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Series: Speech File Backup Files
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OA/ID Number: 13667
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Folder Title:
Texas A&M 5/12/89 [OA 8489] [2]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Report	National Security Directive on U.S. - Soviet Relations. (9 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File, Backup
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Texas A&M 5/12/89 [2]

Pinksheet Number: RML1443
OA/ID Number: 13667-004
Date Closed: 9/24/2004
FOIA/Sys Case #: S
Re-review Case #: 2004-2265-S
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Report	National Security Directive on U.S. - Soviet Relations. (9 pp.)	n.d.	P-1, (b)(1)	S

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MR Case #:	Appeal Case #:
MR Disposition:	Appeal Disposition:
Disposition Date:	Disposition Date:

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<p>Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]</p> <p>P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA] P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA] P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA] P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA] P-5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA] P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]</p> <p>C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.</p>	<p>Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]</p> <p>(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA] (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA] (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA] (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA] (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA] (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA] (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA] (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information</p>
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Davis/Martin
Title: Aggie
May 5, 1989
Version: One

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: TEXAS A&M COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS
(DATE, TIME)

Thank you. I am delighted to be back in College Station,
among my fellow Texans and friends. ((Jon Peters "fish" joke.))
((Elephant Walk))

My sincerest congratulations go to every graduate, and to
your parents. In this ceremony, we celebrate nothing less than
the commencement of the rest, and the best, of your life . . .

I remember when I graduated, in 1948, thrilled to be
striking out on my own, riding my red Studebaker across the
prairie roads. I didn't know exactly what I was looking for in
Texas. But I did know one thing -- whatever I would do, whatever
I would become, my future was now in my hands. This spine-
tingling realization is now for you; and I must admit, for this
reason, you have my envy.

But no generation can escape from history. I came of age in
the mid-century of American greatness. I, along with your
parents or grandparents, witnessed the drama of a world torn by
war, kept apart by Soviet Union subversion and force, and

Determined NOT to be
National Security Classified Marking
By lt (NLGB) on 5/30/23

DECLASSIFIED
Department of State Guidelines, July 21, 1997
By lt NARA, Date 05/30/23

sustained by an Allied response that began with the Berlin Airlift. Wise men named Truman and Eisenhower, Vandenberg and Rayburn . . . Acheson, Marshall and Dulles, crafted a strategy of containment. They believed that the Soviet Union, denied the easy course of external expansion, would ultimately have to face up to the contradictions of its inefficient, repressive and inhumane system.

We are entering a new age today because this strategy worked. This is not a mere propaganda victory. Our strategy worked because our ideas worked. The success of democratic capitalism is a tested reality that can no longer be credibly denied. So let me be blunt. **The era of containment is over. The transition to a new era -- an era of reconciliation has begun.**

No less an authority than President Gorbachev has said:
"XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX." Hungary, etc.

The world you will know in the next forty years will change in ways beyond our powers to imagine or predict. The pattern of the last forty years is no longer a guide. Like explorers, we must draft our own maps to chart the course of the future. We will not let our optimism succumb to world-weary cynicism; nor will we let our realism succumb to reckless idealism.

We must remember that though Soviet expansionism has been contained, the Soviet military threat has not diminished. In the last two decades, Soviet military power has increased across the spectrum, from regional conflicts to global military power. Now the Soviet Union has indicated an interest in rapprochement with Europe, the United States and the world order. But such a new relationship cannot be unilaterally declared or bestowed. It must be earned through the demilitarization of Soviet foreign policy, and observance of international norms the Soviet Union has treated with contempt since 1945. (Agreed to, but ignored.)

In this period of transition and uncertainty, we watch with hope for signs of that Soviet "new thinking" will lead to a new less militarized and safer relationship between the superpowers. These signs include:

*** Reduction to smaller and less threatening Soviet forces, until they are in proportion to legitimate security interests. ((or force less menacing to the West.))

*** Renunciation of the principle that class conflict is an inevitable source of international tension.

*** Adherence to the Soviet obligation that began in the ashes of World War Two to permit self-determination for the nations of East-Central Europe. Moscow must authoritatively

renounce the long-standing policy known as "The Brezhnev Doctrine" -- a standing contradiction to true self-determination.

*** Soviet foreign policy must be demilitarized. Soviet diplomacy must be dedicated to promoting peace, and curbing the spread of ballistic missile technology; nuclear, chemical and biological weapons; and terrorism.

*** Acceptance with the United States and the world community of responsibility for addressing pressing global problems, including the international trade in drugs, and dangers to the environment.

*** And, finally, the Soviet Union must institutionalize political pluralism and respect for human rights.

Until these conditions are met, the United States will keep its guard up. The purpose of our military might is not to put pressure on a weak Soviet economy, or to seek military superiority. We fully recognize that the encouraging trends of recent times are reversible. We will maintain a sufficient force to convince Moscow that nothing is to be gained by turning back to the failed policy of expansionism.

We will continue to seek verifiable arms-control agreements with the Soviet Union and its allies. But arms control is not an end in itself. This government seeks arms-control proposals that

are consistent with our overall defense strategy. We seek agreements that reduce numerical

I dream of the day when the lovely face of Europe is unscarred by barbed-wire and iron dragon's teeth. I dream of the day when Europeans can drive from Prague to the Normandy coast, through the "Chunnel" to London, without being stopped at a

single guard post. I dream of the day when the shadow of war will lift from the continent, and all the people of Europe will live in freedom.

Many remember and quote the famous utterance of Winston Churchill -- "The Soviet Union is an engima wrapped in a mystery." But few remember the rest of what Churchill said. "The key," said the Prime Minister, "is Russian national interest." It is in the national interest of the Soviet Union to come to terms with the world, to join us in the heights of achievement.

Never forget that the Russian majority of the Soviet Union is the same civilization that gave the world Pushkin and Tolstoy. The talent of the Soviet people, once unleashed, will again blossom into a thousand expressions of genius. The great soul of Russia, once rediscovered, will enrich the world.

Forty-three years ago, a young Lieutenant by the name of Albert Kotzebue, a Texas A&M xxxx, was the first American soldier to shake hands with the Soviets when the two armies met in Germany at the Elbe River. Once again, it is a time for peace. Once again, we extend our hand across the Elbe . . .

imagined during

3

~~ever dreamt in~~ the dark days of the Berlin Blockade, and struggle against aggression in Korea, the Soviet invasions of Hungary, Czechoslovakia or Afghanistan. Forty years of perseverance has brought us a precious opportunity. ~~We can now contemplate moving beyond containment to integrate the Soviet Union into the world family of nations.~~ Let a new era begin. Let it be an era of reconciliation . . .

But understand this -- the Soviet Union is changing its values. We are not. The Soviet Union has stood apart from -- and in opposition to -- the world. We have not. It is the Soviet Union which must reconcile itself to free values and free nations. If they do, we will welcome them with enthusiasm. In this way, the doctrine of reconciliation can succeed where the Spirit of Geneva and Detente failed.

The Soviet Union says it seeks to make peace with the world, and criticizes its own postwar policies. These are words we can only applaud. But a new relationship can not be simply declared by Moscow, or bestowed by others. [It must be earned through the demilitarization of Soviet foreign policy, and reinforced by behavior consistent with the principles of the U.N. charter subscribed to by the Soviets in 1945, and repeatedly violated in decades since.

Davis/Martin/Rice
Title: Aggie
May 7, 1989
Version: Three

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: TEXAS A&M COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS
FRIDAY, MAY 12, 1989/2 p.m.

Thank you. I am delighted to be back in College Station, among my fellow Texans and friends. ((And for those of you who are Democrats, there is no truth to the rumor that Phil Gramm and I are ready to take our Elephant Walk.))

My sincerest congratulations go to every graduate, and to your parents. In this ceremony, we celebrate nothing less than the commencement of the rest, and the best, of your life . . .

I remember when I graduated, in 1948, thrilled to be striking out on my own, driving my red Studebaker across the prairie roads. I didn't know exactly what I was looking for in Texas. But I did know one thing -- whatever I would do, whatever I would become, destiny was in **my** hands. Your dreams, your destiny, are now in **your** hands.

But dreams are hard won, and no generation can escape history. I came of age in mid-century, when America helped to win a war and rebuild the world. I, along with your parents and grandparents, witnessed the drama of a world torn by war, then

divided by Soviet subversion and force, but sustained by an Allied response most vividly seen in the Berlin Airlift. Wise men . . . Truman and Eisenhower, Vandenberg and Rayburn . . . Marshall, Acheson and Kennan, crafted a strategy of containment. They believed that the Soviet Union, denied the easy course of external expansion, would ultimately have to face up to the contradictions of its inefficient, repressive and inhumane system. And they were right.

The strategy of containment arose out of the ruins of a shattered continent, as the possibility of postwar cooperation with the Soviet Union fell away. It was replaced by a full awareness of the threat posed by a totalitarian and expansionist state with dominant military power. We bravely committed our might to shield the rebuilding of Europe, while aiding Western nations to reach the path of economic recovery, and then prosperity. We sought, in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East to protect the emergence of stable democracies from Soviet-backed coercion and intimidation.

We are entering a new age today because this strategy has worked. This has been no mere propaganda victory. Our strategy succeeded because our democratic principles, values and institutions prevailed. Our strategy worked because of the durability and unity of our alliances. The superiority of free

peoples and free markets over stagnant socialism is a truth that can no longer be credibly denied.

We approach the conclusion of a historic postwar struggle between two visions -- one of conflict and ideological conquest, and one of an international order composed of free and prosperous states. The wise policies of the past enable us to stand at the threshold of winning this struggle. The review of U.S.-Soviet relations that we have just completed shows that we can now embark on an agenda more ambitious than any my predecessors might have ever dreamed in the dark days of the Berlin Blockade, and the Soviet invasions of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan. Forty years of perseverance has brought us a precious opportunity. We can now move beyond containment. We can now move to fully integrate the Soviet Union into the international system.

The Soviet Union has said it seeks rapprochement with the international order, and has criticized its own postwar policies. These are words we can only applaud. But a new relationship can not be simply declared by Moscow, or bestowed by others. It must be **earned** through the demilitarization of Soviet foreign policy and reinforced by behavior consistent with the principles of the U.N. charter to which the Soviets subscribed in 1945, and have repeatedly violated.

Many times before, the Soviet Union has signaled a desire for a more cooperative relationship, only to reverse course and return to militarism. A weak Soviet Union sought cooperation in the early 1920s, only to become a garrison state under Stalin. The spirit of Geneva of the mid-1950s died an early death. And the promise of detente was broken by renewed Soviet expansionism.

We hope perestroika is leading the Soviet Union to an enduring break with the practices of the past. Who would have thought we would see the internal deliberations of the Central Committee on the front page of Pravda, or Andrei Sakharov seated near the councils of power? These are hopeful signs, and let no one doubt our sincere desire to see perestroika succeed. But our national security is not predicated on hope. It must be based on deeds. This time, we seek nothing less than the fundamental restructuring of Soviet behavior, institutions and military forces.

But if we are moving beyond containment, we are only at the beginning of the path toward the reconciliation of the Soviet Union with the international system. Many dangers and uncertainties lie ahead. We must not forget that the Soviet Union has been acquiring awesome military capabilities which support a foreign policy hostile to the West. That was a fact of life for my predecessors. And that is a fact of life for me.

As we seek peace, we must remain strong in a perilous world. We will not abandon a philosophy of peace through strength. The purpose of our military might is not to put pressure on a weak Soviet economy, or to seek military superiority. It is to defend ourselves, and to do something more -- to convince the Soviet Union that there can be no reward in pursuing expansionism . . . quite the contrary.

Western policies must be designed to encourage the evolution of the Soviet Union from a source of instability to a productive member of the family of nations. This task will require of us patience and creativity equal to that of the leaders of the early Alliance. Imagine what kind of world we could create, for you and your loved ones. I see a Europe, long divided and scarred by two world wars, at last healed -- where Eastern Europe, prosperous and free, is reconciled with its Western neighbors. I see a time when the Soviet Union makes the choice to abandon terrorist nations -- like Libya -- that threaten the legitimate security of their neighbors, and to join with those that seek to live in peace. I see a time when the great nations of Asia live in harmony -- when the Soviet Union has returned the Northern Territories of Japan, to undo an historic wrong.

In short, I see a world in which the Soviet Union is finally integrated as a productive member of the international community of states.

But to fulfill this vision, the Soviet Union must follow a clear path, including:

*** Reduction of Soviet forces to smaller and less threatening levels, until they are in proportion to their legitimate security needs.

*** Renunciation of the principle that class conflict is an inevitable source of international tension.

*** Adherence to the Soviet obligation -- promised in the final days of World War Two -- to permit self-determination for the nations of East-Central Europe.

*** An authoritative renunciation of the long-standing policy known as "The Brezhnev Doctrine," the excuse by which the Soviets have toppled governments, and cast a chilling shadow over Eastern Europe.

*** Joining the West in sincerely and objectively seeking settlements of regional disputes around the world. The Soviet Union should cease to undermine regional stability and join us in positive steps toward diplomatic solutions. A good first step would be an end to the Soviet and Cuban arms transfers that have militarized Central America.

*** Institutionalization of political pluralism and respect for human rights. Ultimately, our hopes for a more cooperative and sustainable relationship rests on democratization of the Soviet Union itself.

*** Reducing threats to the security of every nation from the spread of ballistic-missile technology; nuclear, chemical and biological weapons; and terrorism.

*** Acceptance with the United States and the world community responsibility for addressing pressing global problems, including the international drug menace, and dangers to the environment.

As the Soviet Union creates the conditions for reconciliation, they will find willing partners in the West.

The United States seeks verifiable arms-control agreements with the Soviet Union and its allies. We seek agreements that increase stability while reducing numerical levels of weapons. But arms control is not an end in itself. This government seeks arms-control proposals that are consistent with our overall defense strategy.

To this end, I directed Secretary Baker to propose to the Soviets that we resume negotiations on strategic forces and nuclear testing in June. I am pleased to announce that the Soviets have agreed. Strategic arms negotiations will resume in Geneva the week of June, 19; nuclear testing negotiations the following week.

I am not yet prepared to discuss the details of those negotiations; our review of the specifics of our arms control position is still continuing. Our approach, however, is clear. In the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks, we will seek to reduce the risk of nuclear war. In the companion Defense and Space Talks, our objective will be to preserve our options to deploy advanced defenses should they prove feasible. In nuclear testing we will continue to seek the necessary verification improvements in existing treaties so that they can be brought into force. Finally, we will continue to seek a global ban on chemical weapons, which must be effectively verified. Finally, we must support NATO efforts to reduce the Soviet armor threat in the negotiations on Conventional Forces in Europe.

In all these areas we will negotiate in good faith. We will not seek agreements for the sake of agreements. We will not compromise our basic principles. If the Soviets take a similar approach, we can move together to a safer, more stable world.

((Simple openness must be an essential principle of this transforming relationship. It has always been the guiding principle of the democracies, and we are pleased that the Soviet Union now says it seeks a new era of openness. But we will test their dedication to openness by proposing to make each nation ever more transparent to the other.

((Thirty-four years ago, President Eisenhower met in Geneva with Soviet leaders who, after the death of Stalin, promised a new approach to relations with the West. He proposed then a plan called "Open Skies," which would allow unarmed aircraft from the United States and the Soviet Union to conduct frequent reconnaissance flights over the territory of the other country. This would open up military activities to constant scrutiny and, as Eisenhower put it, "convince the world that we are . . . lessening danger and relaxing tension."

((Eisenhower's suggestion tested Soviet readiness to open their society. The Kremlin failed that test. I now renew the proposal, but on a broader, more intrusive and radical basis.

((I invite not only the Soviet Union, but also Moscow's allies in the Warsaw Pact, and our allies in the North Atlantic Alliance, to agree to open their skies and provide needed support facilities for the frequent conduct of unarmed aerial inspection flights over their territory by planes from the other side. We

suggest that those countries that wish to accept this invitation meet soon to work out the necessary technical details.

((Such flights, in unison with satellites, would provide constant scrutiny for both sides. And such unprecedented territorial access would show the world the meaning of the Western concept of openness -- a concept as central to Western values today as it was in Eisenhower's time.

((Why should we ask for half-measures? Let all the barriers come down. Open the skies, open the borders, open the airwaves . . . Let openness come to mean the publication and sale of Western books and newspapers in the Soviet Union. Let it come to mean nothing less than the free exchange of people, books and ideas between East and West.))

If the Soviet Union joins us in a more cooperative relationship, then our economic ties will surely broaden. American investment and commerce will grow if the Soviets create a domestic environment more congenial to free enterprise.

Until now, economic relations have been hindered by Soviet internal policies. They have also been injured by Moscow's practice of using the cloak of commerce to steal technology from the West. Ending discriminatory treatment of U.S. firms would be a helpful step. Trade and financial transactions must take place

on a normal commercial basis, without subsidies. ((And if the Soviet Union codifies emigration laws in accord with international standards, implements its new laws faithfully, and increases levels of emigration, I am prepared to work with Congress and the American people on a temporary waiver of the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which would give the Soviet Union access to Most Favored Nation status.))

We are at the beginning of our journey toward a better world. The day must come when Europe is united, when Europeans can drive from Moscow to the Normandy coast without seeing a single guard tower, or a single strand of barbed wire. The day must come when the voices of all Europeans can be heard in free elections. The day must come throughout the world when the first instinct is to settle regional disputes by mediation, not by violence.

Many quote Winston Churchill on the Soviet Union, who called it "a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma." As perestroika and glasnost progress, we hope that these words will come to describe a Soviet Union of a distant past. But much depends on the Soviet Union and its willingness to engage our challenge. This is a good time to remember the rest of what Churchill said. "The key" to the Soviet Union, said Churchill, is its "national interest." We hope to convince the leadership

of the Soviet Union that it is in their national interest to reconcile their system to the international community.

I recognize the extraordinarily ambitious character of the objectives I have described today. Our challenge today is unique. We must retain the strength that has kept the world at peace for a near half-century. But we must also be bold and imaginative. We must balance risk and opportunity, discretion and valor. To succeed, we only need the unity of the American people, a renewed bipartisan spirit and close cooperation between allies -- in short, the courage and goodwill of free peoples.

I am a man of this century. But the next century is for you, another American century in which you and your children can know a better world. Thank you for inviting me to Texas A&M, and I wish you the very best in the years to come.

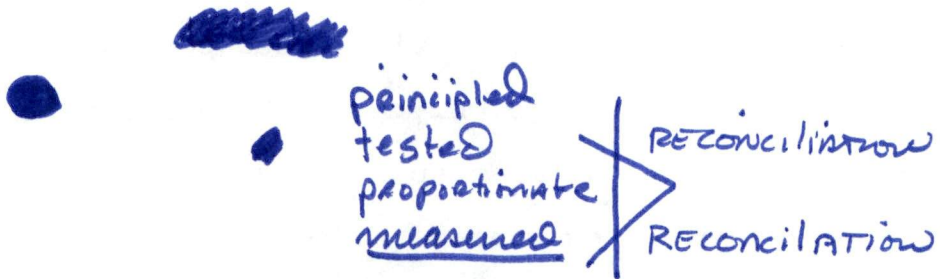
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- BACK INTO FOLD
- INCREMENTAL / TESTED / GUARDED

CONTAINMENT \longleftrightarrow



The era of containment is passing.
 A new era, ~~is~~ rich in opp, is before us.
 LET ~~IT BE AN ERA~~ IT BE AN ERA of
 guarded opt., of ~~new~~ tested RESULTS AND
 measured steps. But let it be an era of
 reconciliation.
 (above all,)

Dave

Davis/Martin/Rice
Title: Aggie
May 7, 1989
Version: Three

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: TEXAS A&M COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS
FRIDAY, MAY 12, 1989/2 p.m.

Thank you. I am delighted to be back in College Station, among my fellow Texans and friends. ((And for those of you who are Democrats, there is no truth to the rumor that Phil Gramm and I are ready to take our Elephant Walk.))

My sincerest congratulations go to every graduate, and to your parents. In this ceremony, we celebrate nothing less than the commencement of the rest, and the best, of your life . . .

I remember when I graduated, in 1948, thrilled to be striking out on my own, driving my red Studebaker across the prairie roads. I didn't know exactly what I was looking for in Texas. But I did know one thing -- whatever I would do, whatever I would become, destiny was in **my** hands. Your dreams, your destiny, are now in **your** hands.

But dreams are hard won, and no generation can escape history. I came of age in mid-century, when America helped to win a war and rebuild the world. I, along with your parents and grandparents, witnessed the drama of a world torn by war, then

divided by Soviet subversion and force, but sustained by an Allied response most vividly seen in the Berlin Airlift. Wise men . . . Truman and Eisenhower, Vandenberg and Rayburn . . . Marshall, Acheson and Kennan, crafted ^{the} a strategy of containment. They believed that the Soviet Union, denied the easy course of external expansion, would ultimately have to face up to the contradictions of its inefficient, repressive and inhumane system. And they were right.

The strategy of containment arose out of the ruins of a shattered continent, as the possibility of postwar cooperation with the Soviet Union ^{disappeared} fell away. It was ^{validated} replaced by a ^{the} full stark ^{recognition} awareness of the threat posed by a totalitarian and expansionist state with dominant military power. We bravely committed our might to shield the rebuilding of Europe, while aiding Western nations to reach the path of economic recovery, and then prosperity. We sought, in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East to protect the emergence of stable democracies from Soviet-backed coercion and intimidation.

Well today

containment

We are entering a new age today ^{because that} because this strategy has worked. If this has been no mere propaganda victory. Our strategy ^{worked} It succeeded because our democratic principles, values and institutions ^{are sound;} prevailed. Our strategy worked because of the ^{our alliances are} durability and unity of our alliances. ^{It worked because} The superiority of free ^{because}

united and

peoples and free markets over stagnant socialism is a truth that can no longer be credibly denied.

We approach the conclusion of a historic postwar struggle between two visions -- one of conflict and ideological conquest, and one of an international order composed of free and prosperous states. The wise policies of the past enable us to stand at the threshold of winning this struggle. The review of U.S.-Soviet relations that we have just completed shows that we can now embark on an agenda more ambitious than any ^{of} my predecessors might have ever dreamed in the dark days of the Berlin Blockade, and ^{or} the Soviet invasions of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan. Forty years of perseverance has brought us a precious opportunity. We can now move beyond containment. ^{to an era of} ~~We can now~~ ^{critical} ~~move to fully integrate the Soviet Union into the international~~ ^{careful} ~~system.~~

The Soviet Union has said it seeks rapprochement with the international order, and has criticized its own postwar policies. These are words we can only applaud. But a new relationship can not be simply declared by Moscow, or bestowed by others. It must be **earned** through the demilitarization of Soviet foreign policy and reinforced by behavior consistent with the principles of the U.N. charter to which the Soviets subscribed in 1945, and have repeatedly violated.

Many times before, the Soviet Union has signaled a desire for a more cooperative relationship, only to reverse course and return to militarism. ^{In the 1920's, the 50's, and again in the seventies} ~~A weak Soviet Union sought cooperation in the early 1920s, only to become a garrison state under Stalin. The spirit of Geneva of the mid-1950s died an early death. And the promise of detente was broken by renewed Soviet expansionism.~~

We hope perestroika is leading the Soviet Union to ~~an~~ ^a ~~enduring~~ break with the practices of the past. ^{an enduring break.} Who would have thought we would see the internal deliberations of the Central Committee on the front page of Pravda, or Andrei Sakharov seated near the councils of power? These are hopeful signs, and let no one doubt our sincere desire to see perestroika succeed. But our national security is not predicated on hope. It must be based on deeds. ^{therefore} ~~This time~~, we seek nothing less than the fundamental restructuring of Soviet behavior, institutions and military forces.

But if we are moving beyond containment, we are only at the beginning of the path toward the reconciliation of the Soviet Union with the international system. Many dangers and uncertainties lie ahead. We must not forget that the Soviet Union has been acquiring awesome military capabilities which support a foreign policy hostile to the West. That was a fact of life for my predecessors. And that is a fact of life for me.

As we seek peace, we must remain strong in a perilous world. We will not abandon a philosophy of peace through strength. The purpose of our military might is not to put pressure on a weak Soviet economy, or to seek military superiority. It is to defend ourselves, and to do something more -- to convince the Soviet Union that there can be no reward in pursuing expansionism . . . *and in fact* quite the contrary.

Western policies must be designed to encourage the evolution of the Soviet Union from a source of instability to a productive member of the family of nations. This task will require of us patience, ~~and creativity,~~ *and vision . . . vision to see* ~~equal to that of the leaders of the early Alliance.~~ *Imagine* what kind of world we could create, for you and your loved ones. I see a Europe, long divided and scarred by two world wars, at last healed -- where Eastern Europe, prosperous and free, is reconciled with its Western neighbors. I see a ~~time when the~~ Soviet Union *that* ~~makes the choice to~~ abandon terrorist nations -- like Libya -- that threaten the legitimate security of their neighbors, *see a Soviet Union that* ~~and to join~~ with those that seek to live in peace. I see ~~a time when~~ the great nations of Asia *living* in harmony -- when the Soviet Union has returned the Northern Territories of Japan, to undo an historic wrong.

In short, I see a world in which the Soviet Union is finally integrated as a productive member of the international community of states.

But to fulfill this vision, the Soviet Union must follow a clear path, including:

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*** Joining the West in sincerely and objectively seeking settlements of regional disputes around the world. The Soviet Union should cease to undermine regional stability and join us in positive steps toward diplomatic solutions. A good first step would be an end to the Soviet and Cuban arms transfers that have militarized Central America.

*** Institutionalization of political pluralism and respect for human rights. Ultimately, our hopes for a more cooperative and sustainable relationship rests on democratization of the Soviet Union itself.

*** Reducing threats to the security of every nation from the spread of ballistic-missile technology; nuclear, chemical and biological weapons; and terrorism.

*** Acceptance with the United States and the world community responsibility for addressing pressing global problems, including the international drug menace, and dangers to the environment.

As the Soviet Union creates the conditions for reconciliation, they will find willing partners in the West.

Let me tell you how we will respond.

The United States seeks verifiable arms-control agreements with the Soviet Union and its allies. We seek agreements that increase stability while reducing numerical levels of weapons. But arms control is not an end in itself. This government seeks arms-control proposals that are consistent with our overall defense strategy.

To this end, I directed Secretary Baker to propose to the Soviets that we resume negotiations on strategic forces and nuclear testing in June. I am pleased to announce that the Soviets have agreed. Strategic arms negotiations will resume in Geneva the week of June, 19; nuclear testing negotiations the following week.

~~I am not yet prepared to discuss the details of those negotiations; our review of the specifics of our arms control position is still continuing.~~ Our ^{basic} approach, ~~however,~~ is clear. In the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks, we will seek to reduce the risk of nuclear war. In the companion Defense and Space Talks, our objective will be to preserve our options to deploy advanced defenses should they prove feasible. In nuclear testing we will continue to seek the necessary verification improvements in existing treaties so that they can be brought into force. ~~Finally,~~ We will continue to seek a global ban on chemical weapons, which must be effectively verified. Finally, we must support NATO efforts to reduce the Soviet armor threat in the negotiations on Conventional Forces in Europe.

Critical reconciliation . . . these words will provide the tenor of our
~~In all these areas we will negotiate in good faith.~~ We will not seek agreements for the sake of agreements. We will not compromise our basic principles. ^{But} If the Soviets take a similar approach, we can move together to a safer, more stable world.

((Simple openness must be an essential principle of this transforming relationship. It has always been the guiding principle of the democracies, and we are pleased that the Soviet Union now says it seeks a new era of openness. ~~But we will test their dedication to openness by proposing to make each nation ever more transparent to the other.~~

We can institutionalize our dedication to openness... Start with open skies, more ^{open} airways, ^{open} borders, ^{reduced} immigration ^{policy} etc.

((Thirty-four years ago, President Eisenhower met in Geneva with Soviet leaders who, after the death of Stalin, promised a new approach to relations with the West. He proposed then a plan called "Open Skies," which would allow unarmed aircraft from the United States and the Soviet Union to conduct frequent reconnaissance flights over the territory of the other country. This would open up military activities to constant scrutiny and, as Eisenhower put it, "convince the world that we are . . . lessening danger and relaxing tension."

((Eisenhower's suggestion tested Soviet readiness to open their society. The Kremlin failed that test. I now renew the proposal, but on a broader, more intrusive and radical basis.

((I invite not only the Soviet Union, but also Moscow's allies in the Warsaw Pact, and our allies in the North Atlantic Alliance, to agree to open their skies and provide needed support facilities for the frequent conduct of unarmed aerial inspection flights over their territory by planes from the other side. We

suggest that those countries that wish to accept this invitation meet soon to work out the necessary technical details.

((Such flights, in unison with satellites, would provide constant scrutiny for both sides. And such unprecedented territorial access would show the world the meaning of the Western concept of openness -- a concept as central to Western values today as it was in Eisenhower's time.

((Why should we ask for half-measures? Let all the barriers come down. Open the skies, open the borders, open the airwaves . . . Let openness come to mean the publication and sale of Western books and newspapers in the Soviet Union. Let it come to mean nothing less than the free exchange of people, books and ideas between East and West.))

If the Soviet Union joins us in a more cooperative relationship, then our economic ties will surely broaden. American investment and commerce will grow if the Soviets create a domestic environment more congenial to free enterprise.

Until now, economic relations have been hindered by Soviet internal policies. They have also been injured by Moscow's practice of using the cloak of commerce to steal technology from the West. Ending discriminatory treatment of U.S. firms would be a helpful step. Trade and financial transactions must take place

on a normal commercial basis, without subsidies. ((And if the Soviet Union codifies emigration laws in accord with international standards, implements its new laws faithfully, and increases levels of emigration, I am prepared to work with Congress and the American people on a temporary waiver of the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which would give the Soviet Union access to Most Favored Nation status.))

We are at the beginning of our journey toward a better world. The day must come when Europe is united, when Europeans can drive from Moscow to the Normandy coast without seeing a single guard tower, or a single strand of barbed wire. The day must come when the voices of all Europeans can be heard in free elections. The day must come throughout the world when the first instinct is to settle regional disputes by mediation, not by violence.

Many quote Winston Churchill on the Soviet Union, who called it "a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma." As perestroika and glasnost progress, we hope that these words will come to describe a Soviet Union of a distant past. But much depends on the Soviet Union and its willingness to engage our challenge. This is a good time to remember the rest of what Churchill said. "The key" to the Soviet Union, said Churchill, is its "national interest." We hope to convince the leadership

of the Soviet Union that it is in their national interest to reconcile their system to the international community.

I recognize the extraordinarily ambitious character ^{of} ~~of the~~ *critical reconciliation* objectives I have described today. ~~Our challenge~~ ^{is challenge} today is unique. We must retain the strength that has kept the world at peace for a near half-century. But we must also be bold and imaginative. We must balance risk and opportunity, discretion and valor. To succeed, we only need the unity of the American people, a renewed bipartisan spirit and close cooperation between allies -- in short, the courage and goodwill of free peoples.

I am a man of this century. But the next century is for you, another American century in which you and your children can know a better world. Thank you for inviting me to Texas A&M, and I wish you the very best in the years to come.

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Davis/Martin/Rice
Title: Aggie
May 5, 1989
Version: Two

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: TEXAS A&M COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS
FRIDAY, MAY 12, 1989/2 p.m.

Thank you. I am delighted to be back in College Station, among my fellow Texans and friends. ((And for those of you who are Democrats, there is no truth to the rumor that Phil Gramm and I will later participate in an Elephant Walk.))

My sincerest congratulations go to every graduate, and to your parents. In this ceremony, we celebrate nothing less than the commencement of the rest, and the best, of your life . . .

I remember when I graduated, in 1948, thrilled to be striking out on my own, driving my red Studebaker across the prairie roads. I didn't know exactly what I was looking for in Texas. But I did know one thing -- whatever I would do, whatever I would become, destiny was in **my** hands. Your dreams, your destiny, are now in **your** hands, and this is an exciting -- even frightening -- realization.

But dreams are hard won, and no generation can escape history. I came of age in the mid-century of American greatness. I, along with your parents and grandparents, witnessed the drama

of a world torn by war, divided by Soviet subversion and force, but sustained by an Allied response that began with the Berlin Airlift. Wise men . . . Truman and Eisenhower, Vandenburg and Rayburn . . . ((Kennan?)) Acheson, Marshall and Dulles, crafted a strategy of containment. They believed that the Soviet Union, denied the easy course of external expansion, would ultimately have to face up to the contradictions of its inefficient, repressive and inhumane system. And they were right.

We are entering a new age today because this strategy works. This is no mere propaganda victory. Our strategy works because our principles, values and institutions work. Our strategy works because of the durability of the Alliance, and the unity of the Allies. The superiority of democratic capitalism over stagnant socialism is an idea tested by reality, a truth that can no longer be credibly denied.

Review We approach the conclusion of a historic struggle between two visions -- (one of an international order composed of free and prosperous states, (and one of conflict and ideological conquest. The wise policies of the past enable us to stand at the threshold of winning this struggle. We can embark on an agenda more ambitious than we might ever have dreamed in the dark days of the Berlin Blockade, and the Soviet invasions of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan. We can move, step by step, beyond containment to ~~seek to~~ integrate the Soviet Union into the

international system which it has sought to undermine, and from which it ^{STILL} stands apart.

The Soviet Union has said it seeks rapprochement with the international order, and has criticized its own post-war policies. These are words we can only applaud. But a new relationship can neither be simply declared by Moscow, or bestowed by others. It must be **earned** through the demilitarization of Soviet foreign policy and reinforced by behavior consistent with the principles to which the Soviets subscribed in 1945, and have repeatedly violated ever since.

Many times before, the Soviet Union has signaled a desire for a more cooperative relationship, only to reverse course and return to militarism. True, we hope the spirit of perestroika is leading Soviet Union to a true watershed. But our national security is not predicated on hope. It must be predicated on deeds. We seek the fundamental restructuring of Soviet institutions, behavior and military forces.

The transformation of the Soviet Union from a source of instability to a productive member of the family of nations is our long-term goal. To achieve this, will require patience and creativity equal to that of the leaders of the early Alliance. But imagine what kind of world we could create. Imagine an Eastern Europe that is reconciled to its Western neighbors.

Imagine a Soviet Union ideologically reconciled to the West. Imagine all nations peacefully conducting business under the banner of freedom.

To achieve this, the Soviets must boldly move forward. I call on the Soviets to:

*** Take a bold step, and reduce Soviet forces to smaller and less threatening levels, until they are in proportion to their legitimate security needs.

The United States, of course, will continue to seek verifiable arms-control agreements with the Soviet Union and its allies. We seek agreements that reduce numerical levels of weapons, and to exhibit those that remain. When weapons are visible, so are motives. So we seek to build confidence by making each nation "transparent" to the other. But arms control is not an end in itself. This government seeks arms-control proposals that are consistent with our overall defense strategy. ((Insert announcement of the setting of arms-control talks.))

*** The Soviets must take a bold step and adhere to the their obligation that dates from the final days of World War Two to permit self-determination for the nations of East-Central Europe. Moscow must authoritatively renounce the long-standing policy known as "The Brezhnev Doctrine." The United States will

not seek bilateral discussions with Moscow to agree on a new set of principles for the evolution of East-Central Europe. I simply challenge the Soviet Union to encourage freely contested elections in this region.

*** They must take a bold step and institutionalize political pluralism and respect for human rights. Until now, economic relations have been hindered by Soviet internal policies. But if the Soviet Union codifies emigration laws in accord with international standards, and maintains the current levels of immigration, I am prepared to work with Congress and the American people on a one-year waiver of the Jackson-Vanik amendment.

*** They must take a bold step and reduce threats to the security of every nation from the spread of ballistic-missile technology; nuclear, chemical and biological weapons; and terrorism.

*** They must take a bold step and renounce the principle that class conflict is an inevitable source of international tension. They must take a bold step out from under the shadow of a failed ideology, and into the broad daylight of modern life.

*** They must take a bold step and accept with the United States and the world community responsibility for addressing

pressing global problems, including the international drug menace, and dangers to the environment.

*** They must take a bold step, and settle regional disputes around the world. The Soviet Union should cease to undermine regional stability and join us in positive steps toward diplomatic solutions.

I challenge the Soviet Union to cease arms shipments to Nicaragua, and carry out its pledge to refrain from exporting revolution.

I challenge the Soviet Union to respect the legitimate security concerns of Israel and other Middle Eastern states by a restraining military assistance to Syria and Libya, and by vigorously opposing terrorism. Toward this end, the Soviet Union should recognize Israel.

I challenge the Soviet Union to demilitarize the Northern Territories of Japan, a start toward undoing a historic wrong. I challenge the Soviet Union to join the United States in seeking stability in the Persian Gulf, diminishing tensions on the Korean peninsula, encouraging Vietnam to withdraw expeditiously from Cambodia, limiting arms supplies to Angola and Ethiopia, and joining in the accelerated work on the Namibian accords.

But if we are moving beyond containment, we are still far from the day when the Soviet Union will be reconciled to the international system. We are only at the beginning of our path; and many dangers and uncertainties lie ahead. The world you will know in the next forty years will change in ways beyond our power to imagine. Like explorers, we must draft our own maps to chart the course of the future. But there are a few cardinal points by which we will navigate. Even as we seek peace, we must remain strong in a perilous world. We will not abandon a philosophy of peace through strength. The purpose of our military might is not to put pressure on a weak Soviet economy, or to seek military superiority. It is to defend ourselves, and to do something more -- to convince the Soviet Union that there is no point in turning back to expansionism.

But if the Soviet Union joins us in developing a more cooperative relationship, then our economic ties will surely broaden. American investment and commerce will grow if the Soviets create a domestic environment more congenial to free enterprise.

True, the prospects for a major expansion of U.S.-Soviet economic relations are limited, in part, by economic conditions in the Soviet Union. Nor will we relax export controls. The Soviets must refrain from using the cloak of commerce to steal technology and spy on the West. Trade and financial transactions

must take place on a normal commercial basis, without subsidies. And the Soviets must lift discriminatory treatment of U.S. firms. But the United States is ready to do business on a reciprocal basis.

Ultimately, our hopes for a more cooperative and sustainable relationship with the Soviet Union rests on democratization. We support perestroika. Where possible, the United States will promote democratic values and ideas within the Soviet Union -- not in the spirit of provocation or destabilization -- but to lay a firm foundation for better relations, and a planet at peace.

We imagine the day when the lovely face of Europe is unscarred by barbed-wire and brick walls. We imagine the day when Europeans can drive from Prague to the Normandy coast, and under the Channel to London, without being stopped at a single guard post. And we imagine the day when the shadow of war will lift from the world; and regional -- even local -- disputes will no longer be escalated by outside powers into bloody wars.

If we succeed, the peasant of El Salvador will no longer have to brave bullets to cast a ballot. The Dinka tribesman will no longer roam the Ethiopian desert, fleeing civil war only to find starvation. And the families of Beirut will emerge from their bunker-basements into the light of a new day.

Many quote the famous utterance of Winston Churchill on the Soviet Union, as a "a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma." But few remember the rest of what Churchill said. "The key" to the Soviet Union, said Churchill, is its "national interest." It is in the national interest of the Soviet Union today to open itself to the world, throw off the dead weight of excessive armament and join us in leading Mankind into a new millennium.

A new breeze is blowing. The talent of the Soviet people, once unleashed, will again blossom into a thousand expressions of genius. The great soul of that nation, once rediscovered, will enrich the world.

Forty-three years ago, a young Lieutenant by the name of Albert Kotzebue, a Texas A&M graduate, was the first American soldier to shake hands with Soviets when the allied armies met at the banks of the Elbe River at the end of World War Two. Once again, it is a time for peace. Once again, it is a time for bold steps. Once again, we extend our hand across the Elbe . . .

We do so for you, for the world you and your children will know. Thank you for inviting me to Texas A&M, and I wish you the very best in the years to come.

increase stability⁷ while reducing the agreements that reduce numerical levels of weapons, and to exhibit those that remain. When weapons are visible, so are motives. So we seek to build confidence by making each nation "transparent" to the other. But arms control is not an end in itself. This government seeks arms-control proposals that are consistent with our overall defense strategy. ((ARMS CONTROL

DATES ANNOUNCEMENT)) To this end the US + USSR will resume negotiations on next month on the Nuclear and Space Talks strategic arms ~~and~~ negotiations, and talks on nuclear testing limitations ~~the~~ next month.

If the Soviet Union joins us in developing a more cooperative relationship, then our economic ties will surely broaden. American investment and commerce will grow if the Soviets create a domestic environment more congenial to free enterprise.

We will continue to push hard for progress in the ongoing negotiations on conventional and chemical weapons.

True, the prospects for a major expansion of U.S.-Soviet economic relations are limited, in part, by economic conditions in the Soviet Union. Nor will we relax export controls. The Soviets must refrain from using the cloak of commerce to steal technology and spy on the West. Trade and financial transactions must take place on a normal commercial basis, without subsidies. And the Soviets must lift discriminatory treatment of U.S. firms.

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Congress and the American people on a ^{temporary} one-year waiver of the Jackson-Vanik amendment.

We support perestroika. The United States will support democratic values and ideas within the Soviet Union -- not in the spirit of provocation -- but to lay a firm foundation for better relations, and a planet at peace.

We are at the ~~very~~ beginning of our journey toward a better world. The day must come when the ~~levelly face~~ of Europe is unscarred by barbed-wire and brick walls. ^{The day must come when Europe is reunited} The day must come when

^{When} Europeans can drive from ~~Prague~~ ^{Western Moscow} to the Normandy coast, and under the Channel to London, without being stopped at a single guard ^{Since a single guard tower or single strand} post of barbed wire. ~~The day must come when~~ And the day must come when the shadow of war will lift from the world; and regional -- even local -- disputes will no longer be escalated by outside powers into bloody wars.

^{The day must come when} ~~All Europe~~ the voices of all Europeans can be heard in free elections.

If we succeed, the Nicaraguan will no longer live in fear of speaking his mind. The Dinka tribesman will no longer roam the Ethiopian desert, fleeing civil war only to find starvation. And the families of Beirut will emerge from their bunker-basements into the light of a new day.

One of my heroes ^{nee said} Many quote the famous utterance of Winston Churchill on the

Soviet Union, as ^{is} a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma." ^{As perestroika and glasnost progress these words may have will describe a Soviet} But few remember the rest of what Churchill said. "The ^{hopefully describe a Soviet Union of a distant past.}

^{That the} The day must come when ~~regional disputes~~ ^{disputes} when the just instinct will be to settle regional disputes by mediation, not by violence

key" to the Soviet Union, said Churchill, is its "national interest." It is in the national interest of the Soviet Union today to open itself to the world, throw off the dead weight of excessive armament and join us in leading Mankind into a new millennium.

*conveying
- Across the steppes + cities of the S.U.*

A new breeze is blowing. The talent of the Soviet people, once unleashed, will again blossom into a thousand expressions of genius, once rediscovered, will enrich the world.

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We do so for you, for the world you and your children will know. Thank you for inviting me to Texas A&M, and I wish you the very best in the years to come.

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Report to the President
1/12/89

Davis/Martin/Rice
Title: Aggie
May 5, 1989
Version: Two

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: TEXAS A&M COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS
FRIDAY, MAY 12, 1989/2 p.m.

Thank you. I am delighted to be back in College Station, among my fellow Texans and friends. ((And for those of you who are Democrats, there is no truth to the rumor that Phil Gramm and I will later participate in an Elephant Walk.))

My sincerest congratulations go to every graduate, and to your parents. In this ceremony, we celebrate nothing less than the commencement of the rest, and the best, of your life . . .

I remember when I graduated, in 1948, thrilled to be striking out on my own, driving my red Studebaker across the prairie roads. I didn't know exactly what I was looking for in Texas. But I did know one thing -- whatever I would do, whatever I would become, destiny was in **my** hands. Your dreams, your destiny, are now in **your** hands, and this is an exciting -- even frightening -- realization.

But Dreams are hard won, ~~and~~ *and no generation should wish to.* ~~in a~~ *in a* history, I came of age ~~in the mid~~ *in a* century of American greatness. I, along with your parents and grandparents, witnessed the drama

of a world torn by war, ^{then} divided by Soviet subversion and force, but sustained by an Allied response that began with the Berlin Airlift. Wise men . . . Truman and Eisenhower, Vandenberg ~~and Rayburn~~ . . . (~~Kenan?~~) Acheson, Marshall and Dulles, crafted a strategy of containment. ~~George Kennan's insight that to his long telegram~~ They believed that the Soviet Union, ~~which~~ denied the easy course of external expansion, would ultimately have to face up to the contradictions of its inefficient, repressive and inhumane system. And they were right.

[Handwritten scribble]

We are entering a new age today because this ^{has} strategy ^{has} worked. This ^{has been} ~~is~~ no mere propaganda victory. Our strategy ^{Succeeded} works because our ^{democratic} principles, values and institutions ^{prevailed,} ~~work~~. Our strategy ~~works~~ because of the durability of ^{+ unity our} the Alliance ^{system} and the ~~unity of the~~ ^{our system free peoples and free markets} Allies. The superiority of ~~democratic capitalism~~ over stagnant socialism is ~~an idea tested by reality,~~ a truth that can no longer be credibly denied.

We approach the conclusion of a historic ^{postwar} struggle between two visions -- one of conflict and ideological conquest, and one of an international order composed of free and prosperous states. The wise policies of the past enable us to stand at the threshold of winning this struggle. We can ^{now} embark on an agenda more ambitious than we might ever have dreamed in the dark days of the Berlin Blockade, and the Soviet invasions of Hungary,

Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan. We can move, step by step ^{through the rest of this century} beyond containment to seek to integrate the Soviet Union ^{fully} into the

*There are few
of us - Soviet
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international system which it has sought to undermine, ~~and from which it stands apart.~~ (A)

The Soviet Union has said it seeks rapprochement with the international order, and has criticized its own post-war policies. These are words we can only applaud. But a new relationship can neither be simply declared by Moscow, nor bestowed by others. It must be **earned** through the demilitarization of Soviet foreign policy and reinforced by behavior consistent with the principles to which the Soviets subscribed in 1945, and have repeatedly violated ~~ever~~ since.

Many times before, the Soviet Union has signaled a desire for a more cooperative relationship, only to reverse course and return to militarism. True, we hope the spirit of perestroika is leading Soviet Union to a true watershed. ~~But~~ our national security is not predicated on hope. It must be based on deeds. We seek nothing less ^{this time} than the fundamental restructuring of Soviet institutions, behavior and military forces.

But if we are moving beyond containment, ~~we are still far~~ ~~from the day when the Soviet Union will be reconciled to the~~ ~~international system.~~ ~~We are only~~ ^{we are only} at the beginning of our path; and many dangers and uncertainties lie ahead. ~~The world you will know in the next forty years will change in ways beyond our power to imagine.~~ Like explorers, we must draft our own maps to chart

WJK + coop
1920s
SARALSON
50s
Ghana/
Berlin crisis
Promise
détente
1950s

For far hopes
described

~~the course of the future. But there are a few cardinal points by which we will navigate.~~ Even^A as we seek peace, we must remain strong in a perilous world. We will not abandon a philosophy of peace through strength. The purpose of our military might is not to put pressure on a weak Soviet economy, or to seek military superiority. It is to defend ourselves, and to do something more -- to convince the Soviet Union that there is no point in turning back to expansionism. ~~Q~~

To achieve the

~~The~~ transformation of the Soviet Union from a source of instability to a productive member of the family of nations is ~~our long-term goal.~~ To achieve this, will require patience and creativity equal to that of the leaders of the early Alliance. But imagine what kind of world we could create. ~~(*)~~ I see a Europe, long divided and scarred by two world wars, at last healed -- where Eastern Europe, prosperous and free, is reconciled to its Western neighbors. I see a time when the Soviet Union makes the choice to abandon terrorist nations -- like Syria, like Libya, like Iran -- that threaten the legitimate security of their neighbors, and to join with those that seek to live in peace. I see a time when the great nations of Asia live in harmony -- when the Soviet Union has returned the Northern Territories of Japan, to undo an historic wrong. ~~Africa, Korea~~

I see a world in which Soviet ~~domestic institutions,~~
~~military forces and diplomacy have been so fundamentally~~
~~transformed that the Soviet Union, itself, can at last be-~~
 is finally
 reconciled to the international community of states.

~~It is~~ ^{It is} clear ~~what steps~~ ^{what steps} the Soviets must undertake to
 achieve this, ~~the Soviets must boldly move forward.~~ I
~~call on them to:~~ They must:

*** ~~Take a bold step,~~ ^{They must} and reduce Soviet forces to smaller
 and less threatening levels, until they are in proportion to
 their legitimate security needs.

3 *** The Soviets must ~~take a bold step and~~ adhere to the
 their obligation that dates from the final days of World War Two
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 Europe. Moscow must authoritatively renounce the long-standing
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 political pluralism and respect for human rights.
 Ultimately, our hopes for a more cooperative and sustainable
 relationship rests on democratization of the Soviet Union itself.

6
 *** They must ~~take a bold step and~~ reduce threats to the security of every nation from the spread of ballistic-missile technology; nuclear, chemical and biological weapons; and terrorism.

7
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1
 *** They must ~~take a bold step and~~ accept with the United States and the world community responsibility for addressing pressing global problems, including the international drug menace, and dangers to the environment.

4
 *** They must ~~take a bold step, and settle~~ ^{help ameliorate} regional disputes around the world. The Soviet Union should cease to undermine regional stability and join us in positive steps toward diplomatic solutions.

If the Soviet Union is ready to create the conditions for reconciliation, we are ready to take a few ~~bold steps of our own~~ ^{stand as a willing partner} and our allies are ^{seeker to be partners.} ~~bold steps of our own.~~

The United States ~~will continue to seek~~ ^{Seeks} verifiable arms-control agreements with the Soviet Union and its allies. We seek

Davis/Martin/Rice
Title: Aggie
May 5, 1989
Version: ~~Two~~ **THREE**

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: TEXAS A&M COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS
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I remember when I graduated, in 1948, thrilled to be striking out on my own, driving my red Studebaker across the prairie roads. I didn't know exactly what I was looking for in Texas. But I did know one thing -- whatever I would do, whatever I would become, destiny was in **my** hands. Your dreams, your destiny, are now in **your** hands.

But dreams are hard won, and no generation can escape history. I came of age in mid-century, when America helped to win a war and rebuild the world. I, along with your parents and grandparents, witnessed the drama of a world torn by war, then

divided by Soviet subversion and force, but sustained by an Allied response ~~best~~ ^(MOST VIVIDLY) seen in the Berlin Airlift. Wise men . . . Truman and Eisenhower, Vandenberg and Rayburn . . . Marshall, Acheson, Kennan and Dulles, crafted a strategy of containment. They believed that the Soviet Union, denied the easy course of external expansion, would ultimately have to face up to the contradictions of its inefficient, repressive and inhumane system. And they were right.

We are entering a new age today because this strategy has worked. This has been no mere propaganda victory. Our strategy succeeded because our democratic principles, values and institutions prevailed. Our strategy worked because of the durability and unity of our alliances. The superiority of free peoples and free markets over stagnant socialism is a truth that can no longer be credibly denied.

We approach the conclusion of a historic postwar struggle between two visions -- one of conflict and ideological conquest, and one of an international order composed of free and prosperous states. The wise policies of the past enable us to stand at the threshold of winning this struggle. The review of U.S.-Soviet relations that we have just completed shows that we can now embark on an agenda more ambitious than any my predecessors might have ever dreamed in the dark days of the Berlin Blockade, and the Soviet invasions of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan.

^{know}
We can move, step by step through the rest of the century, beyond containment to seek to integrate the Soviet Union fully into the international system.

The Soviet Union has said it seeks rapprochement with the international order, and has criticized its own postwar policies. These are words we can only applaud. But a new relationship can not be simply declared by Moscow, or bestowed by others. It must be **earned** through the demilitarization of Soviet foreign policy and reinforced by behavior consistent with the principles of the U.N. charter to which the Soviets subscribed in 1945, and have repeatedly violated.

Many times before, the Soviet Union has signaled a desire for a more cooperative relationship, only to reverse course and return to militarism. A weak Soviet Union sought cooperation in the early 1920s, only to become a garrison state under Stalin. ^(in the mid-1950s) The spirit of Geneva died an early death. And the promise of detente was broken by renewed Soviet expansionism.

True, we hope ~~the spirit of~~ perestroika is leading the Soviet Union to an enduring break with the practices of the past. Who would have thought we would see the internal deliberations of the Central Committee on the front page of Pravda, or Andrei Sakharov seated near the councils of power? These are hopeful signs, and let no one doubt our sincere desire to see perestroika

succeed. But our national security is not predicated on hope. It must be based on deeds. This time, we seek nothing less than the fundamental restructuring of Soviet behavior, institutions and military forces.

But if we are moving beyond containment, we are only at the beginning of ^{the} our path toward the reconciliation of the Soviet Union with the international system. Many dangers and uncertainties lie ahead. We must not forget that over the last two decades the Soviet Union has acquired awesome military capabilities that supports a foreign policy that consistently opposes Western interests. That was a fact of life ~~in 1980~~ ^{in 1975}. And that is a fact of life ~~in 1989~~ ^{For me}.
 for my predecessor

As we seek peace, we must remain strong in a perilous world. We will not abandon a philosophy of peace through strength. The purpose of our military might is not to put pressure on a weak Soviet economy, or to seek military superiority. It is to defend ourselves, and to ~~do~~ ^{do} something more -- to convince the Soviet Union that there is no point in turning back to expansionism.

~~West. policies that ensure~~
 To ~~achieve~~ ^{achieve} this transformation ^{of} the Soviet Union from a source of instability to a productive member of the family of nations will require patience and creativity equal to that of the leaders of the early Alliance. Imagine what kind of world we could create, for you and your loved ones. I see a Europe, long

divided and scarred by two world wars, at last healed -- where Eastern Europe, prosperous and free, is reconciled with its Western neighbors. I see a time when the Soviet Union makes the choice to abandon terrorist nations -- like Libya, like Iran -- that threaten the legitimate security of their neighbors, and to join with those that seek to live in peace. I see a time when the great nations of Asia live in harmony -- when the Soviet Union has returned the Northern Territories of Japan, to undo an historic wrong.

In short, I see a world in which the Soviet Union is finally reconciled to the international community of states.

But to fulfill this vision, the Soviet Union must follow a clear path.

*** They must reduce Soviet forces to smaller and less threatening levels, until they are in proportion to their legitimate security needs.

*** They must renounce the principle that class conflict is an inevitable source of international tension.

*** The Soviets must adhere to their obligation that dates from the final days of World War Two to permit self-determination for the nations of East-Central Europe.

*** Moscow must authoritatively renounce the long-standing policy known as "The Brezhnev Doctrine."

*** They must join the West in seeking settlements of regional disputes around the world. The Soviet Union should cease to undermine regional stability and join us in positive steps toward diplomatic solutions. A good first step would be an end to the Soviet arms ~~contributions~~ ^{TRANSFERS} that have militarized Central America. ↗

*** They must institutionalize political pluralism and respect for human rights. Ultimately, our hopes for a more cooperative and sustainable relationship rests on democratization of the Soviet Union itself.

*** They must reduce threats to the security of every nation from the spread of ballistic-missile technology; nuclear, chemical and biological weapons; and terrorism.

*** They must accept with the United States and the world community responsibility for addressing pressing global problems, including the international drug menace, and dangers to the environment.

As the Soviet Union creates the conditions for reconciliation, they will find willing partners in the West.

((The Soviet Union now says it embraces the vital principle of openness. We will test their dedication to openness by proposing to make each nation ^{ever more} transparent to the other.

((Thirty-four years ago, President Eisenhower met in Geneva with Soviet leaders who, after the death of Stalin, promised a new approach to relations with the West. He proposed then a plan called "Open Skies," which would allow unarmed aircraft from the United States and the Soviet Union to conduct frequent reconnaissance flights over the territory of the other country. This would open up military activities to constant scrutiny and, as Eisenhower put it, "convince the world that we are . . . lessening danger and relaxing tension."

((Eisenhower's suggestion tested Soviet readiness to open their society. The Kremlin failed that test. I now renew the challenge, but on a broader, more intrusive and radical basis.

((I invite not only the Soviet Union, but also Moscow's allies in the Warsaw Pact, and our allies in the North Atlantic Alliance, to agree to open their skies and provide needed support facilities for the frequent conduct of unarmed aerial inspection flights over their territory by planes from the other side. We

suggest that those countries that wish to accept this invitation meet soon to work out the necessary technical details.

((Such flights, in unison with satellites, would provide constant scrutiny for both sides. And such unprecedented territorial access would show the world the meaning of the word openness.))

Western word concept of meaning of the West.

↳ that has changed in the four decades since the meaning to which we remained a concept as central to West. values today as it was in Eisen.'s time.

The United States seeks verifiable arms-control agreements with the Soviet Union and its allies. We seek agreements that increase stability while reducing numerical levels of weapons. But arms control is not an end in itself. This government seeks arms-control proposals that are consistent with our overall defense strategy. ~~((ARMS CONTROL DATES ANNOUNCEMENT))~~

at this

((To this end, the United States and the Soviet Union will resume negotiations and talks on strategic forces and nuclear testing limitations next month. We will ^{also} continue to push hard for progress in the ongoing negotiations on conventional and chemical weapons.))

→ A

If the Soviet Union joins us in a more cooperative relationship, then our economic ties will surely broaden. American investment and commerce will grow if the Soviets create a domestic environment more congenial to free enterprise.

Until now, economic relations have been hindered by Soviet internal policies. ~~It has~~ ^{They have} also been injured by Moscow's practice of using the cloak of commerce to steal technology from the West. The Soviets must lift discriminatory treatment of U.S. firms. Trade and financial transactions must take place on a normal commercial basis, without subsidies. ((And if the Soviet Union codifies emigration laws in accord with international standards, implements its new laws faithfully, and increases levels of emigration, I am prepared to work with Congress and the American people on a temporary waiver of the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which would give the Soviet Union access to Most Favored Nation status.))

We are at the beginning of our journey toward a better world. The day must come when Europe is united, when Europeans can drive from Moscow to the Normandy coast without seeing a single guard tower, or a single strand of barbed wire. The day ^(come) must when the voices of all Europeans can be heard in free elections. The day must come throughout the world when the first instinct is to settle regional disputes by mediation, not by violence.

Many quote Winston Churchill on the Soviet Union, who called it "a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma." As perestroika and glasnost progress, we hope that these words will come to describe a Soviet Union of a distant past. But much

depends on the Soviet Union and its willingness to engage our challenge. This is a good time to remember the rest of what Churchill said. "The key" to the Soviet Union, said Churchill, is its "national interest." We hope to convince the leadership of the Soviet Union that it is in their national interest to reconcile their system to the international community.

I recognize the extraordinarily ambitious character of the objectives I have described today. Our success in achieving the integration of the Soviet Union ^{to} the international system -- a goal the United States will pursue into the next century -- depends on the unity of the American people, ~~and~~ a renewed bipartisan spirit, and the closest possible cooperation of our allies.

I am a man of this century. But the next century ^{is} yours, ^{for} ~~in which~~ you and your children ^{to} ~~can~~ know a better world, ^{Another} ~~another~~ ^{Amer. century,} ~~American century.~~ Thank you for inviting me to Texas A&M, and I wish you the very best in the years to come.

#

Davis/Martin/Rice
Title: Aggie
May 5, 1989
Version: *Two three*

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: TEXAS A&M COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS
FRIDAY, MAY 12, 1989/2 p.m.

Thank you. I am delighted to be back in College Station, among my fellow Texans and friends. ((And for those of you who are Democrats, there is no truth to the rumor that Phil Gramm and I will later participate in an Elephant Walk.))

My sincerest congratulations go to every graduate, and to your parents. In this ceremony, we celebrate nothing less than the commencement of the rest, and the best, of your life . . .

I remember when I graduated, in 1948, thrilled to be striking out on my own, driving my red Studebaker across the prairie roads. I didn't know exactly what I was looking for in Texas. But I did know one thing -- whatever I would do, whatever I would become, destiny was in **my** hands. Your dreams, your destiny, are now in **your** hands, and this is an exciting -- even frightening -- realization.

But dreams are hard won, and no generation can escape history. I came of age in the mid-century of American greatness. I, along with your parents and grandparents, witnessed the drama

of a world torn by war, divided by Soviet subversion and force, but sustained by an Allied response that began with the Berlin Airlift. Wise men . . . Truman and Eisenhower, Vandenburg and Rayburn . . . ((Kennan?)) Acheson, Marshall and Dulles, crafted a strategy of containment. They believed that the Soviet Union, denied the easy course of external expansion, would ultimately have to face up to the contradictions of its inefficient, repressive and inhumane system. And they were right.

We are entering a new age today because this strategy works. This is no mere propaganda victory. Our strategy works because our principles, values and institutions work. Our strategy works because of the durability of the Alliance, and the unity of the Allies. The superiority of democratic capitalism over stagnant socialism is an idea tested by reality, a truth that can no longer be credibly denied.

We approach the conclusion of a historic struggle between two visions -- one of conflict and ideological conquest, and one of an international order composed of free and prosperous states. The wise policies of the past enable us to stand at the threshold of winning this struggle. We can embark on an agenda more ambitious than we might ever have dreamed in the dark days of the Berlin Blockade, and the Soviet invasions of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan. We can move, step by step, beyond containment to seek to integrate the Soviet Union into the

international system which it has sought to undermine, and from which it stands apart.

The Soviet Union has said it seeks rapprochement with the international order, and has criticized its own post-war policies. These are words we can only applaud. But a new relationship can neither be simply declared by Moscow, or bestowed by others. It must be **earned** through the demilitarization of Soviet foreign policy and reinforced by behavior consistent with the principles to which the Soviets subscribed in 1945, and have repeatedly violated ever since.

Many times before, the Soviet Union has signaled a desire for a more cooperative relationship, only to reverse course and return to militarism. *True, we support perestroika, in the hope of the spirit* True, ~~we hope the spirit of perestroika~~ is leading Soviet Union to a true watershed. But our national security is not predicated on hope. It must be based on deeds. We seek nothing less than the fundamental restructuring of Soviet institutions, behavior and military forces.

~~But~~ *I* If we are moving beyond containment, we are still far from the day when the Soviet Union will be reconciled to the international system. We are only at the beginning of our path; and many dangers and uncertainties lie ahead. The world you will know in the next forty years will change in ways beyond our power to imagine. Like explorers, we must draft our own maps to chart

the course of the future. But there are a few cardinal points by which we will navigate. Even as we seek peace, we must remain strong in a perilous world. We will not abandon a philosophy of peace through strength. The purpose of our military might is not to put pressure on a weak Soviet economy, or to seek military superiority. It is to defend ourselves, and to do something more -- to convince the Soviet Union that there is no point in turning ~~back~~ ^{Re} to expansionism.

The transformation of the Soviet Union from a source of instability to a productive member of the family of nations is our long-term goal. To achieve this, will require patience and creativity equal to that of the leaders of the early Alliance. But imagine what kind of world we could create. I see a Europe, long divided and scarred by two world wars, at last healed -- where Eastern Europe, prosperous and free, is reconciled to its Western neighbors. I see a time when the Soviet Union makes the choice to abandon terrorist nations -- like Syria, like Libya, like Iran -- that threaten the legitimate security of their neighbors, and to join with those that seek to live in peace. I see a time when the great nations of Asia live in harmony -- when the Soviet Union has returned the Northern Territories of Japan, to undo an historic wrong.

I see a world in which Soviet domestic institutions, military forces and diplomacy have been so fundamentally transformed that the Soviet Union ~~it~~ itself, can at last be reconciled to the international community of states.

To achieve this, the Soviets must boldly move forward. I call on them to:

*** Take a bold step, and reduce Soviet forces to smaller and less threatening levels, until they are in proportion to their legitimate security needs.

*** The Soviets must take a bold step and adhere to the their obligation that dates from the final days of World War Two to permit self-determination for the nations of East-Central Europe. Moscow must authoritatively renounce the long-standing policy known as "The Brezhnev Doctrine." The United States will not seek bilateral discussions with Moscow to agree on a new set of principles for the evolution of East-Central Europe. We simply challenge the Soviet Union to encourage freely contested elections in this region.

*** They must take a bold step and institutionalize political pluralism and respect for human rights. Ultimately, our hopes for a more cooperative and sustainable relationship rests on democratization of the Soviet Union itself.

*** They must take a bold step and reduce threats to the security of every nation from the spread of ballistic-missile technology; nuclear, chemical and biological weapons; and terrorism.

*** They must take a bold step and renounce the principle that class conflict is an inevitable source of international tension. They must take a bold step out from under the shadow of a failed ideology, and into the broad daylight of modern life.

*** They must take a bold step and accept with the United States and the world community responsibility for addressing pressing global problems, including the international drug menace, and dangers to the environment.

*** They must take a bold step, and settle regional disputes around the world. The Soviet Union should cease to undermine regional stability and join us in positive steps toward diplomatic solutions.

If the Soviet Union is ready to create ~~the~~ ^{those} conditions for reconciliation, we are ready to take a few bold steps of our own.

The United States will continue to seek verifiable arms-control agreements with the Soviet Union and its allies. We seek

agreements that reduce numerical levels of weapons, and to exhibit those that remain. When weapons are visible, so are motives. So we seek to build confidence by making each nation "transparent" to the other. But arms control is not an end in itself. This government seeks arms-control proposals that are consistent with our overall defense strategy. ((ARMS CONTROL DATES ANNOUNCEMENT))

If the Soviet Union joins us in developing a more cooperative relationship, then our economic ties will surely broaden. American investment and commerce will grow if the Soviets create a domestic environment more congenial to free enterprise.

True, the prospects for a major expansion of U.S.-Soviet economic relations are limited, in part, by economic conditions in the Soviet Union. Nor will we relax export controls. The Soviets must refrain from using the cloak of commerce to steal technology and spy on the West. Trade and financial transactions must take place on a normal commercial basis, without subsidies. And the Soviets must lift discriminatory treatment of U.S. firms.

Until now, economic relations have been hindered by Soviet internal policies. But if the Soviet Union codifies emigration laws in accord with international standards, and maintains the current levels of immigration, I am prepared to work with

LONG VERSION

To this end, I directed Secretary Baker to propose to the Soviets that we resume negotiations on strategic forces and nuclear testing in June. I am pleased to announce that the Soviets have agreed. Strategic arms negotiations will resume in Geneva the week of June 19; nuclear testing negotiations the following week.

I am not yet prepared to discuss the details of those negotiations; our review of the specifics of our arms control position is still continuing. Our basic approach, however is clear. In the Strategic Arms Reductions Talks, we will seek to reduce the risk of nuclear war. In the companion Defense and Space Talks, our objective will be to preserve our options to deploy advanced defenses should they prove feasible. In nuclear testing we will continue to seek the necessary verification improvements in existing treaties so that they can be brought into force. Finally, we will continue to seek a global, effectively verifiable ban on chemical weapons production and stockpiling and to support NATO efforts to reduce the Soviet armor threat in the Conventional Forces in Europe negotiations.

In all these areas we will negotiate in good faith, patiently and seriously. We will not seek agreements for agreements sake, nor compromise our basic principles. If the Soviets take a similar approach, we can move together to a safer, more stable world for us and for our allies.

SHORTER VERSION

To this end, I directed Secretary Baker to propose to the Soviets that we resume negotiations on strategic forces and nuclear testing in June. I am pleased to announce that the Soviets have agreed. Strategic arms negotiations will resume in Geneva the week of June 19; nuclear testing negotiations the following week.

I am not yet prepared to discuss the details of those negotiations; our review of the specifics of our arms control position is still continuing. Our basic approach, however is clear: we will seek to reduce the risk of nuclear war, to preserve our options to deploy advanced defenses should they prove feasible, and to improve verification of existing treaties on nuclear testing.

In those talks we will negotiate in good faith, patiently and seriously. We will not seek agreements for agreements sake, nor compromise our basic principles. Our basic approach will be to reduce the risk of war and move toward a safer, more stable world for us and for our allies.

SHORTEST VERSION

To this end, I directed Secretary Baker to propose to the Soviets that we resume negotiations on strategic forces and nuclear testing in June. I am pleased to announce that the Soviets have agreed. Strategic arms negotiations will resume in Geneva the week of June 19; nuclear testing negotiations the following week.

In those talks we will negotiate in good faith, patiently and seriously. We will not seek agreements for agreements sake, nor compromise our basic principles. Our basic approach will be to reduce the risk of war and move toward a safer, more stable world for us and for our allies.

The strategy of containment evolved as, amid the ruins of a shattered continent, the ~~illusion~~ possibility of cooperation with ~~the~~ post-war victorious Soviet Union fell away, replaced by full awareness of the threat posed by the dominant military power on the Eurasian landmass, with its totalitarian direction and expansionist objectives. We committed our power to shield the rebuilding of the continent, while aiding Western nations to reach the path of economic recovery, then prosperity. We ~~have~~ sought, in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, to protect the emergence of stable democracies from Soviet-backed coercion and intimidation. Ultimately we ~~have~~ counted on the persuasive force of our example and our ideas because, as Kennan wrote in his famous 1947 essay, "to avoid destruction the United States need only measure up to its own best traditions and prove itself worthy of preservation as a great nation."

possibility
post-war

Europe,

Latin America

Davis/Martin/Rice
Title: Aggie
May 7, 1989
Version: Three

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: TEXAS A&M COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS
FRIDAY, MAY 12, 1989/2 p.m.

Thank you. I am delighted to be back in College Station, among my fellow Texans and friends. ((And for those of you who are Democrats, there is no truth to the rumor that Phil Gramm and I ~~will later participate in an~~ *are ready to take on* Elephant Walk.))

My sincerest congratulations go to every graduate, and to your parents. In this ceremony, we celebrate nothing less than the commencement of the rest, and the best, of your life . . .

I remember when I graduated, in 1948, thrilled to be striking out on my own, driving my red Studebaker across the prairie roads. I didn't know exactly what I was looking for in Texas. But I did know one thing -- whatever I would do, whatever I would become, destiny was in **my** hands. Your dreams, your destiny, are now in **your** hands.

But dreams are hard won, and no generation can escape history. I came of age in mid-century, when America helped to win a war and rebuild the world. I, along with your parents and grandparents, witnessed the drama of a world torn by war, then

divided by Soviet subversion and force, but sustained by an Allied response most vividly seen in the Berlin Airlift. Wise men . . . Truman and Eisenhower, Vandenberg and Rayburn . . . Marshall, Acheson, Kennan and ~~Dulles~~ crafted a strategy of containment. They believed that the Soviet Union, denied the easy course of external expansion, would ultimately have to face up to the contradictions of its inefficient, repressive and inhumane system. And they were right.

What containment was. 40 yr policy

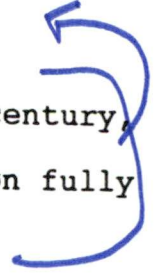
*more over -
Containment what
the word,
using the policy for
40 years*

We are entering a new age today because this strategy has worked. This has been no mere propaganda victory. Our strategy succeeded because our democratic principles, values and institutions prevailed. Our strategy worked because of the durability and unity of our alliances. The superiority of free peoples and free markets over stagnant socialism is a truth that can no longer be credibly denied.

We approach the conclusion of a historic postwar struggle between two visions -- one of conflict and ideological conquest, and one of an international order composed of free and prosperous states. The wise policies of the past enable us to stand at the threshold of winning this struggle. The review of U.S.-Soviet relations that we have just completed shows that we can now embark on an agenda more ambitious than any my predecessors might have ever dreamed in the dark days of the Berlin Blockade, and the Soviet invasions of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan.

We can now move, step by step through the rest of the century, beyond containment to seek to integrate the Soviet Union fully into the international system.

punch up



needs more legitimacy

The Soviet Union has said it seeks rapprochement with the international order, and has criticized its own postwar policies. These are words we can only applaud. But a new relationship can not be simply declared by Moscow, or bestowed by others. It must be **earned** through the demilitarization of Soviet foreign policy and reinforced by behavior consistent with the principles of the U.N. charter to which the Soviets subscribed in 1945, and have repeatedly violated.

Many times before, the Soviet Union has signaled a desire for a more cooperative relationship, only to reverse course and return to militarism. A weak Soviet Union sought cooperation in the early 1920s, only to become a garrison state under Stalin. The spirit of Geneva of the mid-1950s died an early death. And the promise of detente was broken by renewed Soviet expansionism.

[True] we hope perestroika is leading the Soviet Union to an enduring break with the practices of the past. Who would have thought we would see the internal deliberations of the Central Committee on the front page of Pravda, or Andrei Sakharov seated near the councils of power? These are hopeful signs, and let no one doubt our sincere desire to see perestroika succeed. But our

national security is not predicated on hope. It must be based on deeds. This time, we ^{look for} [seek] nothing less than the fundamental restructuring of Soviet behavior, institutions and military forces.

But if we are moving beyond containment, we are only at the beginning of the path toward the reconciliation of the Soviet Union with the international system. Many dangers and uncertainties lie ahead. We must not forget that [over the last two decades] the Soviet Union has ^{been} ^{increasing} acquired awesome military capabilities ^{which} [that] supports a foreign policy that consistently opposes Western interests. That was a fact of life for my predecessors. And that is a fact of life for me.

As we seek peace, we must remain strong in a perilous world. We will not abandon a philosophy of peace through strength. The purpose of our military might is not to put pressure on a weak Soviet economy, or to seek military superiority. It is to defend ourselves, and to do something more -- to convince the Soviet Union that there ^{can be no rewards in pursuing} [is no point in turning back to] expansionism -- ^{quite the contrary.}

Western policies must ^{be designed to} encourage the [transformation] ^{evolution} of the Soviet Union from a source of instability to a productive member of the family of nations. This task will require of us patience and creativity equal to that of the leaders of the early Alliance. Imagine what kind of world we could create, for you

and your loved ones. I see a Europe, long divided and scarred by two world wars, at last healed -- where Eastern Europe, prosperous and free, is reconciled with its Western neighbors. I see a time when the Soviet Union makes the choice to abandon terrorist nations -- like Libya, ~~[like Iran]~~ -- that threaten the legitimate security of their neighbors, and to join with those that seek to live in peace. I see a time when the great nations of Asia live in harmony -- when the Soviet Union has returned the Northern Territories of Japan, to undo an historic wrong.

In short, I see a world in which the Soviet Union is finally *integrated as a productive member of* [reconciled to] the international community of states.

But to fulfill this vision, the Soviet Union must follow a clear path. *That path includes*

*** *Reduction of* [They must reduce] Soviet forces to smaller and less threatening levels, until they are in proportion to their legitimate security needs.

*** [They must] *renounce* the principle that class conflict is an inevitable source of international tension.

*** [The Soviets must] *adhere to* their obligation *-- promised in* [that dates from] the final days of World War Two, to permit self-determination for the nations of East-Central Europe.

An authoritative renunciation of
 *** [Moscow must authoritatively renounce] the long-standing policy known as "The Brezhnev Doctrine." *which . . . (say what it is)*

joining
 *** [They must join] *sincerely and objectively* the West in seeking settlements of regional disputes around the world. The Soviet Union should cease to undermine regional stability and join us in positive steps toward diplomatic solutions. A good first step would be an end to the Soviet *and Cuban* arms transfers that have militarized Central America.

*** [They must institutionalize] political pluralism and respect for human rights. Ultimately, our hopes for a more cooperative and sustainable relationship rests on democratization of the Soviet Union itself.

*** [They must reduce] threats to the security of every nation from the spread of ballistic-missile technology; nuclear, chemical and biological weapons; and terrorism.

*** [They must accept] with the United States and the world community responsibility for addressing pressing global problems, including the international drug menace, and dangers to the environment.

As the Soviet Union creates the conditions for reconciliation, they will find willing partners in the West.

The United States seeks verifiable arms-control agreements with the Soviet Union and its allies. We seek agreements that increase stability while reducing numerical levels of weapons. But arms control is not an end in itself. This government seeks arms-control proposals that are consistent with our overall defense strategy.

START

((To this end, the United States and the Soviet Union will resume negotiations and talks on strategic forces and nuclear testing limitations next month. We will also continue to push hard for progress in the ongoing negotiations on conventional and chemical weapons.))

tie opening to reconstr S.U.

One of the essentials in this improved relationship would be the principle of openness. ((The Soviet Union now says it embraces the vital principle of openness. We will test their dedication to openness by proposing to make each nation ever more transparent to the other.

((Thirty-four years ago, President Eisenhower met in Geneva with Soviet leaders who, after the death of Stalin, promised a new approach to relations with the West. He proposed then a plan called "Open Skies," which would allow unarmed aircraft from the United States and the Soviet Union to conduct frequent reconnaissance flights over the territory of the other country.

This would open up military activities to constant scrutiny and, as Eisenhower put it, "convince the world that we are . . . lessening danger and relaxing tension."

U.S.S.R.

((Eisenhower's suggestion tested Soviet readiness to open their society. The Kremlin failed that test. I now renew the challenge, but on a broader, more intrusive and radical basis. *proposal*)

((I invite not only the Soviet Union, but also Moscow's allies in the Warsaw Pact, and our allies in the North Atlantic Alliance, to agree to open their skies and provide needed support facilities for the frequent conduct of unarmed aerial inspection flights over their territory by planes from the other side. We suggest that those countries that wish to accept this invitation meet soon to work out the necessary technical details.

((Such flights, in unison with satellites, would provide constant scrutiny for both sides. And such unprecedented territorial access would show the world the meaning of the Western concept of openness -- a concept as central to Western values today as it was in Eisenhower's time.))

people, ideas, info

LET THE BARRIERS COME DOWN

other kinds of openness - open air-ways, open free ideas, free trans. Why not U.S. newspapers in S.U.

If the Soviet Union joins us in a more cooperative relationship, then our economic ties will surely broaden. American investment and commerce will grow if the Soviets create a domestic environment more congenial to free enterprise.

Until now, economic relations have been hindered by Soviet internal policies. They have also been injured by Moscow's practice of using the cloak of commerce to steal technology from the West. ~~The Soviets must lift~~ ^{ENDING} discriminatory treatment of U.S. firms. ^{would be a helpful step.} Trade and financial transactions must take place on a normal commercial basis, without subsidies. ((And if the Soviet Union codifies emigration laws in accord with international standards, implements its new laws faithfully, and increases levels of emigration, I am prepared to work with Congress and the American people on a temporary waiver of the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which would give the Soviet Union access to Most Favored Nation status.))

We are at the beginning of our journey toward a better world. The day must come when Europe is united, when Europeans can drive from Moscow to the Normandy coast without seeing a single guard tower, or a single strand of barbed wire. The day must come when the voices of all Europeans can be heard in free elections. The day must come throughout the world when the first instinct is to settle regional disputes by mediation, not by violence.

Many quote Winston Churchill on the Soviet Union, who called it "a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma." As perestroika and glasnost progress, we hope that these words will

come to describe a Soviet Union of a distant past. But much depends on the Soviet Union and its willingness to engage our challenge. This is a good time to remember the rest of what Churchill said. "The key" to the Soviet Union, said Churchill, is its "national interest." We hope to convince the leadership of the Soviet Union that it is in their national interest to reconcile their system to the international community.

I recognize the extraordinarily ambitious character of the objectives I have described today. Our success in achieving the integration of the Soviet Union into the international system -- a goal the United States will pursue into the next century -- depends on the unity of the American people, a renewed bipartisan spirit and the closest possible cooperation of our allies.

I am a man of this century. But the next century is for you, another American century in which you and your children can know a better world. Thank you for inviting me to Texas A&M, and I wish you the very best in the years to come.

challenge now (which elements stay, and which go.)
 balance of risk + oppor.
 some will argue transformed world line,
 # # #

our challenge to attain mix of strength
 + imaginative efforts - that won't be easy

* MARKS/DITS

BEYOND CONTAINMENT
CONTAINMENT EVOLVING

Davis/Martin/Rice
Title: Aggie
May 7, 1989
Version: Three

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: TEXAS A&M COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS
FRIDAY, MAY 12, 1989/2 p.m.

Thank you. I am delighted to be back in College Station, among my fellow Texans and friends. ((And for those of you who are Democrats, there is no truth to the rumor that Phil Gramm and I will later participate in an Elephant Walk.))

My sincerest congratulations go to every graduate, and to your parents. In this ceremony, we celebrate nothing less than the commencement of the rest, and the best, of your life . . .

I remember when I graduated, in 1948, thrilled to be striking out on my own, driving my red Studebaker across the prairie roads. I didn't know exactly what I was looking for in Texas. But I did know one thing -- whatever I would do, whatever I would become, destiny was in **my** hands. Your dreams, your destiny, are now in **your** hands.

But dreams are hard won, and no generation can escape history. I came of age in mid-century, when America helped to win a war and rebuild the world. I, along with your parents and grandparents, witnessed the drama of a world torn by war, then

divided by Soviet subversion and force, but sustained by an Allied response most vividly seen in the Berlin Airlift. Wise men . . . Truman and Eisenhower, Vandenberg and Rayburn . . . Marshall, Acheson, Kennan and Dulles, crafted a strategy of containment. They believed that the Soviet Union, denied the easy course of external expansion, would ultimately have to face up to the contradictions of its inefficient, repressive and inhumane system. And they were right.

We are entering a new age today because this strategy has worked. This has been no mere propaganda victory. Our strategy succeeded because our democratic principles, values and institutions prevailed. Our strategy worked because of the durability and unity of our alliances. The superiority of free peoples and free markets over stagnant socialism is a truth that can no longer be credibly denied.

We approach the conclusion of a historic postwar struggle between two visions -- one of conflict and ideological conquest, and one of an international order composed of free and prosperous states. The wise policies of the past enable us to stand at the threshold of winning this struggle. The review of U.S.-Soviet relations that we have just completed shows that we can now embark on an agenda more ambitious than any my predecessors might have ever dreamed in the dark days of the Berlin Blockade, and the Soviet invasions of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan.

We can now move, step by step through the rest of the century, beyond containment to seek to integrate the Soviet Union fully into the international system.

The Soviet Union has said it seeks rapprochement with the international order, and has criticized its own postwar policies. These are words we can only applaud. But a new relationship can not be simply declared by Moscow, or bestowed by others. It must be **earned** through the demilitarization of Soviet foreign policy and reinforced by behavior consistent with the principles of the U.N. charter to which the Soviets subscribed in 1945, and have repeatedly violated.

Many times before, the Soviet Union has signaled a desire for a more cooperative relationship, only to reverse course and return to militarism. A weak Soviet Union sought cooperation in the early 1920s, only to become a garrison state under Stalin. The spirit of Geneva of the mid-1950s died an early death. And the promise of detente was broken by renewed Soviet expansionism.

True, we hope perestroika is leading the Soviet Union to an enduring break with the practices of the past. Who would have thought we would see the internal deliberations of the Central Committee on the front page of Pravda, or Andrei Sakharov seated near the councils of power? These are hopeful signs, and let no one doubt our sincere desire to see perestroika succeed. But our

national security is not predicated on hope. It must be based on deeds. This time, we seek nothing less than the fundamental restructuring of Soviet behavior, institutions and military forces.

But if we are moving beyond containment, we are only at the beginning of the path toward the reconciliation of the Soviet Union with the international system. Many dangers and uncertainties lie ahead. We must not forget that over the last two decades the Soviet Union has acquired awesome military capabilities ^{to} that supports a ^{hostile} foreign policy ~~that consistently opposes Western interests~~. That was a fact of life for my predecessors. And that is a fact of life for me.

As we seek peace, we must remain strong in a perilous world. We will not abandon a philosophy of peace through strength. The purpose of our military might is not to put pressure on a weak Soviet economy, or to seek military superiority. It is to defend ourselves, and to do something more -- to convince the Soviet Union that there is no point in turning back to expansionism.

Western policies must encourage the transformation of the Soviet Union from a source of instability to a productive member of the family of nations. This task will require of us patience and creativity equal to that of the leaders of the early Alliance. Imagine what kind of world we could create, for you

and your loved ones. I see a Europe, long divided and scarred by two world wars, at last healed -- where Eastern Europe, prosperous and free, is reconciled with its Western neighbors. I see a time when the Soviet Union makes the choice to abandon terrorist nations -- like Libya, like Iran -- that threaten the legitimate security of their neighbors, and to join with those that seek to live in peace. I see a time when the great nations of Asia live in harmony -- when the Soviet Union has returned the Northern Territories of Japan, to undo an historic wrong.

In short, I see a world in which the Soviet Union is finally reconciled to the international community of states.

But to fulfill this vision, the Soviet Union must follow a clear path.

*** They must reduce Soviet forces to smaller and less threatening levels, until they are in proportion to their legitimate security needs.

*** They must renounce the principle that class conflict is an inevitable source of international tension.

*** The Soviets must adhere to their obligation that dates from the final days of World War Two to permit self-determination for the nations of East-Central Europe.

*** Moscow must authoritatively renounce the long-standing policy known as "The Brezhnev Doctrine."

*** They must join the West in seeking settlements of regional disputes around the world. The Soviet Union should cease to undermine regional stability and join us in positive steps toward diplomatic solutions. A good first step would be an end to the Soviet arms transfers that have militarized Central America.

*** They must institutionalize political pluralism and respect for human rights. Ultimately, our hopes for a more cooperative and sustainable relationship rests on democratization of the Soviet Union itself.

*** They must reduce threats to the security of every nation from the spread of ballistic-missile technology; nuclear, chemical and biological weapons; and terrorism.

*** They must accept with the United States and the world community responsibility for addressing pressing global problems, including the international drug menace, and dangers to the environment.

As the Soviet Union creates the conditions for reconciliation, they will find willing partners in the West.

The United States seeks verifiable arms-control agreements with the Soviet Union and its allies. We seek agreements that increase stability while reducing numerical levels of weapons. But arms control is not an end in itself. This government seeks arms-control proposals that are consistent with our overall defense strategy.

((To this end, the United States and the Soviet Union will resume negotiations and talks on strategic forces and nuclear testing limitations next month. We will also continue to push hard for progress in the ongoing negotiations on conventional and chemical weapons.))

((The Soviet Union now says it embraces the vital principle of openness. We will test their dedication to openness by proposing to make each nation ever more transparent to the other.

((Thirty-four years ago, President Eisenhower met in Geneva with Soviet leaders who, after the death of Stalin, promised a new approach to relations with the West. He proposed then a plan called "Open Skies," which would allow unarmed aircraft from the United States and the Soviet Union to conduct frequent reconnaissance flights over the territory of the other country.

This would open up military activities to constant scrutiny and, as Eisenhower put it, "convince the world that we are . . . lessening danger and relaxing tension."

((Eisenhower's suggestion tested Soviet readiness to open their society. The Kremlin failed that test. I now renew the challenge, but on a broader, more intrusive and radical basis.

((I invite not only the Soviet Union, but also Moscow's allies in the Warsaw Pact, and our allies in the North Atlantic Alliance, to agree to open their skies and provide needed support facilities for the frequent conduct of unarmed aerial inspection flights over their territory by planes from the other side. We suggest that those countries that wish to accept this invitation meet soon to work out the necessary technical details.

((Such flights, in unison with satellites, would provide constant scrutiny for both sides. And such unprecedented territorial access would show the world the meaning of the Western concept of openness -- a concept as central to Western values today as it was in Eisenhower's time.))

If the Soviet Union joins us in a more cooperative relationship, then our economic ties will surely broaden. American investment and commerce will grow if the Soviets create a domestic environment more congenial to free enterprise.

must take place on a normal commercial basis, without subsidies. And the Soviets must lift discriminatory treatment of U.S. firms. But the United States is ready to do business on a reciprocal basis.

Ultimately, our hopes for a more cooperative and sustainable relationship with the Soviet Union rests on democratization. We support perestroika. Where possible, the United States will promote democratic values and ideas within the Soviet Union -- not in the spirit of provocation or destabilization -- but to lay a firm foundation for better relations, and a planet at peace.

We imagine the day when the lovely face of Europe is unscarred by barbed-wire and brick walls. We imagine the day when Europeans can drive from Prague to the Normandy coast, and under the Channel to London, without being stopped at a single guard post. And we imagine the day when the shadow of war will lift from the world; and regional -- even local -- disputes will no longer be escalated by outside powers into bloody wars.

If we succeed, the peasant of El Salvador will no longer have to brave bullets to cast a ballot. The Dinka tribesman will no longer roam the Ethiopian desert, fleeing civil war only to find starvation. And the families of Beirut will emerge from their bunker-basements into the light of a new day.

Until now, economic relations have been hindered by Soviet internal policies. They have also been injured by Moscow's practice of using the cloak of commerce to steal technology from the West. The Soviets must lift discriminatory treatment of U.S. firms. Trade and financial transactions must take place on a normal commercial basis, without subsidies. ((And if the Soviet Union codifies emigration laws in accord with international standards, implements its new laws faithfully, and increases levels of emigration, I am prepared to work with Congress and the American people on a temporary waiver of the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which would give the Soviet Union access to Most Favored Nation status.))

We are at the beginning of our journey toward a better world. The day must come when Europe is united, when Europeans can drive from Moscow to the Normandy coast without seeing a single guard tower, or a single strand of barbed wire. The day must come when the voices of all Europeans can be heard in free elections. The day must come throughout the world when the first instinct is to settle regional disputes by mediation, not by violence.

Many quote Winston Churchill on the Soviet Union, who called it "a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma." As perestroika and glasnost progress, we hope that these words will

Many quote the famous utterance of Winston Churchill on the Soviet Union, as a "a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma." But few remember the rest of what Churchill said. "The key" to the Soviet Union, said Churchill, is its "national interest." It is in the national interest of the Soviet Union today to open itself to the world, throw off the dead weight of excessive armament and join us in leading Mankind into a new millennium.

A new breeze is blowing. The talent of the Soviet people, once unleashed, will again blossom into a thousand expressions of genius. The great soul of that nation, once rediscovered, will enrich the world.

Forty-three years ago, a young Lieutenant by the name of Albert Kotzebue, a Texas A&M graduate, was the first American soldier to shake hands with Soviets when the allied armies met at the banks of the Elbe River at the end of World War Two. Once again, it is a time for peace. Once again, it is a time for bold steps. Once again, we extend our hand across the Elbe . . .

We do so for you, for the world you and your children will know. Thank you for inviting me to Texas A&M, and I wish you the very best in the years to come.

come to describe a Soviet Union of a distant past. But much depends on the Soviet Union and its willingness to engage our challenge. This is a good time to remember the rest of what Churchill said. "The key" to the Soviet Union, said Churchill, is its "national interest." We hope to convince the leadership of the Soviet Union that it is in their national interest to reconcile their system to the international community.

I recognize the extraordinarily ambitious character of the objectives I have described today. Our success in achieving the integration of the Soviet Union into the international system -- a goal the United States will pursue into the next century -- depends on the unity of the American people, a renewed bipartisan spirit and the closest possible cooperation of our allies.

I am a man of this century. But the next century is for you, another American century in which you and your children can know a better world. Thank you for inviting me to Texas A&M, and I wish you the very best in the years to come.

#

Davis/Martin/Rice
Title: Aggie
May 5, 1989
Version: Two

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: TEXAS A&M COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS
FRIDAY, MAY 12, 1989/2 p.m.

Thank you. I am delighted to be back in College Station, among my fellow Texans and friends. ((And for those of you who are Democrats, there is no truth to the rumor that Phil Gramm and I will later participate in an Elephant Walk.))

My sincerest congratulations go to every graduate, and to your parents. In this ceremony, we celebrate nothing less than the commencement of the rest, and the best, of your life . . .

I remember when I graduated, in 1948, thrilled to be striking out on my own, driving my red Studebaker across the prairie roads. I didn't know exactly what I was looking for in Texas. But I did know one thing -- whatever I would do, whatever I would become, destiny was in **my** hands. Your dreams, your destiny, are now in **your** hands, and this is an exciting -- even frightening -- realization.

Dreams are hard won, and no generation can escape history -- or wish to. I came of age in mid-century, the height of American greatness. I, along with your parents and grandparents,

witnessed the drama of a world torn by war, then divided by Soviet subversion and force, but sustained by an Allied response that began with the Berlin Airlift. Wise men . . . Truman and Eisenhower, Vandenburg and Rayburn . . . Acheson, Marshall and Dulles, crafted a strategy of containment. They believed that the Soviet Union, denied the easy course of external expansion, would ultimately have to face up to the contradictions of its inefficient, repressive and inhumane system. And they were right.

We are entering a new age today because this strategy has worked. This has been no mere propaganda victory. Our strategy succeeded because our democratic principles, values and institutions prevailed. Our strategy worked because of the durability and unity of our alliances. The superiority of free peoples and free markets over stagnant socialism is an idea tested by reality, a truth that can no longer be credibly denied.

We approach the conclusion of a historic postwar struggle between two visions -- one of conflict and ideological conquest, and one of an international order composed of free and prosperous states. The wise policies of the past enable us to stand at the threshold of winning this struggle. The review of U.S.-Soviet relations that we have just completed shows that we can embark on an agenda more ambitious than we might ever have dreamed in the dark days of the Berlin Blockade, and the Soviet invasions of

Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan. We can move, step by step through the rest of the century, beyond containment to seek to integrate the Soviet Union fully into the international system.

The Soviet Union has said it seeks rapprochement with the international order, and has criticized its own post-war policies. These are words we can only applaud. But a new relationship can neither be simply declared by Moscow, or bestowed by others. It must be **earned** through the demilitarization of Soviet foreign policy and reinforced by behavior consistent with the principles to which the Soviets subscribed in 1945, and have repeatedly violated since.

Many times before, the Soviet Union has signaled a desire for a more cooperative relationship, only to reverse course and return to militarism. A weak Soviet Union sought cooperation in the early 1920s, only to become a garrison state under Stalin. The spirit of Geneva died an early death in the Berlin crisis. And the promise of detente was broken by renewed Soviet expansionism. True, we hope the spirit of perestroika is leading Soviet Union to a true watershed. Who would have thought we would see Central Committee speeches on the front page of Pravda, or Andrei Sakharov seated near the councils of power. These are hopeful signs, and let no one doubt our sincere desire to see perestroika succeed. But our national security is not predicated

on hope. It must be based on deeds. This time, we seek nothing less than the fundamental restructuring of Soviet institutions, behavior and military forces.

But if we are moving beyond containment, we are only at the beginning of our path toward the reconciliation of the Soviet Union with the international system. Many dangers and uncertainties lie ahead. As we seek peace, we must remain strong in a perilous world. We will not abandon a philosophy of peace through strength. The purpose of our military might is not to put pressure on a weak Soviet economy, or to seek military superiority. It is to defend ourselves, and to do something more -- to convince the Soviet Union that there is no point in turning back to expansionism.

To achieve this transformation of the Soviet Union from a source of instability to a productive member of the family of nations will require patience and creativity equal to that of the leaders of the early Alliance. But imagine what kind of world we could create. I see a Europe, long divided and scarred by two world wars, at last healed -- where Eastern Europe, prosperous and free, is reconciled to its Western neighbors. I see a time when the Soviet Union makes the choice to abandon terrorist nations -- like Syria, like Libya, like Iran -- that threaten the legitimate security of their neighbors, and to join with those that seek to live in peace. I see a time when the great nations

of Asia live in harmony -- when the Soviet Union has returned the Northern Territories of Japan, to undo an historic wrong.

I see a world in which the Soviet Union is finally reconciled to the international community of states.

The path Soviet Union must travel is clear. They must:

*** They must reduce Soviet forces to smaller and less threatening levels, until they are in proportion to their legitimate security needs.

*** They must renounce the principle that class conflict is an inevitable source of international tension. They must step out from under the shadow of a failed ideology, and into the broad daylight of modern life.

*** The Soviets must adhere to their obligation that dates from the final days of World War Two to permit self-determination for the nations of East-Central Europe. Moscow must authoritatively renounce the long-standing policy known as "The Brezhnev Doctrine."

*** They must join us in seeking settlements of regional disputes around the world. The Soviet Union should cease to

undermine regional stability and join us in positive steps toward diplomatic solutions.

*** They must institutionalize political pluralism and respect for human rights. Ultimately, our hopes for a more cooperative and sustainable relationship rests on democratization of the Soviet Union itself.

*** They must reduce threats to the security of every nation from the spread of ballistic-missile technology; nuclear, chemical and biological weapons; and terrorism.

*** They must accept with the United States and the world community responsibility for addressing pressing global problems, including the international drug menace, and dangers to the environment.

If the Soviet Union is ready to create the conditions for reconciliation, we and our Allies are eager to be partners.

The United States seeks verifiable arms-control agreements with the Soviet Union and its allies. We seek agreements that increase stability while reducing numerical levels of weapons. We seek to build confidence by making each nation "transparent" to the other. ((OPEN SKIES)) But arms control is not an end in itself. This government seeks arms-control proposals that are

consistent with our overall defense strategy. ((ARMS CONTROL DATES ANNOUNCEMENT))

To this end, the United States and the Soviet Union will resume negotiations and talks on nuclear testing limitations next month. We will continue to push hard for progress in the ongoing negotiations on conventional and chemical weapons.

If the Soviet Union joins us in a more cooperative relationship, then our economic ties will surely broaden. American investment and commerce will grow if the Soviets create a domestic environment more congenial to free enterprise.

Until now, economic relations have been hindered by Soviet internal policies. It has been hindered by Moscow's practice of using the cloak of commerce to steal technology from the West. Trade and financial transactions must take place on a normal commercial basis, without subsidies. The Soviets must lift discriminatory treatment of U.S. firms. And if the Soviet Union codifies emigration laws in accord with international standards, implements its new laws faithfully, and increases levels of emigration, I am prepared to work with Congress and the American people on a temporary waiver of the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which would give to the Soviet Union access to Most Favored Nation status. Freer trade with the Soviet Union is conditional on many things, including the free emigration of peoples.

We are at the beginning of our journey toward a better world. The day must come when the face of Europe is unscarred by barbed-wire and brick walls. The day must come when Europe is reunited, when Europeans can drive from Moscow to the Normandy coast without seeing a single guard tower, or a single strand of barbed wire. The day must when the voices of all Europeans can be heard in free elections. The day must come when the first instinct is to settle regional disputes by mediation, not by violence.

Many quote Winston Churchill on the Soviet Union, who called it "a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma." As perestroika and glasnost progress, we hope that these words will come to describe a Soviet Union of a distant past. But much depends on the Soviet Union and its willingness to engage our challenge. This is a good time to remember the rest of what Churchill said. "The key" to the Soviet Union, said Churchill, is its "national interest." It is in the national interest of the Soviet Union today to reconcile itself and its goals to those of the international community.

I recognize the extraordinarily ambitious character of the objectives I have described today. Our success in achieving the reconciliation of the Soviet Union to the international system -- a goal the United States will pursue into the next century --

depends on the unity of the American people, and an renewed bipartisan spirit, and the closest possible cooperation of our allies.

We do so for you, for the world you and your children will know. Thank you for inviting me to Texas A&M, and I wish you the very best in the years to come.

#

Open Skies paragraphs for a Presidential speech

I have already described the common values that bind together the Atlantic community of nations. Those unused to the freedoms we take for granted often find the most striking feature of our societies to be our basic openness. They find this openness everywhere; in our legislatures, in our newspapers, in our libraries. Without this openness our democratic institutions could not work. It is therefore natural that this openness has long been a feature of our policy toward other countries as well. We are open about the size and nature of our diplomatic and military establishments, open about the amount of our defense spending, and open in allowing debate and discussion about our policies.

The Soviet Union now says it ~~also~~ embraces this vital principle of openness. They call it 'glasnost' (quote from Gorbachev on how crucial glasnost is) ~~and wish to explore the limits of this new thinking.~~ Thirty-four years ago, President Eisenhower met in Geneva with Soviet leaders who, after the death of Stalin, promised a new approach to relations with the West. He proposed then a plan called "open skies," an idea to allow unarmed aircraft from the United States, and the USSR, to conduct frequent reconnaissance flights over the territory of the other country. This would open up military activities to constant scrutiny and, as Eisenhower put it, "convince the world that we are ... lessening danger and relaxing tension."

Eisenhower's suggestion tested Soviet readiness to open their society. The Kremlin failed the test. The proposal became a footnote in the history books. I now renew the challenge, and broaden it. ~~I will not rest until the challenge is met.~~ *I now renew the challenge, ~~but~~ but on a broader, more intensive + RASDAL.*

I invite not only the Soviet Union, but also Moscow's allies in the Warsaw Pact, and our allies in the North Atlantic Alliance to agree to open their skies, and provide needed support facilities, for the frequent conduct of unarmed aerial inspection flights over their territory by planes from the other side. We suggest that those countries ~~who~~ wish to accept this invitation meet soon to work out the necessary technical details.

Much has changed over the last four decades. Yet our fundamental vision for global peace, shared by our allies, has remained constant. As in 1955, in 1945, this country believes that peace and prosperity are founded on freedom, that closed societies are never at ease in a relation with open ones. The Soviet leaders have said they are ready to leave behind their country's historic, pervasive, fear of outside scrutiny. We offer them a path to move them closer to this goal.

Openness
Satellites & aircraft constant scrutiny (Comp. picture)
Another symbol of new era of

was than the 1950's



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0.5.))

Davis/Martin/Rice
Title: Aggie
May 5, 1989
Version: Two

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: TEXAS A&M COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS
FRIDAY, MAY 12, 1989/2 p.m.

Thank you. I am delighted to be back in College Station,
among my fellow Texans and friends. ((And for those of you who
are Democrats, there is no truth to the rumor that Phil Gramm and
I will later participate in an Elephant Walk.))

My sincerest congratulations go to every graduate, and to
your parents. In this ceremony, we celebrate nothing less than
the commencement of the rest, and the best, of your life . . .

I remember when I graduated, in 1948, thrilled to be
striking out on my own, driving my red Studebaker across the
prairie roads. I didn't know exactly what I was looking for in
Texas. But I did know one thing -- whatever I would do, whatever
I would become, destiny was in **my** hands. Your dreams, your
destiny, are now in **your** hands, and this is an exciting -- even
frightening -- realization.

help win
American ~~was~~ a war, + was
challenged to rebuild the world

Dreams are hard won, but ~~no generation can escape history.~~
I came of age in mid-century, ~~a time when American~~ ~~the height of American greatness.~~

I, along with your parents and grandparents, witnessed the drama



of a world torn by war, then divided by Soviet subversion and force, but sustained by an Allied response ^(DRAMA) that began with the Berlin Airlift. Wise men . . . Truman and Eisenhower, Vandenberg and Rayburn . . . Acheson, Marshall and Dulles, crafted a strategy of containment. They believed that the Soviet Union, denied the easy course of external expansion, would ultimately have to face up to the contradictions of its inefficient, repressive and inhumane system. And they were right.

We are entering a new age today because this strategy has worked. This has been no mere propaganda victory. Our strategy succeeded because our democratic principles, values and institutions prevailed. Our strategy worked because of the durability and unity of our alliances. The superiority of free peoples and free markets over stagnant socialism is ~~an idea~~ ^{to be} tested by reality, a truth that can no longer be credibly denied.

We approach the conclusion of a historic postwar struggle between two visions -- one of conflict and ideological conquest, and one of an international order composed of free and prosperous states. The wise policies of the past enable us to stand at the threshold of winning this struggle. The review of U.S.-Soviet relations that we have just completed shows that we can embark on an agenda more ambitious than we might ever have dreamed in the dark days of the Berlin Blockade, and the Soviet invasions of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan. We can move, step by

Kennan,

Kennan,

now

any page of my predecessor

REPLICATED PLUS

step through the rest of the century, beyond containment to seek to integrate the Soviet Union fully into the international system.

The Soviet Union has said it seeks rapprochement with the international order, and has criticized its own postwar policies. These are words we can only applaud. But a new relationship can neither be simply declared by Moscow, or ^{we} bestowed by others. It must be **earned** through the demilitarization of Soviet foreign policy and reinforced by behavior consistent with the principles ^{of the U.N. Charter} to which the Soviets subscribed in 1945, and have repeatedly violated ~~since~~.

Many times before, the Soviet Union has signaled a desire for a more cooperative relationship, only to reverse course and return to militarism. A weak Soviet Union sought cooperation in the early 1920s, only to become a garrison state under Stalin. The spirit of Geneva died an early death ~~in the Berlin crisis~~. And the promise of detente was broken by renewed Soviet expansionism. ^{an entry} True, we hope the spirit of perestroika is leading the Soviet Union to a ~~true~~ break with the ^{usual} practices of the past. Who would have thought we would see Central Committee ^{Deliberations} speeches on the front page of Pravda, or Andrei Sakharov seated near the councils of power? These are hopeful signs, and let no one doubt our sincere desire to see perestroika succeed. But our national security is not predicated on hope. It must be based on deeds.

This time, we seek nothing less than the fundamental restructuring of Soviet institutions, behavior and military forces.

But if we are moving beyond containment, we are only at the beginning of our path toward the reconciliation of the Soviet Union with the international system. Many dangers and uncertainties lie ahead. As we seek peace, we must remain strong in a perilous world. We will not abandon a philosophy of peace through strength. The purpose of our military might is not to put pressure on a weak Soviet economy, or to seek military superiority. It is to defend ourselves, and to do something more -- to convince the Soviet Union that there is no point in turning back to expansionism.

~~...and you will know~~
 This is my century, But the next is yours

To achieve this transformation of the Soviet Union from a source of instability to a productive member of the family of nations will require patience and creativity equal to that of the leaders of the early Alliance. ~~But~~ imagine what kind of world we could create, ^{for you + your loved ones} I see a Europe, long divided and scarred by two world wars, at last healed -- where Eastern Europe, prosperous and free, is reconciled ^{with} its Western neighbors. I see a time when the Soviet Union makes the choice to abandon terrorist nations -- ~~like Syria,~~ like Libya, like Iran -- that threaten the legitimate security of their neighbors, and to join with those that seek to live in peace. I see a time when the great nations

of Asia live in harmony -- when the Soviet Union has returned the Northern Territories of Japan, to undo an historic wrong.

In short, I see a world in which the Soviet Union is finally reconciled to the international community of states.

But to fulfill this vision, the Soviet Union must follow a clear path. ~~They must:~~

*** They must reduce Soviet forces to smaller and less threatening levels, until they are in proportion to their legitimate security needs.

*** They must renounce the principle that class conflict is an inevitable source of international tension. ~~They must step out from under the shadow of a failed ideology, and into the broad daylight of modern life.~~

*** The Soviets must adhere to ~~the~~ their obligation that dates from the final days of World War Two to permit self-determination for the nations of East-Central Europe. ~~Moscow~~ ^{***} must authoritatively renounce the long-standing policy known as "The Brezhnev Doctrine."

the West
*** They must join ~~us~~ in seeking settlements of regional disputes around the world. The Soviet Union should cease to

undermine regional stability and join us in positive steps toward diplomatic solutions.

*** They must institutionalize political pluralism and respect for human rights. Ultimately, our hopes for a more cooperative and sustainable relationship rests on democratization of the Soviet Union itself.

1985
*** They must reduce threats to the security of every nation from the spread of ballistic-missile technology; nuclear, chemical and biological weapons; and terrorism.

*** They must accept with the United States and the world community responsibility for addressing pressing global problems, including the international drug menace, and dangers to the environment.

As the S.U. creates the conditions for reconciliation,
~~If the Soviet Union is ready to create the conditions for, they will find willing partners in the West.~~
~~reconciliation, we and our Allies are eager to be partners.~~

((OPEN SKIES))

The United States seeks verifiable arms-control agreements with the Soviet Union and its allies. We seek agreements that increase stability while reducing numerical levels of weapons.

We seek to build confidence by making each nation "transparent" to the other. ~~((OPEN SKIES))~~ But arms control is not an end in itself. This government seeks arms-control proposals that are

consistent with our overall defense strategy. ((ARMS CONTROL DATES ANNOUNCEMENT))

To this end, the United States and the Soviet Union will resume negotiations and talks on nuclear testing limitations next month. We will continue to push hard for progress in the ongoing negotiations on conventional and chemical weapons.

If the Soviet Union joins us in a more cooperative relationship, then our economic ties will surely broaden. American investment and commerce will grow if the Soviets create a domestic environment more congenial to free enterprise.

Until now, economic relations have been hindered by Soviet internal policies. ^{also injured} ① It has been ~~hindered~~ by Moscow's practice of using the cloak of commerce to steal technology from the West.

② Trade and financial transactions must take place on a normal commercial basis, without subsidies. ③ The Soviets must lift discriminatory treatment of U.S. firms. ④ And if the Soviet Union codifies emigration laws in accord with international standards, implements its new laws faithfully, and increases levels of emigration, I am prepared to work with Congress and the American people on a temporary waiver of the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which would give ~~to~~ the Soviet Union access to Most Favored Nation status. ~~Freer trade with the Soviet Union is conditional on many things, including the free emigration of peoples.~~

We are at the beginning of our journey toward a better world. ~~The day must come when the face of Europe is unscarred by barbed wire and brick walls.~~ The day must come when Europe is united, when Europeans can drive from Moscow to the Normandy coast without seeing a single guard tower, or a single strand of barbed wire. The day must when the voices of all Europeans can be heard in free elections. The day must come throughout the world when the first instinct is to settle regional disputes by mediation, not by violence.

Many quote Winston Churchill on the Soviet Union, who called it "a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma." As perestroika and glasnost progress, we hope that these words will come to describe a Soviet Union of a distant past. But much depends on the Soviet Union and its willingness to engage our challenge. This is a good time to remember the rest of what Churchill said. "The key" to the Soviet Union, said Churchill, is its "national interest." ^{It is in the national interest of the Soviet Union today to} ~~reconcile itself~~ ^{to the international community.}
It is in the national interest of the Soviet Union today to
reconcile itself to the international community.
reconciling their
reconciling them

I recognize the extraordinarily ambitious character of the objectives I have described today. Our success in achieving the ^{integration} ~~reconciliation~~ of the Soviet Union to the international system -- a goal the United States will pursue into the next century --

*Testimonials
no time to project*

~~key" to the Soviet Union, said Churchill, is its "national interest." It is in the national interest of the Soviet Union today to open itself to the world, throw off the dead weight of excessive armament and join us in leading Mankind into a new millennium.~~

Instead, the talent

A new breeze is blowing. The talent of the Soviet people, once unleashed, will again blossom into ~~a thousand expressions of genius~~ ^{and} once rediscovered, will enrich the world.

Forty-three years ago, a young Lieutenant by the name of Albert Kotzebue, a Texas A&M graduate, was the first American soldier to shake hands with Soviets when the allied armies met at the banks of the Elbe River at the end of World War Two. Once again, it is a time for peace. ~~Once again, it is a time for bold steps. Once again, we extend our hand across the Elbe . . .~~

We do so for you, for the world you and your children will know. Thank you for inviting me to Texas A&M, and I wish you the very best in the years to come.

*Agony
Reconciliation*

*And most of all
it depends on the
Soviet Union
itself.*

#

~~The ~~agony~~ objectives that I have described are~~

I recognize ~~how ambitious~~ the objective, the extraordinarily ambitious character of the objectives that I have described today. ~~It is all understandable~~ ~~My President~~ ~~and those of my successors~~ ~~Other success in achieving the reconciliation of the Soviet Union to the international system is - a goal that we will pursue throughout the century and beyond -- depends on the unity of the American people, ~~the~~ an enduring bipartisan approach to the USSR and the closest possible cooperation of our allies.~~

depends on the unity of the American people, and a renewed bipartisan spirit, and the closest possible cooperation of our allies.

This is my duty. The rest belongs to you, and this
~~If we succeed, it will~~ better the world you and your *American*
duty,
 children will know. Thank you for inviting me to Texas A&M, and
 I wish you the very best in the years to come.

#

Davis/Martin/Rice
Title: Aggie
May 5, 1989
Version: Two

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: TEXAS A&M COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS
FRIDAY, MAY 12, 1989/2 p.m.

Thank you. I am delighted to be back in College Station, among my fellow Texans and friends. ((And for those of you who are Democrats, there is no truth to the rumor that Phil Gramm and I will later participate in an Elephant Walk.))

My sincerest congratulations go to every graduate, and to your parents. In this ceremony, we celebrate nothing less than the commencement of the rest, and the best, of your life . . .

I remember when I graduated, in 1948, thrilled to be striking out on my own, driving my red Studebaker across the prairie roads. I didn't know exactly what I was looking for in Texas. But I did know one thing -- whatever I would do, whatever I would become, destiny was in **my** hands. Your dreams, your destiny, are now in **your** hands, and this is an exciting -- even frightening -- realization.

But dreams are hard won, and no generation can escape history. I came of age in the mid-century of American greatness. I, along with your parents and grandparents, witnessed the drama

of a world torn by war, divided by Soviet subversion and force, but sustained by an Allied response that began with the Berlin Airlift. Wise men . . . Truman and Eisenhower, Vandenberg and Rayburn . . . ((Kennan?)) Acheson, Marshall and Dulles, crafted a strategy of containment. They believed that the Soviet Union, denied the easy course of external expansion, would ultimately have to face up to the contradictions of its inefficient, repressive and inhumane system. And they were right.

We are entering a new age today because this strategy works. This is no mere propaganda victory. Our strategy works because our principles, values and institutions work. Our strategy works because of the durability of the Alliance, and the unity of the Allies. The superiority of democratic capitalism over stagnant socialism is an idea tested by reality, a truth that can no longer be credibly denied.

We approach the conclusion of a historic struggle between two visions -- one of an international order composed of free and prosperous states, and one of conflict and ideological conquest. The wise policies of the past enable us to stand at the threshold of winning this struggle. We can embark on an agenda more ambitious than we might ever have dreamed in the dark days of the Berlin Blockade, and the Soviet invasions of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan. We can move, step by step, beyond containment to seek to integrate the Soviet Union into the

international system which it has sought to undermine, and from which it stands apart.

The Soviet Union has said it seeks rapprochement with the international order, and has criticized its own post-war policies. These are words we can only applaud. But a new relationship can neither be simply declared by Moscow, or bestowed by others. It must be **earned** through the demilitarization of Soviet foreign policy and reinforced by behavior consistent with the principles to which the Soviets subscribed in 1945, and have repeatedly violated ever since.

Many times before, the Soviet Union has signaled a desire for a more cooperative relationship, only to reverse course and return to militarism. True, we hope the spirit of perestroika is leading Soviet Union to a true watershed. But our national security is not predicated on hope. It must be ~~predicated~~ ^{based} on ^{nothing less than} deeds. We seek the fundamental restructuring of Soviet institutions, behavior and military forces.

The transformation of the Soviet Union from a source of instability to a productive member of the family of nations is our long-term goal. To achieve this, will require patience and creativity equal to that of the leaders of the early Alliance. But imagine what kind of world we could create. Imagine an Eastern Europe that is reconciled to its Western neighbors.

Imagine a Soviet Union ideologically reconciled to the West. Imagine all nations peacefully ~~conducting~~^{doing} business under the banner of freedom.

To achieve this, the Soviets must boldly move forward. I call on ~~the~~^{this} Soviets to:

*** Take a bold step, and reduce Soviet forces to smaller and less threatening levels, until they are in proportion to their legitimate security needs.

The United States, of course, will continue to seek verifiable arms-control agreements with the Soviet Union and its allies. We seek agreements that reduce numerical levels of weapons, and to exhibit those that remain. When weapons are visible, so are motives. So we seek to build confidence by making each nation "transparent" to the other. But arms control is not an end in itself. This government seeks arms-control proposals that are consistent with our overall defense strategy. ((Insert announcement of the setting of arms-control talks.))

*** The Soviets must take a bold step and adhere to the their obligation that dates from the final days of World War Two to permit self-determination for the nations of East-Central Europe. Moscow must authoritatively renounce the long-standing policy known as "The Brezhnev Doctrine." The United States will

not seek bilateral discussions with Moscow to agree on a new set of principles for the evolution of East-Central Europe. I simply challenge the Soviet Union to encourage freely contested elections in this region.

*** They must take a bold step and institutionalize political pluralism and respect for human rights. Until now, economic relations have been hindered by Soviet internal policies. But if the Soviet Union codifies emigration laws in accord with international standards, and maintains the current levels of immigration, I am prepared to work with Congress and the American people on a one-year waiver of the Jackson-Vanik amendment.

*** They must take a bold step and reduce threats to the security of every nation from the spread of ballistic-missile technology; nuclear, chemical and biological weapons; and terrorism.

*** They must take a bold step and renounce the principle that class conflict is an inevitable source of international tension. They must take a bold step out from under the shadow of a failed ideology, and into the broad daylight of modern life.

*** They must take a bold step and accept with the United States and the world community responsibility for addressing

pressing global problems, including the international drug menace, and dangers to the environment.

*** They must take a bold step, and settle regional disputes around the world. The Soviet Union should cease to undermine regional stability and join us in positive steps toward diplomatic solutions.

I challenge the Soviet Union to cease arms shipments to Nicaragua, and carry out its pledge to refrain from exporting revolution.

I challenge the Soviet Union to respect the legitimate security concerns of Israel and other Middle Eastern states by a restraining military assistance to Syria and Libya, and by vigorously opposing terrorism. Toward this end, the Soviet Union should recognize Israel.

I challenge the Soviet Union to demilitarize the Northern Territories of Japan, a start toward undoing a historic wrong. I challenge the Soviet Union to join the United States in seeking stability in the Persian Gulf, diminishing tensions on the Korean peninsula, encouraging Vietnam to withdraw expeditiously from Cambodia, limiting arms supplies to Angola and Ethiopia, and joining in the accelerated work on the Namibian accords.

But if we are moving beyond containment, we are still far from the day when the Soviet Union will be reconciled to the international system. We are only at the beginning of our path; and many dangers and uncertainties lie ahead. The world you will know in the next forty years will change in ways beyond our power to imagine. Like explorers, we must draft our own maps to chart the course of the future. But there are a few cardinal points by which we will navigate. Even as we seek peace, we must remain strong in a perilous world. We will not abandon a philosophy of peace through strength. The purpose of our military might is not to put pressure on a weak Soviet economy, or to seek military superiority. It is to defend ourselves, and to do something more -- to convince the Soviet Union that there is no point in turning back to expansionism.

But if the Soviet Union joins us in developing a more cooperative relationship, then our economic ties will surely broaden. American investment and commerce will grow if the Soviets create a domestic environment more congenial to free enterprise.

True, the prospects for a major expansion of U.S.-Soviet economic relations are limited, in part, by economic conditions in the Soviet Union. Nor will we relax export controls. The Soviets must refrain from using the cloak of commerce to steal technology and spy on the West. Trade and financial transactions

than it will be to replace the highly-skilled limited class of professional officers and crews who are now being captured or destroyed.

Moreover, if we are losing tonnage we are also taking steps to replace it on a far larger scale. Old ships which were laid up are being refitted and prepared for sea. An enormous building programme of new ships of a simple character, capable of being very rapidly built, is already in full career, in fulfilment of the action taken and of the plans made before the war by my right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade. We therefore, hope to have a much larger margin in the future to meet new forms of attack or new scales of attack.

The House will observe that I have confined myself this afternoon entirely to this topic of U-boat warfare. I am not attempting now to deal with any of the other widespread activities of the Royal Navy, or with any other of those grave problems which require vigilance and merit description. As occasion serves, as events suggest, I shall seek other opportunities of making statements to the House. But, after all, the U-boat attack upon British ocean-wide commerce was one of the most heart-shaking hazards of the last war. It seemed during the early months of 1917 that it might compass our total ruin. Only those who lived through it at the summit know what it was like. I was not at that time in office, but my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister of those days, the right hon. Member for Carnarvon Boroughs (Mr. Lloyd George), kept me closely informed, and I watched with a fear that I never felt at any other moment in that struggle the deadly upward movement of the curve of sinkings over the arrival of new construction. That was, in my opinion, the gravest peril which we faced in all the ups and downs of that war. We have no reason, upon the information and experience which are now available, to suppose that such a situation will recur. And if this surmise—and it cannot be more than that—should prove correct, what does it mean? It means that one primary danger is falling into its proper confines, and that amid all our anxieties we can feel a certain steady measure of assurance that, so far as the submarine is concerned, the British Empire and all its friends in every quarter of the globe will be able to develop their immeasurable latent force and that the whole strength, wealth, resources and man-power of these many communities can be concentrated in every growing intensity upon the task we have in hand, in which task we have only to persevere to conquer.

THE FIRST MONTH OF WAR

October 1, 1939

Broadcast, London

The British Empire and the French Republic have been at war with Nazi Germany for a month tonight. We have not yet come at all to the severity of fighting which is to be expected; but three important things have happened.

First, Poland, has been again overrun by two of the great Powers which held her in bondage for 150 years, but were unable to quench the spirit of the Polish nation.

The heroic defense of Warsaw shows that the soul of Poland is indestructible, and that she will rise again like a rock, which may for a spell be submerged by a tidal wave, but which remains a rock.

What is the second event of this first month? It is, of course, the assertion of the power of Russia. Russia has pursued a cold policy of self-interest. We could have wished that the Russian armies should be standing on their present line as the friends and allies of Poland instead of as invaders. But that the Russian armies should stand on this line was clearly necessary for the safety of Russia against the Nazi menace. At any rate, the line is there, and an Eastern Front has been created which Nazi Germany does not dare assail. When Herr von Ribbentrop was summoned to Moscow last week, it was to learn the fact, and to accept the fact, that the Nazi designs upon the Baltic States and upon the Ukraine must come to a dead stop.

I cannot forecast to you the action of Russia. It is a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma; but perhaps there is a key. That key is Russian national interest. It cannot be in accordance with the interest or the safety of Russia that Germany should plant itself upon the shores of the Black Sea, or that it should overrun the Balkan States and subjugate the Slavonic peoples of southeastern Europe. That would be contrary to the historic life-interests of Russia.

But in this quarter of the world—the southeast of Europe—these interests of Russia fall into the same channel as the interests of Britain and France. None of these three Powers can afford to see Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and above all Turkey, put under the German heel. Through the fog of confusion and uncertainty we may discern quite plainly the community of interests which exists between England, France and Russia—a community of interests to prevent the Nazis' carrying the flames of war into the Balkans and Turkey. Thus, my friends, at some risk of being proved wrong by events, I will proclaim tonight my conviction that the second great fact of the first month of the war is that Hitler, and all that Hitler stands for, have been and are being warned off the east and the southeast of Europe.

What is the third event? Here I speak as First Lord of the Admiralty, with especial caution. It would seem that the U-boat attack upon the life of the British Isles has not so far proved successful. It is true that when they sprang out upon us and we were going about our ordinary business, with two thousand ships in constant movement every day upon the seas, they managed to do some serious damage. But the Royal Navy has immediately attacked the U-boats, and is hunting them night and day—I will not say without mercy, because God forbid we should ever part company with that—but at any rate with zeal and not altogether without relish. And it looks tonight very much as if it is the U-boats who are feeling the weather, and not the Royal Navy or the world-wide commerce of Britain. A week has passed since a British ship, alone or in convoy, has been sunk or even molested by a U-boat on the high seas: and during the first month of the war we have captured by our efficient contraband control 150,000 tons more German merchandise—food, oil, minerals and other commodities—for our own benefit than we have lost by all the U-boat sinkings put together. In fact, up to date—please observe I make no promises (we must deal in performance and not in promises)—up to date we have actually got 150,000 tons of very desirable supplies into this Island more than we should have got if war had not

been declared, and if no U-boat had ever cast sailormen to their fate upon the stormy seas. This seems to be a very solid, tangible fact which has emerged from the first month of the war against Nazidom.

Of course, we are told that all the U-boats have gone home just to tell their master about their exploits and their experiences. But that is not true, because every day we are attacking them upon the approaches to the British Isles. Some undoubtedly have preferred to go off and sink the unprotected neutral ships of Norway and Sweden. I hope the day will come when the Admiralty will be able to invite the ships of all nations to join the British convoys, and to insure them on their voyages at a reasonable rate. We must, of course, expect that the U-boat attack upon the sea-borne commerce of the world will be renewed presently on a greater scale. We hope, however, that by the end of October we shall have three times as many hunting-craft at work as we had at the beginning of the war; and we hope that by the measures we have taken, our means of putting down this pest will grow continually. I can assure you we are taking great care about all that.

Therefore, to sum up the results of the first month, let us say that Poland has been overrun, but will rise again; that Russia has warned Hitler off his Eastern dreams; and that U-boats may be safely left to the care and constant attention of the British Navy.

Now I wish to speak about what is happening in our own Island. When a peaceful democracy is suddenly made to fight for its life, there must be a lot of trouble and hardship in the process of turning over from peace to war. I feel very keenly for those thousands—scores of thousands of them—who wish to throw themselves into the fight at once, but for whom we cannot find full scope at the present time. All this will clear as we get into our stride. His Majesty's Government is unitedly resolved to make the maximum effort of which the British nation is capable, and to persevere, whatever may happen, until decisive victory is gained. Meanwhile patriotic men and women, especially those who understand the high causes in human fortunes which are now at stake, must not only rise above fear; they must also rise above inconvenience and, perhaps most difficult of all, above boredom. Parliament will be kept in session, and all grievances or muddles or scandals, if such there be, can be freely ventilated or exposed there. In past times the House of Commons has proved itself an instrument of national will power capable of waging stern wars. Parliament is the shield and expression of democracy, and Ministers of the Crown base themselves upon the Parliamentary system. You have seen the power of Parliament manifested in the last week, when a Budget, gigantic in its burdens—a Budget which would have infuriated everybody a year ago—has been accepted with prompt and stolid resolve.

In other fields our work goes forward. A large army has already gone to France. British armies upon the scale of the effort of the Great War are in preparation. The British people are determined to stand in the line with the splendid Army of the French Republic, and share with them, as fast and as early as we can, whatever may be coming towards us both. It may be that great ordeals are coming to us in this Island from the air. We shall do our best to give a good account of ourselves; and we must always remember that the command of the seas will enable us to bring the immense

resources of Canada and the New World into play as a decisive ultimate air factor, a factor beyond the reach of what we have to give and take over here.

Directions have been given by the Government to prepare for a war of at least three years. That does not mean that victory may not be gained in a shorter time. How soon it will be gained depends upon how long Herr Hitler and his group of wicked men, whose hands are stained with blood and soiled with corruption, can keep their grip upon the docile, unhappy German people. It was for Hitler to say when the war would begin; but it is not for him or for his successors to say when it will end. It began when he wanted it, and it will end only when we are convinced that he has had enough.

The Prime Minister has stated our war aims in terms which cannot be bettered; and which cannot be too often repeated. These are his words:

To redeem Europe from the perpetual and recurring fear of German aggression, and enable the peoples of Europe to preserve their independence and their liberties.

That is what the British and French nations are fighting for. How often have we been told that we are the effete democracies whose day is done, and who must now be replaced by various forms of virile dictatorships and totalitarian despotism? No doubt at the beginning we shall have to suffer, because of having too long wished to lead a peaceful life. Our reluctance to fight was mocked at as cowardice. Our desire to see an unarmed world was proclaimed as the proof of our decay. No—we have begun. Now we are going on. Now, with the help of God, and with the conviction that we are the defenders of civilization and freedom, we are going to persevere to the end.

After all, Great Britain and France together are eighty-five millions, even in their homelands alone. They are united in their cause; they are convinced of their duty. Nazidom, with all its tyrannical power, controls no more than that. They, too, have eighty-five millions; but of these at least sixteen millions are newly conquered Czechs, Slovaks and Austrians, who are writhing under their cruel yoke and have to be held down by main force. We have other resources. We have the oceans, and with the oceans the assurance that we can bring the vast latent power of the British and French Empires to bear upon the decisive points. We have the freely given ardent support of the twenty millions of British citizens in the self-governing Dominions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. We have, I believe, the heart and the moral conviction of India on our side. We believe we are entitled to the respect and good will of the world, and particularly of the United States.

Here I am in the same post as I was twenty-five years ago. Rough times lie ahead; but how different is the scene from that of October, 1914! Then the French Front, with its British Army fighting in the line, seemed to be about to break under the terrible impact of German Imperialism. Then Russia had been laid low at Tannenberg; then the whole might of the Austro-Hungarian Empire was in battle against us; then the brave, warlike Turks were about to join our enemies. Then we had to be ready night and day to fight a decisive sea battle with a formidable German fleet almost, in

many respects, the equal of our own. We faced those adverse conditions then; we have nothing worse to face tonight.

In those days of 1914 also, Italy was neutral; but we did not know the reason for her neutrality. It was only later on that we learned that by a secret clause in the original Treaty of the Triple Alliance, Italy had expressly reserved to herself the right to stand aside from any war which brought her into conflict with Great Britain. Much has happened since then. Misunderstandings and disputes have arisen, but all the more do we appreciate in England the reason why this great and friendly nation of Italy, with whom we have never been at war, has not seen fit to enter the struggle.

I do not underrate what lies before us, but I must say this: I cannot doubt we have the strength to carry a good cause forward, and to break down the barriers which stand between the wage-earning masses of every land and that free and more abundant daily life which science is ready to afford. That is my conviction, and I look back upon the history of the past to find many sources of encouragement. Of all the wars that men have fought in their hard pilgrimage, none was more noble than the great Civil War in America nearly eighty years ago. Both sides fought with high conviction, and the war was long and hard. All the heroism of the South could not redeem their cause from the stain of slavery, just as all the courage and skill which the Germans always show in war will not free them from the reproach of Nazism, with its intolerance and its brutality. We may take good heart from what happened in America in those famous days of the nineteenth century. We may be sure that the world will roll forward into broader destinies. We may remember the words of old John Bright after the American Civil War was over, when he said to an audience of English working folk:

At last after the smoke of the battlefield had cleared away, the horrid shape which had cast its shadow over the whole continent had vanished and was gone for ever.

NAVAL RECRUITMENT AND PROMOTION OF PERSONNEL DURING WAR

October 4, 1939

House of Commons

[Extract] . . . The Admiralty propose to rely during the war upon the methods of voluntary recruiting which have served the Royal Navy so well in the past. All the normal arrangements for entering officer-cadets and seamen sufficient for the permanent post-war requirements of the Navy will continue, including the special service entry.

The policy of promoting an increasing number of men from the Lower Deck and from the younger Warrant Officers to permanent commissions will receive a wider scope. Direct promotion will also be extended to the Accountant Branch. The average of such commissions over the last four years has been 15. During the war, it is

NSC April 4 '89 10:15

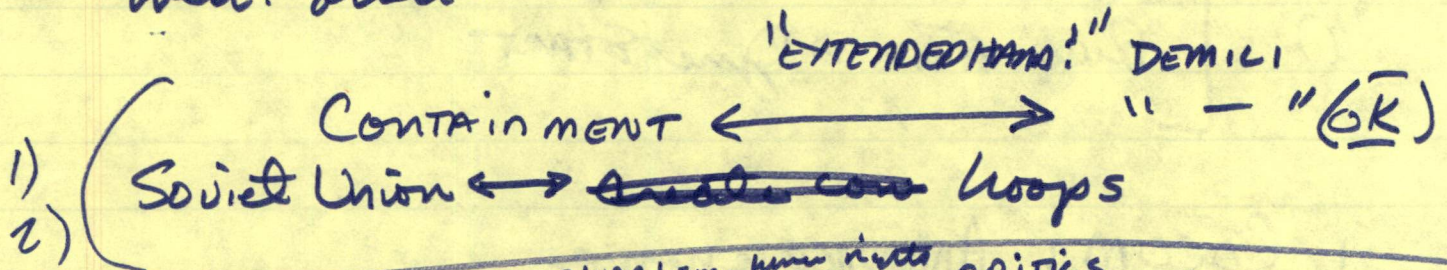
● TEXAS A+M - Reviews worth time -
REACTION: ~~Blatant~~ Manifestly different.
Invidious comparisons
Can't sound sappy -

Poised at end of one era.

Containment
works

Poised at beginning

We can see now and now. A new
inter. order.



S.U. is progressively ^{more} allows more pluralism, ^{more rights} ANSWER CRITICS

NEXT DEC.
NEXT CENT.

MAINZ: Here's what our relationship w/ S.U. should look like - REG. DISPUTES, S.U. full inter. eco. / environment

The quiet time between the end of one age + the beginning of another. Transition period.

- A NOT TOO SUBTLE RES. OF SYMMETRY /
Failure of policies - NOT PEACEFUL COEXIST.

IT IS PEACEFUL (CONQUEST) - IDEAS

NOT CONVERGENCE - We are not meeting
in the ideological middle.

Quote Gorbachev - Remarkable statement.
Applaud G. ~~Devoted~~

Rus. wants Perestroika / innovate wisdom

~~Old U.S./Soviet deal~~

Perestroika - Restructuring of world /
We don't want to sound ~~like~~ as if we need
Perestroika. Soviet's relationship to the

1) [Balcer
Gates
Presumption in June START

2) COCOM: Announce change

3) Recently immigration - repeal Jackson-Vanik.

* STATUS QUO plus - Status quo ante

✓ Eisenhower 1953 speech - shortly after death of Stalin. Structural changes -

* None of these changes are irreversible.

* [A week after this speech, Col. in Beijing + Shanghai - Superpowers Summit.]

W. Germany - Don't worry
Soviet - echoes of Mich.
West
Natl Strategy
→ TALK ABOUT E.E. in member section.
Say in Sp. I will talk about later.

End of an era for you
Begin of an era for you
→ same I would

your future/ your children

Schedule

Monday:

Biggies

Monday - Asian Pacific Heritage
Bruce Cell

Ceremony - N.H. S. B. person you

Jacqueline Linase / Rep. FDC Council

Tues:

Calvin Lufst / Rod Lubben

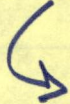
Jerry Lewis

Shiloh - Bapt. Church - day care after
(black)

~~3-4~~ 3-4 Speech

NSC Texas A+M

Wed: Physical - Cholesterol (till 2pm)



3-4 Speech time

Picture for USA weeked magazine

Thurs: Texas A+M briefing of Congress

1989 Thunderbirds

Childcare

JTPA Amendments

Fri: Cross to Texas 1 p.m.

Sat: Mississippi / Alcorn / Kentucky

child-care

E Wehapt, J

Mon 15 / Peace Officers



A Summer vacation plans

July 14 <



Change
words

JOB - PULL ENVIRONMENT
PRIVATE - SECTOR JUMPING
AFFIRMATIVE ACTION WITHOUT 'REGS.'

minority

NEW CHARACTER OF BUSINESS - friendly
- MINIMUM WAGE DEBATE A FARCE -

~~HEALTH CARE~~

Health
care,
delivery
system

\$450,000 - 15% a year

Chief lobbyist \$675,000 a year

No reason why its ~~to~~ cost growth
should be 2 or 3 times ~~the~~ the ~~rate~~
rate of inflation.

Key on Foreign Policy

Confidant - measured step at a
time. Not desperate, Poker. Hold
back. Don't need a China.

AN ERA OF CHANGE DEMANDS SLOW MOVEMENT.

C.W.

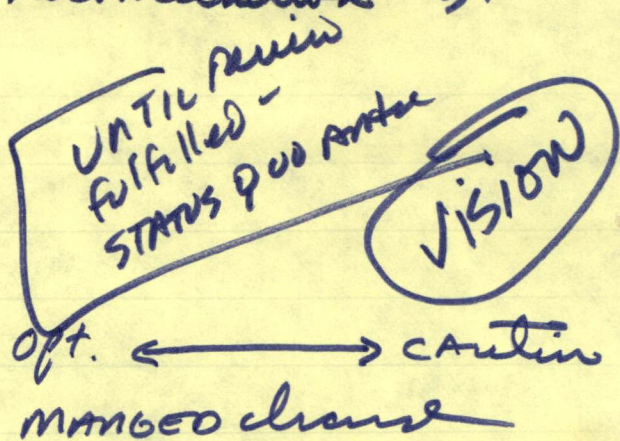
D.D.

Three pre-summit / Era of containment is over
draft
policy papers

Soviet / TEXAS

- TEXAS A+M Soviet relations
- Boston West. Alliance
- COAST guard - global

TEXAS A+M
JON PETERS
Phil GRAMM
Sam Rayburn



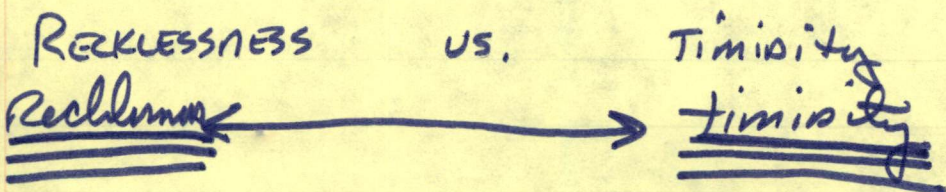
Thank you, its great to

- I have seen - U.N. IDEO. counts
- I have seen opening - China
- I have seen self-inflicted - CIA

I have seen, as Amb. to the U.N., how very much the world looks to America for leadership.

I have seen, as envoy to China, how potent are the ideals of ~~dem~~ economic + pol. freedom.

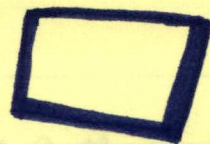
And I have seen, as D of the CIA, how ~~damaging~~ much damage we can inflict on ourselves when ~~we~~ ^{the world} ~~conduct~~ ^{spirit of} ~~partisan~~ partisanship affects our f.p.



no quit since

When I was young
are - I saw
airlift, etc.
Today,
a much
era.
What will
it be like

add



[The incident in New York ...]
Recent news stories

Texas A+M

U.S. - Soviet Relations

Boston?
C.G.?

1876 / Bezgos County
Original plant \$1 billion.
more revenue of funds than any inst. in U.S.

Don't let the way mountains get you
down / Tuelf man

University - a microcosm of the world

[P. 96] { Major
HORACE CARSWELL / Eli Whiteley
Douglas McArthur } ~~you~~

103 * Platoon leader Lt. Albert Kotzelme '45
shoot hands in Census

NO MOBILE MERUS
COAST GUARDS -
seminable, one - marked, mobile ICOM

Tax cut to increase revenue / or tax like to increase revenues. A stark choice.

Color, metaphor / MOST beneficiaries of c.g.'s ~~are~~ cuts > \$50,000. Machine shop analogy

● Step-by-step / Where the step is clear, you get credit.

● CFC * Savings + Loans signed *

inflationary

(Mandated benefits, minimum wage - "Old labor agenda" - is shopworn. Debate should be on skills, education, more dynamic.)

Used to thinking that everyone had to scramble to get a job. Now industry begs.

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

INCOMING

IV089

RECEIVED

DATE RECEIVED: APRIL 03, 1989

APR 04 1989

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: MR. WILLIAM H. MOBLEY

SCHEDULING
OFFICE

SUBJECT: INVITATION TO DELIVER A COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS
AT TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY AT ONE OF THEIR THREE
MAY CEREMONIES, ON MAY 12 AT 2:00 P.M. OR
7:30 P.M., OR ON MAY 13 AT 9 A.M.

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY (STAFF NAME)	ACTION		DISPOSITION	
	ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD
JOSEPH HAGIN <i>cmDEMA</i> REFERRAL NOTE: _____	ORG	89/04/03	JH	A 89/4/18
<i>Speechwriters</i> REFERRAL NOTE: _____	A	89/4/18		C 89/04/19
<i>cmWINS</i> REFERRAL NOTE: _____	A	89/04/19	21	/ /
REFERRAL NOTE: _____		/ /		/ /
REFERRAL NOTE: _____		/ /		/ /
REFERRAL NOTE: _____		/ /		/ /

COMMENTS: IV 890512 890512 TX COLLEGE STATION
IV 890513 890513 TX COLLEGE STATION

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: _____

MI MAIL USER CODES: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

- *****
- | | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---|
| *ACTION CODES: | *DISPOSITION | *OUTGOING | * |
| * | * | *CORRESPONDENCE: | * |
| *A-APPROPRIATE ACTION | *A-ANSWERED | *TYPE RESP=INITIALS | * |
| *C-COMMENT/RECOM | *B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL | * OF SIGNER | * |
| *D-DRAFT RESPONSE | *C-COMPLETED | * CODE = A | * |
| *F-FURNISH FACT SHEET | *S-SUSPENDED | *COMPLETED = DATE OF | * |
| *I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC* | | * OUTGOING | * |
| *R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY * | | | * |
| *S-FOR-SIGNATURE * | | | * |
| *X-INTERIM REPLY * | | | * |
- *****

REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE
(ROOM 75, OEOB) EXT-2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS
MANAGEMENT.

APR 04 1983
SCHEDULING
OFFICE

K6-

Hold for Speechwriter

MARK DAVIS

April 12, 1989

Dear Dr. Mobley:

On behalf of the President, I wish to acknowledge and thank you for your kind invitation to address the commencement ceremony at Texas A&M University.

The President is pleased to accept. This has been entered on his schedule for May 12th, and nearer the date Mr. John G. Keller, Jr., Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of Advance will contact you about the President's acceptance of your invitation.

The President's acceptance of this invitation should not be announced to anyone until official notification is given by the White House Press Office, and any public announcement of this event must be coordinated with that office.

You should be aware that certain physical facility requirements exist for any Presidential appearance. The costs associated with these requirements are generally the responsibility of the host and are summarized on the attached list.

If you wish to alter the current plans for this event in any way, such as changing any part of the format, the location, or the participants, please direct your request for the proposed change to the Office of Presidential Appointments and Scheduling.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

JOSEPH W. HAGIN II
Deputy Assistant to the President
for Appointments and Scheduling

Dr. William H. Mobley
President
Texas A&M University
College Station, Texas 77843-1246

✓ cc and incoming to speechwriting office

✓ cc to Helen Donaldson room 182, OEOB

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College Station, Texas 77843-1246

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22571



TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE STATION, TEXAS 77843-1246

(409) 845-2217

1989 APR -6 AM 11:0

27 February 1989

Scheduling
5/12/89

Office of the President
William H. Mobley

The Honorable George Bush
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

May 12

Dear Mr. President:

I take great pleasure in inviting you to deliver a commencement address at Texas A&M University at one of our three May ceremonies.

On Friday, May 12, at 2:00 p.m., the graduates include all Master's and Doctoral candidates, as well as those receiving Bachelor's degrees in Geosciences and Liberal Arts. Our second ceremony on Friday will be held at 7:30 p.m. and will include undergraduates in the College of Agriculture, Business, Science and Veterinary Medicine. The Saturday commencement will be held at 9:00 a.m. and undergraduates in the Colleges of Architecture, Education and Engineering will receive their diplomas at that time. We will be happy to have you at any of the three ceremonies.

Your address to our graduates in May, 1984 is well remembered and we would be honored to have you speak to the Class of 1989. Enclosed is a commencement program for your perusal.

I hope very much that you will visit Texas A&M again for our May ceremonies. If additional information is required, please contact me or my assistant, Ms. Sheran Riley, at 409/845-2217.

Sincerely,

William H. Mobley
William H. Mobley

WHM:sa

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Conoi

Davis/Martin/Rice
Title: Aggie
May 5, 1989
Version: One

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: TEXAS A&M COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS
FRIDAY, MAY 12, 1989/2 p.m.

Thank you. I am delighted to be back in College Station, among my fellow Texans and friends. ((And for those of you who are Democrats, there is no truth to the rumor that Phil Gramm and I will later participate in an Elephant Walk.))

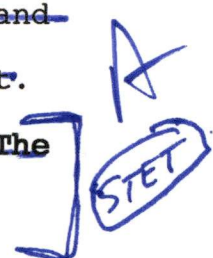
My sincerest congratulations go to every graduate, and to your parents. In this ceremony, we celebrate nothing less than the commencement of the rest, and the best, of your life . . .

I remember when I graduated, in 1948, thrilled to be striking out on my own, driving my red Studebaker across the prairie roads. I didn't know exactly what I was looking for in Texas. But I did know one thing -- whatever I would do, whatever I would become, destiny was in **my** hands. Your dreams, your destiny, are now in **your** hands, and this is an exciting -- even frightening -- realization.

But dreams are hard won, and no generation can escape history. I came of age in the mid-century of American greatness. I, along with your parents and grandparents, witnessed the drama

of a world torn by war, divided by Soviet subversion and force, but sustained by an Allied response that began with the Berlin Airlift. Wise men . . . Truman and Eisenhower, Vandenburg and Rayburn . . . Acheson, Marshall and Dulles, crafted a strategy of containment. They believed that the Soviet Union, denied the easy course of external expansion, would ultimately have to face up to the contradictions of its inefficient, repressive and inhumane system. And they were right.

We are entering a new age today because this strategy works. This is no mere propaganda victory. Our strategy works because our principles, values and institutions work. The superiority of democratic capitalism over stagnant socialism is an idea tested by reality, a truth that can no longer be credibly denied. ~~No less an authority than President Gorbachev has said: ((quote to come.)) We have seen the tearing down of barricades between Austria and Hungary. We have seen elections in Budapest and Warsaw that would have been unthinkable in the recent past. So let me be blunt. The era of containment is passing. The transition to a new era has begun. Let it be an era of reconciliation.~~



~~Like the wise leaders of the postwar Alliance, we are challenged to manage an uncertain future. But the pattern of the last forty years is no longer a guide.~~ The world you will know in the next forty years will change in ways beyond our powers to

imagine or predict. Like explorers, we must draft our own maps to chart the course of the future. But there are a few cardinal points by which we will navigate. **[We will not let our optimism succumb to a world-weary cynicism; nor will we let our realism succumb to a reckless grasp for Utopia.]** *We cannot do it alone*
NOO to allies
AND so much depends on S.U.

We must remember that while Soviet expansionism has been largely contained, the Soviet military threat has not diminished. In the last two decades, Soviet military power has increased across the spectrum. Soviet might has supported a militarized foreign policy, one of subversion, coercion and unrelenting opposition to the West. Now the Soviet Union has indicated an interest in rapprochement with the West. But such a new relationship cannot be unilaterally declared or bestowed. It must be earned through the demilitarization of Soviet foreign policy, and observance of international norms the Soviet Union has treated with contempt since 1945.

The transformation of the Soviet Union from a source of instability to a productive member of the family of nations is our long-term goal. To achieve this, will require patience and creativity equal to that of the leaders of the early Alliance.

In this period of transition and uncertainty, we watch with hope for signs that Soviet "new thinking" will lead to a less militarized and safer relationship between the superpowers. We

will undertake policies that encourage fundamental alterations in Soviet institutions, behavior and military forces. How will we do this? By pursuing policies, from arms control to trade, that seek to lastingly integrate the Soviet Union into the international order. In return, the Soviets must step forward, from the darkness of a failed ideology into the daylight of the modern world. And they must take bold steps. I call on the Soviets to:

IMAGINE

EG 2000 to W. problem



STET

*** Take a bold step, and reduce Soviet forces to smaller and less threatening levels, until they are in proportion to their legitimate security needs.

The United States, of course, will continue to seek verifiable arms-control agreements with the Soviet Union and its allies. We seek agreements that reduce numerical levels of weapons, and to exhibit those that remain. When weapons are visible, so are motives. So we seek to build confidence by making each nation "transparent" to the other. But arms control is not an end in itself. This government seeks arms-control proposals that are consistent with our overall defense strategy.

ARMS-CONTROL TALKS INSERT

*** The Soviets must take a bold step and adhere to the their obligation that dates from the final days of World War Two to permit self-determination for the nations of East-Central Europe. Moscow must authoritatively renounce the long-standing

policy known as "The Brezhnev Doctrine." The United States will not seek bilateral discussions with Moscow to agree on a new set of principles for the evolution of East-Central Europe. I simply challenge the Soviet Union to encourage freely contested elections in this region. **IMAGINE**

*** They must take a bold step and institutionalize political pluralism and respect for human rights. **NORM. ECO. REL. limited by int. policies.** **J-V** — **Y**

*** They must take a bold step and reduce threats to the security of every nation from the spread of ballistic-missile technology; nuclear, chemical and biological weapons; and terrorism.

*** They must take a bold step and renounce the principle that class conflict is an inevitable source of international tension.

*** They must take a bold step and accept with the United States and the world community responsibility for addressing pressing global problems, including the international drug menace, and dangers to the environment.

*** They must take a bold step, and settle regional disputes around the world. The Soviet Union should cease to

Somehow
***** BOLD STEP ON ideology new word**

undermine regional stability and join us in positive steps toward diplomatic solutions.

I challenge the Soviet Union to cease arms shipments to Nicaragua, and carry out its pledge to refrain from exporting revolution.

I challenge the Soviet Union to respect the legitimate security concerns of Israel and other Middle Eastern states by a restraining military assistance to Syria and Libya, and by vigorously opposing terrorism. Toward this end, the Soviet Union should recognize Israel.

I challenge the Soviet Union to demilitarize the Northern Territories of Japan, a start toward undoing a historic wrong. I challenge the Soviet Union to join the United States in seeking stability in the Persian Gulf, diminishing tensions on the Korean peninsula, encouraging Vietnam to withdraw expeditiously from Cambodia, limiting arms supplies to Angola and Ethiopia, and joining in the accelerated work on the Namibian accords.

Soviet military forces are still formidable. . . .

~~As long as the Soviet Union remains apart from, and opposed to, the world order, the United States will maintain its defenses. We will reject calls for unilateral disarmament. The purpose of our military might is not to put pressure on a weak~~

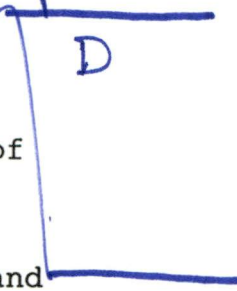
Soviet economy, or to seek military superiority. But, even as we seek peace, we must remain strong in a perilous world.

Concern Soviets not to turn back

← Allies pillars

~~*** TAKE F. B. S. into out of old systems~~

We also reject the view that the world must forever be divided into two hostile camps. All nations, regardless of ideology, must interact by mutual agreement through one set of international norms. With this conviction, we will seek commercial, cultural and arms-control agreements to involve and integrate the Soviets so deeply into the prevailing world order.



575

But if the Soviet Union takes these bold steps, and works with us to develop a more cooperative relationship, then our economic ties will surely broaden. American investment and commerce will grow if the Soviets create a domestic environment more congenial to free enterprise.

575

True, the prospects for a major expansion of U.S.-Soviet economic relations are limited, in part, by economic conditions in the Soviet Union. Nor will we relax export controls. The Soviets must refrain from using the cloak of commerce to steal technology and spy on the West. Trade and financial transactions must take place on a normal commercial basis, without subsidies. And the Soviets must lift discriminatory treatment of U.S. firms.

But to the extent that the Soviet Union opens its economic system, and meets these certain conditions, the United States,

will remove or reduce existing legislative and administrative obstacles to the further development of non-strategic trade, and normal commercial and financial ties.

I propose ((the repealing of the Jackson-Vanick and Stevenson amendments to the Trade Act of 1974, or the conditional and temporary wavier of these trade restriction, as set forth by existing law.))

Ultimately, our hopes for a more cooperative and sustainable relationship with the Soviet Union rests on democratization. We support perestroika. Where possible, the United States will promote democratic values and ideas within the Soviet Union -- not in the spirit of provocation or destabilization -- but to lay a firm foundation for better relations, and a planet at peace.

IMAGINE
 [We ~~yearn~~ for the day when the lovely face of Europe is unscarred by barbed-wire and brick walls. We ~~yearn~~ for the day when Europeans can drive from Prague to the Normandy coast, and under the Channel to London, without being stopped at a single guard post. And ~~we yearn~~ for the day when the shadow of war will lift from the world; and regional -- even local -- disputes will no longer be escalated by outside powers into bloody wars.]

If we succeed, the peasant of El Salvador will no longer have to brave bullets to cast a ballot. The Dinka tribesman will

no longer roam the desert, fleeing civil war only to find starvation. And the families of Beirut will emerge from their bunker-basements into the light of a new day.

Many quote the famous utterance of Winston Churchill on the Soviet Union, as a "a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma." But few remember the rest of what Churchill said. "The key" to the Soviet Union, said Churchill, is its "national interest." It is in the national interest of the Soviet Union today to open itself to the world, throw off the dead weight of excessive armament and join us in leading Mankind into a new millennium.

A new breeze is blowing. The talent of the Soviet people, once unleashed, will again blossom into a thousand expressions of genius. The great soul of that nation, once rediscovered, will enrich the world.

Forty-three years ago, a young Lieutenant by the name of Albert Kotzebue, a Texas A&M graduate, was the first American soldier to shake hands with Soviets when the allied armies met at the banks of the Elbe River at the end of World War Two. Once again, it is a time for peace. Once again, it is a time for bold steps. Once again, we extend our hand across the Elbe . . .

We do so for you, for the world you and your children will know. Thank you for inviting me to Texas A&M, and I wish you the very best in the years to come.

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Davis/Martin/Rice
Title: Aggie
May 5, 1989
Version: Two

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: TEXAS A&M COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS
FRIDAY, MAY 12, 1989/2 p.m.

Thank you. I am delighted to be back in College Station, among my fellow Texans and friends. ((And for those of you who are Democrats, there is no truth to the rumor that Phil Gramm and I will later participate in an Elephant Walk.))

My sincerest congratulations go to every graduate, and to your parents. In this ceremony, we celebrate nothing less than the commencement of the rest, and the best, of your life . . .

I remember when I graduated, in 1948, thrilled to be striking out on my own, driving my red Studebaker across the prairie roads. I didn't know exactly what I was looking for in Texas. But I did know one thing -- whatever I would do, whatever I would become, destiny was in **my** hands. Your dreams, your destiny, are now in **your** hands, and this is an exciting -- even frightening -- realization.

But dreams are hard won, and no generation can escape history. I came of age in the mid-century of American greatness. I, along with your parents and grandparents, witnessed the drama

of a world torn by war, divided by Soviet subversion and force, but sustained by an Allied response that began with the Berlin Airlift. Wise men . . . Truman and Eisenhower, Vandenburg and Rayburn . . . ((Kennan?)) Acheson, Marshall and Dulles, crafted a strategy of containment. They believed that the Soviet Union, denied the easy course of external expansion, would ultimately have to face up to the contradictions of its inefficient, repressive and inhumane system. And they were right.

unity leadership
Our strategy works because of the duality of the Alliance, and the ~~subordination~~ leadership of our Allies.

We are entering a new age today because this strategy works. This is no mere propaganda victory. Our strategy works because our principles, values and institutions work. The superiority of democratic capitalism over stagnant socialism is an idea tested by reality, a truth that can no longer be credibly denied. ~~@@@~~ less an authority than President Gorbachev has said: ((quote to come.)) We have seen the tearing down of barricades between Austria and Hungary. We have seen elections in Budapest and Warsaw that would have been unthinkable in the recent past. The era of containment is passing. The transition to a new era has begun. Let it be an era of reconciliation.@@

WE approach the concl of a ~~new era at the time~~

~~This is a~~ historic struggle between two visions -- one of an international order composed of free and prosperous states, ~~or~~ *and* one of conflict and ~~conquest~~ *impose a ideology*. The wise policies of the past enable us to stand at the threshold of winning this struggle. We can embark on an agenda more ambitious than we might ever have

dreamed in the dark days of the Berlin Blockade, and the Soviet invasions of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan. We can move, step by step, beyond containment to seek to integrate the Soviet Union into the international system which it has sought to undermine, and from which it stands apart.

The Soviet Union has said it seek^s rapprochement with the international order, and has criticized its own post-war policies. These are words we can only applaud. But a new relationship can neither be simply declared by Moscow, or bestowed by others. It must be earned through the demilitarization of Soviet foreign policy and reinforced by behavior consistent with the principles to which the Soviets subscribed in 1945, and ~~has~~ ^{have} repeatedly violated since.

Many times before, the Soviet Union has signaled a desire for a more cooperative relationship, only to reverse course and return to militarism. ~~But~~ ^{But} The spirit of perestroika in the Soviet Union leads us to hope that this may be a true watershed. But our national security is not predicated on hope. It must be predicated on deeds. We seek the fundamental restructure of Soviet institutions, behavior and military forces. ~~We appreciate that this restructuring can only be achieved at a great economic and political cost to the Soviet Union.~~

The transformation of the Soviet Union from a source of instability to a productive member of the family of nations is our long-term goal. To achieve this, will require patience and creativity equal to that of the leaders of the early Alliance. But imagine what kind of world we could create. Imagine an Eastern Europe that is reconciled to its Western neighbors.

Imagine a Soviet Union ideologically reconciled to the West. *IMAGINE*
 All nations interacting through one set of international norms

To achieve this

~~In return~~, the Soviets must step forward, from the darkness of a failed ideology into the daylight of the modern world. And they must take bold steps. I call on the Soviets to:

*** Take a bold step, and reduce Soviet forces to smaller and less threatening levels, until they are in proportion to their legitimate security needs.

The United States, of course, will continue to seek verifiable arms-control agreements with the Soviet Union and its allies. We seek agreements that reduce numerical levels of weapons, and to exhibit those that remain. When weapons are visible, so are motives. So we seek to build confidence by making each nation "transparent" to the other. But arms control is not an end in itself. This government seeks arms-control proposals that are consistent with our overall defense strategy. ((Insert announcement of the setting of arms-control talks.))

*** The Soviets must take a bold step and adhere to the their obligation that dates from the final days of World War Two to permit self-determination for the nations of East-Central Europe. Moscow must authoritatively renounce the long-standing policy known as "The Brezhnev Doctrine." The United States will not seek bilateral discussions with Moscow to agree on a new set of principles for the evolution of East-Central Europe. I simply challenge the Soviet Union to encourage freely contested elections in this region.

*** They must take a bold step and institutionalize political pluralism and respect for human rights. Until now, economic relations have been hindered by Soviet internal policies. But if the Soviet Union codifies emigration laws in accord with international standards, and maintains the current levels of immigration, I am prepared to work with Congress and the American people on a one-year waiver of the Jackson-Vanik amendment.

*** They must take a bold step and reduce threats to the security of every nation from the spread of ballistic-missile technology; nuclear, chemical and biological weapons; and terrorism.

*** They must take a bold step and renounce the principle that class conflict is an inevitable source of international tension. They must take a bold step ~~((IDEOLOGY, NEW WORLD))~~ *out of the shadow from under the shadow of a failed IDEO., and into the broad daylight of the mod. life*

*** They must take a bold step and accept with the United States and the world community responsibility for addressing pressing global problems, including the international drug menace, and dangers to the environment.

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challenge the Soviet Union to join the United States in seeking stability in the Persian Gulf, diminishing tensions on the Korean peninsula, encouraging Vietnam to withdraw expeditiously from Cambodia, limiting arms supplies to Angola and Ethiopia, and joining in the accelerated work on the Namibian accords.

But if we are moving beyond containment, we are still far from the day when the Soviet Union will be reconciled to the international system. We are only at the beginning of our path; and many dangers and uncertainties lie ahead. The world you will know in the next forty years will change in ways beyond our power to imagine. Like explorers, we must draft our own maps to chart the course of the future. But there are a few cardinal points by which we will navigate. [We will not abandon a philosophy of peace through strength.] Even as we seek peace, we must remain strong in a perilous world. The purpose of our military might is not to put pressure on a weak Soviet economy, or to seek military superiority, ~~We will maintain our military might, not just to defend ourselves,~~ ^{OR EVEN JUST TO DEFEND OURSELVES — The purpose} ~~but to convince the Soviet Union that there is~~ ^{from m m 15} ~~no point in turning back to militarism.~~ ^{the way of the past} NOD TO ALLIES ?

But if the Soviet Union takes these bold steps, and works with us to develop a more cooperative relationship, then our economic ties will surely broaden. American investment and commerce will grow if the Soviets create a domestic environment more congenial to free enterprise.

True, the prospects for a major expansion of U.S.-Soviet economic relations are limited, in part, by economic conditions in the Soviet Union. Nor will we relax export controls. The Soviets must refrain from using the cloak of commerce to steal technology and spy on the West. Trade and financial transactions must take place on a normal commercial basis, without subsidies. And the Soviets must lift discriminatory treatment of U.S. firms.

Ultimately, our hopes for a more cooperative and sustainable relationship with the Soviet Union rests on democratization. We support perestroika. Where possible, the United States will promote democratic values and ideas within the Soviet Union -- not in the spirit of provocation or destabilization -- but to lay a firm foundation for better relations, and a planet at peace.

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We do so for you, for the world you and your children will know. Thank you for inviting me to Texas A&M, and I wish you the very best in the years to come.

#

Thanks to the wise policies of the past, we stand at the threshold of winning an historic struggle between the vision of an international order composed of free and prosperous states and one of permanent ~~division~~ ^{division}. We can embark on an agenda more ambitious than we might ever have dreamed in the dark days of the Berlin Blockade, the Soviet invasions of Hungary and Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan. We can move, step by step, beyond containment to seek to integrate the Soviet Union into the international system which it has sought to undermine and from which it has stood apart.

The Soviet Union has said that it seeks rapprochement with the international order and has criticized its own post-war policies. These are words that we can only applaud. But a new relationship with the international system can neither simply be declared by Moscow nor can it be granted by others. It must be earned through the demilitarization of Soviet foreign policy and reinforced by behavior consistent with the principles of world order to which the Soviet Union subscribed in 1945 but has repeatedly violated since.

~~This is not a policy that accepts peaceful coexistence. If the Soviet Union is to enjoy the fruits of membership in the community of states, it cannot hold ideological principles and engage in conduct that promote international conflict. In a word, the Soviet Union must behave, consistently and over the long run, in accordance with the higher standards of behavior enunciated by the Soviet leadership itself.~~

Many times before the Soviet Union has signaled a desire for a more cooperative relationship, only to reverse its course and return to a militaristic path. The spirit of perestroika in the Soviet Union leads us to hope that this time may be different. But my friends, security is not built upon hope; it is built upon ? This time we seek fundamental restructuring of Soviet institutions, practices and military force structure, which can only be reversed at great costs, economically and politically, to the Soviet Union.

~~This is not a policy that accepts peaceful coexistence. If the Soviet Union is to enjoy the fruits of membership in the community of states, it cannot hold ideological principles and engage in conduct that promotes international conflict. This time, we seek to lay a firm foundation for a sustainable and more cooperative relationship with the Soviet Union.~~

But if we are moving beyond containment, we are still far from that day when the Soviet Union will be reconciled to the

The West?

Remind

All nations must interact through one set of international norms OR seeks to revive the DETENTE of the 1970s

Leave

U

international system. We are only at the beginning of our path; and many dangers and uncertainties lie ahead of us. The world you will know in the next forty years will change in ways beyond our powers to imagine. Like explorers, we must draft our own maps to chart the course of the future. But there are a few cardinal points by which we will navigate. PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH LANGUAGE HERE----/ not just to defend but to convince the Soviet Union that there is no purpose in turning back to a militaristic course. ALLIES

The transformation of the Soviet Union from a source of instability to a productive member of the family of nations is our long-term goal. But if we are true to our principles and dedicated to this course, imagine the ? world that we will enjoy.

Imagine a world in which it is possible to drive

Eastern Europe

Imagine a world

Soviet forces

Regional politics

Human Rights

It is our job to do more than imagine. Our obligation to future generations is to take the first steps--and the right steps-- toward that dream.

Statement on military objectives, regional, human rights.

As such

(A/C--Dates

Regional/

If the Soviet Union codifies emigration laws that are in accordance with international standards and maintains the current levels of immigration, I am prepared to consult with Congress and the American people on a one year waiver of the Jackson-Vanik amendment.