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

OA/ID Number: 13630
Folder ID Number: 13630-008

Folder Title:
Castle Square - Warsaw, Poland 7/5/92 [OA 5810]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	18	3	3

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 2, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVID F. DEMAREST *DD*
FROM: DAN MC GROARTY *DMG*
SUBJECT: PROPOSED REMARKS TO THE PEOPLE OF POLAND, CASTLE
SQUARE, WARSAW

I. SUMMARY

On Sunday, July 5 at 2:20 p.m. you will deliver remarks to an audience of about 10,000 in Castle Square, Warsaw, Poland.

II. DISCUSSION

Your remarks (approximately 9 minutes / cards), focus on Poland's progress toward free markets and democracy since the Revolution of '89.

Please note: the translation will be simultaneous.

McGroarty/Bunton
July 2, 1992
8:30 am
[WARSAW]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CASTLE SQUARE
WARSAW, POLAND
JULY 5, 1992
2:20 P.M.

Thank you, Mr. President, for those kind words.

[Acknowledgements.] Hello, Warsaw -- hello, Polska. Thank you all for this warm welcome. //

Barbara and I are honored today to come back once more -- to come home once more -- to the birthplace of the Revolution of '89.

Today is truly a homecoming: The day Poland welcomes home a part of its proud history -- a great patriot and patron of freedom. Through his long life, Ignacy Paderewski fought for a free and independent Poland. When independence came, Paderewski served as Prime Minister of your new nation. When occupation came, he joined the Polish government in exile. And when he died, America gave this great friend of freedom a place alongside our honored dead in Arlington Cemetery: To rest -- in the words of Franklin D. Roosevelt -- "until Poland would be free." //

Few knew then how many dark days would come and go -- how many lifetimes would pass -- until this day. When years passed without fanfare or ceremony -- when a small, simple marker took the place of a larger stone -- Poles understood. In five years or fifty years, Paderewski would one day come home / to Polish

soil. // Today, a patriot has come home. Today, Poland is free. //

On this Sunday -- from St. John's Cathedral to the village churches of Zakopane [Zah-koh-pahn-eh] -- the bells toll not simply the solemn requiem -- but a new beginning, a new birth of freedom, for Poland and its people.

It is a new beginning not just for Poland, but for all of Europe and the world. It is proper that we mark this new birth in your country. It was here, in Poland, that the Second World War began. It was here, in Poland, that the Cold War first cast its shadow. And it was here in Poland that the people at long last brought the Cold War to an end. //

I've said many times that in the deepest sense, the Cold War was a war of ideas -- a contest between two ways of life. The rulers of the old regime claimed they saw the triumph of totalitarian ideal written in the laws of history. They failed to see the love of freedom written in the human heart. //

I recall my last visit to Poland: The fierce defiance and determination in the faces of the workers gathered in what was then called the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk -- the warmth and welcome for America made plain to Barbara and me by you, the good people of Warsaw. //

Think of the new world that's emerged these past three years: Europe -- whole and free. Russia -- turning from dictatorship to democracy. Ukraine and the other new nations of the old Soviet empire -- free and independent. Look at this new

world, and remember where that revolution began -- here, in Poland. //

Today, Poland stands transformed. Your bold economic reforms have earned the world's admiration and support -- and what's more, they are working. Shelves that once stood empty are now stocked with goods. Gone is the old Communist Party headquarters -- now home to the Warsaw Stock Exchange, and the Polish-America Enterprise Fund, providing seed capital to help Poland prosper. Gone are the slogans and the sham reality. Everywhere, you hear new voices, new hope. Freedom has come home to Poland. //

For all that is new, there are things that have not changed -- things that sustained you through your darkest days: Polish strength -- Polish spirit -- Polish pride. //

Reaching your dreams will be difficult. I know that the sheer volume of new voices can sometimes be deafening -- but in the clamor of new voices is not discord, but democracy. //

Of course, in many places, and for many people, there is more pain than progress -- real hardship, resulting from 40 years of Communist mis-rule. But make no mistake: the path you have chosen is the right path. Free government and free enterprise have helped Poland overcome a crippling past. Free government and free markets will bring Poland a bright future. //

Poland is no stranger to sacrifice. Many times before, you were asked to "do without" for the greater good of the State. Today is different: This time, yours is a sacrifice blessed by

freedom -- the sacrifice of a nation determined to make its destiny democracy.

Let there be no doubt: America shares Poland's dream.
America wants Poland to succeed. //

[[In the fall of 1989 -- in the early moments of Poland's revolution -- the United States took the lead in creating a \$1 billion fund to stabilize the Polish zloty. That stabilization fund helped support the market reforms that now fuel Poland's growing prosperity. Now, with the success of your reforms, the time has come to take the next step -- to start planning for the day the stabilization fund can be harnessed for new uses.

To that end, once Poland has reached agreement with the IMF on its economic program, the U.S. is prepared to convert its portion of the fund to support the next stage of Poland's reform. Because of your hard work -- because of your energy and enterprise -- Poland's progress is entering a new phase: and I will urge my partners at the Munich Summit to follow our lead.
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We mark today not simply the memory of a great Polish patriot -- we celebrate the men of moral courage who sustain this nation: Lech Walesa. Father Popieluszko. Pope John Paul II.
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But Poland could not have come this far -- Poland could not have won its freedom if only a few had the courage to stand against the State. Freedom was won by the every-day heroes of the underground: The men and women who kept faith when faith was

forbidden -- who spoke the truth against a wall of lies. The true heroes of democracy: the people of Poland. //

Your strength of spirit drives away all doubt: Poland will succeed. // Poland will succeed because Poles have made this journey before. In a strange new world called America -- in the stockyards of Chicago, in the steelworks of Cleveland, in a thousand towns thousands of miles from this land they loved, Poles worked and worshipped and built a better life. Polish hands -- building the American Dream. Now at long last, Poles can build that dream -- here at home. //

As President / as a fellow democrat / as friend of a free Poland, I bring this message: America stands with you. America wants Poland to succeed. America wants Poland to prosper. America wants Poland -- now and forever -- to be free. //

Barbara and I thank all of Warsaw for this warm welcome -- and may God bless the free people of Poland.

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 7/2/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ---PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CASTLE SQUARE
WARSAW, POLANDSUBJECT: _____
JULY 5, 1992 - 2:20 P.M.

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	HORNER	☐	☐
SKINNER	☐	☒	MCBRIDE	☐	☒
SCOWCROFT	☐	☒	MOORE	☐	☒
DARMAN	☐	☒	PETERSMEYER	☐	☒
BRADY	☐	☒	PORTER	☐	☒
BROMLEY	☐	☐	SMITH	☐	☒
CALIO	☐	☒	YEUTTER	☐	☒
DEMAREST	☐	☒	FINDLAY	☐	☒
FITZWATER	☐	☒	KAUFMAN	☐	☒
GRAY	☐	☒	MCGROARTY	☐	☒
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

22 JUL 2 A10:19

July 2, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVID F. DEMAREST *DD*
FROM: DAN MC GROARTY *DMG*
SUBJECT: PROPOSED REMARKS TO THE PEOPLE OF POLAND, CASTLE
SQUARE, WARSAW

I. SUMMARY

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II. DISCUSSION

Your remarks (approximately 9 minutes / cards), focus on Poland's progress toward free markets and democracy since the Revolution of '89.

Please note: the translation will be simultaneous.

McGroarty/Bunton
July 2, 1992
8:30 am
[WARSAW]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CASTLE SQUARE
WARSAW, POLAND
JULY 5, 1992
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Thank you, Mr. President, for those kind words.

[Acknowledgements.] Hello, Warsaw -- hello, Polska. Thank you all for this warm welcome. //

Barbara and I are honored today to come back once more -- to come home once more -- to the birthplace of the Revolution of '89.

Today is truly a homecoming: The day Poland welcomes home a part of its proud history -- a great patriot and patron of freedom. Through his long life, Ignacy Paderewski fought for a free and independent Poland. When independence came, Paderewski served as Prime Minister of your new nation. When occupation came, he joined the Polish government in exile. And when he died, America gave this great friend of freedom a place alongside our honored dead in Arlington Cemetery: To rest -- in the words of Franklin D. Roosevelt -- "until Poland would be free." //

Few knew then how many dark days would come and go -- how many lifetimes would pass -- until this day. When years passed without fanfare or ceremony -- when a small, simple marker took the place of a larger stone -- Poles understood. In five years or fifty years, Paderewski would one day come home / to Polish

soil. // Today, a patriot has come home. Today, Poland is free. //

On this Sunday -- from St. John's Cathedral to the village churches of Zakopane [Zah-koh-pahn-eh] -- the bells toll not simply the solemn requiem -- but a new beginning, a new birth of freedom, for Poland and its people.

It is a new beginning not just for Poland, but for all of Europe and the world. It is proper that we mark this new birth in your country. It was here, in Poland, that the Second World War began. It was here, in Poland, that the Cold War first cast its shadow. And it was here in Poland that the people at long last brought the Cold War to an end. //

I've said many times that in the deepest sense, the Cold War was a war of ideas -- a contest between two ways of life. The rulers of the old regime claimed they saw the triumph of totalitarian ideal written in the laws of history. They failed to see the love of freedom written in the human heart. //

I recall my last visit to Poland: The fierce defiance and determination in the faces of the workers gathered in what was then called the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk -- the warmth and welcome for America made plain to Barbara and me by you, the good people of Warsaw. //

Think of the new world that's emerged these past three years: Europe -- whole and free. Russia -- turning from dictatorship to democracy. Ukraine and the other new nations of the old Soviet empire -- free and independent. Look at this new

world, and remember where that revolution began -- here, in Poland. //

Today, Poland stands transformed. Your bold economic reforms have earned the world's admiration and support -- and what's more, they are working. Shelves that once stood empty are now stocked with goods. Gone is the old Communist Party headquarters -- now home to the Warsaw Stock Exchange, and the Polish-America Enterprise Fund, providing seed capital to help Poland prosper. Gone are the slogans and the sham reality. Everywhere, you hear new voices, new hope. Freedom has come home to Poland. //

For all that is new, there are things that have not changed -- things that sustained you through your darkest days: Polish strength -- Polish spirit -- Polish pride. //

Reaching your dreams will be difficult. I know that the sheer volume of new voices can sometimes be deafening -- but in the clamor of new voices is not discord, but democracy. //

Of course, in many places, and for many people, there is more pain than progress -- real hardship, resulting from 40 years of Communist mis-rule. But make no mistake: the path you have chosen is the right path. Free government and free enterprise have helped Poland overcome a crippling past. Free government and free markets will bring Poland a bright future. //

Poland is no stranger to sacrifice. Many times before, you were asked to "do without" for the greater good of the State. Today is different: This time, yours is a sacrifice blessed by

freedom -- the sacrifice of a nation determined to make its destiny democracy.

Let there be no doubt: America shares Poland's dream.
America wants Poland to succeed. //

[[In the fall of 1989 -- in the early moments of Poland's revolution -- the United States took the lead in creating a \$1 billion fund to stabilize the Polish zloty. That stabilization fund helped support the market reforms that now fuel Poland's growing prosperity. Now, with the success of your reforms, the time has come to take the next step -- to start planning for the day the stabilization fund can be harnessed for new uses.

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forbidden -- who spoke the truth against a wall of lies. The true heroes of democracy: the people of Poland. //

Your strength of spirit drives away all doubt: Poland will succeed. // Poland will succeed because Poles have made this journey before. In a strange new world called America -- in the stockyards of Chicago, in the steelworks of Cleveland, in a thousand towns thousands of miles from this land they loved, Poles worked and worshipped and built a better life. Polish hands -- building the American Dream. Now at long last, Poles can build that dream -- here at home. //

As President / as a fellow democrat / as friend of a free Poland, I bring this message: America stands with you. America wants Poland to succeed. America wants Poland to prosper. America wants Poland -- now and forever -- to be free. //

Barbara and I thank all of Warsaw for this warm welcome -- and may God bless the free people of Poland.

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 6/30/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 1:00 Wed., July 1PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CASTLE SQUARE
WARSAW, POLANDSUBJECT: _____
JULY 5, 1992

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	HORNER	☐	☐
SKINNER	☐	☒	MCBRIDE	☐	☒
SCOWCROFT SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	X MOORE	☒	☐
DARMAN <i>N/C</i>	☒	☐	PETERSMEYER	☒	☐
BRADY	☐	☒	PORTER <i>N/C</i>	☒	☐
BROMLEY	☐	☐	SMITH <i>N/C</i>	☒	☐
CALIO <i>N/C</i>	☒	☐	YEUTTER	☐	☒
X DEMAREST	☒	☐	FINDLAY	☐	☒
FITZWATER	☐	☒	KAUFMAN	☐	☒
GRAY <i>N/C</i>	☒	☐	MCGROARTY	☐	☒
HOLIDAY <i>NK</i>	☒	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Dan McGroarty,
Rm 122, Ext. 2930, NO LATER THAN 1:00 P.M. WEDNESDAY,
JULY 1, with a copy to this office.

Thank you.

RESPONSE:

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

McGroarty/Bunton
June 30, 1992
9:00 am
[WARSAW]

02 JUN 30 P12:15

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CASTLE SQUARE
WARSAW, POLAND
JULY 5, 1992
--:00 A.M.

Thank you, Mr. President, for those kind words.

[Acknowledgements.] Hello, Warsaw -- hello, Polska. //

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I recall my last visit to Poland: The fierce defiance and determination in the faces of the workers gathered in what was then called the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk -- the warmth and welcome for America made plain to Barbara and me by you, the good people of Warsaw. //

It is a wonder to see just how much has changed in the short span of three years. Shelves that once stood empty are now stocked with goods. Gone is the old Communist Party headquarters -- now home to the Warsaw Stock Exchange. Gone are the slogans

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Freedom has come home to Poland. //

For all that is new, there is the one thing that has not
changed -- the one thing that sustained you through your darkest
days: Polish strength -- Polish spirit -- Polish pride. //

Reaching your dreams will be difficult. I know that the
sheer volume of new voices can sometimes be deafening -- but in
the clamor of new voices is not discord, but democracy. //

And I know that here in Warsaw, and in cities and towns
across Poland, this transition has often produced more pain than
progress. But we must take care to separate cause from
consequence: Poland's time of trial is not caused by these
first, difficult years of democracy -- but by the lingering
legacy of four decades of communist mis-rule. //

Poland is no stranger to sacrifice. Many times before, you
were asked to "do without" for the greater good of the State.
Today is different: This time, yours is a sacrifice blessed by
freedom -- the sacrifice of a nation determined to make its
destiny democracy.

Poland has made real progress. [Announce our economic
initiative.]

We mark today not simply the memory of a great Polish
patriot -- we celebrate the men of moral courage who sustain this
nation: Lech Walesa. Father Popielusczko. Pope John Paul II.
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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

92 JUL 2 9:39
DATE: 6/30/92

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 1:00 Wed., July 1

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CASTLE SQUARE
SUBJECT: WARSAW, POLAND

JULY 5, 1992

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	HORNER	☐	☐
SKINNER	☐	☒	MCBRIDE	☐	☒
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	MOORE	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	PETERSMEYER	☒	☐
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CALIO	☒	☐	YEUTTER	☐	☒
DEMAREST	☒	☐	FINDLAY	☐	☒
FITZWATER	☐	☒	KAUFMAN	☐	☒
GRAY	☒	☐	MCGROARTY	☐	☒
HOLIDAY	☒	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

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JULY 1, with a copy to this office.

Thank you.

RESPONSE:

No comment

*R. Brady may respond
at a later time*

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

McGroarty/Bunton
June 30, 1992
9:00 am
[WARSAW]

02 JUN 30 P12:15

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CASTLE SQUARE
WARSAW, POLAND
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#

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 1, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR DANIEL MCGROARTY

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

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Castle Square, Warsaw,
Poland

Pursuant to Phil Brady's request, Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced matter and has no objection to the proposed presidential remarks.

cc: Phillip D. Brady

92 JUL 1 P4:47

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 1, 1992

92 JUL 1 11:52

MEMORANDUM FOR DAN MCGROARTY

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Castle Square

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

cc: Phillip D. Brady

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

JH
-wm

DATE: 6/30/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 1:00 Wed., July 1

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CASTLE SQUARE
SUBJECT: WARSAW, POLAND

JULY 5, 1992

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
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Thank you.

RESPONSE:

No Comments

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

2 JUN 30 P12:15

McGroarty/Bunton
June 30, 1992
9:00 am
[WARSAW]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CASTLE SQUARE
WARSAW, POLAND
JULY 5, 1992
--:00 A.M.

Thank you, Mr. President, for those kind words.

[Acknowledgements.] Hello, Warsaw -- hello, Polska. //

Barbara and I are honored today to come back once more -- to come home once more -- to the birthplace of the Revolution of '89.

Today is truly a homecoming: The day Poland welcomes home a part of its proud history -- a great patriot and patron of freedom. Through his long life, Ignacy Paderewski fought for a free and independent Poland. When independence came, Paderewski served as Prime Minister of your new nation. When occupation came, he joined the Polish government in exile. And when he died, America gave this great friend of freedom a place alongside our honored dead in Arlington Cemetery: To rest -- in the words of Franklin D. Roosevelt -- "until Poland would be free." //

Few knew then how many dark days would come and go -- how many lifetimes would pass -- until this day. When years passed without fanfare or ceremony -- when a small, simple marker took the place of a larger stone -- Poles understood. In five years or fifty years, Paderewski would one day come home to Polish

soil. // Today, a patriot has come home. Today, Poland is free.
//

On this Sunday -- from St. John's Cathedral to the village churches of Zakopane [Zah-koh-pahn-eh] -- the bells toll not simply the solemn requiem -- but a new beginning, a new birth of freedom, for Poland and its people.

It is a new beginning not just for Poland, but for all of Europe and the world. It is proper that we mark this new birth in your country. It was here, in Poland, that the Second World War began. It was here, in Poland, that the Cold War first cast its shadow. And it was here in Poland that the people at long last brought the Cold War to an end. //

I've said many times that in the deepest sense, the Cold War was a war of ideas -- a contest between two ways of life. The rulers of the old regime claimed they saw the triumph of totalitarian ideal written in the laws of history. They failed to see the love of freedom written in the human heart. //

I recall my last visit to Poland: The fierce defiance and determination in the faces of the workers gathered in what was then called the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk -- the warmth and welcome for America made plain to Barbara and me by you, the good people of Warsaw. //

It is a wonder to see just how much has changed in the short span of three years. Shelves that once stood empty are now stocked with goods. Gone is the old Communist Party headquarters -- now home to the Warsaw Stock Exchange. Gone are the slogans

and the sham reality. Everywhere, you hear new voices, new hope.
Freedom has come home to Poland. //

For all that is new, there is the one thing that has not
changed -- the one thing that sustained you through your darkest
days: Polish strength -- Polish spirit -- Polish pride. //

Reaching your dreams will be difficult. I know that the
sheer volume of new voices can sometimes be deafening -- but in
the clamor of new voices is not discord, but democracy. //

And I know that here in Warsaw, and in cities and towns
across Poland, this transition has often produced more pain than
progress. But we must take care to separate cause from
consequence: Poland's time of trial is not caused by these
first, difficult years of democracy -- but by the lingering
legacy of four decades of communist mis-rule. //

Poland is no stranger to sacrifice. Many times before, you
were asked to "do without" for the greater good of the State.
Today is different: This time, yours is a sacrifice blessed by
freedom -- the sacrifice of a nation determined to make its
destiny democracy.

Poland has made real progress. [Announce our economic
initiative.]

We mark today not simply the memory of a great Polish
patriot -- we celebrate the men of moral courage who sustain this
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But Poland could not have come this far -- Poland could not have won its freedom if only a few had the courage to stand against the State. Freedom was won by the every-day heroes of the underground: The men and women who kept faith when faith was forbidden -- who spoke the truth against a wall of lies. The true heroes of democracy: the people of Poland. //

Your strength of spirit drives away all doubt: Poland will succeed. // Poland will succeed because Poles have made this journey before. In a strange new world called America -- in the stockyards of Chicago, in the steelworks of Cleveland, in a thousand towns thousands of miles from this land they loved, Poles worked and worshipped and built a better life. Polish hands -- building the American Dream. Now at long last, Poles can build a new world here at home. //

As President / as a fellow democrat / as friend of a free Poland, I bring this message: America stands with you. America wants Poland to succeed. America wants Poland to prosper. America wants Poland -- now and forever -- to be free. //

Barbara and I thank all of Warsaw for this warm welcome -- and may God bless the free people of Poland.

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5224

Document No. 335748ss

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 6/30/92 **JUL 1 P2:30** ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 1:00 Wed., July 1SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CASTLE SQUARE
WARSAW, POLAND
JULY 5, 1992

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	HORNER	☐	☐
SKINNER	☐	☒	MCBRIDE	☐	☒
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	MOORE	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	PETERSMEYER	☒	☐
BRADY	☐	☒	PORTER	☒	☐
BROMLEY	☐	☐	SMITH	☒	☐
CALIO	☒	☐	YEUTTER	☐	☒
DEMAREST	☒	☐	FINDLAY	☐	☒
FITZWATER	☐	☒	KAUFMAN	☐	☒
GRAY	☒	☐	MCGROARTY	☐	☒
HOLIDAY	☒	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Dan McGroarty,
Rm 122, Ext. 2930, NO LATER THAN 1:00 P.M. WEDNESDAY,
JULY 1, with a copy to this office.

Thank you.

RESPONSE:

July 1, 1992

NSC concurs with changes as indicated.

*Would like
to review
next draft.*

Brent Scowcroft
Brent Scowcroft

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

McGroarty/Bunton
June 28, 1992
9:00 pm
[WARSAW]

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WARSAW, POLAND
JULY 5, 1992
--:00 A.M.??

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come home once more -- to the birthplace of the Revolution of
'89.

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part of its proud history -- a great patriot and patron of
freedom. Through his long life, Ignacy^c Paderewski fought for a
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Think of what we have achieved together in the three years since my last visit! Poland led the way to a democratic revolution that has swept two continents. Europe, so long divided, stands whole and free. Russia, Ukraine, and the other new independent states have made historic decisions for democracy and partnership. As we stand at the threshold of a new order of democratic peace, Poland's success is all the more important, for Poland is leading the way for others. Poland must succeed.

~~to see the love of freedom written in the human heart.~~ //

~~I recall my last visit to Poland.~~ *During that last visit,* Change was in the air -- in the fierce defiance and determination in the faces of the workers gathered in what was then called the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk. In the warmth and welcome for America made plain to Barbara and me by you, the good people of Warsaw. //

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Today I see a different country than the Poland of 1989. Your bold economic reforms have earned the world's admiration and support, and they are working. The evidence is all around us: a prospering market economy is rising from the ashes of the old system. Down the street, our Polish-American Enterprise Fund, operating out of the old Communist Party headquarters, is providing capital to private Polish businesses.

Of course, alongside this thrilling progress are the hardships resulting from 40 years of Communist misrule. But make no mistake: the path you have chosen -- democracy and free markets -- is the right one. It has brought you the success you have achieved already; it is the key to your hopes for the future.

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For all that is new, there is the one thing that has not changed -- the one thing that sustained you in through your darkest days: Polish strength -- Polish spirit -- Polish pride.

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Reaching your dreams will be difficult. I know that the sheer volume of new voices can sometimes be deafening -- but in the clamor of new voices ^{you must hammer out a modern democracy and a} ~~is not discord, but democracy.~~ // ^{common determination to move your country forward.}

~~[And I know that here in Warsaw, and in cities and towns~~ across Poland, this transition has often produced more pain than progress. But we must take care to separate cause from consequence: the dislocations you feel are not caused by these first, difficult years of democracy -- they are the lingering legacy of four decades of communist mis-rule.]

Poland is no stranger to sacrifice. [↓] ~~Many times before, you were asked to "do without" for the greater good of the State. Today is different: This time, yours is a sacrifice blessed by freedom -- the sacrifice of a nation determined to make its destiny democracy.~~

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CASTLE SQUARE SPEECH: INSERT (p. 3)

In the fall of 1989, as Poland was launching its historic reforms, the United States helped organize a \$1 billion stabilization fund to back the zloty as Poland made its currency convertible. Now with the success of your reforms, it is time to start planning for the day when the stabilization fund will no longer be needed.

When that day comes, I believe the stabilization fund should not be closed out but harnessed to new uses as Poland moves to the next stage of its transition to a prospering market economy. Accordingly, the United States is prepared to convert its \$200 million grant to new productive uses once Poland reaches agreement with the IMF on an economic program. These resources could be used to help Poland develop a modern and efficient banking system or to create a facility to help finance Polish exports. Both ideas would facilitate Poland's integration into the world economy. I have suggested to our G-7 partners that they also consider continuing their commitments, so that as much as possible of the \$1 billion fund can be made available to Poland for new uses. I will pursue this idea at our G-7 Summit that begins tomorrow in Munich.

These new possibilities are made possible by the hard work and resolve of this generation of Poles and their solidarity with those of generations past.

23 lines.

WALTERS

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDE

30-Jun-1992 05:32pm

TO: (See Below)
FROM: Drucillia S. Scaling
Office of Communications
SUBJECT: Warsaw due Thursday 1 pm to Room 122

McGroarty/Bunton
June 28, 1992
9:00 pm

[WARSAW]

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'89.

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part of its proud history -- a great patriot and patron of
freedom. Through his long life, Ignazy Paderewski^[phoenetic] fought for a
free and independent Poland. When independence came, Paderewski
served as Prime Minister of your new nation. When occupation
came, he led the Polish government in exile. And when he died,

perhaps point out that it was in
our nation's capital too.

America gave this great friend of freedom a place alongside our honored dead in Arlington Cemetery. To rest -- in the words of Franklin D. Roosevelt -- "until Poland would be free." //

Few knew then how many dark days would come and go -- how many lifetimes would pass -- until this day. When years passed without fanfare or ceremony -- when a small, simple marker took the place of a larger stone -- Poles understood. In five years or fifty years, Paderewski would one day come home to Polish soil. //

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And I know that here in Warsaw, and in cities and towns across Poland, this transition has often produced more pain than progress. But we must take care to separate cause from consequence: the [dislocations] you ~~feel~~ are not caused by these first, difficult years of democracy -- they are the lingering legacy of four decades of communist mis-rule.

Poland is no stranger to sacrifice. Many times before, you were asked to "do without" for the greater good of the State. Today is different: This time, yours is a sacrifice blessed by freedom -- the sacrifice of a nation determined to make its destiny democracy. [And this time, your sacrifice promises a better life for you and for your children.]

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#

F41 -

About 4 pages of Dan's notes appear after this in the e-mail I got.



Dan - NSC beats a deadline!
This is an early advance copy;
I'm sending it across the street
tonight. (The language in the
insert doesn't "sing," but I
did the best I could.) - Bob Hutchins

McGroarty/Bunton
June 28, 1992
9:00 pm
[WARSAW]

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Thank you, Mr. President, for those kind words.

[Acknowledgements.] Hello, Warsaw -- hello, Polska. //

Barbara and I are honored today to come back once more -- to come home once more -- to the birthplace of the Revolution of '89.

Today is truly a homecoming: The day Poland welcomes home a part of its proud history -- a great patriot and patron of freedom. Through his long life, Ignacy Paderewski fought for a free and independent Poland. When independence came, Paderewski served as Prime Minister of your new nation. When occupation came, he joined the Polish government in exile. And when he died, America gave this great friend of freedom a place alongside our honored dead in Arlington Cemetery: To rest -- in the words of Franklin D. Roosevelt -- "until Poland would be free." //

Few knew then how many dark days would come and go -- how many lifetimes would pass -- until this day. When years passed without fanfare or ceremony -- when a small, simple marker took the place of a larger stone -- Poles understood. In five years or fifty years, Paderewski would one day come home to Polish

soil. // Today, a patriot has come home. Today, Poland is free.
//

On this Sunday -- from St. John's Cathedral to the village churches of Zakopane [Zah-koh-pahn-eh] -- the bells toll not simply the solemn requiem -- but a new beginning, a new birth of freedom, for Poland and its people.

It is a new beginning not just for Poland, but for all of Europe and the world. It is proper that we mark this new birth in your country. It was here, in Poland, that the Second World War began. It was here, in Poland, that the Cold War first cast its shadow. And it was here in Poland that the people at long last brought the Cold War to an end. //

I've said many times that in the deepest sense, the Cold War was a war of ideas -- a contest between two ways of life. The rulers of the old regime claimed they saw the triumph of totalitarian ideal written in the laws of history. They failed to see the love of freedom written in the human heart. //

I recall my last visit to Poland: The fierce defiance and determination in the faces of the workers gathered in what was then called the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk -- the warmth and welcome for America made plain to Barbara and me by you, the good people of Warsaw. //

It is a wonder to see just how much has changed in the short span of three years. Shelves that once stood empty are now stocked with goods. Gone is the old Communist Party headquarters -- now home to the Warsaw Stock Exchange. Gone are the slogans

and the sham reality. Everywhere, you hear new voices, new hope.
Freedom has come home to Poland. //

For all that is new, there is the one thing that has not
changed -- the one thing that sustained you through your darkest
days: Polish strength -- Polish spirit -- Polish pride. //

Reaching your dreams will be difficult. I know that the
sheer volume of new voices can sometimes be deafening -- but in
the clamor of new voices is not discord, but democracy. //

And I know that here in Warsaw, and in cities and towns
across Poland, this transition has often produced more pain than
progress. But we must take care to separate cause from
consequence: Poland's time of trial is not caused by these
first, difficult years of democracy -- but by the lingering
legacy of four decades of communist mis-rule. //

Poland is no stranger to sacrifice. Many times before, you
were asked to "do without" for the greater good of the State.
Today is different: This time, yours is a sacrifice blessed by
freedom -- the sacrifice of a nation determined to make its
destiny democracy.

Poland has made real progress. [Announce our economic
initiative.]

We mark today not simply the memory of a great Polish
patriot -- we celebrate the men of moral courage who sustain this
nation: Lech Walesa. Father Popielusczko. Pope John Paul II.

//

But Poland could not have come this far -- Poland could not have won its freedom if only a few had the courage to stand against the State. Freedom was won by the every-day heroes of the underground: The men and women who kept faith when faith was forbidden -- who spoke the truth against a wall of lies. The true heroes of democracy: the people of Poland. //

Your strength of spirit drives away all doubt: Poland will succeed. // Poland will succeed because Poles have made this journey before. In a strange new world called America -- in the stockyards of Chicago, in the steelworks of Cleveland, in a thousand towns thousands of miles from this land they loved, Poles worked and worshipped and built a better life. Polish hands -- building the American Dream. Now at long last, Poles can build a new world here at home. //

As President / as a fellow democrat / as friend of a free Poland, I bring this message: America stands with you. America wants Poland to succeed. America wants Poland to prosper. America wants Poland -- now and forever -- to be free. //

Barbara and I thank all of Warsaw for this warm welcome -- and may God bless the free people of Poland.

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Remarks Following Discussions With President Lech Walesa of Poland in Warsaw

July 5, 1992

President Walesa. I'd like to state once again that we owe a great deal to America. We'd like to pay tribute to the President and try to do everything to retain the interest of the States and of Mr. President, and at the same time making it as good as possible for America.

American involvement in leading towards democracy was great. And in Poland, American involvement is necessary for Europe. We simply cannot envisage Europe without an American presence.

It is not safe at all here after the dismantling of the Soviet Union, only today the dangers are somewhat different. And I am convinced that without U.S. presence we won't make it at all. That is why I wish to thank the President and to thank America for everything that Central Europe has achieved, particularly in this very special moment, and hoping for the presence of the President and of America in order for us to be successful. It can be successful; it can be great business; however, only if we do it together.

Once more I wish to welcome you most cordially, Mr. President and your delegation. And I would wish you less problems with this part of the world.

President Bush. And may I just respond and tell the Polish side here what I've just told President Walesa, and that is we have every intention of remaining involved. We appreciate the President's understanding of the importance of NATO. And we feel that a vigorous trade between Poland and the United States is in our interests as well as Poland's.

So I told the President we would do everything we can to keep the United States involved, to keep a strong NATO, to stay in touch on the security side of things, and then to figure out what we can do to go forward on the trade matters because we think he has properly assessed the security concerns and economic concerns in Europe, and we want to continue to be helpful. And we will be. We will be.

There is a great affection in the United States for Poland, as you know from your visits there. And the fact that Poland wants us to do what we're doing, stay involved, to be constructive partners, that's very helpful for the United States, too. So thank you for your hospitality.

Note: The remarks began at 12:45 p.m. in the Green Room at the Royal Palace. President Walesa spoke in Polish, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks to Polish Citizens in Warsaw

July 5, 1992

Thank you, Mr. President, for those very kind words. And good afternoon to Mrs. Walesa. It's a pleasure to be back here. I'm pleased that the U.S. Presidential delegation headed by our own Secretary Derwinski could be here today.

So hello, Warsaw, and hello, Poland. Thank you all for this warm welcome. Barbara and I are honored to be back once more, to come home once more to the birthplace of the Revolution of '89. And I'm especially pleased to come here from America's Fourth of July celebration of freedom and carry that same spirit to a free Poland.

This is truly a homecoming, the day Poland welcomes home a part of its proud history, a great patriot, a patron of freedom. You spoke eloquently of him. Through his long life, Ignacy Paderewski fought for a free and independent Poland. When independence came, Paderewski served as Prime Minister of your new nation. When occupation came, he joined the exiled government. And when he died, America gave this great friend of freedom a place alongside our honored dead in Arlington Cemetery to rest, in the words of our President Franklin Roosevelt, "that Poland would be free."

Few knew then how many dark days would come and go, how many lifetimes would pass until this day. When years passed without fanfare or ceremony, when a small, simple

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would one day come home to Polish soil.
Today, a patriot has come home. Today,
Poland is free. And what a magnificent day
this is. On this Sunday, from St. John's Ca-
thedral to the village churches of Zakopane,
the bells toll not simply the solemn requiem
but a new beginning, a new birth of freedom
for Poland and its people.

It's a new beginning not just for Poland
but for all of Europe and the world. It is
proper that we mark this new birth in your
country. It was here in Poland that the Sec-
ond World War began. It was here in Poland
that the cold war first cast its shadow. And
it was here in Poland that the people at long
last brought the cold war to an end.

I've said many times that in the deepest
sense, the cold war was a war of ideas, a con-
test between two ways of life. The rulers of
the old regime claimed they saw the triumph
of the totalitarian ideal written in the laws
of history. They failed to see the love of free-
dom written in the human heart.

I recall my last visit to Poland: The fierce
defiance and determination in the faces of
the workers gathered in what was then called
the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, the warmth
and the welcome for America made plain to
Barbara and me by you, the good people of
Poland. We'll never forget it.

Just think of the new world that's emerged
these past 3 years: Europe, whole and free;
Russia, turning from dictatorship to democ-
racy; Ukraine and the other nations of the
old Soviet empire, free and independent.
Look at this new world, and remember
where that revolution began: right here in
Poland.

Today, Poland stands transformed. Your
bold economic reforms have earned the
world's admiration and support. And what's
more, they're working. Shelves that once
stood empty are now stocked with goods.
Gone is the old Communist Party head-
quarters, now home to the Warsaw Stock Ex-
change and the Polish-America Enterprise
Fund, providing seed capital to help Poland's
private sector growth and prosper. Gone are
the slogans and the sham reality; everywhere
you hear new voices and new hope. Freedom
has come home to Poland.

For all that is new, there are things that
have not changed, things that sustained you
through the darkest days: Polish strength,
Polish spirit, Polish pride. Reaching your
dreams will be difficult. I know the sheer
volume of new voices can sometimes be deaf-
ening. But from the clamor of new voices
must come democracy, a common vision of
the common good.

Of course, in many places and for many
people there is more pain than progress. But
we must take care to separate cause from
consequence. Poland's time of trial is not
caused by private enterprise but by the stub-
born legacy of four decades of Communist
misrule. Make no mistake: The path you have
chosen is the right path. And as you say, Mr.
President, it is the path of pioneers. Free
government and free enterprise have helped
Poland overcome a crippling past. Free gov-
ernment and free markets will bring Poland
a bright future.

Poland is no stranger to sacrifice. Many
times before, you were asked to do without
for the greater good of the state. But today
is different. This time, yours is a sacrifice
blessed by freedom, the sacrifice of a nation
determined to make its destination democ-
racy.

Poland has made great progress in its re-
forms, moving this country to a new stage
in its economic revolution. As always, the
United States of America stands ready to
help. In 1989, the United States worked with
Poland and others to establish a \$1 billion
fund to help support a free currency for a
free Poland. Now we need to consider new
uses for that fund, to help Poland as it faces
today's challenges. That's why I am propos-
ing that once Poland is back on track with
the IMF that we make that fund available
for other uses, perhaps to finance Polish ex-
ports or to help capitalize banks to support
new businesses. The U.S. contribution alone
will amount to \$200 million.

This is a Polish and American idea that
I will take to the economic summit at Mu-
nich. There I will urge the leaders of the
world's great democracies to join with us to
seek new ways to help Poland toward
progress and prosperity. Let there be no
doubt: America shares Poland's dream.
America wants Poland to succeed. And we

will stand at your side until success is guaranteed to everyone.

We mark today not simply the memory of a great Polish patriot, we celebrate the men of moral courage who sustain this nation: President Lech Walesa, Father Popieluszko, Pope John Paul II. But Poland could not have come this far, Poland could not have won its freedom if only a few had the courage to stand up against the state. Freedom was won by the everyday heroes of the underground, the men and women who kept faith when faith was forbidden, who spoke the truth against a wall of lies, the true heroes of democracy: the people of Poland.

Your strength of spirit drives away all doubt: Poland will succeed. Poland will succeed because Poles have made this journey before. In a strange new world called America, in the stockyards of Chicago, in the steelworks of Cleveland, in a thousand towns thousands of miles from this land they love, Poles worked and worshipped and built a better life—Polish hands building the American dream. Now at long last, Poles can build that dream right here at home.

As President of the United States of America, as a fellow democrat, as friend of a free Poland, I bring this message: America stands with you. America wants Poland to succeed and to prosper. America wants Poland, now and forever, to be free.

Thank you all for this warm welcome. May God bless the free people of Poland. And may God bless both our great countries, Poland and the United States of America. Thank you, thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at approximately 2:30 p.m. at Castle Square. In his remarks, he referred to Father Jerzy Popieluszko, an anti-Communist priest who was murdered in 1984.

Munich Economic Summit: Yugoslavia Communiqué July 7, 1992

We, the leaders of our seven countries and representatives of the European Community are deeply concerned about the ongoing

Yugoslav crisis. We strongly condemn the use of violence in the former Yugoslavia and deplore the suffering inflicted upon its population. We particularly deplore those actions directed against civilian populations, as well as the forced expulsion of ethnic groups.

Although all parties have contributed to this state of affairs, the Serbian leadership and the Yugoslav army controlled by it bear the greatest share of the responsibility. We support the EC Conference on Yugoslavia chaired by Lord Carrington as the key forum for ensuring a durable and equitable political solution to the outstanding problems of the former Yugoslavia, including constitutional arrangements for Bosnia and Hercegovina.

We call on all parties to resume negotiations in that conference in good faith and without preconditions. We welcome the close consultations between the conference chaired by Lord Carrington, the EC, the U.N. and other parties concerned with the Yugoslav crisis.

These consultations could lead to the holding of a broader international conference to address unresolved questions, including issues related to minorities. We stress the absolute need for the parties in former Yugoslavia to show the will for peace which is indispensable to success and without which the peoples of former Yugoslavia will continue to suffer.

The tragic humanitarian situation, especially in Bosnia and Hercegovina, is unacceptable. We fully endorse as heads of state and government the efforts of the international community to provide relief. We welcome the efforts made in achieving the opening of the airport of Sarajevo, and we support actions taken by UNPROFOR to secure the airport.

The blockade of Sarajevo must be lifted, and the shelling of the town stopped in order to sustain a comprehensive relief operation. We express our gratitude to all participants in the airlift to Sarajevo and the supply of its population. We appeal to all parties in Bosnia and Hercegovina not to imperil humanitarian effort.

We firmly warn the parties concerned, including irregular forces, not to take any action that would endanger the lives of those engaged in the relief operation. Should these