- AND HELPING BUILD A NEW EUROPE, WHOLE AND FREE. //

FOR THAT, I THANK YOU ON BEHALF OF EVERY AMERICAN.

LET ME CLOSE WITH A STORY THAT SHOWS THE SPIRITUAL
TIES THAT BIND OUR LANDS. // IT HAPPENED IN 1776 --
WHEN AMERICA WAS AT A TURNING POINT IN ITS HISTORY. A
GREAT POLISH PATRIOT FOUGHT WITH THE COLONIES -- THEN
RETURNED TO POLAND WITH A SIMPLE THREE-WORD MESSAGE. //
TODAY -- 200 YEARS LATER -- YOU HAVE RETURNED GENERAL
KOSCIUSZKO'S [ko-SH00-sko] MESSAGE TO THE COUNTRY OF
ITS BIRTH: LIBERTY. SECURITY. PROPERTY. //

THESE WORDS INSPIRED THE JOINT DECLARATION OF
PRINCIPLES WE SIGNED TODAY. //

OUR TWO COUNTRIES SHARE THE MAJESTIC FREE EAGLE AS
OUR NATIONAL SYMBOL. FEARLESS. / RESOLUTE. /
SOARING. / FREE. // HOW CAN TANKS OR GUNS COMBAT
THE BILL OF RIGHTS, OR KOSCIUSZKO'S [ko-SH00-sko] ACT
OF INSURRECTION? HOW CAN BULLETS OUTLAST THE BALLOTS
THAT EXPRESS THE ESSENCE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT? //

MR. PRESIDENT, THEY CANNOT -- WILL NOT. NOT IN GDANSK, NOR IN THE PERSIAN GULF. // THE LAMP OF LIBERTY IS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC, RELIGIOUS AND INTELLECTUAL. LET US HELP RAISE IT BEFORE THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS. / IN THAT SPIRIT, LET US RAISE OUR GLASSES:

-- TO POLISH-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP;
-- TO THE HEALTH OF MY DEAR FRIEND;
-- AND TO THE LIBERTY WE CAN, AND MUST, ACHIEVE FOR ALL THE CHILDREN OF THE WORLD. MR. PRESIDENT, "STO LAT." [STOW-LOT]. MAY YOU LIVE 100 YEARS.

#

ENTERTAINMENT CARD

**LET ME SALUTE KAREN AKERS FOR THAT MAGNIFICENT
PERFORMANCE. MS. AKERS MOST RECENTLY APPEARED IN THE
TONY-AWARD WINNING MUSICAL "GRAND HOTEL." SHE HAS JUST
GIVEN US A GRAND EVENING TO REMEMBER. THANK YOU, AND
GOD BLESS AMERICA.**



(Smith/Cawley)
March 18, 1991
5 P.M.
LECH

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WALESA ARRIVAL
SOUTH LAWN
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20, 1991
10 A.M.

Mr. President, our Polish and American friends. A poet once wrote, "Let me address you in the name of millions." Today, I address you in the name of millions who convey their admiration and love: the people of the United States. //

Two years ago, Lech Walesa became only the second private citizen from abroad to address a joint session of Congress. // He impressed us then with his commitment to goodness -- his passion for the hard-fought necessity we call democracy. He inspired us with his dedication to a cause larger than himself. Today he returns to our capital as his nation's first democratically elected president. //

Mr. President, you have led by principle and example. You created a solidarity of spirit that inspired millions of Poles to risk their lives in steel mills / and shipyards / and tenements / and towns. After winning the fight for independence, you instilled the sense of tolerance essential for letting democracy set down roots in an unsettled world. You resisted the temptation to abandon principle in the name of vengeance.

No wonder your countrymen sing to you: "Sto lat." [STOW-lot]. May he live 100 years. //

But you also understand that the cause of freedom cannot end at your borders, and you proved it during the war in the Persian Gulf. // As I wrote you two months ago, "Poland's steadfastness, its direct contribution to the effort, and your personal resolve are immensely reassuring." //

You joined us in demonstrating to the entire world that we cannot permit aggression to stand. You taught your countrymen that the answer to tyranny is international solidarity. In the process, you helped shape a New World Order.

That Order, of course, began in Europe -- with the end of the Cold War -- and the emergence of a continent whole and free. // You played a key role in helping Central and Eastern Europe join the commonwealth of freedom. And you have worked hard to build a prosperous land upon tyranny's ruins.

This is not an easy task. In your New Year's Eve message, you talked of the progress of reform. Political reform / you have called for fully free parliamentary elections. / Intellectual reform that can help man begin the hard work of freedom. / Spiritual reform. / Honoring the One through whom all things are possible. //

Finally, you have spoken of the economic reform upon which so much depends. // In your address to Congress you said, "We are not expecting philanthropy. But we would like to see our country treated as a partner and a friend." You are. We will. /

Today, we rededicate ourselves to the success of free democracy in Poland and throughout Central and Eastern Europe. I

am pleased to tell you that I have asked Congress to increase next year's grant assistance to these new democracies to \$470 million -- half again last year's request.

And last week the Paris Club agreed to cut Poland's official debt by at least 50 percent. As you know, the United States worked long and hard to achieve that unprecedented agreement, and we encourage other creditors to join us in going beyond that 50-percent level.

We certainly shall: We will reduce your indebtedness to us by a full 70 percent through a combination of debt reduction and an exchange of debt for funding a new Polish Foundation for the Environment.

And since the real engine of progress is not aid, but trade, I am pleased to announce two new economic initiatives designed to help the nations of Central and Eastern Europe proceed along the path to growth and prosperity. The American Business Initiative and the Trade Enhancement Initiative will encourage businesses to invest in your future.

In addition, Commerce Secretary Mosbacher will lead an investment mission to Poland this summer, letting U.S. businesses see the great opportunities the new Poland offers. So as you can see, Mr. President, we want your economic transformation to succeed, and your new democracy to flourish. And we call on other nations to follow our example.

For two centuries the love of liberty has linked our lands. General Kosciuszko (ko-SHOO-sko) was a friend to our founding

fathers, just as you and His Holiness, Pope John Paul II, are our steadfast friends today.

Our nations and heroes have fought together to defend the rights of man. This commitment forms the core of the Joint Declaration of Principles that we will sign later today. //

Let me conclude with the story of a man who embodied the ideals and affection that bind us. Ignacy Jan Paderewski [ig-NOT-zee YAWN pad-uh-REV-ski], the great Polish pianist and composer, served as president of Poland's government in exile during World War II. He spent his final years on our shores.

He declared that although his heart would remain forever in America, upon his death his body should return to his native Poland. But only when that land was independent and free.

This year, his remains will return to Poland -- honored by an official burial on the anniversary of his death.

It seems fitting that he will return home as Poles celebrate the 200th anniversary of their first constitution -- the first written in all of Europe -- and we celebrate the 200th anniversary of our own Bill of Rights.

Two hundred years ago, gallant Polish freedom fighters would sing, "Poland is not lost while Poles still live." // Today we rejoice: Poland is not lost -- but has once again been found -- because men like you still live. //

God bless you. God bless your beloved land, and our United States of America. //

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Today the hero many call the George Washington of Poland returns to our capital as his nation's first democratically elected president. // Once more, we welcome him.

Like George Washington, Lech Walesa has led by principle and example. Your wife, Danuta, said it best: "You have always believed that you are destined by God for something big." // You created a solidarity of spirit that inspired millions of Poles to risk death in steel mills and shipyards and tenements and towns. But after winning the fight for independence, you instilled the sense of tolerance essential for letting democracy set down roots in an unsettled world. You resisted the temptation to abandon

principle in the name of vengeance. No wonder your countrymen sing to you: "Sto lat." [STOW-lot]. May he live 100 years. //

But your dedication to freedom does not end at your own borders, as you proved during the war in the Persian Gulf. // As I wrote to you two months ago, "Poland's steadfastness, its direct contribution to the effort, and your personal resolve are immensely reassuring." //

Mr. President, you understood that the world could not allow aggression to stand. So you joined the coalition that won the war and restored the peace. / You realized that the answer to tyranny was "international solidarity." So you helped Poland join and shape the New World Order. //

That Order, of course, began in Europe -- with the end of the Cold War -- and the emergence of a continent whole and free. // I thank you for helping Poland take its rightful place in the commonwealth of freedom. I salute your efforts to build a free and prosperous land upon tyranny's ruins.

In your New Year's Eve message, you talked of the progress of reform. Political reform / you have called for fully free parliamentary elections. / Intellectual reform that can help man begin the hard work of freedom. / Spiritual reform. / Honoring the One through whom all things are possible. //

Finally, you have spoken of the economic reform upon which so much depends. // In your address to Congress you said, "We are not expecting philanthropy. But we would like to see our country treated as a partner and a friend." You are. We will. /

I am pleased to tell you that I have asked Congress to increase our assistance to the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe by half again last year's request. We seek up to \$500 million in grant assistance for the coming year.

It was good news, too, that on March 15, the Paris Club agreed to cut Poland's official debt by 50 percent. As you know, the United States worked long and hard to achieve that unprecedented agreement. But we will do still more: We will provide a further ten-percent reduction, through a debt-for-environment exchange. /

Today I also am announcing the creation of an American Business Initiative for Central and Eastern Europe. Through an American Business Center in Warsaw and other measures, this \$45 million project will encourage new U.S. trade and investment in the region. Mr. President, we want your economic transformation to succeed, and your new democracy to flourish. /

For two centuries the love of liberty has linked our lands. General Kosciuszko (ko-SHOO-sko) was a friend to our founding fathers, just as you and His Holy Father, Pope John Paul II, are our steadfast friends today. // Together, we have shown that force cannot outlast principles forged on the rights of man. //

Mr. President, these beliefs form the core of the Joint Declaration of Principles that we will sign later today -- principles that support democracy, the rule of law, and human rights. // They also form the core of our own relationship.

Let me conclude with the story of a man who embodied that relationship. That man was Ignacy Jan Paderewski [ig-NOT-zee YAWN pad-uh-REV-ski], the great Polish pianist and composer. In life, Paderewski [pad-uh-REV-ski] aided Polish war victims / served as president of Poland's parliament in exile / sought to make Poland the Nation she has again become. //

He also declared that although his heart would remain forever in America, upon his death his body should return to his native Poland. But only when that land was independent and free.

When Paderewski [pad-uh-REV-ski] died in 1941, President Roosevelt authorized the placement of his remains at Arlington National Cemetery until such time, he said, as "Poland is again free." / This year, his remains will return to Poland -- honored by a state burial on the anniversary of his death.

It seems fitting that he will return home as Poles celebrate the 200th anniversary of their first constitution -- the first written in all of Europe -- and we celebrate the 200th anniversary of our own Bill of Rights.

Two hundred years ago, gallant Polish freedom fighters would sing, "Poland is not lost while Poles still live." // Today we rejoice: Poland is not lost -- but has once again been found -- because men like you still live. //

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Two years ago, Lech Walesa became only the second private citizen from abroad to address a joint session of our Congress. // He impressed us all with his commitment to goodness -- his passion for the hard-fought necessity we call democracy. He inspired us with his courage and dedication for a cause larger than himself.

Today the hero many call the George Washington of Poland returns to our capital as his nation's first democratically elected president. // Once more, we welcome him.

Like George Washington, Lech Walesa has led by principle and example. Your wife, Danuta, said it best: "You have always believed that you are destined by God for something big." // You created a solidarity of spirit that inspired millions of Poles to risk death in steel mills and shipyards and tenements and towns. But after winning the fight for independence, you instilled the sense of tolerance essential for letting democracy set down roots

in an unsettled world. You have resisted the temptation to abandon principle in the name of vengeance.

No wonder your countrymen sing to you: "Sto lat." [STOW-lot]. May he live 100 years. //

But your dedication to freedom does not end at your own borders, as you proved during the war in the Gulf. // As I wrote to you two months ago, "I greatly appreciate your . . . support for our common policy in the Gulf. Poland's steadfastness, its direct contribution to the effort, and your personal resolve are immensely reassuring." //

Mr. President, you understood that the world could not allow aggression to stand. So you joined the coalition that won the war and restored the peace. / You realized that the answer to tyranny was "international solidarity." So you proved yourself, as your fellow Medal of Freedom recipient, Margaret Thatcher, said, to be "a great heart, not a faint heart" -- helping Poland join and shape the New World Order. //

That Order, of course, began in Europe -- with the end of the Cold War -- and the emergence of a continent whole and free. // I thank you for helping Poland take its rightful place in the commonwealth of freedom. I salute your efforts to build a free and prosperous land upon the ruins of tyranny.

In your New Year's Eve message, you talked of the progress of reform. Political reform / you have called for fully free parliamentary elections. / Intellectual reform that can help man begin the hard work of freedom. / Spiritual reform. /

Honoring the One through whom all things are possible. Two peoples -- Polish and American; both linked by belief in God -- both a light unto the world. //

Finally, you have spoken of the economic reform upon which so much depends. // In your address to Congress you said, "We are not expecting philanthropy. But we would like to see our country treated as a partner and a friend." You are. We will. /

I am pleased to tell you that I have asked Congress to increase our assistance to the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe by half again last year's request. We seek up to \$500 million in grant assistance for the coming year.

And I am particularly gratified that on March 15, the Paris Club agreed to a 50-percent reduction of Poland's official debt burden. As you know, Mr. President, the United States has worked long and hard to achieve this unprecedented agreement. But we will do still more: We will provide a further ten-percent reduction, through a debt-for-environment exchange.

I am also announcing today the creation of an American Business Initiative for Central and Eastern Europe. Through an American Business Center in Warsaw and other measures, this \$45 billion project will promote the expansion of U.S. trade and investment in the region.

The world should know that Poland offers great opportunities for trade and investment -- thanks to your commitment to rapid and complete economic reform.

For two centuries the love of liberty has linked our lands. General Kosciuszko (ko-SHOO-sko) was a friend to our founding fathers, just as you and His Holy Father, Pope John Paul II are our steadfast friends today. // Together, we have shown that force cannot outlast principles forged on the rights of man. //

Mr. President, these beliefs form the core of the Joint Declaration of Principles that we will sign today -- principles that support democracy, the rule of law, and human rights. //

They also form the core of our own relationship. Let me conclude with the story of a man who embodied that relationship.

That man was Ignacy Jan Paderewski [ig-NOT-zee YAWN pad-uh-REV-ski], the great Polish pianist and composer. In life, Paderewski [pad-uh-REV-ski] aided Polish war victims / served as president of Poland's parliament in exile / sought to make Poland the Nation she has again become. //

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(Smith/Cawley)
 March 15, 1991
 9 A.M.
 TOAST

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WALESA TOAST
 STATE DINING ROOM
 WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20, 1991
 7 P.M.

Mr. President, Mrs. Walesa, and members of the Polish delegation. Two years ago, Barbara and I had the privilege of dining at your home. Today, we are pleased to return that favor. We welcome to America's home a first citizen of the globe. //

A Polish writer once observed, "The character of a people is embodied in its leaders." // That is true of tonight's honored guest. / Eight years ago, you were forbidden from visiting Norway to accept the Nobel Peace Prize. / Tonight, America salutes you as an apostle of peace throughout the world. //

Some leaders reflect their time. Mr. President, you have defined your time. // You have been resolute in defeat and magnanimous in victory. Ensuring the liberty that provides for individuals, choice; for society, pluralism; for Nations, self-determination. // To a crisis of the spirit, you supplied an answer of the spirit. An answer forged upon trust in God and man.

We often hear of the Polish experience -- a winter of suffering that endured for centuries. // This evening, we hail how solidarity has achieved a springtime ~~of~~ possibility for a gallant people. // To the Tragedy of Poland, you have proclaimed

the Victory of Poland -- summoning lightness against the dark both within and beyond her borders. //

Look to Krakow and Warsaw. Its people will tell you: By rediscovering freedom, Poland has reaffirmed its soul. // Look, too, to places like the Persian Gulf far beyond your native land. Their peoples were stirred by Poland's demand that aggression would not stand. // Mr. President, you know that the individual, not the State, is the voice of tomorrow. You have used that voice to unlock minds, and boundaries -- helping shape the New World Order. //

For that, I thank you on behalf of every American. And let me close with a story about the love of freedom that binds our two Nations. // It happened in 1776 -- when America was at a turning point in its history. A great Polish patriot fought with the Colonies -- then returned to Poland with a simple three-word message. // Today -- 200 years later -- you have returned General Kosciusko's message to the country of its birth. / Liberty. / Security. / Property. / A message which speaks to aspirations of all peoples and all times.

These words inspired our coalition in the Gulf -- form the very heart of the Joint Declaration of Principles which we signed today -- showed why our two countries share the majestic free eagle as our national symbol. Fearless. / Resolute. / Soaring. / How can tanks or guns combat the Bill of Rights, or Kosciusko's Act of Insurrection? How can bullets outlast the ballots which express the essence of self-government? //

Mr. President, they cannot -- will not. Not in Gdansk, nor Budapest, nor in the Baltics, nor the Gulf. // The lamp of liberty is political and economic, religious and intellectual. Let us help it exalt the community of Nations. / In that spirit, let us raise our glasses:

-- To Polish-American friendship;

-- To the health of my dear friend;

-- And to the liberty we can, and must, secure for all the children of the world. Mr. President, "Sto lat." [STOW-lot]. May you live 100 years.

#

[[EXTRA CARD]]

Let me salute Karen Akers for that magnificent performance. Ms. Akers most recently appeared in the Tony-Award winning musical "Grand Hotel." She has just given us a grand evening to remember. Thank you, and God bless America.

W/ POTUS Δ
(Smith/Cawley)
March 19, 1991
6 P.M.
LECH

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Mr. President, you have led by principle and example. You created a solidarity of spirit that inspired millions of Poles to risk their lives in steel mills / and shipyards / and tenements / and towns. After winning the fight for independence, you instilled the sense of tolerance essential for letting democracy set down roots in an unsettled world. No wonder your countrymen sing to you: "Sto lat." [STOW-lot]. May he live 100 years. //

But you also understand that the cause of freedom cannot end at your borders, and you proved it during the war in the Persian Gulf. You joined us in demonstrating to the entire world that we cannot permit aggression to stand. You taught your countrymen

that the answer to tyranny is international solidarity. In the process, you helped shape a New World Order.

That Order, of course, began in Europe -- with the end of the Cold War -- and the emergence of a continent whole and free. // You played a key role in helping Central and Eastern Europe join the commonwealth of freedom. And you have worked hard to build a prosperous land upon tyranny's ruins.

This is not an easy task. In your New Year's Eve message, you talked of reform. Political reform / you have called for fully free parliamentary elections. / Intellectual reform that can help begin the hard work of freedom. / Spiritual reform. / Honoring the One through whom all things are possible. //

Finally, you have spoken of the economic reform upon which so much depends. // In your address to Congress you said, "We are not expecting philanthropy. But we would like to see our country treated as a partner and a friend." /

Today, we rededicate ourselves to the success of free democracy in Poland and throughout Central and Eastern Europe. Last week the Paris Club agreed to cut Poland's official debt burden by at least 50 percent. The United States worked long and hard to achieve that unprecedented agreement, and we encourage other creditors to join us in going beyond that 50-percent level.

We certainly shall: We will reduce your indebtedness to us by a full 70 percent, a portion of which will help Poland fund a new foundation for the environment.

I am pleased to tell you that I have asked Congress to increase next year's grant assistance to these new democracies to \$470 million -- half again last year's request.

And since the real engine of progress is not aid, but trade, I am pleased to announce two new economic initiatives designed to help the nations of Central and Eastern Europe proceed along the path to growth and prosperity. The American Business Initiative and the Trade Enhancement Initiative will encourage businesses to invest in your future.

In addition, Commerce Secretary Mosbacher will lead an investment mission to Poland this summer, letting U.S. businesses see the great opportunities the new Poland offers. So as you can see, Mr. President, we want your economic transformation to succeed, and your new democracy to flourish. And we call on other nations to follow our example.

For two centuries the love of liberty has linked our lands. General Kosciuszko (ko-SHOO-sko) was a friend to our founding fathers, just as you and His Holiness, Pope John Paul II, are our steadfast friends today.

Mr. President, our nations and heroes have long fought together to defend the rights of man. This historic commitment forms the core of the Joint Declaration of Principles that we will sign later today. //

Two hundred years ago, gallant Polish freedom fighters praised these principles when they sang, "Poland is not lost while Poles still live." // Today we rejoice: Poland is not lost

-- but has once again been found -- because men like you still
live. //

God bless you. God bless your beloved land, and our United
States of America. //

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 3/19/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ---SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: LECH WALESIA ARRIVAL AND TOAST

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☐	☒
SUNUNU	☐	☐	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☐	☒	PORTER	☐	☒
DARMAN	☐	☒	ROGICH	☐	☒
BRADY	☐	☒	UNTERMEYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☒	<u>ROGERS</u>	☐	☒
DEMAREST	☐	☒	<u>SNOW</u>	☐	☒
FITZWATER	☐	☒	<u>FIRESTONE</u>	☐	☒
GRAY	☐	☒	<u>PORTER ROSE</u>	☐	☒
HOLIDAY	☐	☒	_____	☐	☐

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY
 Assistant to the President
 and Staff Secretary
 Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

91 MAR 18 PM 9:02

March 18, 1991

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: TONY SNOW TS
FROM: CURT SMITH
SUBJECT: REMARKS -- LECH WALESA ARRIVAL & TOAST

I. SUMMARY

Attached for your review are two sets of remarks.

The first set is for the arrival ceremony of Polish President Lech Walesa on Wednesday, March 20 at 10:00 a.m. The event will be held on the South Lawn. Your remarks are eight minutes in length and will be on speechcards.

The second set of remarks is for the state dinner honoring President Walesa. The dinner will be held on Wednesday evening, at 7:00 p.m. in the State Dining Room. Your toast is approximately four minutes in length and will be on speechcards.

II. DISCUSSION

Arrival Ceremony Remarks:

You salute President Walesa for his work and personal risk on behalf of freedom and liberty for Poland. Noting his commitment to these principles, you thank him for Poland's contribution to the Persian Gulf coalition. You then discuss the progress of Poland's internal reform, calling for continued business cooperation. Finally, you recount the story of Ignacy Jan Paderewski, the Polish musician and patriot who died in America and has been interred at Arlington Cemetery for fifty years. His remains will return to Poland later this year.

State Dinner Toast:

You again praise President Walesa for his efforts in building a free and prosperous country and go on to recognize the close relationship enjoyed by our two nations for two centuries.

(Smith/Cawley)
March 18, 1991
5 P.M.
LECH

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WALESA ARRIVAL
SOUTH LAWN
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20, 1991
10 A.M.

Mr. President, our Polish and American friends. A poet once wrote, "Let me address you in the name of millions." Today, I address you in the name of millions who convey their admiration and love: the people of the United States. //

Two years ago, Lech Walesa became only the second private citizen from abroad to address a joint session of Congress. // He impressed us then with his commitment to goodness -- his passion for the hard-fought necessity we call democracy. He inspired us with his dedication to a cause larger than himself. Today he returns to our capital as his nation's first democratically elected president. //

Mr. President, you have led by principle and example. You created a solidarity of spirit that inspired millions of Poles to risk their lives in steel mills / and shipyards / and tenements / and towns. After winning the fight for independence, you instilled the sense of tolerance essential for letting democracy set down roots in an unsettled world. You resisted the temptation to abandon principle in the name of vengeance.

No wonder your countrymen sing to you: "Sto lat." [STOW-lot]. May he live 100 years. //

But you also understand that the cause of freedom cannot end at your borders, and you proved it during the war in the Persian Gulf. // As I wrote you two months ago, "Poland's steadfastness, its direct contribution to the effort, and your personal resolve are immensely reassuring." //

You joined us in demonstrating to the entire world that we cannot permit aggression to stand. You taught your countrymen that the answer to tyranny is international solidarity. In the process, you helped shape a New World Order.

That Order, of course, began in Europe -- with the end of the Cold War -- and the emergence of a continent whole and free. // You played a key role in helping Central and Eastern Europe join the commonwealth of freedom. And you have worked hard to build a prosperous land upon tyranny's ruins.

This is not an easy task. In your New Year's Eve message, you talked of the progress of reform. Political reform / you have called for fully free parliamentary elections. / Intellectual reform that can help man begin the hard work of freedom. / Spiritual reform. / Honoring the One through whom all things are possible. //

Finally, you have spoken of the economic reform upon which so much depends. // In your address to Congress you said, "We are not expecting philanthropy. But we would like to see our country treated as a partner and a friend." You are. We will. /

Today, we rededicate ourselves to the success of free democracy in Poland and throughout Central and Eastern Europe. I

am pleased to tell you that I have asked Congress to increase our grant assistance to these new democracies by \$470 million -- half again last year's request.

Just last week the Paris Club agreed to cut Poland's official debt by at least 50 percent. As you know, the United States worked long and hard to achieve that unprecedented agreement, and we encourage other creditors to join us in going beyond that 50-percent level.

We certainly shall: We will reduce your indebtedness to us by a full 70 percent through a combination of debt reduction and an exchange of debt for funding a new Polish Foundation for the Environment.

And since the real engine of progress is not aid, but trade, I am pleased to announce two new economic initiatives designed to help the nations of Central and Eastern Europe proceed along the path to growth and prosperity. The American Business Initiative and the Trade Enhancement Initiative will encourage businesses to invest in your future.

In addition, Commerce Secretary Mosbacher will lead an investment mission to Poland this summer, letting U.S. businesses see the great opportunities the new Poland offers. So as you can see, Mr. President, we want your economic transformation to succeed, and your new democracy to flourish. /

For two centuries the love of liberty has linked our lands. General Kosciuszko (ko-SHOO-sko) was a friend to our founding

fathers, just as you and His Holiness, Pope John Paul II, are our steadfast friends today.

Our nations and heroes have fought together to defend the rights of man. This commitment forms the core of the Joint Declaration of Principles that we will sign later today. //

Let me conclude with the story of a man who embodied the ideals and affection that bind us. Ignacy Jan Paderewski [ig-NOT-zee YAWN pad-uh-REV-ski], the great Polish pianist and composer, served as president of Poland's government in exile during World War II. He spent his final years on our shores.

He declared that although his heart would remain forever in America, upon his death his body should return to his native Poland. But only when that land was independent and free.

This year, his remains will return to Poland -- honored by an official burial on the anniversary of his death.

It seems fitting that he will return home as Poles celebrate the 200th anniversary of their first constitution -- the first written in all of Europe -- and we celebrate the 200th anniversary of our own Bill of Rights.

Two hundred years ago, gallant Polish freedom fighters would sing, "Poland is not lost while Poles still live." // Today we rejoice: Poland is not lost -- but has once again been found -- because men like you still live. //

God bless you. God bless your beloved land, and our United States of America. //

#

(Smith/Cawley)
March 18, 1991
6 P.M.
TOAST

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WALESA TOAST
STATE DINING ROOM
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20, 1991
7 P.M.

Mr. President, Mrs. Walesa. Two years ago, Barbara and I had the privilege of dining at your home. Today, we are pleased to return that favor to you and other members of the Polish delegation. We welcome to America's home a first citizen of the globe. //

It has been said that the character of a people is embodied in its leaders. // That is true of tonight's honored guest. / Eight years ago, you were unable to visit Norway to accept the Nobel Peace Prize. / Tonight, America salutes you as an apostle of peace throughout the world. //

Some leaders reflect their time. Mr. President, you have defined your time. // You have been resolute in defeat and magnanimous in victory. // You have fought to preserve liberty for all: For individuals, choice. For society, pluralism. For nations, self-determination. // To a crisis of the spirit, you supplied an answer of the spirit. An answer forged upon trust in God and man.

Over the centuries, Poland suffered through a winter of adversity. But you and your countrymen have delivered Poland into a springtime of thrilling possibility. // You have brought

us all to the verge of a new and freer world. You helped a Nation, and a planet, summon lightness against the dark. //

You have delivered the message of freedom everywhere. Go to Gdansk or Warsaw. They know that by rediscovering its past, Poland is uplifting the future. // Mr. President, under you Poles have learned anew that the individual, not the State, is the voice of tomorrow. // You have used that voice to unlock minds, and boundaries. Enlarging Poland's horizons -- and helping build a new Europe, whole and free. //

For that, I thank you on behalf of every American. //

Let me close with a story that shows the spiritual ties that bind our lands. // It happened in 1776 -- when America was at a turning point in its history. A great Polish patriot fought with the colonies -- then returned to Poland with a simple three-word message. // Today -- 200 years later -- you have returned General Kosciuszko's [ko-SHOO-sko] message to the country of its birth: Liberty. Security. Property. //

These words inspired the Joint Declaration of Principles we signed today. //

Our two countries share the majestic free eagle as our national symbol. Fearless. / Resolute. / Soaring. / Free. // How can tanks or guns combat the Bill of Rights, or Kosciuszko's [ko-SHOO-sko] Act of Insurrection? How can bullets outlast the ballots that express the essence of self-government? //

Mr. President, they cannot -- will not. Not in Gdansk, nor in the Persian Gulf. // The lamp of liberty is political and economic, religious and intellectual. Let us help raise it before the community of Nations. / In that spirit, let us raise our glasses:

-- To Polish-American friendship;

-- To the health of my dear friend;

-- And to the liberty we can, and must, achieve for all the children of the world. Mr. President, "Sto lat." [STOW-lot]. May you live 100 years.

#

But you also understand that the cause of freedom cannot end at your borders, and you proved it during the war in the Persian Gulf. // As I wrote you two months ago, "Poland's steadfastness, its direct contribution to the effort, and your personal resolve are immensely reassuring." //

You joined us in demonstrating to the entire world that we cannot permit aggression to stand. You taught your countrymen that the answer to tyranny is ~~international~~ solidarity. In the process, you helped shape a New World Order.

That Order, of course, began in Europe -- with the end of the Cold War -- and the emergence of a continent whole and free. // You played a key role in helping Central and Eastern Europe join the commonwealth of freedom. And you have worked hard to build a prosperous land upon tyranny's ruins.

This is not an easy task. In your New Year's Eve message, you talked of the progress of reform. Political reform / you have called for fully free parliamentary elections. / Intellectual reform that can help man begin the hard work of freedom. / Spiritual reform. / Honoring the One through whom all things are possible. //

Finally, you have spoken of the economic reform upon which so much depends. // In your address to Congress you said, "We are not expecting philanthropy. But we would like to see our country treated as a partner and a friend." You are. We will. /

Today, we rededicate ourselves to the success of free democracy in Poland and throughout Central and Eastern Europe. I

We put that principle into practice in an international scale in the Persian Gulf.

✶ Pains Club / debt paragraphs from p. 2

Suggested
Changes from
Bob Hutakings
through
List of Trees

am pleased to tell you that I have asked Congress to increase our grant assistance to these new democracies ^{to} ~~by~~ \$470 million -- half again last year's request. ✓

~~And~~ ^{(obligations) (burden)} just last week the Paris Club agreed to cut Poland's official debt by at least 50 percent. As you know, the United States worked long and hard to achieve that unprecedented agreement, and we encourage other creditors to join us in going beyond that 50-percent level.

We certainly shall: We will reduce your ^{obligations} indebtedness to us by a full 70 percent, ^{a portion of which will help Poland fund} ~~through a combination of debt reduction and an exchange of debt for funding~~ a new ^PPolish Foundation for the Environment.

And since the real engine of progress is not aid, but trade, I am pleased to announce two new economic initiatives designed to help the nations of Central and Eastern Europe proceed along the path to growth and prosperity. The American Business Initiative and the Trade Enhancement Initiative will encourage businesses to invest in your future.

In addition, Commerce Secretary Mosbacher will lead an investment mission to Poland this summer, letting U.S. businesses see the great opportunities the new Poland offers. ^H ~~So~~ as you can see, Mr. President, we want your economic transformation to succeed, and your new democracy to flourish. /

For two centuries the love of liberty has linked our lands. General Kosciuszko (ko-SHOO-sko) was a friend to our founding

We call on these nations to match the effort.

am pleased to tell you that I have asked Congress to increase next year's grant assistance to these new democracies to \$470 million -- half again last year's request.

And last week the Paris Club agreed to cut Poland's official ^{debt} by at least 50 percent. As you know, the United States worked long and hard to achieve that unprecedented agreement, and we encourage other creditors to join us in going beyond that 50-percent level.

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For two centuries the love of liberty has linked our lands. General Kosciuszko (ko-SHOO-sko) was a friend to our founding

(Smith/Cawley)
March 18, 1991
6 P.M.
TOAST

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WALESA TOAST
STATE DINING ROOM
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20, 1991
7 P.M.

Mr. President, Mrs. Walesa. Two years ago, Barbara and I had the privilege of dining at your home. Today, we are pleased ^{to have you} ~~to return that favor to you~~ and other members of the Polish ^{at the White House} ~~delegation.~~ We welcome to ~~America's home~~ a first citizen of the globe. //

It has been said that the character of a people is embodied in its leaders. // That is true of tonight's honored guest. / Eight years ago, you were unable to visit Norway to accept the Nobel Peace Prize. / Tonight, America salutes you as an apostle of peace throughout the world. //

Some leaders reflect their time. Mr. President, you have defined your time. // You have been resolute in defeat and magnanimous in victory. // You have fought to preserve liberty for all: For individuals, choice. For society, pluralism. For nations, self-determination. // To a crisis of the spirit, you supplied an answer of the spirit. An answer forged upon trust in God and man.

Over the centuries, Poland suffered through a winter of adversity. But you and your countrymen have delivered Poland into a springtime of thrilling possibility. // You have brought

us all to the verge of a new and freer world. You helped a Nation, and a planet, summon lightness against the dark. //

You have delivered the message of freedom everywhere. Go to Gdansk or Warsaw. They know that by rediscovering its past, Poland is uplifting the future. // Mr. President, under you Poles have learned anew that the individual, not the State, is the voice of tomorrow. // You have used that voice to unlock minds, and boundaries. Enlarging Poland's horizons -- and helping build a new Europe, whole and free. //

For that, I thank you on behalf of every American. //

Let me close with a story that shows the spiritual ties that bind our lands. // It happened in 1776 -- when America was at a turning point in its history. A great Polish patriot fought with the colonies -- then returned to Poland with a simple three-word message. // Today -- 200 years later -- you have returned General Kosciuszko's [ko-SHOO-sko] message to the country of its birth: Liberty. Security. Property. //

These words inspired the Joint Declaration of Principles we signed today. //

Our two countries share the majestic free eagle as our national symbol. Fearless. / Resolute. / Soaring. / Free. // How can tanks or guns combat the Bill of Rights, or Kosciuszko's [ko-SHOO-sko] Act of Insurrection? How can bullets outlast the ballots that express the essence of self-government? //

Mr. President, they cannot -- will not. Not in Gdansk, nor in the Persian Gulf. // The lamp of liberty is political and economic, religious and intellectual. Let us help raise it before the community of Nations. / In that spirit, let us raise our glasses:

- To Polish-American friendship;
- To the health of my dear friend;
- And to the liberty we can, and must, achieve for all the children of the world. Mr. President, "Sto lat." [STOW-lot]. May you live 100 years.

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

91 MAR 19 A8:14



DATE: 03/15/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 p.m. Monday 03/18

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WALESA ARRIVAL and
WALESA TOAST

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☐	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	ROGICH	☒	☐
BRADY	☐	☒	UNTERMEYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☒	<u>ROGERS</u>	☐	☒
DEMAREST	☒	☐	<u>SNOW</u>	☐	☒
FITZWATER	☐	☒	<u>FIRESTONE</u>	☐	☒
GRAY	☒	☐	<u>PORTER ROSE</u>	☐	☒
HOLIDAY	☒	☐	<u> </u>	☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Rm. 122, x2930 no later than 2:00 p.m. on Monday, 03/18, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

March 19, 1991

The NSC Staff concurs with the changes indicated. *Arrival remarks are too long.*

Brent Scowcroft
Brent Scowcroft

cc: PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

91 MAR 15 1991
(Smith, Cawley)
March 15, 1991
2 P. 2454
LECH

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WALESA ARRIVAL
SOUTH LAWN
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20, 1991
10 A.M.

obscure reference
Mr. President, our Polish and American friends. ~~[A poet once wrote, "Let me address you in the name of millions." Today, I address you in the name of millions who convey their admiration and their love: the people of the United States.]~~

Two years ago, Lech Walesa became only the second private citizen from abroad to address a joint session of our Congress. // He impressed us all with his commitment to goodness -- his passion for the hard-fought ~~necessity we call~~ ^{cause of} democracy. He inspired us by ~~(showing the)~~ ^{his} courage ~~(to face death for)~~ ^{and his dedication to} a cause larger than himself.

Comparison to George Washington too much
Today ~~(the)~~ ^{Poland's} hero ~~(many call the George Washington of Poland)~~ returns to Washington as his nation's first democratically elected president. // Once more, we welcome him.

~~[Like George Washington]~~ Lech Walesa has led by principle and example. Your wife, Danuta, said it best: "You have always believed that you are destined by God for something big." // You created a solidarity of spirit that inspired millions of Poles to risk ~~(death)~~ ^{their lives} in steel mills and shipyards and tenements and towns. But after winning the fight for independence, you instilled the sense of tolerance essential for letting democracy set down roots in an unsettled world. ~~[You have extended to former tyrants the~~

repetitive
~~very rights they once denied to you. I mean the rights to think,~~
~~dream, worship as we please. Equal protection under the law.~~
~~To choose national leaders and personal destinies.]~~ You have
 resisted the temptation to abandon principle in the name of
 vengeance.

No wonder your countrymen sing to you: "Sto lat." [STOW-
 lot]. May he live 100 years. //

understood that the cause of freedom cannot
 But your ~~dedication to freedom does not~~ end at your own
 borders, as you proved during the war in the Gulf. // As I
 wrote to you two months ago, ~~"I greatly appreciate your . . .~~
~~support for our common policy in the Gulf"]~~ "Poland's
 steadfastness, its direct contribution to the effort, and your
 personal resolve are immensely reassuring." //

Mr. President, you understood that ~~Kuwait~~ ^{the world} could not allow ^{this}
 aggression to stand. *You taught your countrymen that the answer to*
~~So you joined the coalition that won the~~
~~tyranny was solidarity. We put that principle into practice on an~~
~~war and restored the peace. / You realized how the answer to~~
~~international scale in the Persian Gulf -- with your unswerving support.~~
~~tyranny was "international solidarity." So you proved yourself,~~

as your fellow Medal of Freedom recipient ~~and~~ Margaret Thatcher
 said, to be "a great heart, not a faint heart" -- helping Poland
 join and shape the New World Order. //

That Order, of course, began in Europe -- with the ^{end of} Cold War
~~(ending)]~~ and a continent ~~(dreaming of)~~ becoming at last whole and

free. // *Mr. President, we welcome*
~~I thank you for helping Poland take its rightful place~~
~~into~~ *and look forward to building with you a new U.S.-Polish*
~~in the commonwealth of freedom. I salute your efforts to build a~~
~~partnership. With peace restored in the Persian Gulf, it is right~~
~~free and prosperous land upon the ruins of tyranny~~
 that we turn our attention back to the vitally important task
 of securing your hard-won freedom and supporting your economic
 recovery.

In your New Year's Eve message, you talked of the progress of reform. Political reform / you have called for fully free parliamentary elections. / Intellectual reform that can help man begin the hard work of freedom. / Spiritual reform. / Honoring the One through whom all things are possible. ~~(two peoples -- Polish and American; both linked by belief in God both a light unto the world.]~~

Finally, you have spoken of the economic reform upon which so much depends. // In your address to Congress you said, "We are not expecting philanthropy. But we would like to see our country treated as a partner and a friend." You are. We will. / ~~(We are pleased to have supported your recent attempts to work with the International Monetary Fund to reduce Poland's foreign debt. / We believe in trade -- not simply aid. // We look forward to future pacts -- like the new American Business Initiative for Poland -- which further private enterprise. / Together, we must help government serve the people -- not the other way around.]~~

For two centuries ~~this view of government~~ ^{the love of liberty} has linked our peoples. It inspired Tom Paine and Jefferson and your hero, Dwight Eisenhower. ~~And it inspired the Polish heroes to~~ ^{Holiness} ~~These men all enjoyed the comfort and support who are~~ ^{cut ?} Polish heroes -- from General Kosciuszko [ko-SHOO-sko] to Lech Walesa to His ~~Holy Father~~, Pope John Paul II . // Together, we have shown that force cannot outlast principles forged on the rights of man. //

INSERT

Today I reaffirm America's strong commitment to the success of the new democracies of central and eastern Europe, and urge other Western countries to rededicate themselves to that same goal. Despite many pressing priorities for the United States, I have asked Congress to increase our assistance to the new democracies of central and eastern Europe by half again last year's request -- up to nearly \$500 million for the coming year.

I am particularly gratified that on March 15, the Paris Club agreed to at least a 50% reduction of Poland's official debt burden. As you know, Mr. President, the United States worked long and hard to achieve this unprecedented agreement. And we will go beyond that, providing both additional bilateral debt reduction and the exchange of ten percent of our Polish debt to fund a new Polish Foundation for the Environment.

I am also announcing today creation of an American Business Initiative for Central and Eastern Europe, including an American Business Center in Warsaw. Together with a new Trade Access Initiative, this project will promote the expansion of U.S. trade and investment in the region.

To American business leaders, I say: Poland's economy has turned the corner. The Polish people possess great human potential. With President Walesa's strong commitment to rapid and complete economic reform, the new Poland offers great opportunities for U.S. trade and investment.

Mr. President, we want your economic transformation to succeed, and we want your democracy and independence to flourish.

Mr. President, these beliefs form the core of the Joint Declaration of Principles that we will sign today -- principles that support democracy, the rule of law, and human rights. //

They also form the core of our own relationship. Let me conclude with the story of a man who embodied that relationship.

That man was Ignacy Jan Paderewski [ig-NOT-zee YAWN pad-uh-REV-ski], the great Polish pianist and composer. In life, ~~Ignacy Jan~~ Paderewski [~~ig-NOT-zee YAWN~~ pad-uh-REV-ski] aided Polish war victims / served as president of ^{Poland's} ~~its~~ parliament in exile / sought to make Poland the Nation she has again become. //

He also declared that although his heart would remain forever in America, upon his death his body should return to his native Poland. But only when that land was independent and free. //

When Paderewski [pad-uh-REV-ski] died in 1941, President Roosevelt authorized the placement of his remains at Arlington National Cemetery until such time, he said, as "Poland is again free." / This year, his remains will return to Poland -- honored by a state burial on the anniversary of his death.

It seems fitting that he will return home as Poles celebrate the 200th anniversary of their first constitution -- the first written in all of Europe -- and we celebrate the 200th anniversary of our own Bill of Rights.

Two hundred years ago, gallant Polish freedom fighters would sing, "Poland is not lost while Poles still live." // Today we

MAX
SHORTEN

rejoice: Poland is not lost -- but has once again been found --
because men like you still live. //

God bless you. God bless your beloved land, and our United
States of America. //

#

(Smith/Cawley)
March 15, 1991
5 P.M.
TOAST

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WALESA TOAST
STATE DINING ROOM
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20, 1991
7 P.M.

Mr. President, Mrs. Walesa, ~~and members of the Polish~~ *to you and the other members of the Polish delegation.*
~~delegation.~~ Two years ago, Barbara and I had the privilege of dining at your home. Today, we are pleased to return that favor. We welcome to America's home a first citizen of the globe. //

A Polish writer once observed, "The character of a people is embodied in its leaders." // That is true of tonight's honored guest. / Eight years ago, you were forbidden from visiting Norway to accept the Nobel Peace Prize. / Tonight, America salutes you as an apostle of peace throughout the world. //

Some leaders reflect their time. Mr. President, you have defined your time. // You have been resolute in defeat and magnanimous in victory. // You have fought to preserve liberty for all: For individuals, choice. For society, pluralism. For nations, self-determination. // To a crisis of the spirit, you supplied an answer of the spirit. An answer forged upon trust in God and man.

Over the centuries,
Poland suffered through ~~the~~ winter^s of suffering ~~that endured for centuries~~. But you and your countrymen have delivered Poland into a springtime of thrilling possibility. // You have brought us all to the verge of a new and freer world. You helped a Nation, and a planet, summon lightness against the dark. //

You have delivered the message of freedom everywhere.

~~Kuwait's liberated people will tell how Poland helped guarantee that naked aggression would not stand.~~ // Go to Gdansk or Warsaw. They know that by rediscovering its past, Poland is uplifting the future. // Mr. President, under you Poles have learned anew that the individual, not the State, is the voice of tomorrow. // You have used that voice to unlock minds, and boundaries. Enlarging Poland's horizons -- and helping ^{build} ~~define~~ a new Europe, whole and free New World Order. //

For that, I thank you on behalf of every American. //

Let me close with a story that shows ~~(off)~~ the spiritual ties that bind our lands. // It happened in 1776 -- when America was at a turning point in its history. A great Polish patriot fought with the colonies -- then returned to Poland with a simple three-word message. // Today -- 200 years later -- you have returned General Kosciuszko's [ko-SHOO-sko] message to the country of its birth: Freedom. Property. Sovereignty. //

These words inspired ~~(our coalition in the Gulf. // They form the very heart of~~ the Joint Declaration of Principles we signed today. //

Our two countries share the majestic free eagle as our national symbol. Fearless. / Resolute. / Soaring. / Free. // How can tanks or guns combat the Bill of Rights, or Kosciuszko's [ko-SHOO-sko] Act of Insurrection? How can bullets outlast the ballots that express the essence of self-government?

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Mr. President, they cannot -- will not. Not in Gdansk, not ^{nor in}
~~Budapest,~~ ^{Persian} not the Gulf. // The lamp of liberty is political and
 economic, religious and intellectual. Let us help raise it
 before the community of Nations. / In that spirit, let us raise
 our glasses:

-- To Polish-American friendship;
 -- To the health of my dear friend;
 -- And to the liberty we can, and must, achieve for
 all the children of the world. Mr. President, "Sto lat." [STOW-
 lot]. May you live 100 years.

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

91 MAR 18 48:23

03/15/91

2:00 p.m. Monday 03/18

DATE: _____ ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: _____

WALESA ARRIVAL and

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WALESA TOAST 6209

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE <i>N/C</i>	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☐	NEWMAN	☐	☐
<i>Hutchings 5733</i> SCOWCROFT <i>boottles</i>	☒	☐	PORTER <i>N/C</i>	☒	☐
DARMAN <i>N/C</i>	☒	☐	ROGICH <i>N/C</i>	☒	☐
BRADY	☐	☒	UNTERMAYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☒	ROGERS	☐	☒
DEMAREST	☒	☐	~~SNOW~~	☒	☒
FITZWATER	☐	☒	FIRESTONE	☐	☒
GRAY	☒	☐	PORTER ROSE	☐	☒
HOLIDAY <i>N/C</i>	☒	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Rm. 122, x2930 no later than 2:00 p.m. on Monday, 03/18, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

91 MAR 15 1991
(Smith, Cawley)
March 15, 1991
2 P. 6454
LECH

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WALESA ARRIVAL
SOUTH LAWN
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20, 1991
10 A.M.

Mr. President, our Polish and American friends. A poet once wrote, "Let me address you in the name of millions." Today, I address you in the name of millions who convey their admiration and their love: the people of the United States. //

Two years ago, Lech Walesa became only the second private citizen from abroad to address a joint session of our Congress. // He impressed us all with his commitment to goodness -- his passion for the hard-fought necessity we call democracy. He inspired us by showing the courage to face death for a cause larger than himself.

Today the hero many call the George Washington of Poland returns to Washington as his nation's first democratically elected president. // Once more, we welcome him.

Like George Washington, Lech Walesa has led by principle and example. Your wife, Danuta, said it best: "You have always believed that you are destined by God for something big." // You created a solidarity of spirit that inspired millions of Poles to risk death in steel mills and shipyards and tenements and towns. But after winning the fight for independence, you instilled the sense of tolerance essential for letting democracy set down roots in an unsettled world. You have extended to former tyrants the

very rights they once denied to you. I mean the rights to think, dream, worship as we please. Equal protection under the law. To choose national leaders and personal destinies. You have resisted the temptation to abandon principle in the name of vengeance.

No wonder your countrymen sing to you: "Sto lat." [STOW-lot]. May he live 100 years. //

But your dedication to freedom does not end at your own borders, as you proved during the war in the Gulf. // As I wrote to you two months ago, "I greatly appreciate your . . . support for our common policy in the Gulf. Poland's steadfastness, its direct contribution to the effort, and your personal resolve are immensely reassuring." //

Mr. President, you understood that Kuwait could not allow aggression to stand. So you joined the coalition that won the war and restored the peace. / You realized how the answer to tyranny was "international solidarity." So you proved yourself, as your fellow Medal of Freedom recipient -- Margaret Thatcher said, to be "a great heart, not a faint heart" -- helping Poland join and shape the New World Order. //

That Order, of course, began in Europe -- with the Cold War ending, and a continent dreaming of becoming at last whole and free. // I thank you for helping Poland take its rightful place in the commonwealth of freedom. I salute your efforts to build a free and prosperous land upon the ruins of tyranny.

In your New Year's Eve message, you talked of the progress of reform. Political reform / you have called for fully free parliamentary elections. / Intellectual reform that can help man begin the hard work of freedom. / Spiritual reform. / Honoring the One through whom all things are possible. Two peoples -- Polish and American; both linked by belief in God -- both a light unto the world. //

Finally, you have spoken of the economic reform upon which so much depends. // In your address to Congress you said, "We are not expecting philanthropy. But we would like to see our country treated as a partner and a friend." You are. We will. /

We are pleased to have supported your recent attempts to work with the International Monetary Fund to reduce Poland's foreign debt. / We believe in trade -- not simply aid. // We look forward to future pacts -- like the new American Business Initiative for Poland -- which further private enterprise. / Together, we must help government serve the people -- not the other way around. //

For two centuries this view of government has linked our peoples. It inspired Tom Paine and Jefferson and your hero, Dwight Eisenhower. These men all enjoyed the comfort and support of Polish heroes -- from General Kosciuszko [ko-SHOO-sko] to Lech Walesa to His Holy Father, Pope John Paul II . // Together, we have shown that force cannot outlast principles forged on the rights of man. //

Mr. President, these beliefs form the core of the Joint Declaration of Principles that we will sign today -- principles that support democracy, the rule of law, and human rights. //

They also form the core of our own relationship. Let me conclude with the story of a man who embodied that relationship.

That man was Ignacy Jan Paderewski [ig-NOT-zee YAWN pad-uh-REV-ski], the great Polish pianist and composer. In life, Ignacy Jan Paderewski [ig-NOT-zee YAWN pad-uh-REV-ski] aided Polish war victims / served as president of its parliament in exile / sought to make Poland the Nation she has again become. //

He also declared that although his heart would remain forever in America, upon his death his body should return to his native Poland. But only when that land was independent and free. //

When Paderewski [pad-uh-REV-ski] died in 1941, President Roosevelt authorized the placement of his remains at Arlington National Cemetery until such time, he said, as "Poland is again free." / This year, his remains will return to Poland -- honored by a state burial on the anniversary of his death.

It seems fitting that he will return home as Poles celebrate the 200th anniversary of their first constitution -- the first written in all of Europe -- and we celebrate the 200th anniversary of our own Bill of Rights.

Two hundred years ago, gallant Polish freedom fighters would sing, "Poland is not lost while Poles still live." // Today we

rejoice: Poland is not lost -- but has once again been found --
because men like you still live. //

God bless you. God bless your beloved land, and our United
States of America. //

#

(Smith/Cawley)
March 15, 1991
5 P.M.
TOAST

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WALESA TOAST
STATE DINING ROOM
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20, 1991
7 P.M.

Mr. President, Mrs. Walesa, and members of the Polish delegation. Two years ago, Barbara and I had the privilege of dining at your home. Today, we are pleased to return that favor. We welcome to America's home a first citizen of the globe. //

A Polish writer once observed, "The character of a people is embodied in its leaders." // That is true of tonight's honored guest. / Eight years ago, you were forbidden from visiting Norway to accept the Nobel Peace Prize. / Tonight, America salutes you as an apostle of peace throughout the world. //

Some leaders reflect their time. Mr. President, you have defined your time. // You have been resolute in defeat and magnanimous in victory. // You have fought to preserve liberty for all: For individuals, choice. For society, pluralism. For nations, self-determination. // To a crisis of the spirit, you supplied an answer of the spirit. An answer forged upon trust in God and man.

Poland suffered through a winter of suffering that endured for centuries. But you and your countrymen have delivered Poland into a springtime of thrilling possibility. // You have brought us all to the verge of a new and freer world. You helped a Nation, and a planet, summon lightness against the dark. //

You have delivered the message of freedom everywhere. Kuwait's liberated people will tell how Poland helped guarantee that naked aggression would not stand. // Go to Gdansk or Warsaw. They know that by rediscovering its past, Poland is uplifting the future. // Mr. President, under you Poles have learned anew that the individual, not the State, is the voice of tomorrow. // You have used that voice to unlock minds, and boundaries. Enlarging Poland's horizons -- and helping define a New World Order. //

For that, I thank you on behalf of every American. //

Let me close with a story that shows off the spiritual ties that bind our lands. // It happened in 1776 -- when America was at a turning point in its history. A great Polish patriot fought with the colonies -- then returned to Poland with a simple three-word message. // Today -- 200 years later -- you have returned General Kosciuszko's [ko-SHOO-sko] message to the country of its birth: Freedom. Property. Sovereignty. //

These words inspired our coalition in the Gulf. // They form the very heart of the Joint Declaration of Principles we signed today. //

Our two countries share the majestic free eagle as our national symbol. Fearless. / Resolute. / Soaring. / Free. // How can tanks or guns combat the Bill of Rights, or Kosciuszko's [ko-SHOO-sko] Act of Insurrection? How can bullets outlast the ballots that express the essence of self-government?

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Mr. President, they cannot -- will not. Not in Gdansk, not Budapest, not the Gulf. // The lamp of liberty is political and economic, religious and intellectual. Let us help raise it before the community of Nations. / In that spirit, let us raise our glasses:

- To Polish-American friendship;
- To the health of my dear friend;
- And to the liberty we can, and must, achieve for all the children of the world. Mr. President, "Sto lat." [STOW-lot]. May you live 100 years.

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 03/15/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 p.m. Monday 03/18

WALESA ARRIVAL and

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WALESA TOAST

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☐	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	ROGICH	☒	☐
BRADY	☐	☒	UNTERMEYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☒	<u>ROGERS</u>	☐	☒
DEMAREST	☒	☐	<u>SNOW</u>	☐	☒
FITZWATER	☐	☒	<u>FIRESTONE</u>	☐	☒
GRAY	☒	☐	<u>PORTER ROSE</u>	☐	☒
HOLIDAY	☒	☐	<u> </u>	☐	☐

REMARKS:

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RESPONSE:

The NSC Staff concurs with the changes indicated.

Brent Scowcroft

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

91 MAR 15 1991
(Smith/Cawley)
March 15, 1991
2 P. 8454
LECH

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WALESA ARRIVAL
SOUTH LAWN
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20, 1991
10 A.M.

obscure reference
Mr. President, our Polish and American friends. ~~[A poet once wrote, "Let me address you in the name of millions." Today, I address you in the name of millions who convey their admiration and their love: the people of the United States. //]~~

Two years ago, Lech Walesa became only the second private citizen from abroad to address a joint session of our Congress. // He impressed us all with his commitment to goodness -- his passion for the hard-fought ~~necessity we call~~ ^{cause of} democracy. He inspired us by ~~showing the~~ ^{his} courage ~~to face death for~~ ^{and his dedication to} a cause larger than himself.

comparison to George Washington is much
Today ~~the~~ ^{Poland's} hero ~~(many call the George Washington of Poland)~~ returns to Washington as his nation's first democratically elected president. // Once more, we welcome him.

~~[Like George Washington]~~ Lech Walesa has led by principle and example. Your wife, Danuta, said it best: "You have always believed that you are destined by God for something big." // You created a solidarity of spirit that inspired millions of Poles to risk ~~death~~ ^{their lives} in steel mills and shipyards and tenements and towns. But after winning the fight for independence, you instilled the sense of tolerance essential for letting democracy set down roots in an unsettled world. ~~[You have extended to former tyrants the~~

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No wonder your countrymen sing to you: "Sto lat." [STOW-lot]. May he live 100 years. //

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But you ~~dedication to freedom does not~~ end at your own borders, as you proved during the war in the Gulf. // As I wrote to you two months ago, ~~"I greatly appreciate your . . . support for our common policy in the Gulf."~~ "Poland's steadfastness, its direct contribution to the effort, and your personal resolve are immensely reassuring." //

Mr. President, you understood that ^{the world} ~~Kuwait~~ could not allow ^{this} aggression to stand. *You taught your countrymen that the answer to* ~~So you joined the coalition that won the~~ tyranny was solidarity. *We put that principle into practice on an war and restored the peace. / You realized how the answer to* international scale in the Persian Gulf -- with your unswerving support. ~~tyranny was "international solidarity."~~ ^{So} you proved yourself, as your fellow Medal of Freedom recipient ~~to~~ Margaret Thatcher said, to be "a great heart, not a faint heart" -- helping Poland join and shape the New World Order. //

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That Order, of course, began in Europe -- with the ^{end of} Cold War ~~(ending)~~ and a continent ~~(dreaming of)~~ becoming at last whole and free. // *Mr. President, we welcome* ~~I thank you for helping~~ Poland ~~take its rightful place~~ into ^{and look forward to building with you a new U.S.-Polish} the commonwealth of freedom. ~~I salute your efforts to build a partnership. With peace restored in the Persian Gulf, it is right~~ ~~free and prosperous land upon the ruins of tyranny~~ that we turn our attention back to the vitally important task of securing your hard-won freedom and supporting your economic recovery.

In your New Year's Eve message, you talked of the progress of reform. Political reform / you have called for fully free parliamentary elections. / Intellectual reform that can help man begin the hard work of freedom. / Spiritual reform. / Honoring the One through whom all things are possible. ~~(We~~
~~peoples -- Polish and American; both linked by belief in God~~
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cut
? ~~the~~ Polish heroes -- from General Kosciuszko [ko-SHOO-sko] to Lech Walesa to His ^{Holiness} ~~Holy Father~~, Pope John Paul II. // Together, we have shown that force cannot outlast principles forged on the rights of man. //

INSERT

Today I reaffirm America's strong commitment to the success of the new democracies of central and eastern Europe, and urge other Western countries to rededicate themselves to that same goal. Despite many pressing priorities for the United States, I have asked Congress to increase our assistance to the new democracies of central and eastern Europe by half again last year's request -- up to nearly \$500 million for the coming year.

I am particularly gratified that on March 15, the Paris Club agreed to at least a 50% reduction of Poland's official debt burden. As you know, Mr. President, the United States worked long and hard to achieve this unprecedented agreement. And we will go beyond that, providing both additional bilateral debt reduction and the exchange of ten percent of our Polish debt to fund a new Polish Foundation for the Environment.

I am also announcing today creation of an American Business Initiative for Central and Eastern Europe, including an American Business Center in Warsaw. Together with a new Trade Access Initiative, this project will promote the expansion of U.S. trade and investment in the region.

To American business leaders, I say: Poland's economy has turned the corner. The Polish people possess great human potential. With President Walesa's strong commitment to rapid and complete economic reform, the new Poland offers great opportunities for U.S. trade and investment.

Mr. President, we want your economic transformation to succeed, and we want your democracy and independence to flourish.

Mr. President, these beliefs form the core of the Joint Declaration of Principles that we will sign today -- principles that support democracy, the rule of law, and human rights. //

They also form the core of our own relationship. Let me conclude with the story of a man who embodied that relationship.

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It seems fitting that he will return home as Poles celebrate the 200th anniversary of their first constitution -- the first written in all of Europe -- and we celebrate the 200th anniversary of our own Bill of Rights.

Two hundred years ago, gallant Polish freedom fighters would sing, "Poland is not lost while Poles still live." // Today we

SHORTEN

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because men like you still live. //

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States of America. //

#

(Smith/Cawley)
March 15, 1991
5 P.M.
TOAST

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WALESA TOAST
STATE DINING ROOM
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20, 1991
7 P.M.

Mr. President, Mrs. Walesa, ~~and members of the Polish~~ *to you and the other members of the Polish delegation.*
~~delegation~~ Two years ago, Barbara and I had the privilege of dining at your home. Today, we are pleased to return that favor. We welcome to America's home a first citizen of the globe. //

A Polish writer once observed, "The character of a people is embodied in its leaders." // That is true of tonight's honored guest. / Eight years ago, you were forbidden from visiting Norway to accept the Nobel Peace Prize. / Tonight, America salutes you as an apostle of peace throughout the world. //

Some leaders reflect their time. Mr. President, you have defined your time. // You have been resolute in defeat and magnanimous in victory. // You have fought to preserve liberty for all: For individuals, choice. For society, pluralism. For nations, self-determination. // To a crisis of the spirit, you supplied an answer of the spirit. An answer forged upon trust in God and man.

Over the centuries,
Poland suffered through a winter^s of suffering ~~that endured for centuries~~ But you and your countrymen have delivered Poland into a springtime of thrilling possibility. // You have brought us all to the verge of a new and freer world. You helped a Nation, and a planet, summon lightness against the dark. //

You have delivered the message of freedom everywhere.

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For that, I thank you on behalf of every American. //

Let me close with a story that shows ~~off~~ the spiritual ties that bind our lands. // It happened in 1776 -- when America was at a turning point in its history. A great Polish patriot fought with the colonies -- then returned to Poland with a simple three-word message. // Today -- 200 years later -- you have returned General Kosciuszko's [ko-SHOO-sko] message to the country of its birth: Freedom. Property. Sovereignty. //

These words inspired ~~our coalition in the Gulf.~~ // They form the very heart of the Joint Declaration of Principles we signed today. //

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Mr. President, they cannot -- will not. Not in Gdansk, ^{nor in} not
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 economic, religious and intellectual. Let us help raise it
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-- To Polish-American friendship;

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#

BOOTLEG
201271
1:21 P
3-18

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 03/15/91

2:00 p.m. Monday 03/18

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:

WALESA ARRIVAL and

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WALESA TOAST

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☐	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	ROGICH	☒	☐
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DEMAREST	☒	☐	SNOW	☐	☒
FITZWATER	☐	☒	FIRESTONE	☐	☒
GRAY	☒	☐	PORTER ROSE	☐	☒
HOLIDAY	☒	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Rm. 122, x2930 no later than 2:00 p.m. on Monday, 03/18, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

The NSC Staff concurs with the changes indicated.

Brent Scowcroft

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

91 MAR 15 1991
(Smith, Cawley)
March 15, 1991
2 P. 254
LECH

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WALESA ARRIVAL
SOUTH LAWN
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20, 1991
10 A.M.

Mr. President, our Polish and American friends. ~~[A poet once~~
~~wrote, "Let me address you in the name of millions." Today, I~~
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~~and their love: the people of the United States.]~~

Two years ago, Lech Walesa became only the second private
citizen from abroad to address a joint session of our Congress. ~~stef~~

// He impressed us all with his commitment to goodness -- his
passion for the hard-fought ~~necessity we call~~ ^{cause of} democracy. He
inspired us ^{with his} ~~by showing the~~ courage ^{and his dedication to} ~~(to face death for)~~ a cause
larger than himself.

Today ^{Poland's} ~~the~~ hero ~~(many call the George Washington of Poland)~~
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believed that you are destined by God for something big." // You
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positive ~~very rights they once denied to you. I mean the rights to think, dream, worship as we please. Equal protection under the law. To choose national leaders and personal destinies.]~~ You have resisted the temptation to abandon principle in the name of vengeance.

No wonder your countrymen sing to you: "Sto lat." [STOW-lot]. May he live 100 years. //

But your dedication to freedom does not end at your own borders, as you proved during the war in the Gulf. // As I wrote to you two months ago, ~~["I greatly appreciate your . . . support for our common policy in the Gulf"]~~ "Poland's steadfastness, its direct contribution to the effort, and your personal resolve are immensely reassuring." //

Mr. President, you understood that ^{the world} ~~Kuwait~~ could not allow ^{this} aggression to stand. So you joined the coalition that won the war and restored the peace. / You realized ^{that} ~~how~~ the answer to tyranny was "international solidarity." So you proved yourself, as your fellow Medal of Freedom recipient ~~and~~ Margaret Thatcher said, to be "a great heart, not a faint heart" -- helping Poland join and shape the New World Order. //

That Order, of course, began in Europe -- with the ^{end of} ~~Cold War~~

~~(ending)]~~ and a continent ^{set} ~~(dreaming of)~~ becoming at last whole and free. //

Mr. President, we welcome ~~I thank you for helping~~ Poland ~~take its rightful place~~ ^{into} and look forward to building with you a new U.S.-Polish ~~in~~ the commonwealth of freedom. ~~I salute your efforts to build a partnership. With peace restored in the Persian Gulf, it is right~~ ~~free and prosperous land upon the ruins of tyranny~~ that we turn our attention back to the vitally important task of securing your hard-won freedom and supporting your economic recovery.

In your New Year's Eve message, you talked of the progress of reform. Political reform / you have called for fully free parliamentary elections. / Intellectual reform that can help man begin the hard work of freedom. / Spiritual reform. / Honoring the One through whom all things are possible. ~~(two peoples -- Polish and American; both linked by belief in God both a light unto the world. //)~~ } *stef*

Finally, you have spoken of the economic reform upon which so much depends. // In your address to Congress you said, "We are not expecting philanthropy. But we would like to see our country treated as a partner and a friend." You are. We will. /

USER 1 ~~(We are pleased to have supported your recent attempts to work with the International Monetary Fund to reduce Poland's foreign debt. / We believe in trade -- not simply aid. // We look forward to future pacts -- like the new American Business Initiative for Poland -- which further private enterprise. / Together, we must help government serve the people -- not the other way around. //)~~ } *insert*

For two centuries ~~this view of government~~ *the love of liberty* has linked our peoples. It inspired Tom Paine and Jefferson ~~and your hero,~~ *And it inspired the Polish heroes to* Dwight Eisenhower. ~~These men all enjoyed the comfort and support who are~~ *Holiness* ~~Polish heroes -- from General Kosciuszko [ko-SHOO-sko] to Lech Walesa to His Holy Father, Pope John Paul II . // Together, we have shown that force cannot outlast principles forged on the rights of man. //~~

see Carolyn sheet

INSERT

~~Today I reaffirm America's strong commitment to your~~
~~success.~~ Despite the high costs of our military commitment in
the Gulf conflict, I have asked Congress to increase our
assistance to the new democracies of central and eastern Europe
by half again last year's request -- up to nearly \$500 million in
grant assistance for the coming year.

And I am particularly gratified that on March 15, the Paris
Club agreed to a 50% reduction of Poland's official debt burden.
As you know, Mr. President, the United States has worked long and
hard to achieve this unprecedented agreement. And the United
States will do still more: [we will forgive an additional ten
per cent of your debt through a debt-for-environment exchange].

I am also announcing today the creation of an American
Business Initiative for Central and Eastern Europe. Through the
establishment of an American Business Center in Warsaw, consortia
of American businesses, and a Capital Development Initiative,
this \$45 million project will promote the long-term involvement
of U.S. private business and the expansion of U.S. investment in
the region. ~~And to American business leaders, I say: the Polish
economy has turned the corner. Poland's pioneering economic
reform has been in place for well over a year, and it is working
wonders. The new Poland offer great opportunities for U.S. trade
and investment.~~

Mr. President, we want your economic transformation to
succeed -- and we want Poland's democracy and independence to
flourish.

Mr. President, these beliefs form the core of the Joint Declaration of Principles that we will sign today -- principles that support democracy, the rule of law, and human rights. //

They also form the core of our own relationship. Let me conclude with the story of a man who embodied that relationship.

That man was Ignacy Jan Paderewski [ig-NOT-zee YAWN pad-uh-REV-ski], the great Polish pianist and composer. In life, ~~Ignacy Jan~~ Paderewski [~~ig-NOT-zee YAWN~~ pad-uh-REV-ski] aided Polish war victims / served as president of ^{Poland's} ~~its~~ parliament in exile / sought to make Poland the Nation she has again become. //

He also declared that although his heart would remain forever in America, upon his death his body should return to his native Poland. But only when that land was independent and free. //

When Paderewski [pad-uh-REV-ski] died in 1941, President Roosevelt authorized the placement of his remains at Arlington National Cemetery until such time, he said, as "Poland is again free." / This year, his remains will return to Poland -- honored by a state burial on the anniversary of his death.

It seems fitting that he will return home as Poles celebrate the 200th anniversary of their first constitution -- the first written in all of Europe -- and we celebrate the 200th anniversary of our own Bill of Rights.

Two hundred years ago, gallant Polish freedom fighters would sing, "Poland is not lost while Poles still live." // Today we

rejoice: Poland is not lost -- but has once again been found --
because men like you still live. //

God bless you. God bless your beloved land, and our United
States of America. //

#

(Smith/Cawley)
March 15, 1991
5 P.M.
TOAST

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WALESA TOAST
STATE DINING ROOM
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20, 1991
7 P.M.

Mr. President, Mrs. Walesa, ~~and members of the Polish~~ *to you and the other members of the Polish delegation.*
~~delegation~~ Two years ago, Barbara and I had the privilege of
dining at your home. Today, we are pleased to return that favor,
We welcome to America's home a first citizen of the globe. //

A Polish writer once observed, "The character of a people is
embodied in its leaders." // That is true of tonight's honored
guest. / Eight years ago, you were forbidden from visiting
Norway to accept the Nobel Peace Prize. / Tonight, America
salutes you as an apostle of peace throughout the world. //

Some leaders reflect their time. Mr. President, you have
defined your time. // You have been resolute in defeat and
magnanimous in victory. // You have fought to preserve liberty
for all: For individuals, choice. For society, pluralism. For
nations, self-determination. // To a crisis of the spirit, you
supplied an answer of the spirit. An answer forged upon trust in
God and man.

Over the centuries,
Poland suffered through a winter^s of suffering ~~that endured~~
~~for centuries~~ But you and your countrymen have delivered Poland
into a springtime of thrilling possibility. // You have brought
us all to the verge of a new and freer world. You helped a
Nation, and a planet, summon lightness against the dark. //

You have delivered the message of freedom everywhere.

~~Kuwait's liberated people will tell how Poland helped guarantee that naked aggression would not stand.~~ // Go to Gdansk or Warsaw. They know that by rediscovering its past, Poland is uplifting the future. // Mr. President, under you Poles have learned anew that the individual, not the State, is the voice of tomorrow. // You have used that voice to unlock minds, and boundaries. Enlarging Poland's horizons -- and helping ^{build} ~~define~~ a new Europe, whole and free New World Order. //

For that, I thank you on behalf of every American. //

Let me close with a story that shows ~~off~~ the spiritual ties that bind our lands. // It happened in 1776 -- when America was at a turning point in its history. A great Polish patriot fought with the colonies -- then returned to Poland with a simple three-word message. // Today -- 200 years later -- you have returned General Kosciuszko's [ko-SHOO-sko] message to the country of its birth: Freedom. Property. Sovereignty. //

These words inspired ~~our coalition in the Gulf.~~ // ~~They form the very heart of~~ the Joint Declaration of Principles we signed today. //

Our two countries share the majestic free eagle as our national symbol. Fearless. / Resolute. / Soaring. / Free. // How can tanks or guns combat the Bill of Rights, or Kosciuszko's [ko-SHOO-sko] Act of Insurrection? How can bullets outlast the ballots that express the essence of self-government?

//

Mr. President, they cannot -- will not. Not in Gdansk, not ^{nor in} Budapest, ^{Persian} not the Gulf. // The lamp of liberty is political and economic, religious and intellectual. Let us help raise it before the community of Nations. / In that spirit, let us raise our glasses:

-- To Polish-American friendship;

-- To the health of my dear friend;

-- And to the liberty we can, and must, achieve for

all the children of the world. Mr. President, "Sto lat." [STOW-lot]. May you live 100 years.

#

Carolyn's Comments

(Smith/Cawley)
March 12, 1991
2 P.M.
LECH

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WALESA ARRIVAL
SOUTH LAWN
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20, 1991
10 A.M.

Mr. President, our Polish and American friends. A poet once wrote, "Let me address you in the name of millions." Today, I address you in the name of millions who convey their admiration and their love: the people of the United States. //

Two years ago, Lech Walesa became only the second private citizen from abroad to address a joint session of our Congress. // He impressed us all with his commitment to goodness -- his passion for the hard-fought necessity we call democracy. He inspired us by showing the courage to face death for a cause larger than himself.

Today the hero many call the George Washington of Poland["] returns to Washington as his nation's first democratically elected president. // Once more, we welcome him.

"U.S." or "America."? It's repetitive with ↑ and ~

Like George Washington, Lech Walesa has led by principle and example. Your wife, Danuta, said it best: "You have always believed that you are destined by God for something big." // You created a solidarity of spirit that inspired millions of Poles to risk death in steel mills and shipyards and tenements and towns. But after winning the fight for independence, you instilled the sense of tolerance essential for letting democracy set down roots in an unsettled world. You have extended to former tyrants the

very rights they once denied to you. I mean the rights to think, dream, worship as we please. Equal protection under the law. To choose national leaders and personal destinies. You have resisted the temptation to abandon principle in the name of vengeance.

No wonder your countrymen sing to you: "Sto lat." [STOW-lot]. May he live 100 years. //

But your dedication to freedom does not end at your own borders, as you proved during the war in the Gulf. // As I wrote to you two months ago, "I greatly appreciate your . . . support for our common policy in the ^{Persian} Gulf. Poland's steadfastness, its direct contribution to the effort, and your personal resolve are immensely reassuring." //

Mr. President, you understood that Kuwait could not allow aggression to stand. So you joined the coalition that won the war and restored the peace. / You realized how the answer to tyranny was "international solidarity." So you proved yourself, ^{what} as your fellow Medal of Freedom recipient -- Margaret Thatcher ^{referred to as} ~~said, to be~~ "a great heart, not a faint heart" -- helping Poland join and shape the New World Order. //

That Order, of course, began in Europe -- with the Cold War ending, and a continent dreaming of becoming at last whole and free. // I thank you for helping Poland take its rightful place in the commonwealth of freedom. I salute your efforts to build a free and prosperous land upon the ruins of tyranny.

In his brief statement,
he referred to progress in the context
of the difficulty that's ahead too.
See attached.

In your New Year's Eve message, you talked of the progress of reform. Political reform / you have called for fully free parliamentary elections. / Intellectual reform that can help man begin the hard work of freedom. / Spiritual reform. / Honoring the One through whom all things are possible. Two peoples -- Polish and American; both linked by belief in God -- both a light unto the world. //

Finally, you have spoken of the economic reform upon which so much depends. // In your address to Congress you said, "We are not expecting philanthropy. But we would like to see our country treated as a partner and a friend." You are. We will. /

We are pleased to have supported your recent attempts to work with the International Monetary Fund to reduce Poland's foreign debt. / We believe in trade -- not simply aid. // We look forward to future pacts -- like the new American Business Initiative for Poland -- which further private enterprise. / Together, we must help government serve the people -- not the other way around. //

See attached Xerox of Post article for updated info.

For two centuries this view of government has linked our peoples. It inspired Tom Paine and Jefferson and (your hero) ~~Dwight Eisenhower~~. These men all enjoyed the comfort and support of Polish heroes -- from General Kosciuszko [ko-SHOO-sko] to Lech Walesa to His Holy Father, Pope John Paul II . // Together, we have shown that force cannot outlast principles forged on the rights of man. //

?!?! no documentation

Paine / Jefferson / Ike don't fit chronologically w/ Kosciuszko, Walesa, Pope
for them to have enjoyed comfort + support

- Jefferson + Kosciuszko were friends -- that one is OK.
- Others from that time: Nath Webster, Washington, Monroe, Adams. (Documented relationships.)
- ~~George Washington~~
- Ike was around well before Lech + the Pope -- need another modern American here. I suggest deleting Ike + substituting Ronald Reagan. ① He fits chronologically w/ Lech + the Pope. ② He was a champion of Polish solidarity movement + is a hero figure in Poland

in fact
"later this morning"
or
"shortly"

Mr. President, these beliefs form the core of the Joint Declaration of Principles that we will sign today -- principles that support democracy, the rule of law, and human rights. //

They also form the core of our own relationship. Let me conclude with the story of a man who embodied that relationship.

That man was Ignacy Jan Paderewski [ig-NOT-zee YAWN pad-uh-REV-ski], the great Polish pianist and composer. In life, Ignacy Jan Paderewski [ig-NOT-zee YAWN pad-uh-REV-ski] aided Polish war victims / served as president of its parliament in exile / sought to make Poland the Nation she has again become. //

He also declared that although his heart would remain forever in America, upon his death his body should return to his native Poland. But only when that land was independent and free. //

When Paderewski [pad-uh-REV-ski] died in 1941, President Roosevelt authorized the placement of his remains at Arlington National Cemetery until such time, he said, as "Poland is again free." / This year, his remains will return to Poland -- honored by a state burial on the anniversary of his death.

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rejoice: Poland is not lost -- but has once again been found --
because men like you still live. //

God bless you. God bless your beloved land, and our United
States of America. //

#

TRANSLATION OF PRESIDENT WALESA'S NEW YEARS EVE MESSAGE

Per Polish Embassy Information Officer, "Vija"

"As President, I need to tell the truth -- that truth is: there'll be no easy time. I can only say with my own responsibility that we will progress. And I'd like our new government to stress economic matters. In this difficult time we can not allow for political clashes and disagreements in our government. I wish that we join efforts in this progress."

December 31, 1990
Warsaw

Polish Debt Cut in Half

Western Nations Reward Economic Reforms

By Steven Munson

Washington Post Staff Writer

Western industrialized nations agreed yesterday to erase half of Poland's \$38 billion in debt to other governments, a reward for steps Warsaw has taken toward democracy and for its sweeping reforms to create a free-market economy.

Financial officials of the leading industrialized countries, known as the Paris Club, said that the "extraordinary" steps were taken because of the exceptional situation of Poland, involved in a transition without precedent towards a market economy.

The agreement, which came on the eve of Polish President Lech Walesa's trip to the United States next week, is also a frank admission that a major debtor country could not pay what it owes to foreign governments, raising the possibility that other indebted nations might seek similar leniency.

Yesterday, however, David Mulford, undersecretary of the Treasury for international affairs, portrayed Poland as a unique case. Only Egypt could receive similar treatment, he said, because those two countries have the highest percentages of official debt. About three-quarters of Poland's debt is owed to foreign governments, while most of the rest is owed to commercial banks.

"I think it's a major breakthrough and a very significant foreign policy achievement for the United States, which engineered this," said Jeffrey Sachs, a Harvard University economics professor and an adviser to the Polish government.

The United States had pressed its allies to drastically reduce Warsaw's official debt to encourage democratic and economic reform in the wake of communism's collapse in Eastern Europe. The Bush administration

See POLAND, A13, Col. 1

WPOST

3-16-91

PA-1

Western Nations Agree To Reduce Polish Debt

By AP **POLAND:** From AP Wire Service
was willing to meet Poland's request to forgive 80 percent of its debt to foreign governments. Germany and Japan, however, favored writing off no more than 40 percent.

The European allies compromised and the creditors agreed to forgive 30 percent of their loans immediately, and another 20 percent in three years if Poland sticks to its reform plans.

In addition to forgiving half of Poland's debt, the leading industrialized nations extended easier credit terms so that Poland will pay no more than \$600 million in interest, only 20 percent of what it was scheduled to pay wealthy governments, in each of the next three years.

Creditor governments also can use debt swaps to exchange debt for projects undertaken inside Poland and can recycle interest payments by using them to pay for environmental projects inside Poland or infrastructure projects such as the telephone network, power systems and highways. One likely project

could be a clean-up of Baltic Sea pollution.

"Everybody agreed to move to a more realistic appraisal of Poland's situation," Mulford said. The agreement "lays the basis for sustained economic growth" in Poland, he said.

Economic experts on Poland said the easing of interest payments is

"Everybody agreed to move to a more realistic appraisal of Poland's situation."

David Mulford, Undersecretary of the Treasury

critical if Poland is going to make an economic recovery after decades of Soviet-imposed communism.

Willi Wapenhans, vice president for Europe, the Middle East and North Africa at the World Bank, estimates that Poland has more than \$1,000 in debt for every person, and that its interest payments come to 7 percent of gross domestic product.

According to Sachs, Poland's total debt to governments and banks totals \$48.6 billion, more than four times its 1990 export earnings of \$11.4 billion.

Generally, the crisis-level threshold is 200 percent, Sachs said. He said the relief Poland was seeking was not a negotiating gambit. It was a good-faith estimate of their needs in a very dire situation.

Liberal reschedulings of Polish interest payments in the past only heaped more debt burdens on the Warsaw government. The last postponement of Polish interest payments by the Paris Club simply added those payments to the country's existing debt, thus increasing Poland's debt by 25 percent.

The Paris Club agreement establishes a "floor" for Polish debt, Mulford said, but individual countries can go further in providing debt relief if they choose. Mulford said the United States had not decided whether to provide further concessions.

Both last year's budget agreement and the fiscal 1991 foreign aid spending bill give President Bush the authority to write down Poland's \$2.85 billion official debt. The effect on the federal budget would be "negligible," congressional aides said.

Correspondent William Drozdiak contributed to this report from Paris.

Carolyn's Comments

(Smith/Cawley)
March 15, 1991
5 P.M.
TOAST

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WALESA TOAST
STATE DINING ROOM
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20, 1991
7 P.M.

Mr. President, Mrs. Walesa, and members of the Polish delegation. Two years ago, Barbara and I had the privilege of dining at your home. Today, we are pleased to return that favor. We welcome to America's home a first citizen of the globe. //

A Polish writer once observed, "The character of a people is embodied in its leaders." // That is true of tonight's honored guest. / Eight years ago, you were forbidden from visiting Norway to accept the Nobel Peace Prize. / Tonight, America salutes you as an apostle of peace throughout the world. //

note: Technically he was not forbidden expressly, but he feared not allowed re-entry @ for his family in his absence.

unable to visit ✓

Some leaders reflect their time. Mr. President, you have defined your time. // You have been resolute in defeat and magnanimous in victory. // You have fought to preserve liberty for all: For individuals, choice. For society, pluralism. For nations, self-determination. // To a crisis of the spirit, you supplied an answer of the spirit. An answer forged upon trust in God and man.

Poland suffered through a winter of suffering that endured for centuries. But you and your countrymen have delivered Poland into a springtime of thrilling possibility. // You have brought us all to the verge of a new and freer world. You helped a Nation, and a planet, summon lightness against the dark. //

You have delivered the message of freedom everywhere.
 Kuwait's liberated people will tell how Poland helped guarantee
 that naked aggression would not stand. // Go to Gdansk or
 Warsaw. They know that by rediscovering its past, Poland is
 uplifting the future. // Mr. President, under you Poles have
 learned anew that the individual, not the State, is the voice of
 tomorrow. // You have used that voice to unlock minds, and
 boundaries. Enlarging Poland's horizons -- and helping define a
 New World Order. //

For that, I thank you on behalf of every American. //

Let me close with a story that shows off the spiritual ties
 that bind our lands. // It happened in 1776 -- when America was
 at a turning point in its history. A great Polish patriot fought
 with the colonies -- then returned to Poland with a simple three-
 word message. // Today -- 200 years later -- you have returned

General Kosciuszko's [ko-SHOO-sko] message to the country of its
birth: LIBERTY. SECURITY. PROPERTY. Freedom. Property. Sovereignty. //

These words inspired our coalition in the Gulf. // They
 form the very heart of the Joint Declaration of Principles we
 signed today. //

Our two countries share the majestic free eagle as our
 national symbol. Fearless. / Resolute. / Soaring. / Free.
 // How can tanks or guns combat the Bill of Rights, or
 Kosciuszko's [ko-SHOO-sko] Act of Insurrection? How can bullets
 outlast the ballots that express the essence of self-government?
 //

see attached encyclopedia Xerox. Kosciuszko's name
 comes his leadership of the Polish independence
 movement. His battle cry "Liberty, Security, Property" is
 within this context & should probably be mentioned.

NOTE:
 Kosciuszko coined
 these words
 in Poland in
 1794 -- so
 they did not
 originate in the
 US per se; he was,
 though, influenced
 by our Rev. War &
 carried those
 ideas back
 to Poland.

Mr. President, they cannot -- will not. Not in Gdansk, not Budapest, not the Gulf. // The lamp of liberty is political and economic, religious and intellectual. Let us help raise it before the community of Nations. / In that spirit, let us raise our glasses:

-- To Polish-American friendship;

-- To the health of my dear friend;

-- And to the liberty we can, and must, achieve for all the children of the world. Mr. President, "Sto lat." [STOW-lot]. May you live 100 years.

#

VOLUME 16

Jefferson to Latin

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA
AMERICANA
INTERNATIONAL EDITION

COMPLETE IN THIRTY VOLUMES
FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1829



GROLIER INCORPORATED

since its destruction by an earthquake in 1933. Its port is at Mandrakion.

Ancient Kos is mentioned in the *Iliad* as an ally of the Greeks. It was settled by Dorian Greeks from the northern Peloponnesus and became the birthplace of Ptolemy II (Ptolemy Philadelphus), the poet Theocritus, the painter Apelles, and the physician Hippocrates, who founded a school of medicine there. It was occupied by Alexander the Great in 336 B.C. and in the ensuing centuries was controlled by Persians, Greeks, Egyptians, and Romans. It was captured by the Ottoman Turks in 1523, occupied by Italy in 1912, and was ceded to Italy by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1924 and then to Greece by the treaty of peace with Italy in 1947. Population: (1981) of the island, 20,350; of the city, 11,851.

KOSCIUSKO, Mount, kos-ē-us'kō, a mountain in southeastern New South Wales, Australia. It is located in the Snowy Mountains of the Australian Alps and, with an altitude of 7,305 feet (2,228 meters), is Australia's highest peak. It is snow-covered from May to September and bears evidence of Ice Age glaciation. The Snowy, Murray, and other rivers that form important units in the Snowy Mountains Hydro-Electric Scheme are fed by its snows.

The mountain was named by Sir Paul Strzelcecki in 1840 after the Polish patriot Tadeusz Kościuszko. It rises in Kosciuszko National Park, a preserve of about 2,070 square miles (5,370 sq km), and is a major ski resort during the winter.

KOŚCIUSZKO, kōsh-choōsh'kō, **Tadeusz Andrzej Bonawentura** (1746–1817), Polish statesman and soldier, who fought in the American Revolution and led an uprising for national independence in his homeland.

Tadeusz (often written Thaddeus in English) Kościuszko was born in the Polish village of Merczowszczyzna on Feb. 4, 1746, to a family of noble origin. He began his military education at the Warsaw Corps of Cadets and then continued it in Germany, France, and Italy, specializing in fortification. He returned to Poland in 1774.

In 1776 he fled to France to escape the consequences of a love affair. He went on to America and joined the colonists in their war for independence from Britain. From 1778 to 1780 he supervised the fortification of West Point, and he later served under Gen. Nathanael Greene as an engineer and a cavalry officer. He ended the war as a brigadier general. Kościuszko's involvement in America's struggle for independence influenced his later life.

He returned to Polish service in 1784 and in 1792 led Polish troops against Russian forces that had invaded Poland to suppress the reformist constitution of May 3, 1791. When the Russians completed their occupation of Poland and forced Poland's King Stanisław II to renounce the constitution, Kościuszko went into exile. An underground resistance movement was formed in Poland in 1793 and Kościuszko was asked to lead it. Before a tumultuous gathering in Kraków in 1794, he vowed to restore Poland's independence. In his role as political and military head of the Polish insurrection, he exercised virtually dictatorial power. To promote greater equality throughout Polish society he issued the Polish Proclamation on May 7, 1794, which declared the serfs free. In April 1794 he routed the Russians



BBC HULTON PICTURE LIBRARY

General Kościuszko figured prominently in both the American and the Polish struggles for independence.

at Raclawice, leading an army that included peasants wielding pikes and scythes. But in October the Polish army was beaten at Maciejowice, where Kościuszko was wounded and taken prisoner. The insurrection collapsed and the final partition of Poland took place. Kościuszko was imprisoned in Russia until 1796.

In 1797 he traveled to the United States and established a lasting friendship with Thomas Jefferson. He hastened back to Europe in 1798 where the ferment caused by the rise of Napoleon encouraged him to believe he could advance Poland's cause. He discovered, however, that a restored democratic Poland did not suit the goals of any European power. His proposal to Czar Alexander I in 1814 to establish a large Polish state with a liberal social order was also ignored. After this rebuff Kościuszko retired to Solothurn, Switzerland, where he died on Oct. 15, 1817. He was buried in Kraków's cathedral alongside the Polish kings.

Kościuszko's life spanned the entire era of 18th century democratic revolutions, of which he remains an outstanding figure. It is an irony of history that his ideas were ahead of their time in his own homeland.

PETER CZAP, JR.
Amherst College

KOSHER, kō'shər, in Judaism, a term that designates whether foods individually or in combination, or their mode of preparation or processing, are in accordance with biblical and rabbinical rules. The term *kosher* (the Ashkenazic form of *Kasher*) means "clean" or "proper," and the system of dietary laws is known as *kashrut*. Orthodox and Conservative Jews are obliged by tradition to "keep kosher," whereas Reform Jews are not. See DIETARY LAWS.

KOSHIGAYA, kō-shē-gā, a city in Honshū, central Honshū, Japan, on the Motoara River, about 100 miles (160 km) from Tokyo, with which it is connected by rail. Koshigaya experienced rapid growth after World War II and now includes the production of machinery. Koshigaya is famous for its production of peaches. Population: (1981) 110,000.

KOŠICE, kō'shi-tse, a city in Czechoslovakia, on the Hron River, Košice (Hungarian: Kassa) is the second-largest city in the fifth-largest in Czechoslovakia.

Košice is a major center for iron and steel, machinery, and other products. It is also a processing center for the products of the surrounding area.

Major scenic points of interest include the 17th century fortifications of St. Elizabeth. The city was established in Košice in 1211.

Košice was an important trade center in the 13th century when it received a town charter in 1290. By the 14th century the city was transferred to the control of Czechoslovakia.

In 1939, only to lose it to the Nazis in World War II. In 1945 it was transferred to Soviet provisional government. Population: (1981) 110,000.

State University

KOSINSKI, kō-zin'ski, a Polish-born American writer who won the Nobel Prize for loss of freedom in a world. He was born in 1895, and received the Nobel Prize in 1953, and the Nobel Prize in 1953, and the Nobel Prize in 1953.

He went to the United States and became a U.S. citizen. He wrote *The Painted Bird* (1965), a nonfiction published by Novak. Both deal with the Holocaust and probably most famous. *Painted Bird* (1965), a biographical, of a Nazi-occupied eastern Europe. *Steps* (1968) is a novel about Jean-Paul Sartre. *Steps* (1968) is a novel about a brilliant thinker. His novels include *The Passion Play* (1978), *Passion Play* (1978), *Passion Play* (1978).

KOSOVO, kō'sō-vō, a province in southern Serbia, about 50 miles (80 km) wide and 50 miles (80 km) long, with an easy route from the north. It is also known as Kossovo, "field of blackbirds," and has more than 100,000 inhabitants.

By 1388, Turkey had conquered the area. In 1389, the Battle of Kosovo was fought between the army of Serbs, Bosnians, Vlachs, Poles, and the Serbian prince Lazar.

Scene of battle cry

"Liberty, etc"

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 03/15/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 p.m. Monday 03/18
 SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WALES TOAST

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☐	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	ROGICH	☒	☐
BRADY	☐	☒	UNTERMAYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☒	ROGERS	☐	☒
DEMAREST	☒	☐	SNOW	☐	☒
FITZWATER	☐	☒	FIRESTONE	☐	☒
GRAY	☒	☐	PORTER ROSE	☐	☒
HOLIDAY	☒	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Rm. 122, x2930 no later than 2:00 p.m. on Monday, 03/18, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

no comment / Sandy

PHILLIP D. BRADY
 Assistant to the President
 and Staff Secretary
 Ext. 2702

91 MAR 15 1991
(Smith-Cawley)
March 15, 1991
2 P. 454
LECH

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WALESIA ARRIVAL
SOUTH LAWN
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20, 1991
10 A.M.

Mr. President, our Polish and American friends. A poet once wrote, "Let me address you in the name of millions." Today, I address you in the name of millions who convey their admiration and their love: the people of the United States. //

Two years ago, Lech Walesa became only the second private citizen from abroad to address a joint session of our Congress. // He impressed us all with his commitment to goodness -- his passion for the hard-fought necessity we call democracy. He inspired us by showing the courage to face death for a cause larger than himself.

Today the hero many call the George Washington of Poland returns to Washington as his nation's first democratically elected president. // Once more, we welcome him.

Like George Washington, Lech Walesa has led by principle and example. Your wife, Danuta, said it best: "You have always believed that you are destined by God for something big." // You created a solidarity of spirit that inspired millions of Poles to risk death in steel mills and shipyards and tenements and towns. But after winning the fight for independence, you instilled the sense of tolerance essential for letting democracy set down roots in an unsettled world. You have extended to former tyrants the

very rights they once denied to you. I mean the rights to think, dream, worship as we please. Equal protection under the law. To choose national leaders and personal destinies. You have resisted the temptation to abandon principle in the name of vengeance.

No wonder your countrymen sing to you: "Sto lat." [STOW-lot]. May he live 100 years. //

But your dedication to freedom does not end at your own borders, as you proved during the war in the Gulf. // As I wrote to you two months ago, "I greatly appreciate your . . . support for our common policy in the Gulf. Poland's steadfastness, its direct contribution to the effort, and your personal resolve are immensely reassuring." //

Mr. President, you understood that Kuwait could not allow aggression to stand. So you joined the coalition that won the war and restored the peace. / You realized how the answer to tyranny was "international solidarity." So you proved yourself, as your fellow Medal of Freedom recipient -- Margaret Thatcher said, to be "a great heart, not a faint heart" -- helping Poland join and shape the New World Order. //

That Order, of course, began in Europe -- with the Cold War ending, and a continent dreaming of becoming at last whole and free. // I thank you for helping Poland take its rightful place in the commonwealth of freedom. I salute your efforts to build a free and prosperous land upon the ruins of tyranny.

In your New Year's Eve message, you talked of the progress of reform. Political reform / you have called for fully free parliamentary elections. / Intellectual reform that can help man begin the hard work of freedom. / Spiritual reform. / Honoring the One through whom all things are possible. Two peoples -- Polish and American; both linked by belief in God -- both a light unto the world. //

Finally, you have spoken of the economic reform upon which so much depends. // In your address to Congress you said, "We are not expecting philanthropy. But we would like to see our country treated as a partner and a friend." You are. We will. /

We are pleased to have supported your recent attempts to work with the International Monetary Fund to reduce Poland's foreign debt. / We believe in trade -- not simply aid. // We look forward to future pacts -- like the new American Business Initiative for Poland -- which further private enterprise. / Together, we must help government serve the people -- not the other way around. //

For two centuries this view of government has linked our peoples. It inspired Tom Paine and Jefferson and your hero, Dwight Eisenhower. These men all enjoyed the comfort and support of Polish heroes -- from General Kosciuszko [ko-SHOO-sko] to Lech Walesa to His Holy Father, Pope John Paul II . // Together, we have shown that force cannot outlast principles forged on the rights of man. //

Mr. President, these beliefs form the core of the Joint Declaration of Principles that we will sign today -- principles that support democracy, the rule of law, and human rights. //

They also form the core of our own relationship. Let me conclude with the story of a man who embodied that relationship.

That man was Ignacy Jan Paderewski [ig-NOT-zee YAWN pad-uh-REV-ski], the great Polish pianist and composer. In life, Ignacy Jan Paderewski [ig-NOT-zee YAWN pad-uh-REV-ski] aided Polish war victims / served as president of its parliament in exile / sought to make Poland the Nation she has again become. //

He also declared that although his heart would remain forever in America, upon his death his body should return to his native Poland. But only when that land was independent and free. //

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It seems fitting that he will return home as Poles celebrate the 200th anniversary of their first constitution -- the first written in all of Europe -- and we celebrate the 200th anniversary of our own Bill of Rights.

Two hundred years ago, gallant Polish freedom fighters would sing, "Poland is not lost while Poles still live." // Today we

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God bless you. God bless your beloved land, and our United
States of America. //

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(Smith/Cawley)
March 15, 1991
5 P.M.
TOAST

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STATE DINING ROOM
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20, 1991
7 P.M.

Mr. President, Mrs. Walesa, and members of the Polish delegation. Two years ago, Barbara and I had the privilege of dining at your home. Today, we are pleased to return that favor. We welcome to America's home a first citizen of the globe. //

A Polish writer once observed, "The character of a people is embodied in its leaders." // That is true of tonight's honored guest. / Eight years ago, you were forbidden from visiting Norway to accept the Nobel Peace Prize. / Tonight, America salutes you as an apostle of peace throughout the world. //

Some leaders reflect their time. Mr. President, you have defined your time. // You have been resolute in defeat and magnanimous in victory. // You have fought to preserve liberty for all: For individuals, choice. For society, pluralism. For nations, self-determination. // To a crisis of the spirit, you supplied an answer of the spirit. An answer forged upon trust in God and man.

Poland suffered through a winter of suffering that endured for centuries. But you and your countrymen have delivered Poland into a springtime of thrilling possibility. // You have brought us all to the verge of a new and freer world. You helped a Nation, and a planet, summon lightness against the dark. //

You have delivered the message of freedom everywhere. Kuwait's liberated people will tell how Poland helped guarantee that naked aggression would not stand. // Go to Gdansk or Warsaw. They know that by rediscovering its past, Poland is uplifting the future. // Mr. President, under you Poles have learned anew that the individual, not the State, is the voice of tomorrow. // You have used that voice to unlock minds, and boundaries. Enlarging Poland's horizons -- and helping define a New World Order. //

For that, I thank you on behalf of every American. //

Let me close with a story that shows off the spiritual ties that bind our lands. // It happened in 1776 -- when America was at a turning point in its history. A great Polish patriot fought with the colonies -- then returned to Poland with a simple three-word message. // Today -- 200 years later -- you have returned General Kosciuszko's [ko-SHOO-sko] message to the country of its birth: Freedom. Property. Sovereignty. //

These words inspired our coalition in the Gulf. // They form the very heart of the Joint Declaration of Principles we signed today. //

Our two countries share the majestic free eagle as our national symbol. Fearless. / Resolute. / Soaring. / Free. // How can tanks or guns combat the Bill of Rights, or Kosciuszko's [ko-SHOO-sko] Act of Insurrection? How can bullets outlast the ballots that express the essence of self-government? //

Mr. President, they cannot -- will not. Not in Gdansk, not Budapest, not the Gulf. // The lamp of liberty is political and economic, religious and intellectual. Let us help raise it before the community of Nations. / In that spirit, let us raise our glasses:

- To Polish-American friendship;
- To the health of my dear friend;
- And to the liberty we can, and must, achieve for all the children of the world. Mr. President, "Sto lat." [STOW-lot]. May you live 100 years.

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

31 MAR 18 P3:04

DATE: 03/15/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 p.m. Monday 03/18

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WALES A ARRIVAL and
PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WALES A TOAST

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☐	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	ROGICH	☒	☐
BRADY	☐	☒	UNTERMAYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☒	ROGERS	☐	☒
DEMAREST	☒	☐	SNOW	☐	☒
FITZWATER	☐	☒	FIRESTONE	☐	☒
GRAY	☒	☐	PORTER ROSE	☐	☒
HOLIDAY	☒	☐		☐	☐

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RESPONSE:

OK - S.R.

PHILLIP D. BRADY
 Assistant to the President
 and Staff Secretary
 Ext. 2702

91 MAR 15 1991
(Smith, Cawley)
March 15, 1991
2 P.M. 454
LECH

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(Smith/Cawley)
March 15, 1991
5 P.M.
TOAST

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

01 MAR 18 P2:39

DATE: 03/15/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 p.m. Monday 03/18

SUBJECT: WALESA ARRIVAL and
PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WALESA TOAST

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☐	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	ROGICH	☒	☐
BRADY	☐	☒	UNTERMAYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☒	<u>ROGERS</u>	☐	☒
DEMAREST	☒	☐	<u>SNOW</u>	☐	☒
FITZWATER	☐	☒	<u>FIRESTONE</u>	☐	☒
GRAY	☒	☐	<u>PORTER ROSE</u>	☐	☒
HOLIDAY	☒	☐	<u> </u>	☐	☐

REMARKS:

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RESPONSE:

NO COMMENTS. THANKS.

HOLLY WILLIAMSON
 3-18-91

PHILLIP D. BRADY
 Assistant to the President
 and Staff Secretary
 Ext. 2702

(Smith/Cawley)
March 15, 1991
5 P.M.
LECH

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God bless you. God bless your beloved land, and our United States of America. //

#

INSERT

Today I reaffirm America's strong commitment to your success. Despite the high costs of our military commitment in the Gulf conflict, I have asked Congress to increase our assistance to the new democracies of central and eastern Europe by half again last year's request -- up to nearly \$500 million in grant assistance for the coming year.

And I am particularly gratified that on March 15, the Paris Club agreed to a 50% reduction of Poland's official debt burden. As you know, Mr. President, the United States has worked long and hard to achieve this unprecedented agreement. And the United States will do still more: we will provide a further ten percent reduction, through a debt-for-environment exchange.

I am also announcing today creation of an American Business Initiative for Central and Eastern Europe. Through an American Business Center in Warsaw and other measures, this project will promote the expansion of U.S. trade and investment in the region.

To American business leaders, I say: Poland's economy has turned the corner. With President Walesa's strong commitment to rapid and complete economic reform, the new Poland offers great opportunities for U.S. trade and investment.

Mr. President, we want your economic transformation to succeed, and we want your democracy and independence to flourish.

Shortened
Version

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 18, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM: STEPHEN G. RADEMAKER *SR*
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Walesa Arrival and Walesa
Toast

Pursuant to Phil Brady's request, Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced matter and has no legal objection to the proposed remarks, though we were puzzled by the reference to Budapest on page 3 of the toast. It is not clear to us why Hungary should be singled out in this context.

cc: Phillip D. Brady