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Series: Speech File Backup Files
Subseries: Alpha File, 1987-1991

OA/ID Number: 13845
Folder ID Number: 13845-006

Folder Title:
A New World Order, 1990-1991 [1]

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 26, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW
SPEECHWRITERS
RESEARCHERS

FROM: DAN JAHN, RESEARCH INTERN

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REFERENCES TO NEW WORLD ORDER

Enclosed you will find research I have done on President Bush's use of the phrase "new world order." I have divided this document into three sections. The first section lists words and phrases commonly used by the President in reference to a new world order. The second section consists of extensive quotes by the President in which the phrase "new world order" is referred to and expanded upon. The third section is a summary of passing references using the phrase "new world order".

If you have any questions or further suggestions for research projects, please let us know.

- PRESIDENTIAL REFERENCES TO NEW WORLD ORDER -
current to MAY 17, 1991

Words and Phrases Commonly Used By The President in Reference to A New World Order

Peace
- -opportunity for peace
- -new era of peace
- -enduring peace
- -United Nations; a peacekeeping force
- -quest for peace

Justice
- -the pursuit of justice
- -justice for all

Strong/Weak
- -strong respect and protect the weak

Rights
- -rights of the individual
- -human rights

Freedom
- -commonwealth of freedom
- -shared responsibility for freedom

Partnership of nations
- -consultation
- -cooperation
- -collective action
- -united world response

Rule
- -rule of law
- -no rule by force
- -no rule of the jungle

Fair Play

Security

Soviet and American Forces Working Together
- -nations prosper and live together

Elimination
- -of war
- -of violence

Democratic Values

New Era
-post cold war
-no threat of terror
-reduced and controlled arsenals

August 30, 1990 News Conference on the Persian Gulf Crisis

Q. Mr. President, there are reports that there's a split in your administration-some who want to expand the goals to include the eventual ouster of Saddam. And also, there are many, many suggestions for a Middle East conference that would include in what you would call the post-postwar shape of the world, the perennial problems of the Middle East. What do you think on both-

The President. Well, I think on the second part of the question that we ought to get on with the business at hand, the shorter run business, which is the solution to this question: the making right the situation in Kuwait, meaning the pulling out of forces, obviously, and the restoration of the rulers. **As I look at the countries that are chipping in here now**, I think we do have a chance at a new world order, and I'd like to think that out of this dreary performance by Saddam Hussein there could be now an opportunity for peace all through the Middle East.

September 11, 1990 Address Before a Joint Session of Congress on the Persian Gulf Crisis and the Federal Budget Deficit

As you know, I've just returned from a very productive meeting with Soviet President Gorbachev. And I am pleased that we are working together to build a new relationship. In Helsinki, our joint statement affirmed to the world our shared resolve to counter Iraq's threat to peace. Let me quote: "We are united in the belief that Iraq's aggression must not be tolerated. No peaceful international order is possible if larger states can devour their smaller neighbors." Clearly, **no longer can a dictator count on East-West confrontation to stymie concerted United Nations action against aggression. A new partnership of nations has begun.**

We stand today at a unique and extraordinary moment. The crisis in the Persian Gulf, as grave as it is, also offers a rare opportunity to move toward an historic period of cooperation. Out of these troubled times, **our fifth objective - a new world order - can emerge: a new era-freer from the threat of terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice, and more secure in the quest for peace.** An era in which the nations of the world, East and West, North and South, can prosper and live in harmony. A hundred generations have searched for this elusive path to peace, while a thousand wars raged across the span of human endeavor. Today that new world is struggling

to be born, a world quite different from the one we've known. **A world where the rule of law supplants the rule of the jungle.** A world in which nations recognize the **shared responsibility for freedom and justice.** A world **where the strong respect the rights of the weak.** This is the vision that I shared with President Gorbachev in Helsinki. He and other leaders from Europe, the Gulf, and around the world understand that how we manage this crisis today could shape the future for generations to come.

The test we face is great, and so are the stakes. This is the first assault on the new world that we seek, **the first test of our mettle.**

...Once again, Americans have stepped forward to share a tearful goodbye with their families before leaving for a strange and distant shore. At this very moment, they serve together with Arabs, Europeans, Asians, and Africans in defense of principle and the dream of a new world order. That's why they sweat and toil in the sand and the heat and the sun.

September 24, 1991 Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at a White House briefing for Representatives of the Arab-American Community

Our objectives remain clear: Iraq must withdraw from Kuwait completely, immediately, and without condition; Kuwait's legitimate government must be restored; the security and stability of the Persian Gulf assured; and American citizens abroad must be protected. And finally, a fifth objective can emerge from these; a new world order in which the nations of the world, East and West, North and South, can prosper and live together.

...This thing is so complex over there that it's pretty hard to give you a straight answer. Out of this, though, there could well be a new world order. And part of that must be the peaceful resolution of the division of Lebanon.

October 1, 1990 Address Before the 45th General Assembly of the United Nations in New York City

The United Nations can help bring about a new day, a day when these kinds of terrible weapons and the terrible despots who would use them are both a thing of the past. It is in our hands to leave these dark machines behind, in the Dark Ages where they belong, and to press forward to cap a historic movement towards a new world order and a long era of peace.

We have a vision of a **new partnership of nations that transcends the Cold War: a partnership based on consultation, cooperation, and collective action,** especially through international and regional organizations; a partnership united

by **principle and the rule of law** and supported by an equitable sharing of both cost and commitment; a partnership whose goals are to increase democracy, increase prosperity, increase the peace, and reduce arms...This is precisely why the present aggression in the Gulf is a menace not only to one region's security but to the entire world's vision of our future. It threatens to turn the dream of a new international order into a grim **nightmare of anarchy in which the law of the jungle supplants the law of nations.**

November 17, 1990 Remarks to the Federal Assembly in Prague, Czechoslovakia

Every new nation that embraces these common values, every new nation that joins the ranks of this **commonwealth of freedom**, advances us one step closer to a new world order, a world in which the **use of force gives way to a shared respect for the rule of law.** This new world will be incomplete without a vision that extends beyond the boundaries of Europe alone. Now that unity is within our reach in Europe is no time for our vision of change to stop at the edge of this continent.

...From this first crisis of the post-Cold War era comes an historic opportunity to draw upon the great and growing strength of the commonwealth of freedom and forge for all nations a new world order far more stable and secure than any we have known.

November 19, 1990 Exchange with Reporters in Paris, France

And President Gorbachev is correct. **The fact that the Soviet Union and the United States could work together** not only to achieve an arms control agreement but to start looking into the future with harmony and in cooperation is very, very promising for the new world order, for a Europe whole and free, and for peace in the world. So, somehow that's been lost today, given the understandable concerns about the Persian Gulf.

November 19, 1990 Remarks and an Exchange with Reporters Following a Discussion With Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in Paris, France

Q. I'd like to know if you see any irony in coming together to sign this treaty that reduces conventional arms and celebrates peace in Europe while you push this tough hard line against Saddam Hussein.

The President. I don't see any irony in it whatsoever. What I see is the fact that we're able to enter into a CFE

[conventional armed forces in Europe] agreement with **full cooperation and support of the Soviet Union who, heretofore, has been an enormous adversary of the West.** And now this reduces to practically nil the tensions that have existed. It is the farthest reaching arms control agreement in history; and it signals the new world order that is emerging, and to some degree has emerged, and that is the best hope for rolling back the brutality and the aggression of Saddam Hussein, who has nothing to do with the CFE agreement.

So, what it does is show a solidification of forces that in recent history have been on opposite sides of some of these questions. So, if there's any message coming out of CFE for Saddam Hussein, it ought to be: Look what you're up against here. Here are people that since World War II have tension and, at times, conflict; and now they're together as they take a gigantic step forward in arms control. And they're together as they stand in the United Nations against your brutal, naked aggression. So, if there's any connection, that's the message that I'd like to see come out of all of this.

November 23, 1990 Remarks and a Question and Answer Session with Reporters Following a Discussion with President Muhammed Hosni Mubarek in Cairo, Egypt

President Mubarak. We are proud of this partnership which has helped us to advance the cause of peace and the fraternity among all nations, to stand for eradication of injustice, and the elimination of war and violence, and to contribute to the construction of a new world order-a world in which all nations, big or small, have a right to live in peace and dignity.

The President. You heard President Mubarak refer to that. This, the integration of Arab countries into a CSCE process, wasn't discussed but implicit in our optimistic assessment that once Iraq is out of the way-once the Iraq-Kuwait struggle is out of the way-we can have a new world order. And that new world order certainly offers a much better chance for peace for the Middle East.

Q. You said, President Bush, that a new world order would emerge once the Gulf crisis has been solved. How do you envisage this new world order?

The President. But as it relates to the Middle East, I think we've got all kinds of potentials for peace, given the fact that we've all come together almost unanimously, standing up against this brutal dictator. And out of that and out of the contexts that go with that, I hope we can be catalytic in solving other problems, and I think that will lead to a new world order that has much better chance for peace for our children and our grandchildren.

December 17, 1990 Remarks and a Question and Answer Session with Reporters

We've got an opportunity for a new world order, but that opportunity will be lost **if an aggressor gets one single concession.**

January 9, 1991 The President's News Conference on the Persian Gulf Crisis

I listened to that 'Aziz meeting, and all he tried to do is obfuscate, to confuse, to make everybody think this had to do with the West Bank, for example. And it doesn't. It has to do with the aggression against Kuwait-the invasion of Kuwait, the brutalizing of the people in Kuwait. And it has to do with a new world order. And that world order is only going to be enhanced if this **newly-activated peacekeeping function of the United Nations proves to be effective.** That is the only way the new world order will be enhanced.

...Q. So, the entire hope for peace then rests on Saddam backing off from his-

The President. And it has since August 2nd-exactly. Because this aggression is not going to stand. And there's an awful lot at stake in terms of the new world order that it doesn't stand. And there's a lot at stake in terms of a lot of human life in Kuwait that it doesn't stand. And there's a lot at stake in terms of how the coalition looks at this that it doesn't stand. So it won't.

January 16, 1991 Address to the Nation Announcing Allied Military Action in the Gulf

This is an historic moment. We have in this past year made great progress in ending the long era of **conflict and cold war.** We have before us the opportunity to forge for ourselves and for future generations a new world order - **a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations.** When we are successful-and we will be-we have a real chance at this new world order, an order in which a **credible United Nations can use its peacekeeping role** to fulfill the promise and vision of the U.N.'s founders.

January 23, 1991 Remarks to the Reserve Officer's Association

From the day Saddam's forces first crossed into Kuwait, it was clear that this aggression required a swift response from our nation and the world community. What was, and is, at stake is not simply our energy or economic security and the

stability of a vital region, but the prospects for peace in the post-cold war era-the promise of a new world order **based upon the rule of law.**

January 28, 1991 Remarks at the Annual Convention of the National Religious Broadcasters

No one wanted a war less than I did. No one is more determined to seize from battle the real peace that can offer hope, that can create a new world order.

January 29, 1991 Address to the Congress on the State of the Union

What is at stake is more than one small country; it is a big idea: a new world order, where **diverse nations are drawn together in common cause to achieve** the universal aspirations of mankind-**peace and security, freedom, and the rule of law.** Such is a world worthy of our struggle and worthy of our children's future.

...The world can, therefore, seize this opportunity to fulfill the long-held promise of a new world order, where **brutality will go unrewarded and aggression will meet collective resistance.**

January 30, 1991 Remarks at the 50th Anniversary Observance of Franklin D. Roosevelt's Four Freedoms Speech

As we look around the world at the events of the past year, we see how these very same beliefs are bringing about the emergence of a new world order, **one based on respect for the individual and for the rule of law** - a new world order that can lead to the lasting peace we all seek, where children will never have to repeat Quang's ordeal. And that's what's at stake-a new chapter of human history.

February 6, 1991 Remarks at a Meeting of the Economic Club of New York

Q. Mr. President, you have talked several times about basing the future on a new world order. Can you give us a definition of a new world order? And if it depends on the collaboration between the Soviet Union and the United States, how do events in the Soviet Union affect this concept?

The President. Well, it doesn't depend entirely on it, but it would be greatly **enhanced by a Soviet Union** that goes down the line with its commitment to market reform, to private ownership of land, to a free economic system, to a system that resists and does not use force to assure order amongst the

republics, that goes farther down the road with elections and all the openness that I give President Gorbachev credit for. And as well as the openness in terms of glasnost and the reforms in terms of perestroika-we're going to continue to support those concepts. But it was this, it was the farsighted vision of Mr. Gorbachev that enabled us to work together in the United Nations.

Now, my vision of a new world order foresees **a United Nations with a revitalized peacekeeping function.** I think most that follow the United Nations see the economic and social side of the united Nations as having performed well since it was founded. Most people that follow it find that the peacekeeping function for the most part has not been effective. And one of the reasons it isn't is because of the veto in the hands of the five permanent members of the Security Council-one of them being the Soviet Union.

When I was Ambassador 20 years ago in the U.N., we hardly ever voted with the Soviet Union. Now, we're with them on many, many things. So, the new world order I think foresees a revitalized peacekeeping function of the United Nations. But I cannot and I will not predict a Soviet Union going back, turning its back on reform-perestroika-turning its back on glasnost-openness. I don't believe, no matter what the ferment in the Soviet Union today, that they're ever going to go back to that. And I don't think anyone there wants to go back to that.

And so it would envision, though, much more cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union. And on matters of the Gulf, in international matters, not bilateral,it envisions a greatly enhanced peacekeeping function of the United Nations itself.

One of the reasons we have so much support for this is that we went to the United Nations 12 times. There are 12 resolutions that speak to the Gulf, and that has mobilized world opinion. And so when we are successful in fulfilling all 12 of those resolutions, I think there's going to be new credibility for the United States. But we should have and should strive to have Soviet cooperation all along the way. And that's why I'm not going to back off on my efforts to try to improve relations with the Soviet Union.

Then we've left China out of the equation, and we ought not to do that. They've been through a difficult time. I took on some shots for trying to keep relations from China. I was offended as anybody else was by the human rights abuses at Tiananmen Square and spoke out on it. But I think it is in the interest of the United States to have continued relations with China. And I think it is vital to this new world order that that veto hold-member of the Security Council go along and be with us on these matters of trying to bring peace to troubled corners of the world.

February 25, 1991 Remarks on the Observance of National Black History Month

This was a war thrust upon us, not a war that we sought. But naked aggression, such as we have seen, must be resisted if it is not to become a pattern. Our success in the Gulf will bring with it not just a new opportunity for peace and stability in a critical part of the world but a chance to build a new world order based upon the principles of collective security and the rule of law.

March 2, 1991 Radio Address to Members of the United States Armed Forces Stationed in the Persian Gulf

The first test of the new world order has been passed.

March 6, 1991 Address before a Joint Session of Congress on the Cessation of the Persian Gulf Conflict

The consequences of the conflict in the Gulf reach far beyond the confines of the Middle East. Twice before in this century, an entire world was convulsed by war. Twice this century, out of the horrors of war hope emerged for enduring peace. Twice before, these hopes proved to be a distant dream, beyond the grasp of man. Until now, the world we've known has been a world divided-a world of barbed wire and concrete block, conflict, and cold war.

Now, we can see **a new world coming into view.** A world in which there is the very real prospect of a new world order. In the words of **Winston Churchill**, a world order in which **"the principles of justice and fair play protect the weak against the strong..."** A world where the **United Nations-freed from cold war stalemate-is poised to fulfill the historic vision of its founders.** A world in which **freedom and respect for human rights** find a home among all nations. The Gulf War put this new world to its first **test.** And my fellow Americans, we passed that test.

For the sake of our principles-for the sake of the Kuwaiti people-we stood our ground. Because the world would not look the other way, Ambassador al-Sabah, tonight, Kuwait is free. And we're very happy about that.

Tonight, as our troops begin to come home, let us recognize that the hard work of freedom still calls us forward. We've learned the hard lessons of history. The victory over Iraq was not waged as "a war to end all wars ." **Even the new world order cannot guarantee an era of perpetual peace.** But enduring peace must be our mission.

March 8, 1991 Interview With Middle Eastern Journalists
New World Order

Q. Mr. President, the Gulf war is the first of its kind to take place in the context of the new world order. How did the new world order influence the way the world dealt with this crisis? And what is the main lesson learned from the Gulf War?

The President. The new world order said that a lot of countries-disparate backgrounds, with differences-can come together, standing for a common principle, and that principle is: You don't take over another country by force. So, the new world order, to the degree it's emerged, so far, has been enhanced by this single concept that we're going to unite, no matter what other differences we may have had, what the bilateral problems may have been, and we're going to stand up against aggression.

It was enhanced by a more viable United Nations, a United Nations where the big powers didn't automatically go against each other. In the cold war days, we'd say this is black and the Soviets would say, hey, that's white. And you'd have a veto, and nothing would happen. And the peacekeeping dreams of the founders of the U.N. were dashed.

So, part of this new world order has been moved forward by a United Nations that functioned. We might have still been able to stand up and come to the assistance of Kuwait-the United States. I might have said to hell with them, it's right and wrong, it's good and evil, he's evil, our cause is right; and without the United Nations, sent a considerable force to help. But it was an enhanced-it is far better to have this collective action where the world-not just the Security Council but the whole General Assembly stood up and condemned it.

April 13, 1991 Remarks at Maxwell Air Force Base War College in Montgomery, Alabama

Here at Air University it's your business to read the lessons of the past with an eye on the far horizon. And that's why I wanted to speak to you today about the new world taking shape around us, about the prospects for a new world order now within our reach. For more than four decades we've lived in a world divided, East from West; a world locked in a conflict of arms and ideas called the cold war. Two systems, two superpowers, separated by mistrust and unremitting hostility.

For more than four decades, America's energies were focused on containing the threat to the free world from the forces of communism. That war is over. East Germany has vanished from the map as a separate entity. Today in Berlin, the wall that once divided a continent, divided a world in

two, has been pulverized, turned into souvenirs. And the sections that remain standing are but museum pieces. The Warsaw Pact passed into the pages of history last week, not with a bang but with a whimper-its demise reported in a story reported on page A16 of the Washington Post.

In the coming weeks I'll be talking in some detail about the possibility of a new world order emerging after the cold war. And in recent weeks I've been focusing not only on the Gulf but on free trade agreement , the Uruguay round table negotiations, and the essentiality of obtaining from the United States Congress a renewal of Fast Track authority to achieve our goals. But today I want to discuss another aspect of that order-our relations with Europe an the Soviet Union.

Twice this century, a dream born on the battlefields of Europe died after the shooting stopped. **The dream of a world in which major powers worked together to ensure peace; to settle their disputes through cooperation, not confrontation.** Today a transformed Europe stands closer than ever before to its free and democratic destiny. At long last, Europe is moving forward, moving toward a new world of hope.

At the same time, we and our European allies have moved beyond containment to a policy of active engagement in a world no longer driven by cold war tensions and animosities. You see, as the cold war drew to an end we saw the possibilities of a new order in which nations worked together to promote peace and prosperity. **I'm not talking here of a blueprint that will govern the conduct of nations or some supranational structure or institution.** The new world order **does not mean surrendering our national sovereignty or forfeiting our interests.** It really describes a responsibility imposed by our successes. It refers to new ways of working with other nations to **deter aggression and to achieve stability, to achieve prosperity and, above all, to achieve peace.**

It springs from hopes for a world based on a shared commitment among nations large and small to a set of principles that undergird our relations: **peaceful settlements of disputes, solidarity against aggression, reduced and controlled arsenals, and just treatment of all peoples.**

This order, this ability to work together, got its first real **test** in the Gulf war. For the first time, a regional conflict- the aggression against Kuwait-did not serve as a proxy for **superpower confrontation.** For the first time, the **United Nations Security Council,** free from the clash of cold war ideologies, functioned as its designers intended- a force for conflict resolution in collective security.

In the Gulf, nations from Europe and North America, Asia an Africa and the Arab world joined together to stop aggression, and sent a signal to would-be tyrants everywhere in the world. By joining forces to defend one small nation, we showed that we can work together **against aggressors in defense of principle.**

We also recognized that the **cold war's end didn't deliver**

us into and era of perpetual peace. As old threats recede, new threats emerge. The quest for the new world order is, in part, **a challenge to keep the dangers of disorder at bay.**

...We must build on the successes of desert Storm to give new shape and momentum to this new world order, to use force wisely and extend the hand of compassion wherever we can. Today we welcome Europe's willingness to shoulder a large share of this responsibility. This new sense of responsibility on the part of our European allies is most evident and critical in Europe's eastern half.

...Let there be no misunderstanding, the path ahead for the Soviet Union will be difficult, and, at times, extraordinarily painful. History weighs heavily on all the peoples of the U.S.S.R.--liberation from 70 years of communism, from 1,000 years of autocracy. It's going to be slow. there will be setbacks. But this process of reform, this transformation from within, must proceed. If external cooperation and our progress toward true international peace is to endure, it must succeed. Only when this transformation is complete will we be able to take full measure of the opportunities presented by this new and evolving world order.

The new world order really is a tool for addressing a new world of possibilities. This order gains its mission and shape not just from shared interests but shared ideals. And the ideals that have spawned new freedoms throughout the world have received their boldest and clearest expression in our great country, the United States.

May 14, 1991 Proclamation 6292--Prayer for Peace, Memorial Day, 1991

Knowing that any peace purchased by the surrender of principle can be neither genuine nor enduring, we pray for wisdom and resolve in our efforts to avert future conflicts and to establish a new world order based on respect for human rights and the rule of law.

Passing references

September

-18 **Rem. at a Fund Raising dinner for gubernatorial candidate in Los Angeles, CA**
(Final objective: new world order-free from threat of terror, strong in pursuit of justice, secure in the quest for peace) see Sept. 11

-19 **Rem. at a Fundraising Dinner for Gubernatorial Candidate Pete Wilson in Los Angeles, CA**
(A new world order is something which we have sought

for generations) see Sept. 11

-26 **Rem. at Fund Raising lunch-George Vionovich, Ohio Gov. candidate**
(New world order--final objective of the Gulf War)

-30 **Rem. U.N. World Summit for Children**
(A new world order as a partnership of nations free from the threat of terror, strong in the pursuit of justice, more secure in the quest for peace.)
See September 11 speech

November
-22 **Rem. U.S. Army Troops, Dhahran, Saudi Arabia**
(A new world order is a vision of a safer and better world for our kids. The economic destiny of the world must not be threatened by a vicious dictator.)
See November 17 speech

December
-3 **Rem. Joint Session-Congress, Brazil**
(Every nation that joins the commonwealth of freedom advances us one step closer to a new world order.)

-17 **Rem. A Q. and A. Session, Reporters**
(We have the promise of a new world order, with the United Nations as a peace keeping function.)

January
-9 **Letter to College Students, Persian Gulf Crisis**
(Lawlessness threatens the emerging new world order --rewarding aggression would end the promise of a new world order.)

-18 **President's News Conference, Persian Gulf Conflict**
(The end of the Gulf War will facilitate a new world order, which will have a conciliatory component to it, inviting countries to become part of the order. Even countries that have been opposed to the U.S. policies can join in this new world order.)

February
-1 **Rem. to Community Members; Seymour, Johnson, Base Cherry Point, Ft. Stewart (Three Speeches)**
(We are seeking to create a new world order.)

-27 **Rem. American Society of Association Executives**
(Allied troops in the Gulf War faced a defining in the new world order.)

March

-1 **Press Conference-Persian Gulf Conflict**
(Use of U.S. Military force will not always be a part of the new world order.)

-4 **Rem. Westinghouse Science Talent Search Banquet**
(Creativity, knowledge, education, and science are all important to a new world order, a new golden age.)

-7 **White House Statement on Mass Destruction Weapons**
(There is no place for weapons of mass destruction in the new world order.)

-7 **Rem. Medal of Freedom, Margaret Thatcher**
(The United Kingdom, under the leadership of Margaret Thatcher became a leader in the new world order.)

-18 **Rem. Elie Wiesel Foundation**
(Dr. Elie Wiesel of the Elie Wiesel Foundation endorses the concept of a new world order.)

-20 **Rem. Welcoming Lech Walesa**
(The revolution in Poland led by President Lech Walesa helped shape a new world order.)

-20 **Declaration of Relations Between the United States of America and the Republic of Poland**
(A new world order is based on democratic values and the rule of law)

-25 **Proclamation 6265-Women's History Month**
(Women in the military stationed in the Gulf fought for a new world order.)

-27 **Rem. State Department Employees**
(State Department employees are actively involved in illuminating a new world order.)

April

-24 **Rem. Following Discussions-Pres. of Djibouti**
(Djibouti's support of the United States gulf initiative is indicative of a new world order.)

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2. Public Papers of the Presidents, Remarks at Maxwell Air Force Base War College in Montgomery, Alabama, 27 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 431, April 13, 1991, 2986 words 373

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9. Public Papers of the Presidents, Interview With Middle Eastern Journalists, 27 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 275, March 8, 1991, 7518 words 282

10. Public Papers of the Presidents, White House Statement on Weapons of Mass Destruction, 27 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 261, March 7, 1991, 412 words 261

11. Public Papers of the Presidents, Remarks Upon Presenting the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Margaret Thatcher, 27 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 264, March 7, 1991, 1744 words 265

12. Public Papers of the Presidents, Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the Cessation of the Persian Gulf Conflict, 27 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 257, March 6, 1991, 2792 words 259

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6 weeks? See Nexis - Sept 8-9th....

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14. Public Papers of the Presidents, Radio Address to United States Armed Forces Stationed in the Persian Gulf Region, 27 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 245, March 2, 1991, 780 words 246

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15. Public Papers of the Presidents, Press Conference on the Persian Gulf Conflict, 27 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 234, March 1, 1991, 5569 words 237

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world. A week ago tonight, I went before the Congress and the American people to discuss two urgent yet interrelated matters: the aggression in the Middle East—and, Rabbi, thank you for your overly generous comments, sir—and the Federal budget deficit.

Even before the Persian Gulf crisis, we were already more economically vulnerable than we should ever be, especially with a projected Federal deficit of $232 billion. So, I told the Congress—and I know that Pete Wilson agrees—that we must address our budget deficit not in 1991 or '92 but right now.

We need a budget agreement that meets four basic tests. It must include measures to increase economic growth and cut our national dependence on foreign oil. It must be fair: Everyone should be called upon to make a sacrifice, but no one should bear the burden alone. A budget agreement should address the growth of the Government's hidden liabilities, and it must reform the budget process. And one thing more: We can cut this budget without hurting the economy; without another phony-baloney plan; with an agreement that is credible, real, and enforceable—one that will save America half a trillion dollars in 5 years.

I also told the Congress that if America remains strong at home, America can continue and will continue to lead abroad. But there's another component of American leadership that has no price tag, none at all, and I'm talking about the men and women who are serving this country in the Persian Gulf. America is a mighty nation, but we are a great nation only because of those who are ready to leave the comfort of their homes in Oceanside or San Bernardino to serve on the front line halfway around the world in defense of freedom. America is great because its courage is great.

And we all wish their job was done, but we know that it's not. Certain objectives must be met: Iraq must withdraw from Kuwait without condition. Kuwait's legitimate government must be restored. The security and stability of the Persian Gulf must be assured. And American citizens abroad must be protected. These objectives are not ours alone. They've been endorsed by the United Nations Security Council 6 times in 7 weeks.

And let me note the good news from our allies. West Germany has pledged to support the mission with almost $2 billion and provide transport ships and planes. Japan has now pledged a package worth $4 billion. France has added another 4,000 troops. And Great Britain has sent 120 tanks, 6,000 troops—the famous Desert Rats that some of us remember from World War II. It is truly, then, Iraq against the world.

We've also put tight sanctions into effect while working with the United Nations Security Council to allow food to reach innocent children, mothers, the sick, and the elderly. And we've been working with many nations to get relief to the most pitiful victims of this conflict—I'm talking about those thousands and hundreds of thousands of refugees, those that can afford it the least, humbled in the desert off the Iraq border.

I spoke of our four objectives. But we have another, final objective; and that is to create a new partnership of nations, a new world order—freer from the threat of terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice, more secure in the quest for peace. The international community has already taken a giant step toward that day. Together with our friends and allies, ships of the United States Navy are patrolling the Mideast waters. Already intercepted more than 700 ships to enforce these sanctions against Iraq. And the world is simply telling Saddam Hussein [President of Iraq], we will not give in to intimidation.

On matters like these, we are called upon to put country before self, and patriotism before party. And so, it's good that politics now are stopping at the water's edge, but that still leaves a lot of America in between. And from Long Beach to Long Island, we should and we will vigorously campaign right up to the November election. And for those of us at home, we can serve our country by being the best candidates, the best citizens and, yes, the best Republicans and Democrats we can be.

I am sure every Democrat agrees: We will not allow our political life to be held hostage to a crisis. When Californians go to the polls, absentee ballots will be coming in from Americans in uniform, including those stationed in the Persian Gulf region. And if

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America has always been a religious nation, perhaps never more than now. Just look at the last several weeks—churches, synagogues, mosques reporting record attendance at services; chapels packed during working hours as Americans stop in for a moment or two. Why? To pray for peace. And I know—of course, I know—that some disagree with the course that I've taken, and I have no bitterness in my heart about that at all, no anger. I am convinced that we are doing the right thing. And tolerance is a virtue, not a vice.

But with the support and prayers of so many, there can be no question in the minds of our soldiers or in the minds of our enemy about what Americans think. We know that this is a just war. And we know that, God willing, this is a war we will win. But most of all, we know that ours would not be the land of the free if it were not also the home of the brave. No one wanted war less than I did. No one is more determined to seize from battle the real peace that can offer hope, that can create a new world order.

When this war is over, the United States, its credibility and its reliability restored, will have a key leadership role in helping to bring peace to the rest of the Middle East. And I have been honored to serve as President of this great nation for 2 years now and believe more than ever that one cannot be America's President without trust in God. I cannot imagine a world, a life, without the presence of the One through whom all things are possible.

During the darkest days of the Civil War, a man we revere not merely for what he did but what he was, was asked whether he thought the Lord was on his side. And said Abraham Lincoln: "My concern is not whether God is on our side, but whether we are on God's side." My fellow Americans, I firmly believe in my heart of hearts that times will soon be on the side of peace because the world is overwhelmingly on the side of God.

Thank you for this occasion. And may God bless our great country. And please remember all of our coalition's armed forces in your prayers. Thank you, and God bless you.

Note: President Bush spoke at 9:03 a.m. in the ballroom of the Sheraton Washington Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Jerry Rose and Brandt Gustavson, president and executive director of the National Religious Broadcasters, and President Saddam Hussein of Iraq.

Remarks Prior to Discussions With Foreign Minister Ahmed Esmat Abdel Meguid of Egypt

January 29, 1991

May I just say welcome to the Egyptian journalists, and we're glad you're here.

I might violate a rule here. I normally don't have much to say in the Oval Office, but I would like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation to the Egyptian Government, specifically to President Mubarak and to Foreign Minister Meguid, for standing shoulder-to-shoulder with the coalition, leading it in many ways, and for the steadfast position that Egypt has taken in trying to counteract this aggression by Saddam Hussein. It's been a miraculous—a strong, wonderful leadership coming out of Egypt, and we are very grateful. And I'm very happy that I can say that here from the bottom of my heart.

Thank you all very much.

Note: President Bush spoke at 1:40 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to President Saddam Hussein of Iraq.

Remarks and an Exchange With Reporters Prior to Discussions With Foreign Minister Hans Van den Broek of The Netherlands

January 29, 1991

Q. Mr. President, could the third time be the charm here, sir? Could we ask you——

The President. What he doesn't understand is that I don't take questions at these photo opportunities. Of course, our guests——

Q. Would he be killed, Mr. President? Would he be killed if it came to war?

The President. I'm not going to answer that. I don't know the answer to that question.

Q. Mr. President, you seem to have ruled out further diplomacy as a——

The President. No, you missed what I said, ma'am—Ellen, about the Secretary-General, possibly. The EC has tried—I'll get back to you. Let me finish this one train of thought and then I'll come to your question—the EC has tried, and, indeed, we see 'Aziz saying no, he wouldn't meet with the foreign ministers. You've seen President Chadli Bendjedid of Algeria to try.

I told the Congressmen, I want to see us go the last step for peace. I want to use everything at my power to encourage people to try. And, indeed, there have been. Arab League has tried. Over and over again, people have tried. And they run up against the same answer. I remember the speculation that came out here in our papers in this country about a visit by a French delegate that was going over there. The hopes were raised. Nothing happened. So, I just had to argue with the premise because there has been a lot of diplomacy and there may be more.

Now, excuse me for interrupting you.

Q. Sir, you seem to be very skeptical that further diplomacy would work. And yet you've said here today that you haven't given up on a peaceful solution. I wonder where it is you find this hope for a peaceful solution?

The President. I'm not sure I have great hope for it. But I think when human life is at stake, you go the extra mile for peace. And that's what we have tried to do. And I will continue to think of reasons—I told President Mitterrand, I said, look, if you think of a new approach, or I do, please, let's one or the other get on the phone and try. But we remain determined that these resolutions are going to be complied with. I am very concerned that sanctions—I know sanctions alone aren't going to get this job done. And so we're pushing here, and that's what the Baker meeting with 'Aziz was about. I'm not going to give up, though.

Karen [Karen Hosler, Baltimore Sun]?

Q. A lot of people, in looking at the situation, on the outside will say, there must be more than this. There must be some back-channel diplomacy. There must be something going on. We can't be rushing headlong into war this way. Can you tell us that there is nothing, that it is what we appear to be getting—that Saddam isn't going to move and we're going to war?

The President. I'm not going to use that phrase. I am going to say, if Saddam doesn't move, we are going to fully implement Resolution 678. And it will be fully complied with.

But I wish I could tell you I'm more hopeful. There is no back channel. We've tried it directly. I've had to level, and properly so, with our coalition partners as to what I'm doing, and they've leveled with us, leveled with the United Nations Security Council members who are not involved in the coalition with force—for example, the Soviets. A lot of avenues have been tried. But I can't tell you that there's any hidden agenda out there, secret negotiations—there is not. And it wouldn't be right for us to be off telling you one thing openly here and then going around behind the corner with some secret channel. So, I would like to say if there's any feeling that that's happening, it isn't happening.

Q. So, the entire hope for peace then rests on Saddam backing off from his——

The President. And it has since August 2d—exactly. Because this aggression is not going to stand. And there's an awful lot at stake in terms of the new world order that it doesn't stand. And there's a lot at stake in terms of a lot of human life in Kuwait that it doesn't stand. And there's a lot at stake in terms of how the coalition looks at this that it doesn't stand. So, it won't.

Q. Mr. President, you said that when you first proposed high-level talks between Iraq and the United States that it was because you were convinced the message had not gotten through, had not gotten across. Are you now convinced that the message had gotten across?

The President. Well, I did listen carefully to Mr. 'Aziz, who I thought spoke quite well. I didn't agree with what he was trying to do, obviously, to confuse the issue by refusing to discuss the point at hand, which

never felt more sure of that than I do today.

Q. If I may follow. The question, as I'm sure you know with your expertise in foreign affairs, is that you can do much of what you want to do diplomatically with a phone call, without a meeting that rewards terrorism.

President Bush. That what?

Q. If you wanted to meet, or if you wanted to speak to President Assad about the Gulf situation, you could do that, as you often do, with a telephone call. But the allegation is that if you meet him personally——

President Bush. I've already had a telephone call with him. Now we're going to have a meeting. That should no way indicate that there are no differences between the United States and Syria on a wide array of questions. There are; everybody knows that. But we are together on this question, and now I want to be sure that we are solidly together in every way. And that is in the interest of every country.

President Mubarak. Could I add some words?

President Bush. Yes, please.

President Mubarak. I think no problem—it's not a big problem just to—that President Bush could meet with President Assad. As far as their meeting for peace questions, we should encourage that. The whole world needs peace. Whenever there is peace, there is stability. And a telephone call—there is great difference between solving the problem, some problems, with telephone calls and sitting with each other and have direct talks. This may be, in some issues, very effective. Thank you.

President Bush. This, I'm told by our leader over here on the right, not on the left this time, is the last question.

New World Order

Q. You said, President Bush, that a new world order would emerge once the Gulf crisis has been solved. How do you envisage this new world order?

President Bush. Well, I envisage it, one, where the whole—once we're—let me start over. Once we set back this aggression, and once it is clear that the security and the stability of the Gulf are enhanced by whatever arrangements are set into place—once that this invading dictator gets out of Kuwait—then I think that it's clear we're going to have an opportunity, given the diversity of this coalition, to work more closely together. And part of that—I want to see a solution to the question of the West Bank, for example. But I think if we work cooperatively as are—with our common sights set—this aggressor will not succeed—it opens up all kinds of possibilities for a new world order.

We're already seeing that world order means world. And we're beginning to see that with what happened out of the—well, just as a result of the actions that led up to this successful CSCE meeting. I'm going down to South America, and the evolving democracies there are strengthening their economies, and we've got a program that I think will be very helpful there.

But as it relates to the Middle East, I think we've got all kinds of potentials for peace, given the fact that we've come together almost unanimously, standing up against this brutal dictator. And out of that and out of the contexts that go with that, I hope we can be catalytic in solving other problems, and I think that will lead to a new world order that has much better chance for peace for our children and our grandchildren.

So, that is the optimistic part of all of this. Right now we're facing a brutal dictator, and we've got to do something about it—a man that's holding hostages and all of this. It's just unconscionable what the man is doing. But as we unite and as we prove to be successful—and we will be successful—I think we can then see all around this concept that aggression will not pay, that we have a better shot for world peace. And I will work my hardest to be sure that the United States plays an active role in that, whether it be in the Middle East or whether it be in the rest of the world.

That is the exciting part. The more troubling aspect is how do we get this brutal dictator out of Kuwait now? And that one we've been talking about.

President Mubarak. Thank you.

President Bush. Thank you all.

Note: *President Mubarak spoke at 12:35 p.m. in the main hall of Itihahdia Palace. Prior to*

passed by the United Nations Security Council.

Regrettably, the noon deadline passed without the agreement of the Government of Iraq to meet demands of United Nations Security Council Resolution 660, as set forth in the specific terms spelled out by the coalition to withdraw unconditionally from Kuwait. To the contrary, what we have seen is a redoubling of Saddam Hussein's efforts to destroy completely Kuwait and its people.

I have, therefore, directed General Norman Schwarzkopf, in conjunction with coalition forces, to use all forces available, including ground forces, to eject the Iraqi army from Kuwait. Once again, this was a decision made only after extensive consultations within our coalition partnership.

The liberation of Kuwait has now entered a final phase. I have complete confidence in the ability of the coalition forces swiftly and decisively to accomplish their mission.

Tonight, as this coalition of countries seeks to do that which is right and just, I ask only that all of you stop what you are doing and say a prayer for all the coalition forces, and especially for our men and women in uniform who this very moment are risking their lives for their country and for all of us.

May God bless and protect each and every one of them. And may God bless the United States of America. Thank you very much.

Note: President Bush spoke at 10 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House. In his address, he referred to President Saddam Hussein of Iraq. The address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this address.

Remarks on the Observance of National Afro-American (Black) History Month

February 25, 1991

Thank you very much. It is a great, great pleasure for Barbara and me to welcome you all to the White House. It's good to see so many friends here today, including so many members of our administration: our Vice President, of course; and Lou Sullivan; Jack Kemp; Lynn Martin; of course, the Chairman of our Joint Chiefs, General Powell; Connie Newman; Art Fletcher; and so many more. I salute our red-coated special guests. You bring honor to this place, and we're delighted to have you here.

I know that the issue on all of our minds is the war in the Gulf. And I'm glad to report, after consultation a few minutes ago with Chairman Powell, General Powell, that the news is good. Coalition air and ground forces are advancing on their objectives. Enemy prisoners are surrendering in large numbers—large numbers. And thus far, thank God, U.S. and coalition casualties are few.

The liberation of Kuwait is on course and on schedule. We have the initiative. We intend to keep it. We must guard against euphoria; there are battles yet to come and casualties to be borne. But make no mistake, we will prevail. Kuwait will soon be free, and America's men and women in uniform will return home to the thanks and respect of a grateful nation.

This was a war thrust upon us, not a war that we sought. But naked aggression, such as we have seen, must be resisted if it is not to become a pattern. Our success in the Gulf will bring with it not just a new opportunity for peace and stability in a critical part of the world but a chance to build a new world order based upon the principles of collective security and the rule of law.

But today, we're here to celebrate the proud spectrum of black achievement. For we recognize that black history, this rich tale of roots and purpose and pride, is really everyone's history.

And something else, too—you know, in the midst of war we find ourselves thinking about heroes. Well, this is the time to especially think of black heroes. Those who, by their fierce conviction, showed no race has a monopoly on idealism or excellence. And we must tell stories of black successes to every child in our country because we need heroes. We need them as much as we need our dreams. And black Americans have always provided both.

A few nights ago, General Tony McPeak, the Chief of Staff of our Air Force, and an

second Sunday of October in each year as "National School Lunch Week" and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of that week.

Now, Therefore, I, George Bush, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week beginning October 14, 1990, as National School Lunch Week. I call upon all Americans to recognize those dedicated and hardworking individuals who contribute to the success of the School Lunch Program.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-fourth day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and fifteenth.

George Bush

[*Filed with the Office of Federal Register, 4:23 p.m., September 24, 1990*]

Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at a White House Briefing for Representatives of the Arab-American Community

September 24, 1990

The President. Welcome to the White House. Thank you very, very much. First, let me thank Richard and Paul. I've been doing a little homework listening—hey, Bill—listening to your questions and saying, thank God I don't have to answer any of them, because I'm—[*laughter*]—but I'm here to just make a few comments. And I want to start by thanking both the gentlemen that are behind me here, and those with whom they work—in Richard's case, Brent Scowcroft; in Paul's case, Secretary Cheney—and all the team that we have. But these two individuals have worked night and day during this series of events that are called on the evening news, and properly so, the Gulf crisis. So, to both of you, my sincere thanks. And this one over, too, here that some of you know, John Sununu. He's been concentrating a lot on trying to do something about the budget deficit, and the same time being at my side

So, all three have been extraordinarily busy, as I know you have. But I want to welcome you to the White House—a pleasure to see so many distinguished leaders of the Arab-American community here.

I'm told that Congressman Nick Rahall is here. Nick, where are you? Oops, way back there—modestly sitting in the back. I don't understand that, but he ought to be in the front row because he's of good conscience and he helps me understand the heartbeat in some of these Arab communities, and certainly in the Arab-American community. And I'm grateful to him that he took the time to be with us today.

I'm going to keep my remarks brief because in the words of the famous Arab-American poet, Kahlil Gibran, "We shall never understand one another until we reduce the language to seven words." Well, I've got a few more than seven words, so please indulge me. But I won't keep you too long.

I am honored that you could be with us to discuss the vital issue of our collective security, both abroad and at home. And I understand that you've had a good briefing. I heard a couple, and I don't know whether you've had others as well, but those were good on the situation in the Gulf. I've never seen an issue, certainly since I've been President, that just pervaded the thoughts of everybody in our country. You, more than most, I think, understand what's at stake here. And our action in the Gulf is not about religion, nor is it about greed or culture or imperialist ambitions, as Saddam Hussein [President of Iraq] would have the world believe. Our action in the Gulf is about our determination to stand up with other nations against aggression, and to preserve the sovereignty of nations. It is about keeping our word and standing by our friends. It is about our vital national security interests and ensuring peace and stability in the world. So, to sum it up: It is about principle.

Our objectives remain clear: Iraq must withdraw from Kuwait completely, immediately, and without condition; Kuwait's legitimate government must be restored; the security and stability of the Persian Gulf assured; and American citizens abroad must

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be protected. And finally, a fifth objective can emerge from these: a new world order in which the nations of the world, East and West, North and South, can prosper and live together.

The extent of world cooperation in condemning Saddam Hussein is literally unprecedented. The concept of burden sharing is gaining acceptance with our allies and with our friends—from Britain and France to Germany, Japan, and the Arab world—contributing troops and supplies and economic assistance to those countries affected by the economic blockade. In fact, since Saddam Hussein's unprovoked attack on Kuwait, more than 20 countries have answered the call for help from the Gulf nations to provide defensive assistance against Iraq. And indeed, Iraq stands alone against the world community. Over and over again, Saddam Hussein has attempted to make this the Arab world against the United States. You've heard it over and over and over again. And that lie is not going to be perpetuated. It simply is not true. We are joined with many others around the world. Iraq stands alone against the world community. The United Nations Security Council has strongly condemned Saddam Hussein's actions no less than seven times. Active consideration going on for another resolution right now. United against aggression, the world community is working to resolve the crisis peacefully.

We must also resist his attempt—Saddam Hussein's attempt—to link the Iraqi invasion with other conflicts. There are other regional conflicts, and they're serious, and they've got to be solved. And we've got to do our level best to be catalysts for the solution. But we are going to resist his attempts to justify what he did based on other regional concerns. So, I think these are merely, on his part, an effort to create additional pretexts so that he can stay in Kuwait. And I'll guarantee I'm not going to be distracted by this. Once the Gulf crisis is on its way to resolution, of course, we want to go forward with the peace process. And our position is clear and consistent, calling—I heard your questions and I understand where you're coming from. And I agree with much of what I thought was being said here. Certainly agree with what our people here have told you. But our position is clear, calling for negotiations based on these two resolutions. And these negotiations have got to involve territory for peace, security, recognition for Israel, and legitimate political rights for the Palestinians.

As I said before, we have no quarrel with the people of Iraq either. Our mission is to oppose the invasion ordered by Saddam Hussein. As you well know, love of justice and respect and dignity are principles as deeply embedded in the Arab tradition as they are in the whole Western tradition. No question about that. And these are qualities embodied in the 2½ million Americans of Arab descent, with origins from Morocco to the Arabian Peninsula. Just like so many who have come to America, Arab immigrants pursued new beginnings. And they came in search of freedom and justice and equality. Unfortunately, today—I'm glad the media are here because I want this message to go out beyond this room—today some Americans are the victims of appalling acts of hatred. And this is a sad irony that while our brave soldiers fight aggression overseas, a few hatemongers here at home are perpetrating their own brand of cowardly aggression. Death threats, physical attacks, vandalism, religious violence, and discrimination against Arab-Americans must end.

These hate crimes have no place in a free society and we're not going to stand for them. I've been appalled by reports from some of you, friends of mine, here in this room—by reports of discrimination against Arab-Americans. And I condemn such acts, and I will continue to condemn them. This administration has supported enactment of the hate crimes legislation because bigotry and hate still do exist in this country. And hate breeds violence, threatening the security of our entire society. As I said when I signed the bill, all Americans must join together to rid our communities of the poison of prejudice, bias, and discrimination.

America is home to millions of Moslems who are free to live, work, and worship in accord with the traditions and teachings of Islam. Similarly, America is also home to the millions of Christians and Jews, also free to live, work, and worship. And surely the multinational troops—men and women of every religion and color—who are now on duty in the glare of the desert sun are an



concerned about the next President of Iraq who today is a child and today is cutting the food from him. If this young fellow is going to be malnourished and one day he has to sit down with the next President of the United States who will take your office, how he is going to deal with him? Can you please, from humanitarian point of view, let go with the food emergency? It is needed. And I do appreciate it. Thank you, Mr. President.

The President. Absolutely. But let me tell you this. The United Nations—it's a very important point. This is a very important point. It includes Kuwait, it includes Iraq, it includes wherever food and little kids are going without nourishment. But the United Nations has addressed itself to this. And do you know what the response so far has been? The response has been that you cannot—they will not permit any kind of distribution supervision to see that the food gets to the—particularly a lot of Asians stranded there. I talked to one of the most distinguished citizens of the world who has devoted a lot of his life to the refugee business. And he's just back, on behalf of [United Nations Secretary-General] Perez de Cuellar, from surveying the situation. And what he was told is that the Asians particularly who are suffering the most—I'm talking about Filipinos, I'm talking about Bangladeshis and Indians and people—they're the ones who are hurting the most because of Saddam Hussein's refusal to permit what the United Nations has called for.

But look, every American, all of us here, must have our concerns out there for the women and the children and all these others. I am much less interested in feeding Saddam Hussein's army at this point. But we want to get the food to those that need it. And that includes refugees that aren't Iraqi citizens. They're hurting the most. These were the poorest of the poor that had jobs there in Kuwait. And now they're being thrown out with—and the message is coming through—well, you people in Pakistan, you people in India, you people in Bangladesh, feed your own people. We're going to take care of Iraq.

All he has to do is agree to what the world has called for—international supervision. And the United States and others would stand at the ready to help. We're standing at the ready to help anyway. But this is a matter of international law now under the sanctions. So, he can't violate that. You must use your influence, if anyone has any with him.

Q. ——the American Iraqi Foundation. Can we supervise it?

The President. That would be great if we can get that done, yes.

Lebanon

Q. One question about Lebanon, please.

The President. Shoot.

Q. Very short. [*Laughter*] We in the National Alliance of Lebanese Americans applaud and support the lead our government has taken in responding to the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait. In fact, our government has taken every action against Iraq that we have been urging should be taken against Syria for its similar action in Lebanon. Syria is now apparently allied with our government and others against Iraq. This disturbs us greatly, unless our government has some plan to use its newfound leverage on Syria to cause Hafiz Asad [President of Syria] to conform to the norms of civilized behavior that we are attempting to enforce against Saddam Hussein.

This is the question: What is our plan to make Syria conform? And if there is no plan, doesn't our alliance with Syria compromise our moral position in the worldwide effort against Iraq?

The President. This thing is so complex over there that it's pretty hard to give you a definitive answer. Out of this, though, there could well be a new world order. And part of that must be the peaceful resolution of the division of Lebanon. I've been there; I've worked there years ago. And I'm old enough—you're too young, but I'm old enough—no, you're not too young, but she is—[*laughter*]—no, seriously, to remember Lebanon as the peaceful crossroad. It didn't matter what was going on in the rest of the world; commerce survived, people got along one with the other, different religions and different ways of life all thriving there.

We want to help on that. I've been frustrated. One of the great frustrations of my job, as John Sununu can tell you from sitting there and listening to me wring my

George the Sixth's coronation. For decades they stood erect and proud, like the ties that bind our nations. And then last September, a storm swept through Washington, destroying one of the lindens planted for your father. Each served to remind all of us that trees are precious, but fragile, and they need our help, as we need their beauty.

Teddy Roosevelt once called our lands and wildlife "the property of unborn generations." And so I can think of no better way to show our friendship, nor salute the children of both our countries than to plant a new linden tree. It is my honor now to dedicate this tree to a truly great and good man, King George the Sixth.

Note: The President spoke at 1:40 p.m. on the South Lawn of the White House.

Proclamation 6292—Prayer for Peace, Memorial Day, 1991

May 14, 1991

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

"What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly," Thomas Paine wrote in 1776, "it is dearness only that gives everything its value. Heaven knows how to put a proper price upon its goods, and it would be strange indeed if so celestial an article as freedom should not be highly rated." The war in the Persian Gulf has reminded all Americans of the value of freedom and the price that many brave men and women have been willing to bear for its sake. Neither "summer soldiers" nor "sunshine patriots," the members of Operation Desert Storm did not shrink from service to their country when the dark clouds of armed conflict gathered in the Persian Gulf, and, like the early patriots of whom Thomas Paine wrote, they deserve our respect and thanks. Those who made the ultimate sacrifice in the effort to liberate Kuwait joined a long line of heroes who have given their lives for our country, and on Memorial Day we remember all of them with solemn pride and heartfelt appreciation.

Whether we engage in quiet prayer or in public ceremony, whether we remember loved ones and neighbors or heroes known only to God, all Americans are united on this day in thanksgiving for the blessings of liberty and for the brave and selfless individuals who have helped to secure them. The sacrifices of those who fell in the Persian Gulf are a fresh and vivid memory, but on this occasion we also remember those who died while serving in places such as Panama, Grenada, Beirut, Korea, and Vietnam. We also honor with undiminished pride and gratitude those who served decades ago, during World Wars I and II.

On Memorial Day, we echo in prayer the fervent hope that these Americans expressed with their very lives: the hope for lasting peace among nations. Knowing that any peace purchased by the surrender of principle can be neither genuine nor enduring, we pray for wisdom and resolve in our efforts to avert future conflicts and to establish a new world order based on respect for human rights and the rule of law. Knowing too that our freedom has been obtained at a very high cost, we also pray that we might remain a people worthy of so precious a gift. Declaring that "the times that try men's souls are over," Thomas Paine wrote: "The world has seen [America] great in adversity . . . and rising in resolve as the storm increased . . . . Let the world then see that she can bear prosperity and that her honest virtue in time of peace is equal to the bravest virtue in time of war."

In recognition of those Americans to whom we pay tribute today, the Congress, by a joint resolution approved on May 11, 1950 (64 Stat. 158), has requested the President to issue a proclamation calling upon the people of the United States to observe each Memorial Day as a day of prayer for permanent peace and designating a period on that day when the people of the United States might unite in prayer.

Now, Therefore, I, George Bush, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate Memorial Day, May 27, 1991, as a day of prayer for permanent peace, and I designate the hour beginning in each locality at 11 o'clock in the morning of that day as a time to unite in prayer. I

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Week Ending Friday, April 19, 1991

Remarks at Maxwell Air Force Base War College in Montgomery, Alabama

April 13, 1991

Thank you all very, very much for that warm welcome. General Boyd and General McPeak, the distinguished Members of the Congress with us—Senators Heflin, Shelby, and Bill Dickinson. Mayor Folmar—a nonpartisan event, but I'm glad to see some friends of long-standing over here—[*laughter*]—who were enormously helpful to me in getting to be President of the United States.

It is my great pleasure to look out across what essentially is a sea of blue, to meet this morning with the men and women of the Air University—the Air War College, the Air Command and Staff School, the Squadron Officers School, and of course, the NCO Academy. And I'm glad to see democracy in action—I see a Navy guy here or there, or maybe a coastguardsman—[*laughter*]—maybe the Marines, maybe the Army over here. And I think I recognize some friends from overseas, members of our coalition who helped us so much in achieving our objectives halfway around the world. They're more than welcome.

The history of aviation has been shaped here since the Wright brothers brought their strange new mechanical bird to Montgomery and housed it in a hangar not far from where we stand. This institution, from its early days as the Air Corps Tactical School, has defined the Nation's air strategy and tactics that have guided our operations over the fields of Europe and the seas of the Pacific, from the First World War to the 1,000 hours of Desert Storm.

It falls to all of you to derive the lessons learned from this war. Desert Storm demonstrated the true strength of joint operations: not the notion that each service must participate in equal parts in every operation in every war but that we use the proper tools at the proper time. In Desert Storm, a critical tool was certainly air power. And every one of you can take pride in that fact. Our technology and training ensured minimal losses, and our precision—your precision—spared the lives of innocent civilians.

But our victory also showed that technology alone is insufficient. A warrior's heart must burn with the will to fight. And if he fights but does not believe, no technology in the world can save him. We and our allies had more than superior weapons; we had the will to win.

I might say parenthetically, this will is personified by the man who leads you. I know that General Boyd often speaks about what he calls the unlimited liability of the military profession. He knows because he's put it all on the line. As a veteran of Vietnam, he flew 105 combat missions before being shot down over Hanoi. And he spent almost 7 years—2,500 cruel days—in captivity. And yet he emerged brave, unbroken. He kept the faith to himself and to his nation.

And let me just say a word about this man over here on my left, General McPeak. I remember early on a meeting up at Camp David with Tony McPeak. Secretary Cheney was there; General Powell was there; Brent Scowcroft, other chiefs. The other chiefs, I believe, were with us, Tony. And in a very laid-back way—typical of him with his modesty—but with total confidence, he told me exactly what he felt air power could do. And after he left—I don't mean to show my native skepticism—but I turned to my trusted National Security Advisor, who's standing over here, General Brent Scowcroft, and I said, "Brent, does this guy really know what he's talking about?" [*Laughter*] And Lieutenant General Scowcroft—Air Force Lieutenant General—said, "Yes." And General McPeak did.

And to be doubly sure then—and he'll remember this—just before the war started I invited General McPeak and Secretary Cheney to join me and General Scowcroft upstairs at the Residence in the White

House—quiet lunch there. And I asked Tony—I think he'd just come back then from the theater—the other theater—[*laughter*]. And I put the question to him—I think this is exactly what I said—"Are you as certain now as you were up at Camp David?" And he said, "Even more so." And the war started just a few days later, and history will record that General McPeak was 100 percent right—right on target.

Here at Air University it's your business to read the lessons of the past with an eye on the far horizon. And that's why I wanted to speak to you today about the new world taking shape around us, about the prospects for a new world order now within our reach. For more than four decades we've lived in a world divided, East from West; a world locked in a conflict of arms and ideas called the cold war. Two systems, two superpowers separated by mistrust and unremitting hostility.

For more than four decades, America's energies were focused on containing the threat to the free world from the forces of communism. That war is over. East Germany has vanished from the map as a separate entity. Today in Berlin, the wall that once divided a continent, divided a world in two, has been pulverized, turned into souvenirs. And the sections that remain standing are but museum pieces. The Warsaw Pact passed into the pages of history last week, not with a bang but with a whimper—its demise reported in a story reported on page A16 of the Washington Post.

In the coming weeks I'll be talking in some detail about the possibility of a new world order emerging after the cold war. And in recent weeks I've been focusing not only on the Gulf but on free trade—on the North American free trade agreement, the Uruguay round trade negotiations, and the essentiality of obtaining from the United States Congress a renewal of Fast Track authority to achieve our goals. But today I want to discuss another aspect of that order—our relations with Europe and the Soviet Union.

Twice this century, a dream born on the battlefields of Europe died after the shooting stopped. The dream of a world in which major powers worked together to ensure peace; to settle their disputes through cooperation, not confrontation. Today a transformed Europe stands closer than ever before to its free and democratic destiny. At long last, Europe is moving forward, moving toward a new world of hope.

At the same time, we and our European allies have moved beyond containment to a policy of active engagement in a world no longer driven by cold war tensions and animosities. You see, as the cold war drew to an end we saw the possibilities of a new order in which nations worked together to promote peace and prosperity. I'm not talking here of a blueprint that will govern the conduct of nations or some supernatural structure or institution. The new world order does not mean surrendering our national sovereignty or forfeiting our interests. It really describes a responsibility imposed by our successes. It refers to new ways of working with other nations to deter aggression and to achieve stability, to achieve prosperity and, above all, to achieve peace.

It springs from hopes for a world based on a shared commitment among nations large and small to a set of principles that undergird our relations: peaceful settlements of disputes, solidarity against aggression, reduced and controlled arsenals, and just treatment of all peoples.

This order, this ability to work together, got its first real test in the Gulf war. For the first time, a regional conflict—the aggression against Kuwait—did not serve as a proxy for superpower confrontation. For the first time, the United Nations Security Council, free from the clash of cold war ideologies, functioned as its designers intended—a force for conflict resolution in collective security.

In the Gulf, nations from Europe and North America, Asia and Africa and the Arab world joined together to stop aggression, and sent a signal to would-be tyrants everywhere in the world. By joining forces to defend one small nation, we showed that we can work together against aggressors in defense of principle.

We also recognized that the cold war's end didn't deliver us into an era of perpetual peace. As old threats recede, new threats emerge. The quest for the new world order is, in part, a challenge to keep the dangers of disorder at bay.

would begin with separate discussions in Nicosia—designed to begin preparation of an outline for a Cyprus settlement—between U.N. authorities and each of the two Cypriot communities. The Secretary General envisioned that as work progressed on this outline it would be possible late this year to call for a meeting between him and the two community leaders.

On July 19 the U.N. Security Council, responding to the U.N. Secretary General's report of July 12 unanimously adopted a statement that was read by the President of the Security Council, as follows:

"The members of the Security Council have considered the Secretary General's report on his mission of good offices in Cyprus (S/21393). They are unanimous in giving their full support to the Secretary General's current effort to assist the two communities to reach a just and lasting solution. They agree with his assessment of recent developments, share his concern about the lack of progress, and endorse his plan of action.

"The members of the Council reaffirm their Resolution 649 (1990) of 12 March, 1990 which was accepted by both sides, and reiterate the importance they attach to an early negotiated settlement of the Cyprus Problem.

"The members of the Council call on the leaders of the two communities to cooperate fully with the Secretary General on the basis of his plan of action and to arrive, on an urgent basis, at an agreed outline of an overall agreement. In line with Resolution 649 (1990), they request the Secretary General to make suggestions as necessary, to assist the two communities in arriving at an agreed outline.

"The members of the Council again call on the parties concerned to refrain, especially at this sensitive stage in the process, from any action or statement that could aggravate the situation. They express their concern over any action which contravenes paragraph 5 of UNSC Res 550 (1984) and paragraph 5 of UNSC Res 649 (1990). They call upon both communities to concentrate their efforts on promoting mutual confidence and reconciliation.

"The members of the Council request the Secretary General to inform the Council by 31 October, 1990 about the implementation of his plan of action."

Sincerely,

George Bush

Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

The President's News Conference on the Persian Gulf Crisis

August 30, 1990

Financial Support for Multinational Efforts

The President. I have a brief statement, and then I'll be glad to take some questions.

The United States is engaged in a collective effort, involving the overwhelming majority of the member states of the United Nations, to reverse the consequences of Iraqi aggression. Our goals, enshrined in five Security Council resolutions, are clear: the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait, the restoration of Kuwait's legitimate government, the stability of Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf, and the protection of American citizens.

What is at stake here is truly significant: the dependability of America's commitments to its friends and allies, the shape of the post-postwar world, opposition to aggression, the potential domination of the energy resources that are crucial to the entire world. This effort has been truly international from the very outset. Many other countries are contributing. At last count, 22 countries have either responded to a request from Saudi Arabia to help deter further aggression or are contributing maritime forces pursuant to United Nations Security Council Resolution 665. Still others are providing other forms of financial and material support to these defense efforts or to countries whose economies are affected adversely by sanctions or by higher oil prices. Still others are paying a heavy economic price at home for complying with

U.S. Policy and Foreign Nationals in Iraq and Kuwait

Q. Mr. President, Saddam Hussein [President of Iraq] has rejected demands that he pull his troops out of Kuwait, and he's holding several thousand foreigners hostage to keep the world at bay. You say you don't see much chance for diplomacy to work. How long can the West allow this impasse to go on? And would you take any action that might endanger the lives of those hostages?

The President. It will go on as long as it takes to have these United Nations sanctions fully implemented. And I'm glad that these diplomatic efforts are taking place. Perhaps one will hit pay dirt. But as of now, I must say I'm not optimistic because the man keeps reiterating terms that simply fly in the face of the United Nations action.

And on the second question, look, I feel very concerned about Americans that are held against their will. But we cannot permit hostage-taking to shape the foreign policy of this country, and I won't permit it to do that.

Q. Sir, does that mean that their lives would be expendable if you judge in the national interest——

The President. That's too hypothetical a question. It means I will not change the policy of the United States, and I don't think other leaders whose foreign nationals are in the same predicament will change their policies, to pay homage or to give credibility to this brutal move of staking out citizens and a brutal move of holding people against their will.

Q. Mr. President, there are reports that there's a split in your administration—some who want to expand the goals to include the eventual ouster of Saddam. And also, there are many, many suggestions for a Middle East conference that would include in what you would call the post-postwar shape of the world, the perennial problems of the Middle East. What do you think on both——

The President. Well, I think on the second part of the question that we ought to get on with the business at hand, the shorter run business, which is the solution to this question: the making right the situation in Kuwait, meaning the pulling out of forces, obviously, and the restoration of the rulers. As I look at the countries that are chipping in here now, I think we do have a chance at a new world order, and I'd like to think that out of this dreary performance by Saddam Hussein there could be now an opportunity for peace all through the Middle East. But we have to be sure that what's been undertaken so far is successful before we can move to that other agenda, it seems to me.

Q. Well, would you support then a conference afterwards? I mean, this may be premature, but the question is: Are you shooting for that?

The President. I haven't—that's not an objective, a conference. Peace through the Middle East is an objective. And as you know, we have never ruled out a conference of any nature. In fact, it was part of our diplomacy just several years ago. But I don't want to get out ahead of where we are right now on this. The question right now is: What do we do to get Saddam Hussein to comply with international law?

I left out—you had another part of it.

Q. And you want to get him out of it. job? You want to get him out of——

The President. Well, it wouldn't disappoint me if the Iraqis got up and said, Look, this man is our problem. I've said right here the problem is not with the people in Iraq—simply isn't. But I've spelled out our objectives here, and I've stopped short of adding to them what—the answer that you were seeking from me on the President——

Q. Mr. President, some have expressed the fear that Saddam Hussein might seek to inflame the Arab world against the United States by drawing Israel into the conflict here, perhaps by a strike against Jordan. Can you tell us if you're prepared for such a contingency, and if so, how?

The President. Well, that's, again, hypothetical. I can't predict what he's going to do. But I can tell you that we are continuing to implement our forces and we are continuing to take all the diplomatic moves that are necessary to prepare for any contingency.

Jordan's Role in U.N. Embargo

Q. Let me just follow up by asking a question about Jordan's participation in the U.N. sanctions. There are numerous reports

not only serving in positions of leadership and responsibility, but also setting standards of achievement for others. These individuals have a wealth of talent and ideas to share. Helping greater numbers of persons with disabilities to enter the mainstream of American life is, therefore, more than a moral imperative—it is also a sound investment in our Nation's well-being.

This week we recognize the dedicated professionals and volunteers who—by providing various rehabilitative services—are helping individuals with disabilities to participate more fully in the social, economic, and political life of our country. Through rehabilitative agencies and facilities throughout the United States, these men and women are enabling Americans with physical, mental, and emotional impairments to gain greater independence and self-confidence.

On July 26, 1990, it was my privilege to sign into law the world's first comprehensive declaration of equality for persons with disabilities—the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990. Expanding upon the goals of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, this landmark legislation will ensure continued progress in efforts to help Americans with disabilities to live with greater freedom and independence. The Americans with Disabilities Act guarantees individuals with disabilities protection against discrimination; access to public accommodations, such as offices, hotels, and shopping centers; and improved access to transportation and telecommunications services.

All Americans have reason to celebrate our Nation's progress in eliminating the physical and attitudinal barriers that have, in the past, prevented many persons with disabilities from entering the mainstream of American life. Rehabilitation services and related research and education programs have played an important role in this progress, and, this week, we salute all those dedicated and hardworking men and women who have devoted their energy and skills to this important work.

In recognition of the many achievements of Americans with disabilities and in honor of all those who provide rehabilitative services for persons with disabilities, the Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 279, has designated the week of September 16 through September 22, 1990, as "National Rehabilitation Week" and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this week.

Now, Therefore, I, George Bush, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week of September 16 through September 22, 1990, as National Rehabilitation Week. I urge all Americans to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities, including educational programs designed to heighten awareness of rehabilitative services and of the ways such services enrich the lives of persons with disabilities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this eleventh day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and fifteenth.

George Bush

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:47 p.m., September 11, 1990]

General description of the tenets of ANWO

Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the Persian Gulf Crisis and the Federal Budget Deficit

September 11, 1990

Mr. President and Mr. Speaker and Members of the United States Congress, distinguished guests, fellow Americans, thank you very much for that warm welcome. We gather tonight, witness to events in the Persian Gulf as significant as they are tragic. In the early morning hours of August 2nd, following negotiations and promises by Iraq's dictator Saddam Hussein not to use force, a powerful Iraqi army invaded its trusting and much weaker neighbor, Kuwait. Within 3 days, 120,000 Iraqi troops with 850 tanks had poured into Kuwait and moved south to threaten Saudi Arabia. It was then that I decided to act to check that aggression.

At this moment, our brave service men and women stand watch in that distant desert and on distant seas, side by side with the forces of more than 20 other nations. They are some of the finest men and

nber 22, 1990, as "National Week" and has authorized the President to issue a proc-ervance of this week.

ore, I, George Bush, Presi-nited States of America, do n the week of September 16 nber 22, 1990, as National Week. I urge all Americans week with appropriate cere-ivities, including educational ned to heighten awareness e services and of the ways enrich the lives of persons

Thereof, I have hereunto set eventh day of September, in Lord nineteen hundred and the Independence of the f America the two hundred

George Bush

Office of the Federal Regis-eptember 11, 1990]

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and Mr. Speaker and Mem-ted States Congress, distin-ellow Americans, thank you that warm welcome. We witness to events in the Per-ificant as they are tragic. In g hours of August 2nd, Sad-ons and promises by Iraq's Hussein not to use force, a army invaded its trusting r neighbor, Kuwait. Within Iraqi troops with 850 tanks Kuwait and moved south i Arabia. It was then that I check that aggression nt, our brave servicemen nd watch in that distant tant seas, side by side with re than 20 other nations of the finest men and

women of the United States of America. And they're doing one terrific job. These valiant Americans were ready at a moment's notice to leave their spouses and their children, to serve on the front line halfway around the world. They remind us who keeps America strong: they do. In the trying circumstances of the Gulf, the morale of our service men and women is excellent. In the face of danger, they're brave, they're well-trained and dedicated.

A soldier, Private First Class Wade Merritt of Knoxville, Tennessee, now stationed in Saudi Arabia, wrote his parents of his worries, his love of family, and his hope for peace. But Wade also wrote, "I am proud of my country and its firm stance against inhumane aggression. I am proud of my army and its men. I am proud to serve my country." Well, let me just say, Wade, America is proud of you and is grateful to every soldier, sailor, marine, and airman serving the cause of peace in the Persian Gulf. I also want to thank the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Powell; the Chiefs here tonight; our commander in the Persian Gulf, General Schwartzkopf; and the men and women of the Department of Defense. What a magnificent job you all are doing. And thank you very, very much from a grateful people. I wish I could say that their work is done. But we all know it's not.

So, if there ever was a time to put country before self and patriotism before party, the time is now. And let me thank all Americans, especially those here in this chamber tonight, for your support for our armed forces and for their mission. That support will be even more important in the days to come. So tonight I want to talk to you about what's at stake—what we must do together to defend civilized values around the world and maintain our economic strength at home.

Our objectives in the Persian Gulf are clear and goals defined and familiar: Iraq must withdraw from Kuwait completely, immediately, and without condition. Kuwait's legitimate government must be restored. The security and stability of the Persian Gulf must be assured. And American citizens abroad must be protected. These goals are not mine alone. They've been endorsed by the United Nations Security Council five times in as many weeks. Most countries share our concern for principle. And many have a stake in the stability of the Persian Gulf. This is not, as Saddam Hussein would have it, the United States against Iraq. It is Iraq against the world.

As you know, I've just returned from a very productive meeting with Soviet President Gorbachev. And I am pleased that we are working together to build a new relationship. In Helsinki, our joint statement affirmed to the world our shared resolve to counter Iraq's threat to peace. Let me quote: "We are united in the belief that Iraq's aggression must not be tolerated. No peaceful international order is possible if larger states can devour their smaller neighbors." Clearly, no longer can a dictator count on East-West confrontation to stymie concerted United Nations action against aggression. A new partnership of nations has begun.

We stand today at a unique and extraordinary moment. The crisis in the Persian Gulf, as grave as it is, also offers a rare opportunity to move toward an historic period of cooperation. Out of these troubled times, our fifth objective—a new world order—can emerge: a new era—freer from the threat of terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice, and more secure in the quest for peace. An era in which the nations of the world, East and West, North and South, can prosper and live in harmony. A hundred generations have searched for this elusive path to peace, while a thousand wars raged across the span of human endeavor. Today that new world is struggling to be born, a world quite different from the one we've known. A world where the rule of law supplants the rule of the jungle. A world in which nations recognize the shared responsibility for freedom and justice. A world where the strong respect the rights of the weak. This is the vision that I shared with President Gorbachev in Helsinki. He and other leaders from Europe, the Gulf, and around the world understand that how we manage this crisis today could shape the future for generations to come.

The test we face is great, and so are the stakes. This is the first assault on the new world that we seek, the first test of our mettle. Had we not responded to this first provocation with clarity of purpose, if we

One more reference, next page

incentives for the creation of enterprise zones and initiatives to encourage more domestic drilling; and, yes, reducing the tax rate on capital gains.

And second, the Congress should, this month, enact a prudent multiyear defense program, one that reflects not only the improvement in East-West relations but our broader responsibilities to deal with the continuing risks of outlaw action and regional conflict. Even with our obligations in the Gulf, a sound defense budget can have some reduction in real terms; and we're prepared to accept that. But to go beyond such levels, where cutting defense would threaten our vital margin of safety, is something I will never accept. The world is still dangerous. And surely, that is now clear. Stability's not secure. American interests are far reaching. Interdependence has increased. The consequences of regional instability can be global. This is no time to risk America's capacity to protect her vital interests.

And third, the Congress should, this month, enact measures to increase domestic energy production and energy conservation in order to reduce dependence on foreign oil. These measures should include my proposals to increase incentives for domestic oil and gas exploration, fuel-switching, and to accelerate the development of the Alaskan energy resources without damage to wildlife. As you know, when the oil embargo was imposed in the early 1970's, the United States imported almost 6 million barrels of oil a day. This year, before the Iraqi invasion, U.S. imports had risen to nearly 8 million barrels per day. And we'd moved in the wrong direction. And now we must act to correct that trend.

And fourth, the Congress should, this month, enact a 5-year program to reduce the projected debt and deficits by $500 billion—that's by half a trillion dollars. And if, with the Congress, we can develop a satisfactory program by the end of the month, we can avoid the ax of sequester—deep across-the-board cuts that would threaten our military capacity and risk substantial domestic disruption. I want to be able to tell the American people that we have truly solved the deficit problem. And for me to do that, a budget agreement must meet these tests: It must include the measures I've recommended to increase economic growth and reduce dependence on foreign oil. It must be fair. All should contribute, but the burden should not be excessive for any one group of programs or people. It must address the growth of government's hidden liabilities. It must reform the budget process and, further, it must be real.

I urge Congress to provide a comprehensive 5-year deficit reduction program to me as a complete legislative package, with measures to assure that it can be fully enforced. America is tired of phony deficit reduction or promise-now, save-later plans. It is time for a program that is credible and real. And finally, to the extent that the deficit reduction program includes new revenue measures, it must avoid any measure that would threaten economic growth or turn us back toward the days of punishing income tax rates. That is one path we should not head down again.

I have been pleased with recent progress, although it has not always seemed so smooth. But now it's time to produce. I hope we can work out a responsible plan. But with or without agreement from the budget summit, I ask both Houses of the Congress to allow a straight up-or-down vote on a complete $500-billion deficit reduction package not later than September 28. If the Congress cannot get me a budget, then Americans will have to face a tough, mandated sequester. I'm hopeful, in fact, I'm confident that the Congress will do what it should. And I can assure you that we in the executive branch will do our part.

In the final analysis, our ability to meet our responsibilities abroad depends upon political will and consensus at home. This is never easy in democracies, for we govern only with the consent of the governed. And although free people in a free society are bound to have their differences, Americans traditionally come together in times of adversity and challenge.

Once again, Americans have stepped forward to share a tearful goodbye with their families before leaving for a strange and distant shore. At this very moment, they serve together with Arabs, Europeans, Asians, and Africans in defense of principle and the dream of a new world order. That's why they sweat and toil in the sand and the

Countries fighting together for a new world order

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second only to my own. And he faces a California skeptical of all rhetoric, impressed only by action. But he's faced the voters before, retaining a Senate seat that six predecessors lost. He broke the jinx and made history because he delivers on his promises.

And now Pete says, "If the voters think I'll be more useful as a Governor than as a Member of the U.S. Senate, then that's what I'll be." Well, all of us here know that filling the Governorship after George Deukmejian is not going to be easy, but all of us here know that if there's anyone that can do it, it is Pete Wilson. And I am very proud to be here for him. He should be the Governor. And that is what he must be: Governor Pete Wilson of California.

Thank you for your support. Keep it up. And God bless the United States.

Note: The President spoke at 7:46 p.m. in the San Francisco Ballroom of the Westin Bonaventure Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Senator Wilson's wife, Gayle; Matt [illegible], candidate for State comptroller; Dan [illegible], candidate for State attorney general; Charlton Heston, actor and political supporter; Tom Hayes, candidate for State treasurer; Johnny Grant, the master of ceremonies for the dinner; Arnold Schwarzenegger, Chairman of the President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports; William J. Bennett, Director of National Drug Control Policy; and Rabbi Isaiah Zeldin, who gave the invocation. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

US & Soviet relations beginning of anew

Remarks at a Fundraising Luncheon for Gubernatorial Candidate Pete Wilson in San Francisco, California

[illegible] Pete and thank all of you. It [illegible] great to be back in California, [illegible] glad you for such a good cause. [illegible] when they called about this [illegible] said to me, "It would be a [illegible] country's most famous Re[illegible] here to help out." I replied, [illegible] do you want Millie to be

Which brings me to the fact that Barbara is not here. And she sends her love. She is as committed as I am to seeing Pete and Gayle Wilson be the first family—succeeding a wonderful first family—but to be the first family of this great State. She sends her love and affection. And I expect she'll be out here campaigning for you.

To my friend—our friend—George Deukmejian, thanks for another welcome here to your State. I can think of a handful of people to whom I especially owe this challenge of being President of the United States, and certainly, George Deukmejian, who helped me early on—his name comes to mind. It's great that you're here once again, unselfishly helping the man that now you want to see be your successor. I'm proud of you. What a record you've set for this State. What a terrific act to follow.

I want to echo what both George and Pete said. Looking around, I see lots of reasons why the California GOP is going to be so strong in November: the whole ticket concept, the rest of the ticket—Thomas Hayes, your current treasurer; Marian Bergeson, right here, candidate for Lieutenant Governor; Joan Flores for secretary of state; and Matt Fong for controller; as well as our congressional candidate who's with us today, Alan Nichols. And a special thanks to Frank Visco, our State chairman, who's doing an outstanding job for the State party—a thankless job, but he's doing it very, very well.

And then those who have done and continue to do the heavy lifting around here on making these events so successful: Katie Boyd, Gene Trefethen, and my old friend Ben Biaggini. What a wonderful job you all have done pulling this marvelous event together—twice, I might say.

You have to agree, there's a very great and formidable woman involved in this gubernatorial race, but of course, Gayle Wilson is too modest to admit it. And I know it's true. And, Gayle, good luck to you, and thanks for all you're doing on the campaign trail.

And one other with me here today and traveling with me through southern California and here is our brilliant and hard-working leader in the fierce war—national war—against drugs. And I'm talking about our

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And fourth, it must reform the budget process itself, and it must be real. And finally, it must avoid anything that would threaten economic growth or return us to the days of punishing income tax rates.

And I want very much to stand in front of the American people and tell you that the negotiators have come up with an agreement that meets these tests. And I want to tell you that the agreement reflects not only the improvement in East-West relations but also our broader responsibilities to deal with the continuing risks of outlaw actions and regional conflict. And I really hope we will see this agreement soon. I look forward to saying to America: Together, let us all work for the promise of an exciting and strong new future that's now within our grasp.

And there's one other subject, of course, that's on everyone's mind today that I want to talk about: our commitment to the situation in the Persian Gulf. And this is something Pete, a former military man, understands firsthand. Time and circumstances have proven him farsighted. Pete Wilson has always eloquently supported the utterly essential need for a strong defense.

Six weeks ago we sent our troops half a world away because we were compelled by the moral compass that guides our nation. As Americans, we could not ignore this brutally aggressive act against international law and order, and nor could the rest of the civilized world. The unity of outrage across the globe, the depth of support in the Gulf, and the ferocity of condemnation in the United Nations are unprecedented.

And now Saddam Hussein [President of Iraq] has been given notice by the extraordinary joint declaration that President Gorbachev and I signed in Helsinki [September 9, 1990]. It is an absolutely unparalleled message of solidarity, a clarion call for Iraq to comply immediately and completely with the five resolutions that had been so urgently ordered by the United Nations Security Council. And it heralds a new era for our world, the Soviet Union and the United States, standing together in vigorous condemnation of an outrageous aggression.

What a dramatic legacy for our children and heirit, this stunning new partnership of nations. Ours is a generation to finally see the emergence of promising, exciting new world order which we've sought for generations. And we are witness to the first demonstration of this new partnership for peace: a united world response to Iraq's aggressive ambition.

And so, the U.N. and the United States and the Soviet Union and countries across the globe have issued with one voice these unequivocal demands: One, Iraq must withdraw totally and immediately from Kuwait. Two, Iraq must restore Kuwait's legitimate government. And three, Iraq must free all hostages in both countries. Humanity itself will tolerate nothing less.

If Iraq does not meet these nonnegotiable conditions, then its isolation will not end. And we are, as I have said before, prepared to take additional steps if sanctions and the quest for a political resolution do not work.

In the meantime, action through diplomatic channels continues. Just this past weekend, the U.N. Security Council passed its seventh resolution—in this case, condemning Iraq for its illegal treatment of foreign diplomats. And last Thursday the United Nations, with our support, passed Security Council Resolution 667, establishing a framework so that food can be delivered under close supervision to Iraq and Kuwait, for humanitarian reasons require this. And this will provide a fair procedure for allowing food to reach civilians in need—innocent children, mothers, the sick, and the elderly.

And on Friday, I sent to Congress a request that will provide the legal mechanism for the United States to share the extraordinary burden of our presence in the Gulf with our friends and allies. It is important that a considerable part of this effort be borne by those being defended and by those benefiting from the free flow of oil. I am gratified at the international willingness to help. You know, the Arab response has been extraordinary. And last week alone, Prime Minister Kaifu pledged $4 billion on behalf of Japan, and Germany agreed to contribute $2 billion plus transport ships and planes.

But we can't think about the Persian Gulf just on these statistics. We can't think about it without remembering our young men and women there, joined by brave compatriots of armed forces from countries span-

designated the week beginning on the second Sunday of October in each year as "National School Lunch Week" and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of that week.

Now, Therefore, I, George Bush, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week beginning October 14, 1990, as National School Lunch Week. I call upon all Americans to recognize those dedicated and hardworking individuals who contribute to the success of the School Lunch Program.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-fourth day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and fifteenth.

George Bush

[*Filed with the Office of Federal Register, 4:23 p.m., September 24, 1990*]

Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at a White House Briefing for Representatives of the Arab-American Community

September 24, 1990

The President. Welcome to the White House. Thank you very, very much. First, let me thank Richard and Paul. I've been doing a little homework listening—hey, Bill—listening to your questions and saying, thank God I don't have to answer any of them, because I'm—[*laughter*]—but I'm here to just make a few comments. And I want to start by thanking both the gentlemen that are behind me here, and those with whom they work—in Richard's case, Brent Scowcroft; in Paul's case, Secretary Cheney—and all the team that we have. But these two individuals have worked night and day during this series of events that are called on the evening news, and properly so, the Gulf crisis. So, to both of you, my sincere thanks. And this one over, too, here that some of you know, John Sununu. He's been concentrating a lot on trying to do something about the budget deficit, and the same time being at my side as we cope with the problems in the Gulf. So, all three have been extraordinarily busy, as I know you have. But I want to welcome you to the White House—a pleasure to see so many distinguished leaders of the Arab-American community here.

I'm told that Congressman Nick Rahall is here. Nick, where are you? Oops, way back there—modestly sitting in the back. I don't understand that, but he ought to be in the front row because he's of good conscience and he helps me understand the heartbeat in some of these Arab communities, and certainly in the Arab-American community. And I'm grateful to him that he took the time to be with us today.

I'm going to keep my remarks brief because in the words of the famous Arab-American poet, Kahlil Gibran, "We shall never understand one another until we reduce the language to seven words." Well, I've got a few more than seven words, so please indulge me. But I won't keep you too long.

I am honored that you could be with us to discuss the vital issue of our collective security, both abroad and at home. And I understand that you've had a good briefing. I heard a couple, and I don't know whether you've had others as well, but those were good on the situation in the Gulf. I've never seen an issue, certainly since I've been President, that just pervaded the thoughts of everybody in our country. You, more than most, I think, understand what's at stake here. And our action in the Gulf is not about religion, nor is it about greed or culture or imperialist ambitions, as Saddam Hussein [President of Iraq] would have the world believe. Our action in the Gulf is about our determination to stand up with other nations against aggression, and to preserve the sovereignty of nations. It is about keeping our word and standing by our friends. It is about our vital national security interests and ensuring peace and stability in the world. So, to sum it up: It is about principle.

Our objectives remain clear: Iraq must withdraw from Kuwait completely, immediately, and without condition; Kuwait's legitimate government must be restored; the security and stability of the Persian Gulf must be assured; and American citizens abroad must

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be protected. And finally, a fifth objective can emerge from these: a new world order in which the nations of the world, East and West, North and South, can prosper and live together.

The extent of world cooperation in condemning Saddam Hussein is literally unprecedented. The concept of burden sharing is gaining acceptance with our allies and with our friends—from Britain and France to Germany, Japan, and the Arab world—contributing troops and supplies and economic assistance to those countries affected by the economic blockade. In fact, since Saddam Hussein's unprovoked attack on Kuwait, more than 20 countries have answered the call for help from the Gulf nations to provide defensive assistance against Iraq. And indeed, Iraq stands alone against the world community. Over and over again, Saddam Hussein has attempted to make this the Arab world against the United States. You've heard it over and over and over again. And that lie is not going to be perpetuated. It simply is not true. We are joined with many others around the world. Iraq stands alone against the world community. The United Nations Security Council has strongly condemned Saddam Hussein's actions no less than seven times. Active consideration going on for another resolution right now. United against aggression, the world community is working to resolve the crisis peacefully.

We must also resist his attempt—Saddam Hussein's attempt—to link the Iraqi invasion with other conflicts. There are other regional conflicts, and they're serious, and they've got to be solved. And we've got to do our level best to be catalysts for the solution. But we are going to resist his attempts to justify what he did based on other regional concerns. So, I think these are merely, on his part, an effort to create additional pretexts so that he can stay in Kuwait. And I'll guarantee I'm not going to be distracted by this. Once the Gulf crisis is on its way to resolution, of course, we want to go forward with the peace process. And our position is clear and consistent, calling—I heard your questions and I understand where you're coming from. And I agree with much of what I thought was being said here. Certainly agree with what our people here have told you. But our position is clear, calling for negotiations based on these two resolutions. And these negotiations have got to involve territory for peace, security, recognition for Israel, and legitimate political rights for the Palestinians.

As I said before, we have no quarrel with the people of Iraq either. Our mission is to oppose the invasion ordered by Saddam Hussein. As you well know, love of justice and respect and dignity are principles as deeply embedded in the Arab tradition as they are in the whole Western tradition. No question about that. And these are qualities embodied in the 2½ million Americans of Arab descent, with origins from Morocco to the Arabian Peninsula. Just like so many who have come to America, Arab immigrants pursued new beginnings. And they came in search of freedom and justice and equality. Unfortunately, today—I'm glad the media are here because I want this message to go out beyond this room—today some Americans are the victims of appalling acts of hatred. And this is a sad irony that while our brave soldiers fight aggression overseas, a few hatemongers here at home are perpetrating their own brand of cowardly aggression. Death threats, physical attacks, vandalism, religious violence, and discrimination against Arab-Americans must end.

These hate crimes have no place in a free society and we're not going to stand for them. I've been appalled by reports from some of you, friends of mine, here in this room—by reports of discrimination against Arab-Americans. And I condemn such acts, and I will continue to condemn them. This administration has supported enactment of the hate crimes legislation because bigotry and hate still do exist in this country. And hate breeds violence, threatening the security of our entire society. As I said when I signed the bill, all Americans must join together to rid our communities of the poison of prejudice, bias, and discrimination.

America is home to millions of Moslems who are free to live, work, and worship in accord with the traditions and teachings of Islam. Similarly, America is also home to the millions of Christians and Jews, also free to live, work, and worship. And surely the multinational troops—men and women of every religion and color—who are now on duty in the glare of the desert sun are an

Q. How did the discussions this morning go, sir?

The President. Good. Good. Republicans are staying solid.

Q. Are you concerned that you've lost Mr. Michel's support on your——

The President. I always like to talk to the people involved.

Q. Are you flexible on capital gains at all, sir?

Q. What did he tell you, Mr. President?

The President. He told me that they're working hard to get a deal. And we are. And the Republicans know what I want when I talk about growth. I'm not interested in raising the tax rates on the American people. And our team is fighting very hard. So, we'll see where we go.

Q. Can a sequester be avoided, or do you think it will go right up until the deadline?

The President. It can be avoided if they get doing what they should. It's the Congress—and I would say now the Democrats in the Congress that are in charge of the Congress that have not come forward with a package. And we're still working hard in a good, bipartisan spirit there, they told me today. We're getting right down to the wire.

Q. Are you concerned that you might look too inflexible on the capital gains issue?

The President. No, I'm not concerned about that at all, because there's an awful lot of issues that are still out there, like spending and trying to tax the American people excessively and things where the American people are on our side. So, we'll see how we go. But I want to see the Democrats now get into a spirit of compromise. I started early on. You all wrote about it. Everybody talked about it. We talked about the revenue side. Now I want to see some flexibility on their part, and I'm going to take our case to the American people. The American people don't need this. They don't need it at all. They don't want it. I don't think they yet realize how serious sequester is.

But that concept that they tried yesterday, the Democrats did—to just move it on down the road, kick the can down the road, is not fair to the American people nor to the economy. We're going to stay with it, and I feel confident. And I was very proud that the Republicans stayed together and would not permit the Democrats in the House of Representatives to simply delay the day of reckoning. That's what they tried to do. Everybody knows that. I think the American people know it—loud and clear.

Q. Are you going to join the talks at some point this week, sir?

The President. They know, both Democrats and Republicans, that if my presence there would be helpful, I'm available.

Note: *The exchange occurred while the President was en route from Washington, DC, to Akron, OH. In his remarks, he referred to Robert H. Michel, Republican leader of the House of Representatives. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

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Remarks at a Fundraising Luncheon for Gubernatorial Candidate George Voinovich in Akron, Ohio

September 26, 1990

Alex, thank you. Thank you all. What a great welcome back to Akron—same place, a couple years later. Thank you all very, very much. Thank you, mayor—soon to be Governor—Voinovich. And, Janet, Barbara sends her love. She looks forward to being with you. I don't know whether it's next week or when it is, but she'll be out here to show not only support for the ticket but to show the affection that she and I have for you and George.

To Mike and Fran DeWine, we wish you well. I can't wait for the day that you are Lieutenant Governor, but I'm going to be disappointed to have you leave the House of Representatives that you served so very well, indeed.

And of course, it's like old home week here with Alex—your Alex, mine. [*Laughter*] One of the great political leaders—and I mean this—is a former national chairman who himself studied under Ray Bliss of Akron and still has great affection in his heart for Ray Bliss. They don't have many political leaders like Alex around this country. And he's good, and he's honest, and he's decent, and I get fired up every time

our fiscal house in order, especially now with the challenge that we're facing over there, halfway around the world, in the Persian Gulf.

Emotions in the budget debate, as I report to you today, I can tell you, are running high—they're running very high. You haven't heard much out of me on this. I've waited in the wings and tried to conciliate, and as I told you, I think I've given a great deal. But no matter how heated the exchange of words may be over the budget, we need to—and I will do this—continue to maintain a bipartisan spirit in support of America's response to Iraqi aggression. I would be remiss if I didn't tell you I am grateful, in this Vandenberg concept of partisanship ending at the water's edge, that the Democrats and the Republicans in the House and the Senate are pulling together. And I'm grateful to the Democratic leadership for the support that they have publicly given—what this country is trying to do in the Middle East.

I am often asked when we can bring our kids home—some still arriving. But I can understand that from parents and loved ones here in this country—the concern they feel about our men and women that are serving over there. The answer has got to be general: It's got to be as soon as possible—every single one of them—but when the job is done.

Certain objectives have to be met. Iraq must withdraw from Kuwait, without condition. Aggression unchecked today will rear its ugly head tomorrow. Kuwait's legitimate government must be restored. The security and the stability of this vital area, an area that affects the lives of every American, must be assured. And American citizens abroad, those held hostage in this brutal shielding technique that Saddam Hussein [President of Iraq] is using, must be protected.

But we have another, final objective: to create a new partnership of nations, a new world order that is free from the threat of terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice, more secure in the quest for peace.

These are our objectives and those of the United Nations Security Council and our allies. There are many, many countries to whom I am extraordinarily grateful for this tremendous cooperation. West Germany has pledged to support the mission with almost $2 billion and provide ships and planes, while Japan has pledged a package worth more than $4 billion. France added another 4,000 troops, and Great Britain is sending 120 tanks, 6,000 troops, the famous Desert Rats those of us who are old enough to remember World War II will recall. So really—and we're side by side in the soil there with Egyptian troops and Syrian troops and other Arab troops. It's truly Iraq, then, against the world. The world is simply standing up and telling Saddam Hussein: We will not give in to intimidation.

Americans are showing their determination right here in Ohio. Look no further than Ashland University, to the father of a marine stationed in the Gulf region, Professor Charles Brereton. Dr. Brereton published in the school newspaper a list of soldiers in his son Jim's Alpha Company weapons platoon. That one appeal led to a massive outpouring, a flood, of letters and hometown papers and care packages.

This is just one way—tiny way, perhaps—but it's one way that Ohio is sending a message to the Americans stationed in the Middle East. That message is a simple one: We're with you all the way. And another thing, support for our mission is strong, bipartisan in the sense of what Senator Vandenberg meant. For those of us at home, we believe that the best way we can serve our country is to debate and campaign and be the best Republicans and Democrats we can be. But we cannot allow our political life to be held hostage to a foreign crisis.

When Ohioans go out to the polls, absentee ballots will be streaming in from Americans in uniform, including those stationed in the Persian Gulf. If our soldiers, sailors, and airmen, and marines can find the time to vote under such difficult circumstances, I hope America can count on all Ohioans to get out there and vote. And when you do—let me end it this way—when you do, I hope you and thousands like you around this great State will make George Voinovich the next Governor of Ohio.

Thank you. God bless the United States of America. Thank you all.

***Note:** The President spoke at 12:07 p.m. at the Tangier Restaurant. In his remarks, he*

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meeting in New York City With Prime Minister Salim al-Huss of Lebanon

September 29, 1990

The President met with the Prime Minister of Lebanon, Salim al-Huss, at 5 p.m. The President assured the Prime Minister of continued U.S. support for the Government of Lebanon. He said the United States supports Lebanon's independence, unity, sovereignty, and territorial integrity. The President also advised the Prime Minister that the United States seeks the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon. The President emphasized that the U.S. contacts with Syria would in no way be detrimental to Lebanon.

The two leaders discussed the situation in the Persian Gulf at some length.

The President raised the issue of American hostages in Lebanon, pointing out that we continue to seek all information that could be helpful in securing the release of our hostages. The Prime Minister assured the President that he would provide any information that might possibly be helpful in securing their release.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meeting in New York City With Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada

September 29, 1990

The President met with Prime Minister Mulroney of Canada at 6 p.m. to discuss the United Nations World Summit for Children. Prime Minister Mulroney is one of the sponsors of the World Summit for Children. The Prime Minister discussed the major themes of the summit and the scenario for tomorrow's meeting. The Prime Minister said there were 15 million children in the world under 5 years old who die every year from disease. He said we must work to improve the world environment.

The President and the Prime Minister also discussed the situation in the Persian Gulf and the status of the multinational force there.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meeting in New York City With Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki of Poland

September 29, 1990

The President and Prime Minister Mazowiecki met at 6:30 p.m. to discuss the status of Poland's move toward the development of a private economy and democratic reforms. The Prime Minister said his country is making considerable progress in building democracy and has undertaken several specific efforts to privatize their economy. He indicated an initial emphasis on moving smaller companies into the private sector.

The President congratulated the Prime Minister on the success they have had so far. He said the United States supports Poland in its reform efforts. "America wants you to succeed," the President said. "We will help in every way we can." The President outlined the U.S. economic assistance program for Poland.

The President thanked the Prime Minister for Poland's contributions to the Persian Gulf. Poland is sending a hospital ship and a field hospital to the region. The Prime Minister said his country is considering other helpful measures as well.

Children should inherit
ANWO → smaller nations
not objects of conquest

Remarks at the Opening Ceremony of the United Nations World Summit for Children in New York City

September 30, 1990

Mr. Secretary-General and President Traoré, Prime Minister Mulroney, and my distinguished colleagues from around the world, thank you all, and welcome to the United States.

I'm proud to address you here today as the President of this country, in which this special summit is being held. And at the

outset, let me join all in expressing our appreciation to UNICEF [United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund] and then to the kids here with us today.

President Traoré, our thanks to you, sir. And may I extend my special respects and special thanks to the Prime Minister of Canada. It was largely his foresight and persistence that resulted in this impressive turnout.

In recent days, the world community has acted decisively in defense of a principle: that small states shall not become souvenirs of conquest. It was just 3 weeks ago that I spoke to the American people about a new world order, a new partnership of nations—freer from the threat of terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice, more secure in the quest for peace. Today we are holding this unprecedented world summit to work for the well-being of those who will live in and lead this new world. Their voices are still faint and unheard. So, we've come together, more than 70 strong—heads of state, chiefs of government—chiefs of state and heads of government—to speak for the children of the Earth.

But first, we should acknowledge that for many children the only blessing they will ever know is their innocence. The facts are as stark as they are oppressive: There are almost 3 billion young people on Earth today, and more than 14 million of them will die this year. In the next hour alone, 1,000 babies will perish. But I think we're all gathered here to defy these statistics. We've seen children—swollen bellies. We've seen the pleading eyes of starvation. We've heard the cries of children dying of disease. So, let us affirm in this historic summit that these children can be saved. They can be saved when we live up to our responsibilities not just as an assembly of governments but as a world community of adults, of parents.

In my time as President, I've heard the heart-rending cries of AIDS babies. I've stood helpless over infants born addicted to cocaine, their tiny bodies trembling with pain. But I've also been to many classrooms across America where the influence of love and well-being can be seen instantly in bright faces and wondering eyes. From all these experiences and many more, I've learned that our children are a mirror, an honest reflection, of their parents and their world. Sometimes, the reflection is flattering. At other times, we simply don't like what we see. So, we must never turn away.

So, let me tell you what the American people intend to do. This month, our Secretary of Health and Human Services, Dr. Sullivan, announced ambitious new health objectives that we as a nation—citizens, families, business, and government—hope to reach by the year 2000. We seek to reduce infant mortality and low-weight births, to increase child-immunization levels and improve the health of both mothers and children. And we want to see the day when every American child is a part of a strong and stable family.

We're working in partnership with other governments and international organizations to eliminate child-killing diseases. Of course, many diseases are but a manifestation of an even more basic disorder: malnutrition. And to combat world starvation, the United States will continue to help food production in many countries, and we will send almost 150 million metric tons of food abroad this year.

And sadly, there is another child-killer loose in the world that knows no cure: AIDS. And nowhere is this killer taking more lives than in Africa. So, I've asked Dr. Sullivan and Dr. Ronald Roskens, the Administrator of AID, to go to Africa to see what else America and the world can do to advance child survival across that continent and across the world.

So far, I've spoken here just briefly of the most urgent issues of survival, but simple survival is not enough for a child lacking in health or learning, or denied the love of family and time for play. One year and two days ago, I met with the Governors of our 50 States on a single topic of national importance. We agreed to set ambitious education goals for the year 2000. For America, this is a stiff challenge, self-imposed. I see among us today many leaders who should take pride in giving the world examples of educational excellence, examples the next generation of Americans will not leave unchallenged.

But of course, education is a mystery to the 100 million children not in school. It's an outrage that so many spend their child-

anwo → has no nuclear weapons in it, ~~this~~ comparison between Dark Ages and anwo

Address Before the 45th Session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York City

October 1, 1990

Mr. President, thank you very much. Mr. Secretary-General, distinguished delegates to the United Nations, it is really a great privilege to greet you today as we begin what marks a new and historic session of the General Assembly. My congratulations to the Honorable Guido de Marco on your election, sir, as President of the General Assembly. And on a personal note, I want to say that, having witnessed the unprecedented unity and cooperation of the past 2 months, that I have never been prouder to have once served within your ranks and never been prouder that the United States is the host country for the United Nations.

Forty-five years ago, while the fires of an epic war still raged across two oceans and two continents, a small group of men and women began a search for hope amid the ruins. And they gathered in San Francisco, stepping back from the haze and horror, to try to shape a new structure that might support an ancient dream. Intensely idealistic and yet tempered by war, they sought to build a new kind of bridge: a bridge between nations, a bridge that might help carry humankind from its darkest hour to its brightest day.

The founding of the United Nations embodied our deepest hopes for a peaceful world, and during the past year, we've come closer than ever before to realizing those hopes. We've seen a century sundered by barbed threats and barbed wire give way to a new era of peace and competition and freedom.

The Revolution of '89 swept the world almost with a life of its own, carried by a new breeze of freedom. It transformed the political climate from Central Europe to Central America and touched almost every corner of the globe. That breeze has been sustained by a now almost universal recognition of a simple, fundamental truth: The human spirit cannot be locked up forever. The truth is, people everywhere are motivated in much the same ways. And people everywhere want much the same things: the chance to live a life of purpose; the chance to choose a life in which they and their children can learn and grow healthy, worship freely, and prosper through the work of their hands and their hearts and their minds. We're not talking about the power of nations but the power of individuals, the power to choose, the power to risk, the power to succeed.

This is a new and different world. Not since 1945 have we seen the real possibility of using the United Nations as it was designed: as a center for international collective security.

The changes in the Soviet Union have been critical to the emergence of a stronger United Nations. The U.S.-Soviet relationship is finally beyond containment and confrontation, and now we seek to fulfill the promise of mutually shared understanding. The long twilight struggle that for 45 years has divided Europe, our two nations, and much of the world has come to an end.

Much has changed over the last 2 years. The Soviet Union has taken many dramatic and important steps to participate fully in the community of nations. And when the Soviet Union agreed with so many of us here in the United Nations to condemn the aggression of Iraq, there could be no doubt—no doubt then—that we had, indeed, put four decades of history behind us.

We are hopeful that the machinery of the United Nations will no longer be frozen by the divisions that plagued us during the Cold War, that at last—long last—we can build new bridges and tear down old walls, that at long last we will be able to build a new world based on an event for which we have all hoped: an end to the Cold War.

Two days from now, the world will be watching when the Cold War is formally buried in Berlin. And in this time of testing, a fundamental question must be asked, a question not for any one nation but for the United Nations. And the question is this: Can we work together in a new partnership of nations? Can the collective strength of the world community, expressed by the United Nations, unite to deter and defeat aggression? Because the Cold War's battle of ideas is not the last epic battle of this century.

Two months ago, in the waning weeks of one of history's most hopeful summers, the

The United Nations can help bring about a new day, a day when these kinds of terrible weapons and the terrible despots who would use them are both a thing of the past. It is in our hands to leave these dark machines behind, in the Dark Ages where they belong, and to press forward to cap a historic movement towards a new world order and a long era of peace.

We have a vision of a new partnership of nations that transcends the Cold War: a partnership based on consultation, cooperation, and collective action, especially through international and regional organizations; a partnership united by principle and the rule of law and supported by an equitable sharing of both cost and commitment; a partnership whose goals are to increase democracy, increase prosperity, increase the peace, and reduce arms.

And as we look to the future, the calendar offers up a convenient milestone, a signpost, by which to measure our progress as a community of nations. The year 2000 marks a turning point, beginning not only the turn of the decade, not only the turn of the century, but also the turn of the millennium. And 10 years from now, as the 55th session of the General Assembly begins, you will again find many of us in this hall, hair a bit more gray perhaps, maybe a little less spring in our walk; but you will not find us with any less hope or idealism or any less confidence in the ultimate triumph of mankind.

I see a world of open borders, open trade and, most importantly, open minds; a world that celebrates the common heritage that belongs to all the world's people, taking pride not just in hometown or homeland but in humanity itself. I see a world touched by a spirit like that of the Olympics, based not on competition that's driven by fear but sought out of joy and exhilaration and a true quest for excellence. And I see a world where democracy continues to win new friends and convert old foes and where the Americas—North, Central, and South—can provide a model for the future of all humankind: the world's first completely democratic hemisphere. And I see a world building on the emerging new model of European unity, not just Europe but the whole world whole and free.

This is precisely why the present aggression in the Gulf is a menace not only to one region's security but to the entire world's vision of our future. It threatens to turn the dream of a new international order into a grim nightmare of anarchy in which the law of the jungle supplants the law of nations. And that's why the United Nations reacted with such historic unity and resolve. And that's why this challenge is a test that we cannot afford to fail. I am confident we will prevail. Success, too, will have lasting consequences: reinforcing civilized standards of international conduct, setting a new precedent in international cooperation, brightening the prospects for our vision of the future.

There are 10 more years until this century is out, 10 more years to put the struggles of the 20th century permanently behind us, 10 more years to help launch a new partnership of nations. And throughout those 10 years, and beginning now, the United Nations has a new and vital role in building towards that partnership. Last year's General Assembly showed how we can make greater progress toward a more pragmatic and successful United Nations. And for the first time, the U.N. Security Council is beginning to work as it was designed to work. And now is the time to set aside old and counterproductive debates and procedures and controversies and resolutions. It's time to replace polemic attacks with pragmatic action.

And we've shown that the U.N. can count on the collective strength of the international community. We've shown that the U.N. can rise to the challenge of aggression just as its founders hoped that it would. And now is the time of testing. And we must also show that the United Nations is the place to build international support and consensus for meeting the other challenges we face.

The world remains a dangerous place: and our security and well-being often depends, in part, on events occurring far away. We need serious international cooperative efforts to make headway on the threats to the environment, on terrorism, on managing the debt burden, on fighting the scourge of international drug traffick-

anwo
instead of force
respect for law

Remarks to the Federal Assembly in Prague, Czechoslovakia

November 17, 1990

President Havel, thank you, sir, for greeting us with such warmth today. And to Chairman Dubček, thank you, sir, for that really warm and generous introduction. May I salute the Prime Ministers of the Czech and Slovak Republics; the Members of the Assembly; and most of all, the people of Czechoslovakia. It is an honor for me, the first American President ever to visit your country, to bring you the greetings of the American people on this, the first anniversary of Czechoslovakia's return to freedom.

One year ago today, in the streets and squares of this city, the people of Prague gathered, first by twos and threes, and then by thousands—in the night air, an autumn chill; in their minds, memories of a spring 20 years past. The Velvet Revolution had begun.

That revolution succeeded without a single shot. Your weapons proved far superior to any in the state's arsenal. In the face of force, you deployed the power of principle. Against a wall of lies, you advanced the truth. Out of a thousand acts of courage, Czech and Slovak, emerged a single voice. Its message: The time had come to bring freedom home to Czechoslovakia.

Your revolution was also a renewal: a renewal of the deeply held principles that bind my country, the United States of America, to yours; principles enshrined in your Declaration of Independence, issued in the United States in 1918 by Tomáš Masaryk, your first President, and Milan Stafanik, proud Slovak patriot; principles inspired by the ringing words of our own Thomas Jefferson more than two centuries ago.

In my homeland, those principles were put into practice when we adopted our Constitution and its Bill of Rights. And last night, I carried copies of those documents as we flew from Washington to Prague, copies that I guess were passed out to you as you came in today. And during this historic time, as you consider the adoption of your own federal system and bill of rights, I offer them to you in friendship, for the common principles and common bonds our peoples have long shared.

Generations of Americans, Czechs, and Slovaks sustained these common bonds. In the battle to defeat Nazi tyranny, America stood with the courageous Czech and Slovak partisans fighting for freedom. Through the long dark decades after 1948, we, like you, refused to accept Europe's division. Through Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America, we held aloft the ideal of truth, and we spoke a common language of hope.

At long last, the grip of the dictators weakened; Czechoslovakia seized its chance to rise up, to reclaim your rights as a free people and as a sovereign nation.

Today, as fellow citizens of free governments, we share the fruits of our common resolve. Europe, East and West, stands at the threshold of a new era: an era of peace, prosperity, and security unparalleled in the long history of this continent. Today Europe's long division is ending. Today, once more, Czechoslovakia is free.

Czechoslovakia's revolution is over, but its renaissance has just begun. Your work and ours is far from complete. Your nation, like your neighbors to the north and south, faces the unprecedented task of building a stable, democratic rule and a prosperous market economy on the ruins of totalitarianism. I am here today to say that we will not fail you in this decisive moment. America will stand with you to that end.

America stands ready to help Czechoslovakia realize the progress and prosperity now within reach. Today our two countries will conclude agreements giving Czechoslovakia the fullest access to American markets, American investment, and American technology. To help unleash the creativity and drive of the Czechs and Slovak people, I will urge our Congress to authorize a $60-million Czechoslovak-American Enterprise Fund. In addition, to help build your private sector, the United States will extend prompt economic assistance from the $370 million now committed to central and eastern Europe for the coming year.

We also welcome the active involvement of the American private sector. I am pleased to see that yesterday your government entered into a promising, multimillion-dollar joint venture with Bell Atlantic and U.S. West to modernize your country's

men and women everywhere must be free to enjoy the fruits of their labor and that the rule of law must govern the conduct of nations.

The United States welcomes the new democracies of central and eastern Europe fully into the commonwealth of freedom, a moral community united in its dedication to free ideals. We wish to encourage the Soviet Union to go forward with their reforms, as difficult as the course may seem. They will find our community ready to welcome them and to help them as they, too, commit themselves to this commonwealth of freedom.

Every new nation that embraces these common values, every new nation that joins the ranks of this commonwealth of freedom, advances us one step closer to a new world order, a world in which the use of force gives way to a shared respect for the rule of law. This new world will be incomplete without a vision that extends beyond the boundaries of Europe alone. Now that unity is within reach in Europe is no time for our vision of change to stop at the edge of this continent.

The principles guiding our two nations, the principles at work in our two revolutions, are not Czech or Slovak or American alone. These principles are universal, rooted in the love of liberty and the rights of man.

Now, after four decades of conflict and cold war, we are entering an era of great promise; and yet our freedom, the freedom of people everywhere, remains under threat from regimes for whom the rights of man and rule of law mean nothing. And that is why our response to the challenge in the Persian Gulf is critical. The current crisis there is a warning to America as well as to Europe that we cannot turn inward, somehow isolate ourselves from global challenges. Iraq's brutal aggression against Kuwait is a rude reminder that none of us can remain secure when aggression remains unchecked.

I have this feeling in my heart that no peoples understand better what is at stake in the Gulf than Czechs and Slovaks. You know from your own bitter experience that the world cannot turn a blind eye to aggression. You know the futility and vain hope that aggressors can be appeased. You know the tragic consequences when nations confronted with aggression choose to tell themselves it is no concern of theirs, just a "quarrel in a faraway country between a people of whom we know nothing."

We Americans, too, have learned. We know the costs, to ourselves and to the whole of Europe, of our isolationism after the First World War. We know that America must resist the temptation to consider our work complete. We must remain committed to the cause of freedom in the world.

And more and more, the Soviet Union is demonstrating its commitment to act as a constructive force for international stability. More and more, the United Nations is functioning as its creators intended it: free from the ideological confrontation that frustrated collective action, rendered impotent the peacekeeping function of that body.

From this first crisis of the post-Cold War era comes an historic opportunity: the opportunity to draw upon the great and growing strength of the commonwealth of freedom and forge for all nations a new world order far more stable and secure than any we have known.

Today I am very proud to join Czechoslovakia as it celebrates a year in freedom. I salute you for your courage and your resolve, for all that you have endured, and for all you are destined to achieve. And I challenge you, as you take your rightful place in the center of Europe, to look beyond the confines of this continent to join with your neighbors in Europe and in North America to build a true commonwealth of freedom, so that the peace and prosperity you seek, the peace and prosperity we shall share, will be the peace and prosperity of all mankind.

Once again, thank you for this warm welcome, and may God bless the people of Czechoslovakia.

Note: The President spoke at 12:36 p.m. in the Federal Assembly Hall. In his remarks he referred to Alexander Dubček, Chairman of the Federal Assembly.

with this kind of aggression. We're not going to compromise.

Iraqi Nuclear Capability

Q. Sir, you've talked increasingly today about a nuclear—Saddam's nuclear capability—

The President. Yes, I'm concerned about it.

Q. What's behind that?

The President. There's nothing behind it. It's just the fact that I think the longer it goes on, why, I'm concerned about it. That's what's behind it.

Q. Do you have new information, more so than you thought before?

The President. I would just stay with what I've said here today. When I said, remember, that he's used every weapon that he's had, I'm thinking primarily of the brutality of those chemical weapons that he did use on his own people. And I hope the American people understand this more clearly now. But I darn sure get the feeling that the people out here understand it.

President's Visit With the Troops

Q. Was this an emotional day for you, sir?

The President. It was a very emotional day for me. And I think we are very fortunate to have this kind of dedicated young men and young women in the sands of Saudi Arabia today. It's only the United States that can lead like this—it's only the United States of America. We have others with us, but these are the ones that are doing the heavy lifting. And God bless them all.

Note: The exchange took place at a Marine tactical site in the desert. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters Following Discussions With President Mohammed Hosni Mubarak in Cairo, Egypt

November 23, 1990

President Mubarak. We welcome President Bush in Egypt as an outstanding leader of a great nation. We welcome him as a true friend, as a man of principles and determination, a statesman endowed with vision and compassion. We value the contribution he has made to strengthen Egyptian-American friendship, bringing it to a higher level of cooperation based on principles and mutual respect.

We are proud of this partnership which has helped us to advance the cause of peace and the fraternity among all nations, to stand for eradication of injustice and the elimination of war and violence, and to contribute to the construction of a new world order—a world in which all nations, big or small, have a right to live in peace and dignity.

In our talks today we pursued our discussion of several issues of common concern. We came out of these talks with a better understanding of how to deal with the challenge of our time. In the difficult weeks ahead we will leave no stone unturned in our search for a peaceful solution to the Gulf crisis. But let no one be in doubt that the status quo of occupation and repression is totally unacceptable to us and in the entire world. It is a threat to peace and security everywhere and a grave violation of the rule of law. It undermines the very foundation of our modern civilization. Hence, the Iraqi invasion must be reversed and Kuwait must be liberated. No tactics will divert us from our objective. No act of defiance will weaken our resolve or shake our determination. To both of us it's a matter of principle and moral commitment. If we fail to meet that challenge, the consequences will be grave for all nations. We cannot compromise on principle and moral values. Nor can we bargain on the fundamental right of peoples to live in freedom and dignity.

As you work together with the family of nations in order to bring the tragedy of the Gulf to an end, we shall address other problems with the same zeal and commitment. In the right context, the plight of the Palestinian people must be brought under focus. Their inherent right to self-determination should be exercised. The holy shrines of Jerusalem must be respected and protected.

Mr. President, you came to us in peace, and we greet you in peace. We stand here together at a crucial moment in the history

President Bush. First, on the CSCE. This isn't directly responsive to your question, but I'll say this to our friends here in Cairo—and I did not mention this to my friend President Mubarak: Those countries, the newest members around the CSCE corridors, the Eastern European countries, were perhaps the strongest in their conviction that Saddam Hussein's aggression not be rewarded.

Václav Havel [President of Czechoslovakia] was eloquent—indeed, he spoke at a press conference on it—[Prime Minister] Antall of Hungary, and [Prime Minister] Mazowiecki of Poland. And the reason is because they had been aggressed against by a different Soviet Union in the past. They know what it is to be oppressed and to have aggression succeed. So, this was one of the reasons, I think, there was strong support for what we are doing in terms of a future world order.

You heard President Mubarak refer to that. This, the integration of Arab countries into a CSCE process, wasn't discussed but implicit in our optimistic assessment that once Iraq is out of the way—once the Iraq-Kuwait struggle is out of the way—we can have a new world order. And that new world order certainly offers a much better chance for peace for the Middle East.

In terms of the Palestine question and in terms of what Mr. Shamir has said, I've learned something: not to comment until I actually see the quote. But the United States remains determined to be helpful, to be a catalyst in bringing peace to the West Bank question. And we are supportive—we have always been—of Security Council Resolution 242. We tried very hard before this aggression by Iraq—which is unrelated in my view—but we tried very hard to be a catalyst for peace talks to get going. And let me just say here we are still determined to play a very useful role in a peaceful resolution of this question.

And it is not something that we have forgotten. What I am equally determined to do is keep these two questions separate. There should not be any linkage. Saddam Hussein should not be able to hide behind the difficulty in one area so he can continue his aggression and brutality and torture in another.

And so, there has been a separation, but let me reassure you, the United States remains extraordinarily interested and hope we can be helpful in a lasting solution—peaceful solution—to the whole question of the entire Middle East.

Iraq-U.S. Relations

Q. President Mubarak, could I ask you, please, about the role of President Assad of Syria? We understand that you were instrumental in urging Mr. Bush to meet with President Assad. I'd like to know why, sir. And I'd also like to ask President Bush why it is that not all that long ago it was Saddam Hussein that the U.S. was dealing with in the Middle East and Assad who was on the outs, and now things have reversed themselves.

President Bush. Well, you want me to go first? I'd ask you to repeat the question, because I didn't hear the first part of it. But if the question is why our outrage against Saddam Hussein today, when we had tried to improve relations—he hadn't invaded Kuwait. He hadn't raped, pillaged, and plundered the people in Kuwait and the city of Kuwait itself. He hadn't violated this fundamental norm of international behavior. And indeed, other countries have tried to improve relations with him. And ours was one of them. I've said to you before, given what he's done now, maybe that is something we shouldn't have undertaken.

Now, what was your——

Syria's Role

Q. Well, the question was really the role reversal and the fact that Mr. Assad is the one who has been on the list of those responsible——

President Bush. Mr. Assad is lined up with us with a commitment to force. Having seen those American kids in the desert yesterday, I will work with those that have stood forward and said, We are not going to permit Saddam Hussein's aggression to succeed. That doesn't mean we have no differences with Syria; we've got big differences on certain categories, and I'll be glad to discuss them with President Hafiz Assad when I meet with him.

But they are on the front line, or will be, standing up against this aggression. Out of this, I would only say I will work with those

The Government of France is requested to transmit the text of the Declaration to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, with a view to its circulation to all the members of the organization as an official document of the United Nations, indicating that it is not eligible for registration under Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations. Each of the signatory States will receive from the Government of France a true copy of this Declaration.

In witness whereof the undersigned High Representatives have subscribed their signatures below.

Note: The declaration was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary, but was not issued as a White House press release.

Exchange With Reporters in Paris, France

November 19, 1990

Persian Gulf Crisis

Q. Mr. Gorbachev.

President Gorbachev. Maybe we'll have something to say to you after our talk.

Q. Well, Saddam Hussein [President of Iraq] is building up his troops—200,000 more troops in Kuwait. What do you think that means? And what new ideas have you brought to the President?

President Gorbachev. You're very knowledgeable.

Q. Thank you. [*Laughter*]

President Bush. That is the new idea. [*Laughter*]

President Gorbachev. I'll say just a couple of words because it's easier for me than for the President because I think he suffers from jet lag a little more. So, I think we'll complete our understanding on a number of topics, and central to our discussion probably will be the Persian Gulf crisis. I think you must know that we're not going to change our position. We certainly will seek to resolve that situation, and we must be firm in our position in that.

Q. What is your position?

President Gorbachev. You don't know our position?

Q. Is it force or patience? President Gorbachev, is it force or patience?

President Gorbachev. Well, I think we all need patience, but that does not mean that we are going to relax, we are going to retreat. No, we are going to demand in a very resolute way. And the fact that we are working together, not only the Soviet Union and the United States but the United Nations and the whole are acting together, allows me to expect that in this very difficult crisis, resolutions will be found. And we will not waste time.

President Bush. We've got one more wave.

Q. Will there be a press conference afterwards?

President Bush. Not me. I had one this morning.

Q. President Bush, are you satisfied with what President Gorbachev——

President Bush. I'm looking forward to these consultations, and I'm very pleased with the way the Soviet Union and the United States have worked together at the United Nations. We'll continue to—to be very open lines of communication, and I have no reason to be anything other than very satisfied.

Thank you all very much.

Soviet Union-U.S. Relations

[*At this point, a reporter asked a question in Russian.*]

President Gorbachev. By the way, I tried to speak to that in my speech, and I showed that without the kind of U.S.-Soviet relationship as exists now nothing positive would have happened in Europe and in the world. That has not diminished the role of the—but that's the reality.

President Bush. And inasmuch as you mentioned my name, I totally agree with that. And what's been lost today because events in other parts of the world is the significance of this meeting here in Paris, and it was historic. And President Gorbachev is correct. The fact that the Soviet Union and the United States could work together not only to achieve an arms control agreement but to start looking into the future with harmony and in cooperation is very, very promising for the new world order, for a Europe whole and free, and for

through countless heartwarming gestures. This week we reaffirm the importance of such generous efforts and unite in offering a heartfelt salute to all of our Nation's military families.

The Congress, by House Joint Resolution 566, has designated November 19, 1990, as "National Military Families Recognition Day" and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this day.

Now, Therefore, I, George Bush, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim November 19, 1990, as National Military Families Recognition Day. I urge all Americans to observe this day with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities in honor of U.S. military families throughout the world. I also urge the people of the United States to pause in their homes, churches, synagogues, and other suitable places on this day to pray in a special manner for those military families whose loved ones are stationed in the Persian Gulf region.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this sixteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and fifteenth.

George Bush

[*Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:40 a.m., November 19, 1990*]

Note: The proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 19.

CFE agreement signals arms is beginning

Remarks and an Exchange With Reporters Following Discussions With Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of the United Kingdom in Paris, France

November 19, 1990

The President. We've had a very delightful breakfast, and I want to thank the Prime Minister for coming over. Not surprisingly, we see eye to eye on matters in the Gulf. And we had an opportunity to discuss trade, the importance of getting on to a successful conclusion of the GATT [General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade] round. And thank you, Prime Minister, for coming at this early hour. But once again, I've learned a lot, and I feel very comfortable that the U.K. and the United States are looking at these major problems through the same prism.

The Prime Minister. It's been a very good breakfast meeting. We see so similarly on most things. We have the same firmness on the Gulf, the same horror that hostages are kept at all—they should be released immediately—the same firmness that if Saddam Hussein [President of Iraq] does not withdraw from Kuwait, the military option would have to be used.

We also come together on a day when—if the United States and the United Kingdom and Europe had not stayed absolutely firm in defense, we should never be in a position to sign the agreement that will be signed today. That, I think, is a very, very good message to the world to stay firm in defense, because you never know what uncertainties may arise.

On other things, you know we and the United States believe firmly in free trade. That is what gets a prosperous world. And we're deeply concerned about the GATT round. And as you know, I have done my level-best to see that Europe puts forward reasonable proposals—indeed, put forward any proposals. We're not through the difficulties yet, and it's important that the Uruguay round does succeed.

Prospects of War

Q. Mrs. Thatcher, do you think there's going to be a war, a shooting war, in the Gulf? You have a lot of experience with the Middle East and certainly Britain's ties with Iraq. What do you think?

The Prime Minister. There will be one fair way to avoid that, and that would be for Saddam Hussein to withdraw quickly, totally.

Q. Does that answer the question?

The Prime Minister. Yes, it does.

Q. Do you think it——

The Prime Minister. If he does not, then he has to be removed by force. This is evil. The things that are going on in Kuwait are terrifying. They are brutal. And most

people understand that evil has to be stopped. Either he withdraws or the military option has to be used.

Hostages in Kuwait and Iraq

Q. Mr. President, I know that you think this latest hostage offer from Saddam Hussein is a cynical manipulation of hostage families——

The President. Yes, I do.

Q. ——but could it serve in any way as a possible precursor for some kind of negotiation to get him out of Kuwait?

The President. I can't read his mind, but when you have done something as outrageously illegal as grabbing somebody's innocent civilians and holding them hostage—kidnaping them, if you will—there should be no reward for that. And he ought to have released them long ago. And he ought to release them now. And this cynicism of starting to release them on Christmas Day will be seen by the world as a total ploy. And so, if you mean does it offer me hope that he's getting flexible, I don't think so. I think it's a cynical ploy to rally public opinion. And it is so brutal to parcel out human life in that way that I think it will backfire in terms of what he expected from it.

Resolution of the Persian Gulf Crisis

Q. Mr. President, en route here, President Gorbachev in Italy said he was convinced that a peaceful way would be found out of this crisis. And he spoke of new ideas; the implication seeming to be new initiatives in the diplomatic front. Do you to any degree share that optimism? I know you've said you're hopeful that a peaceful way can be found, but do you share the optimism that Mr. Gorbachev appears to be expressing? And do you know anything about new ideas?

The President. I'll talk to him, but I have not seen anything to make me believe there is a new approach that fulfills the obligations entailed under the United Nations resolutions. Because there can be no compromise. You cannot reward aggression. But I will be seeing him, and Mr. Gorbachev has been very solid in support of the United Nations. So, I'm anxious to know if there's something new that he's thinking of, but I can't think what it is.

Q. Could you address that question?

The Prime Minister. Saddam Hussein should obey the United Nations resolutions and withdraw immediately. What we've got now is not peace. There's no peace in Kuwait; there's evil. There is daily brutality. There is cruelty. They're shooting people because they have attempted to hide and protect foreigners in Kuwait. That is not peace. It is the worst brutality and evil. Unless he leaves, he will have to be made to leave by force. I think you just have to get the fundamentals straight. He plays with human beings as if they were pawns. Unless you stop this man, there will be no peace in the world, let alone in the Middle East.

Can I just say, the mere heads of government have to get to the conference before heads of state. [*Laughter*] So, can I just——

British Conservative Party Leadership Election

Q. One British question. Are you going to survive——

Q. Are you going to survive tomorrow? Are you going to survive the political challenge?

The Prime Minister. I most earnestly believe so.

The President. Thank you all very much.

Conventional Arms Reduction in Europe

Q. I'd like another conference question, Mr. President.

The President. A what?

Q. A conference question.

Q. Can we ask you about——

The President. I'm going to take one more question, and then I'm——

Q. I'd like to know if you see any irony in coming together to sign this treaty that reduces conventional arms and celebrates peace in Europe while you push this tough hard line against Saddam Hussein.

The President. I don't see any irony in it whatsoever. What I see is the fact that we're able to enter into a CFE [conventional armed forces in Europe] agreement with full cooperation and support of the Soviet Union who, heretofore, has been an enormous adversary of the West. And now this reduces to practically nil the tensions that have existed. It is the farthest reaching arms control agreement in history; and it signals the new world order that is emerg-

need next page—
end of answer

when all nations that value freedom must confront aggression.

Sometimes it's a question of some pain—some pain now to avoid even worse pain later. In World War II, the world paid dearly for appeasing an aggressor who could have been stopped early on. We're not going to make that mistake again. We will not appease this aggressor.

The world is still a dangerous place, and those in uniform will always bear the heaviest burden. And we want every single American home. And this we promise: No American will be kept in the Gulf a single day longer than necessary. But we won't pull punches. We're not here on some exercise. This is a real world situation and we're not walking away until our mission is done, until the invader is out of Kuwait.

There is no way Americans can forget the contribution you are making to world peace and to our country. Year after year on this very special day, special to every American, no doubt each of you has given thanks to your country. This year your country gives thanks to you. We think of you with pride in our hearts and a prayer on our lips.

May God bless you and watch over you. To those with whom we stand shoulder to shoulder, our friends from other lands, may God bless each and every one of you. And may God bless the United States of America. Thank you very much. Thank you. Good to see all of you. Thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 11:05 a.m. at the Military Airlift Command ramp at Dhahran International Airport. In his remarks, he referred to Col. John McBroom, commander of the 1st Tactical Fighter Wing, and Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, commander of U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf.

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Remarks to United States Army Troops Near Dhahran, Saudi Arabia
November 22, 1990

Hey, listen, thanks for that warm desert welcome, and I mean warm. Let me first introduce you to the leaders of the United States Congress. This is Speaker Tom Foley, the Speaker of the House. Next to him, Senator George Mitchell, the leader of the United States Senate. Senator Bob Dole, minority leader. And Congressman Bob Michel of Illinois, the minority leader. And to you, Ted—Colonel Reid—thank you, sir. And let me give a special salute, if I might, to the host unit for our visit, the 2d Battalion of the 18th Infantry Regiment.

I can't do much about this warm weather, but I hope you're getting enough MRE's. [*Laughter*] I'm told that's a military term meaning "I'd rather have a Bud Light." [*Laughter*] Now, look, look, we know that the days can get pretty long out here, and you'll be glad to know that if it goes on too long we have a secret weapon in reserve. If push comes to shove, we're going to get Roseanne Barr to go to Iraq and sing the national anthem. Baghdad Betty, eat your heart out. [*Laughter*]

Barbara and I are very, very pleased to be here today, joined by the bipartisan leadership of the Congress on this mission of peace, this mission of pride. And we're honored to be here to tell you that on this special Thanksgiving Day, Americans will thank God for many things, but first they will thank God for each one of you.

The 18th Airborne, with the strength of the 197th Infantry Brigade and the 24th Infantry Division—[*applause*]—okay, you're entitled to 2 seconds—[*laughter*]—and so many other brave Americans, has spearheaded what history will judge as one of the most important deployments of military power in the last half century. You've done it for principle, you've done it for freedom, and you've done it to make America proud. And so, I've come out here today personally to thank you, the men and women who endured much and sacrificed more to stand tall against aggression.

I hope you'll excuse a personal reference, but seeing you all here brings back a personal memory of another Thanksgiving—another group of young Americans far from home—and for me it was November 23, 1944. And I was 20 years old and 6 days away from my last mission as a carrier pilot. And our ship, the *San Jacinto*, laid off the coast of the Philippines. And while we celebrated without family that year, like you, we all came together as friends and as part

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nator Bob Dole, mi-
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of something bigger than ourselves to thank God for our blessings. And we joined together then, as you are now, as a part of a proud force for freedom.

You know, back then, the 24th was there in the northern Philippines, as I was flying raids in the south on Manila Bay; and 10,000 miles away in another theater where the stakes were just as high—one well-known to some standing right with me—the predecessor of today's 197th were on the front lines of the fight for Europe. And they don't call you "forever forward" for nothing. And now, almost 50 years later, there are still proud troops like you, commanders like you, Americans like you ready to stand in defense of peace and freedom. And the whole world—and believe me—I'm just here from Paris where I met with all the CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe] countries of Europe—the whole world thanks you.

Today we face a similar mission, but in a world far different than the one we faced in 1944. Today we have a vision of a new partnership of nations united by principle and seeking a lasting peace for this generation and generations to come. And that is why we are here in this land so far from husbands and wives and parents and children on this day, this special day for Americans, this Thanksgiving Day. And that's why we sacrificed, so that those kids and all children can grow up in a new world, a safer and a better world.

And simply put, we are here to guarantee that freedom is protected and that Iraq's aggression will not be rewarded. We must send a signal to any would-be Saddam Hussein's [President of Iraq] that the world will not tolerate tyrants who violate every standard of civilized behavior—invading, bullying, and swallowing whole a peaceful neighbor. We will not tolerate the raping and the brutalizing and the kidnaping and the killing of innocent civilians. And we will not tolerate those who try to starve out foreign embassies, breaking a diplomatic code of conduct that has been in place for centuries.

You see, we must also ensure our future. Clearly, our national security's at stake here in the Gulf, not just from the threat of force but from the potential economic blackmail of a Gulf dominated by a power-hungry Iraq. Even now, without an actual shortage of oil, Saddam's aggression is directly responsible for skyrocketing oil prices, causing serious problems at home and throughout the entire world, especially for smaller countries who are hurt the most.

You know, in Eastern Europe, the economic shock wave of the Gulf threatens to disrupt the already difficult process of creating both new and democratic governments and free market economies. And while Saddam loudly professes his desire to help the most impoverished nations of the region—the have-nots, he calls them—his aggression is taking a terrible toll on the already hard lives of millions. And we can't hope to achieve our vision of a new world order, the safer and better world for all our kids, if the economic destiny of the world can be threatened by a vicious dictator. The world cannot, must not and, in my view, will not let this aggression stand.

And finally—and I know you don't forget it, and I hope no American forgets it on this special day when we give our thanks to our God—finally, innocent lives are at stake here. The cynical manipulation of civilians, be it as bargaining chips or as pawns to deter attack, is an affront to acceptable behavior. And nothing is more cynical than Iraq's announcement earlier this week that the hostages would be freed in batches like chattel, beginning Christmas Day. There is no reason to wait for Christmas. I say to him today: Free the hostages—all the hostages—and free them today, or you're going to pay the price.

And it is also time that Saddam conformed to the unanimous demand of the United Nations. And remember, we're not in this alone—all the countries in the United Nations standing up. It is the United Nations against Saddam Hussein. It is not Iraq against the United States. It's also time, then, that he conformed to the unanimous demand of the United Nations that our Embassy be resupplied and that our diplomats treated with the respect they deserve under international law. The outrageous treatment of the United States Embassy in Kuwait must stop.

So, to sum it up, the United States is joined in the Gulf with other members of the United Nations for these three simple

first, that Iraq has committed naked and unprovoked aggression against Kuwait, and second, that Kuwait's status as a sovereign state must be restored. The only way that Kuwait's sovereignty can be restored is for the occupying Iraqi troops to leave Kuwait.

This position has been embodied in numerous resolutions of the United Nations Security Council. The community of Latin American and Caribbean States spoke out strongly in condemnation of the invasion of Kuwait and in support of the sanctions that the United Nations imposed. Argentina has sent a force of two ships to the Gulf to cooperate with the multinational force, an action which we applaud.

The United States is not eager to see armed conflict in the Gulf. As President, I ordered American forces to the area to block Iraqi aggression and to support the demands of the international community for restoration of Kuwait's sovereignty. We have not rushed to use force, preferring to give the international sanctions a chance to work and to let the Iraqi leadership see clearly that they have the whole world arrayed against them.

However, for the international community's sanctions to be credible, they must be backed up with the possibility of coercion. Those who rule by force frequently understand only the language of force. The United States, acting in concert with countless other countries, has taken actions to ensure that Saddam Hussein understands that the international community can indeed use coercion against him if he remains unwilling to understand the voice of reason and diplomacy. Force is not our preferred option, but it is a real option. Our preference is for Saddam Hussein to order his troops out of Kuwait, and thereby make possible the restoration of full Kuwaiti sovereignty.

***Note:** The questions were submitted by El Mercurio of Chile, Estado de São Paulo of Brazil, El Pais of Uruguay, La Nación of Argentina, and El Nacional of Venezuela. The Office of the Press Secretary issued the press release on December 3.*

Remarks to a Joint Session of the Congress in Brasilia, Brazil

December 3, 1990

Mr. President of the National Congress and Mr. President of the Chamber of Deputies; and to our two most articulate speakers, Senator Tito and Deputy Fiuza; and Mr. Acting President of the Supreme Court; esteemed Papal Nuncio and members of the diplomatic corps; Mr. Archbishop; Honorable Ministers of State and Governors of the Federal District; and honorable Deputies and Senators: It is a privilege, it is an honor to join you in this great hall of democracy.

My thoughts today could have no better forum than this National Congress; my words, no better audience than the people of Brazil. We meet at an extraordinary moment in our shared history, a time of serious challenges and important choices that calls for mutual respect, candor, and collective will. I've met with many Latin and Caribbean leaders. And beyond any single issue that we've discussed, all of us have been galvanized by a new era of hope and opportunity throughout the Americas, especially here in Brazil.

By pioneering bold new economic reforms and consolidating its democracy, Brazil today is poised to enter the 21st century as a leader among nations. That is a tribute to a leader whose friendship and vision I value and respect, a man who represents a new generation of democratic leadership now sweeping across Latin America, your dynamic new President, Fernando Collor de Mello. President Collor has spoken eloquently of Brazil's rightful place at the table of the First World, and I agree. I believe it is time, in fact, to end the false distinctions between the First World and Third World that have too long limited political and economic relations in the Americas. Let us instead speak of the New World.

This hemisphere has always found strength in diversity. After all, here I stand, addressing Portuguese speakers in English, because of an Italian sailing on behalf of Spain five centuries ago. What we hold in common transcends borders and translates into any language. The nations of the Americas all struggled and gained independence

from the old ways of the Old World, ended the injustice of slavery and colonialism, and built republics of promise and renewal around the dignity and the power of the individual and the rule of law.

Now, as we approach the 500th anniversary of Columbus' discovery of Americas and the arrival of Cabral's Portuguese fleet in Brazil, this is our moment to chart the course for the New World, a course of freedom, a course of democracy, a course of prosperity. We've all witnessed in wonder the dawn of democracy in Eastern Europe. But in the Americas, we, too, have seen extraordinary political and economic change that is transforming the face of this hemisphere—nowhere more so than right here, no more so than in the great nation of Brazil. The changes you are carrying out in your economy—reducing the size of the state, privatizing enterprises, combating inflation, and liberalizing trade—are the keys to growth and prosperity in a global economy of the 21st century, whose outlines we already see today. I am here to tell you that you are not only on the right path but the United States wants you to succeed and supports your efforts every step of the way. I believe that we've just begun to press forward toward the real promise of the Americas.

Territories may end at borders, but mankind's capacity for progress knows no bounds. Continents may end at the water's edge, but human potential knows only those limits set by human imagination. The Americas' role in the world is not defined by geography; it is defined by its people and its ideals. I truly believe that we are approaching a new dawn in the New World.

Our thinking must be bold; our will, resolute. Our challenge now is to hew out of a wilderness of competing interests a new kind of opportunity in the Americas. To fulfill the New World's destiny, all of the Americas and the Caribbean must embark on a venture for the coming century: to create the first fully democratic hemisphere in the history of mankind, the first hemisphere devoted to the democratic ideal—to unleash the power of free people, free elections, and free markets.

Two weeks ago in Czechoslovakia, I spoke to a people that had paid dearly for its freedom. I talked about a new commonwealth of freedom based on four key principles. This hemisphere already shares these convictions: an unshakable belief in the dignity and rights of man, the conviction that just government derives its power from the people, the belief that men and women everywhere must be free to enjoy the fruits of their labor, and four, that the rule of law must govern the conduct of nations. Every nation that joins this commonwealth of freedom advances us one step closer to a new world order. We must persist until this victory for freedom and democracy is won completely.

It is also within our power to make this hemisphere the largest free-trading partnership of sovereign nations in the world. From the northernmost reaches of Canada to the tip of Cape Horn, we see a future where growing opportunity, the power of technology, and the benefits of prosperity are developed and shared by all. Change will not come easily. Economies now dependent on protection and state regulation must open to competition. The transition, for the time being, will be painful. Many in the Americas will have to make serious adjustments to compete with Southeast Asia and to take advantage of the European market after 1992. But we are confident that solutions will be found—by Brazilians, by Chileans, by Venezuelans—by all of the Americas.

And the results—growing economies and sound currencies—will bring unprecedented prosperity and growth for all our citizens to share. That was the vision of the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative that we announced last June. And Deputy Fiuza, I listened very carefully to your strong speech in this regard, and I thank you for those frank and forceful comments. The initiative calls for a major hemispheric effort to unify the New World in the three key areas of trade, investment, and debt.

In trade, our first priority should be to promote long-term growth. And the most effective first step is the successful conclusion of the Uruguay round, now in its final stages in Brussels. An end to export subsidies on agricultural goods and new openings for developing-country exports mean new market opportunities and a higher

standard of living for the farmer in Para, the textile worker in Santa Catarina, and the engineer in São Paulo.

But the Uruguay round and bilateral trade agreements are only first steps. The Southern Cone Common Market, now developing under the leadership of your President and his colleagues in neighboring countries, is another major step toward the world's first hemispheric free trade zone.

To promote new investment in the Americas, the dead hand of state control must be lifted. We must allow entrepreneurs the flexibility to adapt, create, and produce. So, as we chart a course for the future of the New World, let us hold firmly in our minds an unshakable conviction in the importance and benefit of free enterprise. Let us work together so that any man or woman who wants to launch a new enterprise views the state as an ally, not as an obstacle, and all who pursue the fruits of the free market see other nations not as threats to sovereignty but as partners in trade and mutual prosperity.

Individuals cannot succeed if government is burdened by debt. So, the third leg of our Enterprise for the Americas Initiative is a comprehensive commitment to work with Brazil and others in Latin America to restructure U.S. official debt. Our new approach to official debt will complement commercial debt restructuring through the Brady plan. I understand the importance to Brazil and, indeed, to the international financial community of reaching a new and effective agreement on commercial debt. I believe, through your program of economic reform, you have taken the first crucial step toward that goal. Global capital flows will be vital to your development, and we are ready to assist wherever possible.

We've submitted a request to our Congress for the authority to implement our proposals. But we know that real solutions must involve all of us in the Americas. That's why we envision a permanent partnership between all the nations of the Americas to confront challenges that know no borders. We envision a hemisphere where a collaborative commitment is shared to protect our environmental legacy. There can be no sustained economic growth without respect for the environment. That's why the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative joins environmental protection with bilateral debt relief not as a challenge to national sovereignty—not as a challenge to the sovereignty, in this case, of Brazil—but as an affirmation of shared international interests. Senator Tito—and I do appreciate, sir, your using this podium for a frank exchange here—talked about partners in growth—I believe you said, sir—partners in growth rather than shareholders of misery. That is what you want, and that is what we want.

I encourage Brazil and other creditor nations to convert debt into funds for the environment. The entire world stands in awe of Brazil's unique endowment of wildlife, trees, and plants in the Amazon and the Atlantic rain forests. No nation on Earth—none—is as rich in flora and fauna, with all of their potential to provide future medicines and foods and crops and fibers. Your hosting of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 1992 places Brazil in a position of true global leadership. We hope that conference will mark the culmination of a number of initiatives to protect and wisely utilize the world's resources.

We also are challenged to make ours a hemisphere where sovereign nations are joined in collective determination to eradicate the disease of drugs. On this one, the time for blame is long over. We in the United States recognize that we must do more to reduce what seems to you as insatiable demand. And you understand that the spreading tentacles of the drug trade threaten any democratic society. President Collor has taken a strong position against drugs for the sake of youth in Brazil. I know full well it is a demand problem as well as a supply problem for my country, and I pledge the full efforts of my government to continue to dampen demand. There is only one answer to the drug problem in this hemisphere, and that is to defeat these narco traffickers who prey on our children, once and for all.

And finally, in this era of great challenges around the world, we want the Western Hemisphere to be a model to the world for security, stability, and peace. Together, let us ensure that this hemisphere stands united to prevent the spread of nuclear

weapons or new, more dangerous ballistic missiles anywhere in the world. We hope that all countries in this hemisphere will follow Brazil's and Argentina's recent decision to bring the nonproliferation treaty, Tlatelolco, into force. I want to applaud, as many other nations have done, the recent announcement by Brazil and Argentina that together they will ensure that no nuclear program in their countries is used for anything but peaceful purposes. We applaud your decision to move forward on full-scope nuclear safeguards.

But your leadership today goes beyond this hemisphere. Just as Brazil made valiant contributions to the cause of freedom in World War II, you were among the very first to implement the sanctions against Iraq. I realize the sacrifices that Saddam's [President of Iraq] brutality has caused this nation and its people, has caused many nations around the world. In this country, I was told this morning, the impact—$5 billion in higher oil prices alone for 1 year—$5 billion to your economy, struggling to move forward, because of the brutality and the aggression of Saddam Hussein. In Czechoslovakia, a country that knows about aggression, [President] Václav Havel told me, $1.5 billion just because of the aggression of Saddam Hussein. I salute your leadership in the world's community and united stand against Iraq's aggression and in defense of the rule of law.

Our nations long ago achieved independence from the Old World. And so, now let us work toward a new declaration of interdependence among the American nations of the New World. If, as Jose Bonifacio once said, "Brazilians are enthusiasts of a beautiful ideal," let us not limit the New World's potential with old thinking. After the half millennium we've had in this hemisphere to form our nations and find our way, let the nations of the Americas now fulfill their common potential.

Standing on this central plateau, soon to be the seat of great decisions, President Kubitschek said this: "I look once again at the future of my country and see this dawn with unyielding faith and unlimited confidence in its great destiny."

My friends, our neighbors, let the new dawn come to Brazil and to the New World, and let us fulfill the promise of these great lands.

Thank you very much. And may God bless the people of Brazil. Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 11:28 a.m. in the House Chamber of the Brazilian Congress Building. In his remarks, he referred to Nelson Carneiro, President of the Senate; Antonio Paes de Andrade, President of the Chamber of Deputies; Senator Ronan Tito, leader of the Brazilian Democratic Movement Party; Ricardo Fiuza, Member of the Chamber of Deputies; Minister Aldir Guimarães, Acting President of the Supreme Court; Dom Carlo Furno, the Papal Nuncio; and Dom Jose Freire Falcão, Archbishop of Brasilia.

Remarks at a Luncheon for the Business Community in Brasilia, Brazil

December 3, 1990

Thank you, Ambassador, for your introduction and for your hospitality, you and Peggy. I seldom speak on behalf of a group of Brazilian businessmen, but thanks for the hospitality at this luncheon, too. We're delighted to be here. Let me salute the Minister of Justice, Your Excellency; and the Minister of the Economy, who is with us; the Minister of Agriculture, who is with us. I just want to say thank you to all the guests, some who've come from a long, long way. I want to salute the Minister of the Infrastructure, who is here, and each and every one of you.

I'm delighted to be here today, as was Secretary Mosbacher last spring, with some of this nation's most distinguished business leaders to discuss very briefly our dynamic bilateral relationship and our relationship with the rest of the major trading nations of the world. I'm delighted that Secretary Brady, our Secretary of the Treasury, is with us here today.

The success of this economy—he and I agree on this—the success of your economy the world's eighth largest, is truly vital to the well-being of all nations in the Americas. In talking with your President—your

Programs Appropriations Act, 1990 (Public Law 101–167)".

George Bush

The White House,
December 14, 1990.

[*Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:33 a.m., December 17, 1990*]

Note: The proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on December 15.

Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters

December 17, 1990

Secretaries of Labor and Education Nominations

The President. I have a brief statement, and then I will ask the two with me to make comment, and then I'll be glad to take maybe two questions and turn the meeting over to both of these.

On Friday, I announced that Congresswoman Lynn Martin of Illinois had agreed to take on the job of Secretary of Labor, and I've been visiting with her again about that just now in the Oval Office. And it is very clear to me that she's going to bring extraordinary insight, a lot of talent to this very important Cabinet department. Working Americans have a friend in Lynn Martin, and she understands the challenges facing our work force. She knows that it's going to take this nation, to remain competitive as we head into the 21st century, a strong, competitive work force. She also knows that only a quality work force will produce quality goods and services, and that means workers that are motivated, highly trained and, most of all, educated.

Education is indeed the centerpiece of the democratic ideal. And the historic meeting that I held in 1989 with the Nation's Governors in Charlottesville set this nation firmly on a course toward education reform. And so, it is especially significant today that I am able to announce that former Governor of Tennessee Lamar Alexander is my nominee to assume the helm at the Department of Education.

Lamar, if you will remember, was at the forefront of the movement to restructure our nation's schools. When he was chairman of the National Governors' Association, he was instrumental in bringing education reform to the very top of the agenda. No Governor in the country is so clearly identified with the imperative to improve education in America. And as I said in Charlottesville, education is our most enduring legacy, vital to everything we are and can become. And much of what went on in Charlottesville was started a couple of years earlier by Lamar Alexander.

You know, Lamar, that working with your former colleagues, we have agreed on six very ambitious national goals for American education. And our mission is clear, and I look forward to your leadership to help us achieve these goals by the year 2000. I am delighted and grateful to both of you for undertaking these two very important assignments.

Lynn, do you want to say a word?

Representative Martin. Thank you, Mr. President. American men and women are the finest in the world. They know we're not just facing a changing decade but a century to come. I look forward to making sure that the future for the American worker is even brighter; that with common sense and compassion and the competence that is part of the Bush administration, that we will make sure the 1990's are a time to be remembered as a pinnacle for chance and opportunity for the men and women who compose the working force for America.

And I look forward to working with Lamar Alexander. His education and that change are part of what the future holds. If I do my job it means that somewhere, sometime, someone's life will be better, someone will have a better chance. And that's really what government is supposed to be about.

And for a moment, perhaps because it's the Christmas season and a holiday season for everyone, I'd like to give a special thanks not just, of course, to the President but to his White House staff, who's been incredibly cooperative, and to two Democratic Senators from my home State of Illinois, who have gone well beyond what they've ever had to say or do to be extraordinarily gracious. And perhaps that says what's really right about our political system—that when it comes time to make

deadline, it just seems obvious to the world what he's doing.

Q. Actually, you sound a little more flexible today than you did on Friday. You said you don't care to speculate——

The President. I'm just in a calmer mood today. [*Laughter*] Calm.

Q. Why?

The President. Monday morning, Monday morning. Monday morning. Got a big day out there, and I just didn't want to get too fired up here this early in the morning. [*Laughter*]

Q. Well, what difference, Mr. President—if it could mean averting armed conflict—what difference does 9 days make? The difference between the 3d and the 12th?

The President. Listen, if I thought that meeting on the 14th would permit him to comply fully with the United Nations resolutions, I'd be very flexible. But that's not possible.

Q. Well, what will Mr. Baker do? Is he going to negotiate? Do you want him in there early enough so that he can persuade a man who this morning said that Kuwait is part of Iraq and that is unflinching?

The President. Well, this is the problem, Ann [Ann Compton, ABC News]. I mean, he keeps making these statements that fly directly in the face of the international sanctions taken by the world—international position taken by the United Nations Security Council. So, the purpose of the talks is, a lot of people that think they understand him don't feel that he believes we are serious. They don't feel that he thinks we will use force. Some tell me as recently as yesterday—one of the great leaders on that part of the world told me that he feels that Saddam Hussein simply does not understand the debate in this country. He thinks it means that our country is divided and that we cannot go forward to do our part in implementing the U.N. resolutions. And he's just as wrong as he can be.

So, my thought was, if a talk with 'Aziz [Foreign Minister of Iraq], a talk with Baghdad would help make that clear, so much the better. That was the purpose. And if there's talks, that will be the purpose. It will not be to make concession. We've got an opportunity for a new world order, but that opportunity will be lost if an aggressor gets one single concession. It will be, and that's my view; it is the view of the coalition partners. But I still feel it is important that the man understand that we are serious about this.

Yes? Then I got to go.

Implementing U.N. Resolutions

Q. Mr. President, given what you just said and what Saddam said this morning once again about Province 19, may we know what you're thinking now, then, about January 15th?

The President. No. You just wait and see.

Q. At midnight January 15th? Are you more driven now to see action at that point?

The President. Well, I think at midnight, if he's not totally out of Kuwait, the U.N. sanctions must be fulfilled. So, let's see. I'm still hopeful there's a peaceful solution to this problem.

Well, thank you for your interest in labor and education. [*Laughter*] And I will now turn this—no, no more questions. No, no, no, I've been too accessible here. We're going into a Christmas mode here where I won't be doing as much of this kind of work.

Q. Sir, just something on——

Q. Just on the two nominees.

The President. No, I can't do it. I just can't do it. Can't do it.

Note: *The President spoke at 9:30 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.*

Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters Following Discussions With Allies on the Persian Gulf Crisis

December 17, 1990

The President. May I first thank the Ambassadors who are standing here at my side for being with us today. And I have a brief statement.

What you see here is living proof that the international coalition arrayed against Saddam's [President Saddam Hussein of Iraq] aggression remains deep and wide. We're talking now about some 28 countries that have committed their forces of one kind or

ference, why, I certainly would welcome that. But because of the time, the Ambassador from Kuwait [Saud Nasir Al-Sabah], who also happens to be the dean of this group in terms of service, did speak. But clearly, if somebody wants to take exception to something I've said, why, they wouldn't be alone in this country; and they'd be welcome to have their say. But I am satisfied that the coalition has never been more determined and never been firmer in what it is that we must do.

And it is so clear that—see, the optimistic side is when we prevail we have the promise of a new world order. You have a vitalized United Nations, the peacekeeping function of which, up until now, has been rather dismal, as you look over the years; and now there's a real chance. But the chance doesn't exist if we fail. So, we've got to prevail, and we will. And I think I can confidently speak for all the countries represented here. If they felt differently, I don't expect they'd be here.

Thank you all very much.

Note: The President spoke at 2:38 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

Executive Order 12739—Half-Day Closing of Government Departments and Agencies on Monday, December 24, 1990

December 17, 1990

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States of America, it is hereby ordered:

Section 1. All executive departments and agencies of the Federal Government shall be closed and their employees excused from duty for the last half of the scheduled workday on Christmas Eve, December 24, 1990, except as provided in Section 2 below.

Sec. 2. The heads of executive departments and agencies may determine that certain offices and installations of their organizations, or parts thereof, must remain open and that certain employees must remain on duty for the full scheduled workday on December 24, 1990, for reasons of national security or defense or for other essential public reasons.

Sec. 3. Monday, December 24, 1990, shall be considered as falling within the scope of Executive Order No. 11582 and of 5 U.S.C. 5546 and 6103(b) and other similar statutes insofar as they relate to the pay and leave of employees of the United States.

Sec. 4. This order shall apply to Federal departments and agencies only and is not intended to direct or otherwise implicate departments or agencies of State or local governments.

George Bush

The White House,
December 17, 1990.

[*Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:10 a.m., December 18, 1990*]

Note: The Executive order was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on December 18.

Message on the Observance of Christmas

December 18, 1990

At Christmas, people of every age and every walk of life celebrate with a profound sense of wonder, joy, and gratitude our Savior's birth in Bethlehem. Like the shepherds called from nearby fields and the Magi who journeyed from distant lands to welcome the Christ Child, we are drawn to this miraculous event in history.

Born in a stable and greeted by a handful of faithful and obedient men, Christ came to assume the role of a shepherd, thus fulfilling the words of the prophet Isaiah: "He shall feed His flock like a shepherd: He shall gather the lambs with His arm and carry them in His bosom."

Christ's brief time on Earth was devoted to tending the physical and spiritual needs of His flock: healing the sick, feeding the hungry, and illuminating the path to eternal salvation. His Incarnation radically altered the course of human history by challenging men and women to live according to the will of our just and merciful Father in

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Open Letter to College Students on the Persian Gulf Crisis

January 9, 1991

If armed men invaded a home in this country, killed those in their way, stole what they wanted and then announced the house was now theirs—no one would hesitate about what must be done. And that is why we cannot hesitate about what must be done halfway around the world: in Kuwait.

There is much in the modern world that is subject to doubts or questions—washed in shades of gray. But not the brutal aggression of Saddam Hussein against a peaceful, sovereign nation and its people. It's black and white. The facts are clear. The choice unambiguous—right vs. wrong.

The terror Saddam Hussein has imposed upon Kuwait violates every principle of human decency. Listen to what Amnesty International has documented. "Widespread abuses of human rights have been perpetrated by Iraqi forces . . . arbitrary arrest and detention without trial of thousands . . . widespread torture . . . imposition of the death penalty and the extrajudicial execution of hundreds of unarmed civilians, including children."

Including children—there's no horror that could make this a more obvious conflict of good vs. evil. The man who used chemical warfare on his own people—once again including children—now oversees public hangings of dissenters. And daily his troops commit atrocities against Kuwaiti citizens.

This brutality has reverberated throughout the entire world. If we do not follow the dictates of our inner moral compass and stand up for human life, then his lawlessness will threaten the peace and democracy of the emerging new world order we now see: this long dreamed-of vision we've all worked toward for so long. A year after the joyous dawn of freedom's light in eastern Europe, a dark evil has descended in another part of the world. But we have the chance—and we have the obligation—to stop ruthless aggression.

I have been in war. I have known the terror of combat. And I tell you this with all my heart: I don't want there to be war ever again. I am determined to do absolutely everything possible in the search for a peaceful resolution to this crisis—but only if the peace is genuine, if it rests on principle, not appeasement.

But while we search for that answer, in the Gulf young men and women are putting their own lives on hold in order to stand for peace in our world and for the essential value of human life itself. Many are younger than my own children. Your age, most of them—doing tough duty for something they believe in.

Let me tell you about one of the soldiers over there, Sfc. Terry Hatfield, a young man from Georgia. He sent me a Christmas card. And this is what he wrote: "Mr. President, I just wanted you to know my soldiers and I are ready to do whatever mission you decide. Freedom as we know and enjoy has been taken away from another country and must be restored. Although we are separated from family, friends, loved ones, we will do what must be done . . . We stand ready and waiting. God Bless you and the U.S.A."

Terry understands the moral obligation that has compelled our extraordinary multinational coalition to make this stand in the Gulf. To look this international terrorist straight in the eye and say: no concessions. To proclaim for now and for the future: no compromises. To bear witness by our presence to the fact that aggression will not be rewarded.

Terry waits thousands of miles from the White House, yet we share the same thoughts. We desperately want peace. But we know that to reward aggression would be to end the promise of our new world order. To reward aggression would be to destroy the United Nations' promise as international peacekeeper. To reward aggression would be to condone the acts of those who would desecrate the promise of human life itself. And we will do none of this. There are times in life when we confront values worth fighting for. This is one such time.

Each day that passes means another day for Iraq's forces to dig deeper into their stolen land. Another day Saddam Hussein can work toward building his nuclear arsenal and perfecting his chemical and biological weapons capability. Another day of atrocities for Amnesty International to doc-

The President. Exactly. And that will be covered now in the press conference.

Note: The exchange began at 2:05 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. President Bush referred to Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz and President Saddam Hussein of Iraq, and Javier Perez de Cuellar de la Guerra, Secretary-General of the United Nations.

U.N. must become the accepted leader

The President's News Conference on the Persian Gulf Crisis

January 9, 1991

The President. I have a brief opening statement, and then I will take a few questions.

I have spoken with Secretary of State Jim Baker, who reported to me on his nearly 7 hours of conversation with Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz. Secretary Baker made it clear that he discerned no evidence whatsoever that Iraq was willing to comply with the international community's demand to withdraw from Kuwait and comply with the United Nations resolutions.

Secretary Baker also reported to me that the Iraqi Foreign Minister rejected my letter to Saddam Hussein—refused to carry this letter and give it to the President of Iraq. The Iraqi Ambassador here in Washington did the same thing. This is but one more example that the Iraqi Government is not interested in direct communications designed to settle the Persian Gulf situation.

The record shows that whether the diplomacy is initiated by the United States, the United Nations, the Arab League, or the European Community, the results are the same, unfortunately. The conclusion is clear: Saddam Hussein continues to reject a diplomatic solution.

I sent Secretary Jim Baker to Geneva not to negotiate but to communicate. And I wanted Iraqi leaders to know just how determined we are that the Iraqi forces leave Kuwait without condition or further delay. Secretary Baker made clear that by its full compliance with the 12 relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions, Iraq would gain the opportunity to rejoin the international community. And he also made clear how much Iraq stands to lose if it does not comply.

Let me emphasize that I have not given up on a peaceful outcome—it's not too late. I've just been on the phone, subsequent to the Baker press conference, with King Fahd, with President Mitterrand—to whom I've talked twice today—Prime Minister Mulroney. And others are contacting other coalition partners to keep the matter under lively discussion. It isn't too late. But now, as it's been before, the choice of peace or war is really Saddam Hussein's to make.

And now I'd be glad to take a few questions.

Q. Mr. President, you said in an interview last month that you believed in your gut that Saddam Hussein would withdraw from Kuwait by January 15th. After the failure of this meeting today, what does your gut tell you about that? And in your gut, do you believe that there's going to be war or peace?

The President. I can't misrepresent this to the American people. I am discouraged. I watched much of the 'Aziz press conference, and there was no discussion of withdrawal from Kuwait. The United Nations resolutions are about the aggression against Kuwait. They're about the invasion of Kuwait, about the liquidation of a lot of the people in Kuwait, about the restoration of the legitimate government to Kuwait. And here we were listening to a 45-minute press conference after the Secretary of State of the United States had 6 hours worth of meetings over there, and there was not one single sentence that has to relate to their willingness to get out of Kuwait.

And so, Terry [Terrence Hunt, Associated Press], I'd have to say I certainly am not encouraged by that, but I'm not going to give up. And I told this to our coalition partners—and I'll be talking to more of them when I finish here—we've got to keep trying. But this was a total stiff-arm. This was a total rebuff.

Q. Let me follow up on that. Let me follow up. Have you decided in your mind to go to war if he's not out of there by the 15th?

The President. I have not made up my decision on what and when to do. I am

Q. He said today he disagrees with you on the international peace——

The President. The French Government and the United States Government over the years have had some differences on how the best way to bring peace to the Middle East is. We had a very active initiative underway by Jim Baker. But that doesn't have anything to do with the invasion of Kuwait. And François Mitterrand knows that it doesn't have to do with the invasion of Kuwait and the aggression against Kuwait. And I know he knows this. And he's been very forthright about it.

But, yes, he's very frank in saying countries have a different approach to how you solve another very important problem. I would simply refer you back to what I've said on that subject. I think you were with us over in the joint press conference with President Gorbachev when I addressed myself to this. But I am going to avoid linkage.

I listened to that 'Aziz meeting, and all he tried to do is obfuscate, to confuse, to make everybody think this had to do with the West Bank, for example. And it doesn't. It has to do with the aggression against Kuwait—the invasion of Kuwait, the brutalizing of the people in Kuwait. And it has to do with a new world order. And that world order is only going to be enhanced if this newly-activated peacekeeping function of the United Nations proves to be effective. That is the only way the new world order will be enhanced.

Q. You say that Saddam Hussein doesn't understand yet. Why not a meeting face to face? Why refuse any meeting face to face?

The President. Because he's had every opportunity. We finally said this is the last step. We tried 15 dates in Baghdad. We tried to set up these meetings. And now we tried this one, and there wasn't one single reason to make me think that another meeting between the United States and Saddam Hussein—and the Iraqis would do any good at all. If I felt it would, fine. But it will not.

I talked to the Secretary-General of the United Nations today, and there is a chance that he might undertake such a mission. Certainly we'd have no objection. There's one other reason—and I cite that because this is not Iraq against the United States. It is Iraq against the rest of the world. It is the United Nations that passed 12 resolutions, not the United States. It is the General Assembly of the United Nations—100-plus countries standing solidly against the dictator. And therefore, it doesn't need to be a bilateral negotiation here. We tried that. And we were stiff-armed by an intransigent Foreign Secretary.

And so the answer is, if diplomacy can be effective now, let's keep it in the context in which these resolutions were passed. And I would hope that maybe it would have an effect, but I'd have to level with the American people: Nothing I saw today—nothing—leads me to believe that this man is going to be reasonable. So, back to Terry's question, I have less of a feeling that he'll come around. But we ought to keep trying. We ought to keep trying right down to the wire.

Q. You've repeated the "keep trying." You've cited the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Secretary of State Baker cited him three times. What exactly could his mission be if there is no alternative to what Secretary Baker——

The President. I'm not sure. What would a mission of Jim Baker have been? It might have been to convince the man that he is up against an immovable force. He's up against something that is not going to yield. He is up against a situation under which there will be no compromise; and there will be none. But because, you see, Ann [Ann Compton, ABC News], I go back to my point, I don't think he has felt this up until now—on both points. I don't think he's felt that force will be used against him, and I think he has felt that if it were, he'd prevail. He's wrong on both counts.

Q. Mr. President, there have been reports that Saddam believes that if it comes to war, even if he's driven out of Kuwait militarily, he can survive in power. Is he wrong?

The President. I think he's wrong on all of his assumptions about what would happen if it came to war—God forbid.

In the middle, and back here. And then we've got three more, and then I've got to go. These—Ellen [Ellen Warren, Knight-Ridder]?

to support a peace settlement and national reconstruction. The time for war in El Salvador is over; the time for a peace settlement is now.

Letter to Congressional Leaders Transmitting a Report Pursuant to the Resolution Authorizing the Use of Force Against Iraq

January 16, 1991

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

Pursuant to section 2(b) of the Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution (H.J. Res. 77, Public Law 102–1), I have concluded that:

1. the United States has used all appropriate diplomatic and other peaceful means to obtain compliance by Iraq with U.N. Security Council Resolutions 660, 661, 662, 664, 665, 666, 667, 669, 670, 674, 677, and 678; and

2. that those efforts have not been and would not be successful in obtaining such compliance.

Enclosed is a report that supports my decision.

Sincerely,

George Bush

Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives; Robert C. Byrd, President pro tempore of the Senate; George J. Mitchell, Senate majority leader; Robert Dole, Senate Republican leader; and Robert H. Michel, House Republican leader.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on Allied Military Action in the Persian Gulf

January 16, 1991

I have a statement by the President of the United States:

The liberation of Kuwait has begun. In conjunction with the forces of our coalition partners, the United States has moved under the code name Operation Desert Storm to enforce the mandates of the United Nations Security Council. As of 7 p.m. Eastern Standard Time, Operation Desert Storm forces were engaging targets in Kuwait and Iraq.

President Bush will address the Nation at 9 p.m. tonight from the Oval Office. I'll try to get you more as soon as we can. Thank you very much.

Note: Press Secretary Fitzwater read the statement to reporters at 7:08 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

Address to the Nation Announcing Allied Military Action in the Persian Gulf

January 16, 1991

Just 2 hours ago, allied air forces began an attack on military targets in Iraq and Kuwait. These attacks continue as I speak. Ground forces are not engaged.

This conflict started August 2d when the dictator of Iraq invaded a small and helpless neighbor. Kuwait—a member of the Arab League and a member of the United Nations—was crushed; its people, brutalized. Five months ago, Saddam Hussein started this cruel war against Kuwait. Tonight, the battle has been joined.

This military action, taken in accord with United Nations resolutions and with the consent of the United States Congress, follows months of constant and virtually endless diplomatic activity on the part of the United Nations, the United States, and many, many other countries. Arab leaders sought what became known as an Arab solution, only to conclude that Saddam Hussein was unwilling to leave Kuwait. Others traveled to Baghdad in a variety of efforts to restore peace and justice. Our Secretary of State, James Baker, held an historic meeting in Geneva, only to be totally rebuffed. This past weekend, in a last-ditch effort, the Secretary-General of the United Nations went to the Middle East with peace in his heart—his second such mission. And he came back from Baghdad with no progress at all in getting Saddam Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait.

Now the 28 countries with forces in the Gulf area have exhausted all reasonable efforts to reach a peaceful resolution—have no choice but to drive Saddam from Kuwait by force. We will not fail.

As I report to you, air attacks are underway against military targets in Iraq. We are

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as we can. Thank

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determined to knock out Saddam Hussein's nuclear bomb potential. We will also destroy his chemical weapons facilities. Much of Saddam's artillery and tanks will be destroyed. Our operations are designed to best protect the lives of all the coalition forces by targeting Saddam's vast military arsenal. Initial reports from General Schwarzkopf are that our operations are proceeding according to plan.

Our objectives are clear: Saddam Hussein's forces will leave Kuwait. The legitimate government of Kuwait will be restored to its rightful place, and Kuwait will once again be free. Iraq will eventually comply with all relevant United Nations resolutions, and then, when peace is restored, it is our hope that Iraq will live as a peaceful and cooperative member of the family of nations, thus enhancing the security and stability of the Gulf.

Some may ask: Why act now? Why not wait? The answer is clear: The world could wait no longer. Sanctions, though having some effect, showed no signs of accomplishing their objective. Sanctions were tried for well over 5 months, and we and our allies concluded that sanctions alone would not force Saddam from Kuwait.

While the world waited, Saddam Hussein systematically raped, pillaged, and plundered a tiny nation, no threat to his own. He subjected the people of Kuwait to unspeakable atrocities—and among those maimed and murdered, innocent children.

While the world waited, Saddam sought to add to the chemical weapons arsenal he now possesses, an infinitely more dangerous weapon of mass destruction—a nuclear weapon. And while the world waited, while the world talked peace and withdrawal, Saddam Hussein dug in and moved massive forces into Kuwait.

While the world waited, while Saddam stalled, more damage was being done to the fragile economies of the Third World, emerging democracies of Eastern Europe, to the entire world, including to our own economy.

The United States, together with the United Nations, exhausted every means at our disposal to bring this crisis to a peaceful end. However, Saddam clearly felt that by stalling and threatening and defying the United Nations, he could weaken the forces arrayed against him.

While the world waited, Saddam Hussein met every overture of peace with open contempt. While the world prayed for peace, Saddam prepared for war.

I had hoped that when the United States Congress, in historic debate, took its resolute action, Saddam would realize he could not prevail and would move out of Kuwait in accord with the United Nation resolutions. He did not do that. Instead, he remained intransigent, certain that time was on his side.

Saddam was warned over and over again to comply with the will of the United Nations: Leave Kuwait, or be driven out. Saddam has arrogantly rejected all warnings. Instead, he tried to make this a dispute between Iraq and the United States of America.

Well, he failed. Tonight, 28 nations—countries from 5 continents, Europe and Asia, Africa, and the Arab League—have forces in the Gulf area standing shoulder to shoulder against Saddam Hussein. These countries had hoped the use of force could be avoided. Regrettably, we now believe that only force will make him leave.

Prior to ordering our forces into battle, I instructed our military commanders to take every necessary step to prevail as quickly as possible, and with the greatest degree of protection possible for American and allied service men and women. I've told the American people before that this will not be another Vietnam, and I repeat this here tonight. Our troops will have the best possible support in the entire world, and they will not be asked to fight with one hand tied behind their back. I'm hopeful that this fighting will not go on for long and that casualties will be held to an absolute minimum.

This is an historic moment. We have in this past year made great progress in ending the long era of conflict and cold war. We have before us the opportunity to forge for ourselves and for future generations a new world order—a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations. When we are successful—and we will be—we have a real chance at this new world order, an

order in which a credible United Nations can use its peacekeeping role to fulfill the promise and vision of the U.N.'s founders.

We have no argument with the people of Iraq. Indeed, for the innocents caught in this conflict, I pray for their safety. Our goal is not the conquest of Iraq. It is the liberation of Kuwait. It is my hope that somehow the Iraqi people can, even now, convince their dictator that he must lay down his arms, leave Kuwait and let Iraq itself rejoin the family of peace-loving nations.

Thomas Paine wrote many years ago: "These are the times that try men's souls." Those well-known words are so very true today. But even as planes of the multinational forces attack Iraq, I prefer to think of peace, not war. I am convinced not only that we will prevail but that out of the horror of combat will come the recognition that no nation can stand against a world united. No nation will be permitted to brutally assault its neighbor.

No president can easily commit our sons and daughters to war. They are the Nation's finest. Ours is an all-volunteer force, magnificently trained, highly motivated. The troops know why they're there. And listen to what they say, for they've said it better than any President or Prime Minister ever could.

Listen to Hollywood Huddleston, Marine lance corporal. He says, "Let's free these people, so we can go home and be free again." And he's right. The terrible crimes and tortures committed by Saddam's henchmen against the innocent people of Kuwait are an affront to mankind and a challenge to the freedom of all.

Listen to one of our great officers out there, Marine Lieutenant General Walter Boomer. He said: "There are things worth fighting for. A world in which brutality and lawlessness are allowed to go unchecked isn't the kind of world we're going to want to live in."

Listen to Master Sergeant J.P. Kendall of the 82d Airborne: "We're here for more than just the price of a gallon of gas. What we're doing is going to chart the future of the world for the next 100 years. It's better to deal with this guy now than 5 years from now."

And finally, we should all sit up and listen to Jackie Jones, an Army lieutenant, when she says, "If we let him get away with this, who knows what's going to be next?"

I have called upon Hollywood and Walter and J.P. and Jackie and all their courageous comrades-in-arms to do what must be done. Tonight, America and the world are deeply grateful to them and to their families. And let me say to everyone listening or watching tonight: When the troops we've sent in finish their work, I am determined to bring them home as soon as possible.

Tonight, as our forces fight, they and their families are in our prayers. May God bless each and every one of them, and the coalition forces at our side in the Gulf, and may He continue to bless our nation, the United States of America.

Note: President Bush spoke at 9:01 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. In his address, he referred to President Saddam Hussein of Iraq and Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, commander of the U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf. The address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Strategic Petroleum Reserve

January 16, 1991

The President tonight authorized Secretary of Energy James D. Watkins, pursuant to the terms of the Energy Policy and Conservation Act, to draw down and distribute the Strategic Petroleum Reserve (SPR) at such a rate as the Secretary may determine.

The authorization to draw down the SPR is in conformance with the emergency response plan agreed to in the International Energy Agency (IEA) on January 11, 1991. The IEA plan provides that, in anticipation of any possible temporary shortfall in oil supplies in the event of hostilities in the Persian Gulf, 2.5 million barrels of oil per day be made available by member countries. The U.S. contribution to meeting the IEA commitment is 1.125 million barrels per day.

The President made a finding that events in the Persian Gulf have resulted in a potential national energy supply shortage that

For a country to be a part of a war is an honor

The President's News Conference on the Persian Gulf Conflict
January 18, 1991

The President. I have a few opening remarks, and then be glad to take a few questions.

We're now some 37 hours into Operation Desert Storm and the liberation of Kuwait, and so far, so good. U.S. and coalition military forces have performed bravely, professionally, and effectively. It is important, however, to keep in mind two things: First, this effort will take some time. Saddam Hussein has devoted nearly all of Iraq's resources for a decade to building up this powerful military machine. We can't expect to overcome it overnight—especially as we want to minimize casualties to the U.S. and coalition forces and to minimize any harm done to innocent civilians.

Second, we must be realistic. There will be losses. There will be obstacles along the way. War is never cheap or easy. And I said this only because I am somewhat concerned about the initial euphoria in some of the reports and reactions to the first day's developments. No one should doubt or question the ultimate success, because we will prevail. But I don't want to see us get overly euphoric about all of this.

Our goals have not changed. What we seek is the same as what the international community seeks—namely, Iraq's complete and unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait and then full compliance with the Security Council resolutions.

I also want to say how outraged I am by Iraq's latest act of aggression—in this case, against Israel. Once again, we see that no neighbor of Iraq is safe. I want to state here publicly how much I appreciated Israel's restraint from the outset, really from the very beginning of this crisis. Prime Minister Shamir and his government have shown great understanding for the interests of the United States and the interests of others involved in this coalition.

Close consultations with Israel are continuing. So, too, are close consultations with our coalition partners. Just a few minutes ago I spoke to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada. And in that vein, I also had a long and good conversation this morning with Soviet President Gorbachev in which we thoroughly reviewed the situation in the Gulf. And, of course, I took the opportunity from that call to express again my concern, my deep concern, over the Baltics and the need to ensure that there is a peaceful resolution to the situation there.

Let me close here by saying how much we appreciate what our fighting men and women are doing. This country is united. Yes, there's some protest, but this country is fundamentally united. And I want that message to go out to every kid that is over there serving this country.

I saw in the paper a comment by one who worried—from seeing demonstrations here and there in this country on television—that that expressed the will of the country. So, to those troops over there, let me just take this opportunity to say your country is supporting you—the Congress overwhelmingly endorsed that. Let there be no doubt in the minds of any of you: You have the full and unified support of the United States of America. So, I salute them. They deserve our full support, and they are our finest.

And now I'd be glad to take a few questions.

Q. Mr. President, has the United States asked Israel not to retaliate against Iraq for its attack, what commitments has the United States received in these consultations that we've had with Israel, and how long do you think Israel can stay on the sidelines if these attacks continue?

The President. These questions, questions of what we're talking to Israel about right now, I'm going to keep confidential. No question that Israel's Scud—the attack on Israel was purely an act of terror. It had absolutely no military significance at all. And it was an attack that is symptomatic of the kind of leader that the world is now confronting in Saddam Hussein and that, again, I repeat, the man that will be defeated here.

But Israel has shown great restraint, and I've said that. I think we can all understand that they have their own problems that come from this. But I don't want to go further into it because we are right in the midst of consultations with Israel. I think they, like us, do not want to see this war widened out, and yet they are determined

The President. This is the last one?

Q. No. No.

Q. Awww.

The President. It's the new me. I'm going to do exactly what Marlin says on this regard.

Q. This is the first time there's been sustained comment between American soldiers and Arab forces. There's been an enormous amount of concern about what the reaction of the Arab world would be. Now that the war is underway, how concerned are you about that problem? Is there anything that could be done by you to minimize the damage to the links between Arab countries and the United States?

The President. You're not talking about in—this in relationship to the attack on Israel.

Q. More in terms of the Arab matter——

The President. Gerry [Gerald Seib, Wall Street Journal], you see, I've never believed that the Arabs would oppose what's going on right now. I believe when you see the Arab League and Egypt itself—which I guess is the largest in population of Arab countries—strongly supporting what we're doing, that this idea that all Arabs—the idea that he tried to sell—Saddam did—that Arabs versus America is phony, it's a phony argument.

There are Arab forces in the air probably right now—Kuwaiti or Saudi forces. There is a strong Arab element in this coalition. There are many countries in the Arab League that are opposed to Saddam Hussein and have long felt that he was the bully of the neighborhood. And it is about time that his aggression come to heel. And so I don't worry about it, long run. I do think when this is over we will have some very sophisticated diplomacy to do. But I believe at this point that most people in the Arab world understand and approve of what the United Nations tried to do and is trying to do now. So it doesn't concern me.

Now, there are some elements that, clearly, you might say, are on the other side. And that would worry me in a sense, but it worries me for the future, not so much for the present. I think when all this is over, we want to be the healers. We want to do what we can to facilitate what I might optimistically call a new world order.

But that new world order should have a conciliatory component to it. It should say to those countries that are on the other side at this juncture—and there aren't many of them—look, you're part of this new world order. You're part of this. You can play an important part in seeing that the world can live at peace in the Middle East and elsewhere. So, there are some that oppose us. There are some of the more radical elements that will always oppose the West and the United States.

But there are countries involved there that may have leaned—tilted, to use an old diplomatic expression, towards Saddam Hussein and towards Iraq that will clearly be in the forefront of this new world order. I am not going to write off Jordan. We've had a long-standing relationship with King Hussein, but he's in a very difficult position there. I have had some differences with him, but they've been respectful, but I would like to see him be more publicly understanding of what it is the United Nations is trying to do here and the United States role. We're not going to suggest that Jordan, because they've taken this position, can't continue to be a tremendously important country in this new world order.

So, I don't accept the premise that Saddam Hussein tried to sell the world that it was the Arabs against the United States. There is overwhelming evidence to show that he is wrong. What he was trying to do, obviously, is divert world attention away from the brutal aggression against Kuwait. You heard it in the 'Aziz press conference. I mean, if there ever was evidence as to what I'm saying, it was the way he conducted himself in that press conference.

So, so far, Gerry, I think there has been understanding as to why we're doing what we are doing. And I'd like to think respect for the coalition because I think they see, as I do—the Arab world—that out of this there's a chance for a lasting peace.

Thank you all very much.

Note: *President Bush's 70th news conference began at 12:03 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to President Saddam Hussein*

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waiver by Executive order of the application of subsections (a) and (b) of section 402 of the Act with respect to Mongolia will substantially promote the objectives of section 402.

You are authorized and directed to publish this determination in the *Federal Register.*

George Bush

Message to the Congress on Trade With Mongolia

January 23, 1991

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to section 402(c)(2) of the Trade Act of 1974, (the Act) (19 U.S.C. 2432(c)(2)), I have determined that a waiver of the application of subsections (a) and (b) of section 402 with respect to Mongolia will substantially promote the objectives of section 402. A copy of that determination is enclosed. I have also received assurances with respect to the emigration practices of Mongolia required by section 402(c)(2)(B) of the Act.

Pursuant to section 402(c)(2), I shall issue an Executive order waiving the application of subsections (a) and (b) of section 402 of the Act with respect to Mongolia.

George Bush

The White House,
January 23, 1991.

Executive Order 12746—Waiver Under the Trade Act of 1974 With Respect to Mongolia

January 23, 1991

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including section 402(c)(2) of the Trade Act of 1974 ("the Act") (19 U.S.C. 2432(c)(2)), which continues to apply to Mongolia pursuant to section 402(d), and having made the report to the Congress required by section 402(c)(2), I hereby waive the application of subsections (a) and (b) of section 402 of the Act with respect to Mongolia.

George Bush

The White House,
January 23, 1991.

[*Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 3:25 p.m., January 23, 1991*]

Remarks to the Reserve Officers Association

January 23, 1991

Thank you, General Bob Hope. And I'm pleased to see so many Members of Congress here tonight. I don't want to get in trouble, but I want to single out Senator Strom Thurmond, Senator Ted Stevens, and, of course, a great friend of the Reserve, my old friend, Sonny Montgomery over here—the General. And all the rest of the Members who are with us tonight.

My apologies to all for speaking before the broccoli and leaving—[*laughter*]—but given the circumstances, I'm sure you'll understand. And I am proud to share this evening with the leadership of the Reserve Officers Association, and I am deeply honored to be named Minuteman of the Year. But I know tonight our thoughts go out to men and women earning the honor of a grateful nation at this very moment: the citizen-soldiers—100,000 strong serving now with the coalition forces in the Gulf. And I salute them, each and every one.

Those American Reservists are part of an allied force standing against the forces of aggression—standing up for what is right. They serve alongside hundreds of thousands of soldiers, sailors, airmen, marines, and coastguardsmen of 27 other nations—all united against the aggression of Saddam Hussein.

As we meet right here tonight, we are exactly 1 week into Operation Desert Storm. But it is important to date this conflict not from January 16th, but from its true beginning: the assault of August 2d, Iraq's unprovoked aggression against the tiny nation of Kuwait. We did not begin a war 7 days ago. Rather, we began to end a

war—to right a wrong that the world simply could not ignore.

From the day Saddam's forces first crossed into Kuwait, it was clear that this aggression required a swift response from our nation and the world community. What was, and is, at stake is not simply our energy or economic security and the stability of a vital region, but the prospects for peace in the post-cold war era—the promise of a new world order based upon the rule of law.

America was not alone in confronting Saddam. No less than 12 resolutions of the United Nations Security Council condemned the invasion—demanding Iraq's withdrawal without condition and without delay. The United Nations put in place sanctions to prevent Iraq from reaping any reward from its outlaw act. Countries from six continents sent forces to the Gulf to demonstrate the will of the world community that Saddam's aggression would not stand.

Appeasement—peace at any price—was never an answer. Turning a blind eye to Saddam's aggression would not have avoided war; it would only have delayed the world's day of reckoning, postponing what ultimately would have been a far more dangerous, a far more costly conflict.

Unfortunately, in spite of more than 5 months of sustained diplomatic efforts by the Arab League, the European Community, the United States, and the United Nations; Saddam Hussein met every overture of peace with open contempt. In the end, despite the world's prayers for peace, Saddam brought war upon himself.

Tonight, after 1 week of allied operations, I am pleased to report that Operation Desert Storm is right on schedule. We have dealt—and I salute General McPeak and the airmen flying under the United Command out there, from the Navy and the Marines, as well as, of course, the Air Force; I salute him—we dealt a severe setback to Saddam's nuclear ambitions. Our pinpoint attacks have put Saddam out of the nuclear bomb-building business for a long time to come. Allied aircraft enjoy air superiority, and we are using that superiority to systematically deprive Saddam of his ability to wage war effectively.

We are knocking out many of their key airfields. We're hitting their early warning radars with great success. We are severely degrading their air defenses. The main danger to allied aircraft now comes from some 20,000 antiaircraft guns in the Baghdad area alone. And let me say, I am proud of the way our aviators are carrying out their tasks. In head-to-head combat, our jet fighters have destroyed 19 Iraqi jets. And they have hit, at most, one American jet in aerial combat.

Step by step, we are making progress towards the objectives that have guided the world's response since August 2d: the liberation of Kuwait, and the restoration of stability and security in the Gulf. And there can be no doubt: Operation Desert Storm is working. There can be no pause now that Saddam has forced the world into war. We will stay the course—and we will succeed—all the way.

As I said on the 3d day of this campaign, war is never cheap or easy. There will be problems. There will be setbacks. There will be more sacrifices. But let me say I have every reason to be very pleased with our progress to date.

Saddam has sickened the world with his use of Scud missiles—those inaccurate bombs that indiscriminately strike cities and innocent civilians in both Israel and Saudi Arabia. These weapons are nothing more than tools of terror, and they do nothing but strengthen our resolve to act against a dictator unmoved by human decency.

Prime Minister John Major of the United Kingdom said it well yesterday. "Saddam," he said, "may yet become a target of his own people. It is perfectly clear that this man is amoral. He takes hostages, he attacks population centers, he threatens prisoners. He's a man without pity, and whatever his fate may be," said Prime Minister Major, "I, for one, will not weep for him." No one should weep for this tyrant when he is brought to justice—no one, anywhere in the world.

I watched, along with all of you, that repulsive parade of American airmen on Iraqi television—one more proof of the savagery of Saddam. But I knew as they read their

The Foreign Minister. I've heard that before, Mr. President. [*Laughter*]

The President. ——although our guests are more than able to. This is a new animal that's been added to our repertoire since you've come back.

The Foreign Minister. That's a very interesting one.

Q. Your aides, sir, are taking bets on whether we'll ask a question, sir. [*Laughter*]

Q. Could you answer one of ours, please, and prove them wrong? [*Laughter*]

Q. Mr. President, what do you think about the Dutch support so far?

The President. You know, I feel very badly I didn't explain to your press corps that I don't take questions in the Oval Office. I can understand why she would ask. However, let me just tell you that one of the reasons I'm delighted to have this meeting is to be able to express to you and to Prime Minister Lubbers and others the appreciation on the American side for this outstanding cooperation. And I think we've worked very closely together. We've noted your statements with great approval and appreciation, I might say. And so, I look forward to hearing from you any further thoughts you have on the Gulf or any other subject. But I really am grateful to you.

And that was the main message in why I wanted to grab some of your time on this trip—to tell you that. And I'm glad to have a chance to do it publicly.

The Foreign Minister. Thank you very much.

Note: The exchange began at 2:50 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House.

America must lead in creating a NWO

Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union

January 29, 1991

Mr. President and Mr. Speaker and Members of the United States Congress:

I come to this House of the people to speak to you and all Americans, certain that we stand at a defining hour. Halfway around the world, we are engaged in a great struggle in the skies and on the seas and sands. We know why we're there: We are Americans, part of something larger than ourselves. For two centuries, we've done the hard work of freedom. And tonight, we lead the world in facing down a threat to decency and humanity.

What is at stake is more than one small country; it is a big idea: a new world order, where diverse nations are drawn together in common cause to achieve the universal aspirations of mankind—peace and security, freedom, and the rule of law. Such is a world worthy of our struggle and worthy of our children's future.

The community of nations has resolutely gathered to condemn and repel lawless aggression. Saddam Hussein's unprovoked invasion—his ruthless, systematic rape of a peaceful neighbor—violated everything the community of nations holds dear. The world has said this aggression would not stand, and it will not stand. Together, we have resisted the trap of appeasement, cynicism, and isolation that gives temptation to tyrants. The world has answered Saddam's invasion with 12 United Nations resolutions, starting with a demand for Iraq's immediate and unconditional withdrawal, and backed up by forces from 28 countries of 6 continents. With few exceptions, the world now stands as one.

The end of the cold war has been a victory for all humanity. A year and a half ago, in Germany, I said that our goal was a Europe whole and free. Tonight, Germany is united. Europe has become whole and free, and America's leadership was instrumental in making it possible.

Our relationship to the Soviet Union is important, not only to us but to the world. That relationship has helped to shape these and other historic changes. But like many other nations, we have been deeply concerned by the violence in the Baltics, and we have communicated that concern to the Soviet leadership. The principle that has guided us is simple: Our objective is to help the Baltic peoples achieve their aspirations, not to punish the Soviet Union. In our recent discussions with the Soviet leadership we have been given representations which, if fulfilled, would result in the withdrawal of some Soviet forces, a reopening of dialog with the Republics, and a move away from violence.

+ See next page

of life. We have given our men and women the very best. And they deserve it.

We all have a special place in our hearts for the families of our men and women serving in the Gulf. They are represented here tonight by Mrs. Norman Schwarzkopf. We are all very grateful to General Schwarzkopf and to all those serving with him. And I might also recognize one who came with Mrs. Schwarzkopf, Alma Powell, the wife of the distinguished Chairman of the Joint Chiefs. And to the families, let me say our forces in the Gulf will not stay there one day longer than is necessary to complete their mission.

The courage and success of the RAF pilots, of the Kuwaiti, Saudi, French, the Canadians, the Italians, the pilots of Qatar and Bahrain all are proof that for the first time since World War II, the international community is united. The leadership of the United Nations, once only a hoped-for ideal, is now confirming its founders' vision.

I am heartened that we are not being asked to bear alone the financial burdens of this struggle. Last year, our friends and allies provided the bulk of the economic costs of Desert Shield. And now, having received commitments of over $40 billion for the first 3 months of 1991, I am confident they will do no less as we move through Desert Storm.

But the world has to wonder what the dictator of Iraq is thinking. If he thinks that by targeting innocent civilians in Israel and Saudi Arabia, that he will gain advantage, he is dead wrong. If he thinks that he will advance his cause through tragic and despicable environmental terrorism, he is dead wrong. And if he thinks that by abusing the coalition prisoners of war he will benefit, he is dead wrong.

We will succeed in the Gulf. And when we do, the world community will have sent an enduring warning to any dictator or despot, present or future, who contemplates outlaw aggression.

The world can, therefore, seize this opportunity to fulfill the long-held promise of a new world order, where brutality will go unrewarded and aggression will meet collective resistance.

Yes, the United States bears a major share of leadership in this effort. Among the nations of the world, only the United States of America has both the moral standing and the means to back it up. We're the only nation on this Earth that could assemble the forces of peace. This is the burden of leadership and the strength that has made America the beacon of freedom in a searching world.

This nation has never found glory in war. Our people have never wanted to abandon the blessings of home and work for distant lands and deadly conflict. If we fight in anger, it is only because we have to fight at all. And all of us yearn for a world where we will never have to fight again.

Each of us will measure within ourselves the value of this great struggle. Any cost in lives—any cost—is beyond our power to measure. But the cost of closing our eyes to aggression is beyond mankind's power to imagine. This we do know: Our cause is just; our cause is moral; our cause is right.

Let future generations understand the burden and the blessings of freedom. Let them say we stood where duty required us to stand. Let them know that, together, we affirmed America and the world as a community of conscience.

The winds of change are with us now. The forces of freedom are together, united. We move toward the next century more confident than ever that we have the will at home and abroad to do what must be done—the hard work of freedom.

May God bless the United States of America. Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 9:09 p.m. in the House Chamber of the Capitol. He was introduced by Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives. In his remarks, the President referred to Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, commander of the U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf, and his wife, Renda; and Gen. Colin L. Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The address was broadcast live nationwide on radio and television. Prior to his address, the President attended a reception in the Speaker's Conference Room hosted by the congressional leadership.

Remarks and an Exchange With Reporters Prior to Discussions With Foreign Minister Antonios Samaras of Greece

January 30, 1991

Q. When are you coming to Greece, Mr. President?

The President. Well, let me say I'm looking forward to coming to Greece. And I want to tell the Foreign Minister that I'd like very much to have the Prime Minister come here, because we have a strong relationship with Greece. We're delighted with the cooperation we are receiving. I view it as a partnership.

And I don't know exactly on timing because we've had to delay a trip that might well have tied into a stop in Greece. But I hope you will tell the Prime Minister that—one, of our gratitude for the wonderful cooperation in this partnership approach we've got; two, of our commitment to Greece, longstanding, and to its security and to its prosperity.

And I guess, really, my message to the Greek people would be one of gratitude for its steadfast standing shoulder to shoulder with the United States and many other countries in standing up against the aggression that Saddam Hussein has perpetrated.

So, Greek-American relations are in good shape. And what we're going to talk about is how to make them even better, if we can.

Q. Mr. President, does your resolve for implementation of all U.N. resolutions include the Cyprus issue as well?

The President. Well, we've been looking at that for a long, long time. Quite clearly it's not something that the United States can do. We've long favored support for the Secretary-General's initiative.

But that's the last question I'll take—a very good one and an issue that I hope can be resolved. We've got a full-time, a very able Ambassador who remains involved on it in multilateral—Mr. Ledsky. We have a good Ambassador in Athens who has our full confidence. So, I hope we can be helpful. But that's a problem that I'd love to see solved, in keeping with these U.N. resolutions.

Thank you all very much.

Note: The exchange began at 10:05 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. In his remarks, President Bush referred to Prime Minister Constantinos Mitsotakis of Greece; President Saddam Hussein of Iraq; Nelson C. Ledsky, U.S. Special Cyprus Coordinator; and Michael Sotirhos, U.S. Ambassador to Greece.

Remarks at the 50th Anniversary Observance of Franklin D. Roosevelt's Four Freedoms Speech

January 30, 1991

Thank you very much, Speaker Foley. And may I salute the leaders of both Houses of Congress; pay my respects to Anne Roosevelt and to Arthur Schlesinger, Bill vanden Heuvel; and distinguished representatives of the Congress here; distinguished representatives of our World War II allies who are with us; certain ambassadors; and to the many friends.

It is an honor to be with you on this extraordinary day of reflection, rededication, and renewal, inspired by the stirring words of this great President.

You know, a day when we think of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Emancipation Proclamation—Franklin Roosevelt called these documents "milestones of human progress." And he added one more to the list that we've heard about—the charge he named his Four Freedoms of Common Humanity. All of these landmark charters are optimistic. After all, that's what inspiration is about. But President Roosevelt knew that they are more than just idealistic goals. Together they are the moral North Star that guides us.

Two hundred years ago, perhaps our greatest political philosopher, Thomas Jefferson, defined our nation's identity when he wrote: "All men are created equal, endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights. Among them are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Fifty years ago, our greatest American political pragmatist, Roosevelt, refined that thought in his four freedoms, when he brilliantly enunciated the 20th-century vision of our Founding Fathers' commitment to

individual liberty. And he saw that liberty s made up as we've heard: freedom of pression, freedom of worship, freedom rom want, and freedom from fear. And for these 200 years this concept of human dignity has been a beacon drawing to these shores people from across the globe—people like a boy named Quang Trinh, a Vietnamese teenager who almost died escaping from the country where he'd seen his mother killed, his father jailed, his brother's spirit broken. Quang fled the only life he'd known for freedom. He jumped into shark-infested waters for freedom, starved in delirium for freedom. And when he was rescued and told that he could enter the United States, he wept for joy.

Quang calls America freedom country. Imagine if every person across this world could call their homeland freedom country. We do—and we do because the four freedoms have shaped the American character. They've molded who we are as individuals and as a nation. And they've made us realize that along with the freedoms that are our birthright come solemn responsibilities.

As we look around the world at the nts of the past year, we see how these ry same beliefs are bringing about the emergence of a new world order, one based on respect for the individual and for the rule of law—a new world order that can lead to the lasting peace we all seek, where children will never have to repeat Quang's ordeal. And that's what's at stake—a new chapter of human history.

And that's why an international coalition of 28 nations backed by the United Nations is standing up to the evil that challenges this ideal halfway around the world in the Middle East. We cannot, we must not, and we will not let that hope for a better world be threatened.

It is our commitment to the new world order that takes us to the sands and the seas of the Gulf. And we're there because we realize that each of Roosevelt's four freedoms leads us to the greatest of all human aspirations—the freedom to live in peace.

We stand now, I really believe, at a defining moment in history, much as the man e honor today did a half a century ago. No e knew better than President Roosevelt hat hard work freedom really is. And when he introduced first the four freedoms, Roosevelt's America was entering a war against the oldest enemy of the human spirit—evil that threatened world peace.

But listen to the confidence of purpose that he expressed in that same speech: "Our national policy in foreign affairs has been based on a decent respect for the rights and dignity of all nations, large and small, and the justice of morality must and will win in the end." That charge is as true today in the Gulf as it was 50 years ago in Europe. And the triumph of the moral order must still be the vision that compels us. So we ask God to bless us, to guide us, and to help us through whatever dark nights we still may face.

We hope that in the sublime resolve of those who strive so that all may live in peace and freedom, we will show how this nation has forged its very soul, and that the liberty bell of the four freedoms will ring for all people in every nation of this world.

Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 11:33 a.m. in Statuary Hall at the U.S. Capitol. In his opening remarks, he referred to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives; Anne Roosevelt, granddaughter of Franklin D. Roosevelt; and historians Arthur Schlesinger and William vanden Heuvel, cochairmen of the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute.

Message to the Congress Transmitting a Report on the Canada-United States Free-Trade Agreement

January 30, 1991

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to section 304(f) of the United States-Canada Free-Trade Agreement Implementation Act of 1988 (Public Law 100–449; 102 Stat. 1875), I am pleased to transmit the attached report pertaining to the implementation and effectiveness of operation of the United States-Canada Free-Trade Agreement (FTA) in its first 2 years.

George Bush

The White House,
January 30, 1991.

always keep a place in my heart for the memories and especially for the families of these American heroes.

I'm told that not far from here yellow ribbons stretch as far as the eye can see. And they show what a former President, a former general, Dwight Eisenhower, meant when he said, "Morale is the greatest single factor in successful wars." The communities of Jacksonville and Havelock care. And so, like communities all across America, they've joined hands to support military troops and their families. And I think of your schools, touching troops with their letters and their love. And the "Key Wives Program," linking families and hearts. And if there's anyone around this country who wonders what we're fighting for, they need look no farther than right here in this room.

Unfortunately, there are no medals of valor for military families. If there were, there would be as much decoration on your chests as there is pride within them. Two weeks ago, a monument was dedicated a mile from here. It has five service seals and this inscription: "Operation Desert Storm: This beacon burning bright is a constant reminder of Havelock's home fires burning in support of our military men and women and their families." To all of you—spouses, children, parents, loved ones, marines—you're doing more than just keeping the home fires burning. Your dedication and bravery is lighting the heart—believe me—it is lighting the heart of every American. You're hastening the day when your men and women will come home. And let me repeat this to the families: We will stay in the Gulf for as long as necessary, but not one day longer than it takes us to complete this mission.

Today, in the Gulf, marines are enduring much to keep America strong and great. Let me leave you with words that were written more than a century ago. Back then, the marines had just landed on another distant shore, and a reporter wrote, "The Marines have landed, and the situation is well in hand." Nothing has changed, and nothing will.

You know, I heard on the radio the President is going to North Carolina to lift the morale of the people. Let me assure you, it's the other way around after seeing this group.

So, thank you, thank you for your support. God bless you and this great country. And most of all, God bless the finest soldiers, sailors, airmen, coastguardsmen, and marines any nation has ever had. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 8:43 a.m. in a hangar at the station. In his remarks, he referred to Maggie Hearney, wife of Richard D. Hearney, commanding general, 2d Marine Air Wing; Lt. Gen. Carl E. Mundy, Jr., commanding general, Fleet Marine Force, Atlantic; Brig. Gen. David A. Richwine, commanding general, Marine Corps Air Station, Cherry Point; Col. Daniel B. McDyre, commander, 2d Marine Aircraft Wing; Zandra Krulak, wife of Brig. Gen. Charles C. Krulak, commanding general, 2d Forces Service Support Group; and Linda Sutton, wife of Brig. Gen. Russell H. Sutton, Director, Operations Division, Plans, Policies, and Operations Department.

Remarks to Community Members at Seymour Johnson Air Force Base in Goldsboro, North Carolina

February 1, 1991

Thank you so very much. Cynthia, thank you for that introduction. This is the warmest picnic on a cold day I've ever attended, I'll tell you. And really, it's great to be here at Seymour Johnson, home of the 4th Tactical Fighter Wing—the "Rocketeers" and the "Chiefs"—as well as these great refueling units, the 68th and the 916th. And let me just pay my respects and say what an unbelievable job Colonel "Jumbo" Wray is doing here on this base. We're very proud of him. While your wing commander, Colonel Hornburg, is deployed with Desert Storm, "Jumbo" is filling in, doing just great.

And I'm also glad to see a man that flew over with me from our last stop—that's Governor Martin out here, the Governor of this State. Congressman Martin Lancaster, from this district, and I am very proud he is with us here today. And, of course, the mayor, Mayor Plunk, is with us, too. And I wanted to specifically thank the military af-

you for your sup-
this great country.
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fairs committee of the Wayne County Chamber of Commerce for hosting this fantastic picnic. I don't believe I've had so much fun in a long, long time.

And, of course, I do want to salute two others: our very able Secretary of the Air Force that you just met, Don Rice back there, as well as the Air Force Chief of Staff, General Tony McPeak, both of them doing a fantastic job for our country.

This is a three-stop day for me. We just came here from the Marine Air Station at Cherry Point, and from here we head to Fort Stewart. But I want to tell you how very pleased I am to be able to spend some time meeting and talking to at least some of you—especially the kids—because I know in my heart how tough these days can be. There's a lot of waiting, a lot of uncertainty—the not knowing. But each of you do know this: The men and women from Seymour Johnson are doing a fantastic job for this country, and we are very, very grateful.

You've got the tactical fighters and the refuelers and the medical personnel and the civil engineers and the security police. I just want you to know how grateful the Nation is to this entire team—and to you—and to share with you here today just a few thoughts. I cast fear and horror into the heart of one guy I was having lunch with because I told him this was going to take 45 minutes; it won't, believe me.

But let me just share some thoughts with you. I probably don't need to tell you that the brave service men and women of this base are part of the most motivated, the best educated, the best equipped Armed Forces in the history of this great country of ours, bar none. Because they are—and you are—doing the hard work of freedom, the cause of freedom will prevail. I'm absolutely certain of that.

You know, we're now more than 2 weeks into Desert Storm. And I'm happy to say and—put it this way—we are on course and we are on schedule. And as each day passes, Iraq's war machine, thanks to many of your loved ones, is being systematically destroyed by our allied military forces. Our investment, our training, and our planning are paying off. And yes, sacrifices still lay ahead, but we will succeed. And when we do, we will have taught Saddam Hussein and all others like him that there is no place for lawless aggression in the region or in this new world order that we envision.

While I'm here, I would be remiss if I didn't salute what the U.S. and coalition airmen have accomplished. Air superiority is an established fact now. The Iraqi Air Force is no longer a factor. And I know that this base—as much as any base in this country—this base is very proud of the way that we have used air superiority to go after Saddam's missiles of terror.

And yes, our mission in the Gulf is demanding and it's difficult, but I can tell you that our troops will not be asked to accomplish their mission with one hand tied behind their back. We are not going to do that in this war. And let me say something else: Your husbands and wives and your moms and dads will not be in that Gulf one day longer than is absolutely necessary. I want them home, and I want them all home.

And finally—and I don't think I have to tell this particular group this point—but I want each of you and all our troops—this really is for the troops—I want you to know that the American people stand with you. And I hope you had a chance to watch at least the part of the State of the Union Message that I want to mention to you because if you did, you would have seen a very moving scene: The entire Congress—and Congressman Lancaster was there; he will tell you this is true—the entire Congress, the Cabinet, the Supreme Court, the Joint Chiefs, the diplomatic corps rose to their feet in a prolonged, heartfelt tribute to the troops. It was a moving thing. And if only you could have felt it, as I did standing up there in front of the Congress—felt the thunder of the applause and sensed the emotion that filled that Chamber. And the cheering for our armed forces—and it was strong, it was for them—was followed by two more standing ovations for you, the courageous families of our service men and women. And it was for you and for our troops. And that's exactly the way it should have been.

And I hope that that Saddam Hussein, in his bunker somewhere in Baghdad, saw every single minute of it. And if he did, maybe he now understands that we are a nation united in support of our troops.

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Remarks to Community Members at Cherry Point Marine Corps Air Station in North Carolina

February 1, 1991

Thank you very much for that warm welcome. And it's a wonderful honor to be introduced by Ms. Hearney, whose husband is doing such an outstanding job for the country. Let me salute the Secretary of the Navy, Larry Garrett; of course, General Al Gray, upon whom I depend so much as a member of the Joint Chiefs; and General Mundy and General Richwine and Colonel McDyre and, of course, Governor Martin, the Governor of this great State—an old friend, Jim Martin; and Mrs. Krulak and Mrs. Sutton; families and friends and members of "the few, the proud, the Marines."

There's a song which speaks of "Carolina n the Morning." Well, I am very pleased to be here this morning to salute all of you who form the magnificent Carolina MAGTF [Marine Air Ground Task Force].

Admiral Bull Halsey—if you'll forgive me, a Navy man—[*laughter*]—once called you "not merely the elite Corps of this country but the elite Corps of this world." And I agree. Let me tell you, it's a real privilege—and I mean that—to be at a home base of the United States Marine Corps.

For 216 years, the corps has helped write the story of America. And today—in wartime, as in peacetime—you write that story still. It is the story of *Semper Fi*—Always Faithful—to the liberty which set men free.

My squadron helped cover the landings at Guam and Saipan, and I was way up there and those marines were way down there. And I saw their courage then, firsthand. Think of the marines storming the beaches at Iwo; or taking the shell-torn ridges at Chosin, Guadalcanal; patrolling the skies from Okinawa to Korea; and now in Saudi Arabia.

As I said Tuesday night in my State of the Union speech, to be an American means writing new chapters in this story. It means enlisting in the cause of liberty and undertaking the hard work of freedom—a cause which, today in the Persian Gulf, your colleagues, friends, above all, families have bravely and willingly borne as marines have always done.

It comes as little surprise that the first ground engagement in the Gulf involved marines. It comes as no surprise that the marines fought with great distinction and fought very bravely. Their professionalism and sacrifice will end the nightmare—I'm absolutely confident of that—will end the nightmare of Iraq's brutal occupation and ensure that Kuwait is once again free.

What's this T-shirt up here?

No, but their courage and commitment will help punish aggression and protect our new world order from the tyranny of ruthless dictators with no concern for human life.

We're now more than 2 weeks into Operation Desert Storm. My report to you today is that we are on course, we are on schedule, and things go well. Day by day, night by night, Iraq's capacity to wage war is being systematically destroyed by U.S. and coalition military forces. And our investment, our training, and our planning are paying off. And yes, achieving our goals will require time and sacrifice, but we will prevail—make no mistake about that. And when we do—and when we do, we will have taught a dangerous tyrant and those few who would follow in his footsteps that there is no place for lawless aggression in this critical region and in the new world order that we seek to create.

Every day, I think of our brave service men and women like the 2d Marine Airwing, 11 squadrons and 2 battalions deployed in the Gulf; the 2d Marine Division; and the 2d Force Service Support Group. Ninety percent of their members are deployed in the Gulf. And they, too, believe in a cause larger than themselves. And most of all, we think of all those who have given the last full measure of devotion, and I will

I know it's been tough on a lot of you—maybe all you here at Seymour Johnson. And I know also what it is that you have offered this great nation of ours. I understand what it is that I have asked of you, what General McPeak has asked of you. Members of this fighting unit have voluntarily set aside their freedom to wage this battle. But while today some may be prisoners of war, and others may have made the ultimate sacrifice, a lifetime of democracy and faith in God keeps their spirit free. No foreign dictator can imprison the love of liberty that beats in the hearts of every American.

And before I finish, I'd like to say something to all of the kids here today. I want you to know that your parents, your loved ones, our troops in the Gulf are enduring the hardships of war today so that you may know the blessings of peace tomorrow.

And seeing such strong, wonderful families here today and knowing the support that you have received from this community is good for the soul and proves the strength of America's spirit. And I thank each and every one of you—I thank each and every one of you. And when I climbed on Air Force One of this morning out there—I told them this over at Cherry Point—I heard on the television, President Bush is visiting the bases to help lift the morale. And it's been exactly 180 degrees the other way around. My morale has been pretty darn good, frankly, but seeing those people over there and now all of you, my morale has never been more sky-high.

Thank you for this fantastic support for the troops. Because you see, you see, I do draw strength and courage from your forbearance for the job that the colonel and all the others are doing around here. And I ask God's blessing upon you all—every one of you—and upon every soldier and sailor, marine, airman, and coastguardsman—every man and woman now serving in the Persian Gulf. What a wonderful country we have. And nothing could prove that more than the patriotism and the courage and the devotion of your loved ones, our beloved troops, halfway around the world.

May God bless the United States of America and each and every one of you. Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 11:55 a.m. at the base picnic grounds. In his remarks, he referred to Cynthia Hornburg, wife of Col. Al Hornburg, wing commander, 4th Tactical Fighter Wing, and Col. James "Jumbo" Wray, vice commander, 4th Tactical Fighter Wing.

Remarks to Community Members at Fort Stewart, Georgia

February 1, 1991

Thank you for that great welcome. Jill—Jill McCaffrey—it is my great pleasure to be here and to meet with you. Barbara and I met the commanding general—met Jill's husband, Gen. Barry McCaffrey, and many of his troops, many of your loved ones—and we shared a meal with them on Thanksgiving Day. And it was special, and we Bushes will never forget it. And the food wasn't bad, either. [*Laughter*] But I'll tell you, the morale was great.

I want to salute General Burba, thank him for his leadership in this most important command of his. I want to salute and pay my respects to these two Senators from this State in which this installation is located—Senator Nunn, chairman of our Armed Services Committee; Senator Wyche Fowler—and of course, your own Congressman from this district who's been so supportive of everything all of you are involved in, Congressman Thomas. To the new Governor of this great State, Governor Miller, who is with us today, my respects. And Colonel Lucas, thank you, sir, for your prayers. And Colonel Frank Miller, if you can sing like your wife does, why, you guys ought to go on the road. [*Laughter*] But I think I've mentioned everybody but Beetle Bailey here. [*Laughter*]

But nevertheless, it is indeed a real pleasure to meet with you. I've heard a lot from Colonel Miller and others about Hinesville, and I heard a lot out in the Saudi desert—you can believe me—about all of you, the Fort Stewart family. I came down here to thank you on behalf of a grateful nation for your steadfast service and sacrifice because when proud men and women of Fort Stew-

art and Hunter Field put it all on the line, every one of you is right there with them.

In times of trial, we fall back on faith and on family, what a wise man once called the "little platoons" to which we all belong, the little platoons that provide the 24th Infantry Division with its fighting spirit and its staying power.

Right now, it's night in Saudi Arabia. The soldiers from Fort Stewart are on duty, 1 more day in more than 5 long months away from home. Our thoughts are with them, day and night—America's finest, standing against an aggressor who must be stopped, standing up for the best—all that is best in us. Because those men and women know and you know—we all know that when the forces of aggression take up arms, America cannot look the other way.

It began with Kuwait, but that wouldn't have been the end. What we've witnessed these last few weeks removed any last shred of doubt about the adversary that we face: the terror bombing, without military value—the terror bombing of innocent civilians with those Scud missiles; the brutal treatment—that brutal, inhumane treatment of our POW's; the endless appetite for evil that would lead a man to make war on the world's environment. All of us know what we're up against. All of you know why we're there.

We are there because we are Americans, part of something that's larger than ourselves. Our cause is right. Our cause is just. And because it is just, that world's cause will prevail.

And when we win—and we will—we will have taught a dangerous dictator and any tyrant tempted to follow in his footsteps that the U.S. has a new credibility, and that what we say goes, and that there is no place for lawless aggression in the Persian Gulf and in this new world order that we seek to create. And we mean it. And he will understand that when the day is done.

I know that all of you—especially all of you—are anxious to know if and when a ground operation might begin. Let me tell you now, it will only begin if necessary and when we decide that the time is right. We will conduct this conflict on our terms, on our timetable, not on Saddam Hussein's timetable.

Let me assure you that Desert Storm is right on course. Our training, our investment, our planning are all paying off. American and allied forces are systematically destroying Iraq's capacity to wage war.

Every member of the 24th Infantry Division is part of a fighting tradition stretching back some 50 years. Back in November, when I met with the men and women of the 24th, I told them about the last Thanksgiving that I had spent so far away from home. It was on a ship off the Philippine coast back in 1944. The 24th was there, fighting to take Red Beach on Leyte Island in the campaign that earned the 24th the nickname it so proudly bears today: the "Victory" Division.

And back then, those—close to 50 years ago—Franklin Delano Roosevelt sent a cable out to General MacArthur and the 24th Division, a message that—very short—I'd like to read it to you today. FDR wrote them: "You have the Nation's gratitude, and the Nation's prayers for success, as you and your men fight your way back."

And now, many years later, once more the 24th is in the front lines, far from home. Once more, the Nation's prayers and the Nation's pride are with the 24th and all the brave men and women of Desert Storm.

I don't know whether it was Jill, but somebody told me about the send-off back in August, when the 24th was among the first to deploy to Saudi Arabia, the way the people of Hinesville and the other towns near here lined not just the streets around Fort Stewart but lined the interstate all the way up I–95 to Hunter Field and Savannah. What a sight that must have been to the proud soldiers of Fort Stewart.

And let me say to all the children here with parents that are serving over there in the Gulf, keep in mind that no matter how much you depend on your parents, your country depends on them, too. And you've read at school about the great generals and some of the Presidents—all about American history and American heroes. Well, you see, that's just part of the great story about our country because your moms and dads are the heroes, too, doing the hard work of freedom right now, half a world away.

I know it's been tough. It may get tougher. We've got three of the Walker kids here

Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at a Meeting of the Economic Club of New York in New York City

February 6, 1991

The President. Thank you so very much. And, Dick, thank you, sir, for inviting me to this most prestigious organization. May I pay my respects to Secretary Brady, who is with us—came up with us from Washington and, in my view, is doing an outstanding job for our country. And I'm just delighted he's here.

And I want to thank one other—Ray Price, an old friend who I understand does a lot of heavy lifting for this organization—a lot of the organization. And each one of you—all of you—and I want to thank you not for standing up to greet me, for heaven sakes, but for standing up for all those fighting against aggression tonight in the Persian Gulf, and especially all the coalition forces, but especially the fighting men and women of the United States of America.

Looking around at this dais and at the audience, I wonder who's home minding the GNP. [*Laughter*] This is a classy, star-studded audience, and we are very pleased, again, once again, let me say, to be here.

This year, as Dick said, marks a defining hour—a moment of truth—for this generation, for this country, and I'd also add for the United Nations. We were patient and we were cautious. But when the moment of truth came, America and the world did what was moral, what was just, and what was right.

We said the occupation of Kuwait would not stand. And 3 weeks ago tonight, at just about this time, we announced that the liberation of Kuwait had begun. Three weeks ago tonight, allied forces moved to end a conflict that we did not seek and that we did not begin. But ladies and gentlemen, it is one that we and our allies will finish. And I can tell you firmly that tonight we are on course and we are on schedule. Mission by mission, hour by hour, Iraq's capacity to wage war is being systematically destroyed by American and coalition forces.

The road to real peace will be difficult—long and tough, I'd say. But we will prevail. And when we do, we will have before us an historic opportunity. From the confluence of the Tigris and the Euphrates—where civilization began—civilized behavior can begin anew. We can build a better world and a better new world order.

Tonight the world is united by shared commitments, shared interests, shared hopes. Our efforts will determine the kind of legacy that we bequeath our children, the kind of world they will live in. And so, let us rededicate ourselves to the ideals in which our troops so resolutely believe. Because in the final analysis, America and her partners will be measured not by how we wage war but how we make peace.

I said in my State of the Union Address that "we are the nation that can shape the future." And shaping the future is a job that begins at home. And so I want to talk to you tonight about the economy. Long-term economic growth is central to quality of life for America's families, quality of decency for America's communities, and to the quality of leadership America can bring in its special role as the world's leading diplomatic, cultural, and economic power.

Just over 8 years ago, when we came out of a recession, the longest peacetime expansion in American history began. Working together, we created millions of new jobs, cut both interest rates and inflation in half—a triumph driven by the energies of the most dynamic and diverse economy on Earth.

Against this background, the events of 1990 served to remind us that even a fundamentally healthy economy faces the risk of temporary disturbances, short-term setbacks. For example, when Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1990, it was a shock to the world's conscience. Business and consumer confidence fell. We all remember the rise, the dramatic rise, in oil prices. Inflation worries rose. And interest rates reflected an extra risk premium. Taken together, this produced a very real blow to an economy that had already slowed down.

But make no mistake: The current recession does not signal any decline in the fundamental, long-term health or basic vitality of our economy. America is a "can do" nation. And America is home to the largest, most productive economy on Earth. Our administration's economic policies are designed to strengthen the foundation for a solid recovery and guarantee the highest

would send oil up to $80 a barrel—and I think we can all remember those speculative days—oil prices have fallen substantially since their peaks in October, especially since the start of Operation Desert Storm. I believe that by standing up to aggression in the Gulf, we are guaranteeing the future security and the stability of that entire area, an area that is so vital to global economic prosperity.

Later this month, the administration will release our National Energy Strategy. The strategy will propose Federal, State, and private sector initiatives to increase energy efficiency and conservation. It recognizes the need for creating a clean, safe environment. And it also recognizes that we must find more domestic oil and gas, and use more alternative sources of energy.

Our strategy is designed to reduce our vulnerability to foreign oil supply disruptions. Now, some will argue that reducing our energy vulnerability is not enough and that we should embark upon more drastic measures designed to achieve total energy independence. That's down the road—because the reality is we are a long way from total energy independence and we must avoid unwise and extreme measures that would seriously hurt American consumers, American jobs, American industries.

Yes, we've got to begin reducing our energy vulnerability now. Our new strategy will do that because it is prudent, it is balanced, and it is comprehensive.

And finally, don't forget another underlying strength of our economy: the flexibility of America's free market system. To preserve this flexibility, we must keep our markets open and hold government restrictions to a minimum. This, frankly, is not easy. I will continue to oppose protectionism. I will continue to fight for a level playing field, so that international trade is free and fair.

And that is what we are doing in this Uruguay Round of trade negotiations—trying to lower the barrier to the free flow of goods and services around the world. And that is also what we seek in the negotiations that we will launch this year with Mexico and Canada to create a North American free trade area. And our Enterprise for the Americas Initiatives—and again I salute Secretary Brady for his key role in all of this—is intended to extend the benefits of flexibility throughout the Western Hemisphere.

To build a new, peaceful world order we must secure the democratic triumphs of the past year. I'm thinking especially of the Revolution of '89. The new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe inspire us all with their commitment to free societies and free market economies. But look, they face daunting obstacles from the Communist past as well as severe new problems brought on by lost markets and brought on by higher oil prices.

Our administration is committed to help, and we're committed to lead. Despite the burden we are bearing in the Gulf, I've asked Congress for $470 million in new assistance for Central and Eastern Europe—a substantial increase over last year's request.

Four decades ago, the Marshall Plan helped build a West European zone of prosperity and security that greatly benefited the United States. Together with our Western European partners, we can now extend this success to create a Europe whole and free—an entire continent of prosperity and stability that fulfills the vision of that Marshall Plan.

With their great human potential and commitment to market economic reform, Central and Eastern European countries offer real opportunities for U.S. trade and investment, and I urge American business to seize these opportunities—as many are doing.

I see Jack Welch over here. Well, G.E. weighed in with $150-million joint venture with Tungsram in Hungary. Drew Lewis, who is not here with us tonight—but his Union Pacific stepped up to the plate with an impressive effort to modernize Poland's railroads. And Bell Atlantic and U.S. West have begun a $80-million telecommunications venture in Czechoslovakia.

History is moving decisively in favor of freedom, thanks in large part to American ideals and perseverance—the touchstones of the modern world which the emerging democracies are now striving for: free markets, free speech, free elections. America has lived by these tenets for over 200 years. And they've given us both our power and our purpose.

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cent higher. What do you have in mind, if anything, to correct this situation?

The President. First, let me profess my love for Tip O'Neill. [*Laughter*] And I really, sincerely mean it, as I think many people—I know Barbara knows, and I really feel strongly about it—the guy has not been well lately, nor has Millie, his wife, who we love dearly. So, I will take this opportunity through C–SPAN or whoever to pay my genuine respects and affection to him. He knows this. And I think you've phrased it very well—we do have a different approach on how housing should be done in this country. I think when Tip goes back, he was talking about government-paid-for, government-owned housing.

Our approach is something else. We believe that the best way to do it is to have tenant management, encourage ownership, voucher systems. We have a program called HOPE, which relates fundamentally to home ownership as opposed to Federal ownership. We have put much more money in the budget for this. We happen to believe that enterprise zones going into low-income areas would do an awful lot to bring business there and thus enable people to buy more homes.

So, I hope that the program that we've put forward—the HOPE program—will have the support of many of Tip's former colleagues. I have a feeling it will. We'd made a good step on it last year in the Congress and got good support from both sides of the aisle. But if Tip is referring to the government-owned-bricks-and-mortar approach, we think that that has been tried, and we think in many instances it has failed. We think it has built misery into the system. You've seen programs in St. Louis that at one time looked good, and then they had to tear them down in their entirety.

So, I would like to encourage support for this new approach which empowers the people and I think will lead to far more housing.

New World Order

Q. Mr. President, you have talked several times about basing the future on a new world order. Can you give us a definition of a new world order? And if it depends on the collaboration between the Soviet Union and the United States, how do events in the Soviet Union affect this concept?

The President. Well, it doesn't depend entirely on it, but it would be greatly enhanced by a Soviet Union that goes down the line with its commitment to market reform, to private ownership of land, to a free economic system, to a system that resists and does not use force to assure order amongst the republics, that goes farther down the road with elections and all the openness that I give President Gorbachev credit for. And as well as the openness in terms of *glasnost* and the reforms in terms of *perestroika*—we're going to continue to support those concepts. But it was this, it was the farsighted vision of Mr. Gorbachev that enabled us to work together in the United Nations.

Now, my vision of a new world order foresees a United Nations with a revitalized peacekeeping function. I think most that follow the United Nations see the economic and social side of the United Nations as having performed well since it was founded. Most people that follow it find that the peacekeeping function for the most part has not been effective. And one of the reasons it hasn't is because of the veto in the hands of the five permanent members of the Security Council—one of them being the Soviet Union.

When I was Ambassador 20 years ago in the U.N., we hardly ever voted with the Soviet Union. Now we're with them on many, many things. So, the new world order I think foresees a revitalized peacekeeping function of the United Nations. But I cannot and I will not predict a Soviet Union going back, turning its back on reform—*perestroika*—turning its back on *glasnost*—openness. I don't believe, no matter what the ferment in the Soviet Union today, that they're ever going to go back to that. And I don't think anyone there wants to go back to that.

And so it would envision, though, much more cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union. And on matters of the Gulf, in international matters, not bilateral, it envisions a greatly enhanced peacekeeping function of the United Nations itself.

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One of the reasons we have so much support for this is that we went to the United Nations 12 times. There are 12 resolutions that speak to the Gulf, and that has mobilized world opinion. And so when we are successful in fulfilling all 12 of those resolutions, I think there's going to be new credibility for that peacekeeping function, new credibility for the United States. But we should have and should strive to have Soviet cooperation all along the way. And that's why I'm not going to back off on my efforts to try to improve relations with the Soviet Union.

Then we've left China out of the equation, and we ought not to do that. They've been through a difficult time. I took on some shots for trying to keep relations from China. I was offended as anybody else was by the human rights abuses at Tiananmen Square and spoke out on it. But I think it is in the interest of the United States to have continued relations with China. And I think it is vital to this new world order that that veto hold—member of the Security Council go along and be with us on these matters of trying to bring peace to troubled corners of the world.

Soviet-U.S. Trade

Q. Mr. President, this is a followup question having to do with Soviet trade. The Jackson-Vanik amendment—the Jackson-Vanik bill—has been in effect since 1972; really, in effect, says that we cannot have normal trade with the Soviet Union until they have permitted free emigration from their country.

There's no question but what the Jackson-Vanik legislation has played a role in Gorbachev's decision to free emigration. So in that sense, it has been a success. Now the emigration rate from Israel is about 600,000 a year, which is 10 times more than we asked for. And most of the religious organizations that I know are saying they're very happy with it and very well satisfied. And as a matter of fact, Prime Minister Shamir of Israel has said publicly that he thinks it's totally satisfactory.

There doesn't seem to be much possibility that they're going to get around to codifying that, but it's the custom in Russia for 100 years that emigration is an administrative decision. I'm wondering, recognizing the problems in Congress, do you think there's a possibility, in view of the fact that they have fulfilled that commitment, that Congress will authorize business with the Soviet Union on the same basis that we trade with other countries somewhere along the line here?

The President. The provisions of—what they have agreed to do is pass legislation that will, I think as you put it, codify this. They have not been able to do that. I think they've got some internal problems inside the Soviet Union on this. Under our law, they have to be passed before we can have the kinds of trade agreements and other things with them that we would like to have.

I think you make a very good point on the fact of emigration. The Israelis are pleased. The Israelis have started up—taken a step through consular relations for diplomatic relations, and they're very happy with the exodus, and so am I, as one who have been very much concerned about the exodus of Soviet Jews to Israel and to other places.

I don't want to overstate the problems of the present. I can tell you it would be extraordinarily difficult to pass anything of this nature in terms of waivers given the current situation inside the Soviet Union. It is very difficult to do. You see all kinds of legislation getting talked about and some perhaps already being offered that would indeed move the relationship backwards not towards understanding of this nature. So it is my fervent hope that problems that I've outlined earlier in the Baltics can be resolved peacefully and demonstrably so, so that we can get on with finding ways to improve our trade relations.

Defense Spending

Q. Mr. President, with the end of the cold war, many Americans believe we might be able to reduce our spending on national defense, creating a so-called peace dividend. Has the Gulf war and the problems inside the Soviet Union delayed or eliminated the chance for a peace dividend, or do you see it long-term?

The President. No, we've actually—well, let me to dividend in a minute. But in terms of—I always had a different concept

potentiary for Europe; Eugen Dijmarescu, Romanian Minister of State for Economic Orientation; George Varga, president and chief executive officer of Tungsram Co., Ltd., Hungary; Haile Aguilar, general manager of the Warsaw, Poland, Marriott Hotel; Drew Lewis, chairman of the board of the Citizens Democracy Corps; David S. Gergen, editor-at-large for U.S. News & World Report; Deputy Secretary of the Treasury John E. Robson; Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger; Bruce S. Gelb, Director of the U.S. Information Agency; and Ronald W. Roskens, Administrator of the Agency for International Development.

troops in the Gulf are doing

Remarks at a Meeting of the American Society of Association Executives

February 27, 1991

Thank you very, very much. And what a wonderful reception. And I interpret that, I think properly, the same way I interpreted the applause at the State of the Union message—as strong support for those men and women that are serving our country overseas. And now the war is almost over, and I think we owe them a vote of thanks, and I think I heard it right now. So, thank you, Bill, and I'm just delighted to be here.

I want to shift and talk about domestic matters. And Bill, I couldn't help but glance at this marvelous quilt coming in here, and I do think that we owe you and all the others in the association a vote of thanks for following through and, indeed, being points of light.

I want to salute our Attorney General who is with us today; our two able Secretaries so concerned also about what we're talking about today, Secretaries Kemp and Sullivan; Ted Sanders, who is doing a superb job as our Acting Secretary at Education; and, of course, my old friend, a man so well-known to all of you, Bob Woodson of the Center for Neighborhood Enterprise. You know, it's hard to believe that a year has passed since the challenge Bill mentioned, since I challenged the members of ASAE to channel the tremendous energy of this organization and transform a nation through community service. And what a terrific job you've done.

Looking around the room today, peeking, before I came in here, I see so many familiar faces, so many people that are making a difference in the lives of others. Every man and woman here believes in the power of the individual, and is bolstered by the conviction that America is indeed a land of opportunity. For more than 200 years, America has been the home of free markets and free people. And there is no question: Opportunity in America is the envy of the entire world.

The story of America has been the story of opportunity. Throughout our history, we've pioneered the frontiers of liberty for all humanity. Our Founding Fathers created perhaps the most simple yet profound document in modern history—our Constitution and Bill of Rights. Abraham Lincoln broke forever the chains of human slavery. The suffrage movement made the promise of democracy a reality for women. The founders of our public schools unleashed our national potential through universal education. And by their struggle for equal rights, the leaders of the civil rights movement helped bring dignity to the oppressed and disenfranchised. The story of opportunity in America is the story of Thomas Paine and Frederick Douglass, Clara Barton, the Wright brothers, Rosa Parks.

But it doesn't end there, with these heroes from our past. There are the new American heroes of today, many of them in this room. And they, too, are inspired by pride, integrity, faith in the dignity of man, and courage—yes, courage to overcome the odds. It's called leadership by example—and it's made America the world's great beacon of freedom.

These modern visionaries are the ones that are making history—propelling us into the next American century. Theirs is a movement—it's more than 200 years old—as old as the Declaration of Independence—a movement defined by what Jefferson called "the American mind" and what I've been calling "the American idea." It continues to sweep our country today with a vigor as strong as ever. It's a vision driven

burg, put it this way: "nothing happens unless first a dream." Our mandate is to make the dream a reality.

We face a new century, a new American century. Half a world away, our allied troops face a defining moment in the new world order. And they are succeeding in their battle because each and every one of them possesses a pride in their country, integrity in their cause, and courage in their heart.

Our troops will be home soon—coming home to a grateful nation. And I want to ensure that their return is to a land of equal opportunity. And just as they have stood to safeguard our freedom—the world's freedom—let us stand with pride, integrity, and courage in our hearts and expand the freedoms of all Americans. It's up to each of us to secure the triumph of "the American idea." And that idea is opportunity.

With God's help and yours, we will succeed. Thank you all very much. And may God bless our troops, and may God bless the United States of America.

Note: The President spoke at 11:08 a.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the J.W. Marriott Hotel. In his opening remarks, he referred to R. William Taylor, president of the American Society of Association Executives; Attorney General Dick Thornburgh; Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Jack Kemp; and Secretary of Health and Human Services Louis W. Sullivan.

Address to the Nation on the Suspension of Allied Offensive Combat Operations in the Persian Gulf

February 27, 1991

Kuwait is liberated. Iraq's army is defeated. Our military objectives are met. Kuwait is once more in the hands of Kuwaitis, in control of their own destiny. We share in their joy, a joy tempered only by our compassion for their ordeal.

Tonight the Kuwaiti flag once again flies above the capital of a free and sovereign nation. And the American flag flies above our Embassy.

Seven months ago, America and the world drew a line in the sand. We declared that the aggression against Kuwait would not stand. And tonight, America and the world have kept their word.

This is not a time of euphoria, certainly not a time to gloat. But it is a time of pride: pride in our troops; pride in the friends who stood with us in the crisis; pride in our nation and the people whose strength and resolve made victory quick, decisive, and just. And soon we will open wide our arms to welcome back home to America our magnificent fighting forces.

No one country can claim this victory as its own. It was not only a victory for Kuwait but a victory for all the coalition partners. This is a victory for the United Nations, for all mankind, for the rule of law, and for what is right.

After consulting with Secretary of Defense Cheney, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Powell, and our coalition partners, I am pleased to announce that at midnight tonight eastern standard time, exactly 100 hours since ground operations commenced and 6 weeks since the start of Desert Storm, all United States and coalition forces will suspend offensive combat operations. It is up to Iraq whether this suspension on the part of the coalition becomes a permanent cease-fire.

Coalition political and military terms for a formal cease-fire include the following requirements:

Iraq must release immediately all coalition prisoners of war, third country nationals, and the remains of all who have fallen. Iraq must release all Kuwaiti detainees. Iraq also must inform Kuwaiti authorities of the location and nature of all land and sea mines. Iraq must comply fully with all relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions. This includes a rescinding of Iraq's August decision to annex Kuwait, and acceptance in principle of Iraq's responsibility to pay compensation for the loss, damage, and injury its aggression has caused.

The coalition calls upon the Iraqi Government to designate military commanders to meet within 48 hours with their coalition counterparts at a place in the theater of operations to be specified, to arrange for military aspects of the cease-fire. Further, I

A reporter asks if Panama means U.S. Military intervention. Bush says "NO."

Press Conference on the Persian Gulf Conflict

March 1, 1991

The President. Good afternoon. In the hours since we suspended military operations in the Kuwaiti theater of war, considerable progress has been made in moving towards a cease-fire and postwar planning. As our forces moved into Kuwait City, and as the faces of these jubilant Kuwaiti citizens have warmed our hearts, the coalition leaders started the arduous task of addressing the next stages of the Persian Gulf situation.

As a first order of business this afternoon, I want to thank the American people for the affection and support that they have shown for our troops in the Middle East. In towns and cities across this nation, our citizens have felt a sense of purpose and unity in the accomplishment of our military that is a welcome addition to the American spirit. And as our service men and women begin coming home, as they will soon, I look forward to the many celebrations of their achievement.

In the meantime, we are focused on the many diplomatic tasks associated with ending this conflict. General Khalid, General Schwarzkopf, and other coalition military leaders of our forces in the Gulf will meet with representatives of Iraq tomorrow afternoon, March 2d, in the theater of operations to discuss the return of POW's and other military matters related to the cease-fire. We will not discuss the location of the meeting for obvious security reasons. But this is an important step in securing the victory that our forces have achieved.

Work is proceeding in New York at the United Nations on the political aspects of ending the war. We've welcomed here in Washington this week the envoys of several of our close friends and allies. And shortly, Secretary Baker will be leaving for a new round of consultations that I am confident will advance planning for the war's aftermath. Again, and as I said Wednesday evening, the true challenge before us will be securing the peace.

So, thank you very much. And now who has the first question? Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International]?

Q. Mr. President, you've always said that you were not targeting Saddam under the U.N. mandate and that the coalition has no claim on Iraqi territory. Is that still the case?

The President. We are not targeting Saddam, and we have no claim on Iraqi territory.

Q. Well, will you try to hunt him down for any kind of war crimes trial?

The President. No, I'm not going to say that. Not hunt him down, but nobody can be absolved from the responsibilities under international law on the war crimes aspect of that.

Q. Mr. President, along that line, the reports of atrocities in Kuwait apparently go far beyond the horror stories that you've already described in recent weeks. Who will be held accountable for those, perhaps, other than Saddam? And do you think that the allied forces will hold any part of southern Iraq as a security zone for any time?

The President. I think on the first question, the first part, I agree that the reports are just sickening that are coming out of Kuwait. We have been concerned about it. Early on in all of this I expressed the concerns that I felt. But I think we'll just have to wait and see because I think the persons that actually perpetrated the tortures and the insidious crimes will be the ones that are held responsible. Now, how you go about finding them—but I think back to the end of World War II; that process took a long time to evolve, but justice was done. I can't say it was complete; can't say everybody that committed a war crime was tried. But it's a very complicated process. But the answer is, the people that did it. Now, a lot of them obviously took off and fled out of Kuwait. But some of the Kuwaitis know who they were, so we'll have to wait and see on that one.

And what was the second part, Terry [Terence Hunt, Associated Press]?

Q. The second part was about a security zone. You've had all this destruction. Is there any thought of establishing a security zone to protect——

The President. On the question of security zone and arrangements out there, these matters will be discussed when Jim Baker is out there with the coalition partners. I

the Middle East, and that includes all three of these categories. And whether it proves to be a peace conference or some bolder new idea, time will tell. But we are beginning very serious consultations on this.

In terms of rebuilding Iraq, my view is this: Iraq, had they been led differently, is basically a wealthy country. They are a significant oil producer. They get enormous income. But under Saddam Hussein and this Revolutionary Council, they have elected to put a tremendous amount of their treasure into arms. And they've threatened their neighbors. And now they invaded—up to now had invaded a neighbor.

And so, Iraq has a big reconstruction job to do. But I'll be honest with you—at this point I don't want to see one single dime of the United States taxpayers' money go into the reconstruction of Iraq.

Now, you want to talk about helping a child, you want to to talk about helping disease, something of that nature, of course, the United States will step up and do that which we have always done—lay aside the politics and help the health-care requirements or help children especially. But not reconstruction—they must work these things out without any help from the American taxpayer.

Q. If I may follow, Mr. President, you've said your argument has never been with the Iraqi people.

The President. Right.

Q. That the United States did not seek the destruction of Iraq.

The President. Exactly.

Q. If Saddam Hussein is gone and the Iraqi people appear to need help because of this crisis in leadership that you spoke about, why not, if not contributing——

The President. Well, we'll give a little free advice. [*Laughter*] And the advice will be: Use this enormous oil resource that you have, further develop your oil resource and other natural resources, live peacefully, and use that enormous money to reconstruct and do the very questions you're asking about. And in addition to that, pay off these people that you have so badly damaged. They've got a big role ahead of them there. That's the way I look at it.

Q. Mr. President, today you declared an end to the Vietnam syndrome and, of course, we've heard you talk a lot about the new world order. Can you tell us, do you envision a new era now of using U.S. military forces around the world for different conflicts that arise?

The President. No, I think because of what has happened, we won't have to use U.S. forces around the world. I think when we say something that is objectively correct, like don't take over a neighbor or you're going to bear some responsibility, people are going to listen because I think out of all this will be a newfound—put it this way, a reestablished credibility for the United States of America.

So, I look at the opposite. I say that what our troops have done over there will not only enhance the peace but reduce the risk that their successors have to go into battle someplace.

Q. But surely, you don't mean that you would be reluctant to do this again.

The President. Do what again?

Q. Send troops if you thought you needed to.

The President. I think the United States is always going to live up to its security requirements.

Q. Sir, I'm struck by—I know these are serious topics, but I'm struck by how somber you feel—you seem, at least here. And I was wondering, aren't these great days? Is this the highlight of your life? [*Laughter*] How does this compare to being swept out of the ocean a couple of years back?

The President. You know, to be very honest with you, I haven't yet felt this wonderfully euphoric feeling that many of the American people feel. And I'm beginning to. I feel much better about it today than I did yesterday. But I think it's that I want to see an end. You mentioned World War II—there was a definitive end to that conflict. And now we have Saddam Hussein still there—the man that wreaked this havoc upon his neighbors. We have our prisoners still held. We have people unaccounted for.

So, I'm beginning to feel that the joy that Americans all feel now is proper. It has to do with a new, wonderful sense of patriotism that stems from pride in the men and women that went over there. And no question about it, the country's solid. There isn't any antiwar movement out there. There is

Desert Storm was first test of arms. We passed.

Radio Address to United States Armed Forces Stationed in the Persian Gulf Region

March 2, 1991

Never have I been more proud of our troops, or more proud to be your Commander in Chief. For today, amid prayers of thanks and hope, the Kuwaiti flag once again flies high above Kuwait City. And it's there because you and your coalition allies put it there.

Kuwait is liberated. And soon hometowns across America will be welcoming back home the finest combat force ever assembled—Army, Navy, Coast Guard, Marines, Air Force—the brave men and women of the United States of America.

Saddam Hussein's dreams of dominating the Middle East by the terror of a nuclear arsenal and an army of a million men threatened the future of our children and the entire world. And the world was faced with a simple choice: If international law and sanctions could not remove Saddam Hussein from Kuwait, then we had to free Kuwait from Saddam Hussein.

And that's exactly what you did. Throughout 7 long and arduous months, the troops of 28 nations stood with you, shoulder to shoulder in an unprecedented partnership for peace. Today we thank you—for the victory in Kuwait was born in your courage and resolve. The stunning success of our troops was the result of superb training, superb planning, superb execution—and incredible acts of bravery.

The Iraqi Army was defeated. Forty-two divisions were put out of action. They lost 3,000 tanks, almost 2,000 armored vehicles, more than 2,000 artillery pieces. And over half a million Iraqi soldiers were captured, defeated, or disarmed. You were as good as advertised—you were indeed, "Good to go."

This is a war we did not seek and did not want. But Saddam Hussein turned a deaf ear to the voices of peace and reason. And when he began burning Kuwait to the ground and intensifying the murder of its people, the coalition faced a moral imperative to put a stop to the atrocities in Kuwait once and for all. Boldly, bravely, you did just that—and when the rubber met the road, you did it in just 6 weeks and 100 decisive hours.

The evil Saddam has done can never be forgotten. But his power to attack his neighbors and threaten the peace of the region is today grievously reduced. He has been stripped of his capacity to project offensive military power. His regime is totally discredited, and as a threat to peace, the day of this dictator is over. And the bottom line is this: Kuwait's night of terror has ended.

Thomas Jefferson said that the price of freedom is eternal vigilance. We must remain vigilant to make absolutely sure the Iraqi dictator is never, ever allowed to stoke the ashes of defeat into the burning embers of aggression. The sacrifice you've already made demands nothing less. The sacrifice of those who gave their lives will never be forgotten.

Saddam made many mistakes. But one of the biggest was to underestimate the determination of the American people and the daring of our troops. We saw in the desert what Americans have learned through 215 years of history about the difference between democracy and dictatorship. Soldiers who fight for freedom are more committed than soldiers who fight because they are enslaved.

Americans today are confident of our country, confident of our future, and most of all, confident about you. We promised you'd be given the means to fight. We promised not to look over your shoulder. We promised this would not be another Vietnam. And we kept that promise. The specter of Vietnam has been buried forever in the desert sands of the Arabian Peninsula.

Today, the promise of spring is almost upon us, the promise of regrowth and re-

newal: Renewed life in Kuwait. Renewed prospects for real peace throughout the Middle East. And a renewed sense of pride and confidence here at home. And we are committed to seeing every American soldier and every allied POW home soon—home to the thanks and the respect and the love of a grateful nation and a very grateful President.

Yes, there remain vital and difficult tests ahead, both here and abroad—but nothing the American people can't handle. America has always accepted the challenge, paid the price, and passed the test. On this day, our spirits are high as our flag, and our future is as bright as Liberty's torch. Tomorrow we dedicate ourselves anew, as Americans always have and as Americans always will.

The first test of the new world order has been passed. The hard work of freedom awaits. Thank you. Congratulations. And God bless the United States of America.

Note: The President recorded this address at 9:15 a.m., March 1, in his private study at the White House. It was broadcast at noon, March 2, over the Armed Forces Radio Network.

Proclamation 6255—Federal Employees Recognition Week, 1991

March 1, 1991

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

The strength and effectiveness of the United States Government depends, in great part, on the knowledge, dedication, and skill of Federal employees. Whether they serve here at home or in posts abroad, employees of the Federal Government contribute substantially to the social, political, and economic stability of our Nation and to the protection of U.S. interests around the world.

Each and every American benefits daily, in numerous ways, from the work of Federal employees. It is these dedicated public servants who issue Social Security checks, ensure the safety of food and medicine, investigate possible cures for disease, promote the safety of our highways and air travel, and lead the fight against illicit drug trafficking. Federal employees also provide vital support to the members of our Armed Forces and, in so doing, help to guarantee our national security and military preparedness. The recent success of Operation Desert Storm underscores our debt to the able and loyal work of Federal employees.

This week we express both our pride in public service and our appreciation for all those men and women who serve their fellow Americans as Federal employees.

The Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 51, has designated the week beginning March 4, 1991, as "Federal Employees Recognition Week" and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this week.

Now, Therefore, I, George Bush, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week beginning March 4, 1991, as Federal Employees Recognition Week. I call upon all Americans to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities, in grateful recognition of the dedicated service provided to the Nation by employees of the Federal Government.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this first day of March, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-one, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and fifteenth.

George Bush

[*Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 3 p.m., March 4, 1991*]

Note: This proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on March 4.

Remarks at a Meeting of Veterans Service Organizations

March 4, 1991

Thank you very much for that warm welcome. Looking at this array of speakers up here, I can't imagine there's anything left for me to say, because I understand that

among America's great Revolutionary War heroes. Their fierce love for the land and their fervent devotion to the cause of freedom and independence were shared by hundreds of other settlers from the region that became our 14th State.

Vermont's dedication to freedom was also evident in its first constitution—written in 1777, it forbade slavery and adopted universal male suffrage. Indeed, by the beginning of the Civil War, in which it played a major role, Vermont had a long-standing reputation as one of the most firmly abolitionist States. The 16 Vermont regiments dispatched to the Union Army during the Civil War represented the highest number of troops per capita of any State. Vermonters not only fought bravely for the preservation of the Union and for an end to slavery, they also made vital contributions at the pivotal Battle of Cedar Creek.

Over the years, countless other Vermonters have made outstanding contributions to our country. Distinguished natives of the Green Mountain State include the eloquent Stephen Douglas, remembered by many for his forceful arguments during the historic Lincoln-Douglas debates; the inventor, Thomas Davenport; Presidents Calvin Coolidge and Chester Arthur; and Warren R. Austin, the first United States Representative to the United Nations.

Today, Vermonters take just pride in their heritage as a State committed to the ideals of freedom and unity. That heritage goes hand in hand with a rich legacy of growth and development. Beloved by millions of visitors for its breathtaking mountains and unspoiled beauty, Vermont is also home to a number of vital industries, ranging from electronics to agricultural production.

In recognition of Vermont's contributions to the United States and in commemoration of its Bicentennial, the Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 58, has designated March 4, 1991, as "Vermont Bicentennial Day," and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this day.

Now, Therefore, I, George Bush, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim March 4, 1991, as Vermont Bicentennial Day.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this fourth day of March, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-one, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and fifteenth.

George Bush

[*Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:16 a.m., March 5, 1991*]

Nomination of Donald J. Yockey To Be Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition

March 4, 1991

The President today announced his intention to nominate Donald Jay Yockey, of California, to be Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition at the Department of Defense in Washington, D.C. He would succeed John A. Betti.

Since 1990 Mr. Yockey has served as Deputy to the Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition at the Department of Defense. From 1966 to 1990, Mr. Yockey served with Rockwell International in several capacities: senior vice president and special assistant to the president; director of the astrionics division; and officer of the corporation.

Mr. Yockey graduated from the University of Oklahoma (B.A., 1960). He was born January 6, 1921, in Buffalo, NY. Mr. Yockey served with the U.S. Air Force, 1947–1966. Mr. Yockey is married, has four children, and resides in Potomac, MD.

Knowledge / learning, education science → all important to an

Remarks at the Westinghouse Science Talent Search 50th Anniversary Banquet

March 4, 1991

Thank you. Please be seated. Let me just say how pleased I am to be here, salute the members of my Cabinet here, Secretary Sullivan; and Governor and Mrs. Sununu; Dr. Bromley, outstanding Science Advisor to the President; Dr. Seaborg, an old friend

year taxes our credulity and seems to presage the arrival of that period when human improvement must end." He went on to urge that the Patent Office be liquidated—even Ripley wouldn't believe this—[*laughter*]—because, he allegedly believed, there was nothing else to be invented. [*Laughter*]

Today, all of us know better. We realize this nation has no natural resources like its intellectual resources. So, we must, and are, assisting the knowledge that is our most enduring legacy, vital to everything we are and can become.

The Nation's Governors and I have set a goal—a national goal—for U.S. students to be number one in the world in math and science learning by the year 2000. And we can achieve it. We will achieve it. To start with, we will achieve it through our own National Educational Excellence Act that I will soon send up to Congress. Last fall Congress acted favorably on our initiative for a National Science Scholars program, which will give America's youth a special incentive to excel in science, math, and engineering.

We will also achieve this goal through research and development in all areas of science, technology, and engineering. Last month, I submitted our new budget to the Congress, and it includes special emphasis on math and science education. We propose an increase of $225 million for math and science education, new funding for R&D that totals $76 billion, including a record high of over $13 billion for basic science research.

Our budget will continue our basic commitment to double the funding for the National Science Foundation; devote over $16 billion for major space activities, and that's up 15 percent over last year; and support the development of worthy ideas from electric powered vehicles to high performance computing to the human genome project. It gives more money than ever to the small science research—research by individuals embodied, if you will, by the Westinghouse Science Talent Search. And it urges Congress to provide the 28-percent increase I seek to raise the quality of precollege math and science education, which we must do if American science and technology will continue to lead the world.

This budget will help freedom work at home. And yet this freedom has also helped advance the cause of liberty abroad. For evidence, look halfway around the world at the Persian Gulf, where achievements in science are responsible for the high-tech equipment which has served our military so well.

In the past, some have urged that we depend more for our protection on theories of deterrence than technologies of defense. Well, thank God that when those Scuds came in, the people of Israel and Saudi Arabia had more to protect them than some abstract theory of deterrence.

You just go over to Riyadh or Tel Aviv. And a theory didn't protect those citizens. Patriot missiles born of technology did. Because of science and technology, because of American creativity, thousands of innocent civilians—priceless human lives—have been spared. The Patriot and other missiles show how American innovation stems from American inspiration.

If the cause of peace is to continue being served by American military power, it must continue being advanced by American brain power. Ask our troops in the Gulf—yes, those finest soldiers, sailors, airmen, marines, coastguardsmen any nation has ever had. Today, all of us are especially grateful that 10 coalition POW's, including several Americans, are on their way back home. And our remaining POW's should not be far behind. Welfare of our troops was our top priority in the war. And as we forge a new peace, all of them will be on our minds until all of them are back home. Each of these brave men and women know how science and technology brought closer freedom's ultimate victory.

Ask, too, those other great heroes, our teachers. Each day they give perhaps the greatest gift of sharing their knowledge with others. And ask, finally, America's students and parents. They know that while learning is very practical, it is also among mankind's most noble endeavors. It can presage a new golden age—a bold, new world order where creativity flows more than ever from the human heart and mind.

Over the past half-century, scientific breakthroughs have benefited us all. From the first radar to pioneering advances in



Appointment of David M. Carney as Special Assistant to the President and Director of the Office of Political Affairs

March 5, 1991

The President today announced the appointment of David M. Carney as Special Assistant to the President and Director of the Office of Political Affairs at the White House in Washington, DC.

Mr. Carney has been the Acting Director of Political Affairs since June 1, 1990. Prior to assuming that position, he served as Special Assistant to the President and Deputy Director of the Office of Political Affairs. Before joining the President's staff, Mr. Carney was deputy chief of staff to Governor John H. Sununu. He served on Governor Sununu's personal staff for 7 years, and was the field director for Governor Sununu's four statewide campaigns in New Hampshire. He is a 1982 graduate of New England College in Henniker, NH. Currently Mr. Carney serves as a member of the New England College Board of Trustees.

Mr. Carney, a resident of Hancock, NH, resides in Arlington, VA, with his wife, Lauren. The Carneys are expecting their first child this spring.



Appointment of Ronald C. Kaufman as Deputy Assistant to the President for Political Affairs

March 5, 1991

The President today announced the appointment of Ronald C. Kaufman as Deputy Assistant to the President for Political Affairs at the White House in Washington, DC.

Mr. Kaufman has served as Deputy Assistant to the President for Presidential Personnel since February 1989. Prior to joining the President's staff, Mr. Kaufman served as the northeast regional political director for the 1988 Bush-Quayle campaign. During President Reagan's first term, Mr. Kaufman served as the national political director for the Republican National Committee and later coordinated Vice President Bush's reelection campaign in 1984. In the 1980 campaign, Mr. Kaufman helped direct primary efforts in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and Michigan. Currently he serves as the Republican national committeeman for the State of Massachusetts. Mr. Kaufman attended Bridgewater State College after graduating from Quincy Junior College in Quincy, MA. In addition, Mr. Kaufman serves as a member of the board of trustees for Quincy Junior College.

Mr. Kaufman is a lifelong resident of Quincy, MA. He and his wife Alison have two daughters, Carlin, 11, and Kathryn, 10.



Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the Cessation of the Persian Gulf Conflict

March 6, 1991

Speaker Foley. Mr. President, it is customary at joint sessions for the Chair to present the President to the Members of Congress directly and without further comment. But I wish to depart from tradition tonight and express to you on behalf of the Congress and the country, and through you to the members of our Armed Forces, our warmest congratulations on the brilliant victory of the Desert Storm Operation.

Members of the Congress, I now have the high privilege and distinct honor of presenting to you the President of the United States.

The President. Mr. President. And Mr. Speaker, thank you, sir, for those very generous words spoken from the heart about the wonderful performance of our military.

Members of Congress, 5 short weeks ago I came to this House to speak to you about the state of the Union. We met then in time of war. Tonight, we meet in a world blessed by the promise of peace.

From the moment Operation Desert Storm commenced on January 16th until the time the guns fell silent at midnight 1 week ago, this nation has watched its sons and daughters with pride—watched over them with prayer. As Commander in Chief, I can report to you our armed forces fought with honor and valor. And as President, I can report to the Nation aggression is defeated. The war is over.

and its neighbors so painful and intractable. Yet, in the conflict just concluded, Israel and many of the Arab States have for the first time found themselves confronting the same aggressor. By now, it should be plain to all parties that peacemaking in the Middle East requires compromise. At the same time, peace brings real benefits to everyone. We must do all that we can to close the gap between Israel and the Arab states—and between Israelis and Palestinians. The tactics of terror lead absolutely nowhere. There can be no substitute for diplomacy.

A comprehensive peace must be grounded in United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the principle of territory for peace. This principle must be elaborated to provide for Israel's security and recognition and at the same time for legitimate Palestinian political rights. Anything else would fail the twin test of fairness and security. The time has come to put an end to Arab-Israeli conflict.

The war with Iraq is over. The quest for solutions to the problems in Lebanon, in the Arab-Israeli dispute, and in the Gulf must go forward with new vigor and determination. And I guarantee you: No one will work harder for a stable peace in the region than we will.

Fourth, we must foster economic development for the sake of peace and progress. The Persian Gulf and Middle East form a region rich in natural resources—with a wealth of untapped human potential. Resources once squandered on military might must be redirected to more peaceful ends. We are already addressing the immediate economic consequences of Iraq's aggression. Now, the challenge is to reach higher—to foster economic freedom and prosperity for all the people of the region.

By meeting these four challenges we can build a framework for peace. I've asked Secretary of State Baker to go to the Middle East to begin the process. He will go to listen, to probe, to offer suggestions—to advance the search for peace and stability. I've also asked him to raise the plight of the hostages held in Lebanon. We have not forgotten them, and we will not forget them.

To all the challenges that confront this region of the world there is no single solution—no solely American answer. But we can make a difference. America will work tirelessly as a catalyst for positive change.

But we cannot lead a new world abroad if, at home, it's politics as usual on American defense and diplomacy. It's time to turn away from the temptation to protect unneeded weapons systems and obsolete bases. It's time to put an end to micromanagement of foreign and security assistance programs—micromanagement that humiliates our friends and allies and hamstrings our diplomacy. It's time to rise above the parochial and the pork barrel, to do what is necessary, what's right, and what will enable this nation to play the leadership role required of us.

The consequences of the conflict in the Gulf reach far beyond the confines of the Middle East. Twice before in this century, an entire world was convulsed by war. Twice this century, out of the horrors of war hope emerged for enduring peace. Twice before, those hopes proved to be a distant dream, beyond the grasp of man. Until now, the world we've known has been a world divided—a world of barbed wire and concrete block, conflict, and cold war.

Now, we can see a new world coming into view. A world in which there is the very real prospect of a new world order. In the words of Winston Churchill, a world order in which "the principles of justice and fair play protect the weak against the strong. . . ." A world where the United Nations—freed from cold war stalemate—is poised to fulfill the historic vision of its founders. A world in which freedom and respect for human rights find a home among all nations. The Gulf war put this new world to its first test. And my fellow Americans, we passed that test.

For the sake of our principles—for the sake of the Kuwaiti people—we stood our ground. Because the world would not look the other way, Ambassador al-Sabah, tonight, Kuwait is free. And we're very happy about that.

Tonight, as our troops begin to come home, let us recognize that the hard work of freedom still calls us forward. We've learned the hard lessons of history. The victory over Iraq was not waged as "a war to end all wars." Even the new world order cannot guarantee an era of perpetual peace.

next page

Soon, very soon, our troops will begin the march we've all been waiting for—their march home. And I have directed Secretary Cheney to begin the immediate return of American combat units from the Gulf. Less than 2 hours from now, the first planeload of American soldiers will lift off from Saudi Arabia, headed for the U.S.A. It will carry men and women of the 24th Mechanized Infantry Division bound for Fort Stewart, Georgia. This is just the beginning of a steady flow of American troops coming home. Let their return remind us that all those who have gone before are linked with us in the long line of freedom's march.

Americans have always tried to serve, to sacrifice nobly for what we believe to be right. Tonight, I ask every community in this country to make this coming Fourth of July a day of special celebration for our returning troops. They may have missed Thanksgiving and Christmas, but I can tell you this: For them and for their families, we can make this a holiday they'll never forget.

In a very real sense, this victory belongs to them—to the privates and the pilots, to the sergeants and the supply officers, to the men and women in the machines, and the men and women who made them work. It belongs to the regulars, to the reserves, to the National Guard. This victory belongs to the finest fighting force this nation has ever known in its history.

We went halfway around the world to do what is moral and just and right. We fought hard and, with others, we won the war. We lifted the yoke of aggression and tyranny from a small country that many Americans had never even heard of, and we shall ask nothing in return.

We're coming home now—proud, confident, heads high. There is much that we must do, at home and abroad. And we will do it. We are Americans.

May God bless this great nation, the United States of America. Thank you all very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 9:12 p.m. in the House Chamber at the Capitol. He was introduced by Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives. The address was broadcast live on nationwide television and radio. A tape was not available for verification of the content of the address.

White House Statement on Weapons of Mass Destruction

March 7, 1991

The United States has taken a major step in its continuing efforts to halt the spread of weapons of mass destruction with the issuance of regulations extending export controls over chemicals, equipment, and other assistance that can contribute to the spread of missiles and chemical and biological weapons.

Saddam Hussein's use of chemical weapons against his own citizens, his use of Scud missiles to terrorize civilian populations, and the chilling specter of germ warfare and nuclear weapons have brought home the dangers proliferation poses to American interests and global peace and stability.

Our continuing efforts to stem the spread of weapons of mass destruction will contribute to the construction of a new world order. The new regulations will enhance our ability to head off these dangers so that in the future we will not be forced to confront them militarily as we have in Iraq. At the same time, the new regulations are sensitive to the importance of U.S. exports to our economic vitality and will not unfairly restrict legitimate commerce.

The expanded U.S. export controls apply to equipment, chemicals, and whole plants that can be used to manufacture chemical or biological weapons, as well as to activities of U.S. exporters or citizens when they know or are informed that their efforts will assist in a foreign missile or chemical or biological weapon program.

But the United States cannot do the job alone. Our experience in the Gulf has reinforced the lesson that the most effective export controls are those imposed multilaterally. The administration has therefore initiated vigorous efforts to obtain allied support for chemical and biological weapon export controls in the Australia Group, missile export controls in the Missile Technolo-

ninety-one, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and fifteenth.

George Bush

[*Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:05 a.m., March 8, 1991*]

Message on the Observance of St. Patrick's Day, 1991

March 7, 1991

I am delighted to send warm greetings to everyone celebrating St. Patrick's Day.

Although the greatest wave of Irish emigration took place during the mid-19th century, the United States has enjoyed the contributions of Irish immigrants and their descendants since the beginning of the Colonial Era. Serving in our Nation's War for Independence and later helping to build its railroads, canals, and industries, Irish Americans have long demonstrated a capacity for hard work, as well as a strong penchant for full, spirited, and upright living. The American author and abolitionist, Lydia M. Child, once fondly observed: "Not in vain is Ireland pouring itself all over the Earth . . . The Irish, with their glowing hearts and reverent credulity, are needed in this cold age of intellect and skepticism."

Today, those tender sentiments still ring true. Thus, St. Patrick's Day is more than a time of stirring memories and good cheer; it is also a time when we honor those sons and daughters of Ireland who, inspired by a passion for liberty and opportunity, crossed the Atlantic to build new lives on these shores. Indeed, on this day, Americans of every background join with Irish Americans to celebrate their rich cultural heritage and our Nation's continued friendship with the people of the Emerald Isle.

Barbara joins me in sending our best wishes to all for an enjoyable and memorable St. Patrick's Day. God bless you.

George Bush

Note: An original was not available for verification of the content of this message.

Remarks Upon Presenting the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Margaret Thatcher

March 7, 1991

The President. Ladies and gentlemen and so many distinguished guests, and members of this administration, and friends of what is indeed a special relationship. Particularly to Sir Denis Thatcher and Mark and Diane Thatcher, and above all, the greengrocer's daughter who shaped a nation to her will.

America's highest civilian award is the Medal of Freedom. And we are here to present it to one of the greatest leaders of our time. For over 11 of the most extraordinary years in British history, she helped freedom lift the peoples of Europe and the world. Former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, we are delighted you are with us today.

She has been called the Iron Lady—irrepressible, at times incorrigible, always indomitable. [*Laughter*] She summoned the best in the human spirit—speaking for our values and our dreams. Once she said, "Turn if you like; the lady's not for turning." And she wasn't. Instead, the free world turned to her—for counsel, for courage, for leadership that proclaimed a belief in right and wrong—not a devotion to what is popular.

It has been said that great leaders reflect their time. Margaret Thatcher did. She also transformed her time as few leaders ever have. Consider the 1980's and early nineties—a golden age of liberty. Remember what she meant and how she mattered. Hers was not merely among Britain's finest hours. She helped mold perhaps democracy's finest era.

Think first of what she meant to the place that Shakespeare called "this blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England." She didn't create spirit in the British people—it's been there for a millennium. But Margaret Thatcher believed in it and once again unleashed it.

She cherished human dignity and self-determination. So, when an antidemocratic military moved against the Falkland Islands, Britain met the challenge. And she sought to decrease what government must do and increase what the individual may do. So she

put private roofs over British heads—and restored economic pride to British hearts. Like her successor, John Major, she believed passionately in free enterprise. And so she used it to renew British initiative and national pride. Margaret Thatcher didn't merely make Britain a leader in the new world order—she defined the essence of the United Kingdom.

Think next of what she meant to us—what she meant to America. Mrs. Thatcher understood the ties that bind our nations—moral and economic, political and spiritual—so she defended America, helped inspire it. No country could have had a more valiant comrade in arms. No President—as another great leader, Ronald Reagan, could attest—could ask for a better friend.

We will never forget her courage in helping forge a great coalition against the aggression which brutalized the Gulf. Nor will I forget one special phone conversation that I had with the Prime Minister. In the early days of the Gulf crisis—I'm not sure you remember this one, Margaret. In the early days of the Gulf crisis I called her to say that though we fully intended to interdict Iraqi shipping, we were going to let a single vessel heading for Oman enter port down at Yemen—going around Oman down to Yemen—let it enter port without being stopped. And she listened to my explanation, agreed with the decision, but then added these words of caution—words that guided me through the Gulf crisis, words I'll never forget as long as I'm alive. "Remember, George," she said, "this is no time to go wobbly." [*Laughter*]

Those who work with me in the White House know we use that expression often and have used it during some troubling days. And never, ever will it be said that Margaret Thatcher went wobbly. [*Laughter*]

Finally, think of what Margaret Thatcher meant to the world. Her resolution and dedication set an example for all of us. She showed that you can't lock people behind walls forever when moral conviction uplifts their souls. And she knew tyranny is powerless against the primacy of the heart.

Margaret Thatcher helped bring the cold war to an end, helped the human will outlast bayonets and barbed wire. She sailed freedom's ship wherever it was imperiled. Prophet and crusader, idealist and realist, this heroic woman made history move her way.

Prime Minister, there will always be an England, but there can never be another Margaret Thatcher. Thank you for all you've done.

And now I have the great privilege to ask Commander Ross to read the citation on the Medal of Freedom. We're delighted you're here.

Commander Ross. The President of the United States of America awards this Presidential Medal of Freedom to the Right Honorable Margaret Thatcher. Three times elected Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Margaret Thatcher led her country with fearlessness, determination, integrity, and a true vision for Britain. In over a decade of achievement, she extended prosperity at home and made signal contributions to transatlantic partnership, the unity of the West, and overcoming the postwar division of Europe. With a strong sense of her nation's history and of the principles which brought it to greatness, she restored confidence to the British people.

The United States honors a steadfast and true ally and a firm friend of political and economic freedom throughout the world.

Signed, George Bush, The White House, Washington, DC, 7 March 1991.

Prime Minister Thatcher. Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I am so very honored to receive the Presidential Medal of Freedom of the greatest country in the free world. And thank you, Mr. President, for the wonderful things you have said, including that wobbly bit. [*Laughter*]

It's a double honor to receive this medal from the hands of a President whose steadfast leadership has just won the victory of freedom that will rank with the greatest in history. And I am especially moved to receive it in the White House, which in addition to its powerful historical association has many sterling memories for me personally. It was here with you and your predecessor that I embarked on the adventure of restoring the economy and the defenses of the free world against the many threats that faced us a decade ago.

We've overcome many difficulties since those early days and faced many crises. The

the concept of anwo endorsed by The U.N. helped destroy with The Gulf war

Interview With Middle Eastern Journalists

March 8, 1991

The President. I wanted to just say a word of welcome to you all, and be glad to thank you for coming all this way. I think the best thing is just to go ahead and start, though I might say at the beginning that the coalition that was put together to stand up against the aggression has been, in my view, historic. There were a lot of predictions early on that one or another country would pull away or that it would fracture in some—and you come to me on a day when I have great gratitude in my heart to the leaders of the coalition countries—well, I guess all the countries from which you've come having had forces there—Morocco, of course, in a special role, not a part of the coalition per se but nevertheless in the defense of Saudi Arabia, having some soldiers on the ground. That's a distinction that I wanted to say to you, sir, we understand and respect.

But in any event, those forces that did end up in the battle did very well. There were predictions that some might not want to engage in the battle, and they did, and so we are very grateful. And I keep saying two things: One, this is not a U.S. effort by itself. And secondly, our argument was never with the people of Iraq; it was with Saddam Hussein [President of Iraq].

I make this point because the Iraqis tried to make it them—I mean "them" including all Arabs—against the United States. And I will resist that until time immemorial. Because there's a feeling of gratitude and affection to the Arab world because so many there stood with us against this evil. But now, look, I came to answer your questions, and I'll try to do so.

Who wants to go first?

Security in the Persian Gulf

Q. Sir, my colleagues have elected that I speak first. I would like to take the opportunity to thank you personally, the administration and this great country and people, for what you have done. I believe this is an historical stand. And as our Ambassador has said, you will go into history as a great leader and a great man.

Sir, my first question is, the coalition has won the war, and I believe we have a great battle ahead of us, that is, to win the peace. What kind of arrangement do you foresee the United States, the coalition, and the Gulf States and, of course, the Arabs would have for security arrangements within the Gulf States and the Arab States?

The President. I think this is a time, as Abraham Lincoln once said in our history, to think anew. And we are starting to think anew by dispatching our Secretary of State [James A. Baker III] to the region. There will not be a United States plan to bring peace to Lebanon, to the Gulf, or to the Israeli-Palestine question. There will not be a single, sole U.S. plan. We want to be an instrumental part of it. We think, given what's happened in the Gulf, perhaps we have more credibility to be a part of it. When I spoke at our meeting to the joint session of Congress the other day, I spoke about our interest in being a catalyst for peace. And that's what Baker is out there to do.

I would love to think that the day would come when the Israeli-Arab world hostility could end. And that's going to take compromise on both sides. We are very openminded as to how that should be brought about. When I talked about territory for peace, that wasn't exactly a new statement. We have been proponents of Resolutions 242 and 338 for a long time, and so have other countries, many other countries—I'd say most every country, but then some have pulled away from them. So, we're going to push, after consultation, in trying to get common ground with our coalition partners and then with Israel and others, to push on all three fronts.

Obviously, the security in the Gulf is quite different. I will repeat—I don't want

of Kuwait]; the case of the Kingdom [of Saudi Arabia], with King Fahd himself; a close relationship with Mubarak—I hope that the United States will—and I think it is true in Morocco, although we had a little different standing for Morocco in this—I hope that there will be a recognition that we're credible friends. And this is an important point, that we have credibility. When we say we'll do something, we'll do it, we mean it.

And that is an important point as to how the U.S. interacts with the Middle East from now on, it seems to me. If they say they're going to do what they say they'll do, I think that is important. I think a lot of lip service was given to that point, but for various reasons, including global reasons—Vietnam. People would—"Look, hey, do they really mean this? Are they really going to follow through?" And I think that our credibility should be such in the area that we can work closely now as credible allies, credible friends.

New World Order

Q. Mr. President, the Gulf war is the first of its kind to take place in the context of the new world order. How did the new world order influence the way the world dealt with this crisis? And what is the main lesson learned from the Gulf war?

The President. The new world order said that a lot of countries—disparate backgrounds, with differences—can come together, standing for a common principle, and that principle is: You don't take over another country by force. So, the new world order, to the degree it's emerged, so far, has been enhanced by this single concept that we're going to unite, no matter what other differences we may have had, what the bilateral problems may have been, and we're going to stand up against aggression.

It was enhanced by a more viable United Nations, a United Nations where the big powers didn't automatically go against each other. In the cold war days, we'd say this is black and the Soviets would say, hey, that's white. And you'd have a veto, and nothing would happen. And the peacekeeping dreams of the founders of the U.N. were dashed.

So, part of this new world order has been moved forward by a United Nations that functioned. We might have still been able to stand up and come to the assistance of Kuwait—the United States. I might have said to hell with them, it's right and wrong, it's good and evil, he's evil, our cause is right; and without the United Nations, sent a considerable force to help. But it was an enhanced—it is far better to have this collective action where the world—not just the Security Council but the whole General Assembly stood up and condemned it.

So, part of it is these more viable international organizations. And that is where we are now. Then how we build on it is the questions that will be coming up, trying to give our share of the answers when Jim Baker comes back from these consultations.

Q. And what is the lesson which we learned from this crisis?

The President. Well, the one key lesson is: Aggression will not stand. You don't bully your neighbor. You don't swagger around the neighborhood with an arrogance and back it up by overwhelming force without paying a price. Same thing you learned in the school yard when you were over there in Egypt. One guy came out and tried to beat the hell out of you when you're in the third grade, and you'd wait for a while, and then somebody would hit him and he'd go back into his shell and he wouldn't do it again. And that is what happened in this case. Same thing.

Q. Mr. President, I am too greedy. I want to make two questions.

The President. You've got it. [*Laughter*] They have another way of doing it over here, saying "and a followup," you know. They'll ask you something unrelated and call it a followup so they can get two.

Syria-U.S. Relations

Q. You made a step toward Syria and a good—relationship with them. How do you see now the relation between the United States and Syria regarding Lebanon, especially?

The President. We've had some differences with Syria that we have spoken very frankly about regarding terrorism and other things. I think that because we were able to work together with Syria here and we did

Dr. Wiesel endorses the concept of anwo

And I'm amazed but never surprised at the incredible things our people do. Our success in the war showed that we take a backseat to no one when it comes to courage, ingenuity, dedication to principle. But it also showed that we do great things when we trust our people. We would not have enjoyed such success if someone had tried to micromanage the war from Washington, DC. We entrusted the operations to Sumter's products and heirs, and look where we are today.

And I'm proud to say that we did it without arrogance around the world. We led without gloating or arrogance. And I think that's an American tradition as well.

You know—let me just say this in finale—look around you. Here is today's triumph but also tomorrow's hope. Here's what we fight for: family, friends. Here is what we love.

Thank you again for letting me be a part of this emotional homecoming. I'll never forget it as long as I live. God bless each and every one of you. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 4:32 p.m. at Sumter Memorial Stadium. In his remarks, he referred to Rubin Gray, chairman of the Sumter County Council; Maj. Gen. Thomas Olsen, vice commander, 9th Air Force and Central Command Forces; Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, commander of the U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf; Mary Jo Horner, wife of Lt. Gen. Charles Horner, commander, 9th Air Forces and Central Command Air Forces; and President Saddam Hussein of Iraq.

Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the Elie Wiesel Foundation Humanitarian Award and an Exchange With Reporters

March 18, 1991

Dr. Wiesel. This is the award presented to you, Mr. President. It reads: "To George Bush, for he defends the victims of dictatorship and oppression with passion, courage, and fervor. Elie Wiesel Foundation for the Humanity. March 18, 1991."

The President. It's a great honor to receive this. And it's a special honor for me to receive it from you, a man I admire greatly. Thank you, sir, very very much.

Dr. Wiesel. And this is the citation.

Dear Mr. President: At another time, in another age, another President declared that "Victory has a thousand fathers." But the most recent American triumph in the Gulf had only one father. And yet we are here today not only because you have brought about that magnificent victory. We of the Foundation have wished to honor you long before Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait, thus becoming a symbol of dictatorship and oppression.

Mr. President, 10 months ago, we invited you to accept this award because we perceived in you those qualities that the whole world now celebrates today—your moral courage and unshakeable resolve. We knew that we shared the common belief that the world must change, not only for the United States and for the West, but for all humanity.

Among the tasks our Foundation has set for itself is the unrelenting examination of the roots of hate. Why are some nations trapped in a circle of evil? Why are some peoples the continual targets for persecution? Why do tyrannies flourish in some parts of the world and not in others?

These are the vital questions of our era—of any era. The difference is that for the first time in this tortured century we are truly on the threshold of "a new world order," to use your inspiring and memorable phrase.

Thanks to you, Mr. President, small nations feel more secure. Thanks to you, evil has been dealt a dramatic blow. Thanks to you, Mr. President, the last decade of the 20th century may well be remembered for its quest for peace rather than its obsession with violence and death.

As for Israel, Mr. President, I am sure that you are aware of the depths of our involvement with her trials and struggles. We thank you for your understanding of those trials and struggles. We thank you for the Patriots. We thank you for helping to rescue Jews from Ethiopia and the Soviet Union.

what he's found in the Arab countries, what he's found in Israel.

Q. He spoke during his trip of a window of opportunity here to try to find elements of peace. Is that window narrow? Does that window close after a certain length of time here just because, in part, of some of the frustrations and failures of the past in that region?

The President. Well, I think the longer one waits to take any initiatives, the danger is things revert back to a status quo. And I think that will be unacceptable. And so we're working on these two tracks as it relates to the State of Israel, trying to get peace going between countries that had been at war and then try to have suggestions for the solution of the Palestinian question that has avoided us for a long, long time—avoided the countries and various individuals in the area.

So, we're going to try. But I'm not putting any timeframe on this, Norm [Norm Sandler, United Press International]. All I'm saying is that while people are thinking peace and while it is clear that a major threat has been diminished, we ought to try to move forward now. And I like very much the—I would say, the endorsement by Dr. Wiesel of this concept of a new world order, because encompassed in that are countries living at peace that have heretofore been at war. And that's what we're going to be trying to——

Q. Are you encouraged by the——

Q. ——the talks with Syria?

The President. Well, I think that there's some good talks there. We still have differences, as everyone knows. But let's find common ground. Let's see if we can take these historic enmities and bring them—eliminate them. And that's what we're going to try to do. But nobody is suggesting it's easy, including the Secretary of State, who tried very hard.

Q. What is the state of play, Mr. President, now on a permanent cease-fire? Are you going to the U.N. this week?

The President. Well, there will be some U.N. action this week, I think, or certainly U.N. consultation is already beginning. But we've got to work out between the coalition partners, get common ground between the coalition partners. But broadly speaking, people know what is required. I would like to see us reduce the flow of weapons into the area, which is an important—could be an important part of this. But there are a lot of other difficult points.

Iraq must pay reparations or pay damages. The more one looks at the environmental terrorism that they embraced, that they brought about, the more the world understands that they have got to do something about that. So how do you do it? Well, they are potentially a wealthy country. The trouble is they've taken all that wealth and spread it into weapons and then into aggression. And the aggression has been checked, but now we've got to see that they use their resources for helping their own people. And that's a little complicated, given the three areas of contest right now—almost combat right now—the south, up to the north, and then some in Baghdad itself.

So anyway, all of these areas have to be dealt with. And we're trying. We're beginning to go to work on all of them.

Q. Mr. President, do you think Arab countries are willing to talk to Israel, and is there a genuine reciprocal view?

The President. Well, Secretary Baker had good discussions with Prime Minister Shamir on that. He had good discussions with the heads of many other governments on that. Talked to the Soviets about that, who still have an interest in the Middle East. And so we'll just wait and see how all that develops. But I would hope that that would prove to be the case. Israel has restated its willingness to talk, and I think that's a very great thing.

Thank you all.

Q. When will you go to the Middle East?

The President. No plans yet. It's not set.

Note: *The President spoke at 10:10 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to President Saddam Hussein of Iraq and Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir of Israel. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

City, County, State, and Federal Government—particularly in areas such as education, transportation, and the fight against drug abuse. In recent years, more and more Americans have realized what many have known all along: that the answer to many of the problems before us can be found, not in bigger Federal Government, but in effective local leadership and cooperation between citizens and public officials at all levels. Indeed, we know that government closest to the people is truly government "of the people, by the people, and for the people." This is the essence of federalism and democracy, and it is the key to meeting many of the challenges and opportunities before our country.

In recognition of the Nation's county governments, the Congress, by Public Law 101–470, has designated the week of April 7 through April 13, 1991, as "National County Government Week" and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this week.

Now, Therefore, I, George Bush, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week of April 7 through April 13, 1991, as National County Government Week. I call upon the American people and their elected representatives at all levels of government to observe this week with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 19th day of March, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-one, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and fifteenth.

George Bush

[*Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:13 a.m., March 20, 1991*]

Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony for President Lech Walesa of Poland

March 20, 1991

President Bush. Mr. President, to all our Polish and American friends here today: 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 the Congress. And 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, shipyards, and tenements and towns. And 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, sto lat"*—may he live 100 years.

But you also understand that the cause of freedom cannot end at your own 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. And you taught your countrymen that the answer to tyranny is international solidarity. And 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've 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; and finally, you've spoken of 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 friend."

even say that they reached their peak in the whole of history. Our countries are linked by common values and the same ideals. We are linked by friendly collaboration on the international arena. I would like this to be followed by a development of mutually advantageous economic cooperation.

Free Poland is becoming a country of new economic opportunities. It is worth to broaden the cooperation with it, to trade and to invest. I invite you to this cooperation, for it is going to be advantageous to both sides.

I know, Mr. President, that you're a sincere friend of Poland. I'm grateful to you for your extremely goodwill interest in our problems. Our talks shall contribute to the strengthening of cooperation and the friendship of our nations.

God bless you, Mr. President. God bless America.

Note: President Bush spoke at 10:12 a.m. at the South Portico of the White House, where President Walesa was accorded a formal welcome with full military honors. President Walesa spoke in Polish, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. Following the ceremony, the two Presidents met in the Oval Office.

Declaration on Relations Between the United States of America and the Republic of Poland

March 20, 1991

For over 200 years the United States and Poland have been bound by shared values and a commitment to the principles of democracy, human liberty and the rule of law. The American Constitution of 1789 and the Polish Constitution of 1791 are enduring symbols of this special bond, which survived even during the long periods when Poland's independence and liberty were denied. Our relations have been further sustained and enriched by the millions of Americans of Polish descent who over the generations have helped create a free and prosperous society in the United States.

Just as Poles supported America's quest for freedom and liberty more than two centuries ago, so has America stood by Poland during her long years of darkness. When the Polish people began to reassert control over their national destinies, the United States committed itself to supporting their pioneering efforts to secure their freedom and to build a market economy and stable democratic rule.

Poland and the United States share an interest in maintaining stability and security in the new Europe, and in working for the further strengthening of peace on the continent. Our relations are based on the United Nations Charter and principles of the Helsinki Final Act and Paris Charter, including sovereign equality, territorial integrity, inviolability of frontiers, non-intervention in internal affairs, and the rule of law. The United States attaches great importance to the consolidation and safeguarding of Poland's democracy and independence, which it considers integral to the new Europe, whole and free.

Relations between Poland and the United States have entered a new era of cooperation and partnership. The United States and Poland are committed to developing their new partnership through an enhanced political dialogue and regular contacts in areas of common interest.

Poland and the United States share the conviction that the development of a market economy in Poland is essential to its stability and security. The United States reaffirms its continued strong support for Poland's courageous program of economic reform. The Polish Stabilization Fund, the Polish-American Enterprise Fund, and U.S. support in international financial institutions are among the tangible signs of that commitment.

Poland's firm commitment to an economic reform program that enjoys the endorsement and support of the International Monetary Fund has made possible the mobilization of substantial new financial and other economic assistance from the international community. The United States and Poland have concluded a Treaty Concerning Business and Economic Relations and other key agreements that should facilitate trade and

investment needed for economic growth and prosperity.

Poland is engaged in an economic transformation of historic proportions in which its economic partners also have a key role in assuring success. We therefore welcome the agreement of the Paris Club on the substantial reduction of Poland's foreign debt obligations, which represents an historic and exceptional step by the international community to reinforce Poland's progress toward democracy and the free market.

The United States and Poland are also committed to developing their new partnership through closer cultural, educational, and scientific contacts.

The United States and Poland are convinced that these principles will further strengthen the bonds of lasting friendship and cooperation between both states, as an integral element of the broader partnership that binds the United States and Europe and of a new world order based on democratic values and the rule of law.

Washington, the 20th day of March, 1991.

George Bush	Lech Walesa
President of	President of
the United States	the Republic of
of America	Poland

Note: The declaration was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary but was not issued as a White House press release.

White House Fact Sheet on United States Assistance to Poland

March 20, 1991

Recent Economic Developments

In 1990, Poland adopted and implemented a comprehensive program of economic reforms more extensive than that of any other country in Central and Eastern Europe. The new government of President Walesa is taking important steps to further the development of a market economy by placing special emphasis on speeding up the pace of reform in general and the process of privatization in particular.

Responding to requests for assistance from the Polish Government, the U.S. Government provided over $300 million in grant assistance in 1990 and offered substantial credits from the Export-Import Bank and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation. The United States has begun projects in agriculture, privatization, technical training, and labor training, and concentrated ventures in clean fossil fuels, and air and water quality in the Krakow region.

All of these activities will continue in 1991, but U.S. technical assistance will expand considerably as we begin new efforts to help restructure the Polish economy. The United States will also substantially increase the amount of funds available for equity investment through the Polish-American Enterprise Fund and will initiate new programs to encourage U.S. private sector investment in Poland.

Assistance Activities

1. *Democratic Initiatives.* U.S. programs in this area will provide:

—Equipment and training for the national legislature, focusing primarily on the establishment of parliamentary procedures and the development of effective research and information systems.

—Training for local and regional legislatures, city and regional managers, and other local public administrators in the basic skills of governance and administration.

—Support for independent media, including the establishment of a Media Resource Center in Poland.

2. *Food Aid.* In 1990, the United States provided over $90 million in food aid to Poland. This assistance was intended to help stem Poland's declining standard of living and ease the budget crunch by improving the efficiency of private agriculture. Thanks in part to the effect of the market on supplies, major food aid will not be needed in 1991.

3. *Stabilization Fund.* The United States granted $200 million to the Polish Stabilization Fund in 1990 as part of a U.S.-led multidonor hard currency reserve in support of the transformation of the economy. The

kindled the light of democratic thought among men. Our Nation's Founders were well-schooled in classical languages and Greek literature, and the ideas of Solon, Plato, Aristotle, and other Greek philosophers and statesmen greatly influenced their own. Indeed, in his historic treatise on the Rights of Man, Thomas Paine wrote: "What Athens was in miniature, America will be in magnitude. The one was the wonder of the ancient world; the other is becoming the admiration and model of the present." His words reflect the inspiration and insight that this Nation's Founders derived from the ancient Greek city-states as they worked to establish an enduring representative democracy in America.

Widely regarded as the "cradle of democracy," Greece stands today as a strong ally of the United States, aligned with us by its commitment to freedom and human rights. As partners in the NATO Alliance, we have worked together to defend democratic ideals and to promote the collective security of Europe. Recently Greece also cooperated with the United States and other nations in the historic coalition effort to uphold the rule of law and to liberate Kuwait from ruthless aggression. The people of Greece can take pride in their country's role in this endeavor, carried out in enforcement of resolutions of the United Nations Security Council.

Today, as we join in commemorating the 170th anniversary of Greek independence, we celebrate the continued friendship between the Greek and American peoples. We also give thanks, knowing that the light of democratic ideals continues to grow in strength and brilliance around the world.

In recognition of the 170th anniversary of Greek Independence, the Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 59, has designated March 25, 1991, as "Greek Independence Day: A National Day of Celebration of Greek and American Democracy" and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this day.

Now, Therefore, I, George Bush, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim March 25, 1991, as Greek Independence Day: A National Day of Celebration of Greek and American Democracy. I urge all Americans to join in appropriate ceremonies and activities in honor of the Greek people and Greek independence.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 25th day of March, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-one, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and fifteenth.

George Bush

[*Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:06 p.m., March 25, 1991*]

Proclamation 6265—Women's History Month, 1991

March 25, 1991

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

During Women's History Month we celebrate the many unique and vital contributions that women have made to our Nation. While this month is dedicated to all American women, we pay special tribute to those who have earned a noted place in history. We recall with admiration and respect women who were first in their fields, including Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, the first woman in the United States to receive a medical degree; Elizabeth Ann Seton and Emma Hart Willard, who were pioneers in education; Anne Macy Sullivan and Helen Keller, who advanced the training of the blind and other persons with disabilities; and Sophia Heath, who helped open doors for women in commercial aviation as well as in sports. We gratefully remember humanitarians such as Clara Barton, founder of the American Red Cross, and we proudly celebrate the artistic and literary genius of women like Mary Cassatt and Flannery O'Connor. We also remember with fondness women like Clare Boothe Luce and Pearl Bailey, who not only earned respect for their public service and diplomacy but also endeared themselves to millions through their wit, generosity, and contagious love of life and learning. These are

just a few of the many women who have made lasting contributions to the United States, but their celebrated achievements underscore how every aspect of our national life has been enriched by the creativity, energy, and leadership of women.

As we recognize the many outstanding contributions that women have made to American history and culture, we acknowledge with special gratitude the role women have played in upholding the principles on which the United States is founded. During the mid-19th century, women like Harriet Tubman and Harriet Beecher Stowe became heroines of the struggle against slavery; women such as Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton also advocated the abolition of slavery as they championed woman's suffrage. Of course, who can forget the quiet determination of Rosa Parks, whose courage and resolve in the face of bigotry gave heart to an entire social movement. Each of these women and countless others worked to fulfill America's promise of liberty and justice for all.

Today women continue to defend and to promote the ideals on which this Nation is founded. Indeed, history will show that those American women who served in the recent struggle to liberate Kuwait helped not only to deter ruthless aggression but also to build a new world order based on respect for human rights and the rule of law.

Advancing to new and ever greater positions of responsibility in virtually every field, women continue to uphold the American ideals of liberty, equality, and justice. Most important, however, because it is within the family that our Nation's most cherished values and traditions are passed from one generation to the next, women help to preserve our American heritage by nurturing in their children faith, moral values, and a sense of civic duty. Thus, as we celebrate the achievements of noted women in American history, let us also acknowledge with pride and gratitude the contributions that so many unsung heroines have made to our country through the institutions of family and community life.

Now, Therefore, I, George Bush, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim March 1991 as Women's History Month. I call upon all Americans to observe this month with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-fifth day of March, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-one, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and fifteenth.

George Bush

[*Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:23 a.m., March 26, 1991*]

Remarks and an Exchange With Reporters Prior to a Meeting With Finance Minister Theo Waigel of Germany

March 26, 1991

The President. I wanted to take this opportunity publicly to thank you for Germany's wonderful cooperation and financial contribution as well as many other things during this Desert Storm. I understood from day one the German position, and we had very close consultations with the Chancellor. I know that you were in touch with Secretary Brady and others, and I am grateful for the financial support, but even more for the understanding. It's not just restricted to Desert Storm; it goes over into the role you all are playing in terms of working out cooperatively the Polish debt. I don't think Germany gets enough credit for having been very, very understanding about that——

Q. Going to get any money back?

The President. ——and other areas of cooperation. So please extend my best to the Chancellor and wish him well.

Finance Minister Waigel. Thank you very much. And I want to congratulate to the great success not only for your country but for the whole of the world, as it was very important for us. We are very happy with you.

Q. Mr. President, is there going to be any left over from the contributions?