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National Republican Congressional Committee (NRCC) Dinner 12/5/89 [OA 6342]

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**NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE DINNER
THE MARRIOTT HOTEL / DECEMBER 5, 1989 / 6:35 PM**

THANK YOU. THIS IS QUITE A GATHERING OF GOP ALL-STARS. NRCC CHAIRMAN, CONGRESSMAN GUY VAN DER JAGT, AND HIS CO-CHAIRMAN, ED ROLLINS. MEMBERS OF MY CABINET AND OUR HOUSE LEADERSHIP. LET ME ALSO THANK THE NRCC FAITHFUL. AND FINALLY, LET ME RECOGNIZE TONIGHT'S MAN OF HONOR, FORMER CHAIRMAN OF THE NRCC -- REPUBLICAN LEADER BOB MICHEL.

- 2 -

I'M PROUD TO SAY I SERVED WITH BOB UP ON THE HILL -- SEEN HIM IN ACTION. FEW CAN MATCH THIS MAN'S WISDOM WHEN IT COMES TO THE WAYS OF CONGRESS. AS THE REPUBLICAN LEADER IN THE HOUSE, BOB'S A KEY PLAYER IN MOVING THIS ADMINISTRATION'S LEGISLATIVE AGENDA FORWARD -- AND HE'S GOING TO BE A KEY ALLY WHEN CONGRESS COMES BACK NEXT MONTH.

HE'S SIMPLY ONE OF THE MOST RESPECTED MEN ON
CAPITOL HILL. /// AND -- AS ANYONE KNOWS WHO
WITNESSED THE FASHION STATEMENT BOB MADE AT THIS YEAR'S
PRESIDENT'S DINNER -- HE'S A SHOO-IN FOR THE HILL'S
BEST DRESSED LIST. ///

IT'S MY PLEASURE TO BE HERE TONIGHT. AS YOU ALL
KNOW, I GOT BACK HOME LESS THAN 24 HOURS AGO FROM
BRUSSELS -- AND FROM MY MEETINGS WITH MIKHAIL
GORBACHEV.

I'D LIKE TO REPORT TO YOU WHAT WE ACCOMPLISHED IN MALTA
-- AND WE ACCOMPLISHED A GREAT DEAL.

FIRST, LET ME SAY THIS ABOUT THE ATMOSPHERE IN OUR
MEETINGS. WHATEVER THE WEATHER, THERE WERE NO STORMY
SESSIONS INSIDE. WE WERE BOTH STRAIGHTFORWARD -- AND I
THINK WE ESTABLISHED GOOD LINES OF COMMUNICATION. I
MADE IT VERY CLEAR TO PRESIDENT GORBACHEV THAT AMERICA
DOES NOT SEEK TO EXPLOIT EVENTS IN EASTERN EUROPE --
BUT ONLY TO ASSIST THE FORCES OF FREEDOM AND REFORM
EMERGING THERE.

AND I WAS UP-FRONT WITH PRESIDENT GORBACHEV ON CENTRAL AMERICA, AND THE DESTABILIZING FLOW OF ARMS INTO THAT REGION FROM NATIONS RECEIVING SOVIET SUPPORT. BOTH OF US AGREED THAT WE DON'T HAVE TO SACRIFICE CANDOR IN ORDER TO BUILD A BETTER RELATIONSHIP.

BUT THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT WE MADE REAL PROGRESS AT MALTA -- PROGRESS THAT STRENGTHENS THE PEACE, AND PROVIDES A SOLID BASE FOR FUTURE ADVANCES.

WE AGREED TO ACCELERATE THE TIMETABLES FOR REDUCING ARMS, AND CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE. WE AGREED TO A SUMMIT HERE IN THE U.S. NEXT JUNE. AND WE AGREED TO MOVE FORWARD IN FORGING A CLOSER ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP IN LIGHT OF THE POSITIVE CHANGES TAKING PLACE IN THE SOVIET UNION.

I LOOK AT MALTA AS THE FIRST HOPEFUL STEP INTO A NEW AMERICAN-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP -- THE FIRST STEP INTO THE NEXT DECADE, AND THE NEW WORLD THAT IS TAKING SHAPE EACH PASSING DAY: A NEW WORLD OF FREEDOM. AND MAKE NO MISTAKE: THE PROGRESS SET IN MOTION AT MALTA WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE WITHOUT THE STEADFAST SUPPORT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

[[I'M PLEASSED TO SHARE THAT REPORT WITH ALL OF YOU -- ESPECIALLY GIVEN THE MAN YOU'RE HONORING TONIGHT. THIS IS ONE TIME I DON'T HAVE TO ASK MYSELF: "BUT WILL IT PLAY IN PEORIA?" -- I CAN JUST ASK BOB. /// AFTER ALL, HIS POLITICS HAVE BEEN PLAYING IN PEORIA FOR 33 YEARS.]]

YOU KNOW, LESS THAN A MONTH FROM NOW, WE'LL BEGIN A NEW DECADE -- THE LAST IN THIS CENTURY.

I THINK ALL OF US FEEL THE VERY NATURAL INCLINATION TO LOOK AHEAD, TO THINK ABOUT THE CHANGES A NEW CENTURY WILL BRING. BUT TODAY THERE'S MORE THAN THAT NATURAL IMPULSE AT WORK. EACH DAY BRINGS NEW CHANGE -- FROM WARSAW TO BUDAPEST TO PRAGUE AND, YES, BERLIN, EACH DAY BRINGS NEW EVIDENCE THAT THE LOVE OF FREEDOM IS GATHERING FORCE.

THESE ARE EXCITING TIMES: FOR EVERY AMERICAN -- FOR PEOPLE ALL OVER THE WORLD WHO CHERISH THE FREEDOMS WE ENJOY -- AND THEY ARE EXCITING TIMES FOR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

BECAUSE THE VALUES WE SEE TRIUMPHING TODAY ARE THE VALUES THIS PARTY HAS ALWAYS STOOD FOR -- VALUES THAT HAVE KEPT AMERICA FREE, PROSPEROUS AND AT PEACE -- VALUES THAT HELPED CREATE THE CONDITIONS FOR THAT NEW WORLD OF FREEDOM THAT IS NOW INFOLDING BEFORE US.

AND I'M CONVINCED THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL CONTINUE TO LOOK TO US -- LOOK TO LEADERS LIKE BOB MICHEL AND HIS FELLOW REPUBLICANS IN THE HOUSE -- TO KEEP THIS COUNTRY ON COURSE IN THESE TIMES OF CHANGE.

[[AND LET ME SAY RIGHT NOW TO ALL THE LOYAL MEMBERS OF THE NRCC: THE 1990S WILL BRING A NEW WORLD. WE'VE ALL SEEN THE GRIM SPECTACLE: VOICES STRUGGLING TO BE HEARD, A MINORITY TRAMPLED BY UNBRIDLED POWER -- THE DECADES-OLD FIGHT AGAINST OPPRESSION. ///

YES, I'M TALKING ABOUT REPUBLICANS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. // WELL, THE TIDE IS TURNING. // CHANGE WILL COME TO CAPITOL HILL. THE DAYS OF ONE-PARTY RULE ARE OVER.]]

OUR MESSAGE IS GETTING THROUGH TO MAINSTREAM AMERICA: THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS THE PARTY WITH IDEAS. WITH EXPERIENCE. WITH THE ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS WE WILL FACE IN THE DECADE AHEAD.

AND THERE'S NO GREATER GOAL THAN THE ONE THAT INSPIRES EVERYONE HERE TONIGHT: TO BUILD OUR SUPPORT IN MAINSTREAM AMERICA INTO MAJORITY STATUS IN THE HOUSE.

AND WHEN THAT PROUD DAY COMES -- A PROUD DAY FOR EVERY REPUBLICAN FROM THE HOUSE LEADERSHIP RIGHT DOWN TO THE RANK AND FILE -- WE'LL HAVE THE NRCC TO THANK FOR ITS TIRELESS EFFORTS.

IT'S BEEN MY PLEASURE TO JOIN YOU TONIGHT. GOD BLESS YOU --AND GOD BLESS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

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Class et al
F41

ARRIVAL STATEMENT: ANDREWS AFB 12/4/89 DD

Thank you. Thank you for that warm greeting on such a brisk evening. It's great to be home. Back in the U.S.A.

Our mission to Malta, and then Brussels, was about peace. Not the kind of peace we've known for the last forty years - hard and cold - but about a new kind of peace. One that is rich with the promise of permanence. One that is a growing foundation for freedom.

That was the message I brought to President Gorbachev - a message that reflects the hopes and aspirations of all Americans.

Many Americans watched on television as the winds of the Mediterranean tossed our ships about. And I think it's just now that some of the staff are getting back their appetite.

But as I said in Brussels, it was not an ill wind that brought Mikhail Gorbachev and me together at Malta. It was the winds of change. Dramatic change. Witnessed by a world captivated, awed, by the tumultuous events of 1989.

At Malta, President Gorbachev and I took our first hopeful step into a new American - Soviet relationship. We took our first step into the next decade and the new world that is taking shape - a new world of freedom.

The promise of this new world would not have been possible without the steadfast support of the American people. It would not have been possible without the heroes of the East: people like Lech Walesa, Alexander Dubcek, Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn,

and so many, many more. And, it would not have been possible without the strength and stability of one of this century's greatest successes: the NATO Alliance.

[At Malta, we made much progress. We accelerated the timetables for reducing arms. We agreed to meet again in June in the United States. We agreed to press forward on building a closer economic relationship. We agreed to be pals.]

You know, during World War II, Winston Churchill called the island of Malta "democracy's fortress." It withstood one attack after another, never succumbing to the terrible tyranny of the Axis assault. En route home from the Teheran Conference in 1943, Franklin Roosevelt stopped there to deliver the thanks of the American people, praising Malta as "one tiny, bright flame in the darkness, a beacon of hope for clearer days."

I thought of that quote as the skies cleared on our second day of talks. The flame of freedom is casting its glow in many a dark corner around the world. And ladies and gentlemen, tonight new beacons of hope are shining brightly: in Warsaw, in Prague, in Budapest and Berlin, and, I believe, in Moscow.

And America, as always, will be at the forefront of these extraordinary times.

Thank you for your warm greeting on this winter's night. God bless you this Christmas season. And God bless the United States of America.

*Certainly
Problems
remain
Central
America*

Chung et al.
Fy1

PRESIDENT'S AFTERNOON INTERVENTION
ON THE FUTURE OF EUROPE

INTRODUCTION

- THIS MORNING I REVIEWED MY DISCUSSIONS WITH PRESIDENT GORBACHEV AT MALTA AND WE HEARD FROM PRIME MINISTER ANDREOTTI AND PRIME MINISTER MULRONEY ABOUT THEIR RECENT MEETINGS WITH HIM.

- I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY THIS AFTERNOON TO TALK ABOUT A SUBJECT OF EVEN BROADER SCOPE: THE FUTURE SHAPE OF THE NEW EUROPE AND THE NEW ATLANTICISM.

A TIME OF CHOICE

- WHEN WE LAST MET IN MAY, OUR SUMMIT DECLARATION DESCRIBED THE SETTING AS A "JUNCTURE OF UNPRECEDENTED CHANGE AND OPPORTUNITIES." IN THE LAST SIX MONTHS, WE HAVE WITNESSED EVENTS THAT HAVE FINALLY BEGUN TO MATCH OUR HOPES THESE FORTY YEARS. OUR DREAMS FOR AN HISTORIC TRANSFORMATION OF EUROPE FROM A DIVIDED CONTINENT INTO A CONTINENT WHOLE AND FREE ARE COMING TRUE.

- THE ALLIANCE WAS ESTABLISHED IN 1949 TO PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR PRECISELY THE EXTRAORDINARY EVOLUTION WHICH IS OCCURRING IN EASTERN EUROPE TODAY.

- THIS YEAR THE PEOPLE OF THE EAST MADE FUNDAMENTAL CHOICES ABOUT THEIR DESTINY, AND GOVERNMENTS THERE BEGAN TO HONOR THE CITIZEN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE. WHAT THESE CHANGES AMOUNT TO IS NOTHING LESS THAN A PEACEFUL REVOLUTION.

- THE TASK BEFORE US IS TO CONSOLIDATE THE FRUITS OF THIS PEACEFUL REVOLUTION AND PROVIDE THE ARCHITECTURE FOR CONTINUED PEACEFUL CHANGE. GREAT CHOICES ARE BEING MADE, AND GREATER OPPORTUNITIES BECKON.

THE FIRST PRINCIPLE FOR EUROPE'S FUTURE: OVERCOMING THE DIVISION OF EUROPE THROUGH FREEDOM

- IN ANY TIME OF GREAT CHANGE, IT IS GOOD TO HAVE FIRM PRINCIPLES TO GUIDE OUR WAY. OUR GOVERNMENTS COMMITTED THEMSELVES AGAIN IN MAY TO SEEK AN END TO THE PAINFUL DIVISION OF EUROPE. WE HAVE NEVER ACCEPTED THIS DIVISION. THE PEOPLE OF EVERY NATION HAVE THE RIGHT TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN WAY OF LIFE IN FREEDOM.

- OF COURSE, WE HAVE ALL SUPPORTED GERMAN REUNIFICATION FOR FOUR DECADES. AND IN OUR VIEW, THIS GOAL OF GERMAN UNIFICATION SHOULD BE BASED ON THE FOLLOWING PRINCIPLES.

- FIRST, SELF-DETERMINATION MUST BE PURSUED WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO ITS OUTCOME. WE SHOULD NOT AT THIS TIME ENDORSE NOR EXCLUDE ANY PARTICULAR VISION OF UNITY.

- SECOND, UNIFICATION SHOULD OCCUR IN THE CONTEXT OF GERMANY'S CONTINUED COMMITMENT TO NATO AND AN INCREASINGLY INTEGRATED EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, AND WITH DUE REGARD FOR THE LEGAL ROLE AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE ALLIED POWERS.
- THIRD, IN THE INTERESTS OF GENERAL EUROPEAN STABILITY, MOVES TOWARD UNIFICATION MUST BE PEACEFUL, GRADUAL, AND PART OF A STEP-BY-STEP PROCESS.
- LASTLY, ON THE QUESTION OF BORDERS WE SHOULD REITERATE OUR SUPPORT FOR THE PRINCIPLES OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT.
- AN END TO THE UNNATURAL DIVISION OF EUROPE, AND OF GERMANY, MUST PROCEED IN ACCORDANCE WITH AND BE BASED UPON THE VALUES THAT ARE BECOMING UNIVERSAL IDEALS, AS ALL THE COUNTRIES OF EUROPE BECOME PART OF A COMMONWEALTH OF FREE NATIONS. I KNOW MY FRIEND HELMUT KOHL COMPLETELY SHARES THIS CONVICTION.

THE ROLE OF NATO

- THE POLITICAL STRATEGY FOR NATO THAT WE AGREED UPON LAST MAY MAKES THE PROMOTION OF GREATER FREEDOM IN THE EAST A BASIC ELEMENT OF ALLIANCE POLICY. ACCORDINGLY, NATO SHOULD PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS, DEMOCRACY, AND REFORM WITHIN EASTERN COUNTRIES AS THE BEST MEANS OF ENCOURAGING RECONCILIATION AMONG THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN AND WESTERN EUROPE.
- THIS EFFORT RECALLS THE ORIGIN OF NATO AS A POLITICAL ALLIANCE OF NATIONS SHARING THE SAME FUNDAMENTAL VALUES, A FOUNDATION ON WHICH I EXPECT NATO WILL INCREASINGLY BUILD IN THIS NEW AGE OF EUROPE.
- ALLIANCE SUPPORT FOR REFORM AND POSITIVE CHANGE IN THE EAST NEEDS TO BE BROAD, MULTIFACETED, AND FLEXIBLE. IT SHOULD NOT ONLY BE A QUESTION OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE -- AS IMPORTANT AS THAT MIGHT BE -- BUT OF STEPS TO SUPPORT GREATER POLITICAL PLURALISM, OPEN UP FLOWS OF INFORMATION, DEVELOP NEEDED TECHNICAL EXPERTISE, AND PROVIDE THROUGH OUR DEFENSE AND ARMS CONTROL EFFORTS A STABLE SECURITY ENVIRONMENT FOR INDIVIDUAL EUROPEAN STATES, BOTH EAST AND WEST.
- THIS FITS THE CONCEPT OF "NEW MISSIONS FOR NATO" WHICH I PROPOSED WHEN I WAS HERE LAST MAY FOR OUR SUMMIT.
- BUT WE ALSO MUST REMAIN CONSTANT WITH NATO'S TRADITIONAL SECURITY MISSION. THE POTENTIAL FOR STRIFE IS INHERENT IN ANY PERIOD OF FUNDAMENTAL POLITICAL TRANSITION. IN SEEKING AND PREPARING PEACEFUL CHANGE, THIS ALLIANCE ALSO MUST REMAIN A RELIABLE GUARANTOR OF PEACE IN EUROPE, AS IT HAS BEEN FOR FORTY YEARS. IT UNITES THE FREE STATES OF THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY IN SHARING RISKS AND RESPONSIBILITIES AS WE WORK TOGETHER TO NURTURE AND GUIDE THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW EUROPE.

- AS A DEFENSIVE ALLIANCE AND PARTNERSHIP OF DEMOCRACIES, NATO SHOULD NOT BE SEEN AS THREATENING BY THE EAST. RATHER, IT CAN HELP MANAGE PEACEFUL CHANGE IN EUROPE IN A WAY THAT PRESERVES SECURITY AND STABILITY FOR ALL STATES. A HEALTHY NATO WILL SUPPORT BOTH MOVES TOWARD GREATER UNITY WITHIN WESTERN EUROPE AS WELL AS THE DISSOLUTION OF BARRIERS WITH THE EAST.
- ALTHOUGH THIS IS A TIME OF GREAT HOPE, WE MUST NOT BLUR THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN PROMISING EXPECTATIONS AND PRESENT REALITIES.
- MY GOVERNMENT THEREFORE REMAINS COMMITTED TO THE ALLIANCE STRATEGY FOR THE PREVENTION OF WAR, BASED ON A MIX OF NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL FORCES.
- I PLEDGE TODAY THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL MAINTAIN SIGNIFICANT MILITARY FORCES IN EUROPE AS LONG AS OUR ALLIES DESIRE OUR PRESENCE AS PART OF A COMMON SECURITY EFFORT.
- AS I SAID AT NATO EARLIER THIS YEAR, THE U.S. WILL REMAIN A EUROPEAN POWER. THAT MEANS THE U.S. WILL STAY ENGAGED IN THE FUTURE OF EUROPE, AND IN OUR COMMON DEFENSE.
- THIS IS NOT OLD THINKING. IT IS GOOD THINKING. OF COURSE I WOULD LIKE TO SEE A LESS MILITARIZED EUROPE. EVERYONE HERE KNOWS HOW STRONGLY I SUPPORT THE PROGRESS BEING MADE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS ON CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE TOWARD AN AGREEMENT THAT WOULD REDUCE THE SIZE OF THE CONVENTIONAL FORCES ON BOTH SIDES OF THE EAST-WEST DIVIDE.
- THIS CFE AGREEMENT WOULD DRAMATICALLY CUT BACK WARSAW PACT, PARTICULARLY SOVIET, FORCE STRENGTH. THIS HAS GREAT IMPLICATIONS FOR THE PROCESS OF REFORM IN EASTERN EUROPE AS WELL AS FOR THE SECURITY OF WESTERN EUROPE. AND IT WOULD PROVIDE FOR A CAREFULLY MANAGED AND RESPONSIBLE SET OF ALLIED REDUCTIONS AS WELL.
- AS WE SEEK TO ADJUST OUR MILITARY POSTURE TO THE CHANGING POLITICAL CLIMATE, I CAN THINK OF NO BETTER MODEL THAN THE CFE PROCESS AS A WAY TO COORDINATE OUR RESPONSES TO THE NEW REQUIREMENTS OF EUROPEAN SECURITY. WE MUST STAND TOGETHER FOR NEGOTIATED, COORDINATED, STABILIZING REDUCTIONS AGAINST A RUSH TO THROW OFF DEFENSE BURDENS, AGAINST A RETURN TO THE NARROW PROTECTION OF SELF-INTEREST THAT COULD BE SO DANGEROUS AT A TIME WHEN EUROPEAN POLITICS ARE IN A STATE OF FLUX RIVALED IN MY ADULT LIFE ONLY BY THE IMMEDIATE AFTERMATH OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR.
- YET, THE CFE PROCESS HAS NOT REALIZED ITS FULL POTENTIAL. LAST MAY WE AGREED TO SEEK AN AGREEMENT WITHIN ONE YEAR. WE HAVE MADE GOOD PROGRESS SINCE THEN, BUT TOO LITTLE AND TOO SLOWLY TO TAKE FULL ADVANTAGE OF THE OPPORTUNITY BEFORE US: THE CHANCE TO EASE THE SOVIET ARMY OUT OF EASTERN EUROPE AND SUBSTANTIALLY REDUCE THE RISK OF SURPRISE ATTACK AND AGGRESSION.

- WE AS POLITICAL LEADERS NEED TO REMAIN FIXED ON THIS GOAL AND TO RE-ENERGIZE OUR BUREAUCRACIES AND NEGOTIATORS TO SEIZE THIS URGENT OPPORTUNITY. I HOPE YOU AGREE WITH ME ON THE NEED FOR ACTION NOW. IF WE IN THIS ALLIANCE ARE NOT EQUAL TO THE CHANGES THAT ARE GOING ON IN EUROPE AROUND US, THE CFE PROCESS COULD BE OVERRUN BY EVENTS. THAT COULD BE DANGEROUS AND WE MUST AVOID IT.
- SIMILARLY, WE NEED TO GIVE THOUGHT TO HOW THE ALLIANCE CAN BEST MAINTAIN, IN THE MIDST OF CHANGE, DETERRENCE AT THE LOWEST POSSIBLE LEVEL OF FORCES.
- FOR THAT REASON, I AM PREPARED TO LOOK WITH AN OPEN MIND AT WAYS IN WHICH WE CAN TOGETHER ACHIEVE EVEN LOWER LEVELS OF CONVENTIONAL AND NUCLEAR FORCES IN EUROPE AS PART OF A NEGOTIATED AGREEMENT.

THE ROLE OF CSCE

- MANY OF THE VALUES THAT SHOULD GUIDE EUROPE'S FUTURE ARE DESCRIBED IN THE FINAL ACT OF THE CONFERENCE OF SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE. THESE VALUES ENCOMPASS THE FREEDOM OF PEOPLE TO CHOOSE THEIR DESTINY UNDER A RULE OF LAW WITH RULERS WHO ARE DEMOCRATICALLY ACCOUNTABLE.
- I THINK WE CAN LOOK TO THE CSCE TO PLAY A GREATER ROLE IN THE FUTURE OF EUROPE.
- EARLIER THIS YEAR, I SUGGESTED WE EXPAND THE CSCE HUMAN RIGHTS BASKET TO INCLUDE FREE ELECTIONS. GIVEN THE CALLS AND COMMITMENTS TO ELECTIONS IN MANY NATIONS TO THE EAST, THIS COULD BE AN EXCELLENT TIME FOR THE CSCE TO ASSUME THIS ADDITIONAL MANDATE.
- IN ADDITION, THE "ECONOMIC BASKET" OF THE CSCE HAS BEEN UNDERDEVELOPED. I SUGGESTED TO CHAIRMAN GORBACHEV THIS WEEKEND THAT WE COULD BREATHE NEW LIFE INTO THIS ASPECT OF CSCE BY FOCUSING ON THE PRACTICAL QUESTIONS INVOLVED IN THE TRANSITION FROM STAGNANT PLANNED ECONOMIES TO FREE AND COMPETITIVE MARKETS.
- IN SUM, THE THIRTY-FIVE NATIONS OF THE CSCE BRIDGE BOTH THE DIVISION OF EUROPE AND THE ATLANTIC OCEAN. IT IS A STRUCTURE THAT SHOULD BE ABLE TO CONTRIBUTE MUCH TO THE FUTURE ARCHITECTURE OF EUROPE.

THE ROLE OF THE EC

- I ALSO APPRECIATE THE VITAL ROLE THE EC MUST PLAY IN THE NEW EUROPE.
- BEFORE MY TRIP TO MALTA, PRESIDENT MITTERRAND CALLED TO SHARE WITH ME THE VIEWS ABOUT RECENT EVENTS EXPRESSED AT THE EC MEETING HE HAD CALLED. AND I KNOW THE COMMUNITY WILL BE RETURNING TO THESE TOPICS IN STRASBOURG LATER THIS WEEK.

- IT'S MY BELIEF THAT THE EVENTS OF OUR TIMES CALL BOTH FOR A CONTINUED, PERHAPS EVEN INTENSIFIED, EFFORT OF THE TWELVE TO INTEGRATE, AND A ROLE FOR THE EC AS A MAGNET THAT DRAWS THE FORCES OF REFORM FORWARD IN EASTERN EUROPE.
- THAT'S WHY I WAS EXCEPTIONALLY PLEASED THAT WE AGREED AT THE PARIS ECONOMIC SUMMIT ON A SPECIFIC ROLE FOR THE EC IN THE GROUP OF 24 EFFORT TO ASSIST POLAND AND HUNGARY. NOW THE G-24, CATALYZED BY EC EFFORTS, MUST DELIVER. ONE KEY STEP IS TO HELP POLAND ASSEMBLE THE \$1 BILLION STABILIZATION FUND IT HAS REQUESTED TO SUPPORT THE MAJOR MACROECONOMIC OVERHAUL PLAN IT INTENDS TO PUT IN PLACE WITHIN WEEKS.
- I RECOGNIZE, OF COURSE, THAT THE EC CANNOT BEAR THIS BURDEN ALONE. THE UNITED STATES WILL BE AT THE COMMUNITY'S SIDE IN THIS NOBLE ENDEAVOR.
- I ALSO AM COMMITTED TO A CLOSE U.S. PARTNERSHIP WITH THE EC. WE ARE BOUND TOGETHER BY COMMON VALUES AND DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AS WELL AS BY SHARED INTERESTS. SO WE SHOULD LOOK FOR WAYS TO IMPROVE OUR TIES SO A NEW ATLANTICISM WILL PULL IN HARNESS WITH A NEW EUROPE.

CONCLUSION

- WE STAND ON THE THRESHOLD OF A NEW ERA. WE KNOW THAT WE ARE CONTRIBUTING TO A PROCESS OF HISTORY DRIVEN BY PEOPLES DETERMINED TO BE FREE. THE PEOPLE OF EUROPE, ESPECIALLY THE BRAVE CITIZENS OF THE EAST, ARE ILLUMINATING THE FUTURE.
- YET THE OUTCOME IS NOT PREDESTINED. IT DEPENDS ON OUR CONTINUED STRENGTH AND SOLIDARITY AS AN ALLIANCE. IT DEPENDS VITALLY ON THE ACTIONS WE TAKE, AS GOVERNMENTS AND INDIVIDUALS, TO OFFER LEADERSHIP, PROTECTION, AND ENCOURAGEMENT FOR THIS PROCESS OF PEACEFUL TRANSFORMATION.
- EUROPE IS CHANGING, AND WE WILL BE EQUAL TO THE CHANGE. OUR TRANSATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP CAN CREATE THE ARCHITECTURE OF A NEW EUROPE, AND A NEW ATLANTICISM, WHERE SELF-DETERMINATION, AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM EVERYWHERE REPLACE COERCION AND TYRANNY, WHERE ECONOMIC LIBERTY EVERYWHERE REPLACES ECONOMIC CONTROLS AND STAGNATION, AND WHERE LASTING PEACE IS REINFORCED EVERYWHERE BY COMMON RESPECT FOR THE RIGHTS OF MAN.

Chuss et al
FYI

TALKING POINTS: TRI-MISSION GREETING, BRUSSELS 12/4/89

* Members of the Brussels family, Ambassador Glitman, Ambassador Taft, Ambassador Niles (Taft and Niles are new since your previous visit)

* It's nice to see some familiar faces. When I was in Brussels six months ago, you would have thought I'd at least wait a year before I put you through a Presidential visit again.

* But, you know, that is one of the nice things about our crew here in Brussels: you're ready for anything. You know the drill, and you're pros.

* Because in these exciting times we need people like you: unflappable, quick to respond, dedicated veterans of the foreign policy process.

* The other thing I like about the operation here in Brussels is your ability to work together. The Joint Administrative Service support group typifies that kind of effort. And believe me, I know what a visit like this demands of your admin offices. Where's Nick Basky? Nick, it's professionals like you that make these trips bearable. (Nick was also brought in to help out on the Costa Rica trip)

* It's an exciting time for America. And particularly for you here in Brussels. You've all seen the reports out of Malta, and our meeting here with our partners in the Alliance. We are standing on the threshold of a new era in our relationships with the East, and you here are on the cutting edge.

* (Here, you may want to give them a personal anecdote or reflection about President Gorbachev or your meeting)

* Thank you for your commitment and your dedication. God bless you and God bless the United States of America.

- * MEMBERS OF THE BRUSSELS FAMILY, AMBASSADOR GLITMAN, AMBASSADOR TAFT, AMBASSADOR NILES (TAFT AND NILES ARE NEW SINCE YOUR PREVIOUS VISIT)

- * IT'S NICE TO SEE SOME FAMILIAR FACES. WHEN I WAS IN BRUSSELS SIX MONTHS AGO, YOU WOULD HAVE THOUGHT I'D AT LEAST WAIT A YEAR BEFORE I PUT YOU THROUGH A PRESIDENTIAL VISIT AGAIN.

- * BUT, YOU KNOW, THAT IS ONE OF THE NICE THINGS ABOUT OUR CREW HERE IN BRUSSELS: YOU'RE READY FOR ANYTHING. YOU KNOW THE DRILL, AND YOU'RE PROS.

- * BECAUSE IN THESE EXCITING TIMES WE NEED PEOPLE LIKE YOU: UNFLAPPABLE, QUICK TO RESPOND, DEDICATED VETERANS OF THE FOREIGN POLICY PROCESS.

- * THE OTHER THING I LIKE ABOUT THE OPERATION HERE IN BRUSSELS IS YOUR ABILITY TO WORK TOGETHER. THE JOINT ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE SUPPORT GROUP TYPIFIES THAT KIND OF EFFORT. AND BELIEVE ME, I KNOW WHAT A VISIT LIKE THIS DEMANDS OF YOUR ADMIN OFFICES. WHERE'S NICK BASKY? NICK, IT'S PROFESSIONALS LIKE YOU THAT MAKE THESE TRIPS BEARABLE. (NICK WAS ALSO BROUGHT IN TO HELP OUT ON THE COSTA RICA TRIP)

- * IT'S AN EXCITING TIME FOR AMERICA. AND PARTICULARLY FOR YOU HERE IN BRUSSELS. YOU'VE ALL SEEN THE REPORTS OUT OF MALTA, AND OUR MEETING HERE WITH OUR PARTNERS IN THE ALLIANCE. WE ARE STANDING ON THE THRESHOLD OF A NEW ERA IN OUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE EAST, AND YOU HERE ARE ON THE CUTTING EDGE.

- * (HERE, YOU MAY WANT TO GIVE THEM A PERSONAL ANECDOTE OR REFLECTION ABOUT PRESIDENT GORBACHEV OR YOUR MEETING)

* THANK YOU FOR YOUR COMMITMENT AND YOUR DEDICATION. GOD
BLESS YOU AND GOD BLESS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Malta info
for your
files

Churchill
at.
FYI

ARRIVAL STATEMENT IN BRUSSELS, 12/3/89

D1

Today, we met in Malta, Winston Churchill's "tiny rock of history and romance." Ancient stepping stone to Europe. Today, the crossroads of East and West.

And tonight we meet in Brussels. Tonight we stand at the crossroads of history, on our way to a Europe whole and free.

It is always a pleasure to return to Brussels. This city represents the finest that Europe has to offer in friendship and hospitality. It also represents the strength and vitality of European institutions, nourished and protected for more than 40 years by the security shield of NATO -- one of the great success stories of our century.

Brussels symbolizes a vibrant and growing trans-Atlantic partnership -- one that has helped foster the astounding changes we are seeing today.

The modern Atlantic Alliance was born at sea. It was on a battleship off the coast of Canada that Franklin Roosevelt met Winston Churchill during Europe's darkest hour, great leaders in a rendezvous at sea, a rendezvous with destiny.

The legacy of that meeting became known as the Atlantic Charter, significant not for its details, but for its vision.

It spoke of a day when all peoples, in all nations, would freely choose their form of government, and live lives rich with opportunity and hope. It spoke of a day when nations would

resolve their differences at the negotiating table, not on the field of battle.

Tonight, I have come to Brussels to share with our friends and allies the results of that vision -- results born of strength and solidarity, continuity and commitment.

It seems like the world is changing overnight. But the yearning for freedom lives within all of us, and always has. That simple truth is manifested in the thunderous events taking place a few hundred kilometers to the East. And that simple truth brought Mikhail Gorbachev and I together in a windswept harbor off Malta.

The seas were as turbulent as our times. But it was not an ill wind carrying us on our mission. No, it was the winds of change. Strong and constant. Profound.

And today, as the sun broke through the clouds, we could both see a new world taking shape -- a new world of freedom.

Here in Brussels, only six months ago, we pledged as Allies to work together to end the division of Europe. We now stand at the threshold of making that dream a reality.

My presence here, and that of my NATO colleagues, underscores the importance we attach to consultations within the Alliance. I look forward to my discussions with Prime Minister Martens, Secretary-General Woerner, and E.C. Commission President DeLors.

It is an exciting time for the Alliance, for Europe, and for America. I have come with good news. Thank you, God bless you, and good night.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Brussels, Belgium)..

For Immediate Release

December 4, 1989

NEWS CONFERENCE BY THE PRESIDENT

Luns Press Theater
NATO Headquarters
Brussels, Belgium

4:20 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: I have a statement, and then I'll be glad to respond to your questions.

This year the people of the East made fundamental choices about their destiny, and governments there began to honor the citizen's right to choose. What these changes amount to is nothing less than a peaceful revolution. And the task before us, therefore, is to consolidate the fruits of this peaceful revolution and provide the architecture for continued peaceful change, to end the division of Europe and of Germany, to make Europe whole and free.

Great choices are being made. Greater opportunities beckon.

The political strategy for NATO that we agreed upon last May makes the promotion of greater freedom in the East a basic element of Alliance policy. Accordingly, NATO should promote human rights, democracy, and reform within Eastern countries as the best means of encouraging reconciliation among the countries of Eastern and Western Europe.

Although this is a time of great hope -- and it is -- we must not blur the distinction between promising expectations and present realities. We must remain constant with NATO's traditional security mission. I pledge today that the United States will maintain significant military forces in Europe as long as our allies desire our presence as part of a common defense effort. The U.S. will remain a European power. And that means that the United States will stay engaged in the future of Europe and in our common defense.

Many of the values that should guide Europe's future are described in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. These values encompass the freedom of people to choose their destiny under a rule of law with rulers who are democratically accountable.

I think we can look to the CSCE to play a greater role in the future of Europe. The 35 nations of the CSCE bridge both the division of Europe and the Atlantic Ocean. It's a structure that should be able to contribute much to the future architecture of Europe.

I also appreciate the vital role that the EC must play in the new Europe. And it's my belief that the events of our times call both for a continued, perhaps even intensified, effort of the 12 to integrate, and a role for the EC as a magnet that draws the forces of reform toward Eastern Europe. And that's why I was exceptionally pleased that we agreed at the Paris economic summit on a specific role for the EC in that Group of 24 effort to assist Poland and Hungary.

We stand on the threshold of a new era. And we know that we are contributing to a process of history driven by the peoples

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determined to be free. The people of Europe -- especially the brave citizens of the East -- are illuminating the future. And yet, the outcome is not predestined. It depends on our continued strength and our solidarity as an alliance.

Our transatlantic partnership can create the architecture of a new Europe and a new Atlanticism where self-determination and individual freedom everywhere replace coercion and tyranny. Where economic liberty everywhere replaces economic controls and stagnation. And where lasting peace is reinforced everywhere by common respect for the rights of man.

I now would be glad to respond to some questions. And we've got to be out of here about a little after quarter of.

Q Mr. President, I have a two-part question. You've made it clear that you are going to stay in Europe. But in view of the dramatic reduction in tensions and the obvious weakening of the Warsaw Pact, what will be the real American role? And two, will there now be more money for the poor, the homeless, public housing -- the nation's really badly-in-need repair of infrastructure?

THE PRESIDENT: We have a lot of demands at home, and there's no question about that. But I think it is premature to speak, as some are at home, about a peace dividend. Take a lot of money out of defense and put it into other worthy causes. And so, as I started over the budget figures for the next budget cycle, we are under a tremendous burden to get our total spending down in order to meet the Gramm-Rudman targets.

In terms of the U.S. role, I think I said it out here pretty well. We will continue to play a very active role in NATO. I see nothing that diminishes the importance of the United States. And I might say that I gathered from our interlocutors there -- the other heads of state and governments -- that they want us fully involved.

And thinking back on my talks with Mr. Gorbachev, I don't see any conflict there either.

Q Mr. President, Vernon Walters, your trusted advisor and the Ambassador to Bonn, said that he envisions a -- he says that Germany East and West will be reunited within five years. Do you think that's possible? And what would be the implications for NATO and the Warsaw Pact?

THE PRESIDENT: I am not into the predicting of time on the question of Germany. Let me just -- I don't know whether the Secretary General read you these points. Let me just read the four points that represent the U.S. position on reunification.

Self-determination must be pursued without prejudice to its outcome and we should not at this time endorse any particular vision.

Secondly, unification should occur in the context of Germany's continued commitment to NATO and an increasingly integrated European Community, and with due regard for the legal role and responsibilities of the allied powers.

Third, in the interest of general European stability, moves toward unification must be peaceful, gradual, and part of a step-by-step basis. And these were -- and lastly, on the question of borders, we should reiterate our support for the principles of the Helsinki Final Act.

So I am not trying to accelerate that process. I don't think our allies are. I think Chancellor Kohl feels comfortable with the four points I have just read. And so I think it's better to let things move on their own and without the United States certainly setting some kind of deadline.

Q Mr. President, you said in announcing your meeting

with Chairman Gorbachev that one of the main reasons was that you wanted to make sure that in this time of change you didn't miss anything. In your two days of meetings, did you learn anything that you feel that you might have missed had you not had them?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. What I would have missed is I wouldn't see quite as clearly his priorities. I see them more clearly because he and I sat down and talked. We had about eight hours of talk, some private. And I feel I can sense much more clearly the things he feels more strongly about. And we had a good chance to point-out to him some of the difficulties with our relationship.

It wasn't all sweetness and light. I had a very good opportunity to tell him how we view the problems in our own hemisphere -- the sending of arms in there to help the FMLN and the unhelpful role that Cuba is playing. I recited in detail the Oscar Arias phone call to me: "Please raise with Mr. Gorbachev the unhelpful role -- the destructive role of Cuba."

So I think it's more emphasis, although we did put forward some general themes on the economy, and I think he was pleased. Because I think from his standpoint -- and this is important for mine -- he now sees that we want to have a cooperative, forward-leaning relationship with the Soviet Union.

Q Mr. President, you have, perhaps more than any contemporary American president, exercised personal diplomacy -- establishing personal friendships with a wide variety of leaders. Are you prepared now to say that Mr. Gorbachev is your friend?

THE PRESIDENT: I'll say this -- We had a very friendly conversation. And then, once in a while, there was a little tension there. But it was extraordinarily friendly in the conversation aspect. I don't know how you go further than that in definition. But I'm convinced that he is determined to do that what he told me he's doing -- reform, perestroika, openness we totally agree on is a democratic value.

So, Brit, what happened was, I think he took my measure and I took his and I think we just feel more comfortable about our common objectives.

Q To go back to what Helen asked you about, you said we would remain an Atlantic power.

THE PRESIDENT: Keep talking. I'm just going to get some water.

Q After World War II, the Europeans needed our money with the Marshall Plan. They they needed our military backing because of the Soviet threat. But now, if the Soviet military threat does recede -- and I know it's early days yet -- maybe this is a question that one of your successors will have to deal with -- eventually, what are they going to need from us? What role will we really have to play here?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, we have a tremendous interaction if you want to hypothetically project to that guaranteed peaceful time. I would say interaction with the United States on student exchanges, cultural exchanges, economic matters. I mean, there's a tremendous potential for a Soviet Union that is in accord with us on these democratic values. It's a tremendous market, for example, but it needs the economic reform. So what we've got to do is be sure that we conduct ourselves in such a way that the changes -- the political reforms can keep going forward there in Eastern Europe; that the Soviet Union can do what Mr. Gorbachev is trying to do internally. And then there's just enormous potential for living at peace with that tremendous power.

Q Sir, maybe I misstated my question. What I really mean is, why do West Europeans need us once the military threat

recedes? The West Europeans? Why would there have to be a NATO? This is a political and military alliance, and truly a political alliance because of the military need.

THE PRESIDENT: You mean, why will there always have to be a U.S. presence?

Q Why will there always have to be a NATO?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, if you want to project out 100 years or take some years off of that, you can look to a utopian day when there might not be. But as I pointed out to them, that day hasn't arrived; and they agree with me. And so the United States must stay involved.

What we don't want to do is send the signal of decoupling -- the decoupling of the United States and Canada from NATO -- particularly at this highly sensitive time. And Mr. Gorbachev understood that. He made that point to me.

Q Did President Gorbachev ask your forbearance in case he decided to crack down on dissidents? And if so, what did you say? Or what role did the question of ethnic and Baltic dissent have in your meeting?

THE PRESIDENT: The answer to the first part is, no. And the answer to the second part is, I asked him to describe for me the nationality problems inside the Soviet Union. And he did it in considerable detail.

Q Mr. President, you had mentioned that you got some insight into President Gorbachev at this point. I wonder if the insights included any sense of internal -- did he behave as if a man operating from a strong position, or a man who seemed to be in jeopardy, or how did you assess that?

THE PRESIDENT: I thought he seemed very much in control. You could tell the way he interacted with his own top people there. And he felt very confident in discussing without notes a wide array of subjects with me. He did have a little notebook that he referred to. It was written in his own handwriting, the best I could see. (Laughter.) And once having seen it, I couldn't read it. (Laughter.) And so he seemed in control. He seemed -- subdued is the wrong word, but I would say determined and unemotional about it. The most emotion we saw was at that press conference yesterday. But it was a wonderful presentation. And the climate for -- leave out the weather -- the climate for the discussions was really good.

Q Mr. President, again as part of the insights you gave, what is your understanding about Secretary General Gorbachev's view of unification of Germany? Do you think he's as opposed as he's said in public, or do you think that he accepts the fact that --

THE PRESIDENT: I think his view was one of -- if I could use a word that's unfamiliar to many -- caution. And I really believe that. I think he recognizes the rapidity of change. He has very constructively talked about peaceful change. And I think his hope is that people don't try to set up some artificial calendar by which -- date -- by which that reunification should happen. And I think he feels that if there were outside forces setting dates on something like that, that would complicate the way in which he is managing the change -- helping manage the change in the Pact.

Q Mr. President, there was a lot of speculation going in that you and Mr. Gorbachev might get involved in talking about deeper cuts, particularly in European forces. Did you, in fact, do that, and is there skepticism within this organization here about moving too rapidly beyond what has now been dubbed CFE One?

THE PRESIDENT: No, we didn't get into that. We talked very broadly about our aspirations for further arms control, but there was no emphasis on that. And I'd -- there may be some strains

in one country or another, viewing the rapidity of change differently than we do. But what I suggested to our NATO allies is let's go forward with the agreements we've got out there -- the CFE. Let's get it done. I, the President of the United States, will kick our bureaucracy and push it as fast as I possibly can. I've talked to General Galvin. I had a meeting with him over here last night. And I'm convinced that we -- I must do more to keep it on schedule. And I've encouraged the other allies to do the same. I don't think there was any resistance to that. Similarly, START and chemical weapons.

So before we go into a wide array of other questions, I think the best thing to do is take advantage of the moment and move forward in those three areas. And I went over that in little talks with individuals from NATO, as well as in the meeting itself.

Q Do you accept the principle of a CFE Two?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I'd like to get a CFE One in the bank first -- get it locked up, get those troops out, move down to equal levels -- U.S. and Soviet forces. And so we ought to manage that before we start the architecture of something else. I want to see that done on time.

Q Mr. President, on East Germany, as you know, the party structure -- the communist party structure has collapsed there. It's unclear who's running the government. I wonder if you talked about that; if you personally think that it's a dangerous situation, that that moves unification up in the timetable at all? And secondly, what Gorbachev said to you when you said to him unification of Germany would have to be in the NATO context?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I don't think it's a dangerous situation. I don't think anybody here in this room, including myself, has been able to predict the rapidity of the change, the totality of the change. But I don't see it as dangerous as long as the Soviet leader and the Germans and the West conduct themselves the way I've been urging.

What was the second part?

Q Well, what Mr. Gorbachev said to you when you said unification, but only in the NATO context. He keeps saying it has to be in the Warsaw Pact context.

THE PRESIDENT: No, we were -- I don't think we went into that in real depth, Lesley.

Q Well, what do you think he'd think of that? I mean, obviously --

THE PRESIDENT: That's too hypothetical. I've got trouble figuring it out on our side with all our experts, rather than knowing what he might think about something he hadn't thought about, maybe. (Laughter.)

Q Mr. President, you seem to have traveled some distance between what you were saying about Mr. Gorbachev a year or so ago and some of the things you said yesterday. Could you please talk in a little bit more detail about the evolution in your thinking that you mentioned yesterday -- how that happened, and what persuaded you along the --

THE PRESIDENT: As I watched the way in which Mr. Gorbachev has handled the changes in Eastern Europe, it deserves new thinking. It absolutely mandates new thinking. And when I see his willingness to give support to a CFE agreement that calls for him to disproportionately reduce his forces, and that is there on the table. I think that mandates new thinking. When I hear him talk about peaceful change and the right of countries to choose -- countries in the Warsaw Pact to choose -- that deserves new thinking.

And so I approach this, and I think in step with our

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allies, with a certain respect for what he's doing, and thus we want to try to meet him on some of the areas where he needs help. I'm thinking of a few suggestions I had in the economic area. But I also believe that the West must remain strong and together and try to be helpful where we can in a united way, but not be imprudent.

Q Mr. President, you mentioned earlier that there was some tension during the meeting, and earlier reported you had said that there was no personal rancor. Could you outline the moments of tension, and tell us a little bit about the moments where you felt there was tension between you and the Soviet leader?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think where you don't have agreement you can have some -- some slight tension might result. I don't want to imply there was great, dramatic moments of tension. Please let me clarify it if that's the impression I left.

But we have a big difference on how we look at Central America. And I would like to see him use his influence with Mr. Castro, and if he's got any left, with Mr. Ortega, to facilitate democratic change in the Western hemisphere. And I made clear this isn't just the view of the United States, but it's the view of many Americans. And it's the view of Oscar Arias. So when you get into a subject like that where he may have a different formula, it's a little more concentrated than when you're clicking off agreements in some areas.

Is there anybody here that's not accredited to the White House? Only because I don't want to be rude to the foreign -- you're not a foreign journalist. Who -- you are. I wasn't talking to you. Go ahead, please.

(Part 11)

Q Can I ask you to elaborate on who you are and what you mean by European Community integration -- integration -- European Community integration?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q You made a statement before. You know, a statement. You referred to the European Community -- EC -- greatly needs integration.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, what I'm talking about is primarily on the economic side. You're going to have enormous interchange between the East and West. And what we're trying to do in the West, and I think the EC is trying to do it also, is to assist those countries that are moving down the democratic path. The EC was charged out of our G-7 meeting in Paris to move forward on a coordinated economic approach to help Hungary and Poland. And so it's in that area where I see the earliest and the most productive integration.

Q Mr. President, the last two weeks of June Mr. Gorbachev will be in the U.S.A. for the summit. At the very beginning of July, G-7 will be meeting in Houston. Now you said in Malta that you wanted to help steer the Soviet Union into the global economy. Is there a prospect that Mr. Gorbachev might stay on for the G-7 summit? Or when you called on that summit, why didn't you include some of the Eastern powers?

THE PRESIDENT: The answer is, I don't think so. Put it this way. Two chances, slim and none, for that particular meeting. Nor did he request to be included in that particular meeting. But we're in times of rapid change. And we'll see how things move forward in terms of having a common subject to discuss. You see, we've got to understand his dilemma.

(Part 12)

They have not had a market economy. They have not had the privatization that joins the G-7 together. It's different. And so what I have proposed as opposed to the suggestion -- the question you asked -- is that we work with them in observer status in the GATT

understand the dynamism of the economic systems that join those seven countries.

So I don't think it's likely that he would hang around Houston waiting for the next meeting.

Q Mr. President, you stepped aside on a question about a peace dividend and said that you've got a terrible Gramm-Rudman problem next year. As you look at the changes in Europe and the possibilities of further defense cuts, do you expect any time in your first term to have a dividend -- a peace dividend to apply to some of the economic and social problems at home? And when would you expect that?

THE PRESIDENT: That's an awful tough question to answer about "any time." I would think it would be extraordinarily difficult because of not only the enormity of the Gramm-Rudman -- the difficulty of reaching the Gramm-Rudman target this year, but what follows on.

And so what we are trying to do is emphasize the areas where we can be of most help to the people through various programs. And I -- in some areas -- I don't know whether Helen mentioned in her question education -- but in some areas it isn't necessarily a -- the problem isn't going to be solved by putting more money into it.

But on your question, as we go on down on meeting these Gramm-Rudman targets, there just isn't a lot of "excess money" floating around there.

Q Not for the foreseeable future? Not for the rest of your first term?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, look at the Gramm-Rudman targets that face us. I don't want to hold out to those that want to rush out and spend a lot more money the hope that that is going to happen. We've got some tremendous economic problems that have to be solved. Because the best answer to helping people -- if you have to divide it -- have to quantify it, the best is to have a job. And the best way to have the climate for a job is to have a sound economy.

And to our foreign friends here I'd say one of the things that would be the best guarantee of that would be to get our federal deficits down. It would also help us with investment. And that is the best poverty program -- a job in the private sector. And so I can't -- I had a letter from a distinguished senator before I left, because he'd read about possible defense cuts -- a reduction in the defense budget -- saying take that money and spend it for a cause that he felt was very worthy. And I had to write him back and say, "Look, that isn't the way it's going to work. That isn't the way it's going to work."

Q Mr. President, you spoke in your opening statement about the need for a greater role for the 35 nation group known as CSCE. You know that in Rome, Chairman Gorbachev raised the possibility of a new conference -- a congress of Europe. I understand that didn't come up in Malta.

THE PRESIDENT: No, it didn't.

Q It did?

THE PRESIDENT: No, it did not. You're right.

Q But even though it didn't, it's an important suggestion, and I wonder how you feel about it.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I feel about it that I have -- with respect to him -- an even more important suggestion. And that is that we sign a CFE agreement. There's something that's very practical, that's very much within our grasp, and I think that should be our prime objective for that kind of a meeting.

Q Chairman Gorbachev said yesterday that you and he agreed in your talks that the world -- that the Malta meeting marked the end of the epoch of the Cold War and entering a new period. Do you agree with him that the Cold War is over?

THE PRESIDENT: Carl, let me tell you something. (Laughter.) We're fooling around with semantics here. I don't want to give you a headline. I've told you the areas where I think we have progress. Why do we resort to these code words that send different signals to different people? I'm not going to answer it. And I can tell --

Q He did.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, good. He can speak for himself in a very eloquent way. But in terms of if you want me to define it, is the Cold War the same -- I mean, is it raging like it was before in the times of the Berlin Blockade? Absolutely not. Things have moved dramatically. But if I signal to you there's no Cold War, then it's -- "What are you doing with troops in Europe?" I mean, come on.

Yes, Maureen?

Q A question for --

THE PRESIDENT: Is your name Maureen, sir?

Q -- Soviet journalist. I am from a visiting newspaper.

THE PRESIDENT: Name Maureen? Go ahead. (Laughter.)

Q Mr. President, what is your reaction to Chairman Gorbachev's proposal that NATO and the Warsaw Pact should not remain just military alliances, but rather become military-political alliances and later on just political alliances? Can you envisage in the future a new form of cooperation between the two alliances?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I can see an economic interaction, and I hope that NATO will, along with the EC and along with OECD and these other areas, will take more of an active East-West role in the economy, in helping each other in terms of systems. But he did not press that point with me at all. I think he envisions an active U.S. presence in Europe, one way or another.

Q Mr. President, after five hours of talks on Saturday, despite extremely treacherous seas -- you even had trouble getting to the talks -- you got back on your launch and got back on your ship. Mr. President, why did you do that?

THE PRESIDENT: Because I wanted to go back in time to receive him for dinner.

Q But didn't you understand you were risking the summit, number one? And number two, what do you think Gorbachev thinks of your judgment?

THE PRESIDENT: Maureen, you've been to Maine. Don't tell me that that little chop was -- (laughter) -- risking anything. Frankly, I haven't had that much fun in a long time, either. But the fact that we got out there and the seas kicked up even more -- the winds were up to 60 knots -- 60 miles an hour, 50 knots -- which is a big wind. And along with it came a swell, and along with it came a chop. But we didn't miss a beat. In fact, we had a very relaxed evening out there, and then showed up and we got eight hours of talks in. So that was a non-issue. And I didn't feel there was any risk in getting in a little safe launch like that and going back out to the ship; it was sheer pleasure. Really.

Q It wasn't hot-dogging?

THE PRESIDENT: Hot-dogging? No. (Laughter.) Well, you know, these charismatic, macho, visionary guys. They'll do anything. (Laughter.) This is the last question. I've got to go. I've got to go home.

Q Mr. President, a few moments ago you questioned whether Gorbachev had any influence at all over Danny Ortega. Yet, in his news conference yesterday, Chairman Gorbachev indicated that there may be an opportunity now for peace in the region. Did he indicate to you in any way whether, one, he had any control over Ortega, or two, whether there was something in the works that may lead to some kind of peaceful political --

THE PRESIDENT: No, he didn't. But I think -- he didn't indicate whether he had any control over him. What he did indicate was that there were going to be free elections. And I told him, that's fine -- have those free elections. But they've got to be fair. You have to have access for the minority parties and the opposition party, the UNO, to get in there and participate -- full access.

And so we had a little discussion of that, but that was about it.

Q To follow up. If he indicated there would be free elections, that would in turn indicate that he does in fact maintain some sort of influence of Ortega. And then wouldn't you hold him further responsible to stop that flow of arms to El Salvador?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I'm not sure -- I don't see quite the logic. If he says there's going to be a free election, that means he controls them. I'm unclear on your --

Q How could he assure you that there would be free elections?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, excuse me. I don't think he assured me there was. He just says free elections are scheduled. And I told him how important we felt it was that they go forward. I am told that our congressional delegation, made up of some who had been rather generous in their comments about what the Sandinistas were about, or at least were less than supportive historically for the Contras, were on this delegation, and that the delegation was denied the right to come in and take a look.

And I told him this is counterproductive. This doesn't help. But I don't want to imply from that, that he can just snap his fingers and have Mr. Ortega -- I think he was -- do what he said.

I think he was impressed -- I may be wrong, but I think he was impressed by the message from Oscar Arias. And I asked Arias if it was okay to tell him of the call, and he said, yes, I hope you will.

So when I said this man -- this Nobel Prize winner down there -- with whom we've had some differences, though normally we're in pretty good sync -- appeals to you to use your influence to stop the export of revolution, it may have made an impact.

I really do have to run. We're supposed to be out of here, for those who are flying with us, at quarter of. And it's now 14 of. No, wait a minute. Twelve of. (Laughter.) What's the big hand. Here, I'm getting a little tired. (Laughter.)

Thank you.

McGroarty/Dooley
December 5, 1989
1:00 pm
[NRCC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL
COMMITTEE DINNER
THE MARRIOTT HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C.
DECEMBER 5, 1989
6:35 PM

Thank you. [Introductory acknowledgements.] This is quite a gathering of GOP all-stars. NRCC chairman, Congressman Guy Vander Jagt, and his co-chairman, Ed Rollins. Members of my Cabinet and our House leadership. Let me also thank the NRCC faithful. And finally, let me recognize tonight's man of honor, former chairman of the NRCC -- Republican leader Bob Michel.

I'm proud to say I served with Bob up on the Hill -- seen him in action. Few can match this man's wisdom when it comes to the ways of Congress. As the Republican leader in the House, Bob's a key player in moving this Administration's legislative agenda forward -- and he's going to be a key ally when Congress comes back next month.

He's simply one of the most respected men on Capitol Hill.

/// And -- as anyone knows who witnessed the fashion statement Bob made at this year's Senate-House Dinner -- he's a shoo-in for the Hill's Best Dressed List. ///

It's my pleasure to be here tonight. As you all know, I got back home less than 24 hours ago from Brussels -- and from my

meetings with Mikhail Gorbachev. I'd like to report to you what we accomplished in Malta -- and we accomplished a great deal.

First, let me say this about the atmosphere in our meetings. Whatever the weather, there were no stormy sessions inside. We were both straightforward -- and I think we established good lines of communication. I made it very clear to President Gorbachev that America does not seek to exploit events in Eastern Europe -- but only to assist the forces of freedom and reform emerging there. And I was up-front with President Gorbachev on Central America, and the destabilizing flow of arms into that region from nations receiving Soviet support. Both of us agreed that we don't have to sacrifice candor in order to build a better relationship.

But there is no question that we made real progress at Malta -- progress that strengthens the peace, and provides a solid base for future advances. We agreed to accelerate the timetables for reducing arms, and conventional forces in Europe. We agreed to a summit here in the U.S. next June. And we agreed to move forward in forging a closer economic relationship in light of the positive changes taking place in the Soviet Union.

I look at Malta as the first hopeful step into a new American-Soviet relationship -- the first step into the next decade, and the new world that is taking shape each passing day: a new world of freedom. And make no mistake: the progress set in motion at Malta would not have been possible without the steadfast support of the American people.

[[I'm pleased to share that report with all of you -- especially given the man you're honoring tonight. This is one time I don't have to ask myself: "But will it play in Peoria?" -- I can just ask Bob. /// After all, his politics have been playing in Peoria for 33 years.]]

You know, less than a month from now, we'll begin a new decade -- the last in this century. I think all of us feel the very natural inclination to look ahead, to think about the changes a new century will bring. But today there's more than that natural impulse at work. Each day brings new change -- from Warsaw to Budapest to Prague and, yes, Berlin, each day brings new evidence that the love of freedom is gathering force -- that the promise of the 90s and the new century beyond is nothing less than a new world of freedom.

These are exciting times: for every American -- for people all over the world who cherish the freedoms we enjoy -- and they are exciting times for the Republican Party.

Because the values we see triumphing today are the values this Party has always stood for -- values that have kept America free, prosperous and at peace -- values that helped create the conditions for that new world of freedom that is now unfolding before us.

And I'm convinced that the American people will continue to look to us -- look to leaders like Bob Michel and his fellow Republicans in the House -- to keep this country on course in these times of change.

[[And let me say right now to all the loyal members of the NRCC: the 1990s will bring a new world. We've all seen the grim spectacle: voices struggling to be heard, a minority trampled by unbridled power -- the decades-old fight against oppression. /// Yes, I'm talking about Republicans in the House of Representatives. // Well, the tide is turning. // Change will come to Capitol Hill. The days of one-party rule are over.]]

Our message is getting through to mainstream America: the Republican Party is the party with ideas. With experience. With the answers to the questions we will face in the decade ahead. And there's no greater goal than the one that inspires everyone here tonight: to build our support in mainstream America into majority status in the House.

And when that proud day comes -- a proud day for every Republican from the House leadership right down to the rank and file -- we'll have the NRCC to thank for its tireless efforts.

It's been my pleasure to join you tonight. God bless you -- and God bless the United States of America.

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List for Nat'l Repub. Cong.
Comm. Dinner

12/5

We would like the President to acknowledge the following the following people in both the Private Reception and the Dinner:

Congressman Guy Vander Jagt
Chairman, NRCC

Congressman Robert H. Michel
Republican Leader of the House

Congressman Newt Gingrich
Republican Whip of the House

Congressman Jerry Lewis
Chairman, House Republican Conference

Congressman Bill McCollum
Vice-President, House Republican Conference

Congressman Vin Weber (Not Attending)
Secretary, House Republican Conference

Congressman Mickey Edwards
Chairman, Committee on Policy

Congressman Duncan Hunter
Chairman, Committee on Research

Joe M. Rodgers
Chairman, The President's Forum
Former Ambassador to France

Drew Lewis (Not attending)
Co-Chairman, The President's Forum
Chairman & CEO Union Pacific Corporation

Cheney
Kemp
Lujan
Sullivan
Watkins

Reilly
Engelstein

Steve
Stoickmeyer
NRCC
PAC Director

74

Plus 5 or 6 members of
the Cabinet will be in
attendance.

House -

& not books -

Occidental Grill - 783-1475

Cap

Pick + Lynn Cheney

Jack Kemp + Joanne

Manny Lujan + Jean

Paul Sullivan + Singer

Jim Watkins + Sheila

Engelstein + guest
Bill Reilly + Hibby

347-4800

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 4, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *CW*
FROM: DAN MCGROARTY *DMG*
SUBJECT: NRCC DINNER REMARKS

I. SUMMARY

At the J.W. Marriott on Tuesday, December 5, at 7:00 p.m., you will be the featured speaker at the "Presidential Tribute to Bob Michel and The Republican Leadership" dinner. There will be about 500 people present. Several members of the Cabinet will be there, including Secretaries Cheney, Kemp, Lujan, Sullivan, and Watkins. Susan Engeleiter and Willian Reilly will also attend.

II. DISCUSSION

The remarks discuss the many changes taking place in the world today, and how these changes reflect the long-held beliefs of the Republican party. Brackets have been left open for any language concerning the Malta meeting.

#

McGroarty/Dooley
December 4, 1989
3:00 pm
[NRCC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL
COMMITTEE DINNER
THE MARRIOTT HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C.
DECEMBER 5, 1989
7:00 PM

Thank you. [Introductory acknowledgements.] This is quite a gathering of GOP all-stars. NRCC chairman, Congressman Guy Vander Jagt, and his co-chairman, Ed Rollins. Members of my Cabinet and our House leadership. Let me also thank the NRCC faithful. And finally, let me recognize tonight's man of honor, former chairman of the NRCC -- Republican leader Bob Michel.

I'm proud to say I served with Bob up on the Hill -- seen him in action. Few can match this man's wisdom when it comes to the ways of Congress. As the Republican leader in the House, Bob's a key player in moving this Administration's legislative agenda forward -- and he's going to be a key ally when Congress comes back next month.

He's simply one of the most respected men on Capitol Hill.

/// And -- as anyone knows who witnessed the fashion statement Bob made at this year's Senate-House Dinner -- he's a shoo-in for the Hill's Best Dressed List. ///

It's my pleasure to be here tonight. As you all know, I got back home just 24 hours ago from Brussels -- and from my meetings with Mikhail Gorbachev. [POSSIBLE INSERT ON MALTA MEETINGS.]

[[I'm pleased to share that report with all of you -- especially given the man you're honoring tonight. This is one time I don't have to ask myself: "But will it play in Peoria?" - - I can just ask Bob. /// After all, his politics have been playing in Peoria for 33 years.]]

You know, less than a month from now, we'll begin a new decade -- the last in this century. I think all of us feel the very natural inclination to look ahead, to think about the changes a new century will bring. But today there's more than that natural impulse at work. Each day brings new change -- from Warsaw to Budapest to Prague and, yes, Berlin, each day brings new evidence that the love of freedom is gathering force -- that the promise of the 90s and the new century beyond is nothing less than a new world of freedom.

These are exciting times: for every American -- for people all over the world who cherish the freedoms we enjoy -- and they are exciting times for the Republican Party.

Because the values we see triumphing today are the values this Party has always stood for -- values that have kept America free, prosperous and at peace -- values that helped create the conditions for that new world of freedom that is now unfolding before us.

And I'm convinced that the American people will continue to look to us -- look to leaders like Bob Michel and his fellow Republicans in the House -- to keep this country on course in these times of change.

[[And let me say right now to all the loyal members of the NRCC: the 1990s will bring a new world. We've all seen the grim spectacle: voices struggling to be heard, a minority trampled by unbridled power -- the decades-old fight against oppression. /// Yes, I'm talking about Republicans in the House of Representatives. // Well, the tide is turning. // Change will come to Capitol Hill. The days of one-party rule are over.]]

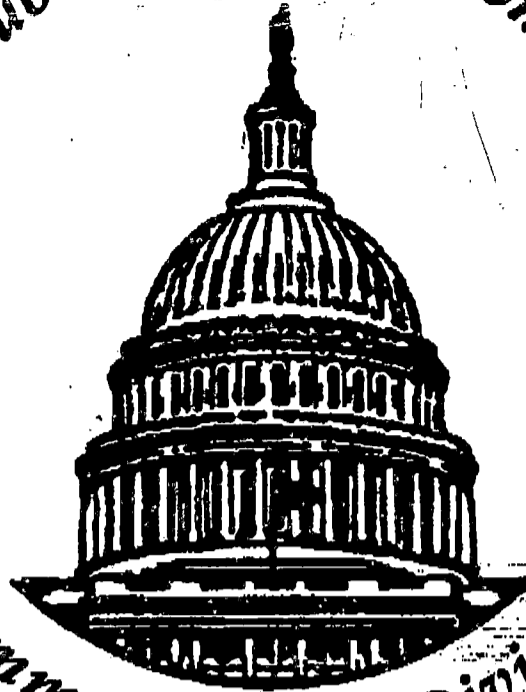
Our message is getting through to mainstream America: the Republican Party is the party with ideas. With experience. With the answers to the questions we will face in the decade ahead. And there's no greater goal than the one that inspires everyone here tonight: to build our support in mainstream America into majority status in the House.

And when that proud day comes -- a proud day for every Republican from the House leadership right down to the rank and file -- we'll have the NRCC to thank for its tireless efforts.

It's been my pleasure to join you tonight. God bless you -- and God bless the United States of America.

#

National Republican Congressional Committee



Communications Division

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4156-6218

To: Peggy Dooley

From: Don Leonard

Phone: 479-7070 Date: 12/4 Time: _____

Number of pages to follow: 3

Comments: Enclosed are some talking points. Page 3 includes names to be acknowledged.

There is no "Victory Fund," it's called "presidents forum"

PRESIDENT'S TALKING POINTS

THE PRESIDENT'S FORUM

Private Reception with President's Forum Members

Tuesday, December 5, 1989

- * The President's Forum is the newest major donor program at the National Republican Congressional Committee. This program is expected to raise \$3 Million for the NRCC by November 1990. The money raised this year will be used to fund targeted 1990 Republican candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives and the important redistricting efforts that are critical.
- * The President's Forum has extremely strong leadership with Former Ambassador to France, Joe M. Rodgers (wife's name is Honey), as Chairman, and Drew Lewis (not attending), Chairman and CEO of Union Pacific, serving as Vice-Chairman.
- * "The Presidential Tribute to Republican House Leader Bob Michel and the House Republican Leadership," is the kick-off event for the President's Forum. It will be followed by three other events, to be held before the 1990 elections, with former Presidents Reagan, Ford and Nixon.
- * I encourage you to include and involve your friends and co-workers in the exciting experience of the President's Forum. Never before in history has there been an opportunity for a group of loyal Republican supporters to meet with each of the four Republican Presidents of the United States in one year.
- * The President's Forum is an exclusive group, rare in it's commitment to allow personal exchange with VIP's by limiting membership to 200 members.

PRESIDENT'S TALKING POINTS

THE PRESIDENTIAL TRIBUTE TO BOB MICHEL

Tuesday, December 5, 1989

- * We see the 1990 & 1992 elections as a rare chance to make gains in the House due to the unique opportunity provided by redistricting. I need your help to protect GOP House incumbents, and pick up new seats, both in 1990 & 1992.
- * The NRCC has adopted a new strategy to aggressively target those entrenched Democrats who breeze through re-election each cycle - even if it means going after the most prominent, established Democrats in the House.
- * The President's Forum has extremely strong leadership with Former Ambassador to France, Joe M. Rodgers (wife's name is Honey), as Chairman, and Drew Lewis (not attending), Chairman and CEO of Union Pacific, serving as Vice-Chairman.
- * "The Presidential Tribute to Republican House Leader Bob Michel and the House Republican Leadership," is the kick-off event for the President's Forum. It will be followed by three other events, to be held before the 1990 elections, with former Presidents Reagan, Ford and Nixon.
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- * I encourage you to include and involve your friends and co-workers in the exciting experience of the President's Forum. Never before in history has there been an opportunity for a group of loyal Republican supporters to meet with each of the four Republican Presidents of the United States in one year.
- * Besides Cabinet members, Republican members of the House and other VIP's joining you tonight, there is also a group of (8 or 10) strong Republican House candidates who, if they win, will help take control of the House in the 1990's. It is support like yours that will help accomplish this goal.
- * The President's Forum is an exclusive group, rare in it's commitment to allow personal exchange with VIP's by limiting membership to 200 members.

The President needs to acknowledge the following the following people in both the Private Reception and the Dinner:

Congressman Guy Vander Jagt
Chairman, NRCC

Congressman Robert H. Michel
Republican Leader of the House

Congressman Newt Gingrich
Republican Whip of the House

Congressman Jerry Lewis
Chairman, House Republican Conference

Congressman Bill McCollum
Vice-President, House Republican Conference

Congressman Vin Weber (Not Attending)
Secretary, House Republican Conference

Congressman Mickey Edwards
Chairman, Committee on Policy

Congressman Duncan Hunter
Chairman, Committee on Research

Joe M. Rodgers
Chairman, The President's Forum
Former Ambassador to France

Drew Lewis
Co-Chairman, The President's Forum
Chairman & CEO Union Pacific Corporation

225-6201
0600

McGroarty/Dooley
December 1, 1989
300 pm
[NRCC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL
COMMITTEE DINNER
THE MARRIOTT HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C.
DECEMBER 5, 1989
~~8:00 PM~~ 7 PM

X
Dan Leonard -

Thank you. [Introductory acknowledgements.] This is quite a gathering of GOP all-stars. NRCC chairman, Congressman Guy Vander Jagt, and his co-chairman, Ed Rollins. Let me thank the NRCC faithful -- the many members of the Victory Fund who are here tonight. And finally, let me recognize tonight's man of honor, former chairman of the NRCC -- Bob Michel.

Keops
Keops

I'm proud to say I served with Bob up on the Hill. I've seen him in action. Few can match this man's wisdom when it comes to the ways of Congress. As minority leader, Bob's a key player in moving this Administration's legislative agenda forward -- and he's going to be a key ally when the battle begins again next month.

Michel's

He's simply one of the most respected men on Capitol Hill. /// And -- as anyone knows who witnessed the fashion statement Bob made at this year's ^{President's} Senate House Dinner -- he's a shoo-in for the Hill's Best Dressed List. ///

Keops

It's my pleasure to be here tonight. As you all know, I got back home just 24 hours ago from Brussels -- and from my meetings with Mikhail Gorbachev. [INSERT ON MALTA MEETINGS.]

X

reherd

Michel bio
Michel elected 1956
225-0000
Jan 3?

Wash Post
6/15/89

[[I'm pleased to share that report with all of you -- especially given the man you're honoring tonight. This is one time I don't have to ask myself: "But will it play in Peoria?" - - I can just ask Bob. /// After all, his politics have been playing in Peoria for 33 years.]] *electd 1956*

Michel
 You know, less than a month from now, we'll begin a new decade -- the last in this century. I think all of us feel the very natural inclination to look ahead, to think about the changes a new century will bring. But today there's more than that natural impulse at work. Each day brings new change -- from Warsaw to Budapest to Prague and, yes, Berlin, each day brings new evidence that the love of freedom is gathering force -- **that the promise of the 90s and the new century beyond is nothing less than a new world of freedom.**

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And when that proud day comes -- a proud day for every Republican from the House leadership right down to the rank and file -- we'll have the NRCC to thank for its tireless efforts.

It's been my pleasure to join you tonight. God bless you -- and God bless the United States of America.

#

1ST STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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June 15, 1989, Thursday, Final Edition

for
NRCC

SECTION: STYLE; PAGE C1

LENGTH: 838 words

HEADLINE: The GOP, Dulling for Dollars

BYLINE: Martha Sherrill, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

Imagine a football field at night -- no, in a cave -- with 420 white dinner tables set up on it. Imagine more than 4,000 people in black tie and an odd assortment of cocktail dresses standing up while "Today" show weatherman Willard Scott leads them in the Pledge of Allegiance. Imagine hearing Mary Hart, of "Entertainment Tonight" fame, sing "The Star-Bangled Banner" to the crowd, and then "Happy Birthday" to the president. Imagine a Republican convention without the balloons, but with all the dull speeches about a better America, George Bush's second term, gaining control of Congress ...

And imagine, if you can, paying \$ 1,500 a plate for all this. Plus five minutes of the Rockettes at the bitter end.

It all happened last night at the Convention Center, at "The President's Dinner," one of the biggest political fund-raisers in history, grossing an estimated \$ 7 million for the National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC) and the National Republican Congressional Committee (NRCC).

"Marilyn Quayle, it's a delight to be with you tonight," George Bush said, but he was sitting so far away -- at one of four head tables set up in each corner of the cavernous room -- that it was hard to imagine they were actually with each other.

Three huge television screens hovered above the crowd so everybody could watch what was going on. During the invocation, heads were half-bowed in prayer, still trying to see Barbara Bush on the big screen.

Four festively painted sets loomed over the room, one behind each head table. They must have been designed to make the out-of-town crowd feel at home. It was all there: the Golden Gate Bridge, the Manhattan skyline, a massive cutout of the state of Texas, an Arizona cactus, a Mississippi steamship, the Los Angeles Olympic Stadium, the Seattle needle, Mount Rushmore.

As Willard Scott told the crowd before the pledge: "You look like a PTA meeting in Texas." Indeed, there were some interesting get-ups, which led one Mississippi Republican to remark, "A tornado must have blown over a trailer park and some of the inhabitants wandered in here."

Hart wore a bright purple dress with a white portrait collar and her hair swept up, under restraint. There was a nice Julie Andrews quality to her voice, even when it kept getting ahead of the piano accompaniment, which seemed to be coming from another universe.

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House Minority Leader Robert Michel of Illinois turned up wearing a shiny watermelon pink dinner jacket with black elephants on it. "I know some of you might be surprised by my attire this evening," he said. "But when you see what's going on in the House these days, some might think I'd be better off wearing a helmet, a black jacket and carrying a can of mace. Actually, I only dress like that when I'm on duty."

Members of the press not traveling in the White House press pool were roped off in a corner of the room, and escorted to a holding room below once dinner began. They'd been promised a dinner of their own, "catered by Domino's," but the pizzas never arrived, which got them grumbling in the worst way. They became nearly unmanageable and began complaining about what people were wearing. "Mary Hart looked like a pilgrim," said one guy wearing a Hawaiian shirt. "Bob Michel looks like Jerry Lee Lewis," said another.

After dinner (it was the kind of event where the the first course -- gravlax timbales stuffed with trout mousse -- had been waiting at the tables for an hour before the guests arrived), the speeches started. They lasted an hour. They were serious. It seemed as if someone were running for office. George Bush was a long time coming.

Dinner chairman David Murdock spoke first, then Michel, then Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole of Kansas, then Rep. Guy Vander Jagt from Minnesota, then Vice President Quayle -- just off the plane from Central America. Sen. Don Nickles of Oklahoma introduced the president.

His "address," as it was described in the program, touched on many issues -- crime, education, savings and loans, the deficit, volunteerism, troubles on the Hill. His mention of Lee Atwater -- the Republican National Committee chairman, who took some heat last week after one of his aides circulated that Tom Foley memo Bush called "disgusting" -- received by far the loudest response.

"Our party chairman, Lee Atwater, who's doing a great job," said the president before being interrupted by thunderous applause. "He's been a strong voice -- and a correct voice -- arguing that we Republicans need to reach out to minorities and the disadvantaged. And these groups can benefit the most from our philosophy, which simply maximizes opportunity and rewards initiative. And that's a message I believe in, and that we as a party must be prepared to act on."

It was at this event just last year that President Reagan stood up at a head table and, briefly and without much fanfare, endorsed then-Vice President Bush for president of the United States. But last night, that seemed like another lifetime ago.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, THE ROCKETTES PERFORM AT LAST NIGHT'S GOP FUND-RAISER. HARRY NALTCHAYAN

TYPE: NATIONAL NEWS, DC NEWS

SUBJECT: POLITICAL PARTIES; FUND RAISING; DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

NAMED-PERSONS: GEORGE BUSH

ROBERT H. MICHEL
18TH DISTRICT, ILLINOIS

H-232, THE CAPITOL
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
225-0800

Office of the Republican Leader
United States House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

TELECOPY/FACSIMILE WORKSHEET

DATE 11/27 TIME 12:00

TO Peggy Dooley
THROUGH _____

FROM Nelson Litterst
THROUGH _____

NUMBER OF PAGES TO FOLLOW 1

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION _____

If this transmission is incomplete, call (202) 225-0600
Our facsimile telephone number is (202) 225-7733

ROBERT H. MICHEL
Congressman, 18th District of Illinois
House Republican Leader

Bob Michel has served as the Republican Leader in the House of Representatives since 1980 and was re-elected by his colleagues to serve in this top spot for the 101st Congress. Bob has served in leadership positions in his party since 1972 when he was elected Chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee. In 1974 he was chosen Republican Whip, a position he held until his designation as Leader in 1980.

Bob, the son of a French immigrant, was born in Peoria, Illinois on March 2, 1923. He was reared and educated in Peoria and was graduated from Bradley University with a B.S. degree in Business Administration in 1948. Michel received the Bradley Distinguished Alumnus Award in 1961 and currently sits on the Bradley Board of Trustees. Michel holds honorary doctorate degrees from Bradley University, Illinois Wesleyan, Lincoln College, Illinois College and Bellarmine College.

During World War II, Michel served in the enlisted ranks as a combat infantryman in England, France, Belgium and Germany. He was wounded by machine gun fire in the Battle of the Bulge and discharged as a disabled veteran after being awarded two Bronze Stars, the Purple Heart and four battle stars.



Michel was first elected in 1956 to the 85th Congress from the 18th Congressional District of Illinois. He brought to the job the experience of eight years as Administrative Assistant to his predecessor, Representative Harold Velde. Michel has won the confidence of his constituents and has been elected to 17 consecutive terms in the House.

The Illinois Congressman served for over 20 years on the House Appropriations Committee and currently is an ex-officio member of the House Intelligence Committee.

Long active in Republican politics, Michel has been a delegate to every Republican National Convention since 1964. He served as Permanent Chairman of the Republican National Conventions in 1984 and 1988. He also served as Deputy Floor Leader for President Gerald R. Ford in 1976, and Floor Leader for President Reagan in 1980.

Michel is married to the former Corinne Woodruff of Peoria. The couple has four children: three sons, Scott, Bruce, and Robin; and a daughter, Laurie. The Michels also have three grandchildren.

Congressman Michel has numerous memberships which include: President Ford's Commission on Olympic Sports, Past President of the Illinois State Society, Life member of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Amvets and the Military Order of the Purple Heart, member of the American Legion, Disabled American Veterans, Rotary International (Honorary), Cosmopolitan International, Orpheus Club, Boy Scouts Council, YMCA, Peoria Association of Commerce, Peoria Ad Club, Order of AHEPA, Alfalfa Club, Mt. Hawley Country Club of Peoria, Board of Governors of Creve Coeur Club, Sigma Nu and Pi Kappa Delta fraternities.