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HERITAGE TALKING POINTS

A Checklist on Vital National Issues

George Bush's Trip to Poland and Hungary

July 9-13, 1989

Bringing the American Agenda to Eastern Europe

*By Leon Aron and
Douglas Seay*



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GEORGE BUSH'S TRIP TO POLAND AND HUNGARY

July 9 - 13, 1989

BRINGING THE AMERICAN AGENDA TO EASTERN EUROPE

INTRODUCTION

American Presidents do not visit Eastern Europe often. When George Bush goes there from July 9 to 13, it will be the first time that a President visits Hungary and only the fourth time a President visits Poland, the last being Jimmy Carter in 1979.

But as historically rare as Bush's July trip is, it is momentous for another reason: it offers the United States what may be an unprecedented opportunity to reengage in a region in which it has had little or no influence for most of this century. Previous Presidents have visited Eastern Europe mainly for the symbolism of venturing into the Soviet camp. George Bush's visit can be heavy with substance, offering Poland, Hungary, and — implicitly — the rest of Eastern Europe help in forging a future that breaks sharply with the past four decades.

Immediately following his trip to Poland and Hungary, Bush will head to Paris to attend his first economic summit with the leaders of Western Europe, Canada, and Japan. Because there are no major crises in U.S. relations with its allies, Bush can use this summit of Western leaders to share insights and ideas about his plans for the future of Eastern Europe.

Advancing U.S. Interests. The U.S. was last seriously involved in Eastern Europe during the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 when Woodrow Wilson and his envoys helped redraw Europe's map after World War I. During the 1920s and 1930s the U.S. became disengaged from the region, and with British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's abandonment of Czechoslovakia to Hitler in 1938, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria were lost to the West — coming first under Nazi domination and then, along with part of Germany, under Soviet control. The possibility now of a weakening Soviet grip on Eastern Europe and real reform in Poland and Hungary could open the way for the political, economic, and cultural reengagement of the U.S. in Eastern Europe — for bringing to this region the American agenda of political and economic democracy. This agenda advances U.S. interests because it would loosen the Soviet hold on Eastern Europe, create political stability in all of Europe, and help begin the long and painful process of creating market economies where they long have been suppressed. The Soviet Union, in fact, may be open to discussions with the U.S. on ways of relieving itself of the burdens of rule over Eastern Europe. Such discussions have been advocated by former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.¹

1 This is outlined in the Summer 1989 *Policy Review* article, "Waiting for Mr. X," by Burton Yale Pines.

Promoting East Europeans' Freedom. This agenda also would advance the interests of the East Europeans, promoting their right to freedom and self-determination and offering hope of someday ending the economic stagnation caused by years of communism.

American engagement in Eastern Europe should be seen as part of a broad strategy to move beyond merely containing Soviet power in Europe to reducing and eventually eliminating it entirely. This strategy of liberation, possibly taking years, should have clear aims: the withdrawal of Soviet forces completely or to token levels, democracy and self-determination, and a free market economy. This activist agenda of engagement, if adopted by Bush, could become the foreign policy hallmark of his presidency, and deservedly called the "Bush Doctrine."

This is a critical time for Eastern Europe. In Poland, Solidarity and the democratic opposition control the upper house of parliament. In Hungary, the government is consulting with American conservatives such as Richard Rahn of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce on how to introduce currency reforms into the economy.

These reforms and the new openness to Western ways, however, are reversible so long as the Soviet army remains a controlling force in Eastern Europe. In fact, the only guarantee of the irreversibility of reform in Eastern Europe is the withdrawal of most or all Soviet forces. This almost certainly will occur only by negotiations with the West. A top priority for crafting a new policy toward Eastern Europe thus should be to ensure that Western military capabilities are not reduced unilaterally, but are cut only as the Soviet threat recedes. Enduring freedom and self-determination in Eastern Europe require sound conventional arms control agreements that drastically reduce the Soviet military threat in Europe.

Laying the Foundation. Bush should use his visit to lay the foundation of a U.S. policy that promotes further reform and the disengagement of the Soviet Union from Eastern Europe. Bush's diplomatic challenge is to encourage additional democratic and free market reforms and further the withdrawal of Soviet control over the region without frightening either Moscow or the aging Communist Party rulers into cracking down on reform as China's leaders have.

Bush should devise a set of incentives to promote reform and a set of disincentives to deter its reversal. He should:

- ◆ ◆ Inform the Polish and Hungarian authorities of the criteria by which the U.S. will judge economic and political reforms. These criteria include: genuinely free elections, an independent judiciary, controls on the secret police, legal political parties, an end to restrictions on private entrepreneurship, price reforms, abandonment of central planning, moves toward a free capital and labor market, privatization of state-owned enterprises, and codification of commercial law.
- ◆ ◆ Tell the authorities that U.S. loans, high technology trade, management training, and cultural cooperation will be determined by how the above criteria are met.
- ◆ ◆ Tell the authorities privately that they will lose U.S. financial, technical, and managerial assistance if reforms are reversed and that

they will face possible diplomatic and economic sanctions in the case of a crackdown by hardliners or Soviet invasion.

◆ ◆ Tell the authorities and the people that reform plans based on the principles of minimal state interference, free enterprise, and private initiative will solve their economic crisis better than the statist and socialist models offered by Social Democrats and other leftists in Western Europe and Eastern Europe.

◆ ◆ Proclaim to the peoples of Poland and Hungary that he is on their side and supports their aspirations for greater freedom and democracy.

◆ ◆ Meet with Hungarian and Polish conservatives and advocates of a free market to boost their authority and help advance a non-socialist, private enterprise agenda for solving the economic crisis.

◆ ◆ Visit successful private entrepreneurs to demonstrate the dynamism of private initiative and enterprise.

◆ ◆ Laud the people's courage to resist communism and praise them for being the real force behind change and reform.

◆ ◆ Stress the historic bonds between America and the peoples of Eastern Europe, emphasizing the common roots in Western culture, religion, and civilization.

◆ ◆ Spend considerable time with the democratic opposition, rather than with officials, treating Lech Walesa as a true leader of the Polish nation.

◆ ◆ Pay tribute to the martyrs of the democratic opposition, laying a wreath, for example, at the grave of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution leader Imre Nagy and at the Gdansk monument to protesters killed by Poland's communist authorities in 1970.

◆ ◆ Say to Poland's and Hungary's officials and public that America supports the concept of "strict non-interference in the internal affairs of others" in Europe. A statement that the U.S. expects all countries to abide by the same principles would signal that a Soviet attempt to intervene militarily to stop reform would be vigorously opposed by the U.S.

Bush should give recognition and qualified praise to those policies by Gorbachev and the East European regimes that have relaxed repression and allowed limited economic and political reforms. He also should state U.S. willingness to discuss with all parties involved how full democracy and economic reconstruction can be achieved.

THE GOALS OF U.S. POLICY IN EASTERN EUROPE.

The importance of Eastern Europe to the U.S. stems from a geopolitical reality: as a Soviet-controlled territory, it is a potential launching pad for a Soviet invasion of Western Europe. The aims of U.S. policy, therefore, should be to reduce and eventually eliminate the Soviet domination of the region and to ensure that the re-integration of Eastern Europe into the world community is peaceful and contributes to European stability.

Until now, U.S. policy toward Soviet-controlled Eastern Europe has been largely confined to monitoring behavior of the Communist rulers, using a variety of diplomatic and economic means to encourage reform and to punish communist repression. While appropriate and successful under the circumstances, the policy was, by necessity, that of a concerned bystander. The recent rapid and momentous changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe require a more activist U.S. policy. The U.S. now has an opportunity to aid the political and economic reconstruction of the region. It has the opportunity to advance American concepts of self-determination, democracy, and free enterprise as the guiding principles for political and economic reforms.

This U.S. policy now should aim at the following goals:

1) Ending the Division of Europe

The Cold War began in the late 1940s when the Soviet Union broke the wartime agreements of Tehran and Yalta and reneged on its promises to allow political freedom in Eastern Europe. The Cold War and the division of Europe will end when the Soviet Union lives up to its agreements and allows Poland, Hungary, and other East European countries to develop political and economic systems of their own making. The ultimate goal of U.S. policy, therefore, should be to move beyond containing Soviet power in Europe to reducing and eventually eliminating it. This would end the division of Europe and restore the rights, freedoms, and territorial integrity of Eastern Europe which have been violated by the Soviet Union since the end of World War II.

U.S. interests can be advanced only if the U.S. is actively engaged in the region. As the Bush Administration's policy toward the Soviet Union extends beyond containment, so should U.S. policy toward Eastern Europe extend beyond the removal of the Cold War barriers and be aimed at the restoration of the East European nations' legitimate place as an integral part of Western civilization. The President's visit is the best opportunity to inaugurate what might become the Bush Doctrine — a new activist U.S. policy to overcome the division of Europe and spread the American principles of democracy, self-determination, and free market into Eastern Europe.

2) Withdrawing or Reducing to Token Levels Soviet Forces in Eastern Europe.

Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe precipitated and continues to perpetuate the Cold War. Europe's 44-year armed truce will not be

transformed into genuine peace until Soviet forces end their occupation of Eastern Europe. The Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) talks in Vienna may offer the first opportunity to reduce substantially Soviet armed forces in Eastern Europe. Bush's CFE proposal, announced at the May 29-30 NATO summit to reduce American and Soviet forces in non-Soviet Europe to 275,000 each, would mean a reduction of 325,000 Soviet forces now occupying East Germany, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. Were these forces withdrawn and effectively barred from returning by a CFE treaty, democratic forces in Eastern Europe would be strengthened and encouraged. CFE thus is the essential first step in the withdrawal of most or all Soviet forces from Eastern Europe.

3) Promoting Political Reform.

Multi-party democracy in Eastern Europe would diminish Soviet control of the region and the threat that it poses to the West. The greater the control of these governments by their peoples, the less responsive they will be to Soviet directives. Therefore, the U.S. should support popular democratic forces and encourage the reformist elements within the communist leadership. Reforms supported by the U.S. should include free elections, multiple political parties, and an end to the dominant position of the communist party.

American support of these reforms includes assisting the democratic forces and warning the regimes that a crackdown would affect relations with the U.S. The U.S. can provide the opposition with psychological and political support; a main source of this is America's National Endowment for Democracy. The U.S. could to assist the regimes's reform efforts by praising the steps already taken to allow greater political liberty, linking economic assistance to further progress in political reform, and encouraging Moscow to stayout of the process.

4) Promoting Economic Reform.

Democratic reform and its long-term stability depend on transforming the economies from the paralyzing Stalinist model to one based on free market principles. The U.S. should promote reforms that encourage private enterprise and limited government interference in the economy. The U.S. has tremendous managerial and entrepreneurial resources greatly needed by these countries. Programs designed to make these available would contribute to the transition to market economies. The U.S. could encourage American businesses to investigate opportunities in these countries.

5) Promoting National Self-Determination.

The reduction of Soviet influence in Eastern Europe requires that the countries of this region reassert their full national sovereignty

and regain control over their own affairs. The U.S. and other Western states should increase their ties to these countries at all official and unofficial levels and encourage participation in Western and other international organizations such as the European Free Trade Association and the International Monetary Fund by those East European nations that do not do so. The U.S. should warn that any Soviet attempts to halt the reform process will impair seriously U.S.-Soviet relations.

THE GOALS OF BUSH'S TRIP

Bush's visit to Hungary and Poland will focus world attention on Eastern Europe. This will provide an excellent opportunity for him to advance U.S. interests in the region. He should:

1) Articulate an American approach to resolving Eastern Europe's crisis.

After four decades of communism, Eastern Europe is an economic basket case, plagued with low productivity, low motivation, an increasingly obsolete industrial base, an ecological crisis, and a debt to the West of over \$100 billion. Bush should make a case for applying American models of economic and political reform as solutions to the problems besetting the region. These models should be based on the principles of minimal state interference in the lives of individuals and free enterprise and private initiative.

This will counterbalance the still strong socialist tradition among leaders of the democratic opposition in Eastern Europe that is reinforced by the West European Left. Solidarity, for example, has established strong ties with the Social Democratic Party of West Germany. This connection bolsters the socialist and statist tendencies among the Solidarity leadership – the opposite of what is needed to resolve Poland's enormous problems. Those governments and private organizations in the West committed to a free market approach should establish ties with the non-communist opposition in Eastern Europe to promote a non-socialist alternative.

2) Re-affirm the U.S. support for the peoples' democratic aspirations.

Bush should state, in effect, that the U.S. is on the side of the democratic forces in their struggle for political liberty, national self-determination, and free enterprise. Bush should relate the struggle in Eastern Europe to the increasing success of democracy around the world and reaffirm the traditional American commitment to democracy, human rights, and economic freedom for all peoples.

3) Buttress the democratic opposition.

Bush should reaffirm U.S. support for the democratic forces in the region by publicly identifying their objectives with the fundamental values of American democracy: individual liberty, the rule of law, and freedom of speech. Bush should meet the leaders of the democratic opposition in Poland and Hungary and state his intention to maintain U.S. contacts with them. This will reinforce the legitimacy and stature of these leaders and strengthen their bargaining power with the regime. Bush should offer to facilitate contacts with such American organizations as the National Endowment for Democracy; these can be sources of financial and organizational assistance. Bush should pledge to encourage American political parties and similar groups to establish close ties with their East European counterparts.

4) Encourage the regimes to pursue political and economic reforms.

Bush should advise the Hungarian and Polish authorities that the U.S. is closely watching developments in their countries. They should be told that the U.S. will structure its economic cooperation with Hungary and Poland in accordance with their movement toward full democracy and a free enterprise economy.

5) Reaffirm the critical importance of Eastern Europe for U.S.-Soviet relations.

The Cold War started in Eastern Europe, and it can end only with the end of Soviet domination. Bush's visit should reaffirm the U.S. commitment to the self-determination of the nations of the region. From Bush's platforms in Poland and Hungary, Moscow should receive a message, loud and clear, that there will be no full normalization of U.S.-Soviet relations until Eastern Europe is free to choose its own political and economic systems. Even as he warns Moscow against intervention, however, Bush should offer to discuss with the Soviet leadership possible East-West arrangements to speed the lifting and eventual elimination of Soviet control over Eastern Europe.

6) Spur the igniting of a thousand points of light in Eastern Europe.

As he has advocated in the U.S., Bush should emphasize the key role of the private sector as the source of creativity and progress. Eastern Europe's tremendous problems are the result of failed government policies and statist attitudes. Solutions can only come from the private sector. Bush should encourage establishment of connections at all levels between America's private organizations and their counterparts in Eastern Europe, including businesses, universities, political parties, and labor unions.

ACCOMPLISHING THE AMERICAN AGENDA: WHAT BUSH SHOULD DO WHILE IN POLAND AND HUNGARY

In what will surely be an emotional, media-saturated atmosphere, Bush's visit to Poland and Hungary gives him an unprecedented opportunity to advance U.S. interests in the region through a variety of public and private statements and actions. In a visit rife with symbolism, the peoples of Eastern Europe, their governments, and the Soviet leadership will be watching not only what the President says but interpreting what he does. To ensure that the goals of his trip are accomplished, Bush should:

✓ **Inform Hungarian and Polish officials of the criteria by which the U.S. will judge their progress and structure U.S. economic assistance.**

In private talks with the Hungarian and Polish governments, Bush should present a list of criteria to measure progress toward political and economic reform. These should include:

- ◆ ◆ institutionalization of an independent legislature, judiciary, and free press;
- ◆ ◆ free elections;
- ◆ ◆ curtailing the powers of the secret police almost completely;
- ◆ ◆ legalization of independent political parties;
- ◆ ◆ elimination of all privileges for the communist parties and of all restrictions on the number of legislative seats that the opposition can win in free elections;
- ◆ ◆ suspension of restrictions on private enterprise;
- ◆ ◆ price reform;
- ◆ ◆ development of a free capital market;
- ◆ ◆ development of a free labor market;
- ◆ ◆ eventual elimination of central planning and organizations of economic control, such as the Polish Ministry of Industry and the Hungarian National Price Office;
- ◆ ◆ gradual privatization of state-owned industrial enterprise;
- ◆ ◆ codification of commercial law.

✓ **Inform the authorities of American incentives for reforms.**

In private talks with the Hungarian and Polish authorities, Bush should outline the economic and political rewards from the U.S. if democratization, radical economic reforms and increasing independence from Moscow continue. These incentives should include loans, increased commercial access to high technology, free market management training, and more cultural cooperation.

Bush should state his understanding of the magnitude of the problem of Poland's and Hungary's huge foreign debts, but he should declare that debt forgiveness or massive new loans are not realistic solutions. He should be prepared, however, to offer some limited assistance, including government loans, as an inducement to economic restructuring.

Warn of the consequences if reforms are stopped or reversed.

Polish and Hungarian officials should be warned privately against slow-downs or reversals of reforms. They should be told that the availability of American economic assistance will follow closely the pace and direction of reform. In case of an anti-reform crackdown or a Soviet invasion, U.S. punitive measures could include the suspension of trading relationships, access to credits and markets, cultural and scientific exchanges, financial and technological assistance, and access to high technology products.

Warn Moscow against interference.

Bush's public and private statements should refer frequently to the U.S. policy of opposing the interference of outside powers in the internal affairs of Eastern Europe. This message is to be aimed at Moscow as a warning against a Soviet attempt to stop or reverse the reforms. At the same time, Bush should offer to discuss with Moscow the conditions and timetables by which the Soviet Union would yield control over Eastern Europe.

Laud personal liberty and private initiative as solutions to the East European economic crisis.

As Ronald Reagan did very successfully in his May 1988 speech at the Moscow University, Bush's planned speech at Budapest's Karl Marx University should outline to young East Europeans the advantages of personal freedom and individual initiative. Some 140 years ago, the man whose name this University bears declared that "a specter is haunting Europe — the specter of Communism." As it happened, a very different specter has haunted and subjected Eastern Europe. Today a new spirit is offering the promise of liberty, freedom, and unfettered entrepreneurial initiative.

Bush should emphasize that the success of the U.S. and the dynamic economies of East Asia and Britain have demonstrated that the free market and political liberty are the only ways to create prosperous and open societies, and that every country can repeat this success by adopting these principles.

Make movement toward democracy and free markets a condition for increased economic assistance.

In outlining what the U.S. has to offer Eastern Europe, Bush should stress that financial and technological assistance will be forthcoming

only if the region continues to move toward a free market capitalist economy. Preference in assistance will be given to private enterprises. No "blank checks" will be given to the governments, which have mismanaged billions of dollars of Western loans in the past.

Bush should state that the U.S. and the West will not be doing any country any favors by providing the governments with financial and other assistance at concessionary rates. At best, this would encourage these governments not to move toward free markets. Thus the U.S. and other Western countries should remove barriers to credit, foreign markets, and cooperation with Western firms, such as lowering tariffs, encouraging businesses to explore opportunities in Eastern Europe, and providing political risk insurance on a selected basis. Bush should encourage greatly expanded ties between businessmen, academics, and government officials and Western organizations that could provide valuable assistance in such areas as management training and the workings of a market economy.

Insist on meeting Hungarian and Polish conservatives and advocates of a free market.

To counter socialist and statist influences in the democratic opposition, Bush should meet with conservative activists and businessmen in the opposition to emphasize his support for free market solutions to the region's economic problems. In Hungary, for example, he should meet Marton Tardos, a leading free market economist, and Balint Magyar, a sociologist and leader of the Free Democratic Alliance. In Poland, he should meet with Stefan Kisielewski, a respected pro-market journalist in Warsaw, and Miroslaw Dzielski, President of the Cracow Industrial Society, a group lobbying for free market solutions to Poland's economic problem. This display of presidential respect and attention will boost the authority of conservatives and help advance a non-socialist, private enterprise solution to both countries' economic crisis.

Visit successful private entrepreneurs.


To underscore the U.S. commitment to free enterprise and private initiative, Bush should visit such successful entrepreneurs as Jozsef Pinter in Kecel, some 93 miles from Budapest. He employs 300 at a firm that manufactures precision tools for export, mostly to West Germany and the U.S. His success has been demonstrated by the fact that his company recently received a \$2 million World Bank loan.

In Poland, he should meet with businessmen such as Tadeusz Syryjczyk, president of ABAKS, a computer software company in Cracow, and Andrzej Machalski, president of UNICUM, a private cooperative wholesale trade company.



Laud the peoples' resistance to communism.


While giving credit to the Hungarian and Polish authorities for instituting reforms, Bush should emphasize that it has been the courage of the Polish and Hungarian peoples who have resisted communism for forty years that is forcing the regimes to reform. Americans admire and applaud this courage because it was displayed in the struggle for the same inalienable rights enshrined in the American Declaration of Independence and the Gettysburg Address.



Stress the historic bonds between the peoples of Eastern Europe and America and the West.

Bush should emphasize the bonds between the U.S. and the peoples of Eastern Europe, separate from the relations with the regimes. To highlight the commonality of aspirations of the Americans and East Europeans, Bush should praise the Polish general Thaddeus Kosciusko (in Polish, Tadeusz Kosciuszko), who fought in the American revolution and then returned to Poland to struggle against Russian domination. Bush should refer to Kosciusko's 1794 call to action during that struggle: *Wolność, Własność, Niepodległość* (pronounced Volnoshch, Vwasnoshch, Nyehpodlegwoshch), meaning Liberty, Property, Sovereignty. Then there is Ignace Jan Paderewski, who headed the government of newly independent Poland in 1919 and represented the Polish government-in-exile in 1940-1941. Buried in Washington's Arlington Cemetery, Paderewski requested that he be laid to rest in a free Poland. Complying with his request, the U.S. has refused return the body to a communist Poland. Bush should express hope that soon the remains of the Polish democrat and patriot will be buried in his motherland.

Bush should note that the U.S. always has been a place of refuge for people fleeing political persecution and economic deprivation, including many from Eastern Europe. These refugees and their millions of descendants have forged a permanent and intimate bond between the U.S. and these countries. In speaking of the growing ties between Eastern Europe and the West, Bush also should emphasize not just removal of the Iron Curtain's artificial barriers but the restoration of these countries to their rightful and historical place as integral parts of West European civilization.



Avoid the term "Eastern Europe."

Bush should avoid using the term "Eastern Europe" in public pronouncements because it is resented by the Hungarians and the Poles, which are among the oldest West European nations, and because it accepts the Soviet line of treating these countries as a distinct region, separate from the rest of Europe. Instead, the link with the rest of the Europe and Western civilization, severed by the Soviet occupation 44 years ago, should be emphasized. Bush should

refer to Poland and Hungary as part of Central Europe, emphasizing the traditional ties of these countries with the rest of Europe.

Devote considerable time to the democratic opposition.

In both countries, Bush should spend a great part of his visit with the democratic opposition. Like British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher during her November 1988 visit to Poland, Bush should treat Solidarity leader Lech Walesa as the true leader of the Polish nation.

Pay tribute to the martyrs of the democratic resistance.

The heroes of the popular opposition to communist totalitarianism should be praised by name. Bush should lay wreaths on the Gdansk Monument to protesters killed by the authorities in 1970 and on the grave of the leader of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, Imre Nagy.

CONCLUSION

George Bush's trip to Hungary and Poland offers the U.S. an unprecedented opportunity to reengage in Eastern Europe. The weakening Soviet grip on the region and the advance of real reform in Hungary and Poland have opened the way for seriously pressing the American agenda of democracy, self-determination, and free markets. This could pave the way for drastically reducing if not eliminating entirely the military and political influence of the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe. This would serve the interests not only of the U.S., but of all Europeans.

It also could help resolve the economic crisis in Eastern Europe and help lay the groundwork for that region's transition toward a market economy. Rather than putting their faith in failed statist or socialist economic models, as advocated by the non-communist Left in Western and Eastern Europe, Poland and Hungary should be encouraged to try what has succeeded throughout the world: limited governmental interference in economic affairs, free markets, and a reliance on private enterprise and initiative.

Bush should use his visit to inform Polish and Hungarian officials of what they have to gain from the U.S. if they continue reform and what they have to lose if they do not. More economic, trade, advanced technology, and managerial assistance, for example, would be available if reform continues.

Presidential Inspiration. Just as the 1979 visit to Poland by Pope John Paul II inspired nationalism and ignited religious fervor in Poland, ultimately helping to spark the Solidarity movement, so too can the inspiration of an American President speaking of the virtues of democracy, freedom, and private enterprise encourage dissidents and reformers to press ahead for more democracy and economic freedom.

Like most presidential trips abroad, this visit to Eastern Europe is a test for George Bush. He will be successful if he: gets the Polish and Hungarian authorities and opposition groups alike to begin thinking about how to apply American models of democracy and private enterprise to solving their economic and political problems; articulates to the authorities a set of incentives to encourage reform and disincentives to guard against its reversal; and strongly supports the democratic opposition and advocates of private enterprise, giving them the hope to press ahead with the reforms that are in the interests of the West and East European peoples.

A Bush Doctrine. If he is successful, Bush could begin an historic change in U.S. policy. An activist East European policy that accepts the necessity of U.S. engagement in the region would be a victory for the U.S. No longer accepting the dictum that Eastern Europe is a sphere of influence only for the Soviet Union – or perhaps Germany – Bush could put his name on a new foreign policy doctrine that has as its aim the liberation of Eastern Europe from Soviet tutelage, and with that, the ultimate end to the division of Europe.

This is a tall order, but for the first time since the end of World War II, it is a genuine possibility.

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647-1070

PRESIDENT'S TOAST AT AMBASSADOR'S LUNCH
FOR THE INDEPENDENT INTELLECTUAL COMMUNITY

July 10, 1989

IT IS AN HONOR AND PRIVILEGE TO BE WITH YOU HERE TODAY.
SOME OF US MET TWO YEARS AGO, IN WARSAW. ~~[HOW VERY MUCH HAS
CHANGED SINCE.]~~

IT'S A PRIVILEGE TO BE IN POLAND IN THESE HOPEFUL TIMES.
~~[AS YOU KNOW FAR BETTER THAN I]~~ THIS IS A SINGULAR MOMENT IN
POLAND'S HISTORY, PERHAPS THE MOST PROFOUNDLY CHALLENGING YET
HOPEFUL PERIOD ~~SINCE THAT TERRIBLE SUMMER FIFTY YEARS AGO.~~
IN MANY DECADES / IN THIS CENTURY

POLAND HAS ALREADY MOVED BEYOND HISTORICAL PRECEDENT.
~~[POLES ARE FACING A TREMENDOUS TASK COURAGEOUSLY --
THERE ARE NO MODELS, NO RULES FOR THE TASK POLES ARE FACING SO
COURAGEOUSLY --]~~ THE BUILDING OF STABLE, DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL
AND MARKET-ORIENTED ECONOMIC STRUCTURES ~~(ON THE RUBBLE OF A
STALINIST PAST.)~~? POLAND IS AGAIN MAKING ITS OWN HISTORY, *by building
a new nation.*
BLAZING A TRAIL FOR OTHERS TO FOLLOW.

You all YOU, THE REPRESENTATIVES AND BUILDERS OF INDEPENDENT POLISH
SOCIETY, ARE LEADING THE WAY. YOU ARE NOT DOING IT ALONE --
YOU HAVE ~~(COUNTERPARTS)~~ IN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PARTY -- BUT,
WITHOUT YOU, IT WOULD NOT BE HAPPENING; ~~[THEREFORE, YOU ARE
MAKING IT HAPPEN.]~~ IF THIS CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESS SUCCEEDS, AS
IT MUST, YOU WILL BE ^{*among*} THE FOUNDING FATHERS OF A NEW POLAND AND,
in their I BELIEVE, A NEW EUROPE. *a Europe whole and free.*

MY COUNTRY AND THE WORLD ARE INSPIRED BY POLAND'S ~~SINGULAR~~
SUCCESS AT ~~[THE ROUNDTABLE]~~ AND BY THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
ROUNDTABLE'S PROVISIONS.

that lie ahead.

But

many

AND ECONOMIC PRESSURES

WE ARE ALSO AWARE OF THE VAST DIFFICULTIES ~~(THAT LIE) BEFORE~~
 YOU. ~~[WE UNDERSTAND THE ECONOMIC PRESSURES THAT OVERHANG THIS~~
~~PROCESS.]~~ ~~[WE UNDERSTAND THE DEPTH OF]~~ MISTRUST, FEAR AND
 CYNICISM ~~[THAT HAVE SO POLARIZED POLISH SOCIETY]~~ ~~(AND MAKE THE~~
 TASK OF] POLITICAL ~~COMPROMISE~~ AND ECONOMIC RESTRUCTURING ~~SO~~
~~DIFFICULT.~~ WE KNOW, AS YOU KNOW, THAT THERE IS NO WAY OTHER
 THAN THE HARD, EVEN PAINFUL ROAD TO ECONOMIC REFORM AND
 RECOVERY. BUT WE DO NOT TAKE THIS LIGHTLY.

*YOU MUST OVERCOME THE
OF OTHERS -- TO WIN*

FREEDOM

REFORM

THAT AWAIT YOU.

bring together

I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL STAND WITH
 POLAND, DOING WHAT WE CAN TO SUPPORT POLAND'S HOPEFUL
 EXPERIMENT, UNPARALLELED ~~IN THE HISTORY OF OUR TROUBLED CENTURY.~~

WITH DEEP RESPECT FOR YOU, FOR SOLIDARITY, FOR THE
 ROUNDTABLE PROCESS; WITH ADMIRATION FOR THE RESILIENCY AND
 GENIUS NOW BEING EXHIBITED BY POLISH SOCIETY; WITH HOPES FOR
 THE FUTURE, I LIFT MY GLASS TO THE NATION AND PEOPLE OF POLAND.

mission

you

PRESIDENT'S TOAST AT AMBASSADOR'S LUNCH
FOR THE POLISH INDEPENDENT INTELLECTUAL COMMUNITY
JULY 10, 1989

- o It is an honor and privilege to be with you here today. Some of us met two years ago, in Warsaw. So much has changed.
- o These are hopeful times for Poland. It's a special moment in Poland's history, perhaps the most profoundly challenging period in many decades.
- o Poland has already moved beyond historical precedent. You are again making your own history by building a new nation. Poles are facing a tremendous task courageously -- and you are blazing a trail for others to follow.
- o You, the architects of independent Polish society, are leading the way. You are not doing it alone -- but without you, it would not be happening. If this constitutional process succeeds, as it must, you will be among the founding fathers of a new Poland, and in turn, a new Europe ... whole and free.
- o My country and the world are inspired by Poland's success at the Roundtable and by the implementation of the Roundtable's provisions.
- o But we are also aware of the many difficulties and economic pressures that lie ahead. Your challenge is to rise above the mistrust and cynicism of others to bring the Polish people together for a common purpose. As that is achieved, political freedom and economic reform for Poland can become a reality.
- o I want you to know that the United States will stand with Poland. We will support Poland's hopeful mission, unparalleled in your history.
- o With deep respect for you, for Solidarity, for the Roundtable process; with admiration for the resiliency and genius now being exhibited by Polish society; I lift my glass to the nation and people of Poland.

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