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REMARKS: BIPARTISAN ACCORD

ROSE GARDEN

TUESDAY, APRIL 18, 1989

2:15 P.M.

FOUR WEEKS AGO, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN MANY YEARS,
THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS, THE DEMOCRATIC AND
REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP IN THE HOUSE AND SENATE, SPOKE
WITH ONE VOICE ABOUT CENTRAL AMERICA.

- 2 -

BY SIGNING A BIPARTISAN ACCORD ON CENTRAL AMERICA,
WE JOINED HANDS FOR THE GOOD OF THAT TROUBLED REGION.
AND BY PLACING PRINCIPLE ABOVE PARTY, WE REAFFIRMED THE
CORNERSTONE OF AMERICA'S FOREIGN POLICY.

LAST WEEK, THE CONGRESS PASSED LEGISLATION TO
IMPLEMENT THIS BIPARTISAN ACCORD. AND, TODAY, I AM
PROUD TO SIGN THIS LEGISLATION.

- 3 -

MY FRIENDS, YOU HAVE SHOWN THAT BIPARTISANSHIP WORKS. AND I WANT TO THANK YOU FOR ACTING QUICKLY, HONORABLY, AND IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST.

OUR OBJECTIVE IN CENTRAL AMERICA IS A DEMOCRATIC NICARAGUA WHICH DOES NOT SUBVERT OR THREATEN ITS NEIGHBORS AND WHOSE PEOPLE ENJOY THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FRUITS OF A FREE SOCIETY.

- 4 -

OUR CONTINUED ASSISTANCE TO THE NICARAGUAN RESISTANCE REPRESENTS THE COMMITMENT OF THE UNITED STATES BOTH TO SUPPORT THE ESQUIPULAS ((EH-SKI-P00-LAS)) PEACE PROCESS AND TO SUSTAIN THOSE WHO STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY.

- 5 -

UNDER THE ESQUIPULAS ACCORD, INSURGENT FORCES HAVE THE RIGHT TO REINTEGRATE INTO THEIR HOMELAND UNDER SAFE, DEMOCRATIC CONDITIONS WITH FULL CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS. THAT IS THE DESIRE OF THE NICARAGUAN RESISTANCE. AND WE WILL SUPPORT IT THROUGH CONCERTED DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO REINFORCE THIS REGIONAL AGREEMENT.

- 6 -

HERE, IN PARTICULAR, LET ME THANK THE CONGRESS. FOR BY SUPPORTING MY REQUEST FOR CONTINUED ASSISTANCE AT CURRENT LEVELS THROUGH THE ELECTIONS IN NICARAGUA, SCHEDULED FOR FEBRUARY 28, 1990, YOU HAVE REAFFIRMED THE WILL OF THIS GOVERNMENT TO ENSURE PEACE AND FREEDOM IN CENTRAL AMERICA.

- 7 -

THE SUCCESS OF THE CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE PROCESS AND THE PROSPECTS OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION IN NICARAGUA DEPEND ON FULL AND HONEST SANDINISTA COMPLIANCE WITH THEIR REPEATED PLEDGES OF DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM. WE HAVE YET TO SEE GENUINE SANDINISTA COMPLIANCE; THUS FAR, THEY HAVE REFUSED TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE OPPOSITION REGARDING THE NECESSARY CONDITIONS FOR FAIR ELECTIONS.

- 8 -

IT IS CLEAR THAT CLOSE INTERNATIONAL SCRUTINY AND SUSTAINED PRESSURE WILL BE CRITICAL TO INDUCE SANDINISTA COMPLIANCE. IT IS ALSO CLEAR THAT THE SOVIET UNION MUST MATCH ITS RHETORICAL SUPPORT FOR THE PEACE PROCESS WITH CONCRETE ACTION TO HALT MILITARY AID, TO END SUBVERSION IN THE REGION, AND TO PROMOTE GENUINE DEMOCRACY IN NICARAGUA.

- 9 -

IT IS FITTING TO RECALL WHAT FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT SAID WHEN HE ADDRESSED THE NATION IN 1940: "TODAY WE SEEK A MORAL BASIS FOR PEACE.... IT CANNOT BE A LASTING PEACE IF THE FRUIT OF IT IS OPPRESSION, OR STARVATION, OR CRUELTY, OR HUMAN LIFE DOMINATED BY ARMED CAMPS."

OUR ACCORD ENVISIONS A DEMOCRATIC CENTRAL AMERICA, AND A MORE JUST AND TRANQUIL HEMISPHERE.

- 10 -

ABOVE ALL, IT POINTS US TOWARD THE FUTURE -- FOR AMERICA, AND FOR THE PEOPLE OF CENTRAL AMERICA.

SO, LET US SEIZE THE MOMENT. THANK YOU, AND GOD BLESS YOU. AND NOW, IT IS MY PLEASURE TO SIGN LEGISLATION IMPLEMENTING THE BIPARTISAN ACCORD ON CENTRAL AMERICA.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 17, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: CURT SMITH *CS*
THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *W*
SUBJECT: SIGNING CEREMONY -- BIPARTISAN ACCORD ON CENTRAL AMERICA

I. SUMMARY

The attached remarks discuss the legislation, which you are to sign tomorrow in a Rose Garden ceremony, to implement the Bipartisan Accord on Central America. About 25 Members of Congress will be in the audience, along with 80-100 congressional staff, State Department officials, and members of the public with an interest in Central America.

II. DISCUSSION

The text focuses on our objective in that region -- "a democratic Nicaragua which does not subvert or threaten its neighbors" -- and references it to the Esquipulas Accord. The remarks, in particular, discuss America's continuing aid to the Nicaraguan Resistance, and challenge the Sandinista government to uphold its pledges of democracy and freedom. They also call upon the Soviet Union to help in the peace process.

(Smith/Simon)
4/17/89; 7 pm
Draft 2
CENT

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: BIPARTISAN ACCORD
ROSE GARDEN
TUESDAY, APRIL 18, 1989
2:15 p.m.

Four weeks ago, for the first time in many years, the President and Congress, the Democratic and Republican leadership in the House and Senate, spoke with one voice about Central America.

By signing a Bipartisan Accord on Central America, we joined hands for the good of that troubled region. And by placing principle above party, we reaffirmed the cornerstone of America's foreign policy.

Last week, the Congress passed legislation to implement this Bipartisan Accord. And, today, I am proud to sign this legislation.

My friends, you have shown that bipartisanship works. And I want to thank you for acting quickly, honorably, and in the national interest.

Our objective in Central America is a democratic Nicaragua which does not subvert or threaten its neighbors and whose people enjoy the social and economic fruits of a free society. Our continued assistance to the Nicaraguan Resistance represents the commitment of the United States both to support the Esquipulas ((Eh-ski-POO-las)) peace process and to sustain those who struggle for freedom and democracy.

Under the Esquipulas Accord, insurgent forces have the right to reintegrate into their homeland under safe, democratic conditions with full civil and political rights. That is the desire of the Nicaraguan resistance. And we will support it through concerted diplomatic efforts to reinforce this regional agreement.

Here, in particular, let me thank the Congress. For by supporting my request for continued assistance at current levels through the elections in Nicaragua, scheduled for February 28, 1990, you have reaffirmed the will of this government to ensure peace and freedom in Central America.

The success of the Central American peace process and the prospects of national reconciliation in Nicaragua depend on full and honest Sandinista compliance with their repeated pledges of democracy and freedom. We have yet to see genuine Sandinista compliance; thus far, they have refused to negotiate with the opposition regarding the necessary conditions for fair elections.

It is clear that close international scrutiny and sustained pressure will be critical to induce Sandinista compliance. It is also clear that the Soviet Union must match its rhetorical support for the peace process with concrete action to halt military aid, to end subversion in the region, and to promote genuine democracy in Nicaragua.

It is fitting to recall what Franklin Roosevelt said when he addressed the nation in 1940: "Today we seek a moral basis for peace.... It cannot be a lasting peace if the fruit of it is oppression, or starvation, or cruelty, or human life dominated by armed camps."

Our accord envisions a democratic Central America, and a more just and tranquil hemisphere. Above all, it points us toward the future -- for America, and for the people of Central America.

So, let us seize the moment. Thank you, and God bless you. And now, it is my pleasure to sign legislation implementing the Bipartisan Accord on Central America.

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(Smith/Simon)
April 14, 1989
Draft One
CENT

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: BI-PARTISAN ACCORD
WASHINGTON, D.C.
TUESDAY, APRIL 18, 1989

Four
Three weeks ago, for the first time in many years, the President and Congress, the Democratic and Republican leadership in the House and Senate, spoke with one voice about Central America.

By signing a Bi-Partisan Accord on Central America, we joined hands for the good of that troubled region. And by placing principle above party, we reaffirmed the cornerstone of America's foreign policy.

*word 4/14/89
Exec. Clerk
42226*
Last week, the Congress passed legislation to implement this Bi-Partisan Accord. And, today, I am proud to sign this legislation.

My friends, you have shown that bi-partisanship works. And I want to thank you for acting quickly, honorably, and in the national interest.

*Bipartisan
Accord
para. 2
(see file)*
Our Bi-Partisan Accord outlines U.S. policy toward Central America. And it supports the same goals as the people of Central America: Democracy, security, and peace. These goals are

((Eh-ski-P00-las))

embodied in the Esquipulas Accord. And to reach them, we must work together with Latin American democratic leaders, with the support of our allies.

The Esquipulas Accord, and our Bi-Partisan Accord, insist that insurgent forces have the right to reintegrate into their homeland under safe, democratic conditions with full civil and political rights. That is the desire of the Nicaraguan resistance. And we will support it through concerted diplomatic effort to reinforce this regional agreement.

Here, in particular, let me thank the Congress. For by supporting my request for continued assistance at current levels through the elections in Nicaragua scheduled for February 28, 1990, you have reaffirmed the will of this government to ensure peace and freedom in Central America.

The Esquipulas Accord requires open and honest elections. We will be watching the Sandinista government to make sure that it complies. If it does, Nicaraguans will decide their own future -- freely, democratically. If not -- if its government mocks the promises it first made in 1979 -- its hypocrisy will outrage the world.

see
file
Treasury &
Presidential
Quotations
P. 206

It is fitting to recall the what Franklin Roosevelt said when he addressed the nation in 1940: "Today we seek a moral basis for peace.... It cannot be a lasting peace if the fruit of it is oppression, or starvation, or cruelty, or human life dominated by armed camps."

Our accord envisions a democratic central America, and a more just and tranquil hemisphere. It says: Let us use resources for homes and hospitals, not for military defense. Above all, it points us toward the future -- for America, and for the people of Central America.

The legacy of peacemaker is a noble calling. So, let us seize the moment. Thank you, and God bless you. And now, it is my pleasure to sign legislation implementing the Bi-Partisan Accord on Central America.

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Public Papers of FDR

21. *Christian Foreign Service Convocation*

this case the rank corresponding to Ambassador was obviously appropriate. The reason for and circumstances surrounding his designation were made clear in my Christmas letter to the Pope; and in the letter which I gave to Mr. Taylor for presentation to the Pope, which conforms to the Christmas message.

Mr. Taylor was sent to Rome to assist parallel endeavors for peace and the alleviation of suffering; and I am sure that all men of good-will must sympathize with this purpose.

There of course was not the slightest intention to raise any question relating to the union of the functions of Church and State, and it is difficult for me to believe that anyone could take seriously a contrary view, or that the action taken could interrupt in any way the necessary and healthy growth of inter-faith comity.

Very sincerely yours,

The Reverend
George A. Buttrick, D.D.,
President, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America,
New York, New York.

(See also Item 170, 1939 volume, and Item 15, pages 78-79, this volume, for further discussion of the mission of Myron Taylor to the Vatican.)

21 ¶ Radio Address in Connection with the Christian Foreign Service Convocation.

March 16, 1940

BEFORE the advent of the Christian era, messengers and missionaries had traveled throughout the known world. They were commonly traders or soldiers seeking advantage for themselves, or agents of conquerors carrying notice of invasion to come.

When the Apostles and Disciples of Christ crossed into Macedonia and visited one after another the countries of the Western world, they wrote a new chapter in human relations—for they

21. *Christian Foreign Service Convocation*

carried for the first time a message of brotherhood, of faith and good-will and peace among men.

Since those days the ideal of a peaceful world brotherhood has made glorious advances—for that ideal is not confined to the followers of the Christian faith but has been accepted as a part of the philosophy of other great religions—some of them older than Christianity and some more recent.

But the advance has not been in a straight line. It has met with serious reverses which have taken years and even centuries to offset. Nomad tribes from eastern Europe and western Asia required centuries of assimilation before they could understand the gospel of brotherhood. The early feudal days set castle against castle in thousands of tiny wars and slaughters and slavery which ended only in the setting up of governments able to maintain peace within their borders.

Today we seem once more to be in a temporary era where organized force is seeking to divide men and nations from one another. That is why it is right and proper to call together the representatives of the great religious bodies which seek not to divide but to unite men and nations in the old message of brotherhood and good-will.

In dark days of the past that ideal has been saved in the long run by splendid efforts to maintain it in the minds and hearts of the average citizens in all nations.

Today we seek a moral basis for peace. It cannot be a real peace if it fails to recognize brotherhood. It cannot be a lasting peace if the fruit of it is oppression, or starvation, or cruelty, or human life dominated by armed camps. It cannot be a sound peace if small nations must live in fear of powerful neighbors. It cannot be a moral peace if freedom from invasion is sold for tribute. It cannot be an intelligent peace if it denies free passage to that knowledge of those ideals which permit men to find common ground. It cannot be a righteous peace if worship of God is denied.

On these fundamentals the world did not have a true peace in

22. *Six Hundred and Thirtieth Press Conference*

those years between the ending of the World War and the beginning of present wars.

The band of missionaries whom you now meet to honor understood this well. They permitted no threat to the integrity or the institutions of the nations in which they worked. They sought to promote an international order based on human justice.

The active search for peace which the early Christians preached meant meeting and overcoming those forces in the world which had set themselves against the brotherhood of man and which denied the equality of souls before the throne of God. In those olden days they faced apparently unconquerable force—and yet were victorious.

I offer my greetings to you as a congregation of faith, in the certainty that you will help to keep alive that spirit of kindness and faith which is the essence of civilization. I am confident of your ultimate triumph; for the ideals of justice, kindness, brotherhood and faith cannot die. These are the highest of human ideals. They will be defended and maintained. In their victory the whole world stands to gain; and the fruit of it is peace.

22 ¶ *The Six Hundred and Thirtieth Press Conference (Excerpts). March 19, 1940*

(Airplane productive capacity—Guarding defense secrets—Columnist's story on religion of Farley and his candidacy—Ambassador to Germany.)

Q. In the light of recent discussions on the subject, would you care to clarify for us the policy of your Administration toward releasing airplanes and armaments for foreign shipment?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, the trouble is this. It is awfully hard to lay down a hard and fast rule because each case ought properly to be considered on the facts of the immediate case, and

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 24, 1989

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

The President of a Central American democracy was asked recently what is the most important step the United States can take. He said, "Speak with one voice." Today, for the first time in many years, the President and Congress, the Democratic and Republican leadership in the House and Senate, are speaking with one voice about Central America.

In my inaugural address I reached out my hand to the leadership of Congress in both parties asking them to join with me to rebuild a bipartisan foreign policy based on trust and common purpose. Today, I am gratified that the Speaker and the Majority and Minority Leaders of the Senate and House have extended their hands back to me.

We have signed today together a Bipartisan Accord on Central America. It sets out the broad outlines of U.S. policy towards that troubled region and commits both the Executive and Congress to work together to achieve it.

The goals we seek are the goals which the people of Central America yearns for: democracy, security, and peace. Those are the pledges made by the Central American Presidents in the Esquipulas II Accord. That agreement is an integrated whole: all of its provisions must move forward together if any of them are to be fulfilled. Our challenge now is to turn those promises into concrete realities on the ground.

The only way we can meet that challenge is if Latin democratic leaders and the United States work together, with the support of our European friends and allies, as true partners with candor and mutual respect. I believe Latin leaders are asking for that kind of relationship as we confront together the many challenges facing our hemisphere. As President, I pledge the United States is ready to respond.

Under this Central America agreement, insurgent forces have the right to re-integrate into their homeland under safe, democratic conditions with full civil and political rights. That is the desire of the Nicaraguan Resistance. It is what they are fighting for. We hope and believe it can be achieved through a concerted diplomatic effort to enforce this regional agreement.

To achieve these goals the bipartisan leadership of Congress has agreed to support my request for continued humanitarian assistance to the Nicaraguan Resistance through the elections scheduled in Nicaragua for February 28, 1990.

There will be extensive consultations and review with respect to these funds effective November 30, 1989 by the bipartisan leadership and relevant committees. However, I have been assured that the leadership in both Houses supports the extension of this assistance through the Nicaraguan elections barring unforeseen circumstances.

There is no shortcut to democracy; no quick fix. The next weeks and months will demand patience and perseverance by the democratic community and the hard, technical work of ensuring compliance with the Esquipulas Accord. The United States will work in good faith to support that kind of diplomatic effort, but we will not support a paper agreement that sells out the Nicaraguan people's right to be free.

We do not claim the right to order the politics of that country. That is for the people of Nicaragua to decide. We support what the Esquipulas Accord requires: free, open, political processes in which all groups can fairly and safely compete for political leadership. That means the playing field must be level; all, including the current government must respect the majority's decision in the end, and the losers must also retain the political rights to operate as a legal opposition and contest again for political authority in the next recurring election contest.

The burden of proof is on the Sandinista government to do something it has steadfastly refused to do from 1979 to 1989: to keep its promises to the Nicaraguan people to permit real democracy; keep its promises to its neighbors not to support subversion in Central America; and keep its obligation to this hemisphere not to permit the establishment of Soviet bloc bases in Central America. If those promises are kept we have an opportunity to start a new day in Central America; but if those p edges continue to be violated, we hope and expect that other nations will find ways to join us to condemn those actions and reverse those processes.

The Soviet Union also has an obligation and an opportunity: to demonstrate that its proclaimed commitment to "new thinking" is more than a tactical response to temporary setbacks, but represents instead a new principled approach to foreign policy.

In other regional conflicts around the world the Soviet Union has adopted a welcome new approach that has helped resolve long-standing problems in constructive ways. In Central America what we have seen from the Soviet Union and Cuba can only be described as "old thinking."

In the last decade, the Soviet bloc has poured at least \$50 billion in aid into Cuba and Nicaragua. Soviet and Cuban aid is building in Nicaragua a military machine larger than all the armies of the other Central American nations combined and continues to finance violence, revolution, and destruction against the democratically elected government of El Salvador. Indeed, Soviet bloc military support for the Marxist guerrillas has increased since the United States ended military support for the Nicaraguan Resistance and Soviet military aid to the government of Nicaragua continues at levels wholly uncalled for by any legitimate defensive needs. The continuation of these levels of Soviet bloc aid into Central America raises serious questions about Soviet attitudes and intentions towards the United States.

The Soviet Union has no legitimate security interest in Central America; and the United States has many. We reject any doctrine of equivalence of interest in this region as a basis for negotiations. Instead, the Soviet Union and Cuba have an obligation to the leaders of Central America to stop violating the provisions of the Esquipulas Accord which the Soviet Union and Cuba both pledged to uphold. The time to begin is now.

In signing the Esquipulas Accord, President Oscar Arias of Costa Rica said: "Without democracy, there can be no peace in Central America." He is right. But with democracy and peace in Central America can come new hope for economic development in which all of the people of the region can share. One can look at the terrible violence ravaging Central America and despair, but I have a different vision of its future.

I can see a democratic Central America in which all of the nations of the region live in peace with each other; where the citizens of the region are safe from the violence of the state or from revolutionary guerrillas; where resources now devoted to military defense could be channeled to build hospitals, homes, and schools. That is not a dream if all the people and nations of the Americas will it to be true. I hope the Esquipulas Accord and perhaps, also, the Bipartisan Accord, will someday be seen as the first step toward its fulfillment.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 24, 1989

Bipartisan Accord on Central America

The Executive and the Congress are united today in support of democracy, peace, and security in Central America. The United States supports the peace and democratization process and the goals of the Central American Presidents embodied in the Esquipulas Accord. The United States is committed to working in good faith with the democratic leaders of Central America and Latin America to translate the bright promises of Esquipulas II into concrete realities on the ground.

With regard to Nicaragua, the United States is united in its goals: democratization; an end to subversion and destabilization of its neighbors; an end to Soviet bloc military ties that threaten U.S. and regional security. Today the Executive and the Congress are united on a policy to achieve those goals.

To be successful the Central American peace process cannot be based on promises alone. It must be based on credible standards of compliance, strict timetables for enforcement, and effective on-going means to verify both the democratic and security requirements of those agreements. We support the use of incentives and disincentives to achieve U.S. policy objectives.

We also endorse an open, consultative process with bipartisanship as the watchword for the development and success of a unified policy towards Central America. The Congress recognizes the need for consistency and continuity in policy and the responsibility of the Executive to administer and carry out that policy, the programs based upon it, and to conduct American diplomacy in the region. The Executive will consult regularly and report to the Congress on progress in meeting the goals of the peace and democratization process, including the use of assistance as outlined in this Accord.

Under Esquipulas II and the El Salvador Accord, insurgent forces are supposed to voluntarily reintegrate into their homeland under safe, democratic conditions. The United States shall encourage the Government of Nicaragua and the Nicaraguan Resistance to continue the cessation of hostilities currently in effect.

To implement our purposes, the Executive will propose and the bipartisan leadership of the Congress will act promptly after the Easter Recess to extend humanitarian assistance at current levels to the Resistance through February 28, 1990, noting that the Government of Nicaragua has agreed to hold new elections under international supervision just prior to that date. Those funds shall also be available to support voluntary reintegration or voluntary regional relocation by the Nicaraguan Resistance. Such voluntary reintegration or

more

voluntary regional relocation assistance shall be provided in a manner supportive of the goals of the Central American nations, as expressed in the Esquipulas II agreement and the El Salvador Accord, including the goal of democratization within Nicaragua, and the reintegration plan to be developed pursuant to those accords.

We believe that democratization should continue throughout Central America in those nations in which it is not yet complete with progress towards strengthening of civilian leadership, the defense of human rights, the rule of law and functioning judicial systems, and consolidation of free, open, safe, political processes in which all groups and individuals can fairly compete for political leadership. We believe that democracy and peace in Central America can create the conditions for economic integration and development that can benefit all the people of the region and pledge ourselves to examine new ideas to further those worthy goals.

While the Soviet Union and Cuba both publicly endorsed the Esquipulas Agreement, their continued aid and support of violence and subversion in Central America is in direct violation of that regional agreement. The United States believes that President Gorbachev's impending visit to Cuba represents an important opportunity for both the Soviet Union and Cuba to end all aid that supports subversion and destabilization in Central America as President Arias has requested and as the Central American peace process demands.

The United States Government retains ultimate responsibility to define its national interests and foreign policy, and nothing in this Accord shall be interpreted to infringe on that responsibility. The United States need not spell out in advance the nature or type of action that would be undertaken in response to threats to U.S. national security interests. Rather it should be sufficient to simply make clear that such threats will be met by any appropriate Constitutional means. The spirit of trust, bipartisanship, and common purpose expressed in this Accord between the Executive and the Congress shall continue to be the foundation for its full implementation and the achievement of democracy, security, and peace in Central America.

George Bush
President of the United States

James C. Wright, Jr.
Speaker of the House

Robert Dole
Senate Republican Leader

George J. Mitchell
Senate Majority Leader

Robert H. Michel
House Republican Leader

Thomas S. Foley
House Majority Leader

THE WHITE HOUSE,
March 24, 1989.

from the hearts of every individual in every town and village of our country.

HERBERT HOOVER

Speech in Boston, Mass., Oct. 6, 1930; *State Papers, I, 384*

52. The long-view contribution for preserving peace would be for America to stand on moral forces alone in support of law between nations. It [is] not isolationism. It [is] a belief that somewhere, somehow, there must be an abiding place for law and a sanctuary for civilization.

HERBERT HOOVER

1933; *Memoirs, II, 377*

53. The danger to world peace certainly does not come from the United States of America. As a Nation, we are overwhelmingly against engaging in war. As a Nation we are seeking no additional territory at the expense of our neighbors.

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

Radio address, Oct. 13, 1933; *Public Papers, II, 394*

54. It is but an extension of the challenge of Woodrow Wilson for us to propose in this newer generation that from now on war by governments shall be changed to peace by peoples.

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

Address to Woodrow Wilson Foundation, Dec. 28, 1933; *Ibid., p. 549*

55. The greatest need of the world today is the assurance of permanent peace—an assurance based on mutual understanding and mutual regard.

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

Address at West Point, June 12, 1935; *Ibid., IV, 252*

56. The continued maintenance and improvement of democracy constitute the most important guarantee of international peace.

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

Address to Pan-American Union, Apr. 14, 1937; *Ibid., VI, 158*

57. It is becoming increasingly clear that peace by fear has no higher or more enduring quality than peace by the sword.

There can be no peace if the reign of law is to be replaced by a recurrent sanctification of sheer force.

There can be no peace if national policy adopts as a deliberate instrument the threat of war.

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

Address to *Herald-Tribune* Forum, Oct. 26, 1938; *Ibid., VII, 564*

58. Today we seek a moral basis for peace. It cannot be a real peace if it fails to recognize brotherhood. It cannot be a lasting peace if the fruit of it is oppression, or starvation, or cruelty, or human life dominated by armed camps. It cannot be a sound peace if small nations must live in fear of powerful neighbors. It cannot be a moral peace if freedom from invasion is sold for tribute. It

cannot be an intelligent peace if it denies free passage to that knowledge of those ideals which permit men to find common ground. It cannot be a righteous peace if worship of God is denied.

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

Radio address, Mar. 16, 1940; *Ibid., IX, 103*

59. We can gain no lasting peace if we approach it with suspicion and mistrust or with fear. We can gain it only if we proceed with the understanding, the confidence, and the courage which flows from conviction.

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

Fourth Inaugural Address, Jan. 20, 1945

60. We want to . . . do the things in peace that we have been able to do in war. If we can put this tremendous machine of ours . . . to work for peace, we can look forward to the greatest age in the history of mankind.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

Remarks in Berlin, Germany, July 20, 1945; *Public Papers . . . Truman, 1945, p. 175*

61. We all have to recognize—no matter how great our strength—that we must deny ourselves the license to do always as we please. No one nation, no regional group, can or should expect any special privilege which harms any other nation. If any nation would keep security for itself, it must be ready and willing to share security with all. That is the price which each nation will have to pay for world peace.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

Address to United Nations Conference, San Francisco, Cal., June 26, 1945; *Memoirs, I, 291*

62. We must keep trying for peace. The false approach of the Russians must not prevent our peace program from going through to a successful conclusion.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

Notes, 1948; *Mr. President, p. 220*

63. We knew that there could be no lasting peace so long as there were large populations in the world living under primitive conditions and suffering from starvation, disease, and denial of the advantages of modern science and industry.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

1955; *Memoirs, I, x*

64. We are going to have peace even if we have to fight for it.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

Speech at Frankfort on the Main, Germany, June 10, 1945; *Eisenhower Speaks, p. 14*

65. Progress toward universal and enduring peace, as I see it, lies along three roads—organized international cooperation, mutual

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 18, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT SIGNING CEREMONY
FOR CENTRAL AMERICAN BIPARTISAN AGREEMENT

The Rose Garden

2:18 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Please be seated. And distinguished leaders of the Congress here today, my thanks for joining us. Four weeks ago, for the first time in many years, the President and Congress, the Democratic and Republican leadership in the House and Senate, spoke with one voice about Central America. And by signing a bipartisan accord on Central America, we joined hands for the good of that troubled region. And by placing principle above party, we reaffirmed the cornerstone of America's foreign policy.

Last week, the Congress passed legislation to implement the bipartisan accord. And, today, I am very proud to sign this legislation. My friends, you've shown that bipartisanship works. And I want to thank you for acting quickly, honorably, and in the national interest.

Our objective in Central America is a democratic Nicaragua which does not subvert or threaten its neighbors and whose people enjoy the social and economic fruits of a free society.

Our continued assistance to the Nicaraguan resistance represents the commitment of the United States both to Esquipulas -- the peace process -- and to sustain those who struggle for freedom and democracy.

Under the Esquipulas Accord, insurgent forces have the right to reintegrate into their homeland under safe, democratic conditions with full civil and political rights. And that's the desire of the Nicaraguan resistance. And we will support it through concerted diplomatic efforts to reinforce this regional agreement.

Here, in particular, let me thank the Congress. For, by supporting my request for continued assistance at current levels through the elections in Nicaragua, scheduled now for February 28, 1990, you have reaffirmed the will of this government to ensure peace and freedom in Central America.

The success of the Central American peace process and the prospects of national reconciliation in Nicaragua depend on full and honest Sandinista compliance with their repeated pledges of democracy and freedom. We've yet to see genuine Sandinista compliance; thus far, they've refused to negotiate with the opposition regarding the necessary conditions for fair elections.

It's clear that close international scrutiny and sustained pressure will be critical to induce Sandinista compliance. It's also clear that the Soviet Union must match its rhetorical support for the peace process with concrete action to halt military aid, to end subversion in that region, and to promote genuine democracy in Nicaragua.

It is fitting to recall what Franklin Roosevelt said when he addressed the nation in 1940: "Today we seek a moral basis for peace. It cannot be a lasting peace if the fruit of it is oppression, or starvation, or cruelty, or human life dominated by

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