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[ASPEN]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE ASPEN INSTITUTE
ASPEN, COLORADO
AUGUST 2, 1990
5:30 P.M.

[Introductory acknowledgements: Aspen directors, alumni. Prime Minister Thatcher.] I am delighted to celebrate with you the 40th anniversary of the illustrious Aspen Institute. //

In those 40 years, the **spirit of Aspen** has come to signify the attempt to bridge the worlds of **thought** and **action.** // And of course, to understand the tremendous changes taking place around us. / Think back to the headlines 40 years ago, the summer of that first Aspen conference in 1950. North Korea roared across the 38th parallel. Klaus Fuchs was caught and convicted for revealing the secrets of the atom bomb to the Soviets. The **Cold War** -- a term introduced into our political vocabulary by Bernard Baruch -- **had come into its own, as the shorthand to describe the half-way house of an armed and uneasy peace -- a world divided, East from West.** /

That was the world as Aspen came into being -- the world Aspen sought to **study,** and to **shape.** //

The forty years since then have been a time of tremendous progress -- for the nations of the West, an era of unparalleled **prosperity, peace and freedom.** / But at the same time, we lived in a constant condition of **tension, Cold War and conflict.** //

Time and again, the conflict centered in **Germany -- a divided nation in the heart of a divided continent.** At the birth of the NATO Alliance, during the days of the Berlin Blockade. On the morning of August xx, 1961, when the world awoke to the brick and barbed-wire barrier that became the stark symbol of an era -- dividing not just a city but a world in two. /

Yet, the West stood its ground. So did the nation at the center of the conflict. Then and now -- from the days of Adenauer to Kohl -- Germany refused to purchase unity at the price of estrangement from its democratic allies, and its democratic ideals. //

Along the way, we in the West learned the **values of strength -- and the costs of self-doubt.** In the 70s, America turned inward -- experienced its own crisis in confidence. Shaken by Vietnam. Watergate. Beset by run-away inflation, double-digit unemployment, a stagnant economy -- and a sense on the part of some that America had lost its leadership role in the world. //

It is no accident that this crisis had its parallel in a steady string of setbacks to America's interests and the cause of freedom in the world. Take the last year of the decade, 1979. In the summer of '79, the Sandinistas seized power in Nicaragua. That fall, in Tehran, fanatic followers of the Ayatollah stormed the American Embassy and seized our hostages. In late December, Soviet forces invaded Afghanistan -- the first time Red Army forces had been used **not** to enforce Soviet control, but to **enlarge** the Soviet empire. // In less than six month's time --

events that set in motion hardship and suffering we are **still** dealing with more than a decade later. //

The sad experience of the 70's became a lesson learned in the 1980's: the decade America and our allies rededicated ourselves to the cause of freedom -- **recovered our will, and restored our strength.** / And it was a decade in which the Soviet Union came to grips with the crippling consequences of seven decades of communist rule -- and took its first steps on the **road to reform.** //

And in the final year of the decade came **the Revolution of '89.** / A chain reaction of change: each successive event gathering force and momentum from the one before it. / At times, the speed was astonishing. No one had predicted when this day of change would come -- but when it began, **no one doubted the strength and power of this great desire for freedom.** //

Many of you here will be involved in the work of interpreting and understanding the events we're now living through. [[I wish you the best. Whenever I think it's **tough being President** -- I remind myself: **pity the poor historian.**]] But in the Aspen spirit, I will share with you my thoughts on the changes we've witnessed and worked to achieve. //

Where in the past, we sought to demonstrate to the Soviet Union allied resolve, common cause in defense of our interests and ideals -- we now faced a new challenge: to assure the

Soviets they had **nothing to fear** from the West -- and **nothing to gain** from blocking Eastern Europe's path to freedom.

There was no one turning point. No singular moment that set us on the **path of peaceful change -- and closed off all danger of resistance and violent reaction.** / I know in my own mind that, when the Berlin Wall fell, it was not **the end,** but **only the beginning** -- the beginning of the great challenge of ending once and for all the division of Europe -- and reaching out to the millions in the Europe behind the Wall, who longed to live in peace and freedom. //

And of course, with this challenge came great controversy. [[Some called out for instant action. But as I've said before, sometimes you've got to **dare to be cautious.**]] I was even criticized for failing to be **emotional enough** about the changes in Eastern Europe. / I felt, as I'm sure all of us did, that people who stand up for freedom deserve our support, heart and soul. / **But this was not a time to crow or celebrate. To claim credit -- or make the other side "cry uncle." It was a time to rise to the challenge -- to seize this historic opportunity to realize the aims of our post-war policy -- freedom for all of Europe.** //

This was not a time for the politics of the grand gesture. In most cases, advances came after hours, days and weeks of deliberation -- not center stage, but out of the spotlight. /

When I think back on key moments, I think back to February: when Chancellor Kohl and I met at Camp David, spent a weekend

working through the options open to us -- and emerged more certain than ever that **a united Germany must remain a full member of NATO.** / I think of my meetings with you, Mrs. Prime Minister, and with President Mitterand, as we worked to reach a solid consensus on an Allied position in the Two Plus Four talks.

And all of us agreed the same approach was in order in dealing with the Soviets. That's why I made sure -- when President Gorbachev came to Washington -- we'd spend part of our time at Camp David, working one-on-one to narrow our differences. / At the end of the Summit, at our press conference back in the White House, I made the statement that the question of NATO membership would be for **Germany to decide** -- and President Gorbachev raised no objection. / I thought at that moment we'd broken the logjam. Because in my mind, there was **no question** that a free and democratic Germany would chose to continue its alliance with NATO. //

The third and final step came in the weeks leading up to the July NATO summit, hosted by Prime Minister Thatcher. All members of the alliance understood that the time had come for NATO to respond -- to give the Soviets solid assurance of NATO's non-aggressive intent. / And in the words of President Gorbachev, NATO's London Declaration was a "very important impulse" in removing the remaining obstacles to a unified Germany allied with the West. //

I'll stop here -- and I hope it won't surprise you if I make **no predictions.** No one -- after the events of this past year -- should put much confidence in their crystal ball. What matters, in any event, is not our ability to predict -- but our capability to be prepared -- to be ready to seize any opportunity to **strengthen peace and freedom. ///**

Let me say once again, how pleased I am to appear here today -- especially with our honored friend, Mrs. Thatcher. / Today, of course, is not the first time President and Prime Minister have shared the stage. That was 44 years ago -- in Fulton, Missouri. // Mrs. Thatcher, the world remembers the address Churchill delivered that day as the "Iron Curtain" speech. / But that wasn't what he called it. He titled it / **"The Sinews of Peace."** // By that, he meant to summon up a vision of the **strength of free nations -- united in defense of democracy. //**

At long last, we are writing the final chapter of the 20th Century's third great conflict. The Cold War is now drawing to a close. / And yet today -- as in Churchill's time -- the world remains divided. **For all the millions of men and women who won their freedom this past year -- there are hundreds of millions more not yet free. //**

Our challenge: [[...]]

Thank you, and may God bless the United States of America.

# # #

WSJ 7/30/90

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

Defense in Free Fall

Congress is treating the defense budget as if this is 1928. That's the year the world outlawed war.

Senator Sam Nunn, putative heir to Scoop Jackson, has cut President Bush's $307 billion fiscal 1991 budget request by $18 billion, murdered the Milstar communications satellite, and intends to kill strategic defense. Les Aspin, ringmaster at the House Armed Services circus, wants to raise the cuts to $24 billion. He's also now signed up with the strategic tag team of Ron Dellums (D., Calif.) and John Kasich (R., Ohio) to kill the B-2 Stealth bomber.

Clearly, the 1980s defense buildup accomplished its purpose and we can now afford to spend less. Defense Secretary Dick Cheney's budget would gradually cut defense by 2% a year to a 4% share of the economy by 1995—the lowest share in 50 years. Yet Congress wants a free fall.

Someone ought to take a moment to notice that while the Soviets are in retreat in Eastern Europe they retain troops there. Even more to the point, their undiminished strategic arsenal still represents the principal threat to U.S. security. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union is in an increasingly revolutionary situtation, with great promise but also the risk of finding its own Bonaparte. And even if all goes well with the Soviets, someone should look at a map of the Persian Gulf, where the U.S. Navy went on alert after Iraq's Saddam Hussein moved 30,000 troops to the Kuwait border, threatening a new war in the Achilles heel of Western interests.

But Congress is putting its own priorities on display. Its supposed military masterminds, Rep. Aspin and Sen. Nunn, are threatening precisely the programs best suited to the most likely threat in the year 2000. To take military action against some future Saddam Hussein, or to hold the kind of plausible threat that might deter him, you would ask precisely for an invisible long-range bomber, and for a shield to protect the U.S. from the small force of intercontinental ballistic missiles he may by then possess.

The B-2 was designed as a strategic nuclear-armed bomber, and it does instantly degrade the Soviets' $350 billion air defense system. But it's even better as a weapon for the post-Cold War era. It can project power as far as 10,000 miles (with one refueling), a critical need as U.S. bases fold up overseas and aircraft carriers become scarcer and more vulnerable. Unlike cruise missiles, the B-2 is reusable. Because it's difficult for radar to detect, it can perform a mission with minimal losses. In its Libyan raid, the U.S. lost two crewmen who probably would have survived in stealth aircraft; how many future pilots will Congress vote to kill this week?

Mr. Aspin says we'd never use so expensive a weapon against a Libya, though the F-111s we did use cost $36 million apiece and one was lost. The U.S. also used B-52s in Vietnam. It's true the B-2 is absurdly expensive ($63 billion for 75 planes), but $35 billion already has been spent on R&D. Mr. Aspin would throw that investment down the sinkhole.

Mr. Nunn promises to try to keep the B-2, but he hopes to kill SDI. He plans to support an amendment that would gut spending for Brilliant Pebbles, the promising little gizmos that might one day intercept missiles in space. This would foreclose any chance of deploying a space defense in the 1990s, though the CIA says 15 countries will have ballistic missiles by the year 2000. Brilliant Pebbles also might function as "brilliant eyes," satellites that would help all kinds of U.S. weaponry on the ground and at sea. In any case, the Soviets continue to roll out SS-24 and SS-25 nuclear missiles—targeted at the U.S. The current political movement in the Soviet Union is in large part a result of the challenge represented by SDI and stealth technologies, and this is precisely where the U.S. could keep a technological edge in the future.

Lest we be unfair, Congressmen will vote to continue one kind of defense spending. In killing Brilliant Pebbles, Senator Nunn would earmark much of the remaining SDI money to projects in Alabama and New Mexico, the home of colleagues Richard Shelby and Jeff Bingaman. Last January Mr. Cheney proposed closing 35 military bases and reducing forces at 20 more, but Mr. Aspin and colleague Pat Schroeder are resisting like Texans at the Alamo. Strategy may go, but pork remains. The Cold War may be over, but taxpayers will never know.

President Bush gave a thoughtful speech the other day about the need for "peacetime engagement" with the world, an engagement that requires military strength. But with Congress bent on irresponsibility, the commander in chief is going to have to decide if he was elected to preside over American disarmament.

The Asian Connection

Ministers of 12 Pacific Rim nations gather in Singapore today to talk about ways of fostering economic cooperation, in the second meeting of the new Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum, founded in Canberra in November. The gathering serves as a reminder of [illegible] stitutional encouragement, tends to fuel itself. Some of Asia's biggest exporters, for example, have ended up with so much buying power abroad that their governments have found it simply too difficult and unpopular to

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Trade With China

The President. Today, after long and thorough deliberation, I have determined that MFN [most-favored-nation] trade status for China should be extended for a year. MFN is not a special favor; it is not a concession; it's the basis of everyday trade. And taking MFN away is one thing I said I would not do; that is, in doing that, take steps that would hurt the Chinese people themselves. I do not want to do that.

To express America's outrage at the tragedy of Tiananmen, the Congress and my administration promptly enacted sanctions against China. These sanctions remain basically unchanged today. And while implementing those sanctions, I have repeatedly made clear that I did not want to hurt the Chinese people. And this was a difficult decision, weighing our impulse to lash out in outrage that we all feel -- weighing that against a sober assessment of our nation's long-term interests.

I concluded that it is in our best interest and the interest of the Chinese people to continue China's trade status. Not to do so would hurt the United States. Trade would drop dramatically, hurting exporters, consumers, and investors. China buys about $6billion a year of American aircraft and wheat and chemicals, lumber and other products. Lose this market, and we lose American jobs: aircraft workers in the West, farmers in the Great Plains, high-tech employees in the Northeast.

Our economic competition will not join us in denying MFN. Without MFN, an average of 40 percent higher costs for Chinese imports will turn into higher prices for American consumers. Hong Kong weighed on my mind. Hong Kong would be an innocent victim of our dispute with Beijing. Twenty thousand jobs and $10 billion could be lost in a colony that is a model of free enterprise spirit. The United Kingdom and China's neighbors have urged me to continue MFN. Korea, Japan, Thailand, Singapore, even Taiwan made clear that MFN should be retained.

In recent weeks, China has taken modest steps that appear intended to show responsiveness to our concerns. Beijing lifted martial law in Tibet, restored consular access there, giving us a chance to judge the situation for ourselves. Two hundred eleven detainees were recently released and then their names provided for the first time. While we welcome these and earlier steps, they are, let's face it, far from adequate. And I am not basing my decision on the steps that the Chinese have taken so far.

Most important of all, as we mark the anniversary of Tiananmen, we must realize that by maintaining our involvement with China we will continue to promote the reforms for which the victims of Tiananmen gave their lives. The people in China who trade with us are the engine of reform, an opening to the

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outside world. During the past 10 years, we've seen our engagement in China contribute to the forces for justice and reason that were peacefully protested in Beijing. And our responsibility to them is best met not by isolating those forces from contact with us or by strengthening the hand of reaction but by keeping open the channels of commerce and communication.

Our Ambassador [James R. Lilley] came to see me here in the Oval Office the other day and told me that not only the people that he's in contact with but the students there, the intellectuals there, all favor -- there in China -- favor the continuation of MFN. So, this is why I've made the decision I have made.

And I will be glad to respond to questions. I understand, Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International], you are first.

Savings and Loan Crisis

Q. Mr. President, every day the American people read a different figure on the savings and loan debacle. What is the true figure? What does it all mean? What are you going to do about it? And what is the impact on the average taxpayer? Do you know the true figure?

The President. We don't know the impact on the taxpayer yet. We do know that we are going to protect the depositors, and that's what this is all about. It isn't protecting any savings and loan people; it is protecting the depositors. Nick Brady [Secretary of the Treasury] testified on an array of figures because we don't know a specific figure. But he gave some broad parameters yesterday that are on the record.

And what we're going to do about it is have negotiations with the Congress, and out of this I'm sure we will have an answer Congress agrees with. And incidentally, I'm pleased with the way those talks are going -- that we'll figure out what to do. We can't brush this problem under the rug. It's been building for 20 years, and it is something that causes me great concern.

Q. Well, is it going to go as high as $300 billion, $500 billion? Do you have any ballpark?

The President. We don't think so. And I would simply refer you to the Secretary of the Treasury's testimony.

Trade With China

Q. Mr. President, it's been a year now since the world has watched China mow its own people down in Tiananmen Square. How can we expect the prodemocracy movement fighters around the world to have faith in the United States when they see a reward to Beijing such as the MFN?

The President. I made clear, Tom[Thomas Raum, Associated Press], I don't think this is a reward to Beijing. I think it is very important we keep these commercial contacts. I think it is in the interest of the United States that we keep these contacts. MFN is based on emigration, and emigration has continued from China at respectable levels. And so, that is why I'm making this decision.

And what irks me is when some of the people up on the Hill accuse me of being less interested than they are in human rights. I think we're on the right

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track here. I've cited the number of countries that agree with us. I've cited the fact that the students and the intellectuals in China itself agree with what I've just done. And so, it is not a favor we're doing. I have cited the need to balance out the interest of others, including Hong Kong, which is under enormous pressure from the refugee situation there. And so, this decision is the proper decision. And it has nothing to do with saying we're condoning human rights excesses. I took the lead a year ago at the G-7[economic summit of industrialized nations]meeting in Paris and got our allies to join in sanctions that still exist. So, I'm glad you asked it because then I vented a spleen here.

Q. But, sir, if it's not a favor, how do you square this with our policy on denying the same status to the Soviet Union, based on the fact that they haven't codified their emigration policy?

The President. Because the MFN is related to emigration. And the Soviets have not passed the necessary emigration legislation.

Q. Mr. President, is it time now for --

The President. And China does have the proper policy.

Cambodian-U.S. Relations

Q. Is it time now, sir, for a review of our policy towards Cambodia, in light of the expressed willingness of the government there to permit international supervised elections and in light of the fact that our policy has thrown widespread condemnation for helping, directly or indirectly, the Khmer Rouge?

The President. We've seen some inaccurate reporting on whether we were sending arms in there, and we are not. And we are reviewing our Cambodian policy. It's very complicated. And, listen, anytime we can get free and certifiably fair elections, we should be encouraged by that. I'm troubled by it because it isn't clear in Cambodia at all.

Q. Were you made particularly uncomfortable, sir, by the fact that our support for the non-Communist resistance has the effect at least, since they are fighting alongside the Khmer Rouge of helping the notorious Khmer Rouge?

The President. To the degree it has any effect to help them, yes, I am uncomfortable about. But when we have this kind of compromise that has been worked out, at this juncture, I think we're on the right track. But there's a discomfort level, Brit[Brit Hume, ABC News], because of the brutality of the Khmer Rouge. And if anybody even perceives that we're trying to help those people, why, then it does cause discomfort. But I think we're on the right track. We are reviewing the whole policy now.

Lithuanian Independence

Q. Mr. President, this morning the Soviet Government, specifically the Prime Minister[Nikolai Ryzhkov], rejected Lithuania's latest compromise offer to get talks going. Are you disappointed that Moscow seems to be persisting in this hard line? And what do you plan to tell President Gorbachev about Lithuania when you see him?

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The President. Michael [Michael Gelb, Reuters], I was encouraged when the Prime Minister [of Lithuania, Kazimiera Prunskiene]-- having made her swing of the United States and other countries -- Prunskiene went to Moscow. I was encouraged when she was received by Mr. Gorbachev. I can't tell you I'm encouraged about where it stands right now. I have told you, told the American people, that this Lithuanian situation and, indeed, the situation regarding the Baltics, whose incorporation into the Soviet Union we have never recognized, does cause certain tensions. And Jim Baker[Secretary of State] had a very frank discussion with President Gorbachev about that. He understands from Jim Baker and, frankly, from me directly how we feel about this.

So, I wish I could give you a more optimistic assessment, but the only answer to this question lies in dialog between the affected parties. And I was encouraged when Prunskiene met with Mr. Gorbachev, but I have no reason now to report to the American people further encouragement.

Q. If I could follow up: About a month or so ago, you said that you thought Mr. Gorbachev was showing willingness to compromise and the Lithuanians only showing some willingness to compromise. Is that still your assessment, or have you viewed a balance on that?

The President. Well, you're presenting me with some semantic difference that I did not intend to make. But I'm not here to assess blame; what I am here to do is to try to encourage dialog on this important question. It is extraordinarily difficult for both sides. And I think President Gorbachev is concerned not just about the Baltics but about other Republics. And I think the Lithuanians, understandably, are concerned about their freedom and their right to self-determination, although the Soviet Union still says self-determination is proper. They've got a difference on referendum; they have other differences.

Trade With China

Q. Mr. President, critics of this decision on China believe it is based too heavily on a blind faith that you have of those leaders based on your experience as envoy over there. What message does this send to the younger generation of Chinese leaders who are going to come along and replace those in power now?

The President. It says that economic contacts are the best way to keep the economic reforms going forward. It says that the more economic contacts we have with China, the more they're going to see the fruits of free-market economies. I've told you that the students in China, according to our Ambassador want to see this MFN continue. And so, it should send no message other than that isolation is bad and economic involvement is good.

And the whole fact that we've had economic involvement, I think, has moved China more towards reform than if we hadn't had it. And so, I want to see it continue. And that is the message to the people because it has -- some will interpret the way you've said, and I will say it has nothing to do with that. It has nothing to do with that at all. We have certain sanctions in place; they remain in place. China has got an emigration policy going that qualifies, and you have the interests of -- Taiwan says keep it going, Hong Kong says keep it going. Three editorials in this country -- well, maybe many, many more, I think -- who were upset with the fact that I opted for executive action instead of legislation all support continuation of MFN. And those people who were on my case, if you will, about the decision I took, which I still think was the

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correct decision, are now saying continue MFN.

Q. You're satisfied that these students, who now say that they favor the policy, aren't doing that under some duress since the crackdown by the regime in Beijing?

The President. No, because I think you wouldn't see all these other interests out there if it was simply that. Maybe there's some pressure on them; I don't know. But that's not what our Ambassdor is telling me.

Federal Budget Negotiations

Q. Your favorite subject, taxes. Some of the polls are --

The President. Texas?

Q. Taxes. [Laughter] Several polls, including one broadcast last night, are showing that most Americans think that there will be taxes and, in fact, they think you'll go along with taxes. And about half say they're willing to go along with taxes themselves if the case can be proven that taxes are needed. Does this give you more leeway as you make your decisions?

The President. Look, I have stated right here at this podium that I'm not going to go into the details of what might be discussed up there. I've said that there's no preconditions. I'm satisfied with the way the process is going. Indeed, I should give credit to[Representative] Mr. Gephardt for the conduct of these initial meetings. Our people -- Dick Darman [Director of the Office of Management and Budget], Nick Brady, John Sununu [Chief of Staff to the President]-- up there, all working in good faith.

And I've seen those surveys, but it is way too early to start talking about remedies here. I want to let that process go forward; and then when I get agreement, I will go out and say to the American people, Here's what we recommend. And I'm not going to prejudge it.

Q. Can I just follow that up on the timeframe?

The President. Yes.

Q. You're going to host the economic summit in Texas in early July. By that time, do you think you must have gone to the American people to suggest remedies? Do you not wnt to go into the economic summit and say to your fellow world leaders, Well, we really haven't resolved this, and I don't have anything to tell you fellows?

The President. I think the G-7 leaders know of my determination to do something about the budget deficit. So, I don't have the timeframe linked into progress or lack of progress by the time the summit meets in Houston.

Q. Some of the Democrats up on the Hill --

The President. Yes, Lesley [Lesley Stahl, CBS News]?

Q. -- Mr. President, say that you're ducking the tough issue by saying what you just said: that you're not going to tell the American people what's at

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stake.

The President. Yes, I've heard that criticism.

Q. They want you to outline the problem and explain to the American people that it's going to take sacrifice. Are you ready to do at least that?

The President. I'm going to outline the problem when we get agreement so we can go forward with the solution. If I outlined the problem now, I'd rely on some of the fact that the Congress appropriates all the money and raises all the revenues. That's their obligation. And I'm not one to dwell on surveys recently, but I will point out that people understand that the Congress bears a greater responsibility for this. But I'm not trying to assign blame. That's why I'm not doing it right now. [Laughter] That's why I'm not doing it. That's why I'm saying we're going to sit and talk. Because if I go out now and say what I think without keeping in mind the need to get some progress, I might say something like I just said, and I don't want to do that. [Laughter]

Q. They're going to come back at you today up on the Hill, and they're going to say, See, he's not showing leadership. What's your answer to that?

The President. My answer is, I am. We've gotten these people together. I've said there's no preconditions; let's talk. And I think it's making progress. You're going to always have some people on the fringes sniping at you. That goes with this territory. But I think we're on the right track, and we'll try to do our best to get a deal.

Trade With the Soviet Union

Q. Mr. President, come back to the earlier questions about MFN for the Soviet Union. While you point out that there's no emigration law there as yet, the Soviets are moving towards that. Is there any additional -- and some people would suggest Lithuania is an additional condition under which you do not want to extend MFN at this point to the Soviet Union?

The President. Well, I think there's a political climate in this country that would make it extraordinarily difficult to grant it. But that is not a bridge we're having to cross at this juncture because the legislation is not in place in the Soviet Union.

Q. It is a bridge that you're going to have to cross when that legislation is in place, and it seems to be when rather than --

The President. Well, but let's hope there's some progress on the Lithuanian question, because I think many feel there's a direct linkage there. And I must say it concerns me.

Q. In what way, sir?

The President. Because I want to see these negotiations start, and I want to see this emigration law pass. And there's a lot of things going on that are going to affect the whole climate of the economic aspects of this summit.

Upcoming Summit With President Gorbachev

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Q. I'd like to ask you about the climate of the summit. The Soviets have slowed down the negotiations on conventional arms control. You're not going to be signing a START [strategic arms reduction] treaty, which we've been led to believe was going to be the centerpiece of this summit. It looks like there won't be any kind of trade treaty signed. Has the summit changed from one of consolidating gains and moving ahead to just trying to get the relationship back on track?

The President. I wouldn't phrase it exactly that way. You may recall that I mentioned in here -- in answer to the question, "Who's the enemy? " -- instability, unpredictability; and it would seem to me that I would repeat that. And I don't want to have two ships pass in the night -- Soviet Union and the United States. And we've got a lot to talk about.

I don't want to, by answering the question this way, indicate I don't think there will be significant progress on START. I hope we can move things forward on CFE[conventional force reductions in Europe]. Indeed, I was heartened by what [Soviet Foreign Minister] Shevardnadze and [West German Foreign Minister] Genscher talked about yesterday. That was somewhat encouraging. Chemical weapons -- I hope I've expressed with great enthusiasm and passion my desire to do something about chemical weapons, and it looks to me like we're very, very close there.

So, we've got a lot of things that I think will be seen properly as progress, but there's enormous problems that just need to be talked about where I can't say there will be an answer. And I would refer you to the highly complex question of German unification: where forces will be deployed, and whose forces will be deployed after German unification. We've got questions on borders. We've got a lot of things to discuss that might not result in a signed agreement.

Q. Considering all those things, especially the Lithuanian situation, has your personal relationship with Mr. Gorbachev changed coming into this summit?

The President. Well, I have to wait and see what he says when he gets here. But I feel that the man has got some enormous problems. He's made some enormous progress. I think he knows, from talking to Jim Baker after he got back, that we're not trying to undermine him or make life complicated for him. But we have certain differences with the Soviet Union, which I'll be perfectly prepared to talk about.

So, you know, its a good question, and we were talking about it before coming in here. Because I don't want to overpromise, but I don't want to act like I think it's just some kind of a dance out there on this meeting because what we're going to talk about is realy substantive. And I think the part where we can sit and talk at Camp Davis there -- I'm glad the Soviets have agreed to that because I think it's in that kind of a session after which I would probably be better able to answer the question you asked about the relationship itself.

Violence in the Israeli-Occupied Territories and the Middle East Peace Process

Q. Mr. President, the conflict in Israel between the Israelis and the Palestinians seems to become increasingly violent. Do you think the Israelis at this point are acting appropriately and responsibly?

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The President. I've called on both sides for restraint. I've called on the Israeli forces to show constraint. I'm worried about it. I'm troubled about the loss of human life in this area. I'm deeply troubled about -- well, totally human life, but I think particularly of children in this kind of situation. The answer is to get these talks going. I will do everything I can to get the talks for peace going. And so, we're talking. I was on the phone yesterday, I think it was, with Mubarak[President of Egypt]. And we had very good talks -- pre-Baghdad summit -- with Ben Ali [President of Tunisia] here, who represents a friendly country. We're talking to a lot of people about how that can go. But, yes, I am very troubled by this.

Q. But, Mr. President, is there anything the United States can do with its enormous clout with Israel to push the Israelis to be more open to these peace talks?

The President. The problem we face right now is this -- almost an interregnum -- there's no firm decisionmaking government in place. So, we're in a bit of hiatus because of that.

Mexican-U.S. Relations

Q. Do you think that the relations with Mexico are going to be damaged now that Mexico is asking for the extradition or the return of Dr. Alvarez Machain?

The President. No.

Q. And I'd like to follow up.

The President. The answer is no. Go ahead and follow up.

Q. Yes. What can be done in that case? Are you going to return him?

The President. I'm not going to get into that because we have some matters in the court on that question. But the reason I answer -- and I wasn't being flip about it -- that relationship is too important that no incident is going to disrupt it. The respect I feel for President Salinas is shared by the American people. The determination to keep this relationship that has already moved forward continuing to move forward is shared by the American people.

Today I'll be meeting with some parliamentarians, a group, incidentally, that I've belonged to 20 -- let's see how many -- 20-some years ago. And I'm sure some of these questions will come up. But I'm not going to go anything that might conflict with the legal problem. But I did be sure that the President of Mexico knows that we did not grab that doctor and -- Americans did not do that. I think that has helped somewhat.

Gun Control

Q. Mr. President, your administration has raised the likelihood of a veto of Senate legislation that bans several types of semi-automatic weapons. And we see that you're supporting Republican legislation that doesn't even include your own personal which would have restricted the ammunition capacity of these weapons. Why is it that you insist on having a different standard for these domestically produced weapons than you do for imports?

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The President. Look, Rita [Rita Beamish, Associated Press], I have not changed my position an ammunition clips. I read in the paper somewhere that we had changed it, backed off of that position. That isn't true. I sent a crime bill, however, to the Congress, and I'd like to see it enacted -- a law enforcement bill. Congress knows of the difficulties. You saw it passed yesterday by one vote -- this ban. I am not supporting that.

And I wish the Congress wouldn't keep adding matters of this nature. Let's get a good strong anticrime bill, and then we can have an open debate again on whatever they want to talk about. But all I can do is perfect legislation by saying, Here's what I can accept, and here's what I can't. And if they want to add something on these clips, that's fine; it would have my strong support. The automatic weapon part does not have my strong support.

Q. Mr. President, are we going to see then your administration and your people on the Hill pushing to get that provision back in a law?

The President. Consider this a strong pitch for it right now.

Federal Budget Negotiations

Q. Mr. President, what happened to your promise to balance the budget without raising taxes? Are we going to make it?

The President. Are we going to make the promise? Things are complicated out there on this subject. We're trying very hard to get a budget agreement, and that's the way it is, and we'll see how we go. And I reported I think that we've started off now, in a bipartisan nature, doing a good job. I wish we could control the spending side better. I refer you once again -- I don't want to ruin the last minute getting Nicaragua-Panama passed, but I sent it up there at $800 million, and it's now $2-plus billion. But we'll keep plugging away, and I'd like to do it exactly the way I propose. I'm now enough of a realist to realize that it might not be done exactly that way.

Now, here's my problem. I have a 10 a.m. meeting with the leader of Hiati [President Ertha Trouillot], and we've got some problems there that we're trying to help to resolve. So, I can take two more. One. Two.

Arms Reduction Negotiations

Q. Mr. President, I'd like to ask about the news reports coming out, in the aftermath of the Moscow meetings with Secretary Baker, that you were not as pleased with the outcome of those talks, especially pertaining to START, as Secretary Baker was.

The President. There is no light between us on that at all. The administration has a unified position. It is a sound position. There's no point just before you sit down to say, They caved; they gave more than we did. But I am very satisfied with where we stand. All I want to do is be sure we can move forward and get these deals finalized, and we may not be able to do that. But it doesn't help for me to go out and say who gave the most, who knuckled under, who took the most heat -- too much pressure. I support what Jim Baker reported to me was where we stand at this juncture in negotiations.

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I'll tell you what troubles me is that we're not -- somebody asked the question here -- not further along on conventional forces. But the strategic arms talks are going very well. We still haven't got a firm deal, as you know.

But to get back to your question, there isn't any daylight between the White House and the State Department or the arms control community or Defense. The proposals that Jim Baker is talking about has the strong support of the Joint Chiefs and of the Secretary of Defense [Richard B. Cheney]. So, this is very encouraging that the administration is united. Now, we're going to have some criticism. Many times you make a deal, you have editorials out there telling you exactly how it should be done. But I am confident that we're on the right track.

Follow up, and then we go over for one more to Frank [Frank Murray, Washington Times].

Q. You mentioned your concern about the stall in the conventional force talks, and some people are saying that conventional forces is now the real litmus test for Soviet intentions, given he developments in Eastern Europe. If they don't pull those troops back out of Eastern Europe, then that tells you something about their ultimate intentions.

The President. Well, I think that that's a good point and one that I expect the Soviets would want to dispel through action, because I don't get the feeling that they are opposed to CFE agreements. I do think, for complicated reasons involving Eastern Europe, that the talks haven't gone as far or as fast as I would like to see them.

But read carefully what Shevardnadze and Genscher allegedly talked about yesterday, and Genscher will be here talking about that. And maybe we can find some way at the summit or before the summit to move CFE forward. It's important, and I think it does send a bad signal if the Soviets look like they are refusing to go forward and don't want to, say, pull forces out of countries in accordance with previous deals.

Statehood for the District of Columbia

Q. Mr. President, a few weeks ago, in answer to a question about statehood for DC, you suggested that voting representation might be a better alternative and you would consider it. What consideration have you given, and what --

The President. None so far, and I am opposed to statehood for the District.

Q. Could you please explore the representation question? What did you have in mind when you talked about that?

The President. About what?

Q. About voting representation rather than --

The President. Haven't really got it in mind; interested in talking about it. Have done nothing about it at all except to continually restate my opposition -- because this is a Federal city -- to statehood for the District.

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Q. So, the statehood bill now pending would be vetoed?

The President. Well, I haven't even seen the legislation. I don't know whether the Senate and the House have agreed on a bill. But I think my position is very clear, and I'm not going to sign a statehood bill. And so, I don't want to be under any false colors on this. I've said that over the years, and I have not changed my position.

Thank you.

Q. Sir, just to follow up on that --

The President. That's a followup on a followup. I've got to go see the President of Haiti.

Q. Yes, sir. You premised your opposition to statehood the last time on the inordinate share of Federal funds that went into the local budget. And I think it has been clarified to some extent. Could you just tell us why you're opposed to it?

The President. Marlin [Marlin Fitzwater, Press Secretary to the President] had to clean up what I said. [Laughter]

Q. Right. Could you tell us why you're opposed to statehood, since that is not a factor?

The President. Because it's a Federal city. That's it.

Thank you very much.

Note: The President's 48th news conference began at 9:33 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

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t News Conference Following Discussions With Chancellor Helmut Kohl of the Federal Republic of Germany

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German Reunification and Developments in Europe

The President. Barbara and I met on February 24th and 25th here at Camp David with Helmut Kohl, the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, and his wife, Hannelore. And we were just delighted to have them here.

The Chancellor and I had an opportunity to talk at length about recent political developments in Europe and about East-West relations, and I am pleased to say that we share similar views on the most fundamental issues. We both welcome the prospect of further movement toward German unification, beginning with the steps toward economic and monetary union that are proposed for the period immediately following the elections in the GDR [German Democratic Republic] on March 18th. If events are moving faster than we expected, it just means that our common goal, for all these years, of German unity will be realized even sooner than had been hoped.

We share a common belief that a unified Germany should remain a full member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, including participation in its military structure. We agreed that U.S. military forces should remain stationed in the united Germany and elsewhere in Europe as a continuing guarantor of stability.

The Chancellor and I are also in agreement that in a unified state, the former territory of the GDR should have a special military status, that it would take into account the legitimate security interests of all interested countries, including those of the Soviet Union. At the same time, the Chancellor and I agreed that we must continue to press hard for arms control efforts which would sharply reduce military forces in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

We want to work together to have a CFE[conventional force reductions in Europe]agreement ready for signature this year at a summit meeting of all 35 CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe] member states. The summit could also endorse our proposal for CSCE guidelines on free elections to help show the way and protect the emerging democratic institutions of Eastern Europe.

Chancellor Kohl and I had a good discussion on East-West relations. We both support Chairman Gorbachev's program ofperestroika, his efforts to reform his country's political and economic system. Chairman Gorbachev has shown true statesmanship in respecting the will of the people in Eastern Europe, in trying to build new relationships based on cooperation instead of coercion.

Since those difficult days following World War II, when America joined hands with the German people in their effort to build a new state and a new society,

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the United States has been their partner in a common dream; and that dream was to build a free, democratic, and prosperous German republic committed to peace and working in close harmony with its closest neighbors. That enduring German-American partnership has never been stronger as Chancellor Kohl, the leader of one of the world's greatest democracies, steps toward a golden moment in the history of his nation.

Mr. Chancellor, it was a pleasure to have you with us. And now for your statement, sir.

The Chancellor. Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, my first word is thank you. I wish to thank you, Mr. President, and your wife, Barbara, in my own name as well as on behalf of my wife, for the very cordial and friendly reception here in Camp David.

The atmosphere, the climate of our meeting, is symbolic of the excellent German-American relations. In particular, now, when the day of unity is drawing near for us Germans, we are conscious with profound gratitude of the fact that all of this would not have been possible without the close friendship and the confident partnership with the United States of America.

In the spirit of this friendship, the two of us, Mr. President, in the course of these hours in Camp David -- we have discussed a vast list of political issues; and the center of our conversations was the future of the transatlantic relations and, embedded therein, the hope of the Germans towards national unity.

Against the background of historic changes on the European continent, we have reconfirmed our common belief. First, the alliance of a free democracies in Europe and North America, and included therein the German-American partnership, are of fundamental importance for peace and security. This is true now. This will be true in the future.

Second, the security link between North America and Europe is and continues to be today and in the future for us Germans -- that is to say also for a united Germany -- of vital importance. That is why we need the presence of our American friends in Europe, in Germany, and that includes the presence of American forces.

Also for a united Germany and future, maintaining the friendship with the United States of America and the expansion of relations with them will be an important task. We are happy about the ever-closer economic cooperation and economic exchange, exchange in the fields of science and culture, and about the ever more meaningful meetings between people, in particular, of the young generation.

We are convinced that transatlantic relations must systematically be expanded in all fields. It is common security in the alliance which is part of this: the ever closer contact between the European Community, including political cooperation, and the United States. And this includes, also, our joint efforts to make our way towards a European peace order within the framework of the CSCE.

Seeing the major changes in central Europe, east Europe, southeast Europe, the European Community continues to be an indispensable anchor of European stability. That is why we, the Federal Republic of Germany and, in particular, myself, do not only want to expand European integration but we want to

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accelerate this process wherever possible.

Beyond the big internal market, which is to be achieved after the 31st of December, 1992, beyond an economic and monetary union, primordial, the aim continues to be political union in Europe. That was the objective of the treaties of Rome, and nothing has changed in that area.

It is our joint interest that the reform policy in central, east, and southeast Europe and, in particular, the policy led by Secretary General Gorbachev in the Soviet Union will be successful. Europe and North America are and continue to be open for cooperation as partners, in particular with the reform states, and I welcome, particularly, what you have just said about the subject, Mr. President.

In the course of our conversations, we were also agreed that disarmament negotiations must energetically be pursued and be led to a success.

On the path towards German unity, ladies and gentlemen, what we need, in particular, now is reason and a good judgment. We Germans walk along this path with a particular responsibility in the center of Europe, and we're doing so, if you like, along two tracks which are of equal importance. On the one hand, we are leading intensive talks with the GDR, and at present we will, in particular, have to concentrate on the customs union and the economic community. On the other hand, we do have to consider that the link with our transatlantic partners, that European unity and comprehensive cooperation between East and West are being linked up with the development.

We do respect the legitimate security interests of all states, and we respect people's feelings, especially the feelings of our neighbors. And I am saying this, particularly addressing our Polish neighbors. The border question will be settled definitely by a freelyy elected all-German Government and a freely elected all-German Parliament. But let me repeat here what I have recently said in Paris already -- it was in January of this year: Nobody has any intention of linking the question of national unity with changes of existing borders.

In the course of our talks, I have informed President Bush about the situation in the GDR and the talks I have had a couple of days only with Secretary General Gorbachev. And I wish to seize this opportunity, Mr. President, to thank you publicly today and here before the press -- that on the eve of my trip to Moscow you sent me a letter which did not only speak about supporting our policy and was not only marked by the habitual friendship but which will be going down in history as an important document of German-American friendship.

Let me conclude by thanking you very much again for your friendship and for the lovely hours we have been able to spend with you here. I think this will mark our future cooperation as well.

The President. Helmut, if agreeable to you, might I suggest to the press that we alternate the questions between us? Is that agreeable with you, sir?

Q. You have declared, Chancellor, that you do not want a change of borders. Does this mean that you consider the Polish border as final?

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The Chancellor. My answer is very clear. It is contained in the text, and I am sure it has been translated correctly. According to the legal situation in our country, it is a freely elected Parliament -- thus sovereign -- of the people, which has to decide this question. And this is laid down also in the treaties of 1970 and has been mentioned in the conversations which took place in those years again and again.

Beyond this point, I have again and again declared during the past month that -- and I do want to repeat -- nobody wants to link the question of national unity with changes in existing borders. And nobody is permitted to doubt my attitude there.

Q. Then do you consider to exclude that before German unity a treaty be concluded with the Poles about the Polish border -- do you consider this excluded?

The Chancellor. If I interpret the wish of the Polish Government correctly, and I think I do, then the Polish Government has a very national wish that the legally competent sovereign take that decision. In Poland, there are certain circles who wish that before such a decision be adopted by an all-German Parliament, decisions be taken in the two German States. In the West German Parliament, we have already pronounced ourselves and confirmed our line about the nonchanging of borders.

The President. Might I just add the U.S. position, with your permission, Mr. Chancellor? The U.S. respects the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act regarding the inviolability of current borders in Europe. And the U.S. formally recognizes the current German-Polish border. I just wanted to get that in.

Q. Do you think there is some difference between what you have just said and what the Chancellor said? There seems to be some bit of equivocation on his part. Do you think there is any difference in the U.S. view and what the Chancellor is saying today?

The President. I think we're in alignment. i would not interpret what he said as equivocating at all, and I have just given you the U.S. position.

Q. Can you explain for us at this stage precisely how the two-plus-four weeks and what the sequencing is? Whether they're consecutive, consultative? There has been sso much confusion about that. Who has got what rights?

The President. No, those details have not been fully worked out in terms of timing of meetins and things of this nature; they have not been worked out. This formula was approved by the Foreign Ministers in Ottawa, and we simply have not tried to sit here in Camp David and fine-tune the procedures for the two-plus-four. Have you got a follow? I'm not sure I was responsive, Charles [Charles Bierbauer, CNN].

Q. Well, I'm not sure that I know any more than when you started. And that may be part of the problem here: that it is not clear whether the Germand hold their meetings simultaneous with you, whether you're in adjacent rooms, whether you run back and forth.

The President. No, those details have not been worked out. And it would be wrong for the United States to try to sit on its own and work out with the

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German Chancellor all these technical matters that involve others. So, we did not get into those details here today.

Q. Can I get the Chancellor to comment on how it should proceed?

The Chancellor. I would like to make a brief remark about the subject, all the more so since I don't believe that there is any reason for considering the situation with mistrust.

I'm very happy with the decision adopted in Ottawa: two-plus-four. It is only natural that the two states in Germany, in particular after the 18th of March elections in the GDR, will be discussing the subject in a particular way. This is a subject which concerns the Germans in particular. But I spoke about the two tracks a moment ago, along which things have to proceed. We will then, at the level of two-plus-four, have to discuss things very frankly. And we're not trying to exclude anybody -- that was sort of the background of what you were saying -- but we will have to discuss things in every necessary detail. And I think that is possible within a reasonable timeframe. If we talk to one another, we have a good chance of understanding one another.

Q. Mr. President, how do the Poles come into this process? Are they just one of the 35 at the end of it?

The President. Well, I know of Poland's feeling to want to make two-plus-four into two-plus-five. Is that what you're asking about? The two-plus-four has been agreed upon clearly. No agreement would ever be reached that affects the Polish borders without Polish involvement. But there is no change. We don't sit up here and try to change an agreement that was taken by several countries at Ottawa.

But I should add there will be a lot of consultative mechanisms to deal with the interests not just of Poland but of our allies and everyone else. And the Chancellor is very good about that, and I hope we've been good about it. And it is essential that we stay on the same wavelength with our allies and friends.

Excuse me, Helmut. I interrupted you, sir.

The Chancellor. Let me underpin what the President just said. I do realize that there is a particular interest on the part of the Poles. And I'm certain that in the course of this process we will find ways and means of adopting a solution satisfactory to everybody. I think every one of us has a feeling that there is a particular situation there, but I don't consider it useful that the two of us, when nobody else from amongst our party is here, try and decide on things and make a declaration today.

Q. -- seems to be growing across Europe, from Poland to Britain, and our own former Director of Ingelligence, Mr. Helms, has called the German unification march a runaway freight train. Given the history, the role that Germany played in two wars in this century, shouldn't there be some assurances before this marriage takes place on borders and security?

The President. I think all those matters will be discussed in the various consultative mechanisms that we've brought up. But I prefer to look at Germany's 45 years of contribution to democracy and to the security of the West, and that's what we are focusing on. I've stated the U.S. position, which is

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not to be afraid of German reunification but to understand when peoples, brother on one side, brother on another, want to get together as one country, as they were before this artificial division that resulted out of World War II. So, we've already crossed that bridge. We welcome reunification. But it's not for the United States to set a timetable. It's not for us to say how fast. It is for us to guarantee as best we can, in consultation with our allies, that whatever evolves will be stable and that peace will be the result.

So, I've already given you the view in my statement about the U.S. toward unification, and we are not in a process of trying to speed it up or slow it down. It's a matter for the German people; it's a matter for the discussions that will be taking place in multilateral fora.

The Chancellor. Just a second. Let me say something about this, because this is a very central question. The question of German unity is a question of the right of self-determination. And all peoples of this Earth have the right of self-determination. It's a part of the Charter of the United Nations. It corresponds to the principles of CSCE. It corresponds to the major democratic traditions of our world. In all documents, all treaties which have been concluded with the Federal Republic, the will to reform the unity of the German nations have always been confirmed.

The second point is that the people in the two parts of Germany do want to unify, want to overcome the artificial division. The people in the GDR, in a peaceful revolution, I think the most peaceful revolution of history, have made it clear that they want it by shouting, "We are the people. We are one people." Now, if I have a particular feeling seeing and hearing this, I believe that we do have a responsibility to be conscious of the fact that we are situated, geographically speaking, in the center of Europe. We have a certain history. We must understand that there are certain fears on the part of our neighbors; and I'm talking about serious fears, and not only the pretended fears, because there are people who pretend they have fears, but what they mean is that they fear the economic power of the Federal Republic plus GDR.

The President very rightly said last year the Federal Republic was 40 years of age. In the course of 40 years, it was a loyal and reliable partner in human rights and the defense of freedom. In 1983, I put my political existence at stake by agreeing that arms be deployed -- NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization] arms, American arms, and missiles be deployed on German soil. So, nobody has to tell me what a reliable partner is.

But I do take all the other data into consideration, and I've also made it clear -- that's part of my answer to you -- that I am amongst those who want to pursue the political union of Europe. The Federal Government is a government which is ready to delegate further competencies to the European Parliament. In other words, we want this united Germany to be ever more embedded in an integration process with its neighbors. So, nobody needs to be afraid.

And as regards to economic strength, I can only say that the European Community has been able to draw great advantage of the economic strength of the Federal Republic and will be able to enjoy more advantage from the economic strength of a united Germany.

Q. Mr. President, I'd like to know perhaps the core question: Do you trust that Germany will never become an aggressive, resurgent, military power? And

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if I might ask Mr. Kohl: Mr. Kohl, do you forsake such a power?

The President. I have stated that the U.S. position is that we welcome unification. And clearly, that would not be the position if we held the fears that your question alluded. I do think that one way to help with stability, not in relation to this question but European peace and stability, is to have a strong NATO and to have U.S. troops, if wanted, stationed in Europe. But if I shared the fears that you're talking about, clearly, we might well have a different policy.

Let me take this one, Chancellor, because I recognized two at once.

Q. I would like to ask Chancellor Kohl how durable we can see the commitments to NATO and the continued presence of U.S. troops on German soil, given the broad support in the Federal Republic right now for a neutral, unified Germany, given the probable outcome of the East German elections, and given some of the political pressures that you may come under later this year with elections in December?

The Chancellor. First of all, it's my affair, these elections in the Federal Republic of Germany in December, and I'm looking forward to them very calmly. A moment ago, I gave you the example. Had I been standing here in the fall of 1982 or in January '82, most of your colleagues would have doubted that the Germans would deploy. We did deploy American missiles, and that is why I really don't think we need to be told what reliability means. Neutralism would be a very false solution for us. I can't see that there would ever be any majority in the Federal Republic nor in the united Germany for a neutralized Germany. I think we have learned lessons, and we do not want to repeat the errors of history. But one mistake in the times of the Weimar Republic, of course, was that Germany was isolated in Europe. One must make Germany a part of the whole.

Q. How would you assess the results of your Camp David meeting? Has this accelerated the ways towards German --

The Chancellor. I don't think that this was our subject, really. Actually, I must say, I don't quite understand this discussion on who accelerates and who does the country. At one point in time, I proposed these 10 points. At that time, the situation was quite different in November, and that is only a couple of weeks back. We had thought that on the path towards German unity we would be able to take certain steps, that we would have an opportunity of concluding this contractual community first and then have further joint structures and then have a confederation.

It is the attitude of the people in the GDR and their exodus which has accelerated things. You must consider the fact that between the 1st of January and today some 110,000 people have left the GDR to come over to the Federal Republic -- I think that equals the figure of inhabitants of Philadelphia -- in the matter of 8 weeks. So, this movement must be stopped. That is why I made this offer of concluding a monetary union: in order to stop this movement, in order to hold people back, in order to make them stay at home.

If you ask me, we now need a possibility of proceeding along this path towards unity step by step with good judgment. We need this for ourselves. We also need this because of our neighbors. Because the dynamism which has been caused now has been caused by the people in the GDR, but not because anybody

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wanted to accelerate that movement. I do hope that in a few days, that is to say shortly after the 18th of March, the newly elected Parliament will soon form a government with whom we can agree on how we want to proceed. But I'm not interested in this being so very fast.

The President. The gentleman in the German press asked -- I thought he said for both of us to comment on the nature of the talks. In diplomacy, they always say full and frank, and you can interpret that any way you want. But the benefit of this kind of meeting for me is you can talk in a very informal setting about any subject at all. And the relationship that I have personally with Chancellor Kohl and that the Federal Republic has with the United States enables us to talk very frankly.

But what I come out with in addition to this statement that I made is the importance to keep our allies involved. I believe the Chancellor shares with me the importance of the United States and the Soviet Union staying in very close touch. I know he shares with me the importance of our making progress with the Soviets on arms control and on other areas. So, as this meeting winds down, it was extraordinarily frank. We can talk as one does with friends. But we have so much common ground here, including how we're looking at unification and including the need to be sure that it doesn't look like either one of us is dictating to allies security arrangements or anything else for the future. So, it was a very good meeeting.

Q. Mr. President, I wonder if each of you gentlemen could comment on whether you would anticipate that a reunited Germany will see fit to develop an independent nuclear weapons capability?

The Chancellor. No. This discussion is over in Germany. We are not at all longing to be an atomic power.

Q. Mr. President, if I could follow up on the question you were actually asked a week or two ago about who the enemy is these days. It seems that less and less it is the Soviets. So, would one purpose of keeping NATO intact and keeping U.S. troops within NATO in Germany be, as some analysts have said, to keep the Germans down?

The President. No. The enemy is unpredictability. The enemy is instability. And it is for that reason that there are agreed security provisions. And that's the answer to it.

Who out here was smart enough to predict for fact-certain the changes that have taken place any time in the last year? Certainly no one up here. Maybe Chancellor Kohl, but not the President of the United States. And so, what I think we want to do in a period of exciting change is to have a stable Western Europe.

The Eastern European countries are throwing off the yoke of communism. The policy of NATO has prevailed. The Soviet Union is engaged in dramatic change, but nobody can predict for fact-certain what will come. And so, what we want to do is use our good offices and our alignment with NATO to help with stability. And that is in the interest of the United States of America.

Some are saying in our country -- and the Chancellor and I talked about this -- Well, we ought to take all the troops out. Or some are saying, Take all

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Soviet troops out and all the U.S. forces out of Europe. In my judgment, that would not provide for a stable Europe. And so -- back to your question -- the enemy is instability and unpredictability as this rapid change continues to unfold inside the Soviet Union and inside Eastern Europe.

The Chancellor. I would like to join up with this term "instability." I think this is one of the major talks of all those responsible in East and West, and it's particular, too, for us in Germany. We must do everything possible in order to avoid destabilization in Europe, in particular in Eastern Europe. I will do whatever I can to respond to that aim. As a matter of fact, I do not only agree with the President on this but also with Secretary General Gorbachev.

Regarding the relationship between NATO and the Federal Republic, you seem to have made a mistake in your calendar: This is not 1945; this is 1990.

Q. Mr. President, going back to what you were saying before about keeping allies informed, would you like to see a NATO summit called together to discuss the unification?

The President. Well, I will let Chancellor Kohl also respond to that.

I don't think at this juncture we need a NATO summit. [Secretary of State] Jim Baker just had a very successful and forward-looking meeting up in Ottawa. And i wouldn't say that what's called for now is a NATO summit. We're talking about a CSCE summit, provided there's a CFE agreement.

I have -- as the Chancellor knows, and we discussed this -- a one-on-one meeting with Mr. Gorbachev in the late spring. We have a G-7 meeting [economic summit]. So, we've got all kinds of consultative mechanisms set up in addition to the two-plus-four, and there'll be a lot of bilateral talks. And maybe the chancellor would like to respond about the need for NATO, in concert, to do more. But the big point is: Keep each other informed. And I don't think it had to be done at a NATO summit because I think most NATO allies share common ground. There's a concern here or a different suggestion there, but generally speaking, I think we're pretty much on the same wavelength with our allies.

Did you want to add to that here, Herr Chancellor?

The Chancellor. I fully agree with what the President has just said, but let me elaborate on that. What is happening now to many is a surprisingly new situation, including for those who have always talked about it, but never thought the day would really come. Now the day is coming. That is why it is so important that we talk to one another as much as possible: so that there be no mistrust. And that is particularly important for us Germans. I agree that this is not the time to convene a NATO summit, but I do agree that we need many detailed conversations within the European Community.

On the 28th of April, we will have an informal summit, an extra summit, just as we have had it in Paris in the beginning of December. The forthcoming one is going to take place in Dublin, Ireland. Now, having the Presidency, I will inform people there. I will also be at the disposal of the representatives of the NATO member states. I have had, and I will be having, a number of contacts. Not long ago, I met with my Italian, Luxembourg, and Dutch colleagues in Italy. Before I came here, I called my friend [Canadian Prime Minister] Mulroney. I had a long telephone conversation with him.

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What matters to me is that we make it clear that we play very frankly and fairly and want to cooperate with all our friends and partners, and the result will be good.

Q. For you and for me Germany must be a full member of NATO. And, Mr. President, do you think that at the end of the two-plus-four process there will be a peace treaty -- that a peace treaty will then no longer be necessary?

The Chancellor. I can give a very simple answer to the first part of your question. Yes.

The President. And we agree with that. And eventually, the Four Powers that were set up right at the end of the war -- that'll have to be resolved. But whether it requires a formal treaty or something of that nature, I'm not sure. But there will be a resolution, so there will not be a continued need for this Four Power arrangement, looking over the shoulders of a democratic, unified Germany.

Q. One question. In these conversations which were so frank and free, did you also discuss what needs to be done in the event that the Soviet Union would not agree to Germany being a member of NATO?

The Chancellor. We talked about many things and also about what we need to discuss with the Soviet Union.

The President. We will do what Lyndon Johnson did: We will reason together. And it'll all work out.

Nicaragua

Q. Mr. President, with apologies to your guest, a question on another subject. If Daniel Ortega is elected in Nicaragua today, will the United States deal with him as the legitimate leader of Nicaragua? What will your policy be, sir?

The President. Policy will be, short range, to wait and see how free, how fair the election is. I don't know whether this is going live into Managua, but the last thing I want to do is make any hypothesis about a victory of that sort because our view is we'd be better off with those who have professed democracy as the route to go. And so, I will cross that bridge when we get there.

However, let me say this: If these elections are certifiably free and fair, whoever wins the election will find a better climate in which to improve relations with Nicaragua. We've had difficulty because Nicaragua has said that they're not giving arms to the FMLN [Farabundo Marti Liberation Front]. Now they say, Well, if we're elected we won't give arms to the FMLN. There are certain things that are unacceptable not just to the United States but to other countries in this hemisphere. So, we've got to see where we go. But clearly, a free and fair election that is certified as much in spite of the shortcomings that have been reported to me by observers would be very, very helpful in this relationship.

Q. If I may follow: Would such an election call for a U.S. response, an American initiative?

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The President. Well, again, it's too hypothetical because we've got to know not only how an election works out but we also need to know what follows on. I thought the Secretary of State put it very well in testimony before Congress, the other day when he said, look, there's got to be a period of establishing -- he didn't put it this way, but I will -- a bona fides. And I would cite the FMLN as one clear area where there should be change.

A democratic process is important; but what follows on in terms of freedom of the press, freedom of institutions there, freedom to protest, freedom to speak your mind, is also important. And so, all I'll say is that whoever wins that election, if it is certifiably free and fair, that's good. That's a positive thing, and we would certainly take that into strong consideration, the will of the people having been expressed, as we determine what steps next to take. But I would love to see Nicaragua living peacefully within its own borders, not trying to subvert its neighbors, and giving its people a shot at democracy. Once all that was sorted out, why, I can guarantee you there will be better relations with Nicaragua.

Reunification of Germany and Developments in Europe

Q. Chancellor, you talked about elections in December. Seeing the developments in Europe, in Germany, can you foretell that there will be a federal election or whether it's an all-German election?

The Chancellor. I do assume that we will have a federal election as it corresponds to a constitution.

Q. Have you talked about nuclear short-range missiles over the weekend?

The Chancellor. We have talked about how the process should be developed in the near future and what decisions we'll take with regard to the decisions taken in Brussels in spring, last year.

Q. Mr. President, you said you were surprised that perhaps unity was coming sooner than you yourself had expected. Do you believe that those of your other allies within Europe who are cautious about the pace of that unity are wrong, ill-informed, or do they not understand what you have been talking about?

The President. I think they will rejoice in the agreements in what we've said here today. I can understand individuals looking at a problem in a different way. But I can tell you that the alliance is pretty firmly together on the security matters. I think they're going to be very firmly together on what the Chancellor said here today about NATO membership. And so, I can understand individual countries wanting clarification or raising questions; this doesn't trouble us at all. I have stated the United States position, and I will keep restating it, and I will be discussing this with our allies.

But look, none of our allied leaders have predicted the rapidity of this change or the dynamics of the change in Eastern Europe. And so, we're all trying to sort it out. But the main point is, not that there's not nuances of differences, but that there is so much common ground as to the way we look at the problems and as to the way we look at it with the Federal Chancellor.

Q. The question is for both leaders. I noticed in your opening remarks you were more specific than the Chancellor in referring to NATO. I wondered if

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that's an indication that there is some discussion or perhaps some sentiment among the Germans that NATO may somehow fade away or be transformed into a different kind of European security arrangement and whether that was discussed this weekend?

The President. Well, we ourselves, Jerry[Gerald Seib, Wall Street Journal], have talked about a broader or slightly different roles. Clearly, the stability through the military aspects is part of it. But we've talked, and we've talked up here with Manfred Woerner [Secretary General of NATO], the other day, about a broader role for NATO. But I don't feel at the end of these talks that the Chancellor and I are looking at this differently. If there's some nuances there, I'll let him say so, but I don't think so.

The Chancellor. I can only say this is a very natural thing -- that seeing the dramatic changes in the world with which we're confronted. Think only of the Warsaw Pact and its present situation -- we are talking with the Warsaw Pact, NATO versus Warsaw Pact, United States versus Soviet Union -- we are talking about our future. Manfred Woerner, when he was here, indicated, quite rightly so, that the political importance of the NATO alliance will increase. I think this is important.

And there are quite a few people, including in the reformed states of central and east Europe, who do not feel threatened by NATO at all, but do consider NATO as a fortress of stability and security. And one has to take that into consideration when one talks about future developments. I'm quite optimistic there.

Without developing these ideas further, we will not make any headway in disarmament. And this year we do have the good chance of being able to make headway in disarmament. I do not think that this is the time for pessimism.

Q. Chancellor, of the desire on both of your parts to have a unified Germany remain in NATO, you also said that there should be some kind of special arrangement to provide certain security guarantees for Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Does that preclude any participation at all with a unified Germany vis-a-vis the Warsaw Pact? And would it be conceivable that there could actually be Soviet troops in a unified Germany?

The Chancellor. One thing is clear: A united Germany cannot belong to two different pact systems. The other point is a question of sovereignty. We will have transition situations, and that is the subject about which one has to negotiate it. At present, there are 380,000 soldiers of the Soviet Army. Seeing the reductions, one has agreed upon half of that number will be remaining there for the time being. Many things will have to be looked into, and I cannot and will not give any final position here. A united Germany has its own sovereignty; that is quite clear. But then, in the transition period, one can still think about things which will be helpful.

Q. Can you give any more details of what you discussed in terms of providing these security assurances beyond what you've said so far?

The Chancellor. I don't think that is what a press conference is about, because we first must negotiate and then have a press conference about the results.

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The President. Let me ask -- I notice Mr. Fitzwater [Press Secretary to the President]looking -- that we may have overextended our time. Would it be aggreeable, Chancellor Kohl, if we each took one more question?

Q. Mr. President, can you envision a situation where U.S. troops are still deployed in Germany while the Soviet Union has withdrawn all its troops from German soil?

The President. Yes, I can. And the reason I can envision such a situation is that if that's what the Germans want, that's what ought to happen. The U.S. troops are not in Europe against the will of any single country in which they're deployed -- not one. And the Soviet troops have been for years inside the territory of countries that haven't wanted them. This is a fundamental difference. So, my answer is yes, I can so envision it.

Q. Mr. Chancellor, both of you have talked about U.S. troops and Soviet troops, but I'd like to ask a question about Germany's own troops. Both the Federal Republic and East Germany, the GDR, have substantial armies. I know a final question about those armies won't be made until the united Germany is formed. But as you look ahead, what's your personal feeling? Do you think it will be necessary for Germany to ratain an army of this size, or in the future will it be likely that those forces will be scaled down?

The Chancellor. Let me say, first of all, that's the question of the strength of forces which concerns us directly, but this question must be embedded in the overall situation, the overall security development. I do hope very much that in the area of disarmament we'll advance in leaps and bounds. And I do hope that we Germans will be able to profit from that.

That is why today I cannot answer that question, in particular since I am not the representative of an old German State. And I cannot tell you at all, in what I mentioned, a future German State would conceive of these things. In this question of will, one has to consider the effect that the answer will have on all our neighbors. I have spontaneously answered to the questions put to me by one of your colleagues. He asked, Did we want to have nuclear arms? And I spontaneously said no. And that is of greatest importance. There shouldnht be any fears in that direction. By the way, this and many other questions I consider to be able to be solved. We have had more difficult questions to solve -- if I consider legal questions of private property in GDR, the social structure. So, the task ahead of us is enormous. And that is again why I'd plead it shouldn't be put under time pressure, but we should be advancing and solving these problems step by step.

The President. Thank you all very, very much.

Note: The President's 38th news conference began at 11 a.m. at Camp Greentop, MD. The Chancellor spoke in German, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. Chancellor Kohl met with the President at Camp David on Saturday and Sunday, February 24-25.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Aspen, Colorado)

EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE
UNTIL 3:40 P.M. MDT
5:40 P.M. EDT
THURSDAY, AUGUST 2, 1990

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT AT THE ADDRESS TO THE ASPEN INSTITUTE SYMPOSIUM

The Aspen Institute
Aspen, Colorado

August 2, 1990

I am delighted to celebrate with all of you the 40th anniversary of the illustrious Aspen Institute.

In those 40 years, the spirit of Aspen has come to signify the attempt to bridge the worlds of thought and action. And of course, to understand the tremendous changes taking place around us. Think back to the headlines 40 years ago, the time of that first Aspen conference in 1950. North Korea roared across the 38th parallel. Klaus Fuchs was caught and convicted for revealing the secrets of the atom bomb to the Soviets. The Cold War -- a term introduced into our political vocabulary by Bernard Baruch -- had come into its own, as the shorthand to describe the half-way house of an armed and uneasy peace -- a world divided, East from West.

That was the world as Aspen came into being -- the world Aspen sought to study, and to shape.

The 40 years since then have been a time of tremendous progress -- for the nations of the West, an era of unparalleled prosperity, peace and freedom. But at the same time, we lived in a constant condition of tension, Cold War and conflict.

That world is now changing. The decades-old division of Europe is ending -- and the era of democracy-building has begun. In Germany -- the divided nation in the heart of a divided continent -- unity is now assured, as a free and full member of the NATO alliance. The Soviet Union itself is in the midst of a political and economic transformation that has brought unprecedented openness -- a process that is at once full of hope, and full of uncertainty.

We've entered a remarkable stage in our relationship with the USSR. Just today I talked to Jim Baker in Irkutsk. He had very positive talks with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze. My discussions with President Gorbachev have been open and honest. All the issues are on the table -- we don't dodge the tough ones. That's been the secret to our success so far, and over time, that's how we're going to narrow our differences -- and seize this historic opportunity to create lasting progress.

The changes I'm talking about have transformed our security environment. We are entering a new era: The defense strategy and military structure needed to ensure peace can -- and must --be different. The threat of a Soviet invasion of Western Europe launched with little or no warning is today more remote than at any other point in the post-war period. With the emergence of democracy in Eastern Europe, the Warsaw Pact has lost its military meaning -- and after more than four decades of dominance, Soviet troops are withdrawing from Central and Eastern Europe.

Our task today is to shape our defense capabilities to these changing strategic circumstances. In a world less driven by an immediate threat to Europe and the danger of global war -- in a world where the size of our forces will increasingly be shaped by the needs of regional contingencies and peacetime presence --we know that our forces can be smaller. Secretary Cheney and General Powell are hard at work determining the precise composition of the forces we need. But I can tell you now, we calculate that by 1995 our security needs can be met by an active force 25% smaller than today's. America's Armed Forces will be at their lowest level since 1950.

What matters now is how we reshape the forces that remain. Our new strategy must provide the framework to guide our deliberate reductions to no more than the forces we need to guard our enduring interests -- the forces to exercise forward presence in key areas, to respond effectively to crises, to retain the national capacity to rebuild our forces should this be needed.

The United States would be ill-served by forces that represent nothing more than a scaled-back or shrunken-down version of the ones we possess at present. If we simply pro-rate our reductions -- cut equally across the board -- we could easily end up with more than we need for contingencies that are no longer likely -- and less than we must have to meet emerging challenges. What we need are not merely reductions -- but restructuring.

What we require now is a defense policy that adapts to the significant changes we are witnessing -- without neglecting the enduring realities that will continue to shape our security strategy. A policy of peacetime engagement every bit as constant and committed to the defense of our interests and ideals in today's world as in the time of conflict and Cold War.

And in this world, America remains a pivotal factor for peaceful change. Important American interests in Europe and the Pacific -- in the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf -- all are key reasons why maintaining a forward presence will remain an indispensable element of our strategy.

We all remember when the Soviet Union viewed our forward presence as a threat. Indeed, when we met at Malta, President Gorbachev handed me a map purporting to show American encirclement of the Soviet Union. We talked about this in depth. I think he understands now that we have no intention of threatening his country -- and I happen to think that it's those kinds of conversations we've had at Camp David that help make such progress possible.

I was candid with President Gorbachev. I told him that -- for all the positive changes we have seen -- the Soviet Union remains a world-class military power. Even after the conventional arms reductions we are now negotiating, the Soviets will continue to maintain 2 to 3 million men under arms. And of course, our number one concern: The Soviets continue to maintain and modernize their arsenal of strategic nuclear weapons.

We and our allies welcome the new course the Soviet Union has chosen. But prudence demands that we maintain an effective deterrent -- one that secures the peace not only in today's climate of reduced tensions, but that ensures that renewed confrontation is not a feasible option for any Soviet leadership.

The Soviets will enter a START Treaty with a fully modernized, highly capable and very large strategic force. To maintain clear and confident strategic deterrence into the next century, we need the B-2. Secretary Cheney has already scaled back the program. 75 aircraft makes strategic sense. Further delays will only increase costs. We need to complete the Trident program. Those 18 submarines will ensure a survivable, submarine-based deterrent. We can defer final decisions on our land-based ICBMs -- as we see how the START talks proceed --but we must keep our options open: And that means completing the development of the small ICBM and the rail-based Peacekeeper.

And finally, I am convinced that a defensive strategic deterrent makes more sense in the '90s than ever before. What better means of defense than a system that destroys only missiles launched against us -- without threatening a single life? We must push forward the great promise of SDI -- and deploy it when ready.

And the U.S. will keep a force in Europe as long as our allies want and need us there. As we and our allies adapt NATO to a changing world, the size and shape of our forces will also change, to suit new and less threatening circumstances. But we will remain in Europe to deter any new dangers, to be a force for stability -- and to reassure all of Europe -- East and West -- that the European balance will remain secure.

Outside of Europe, America must possess forces able to respond to threats in whatever corner of the globe they may occur. Even in a world where democracy and freedom have made great gains, threats remain. Terrorism. Hostage taking. Renegade regimes and unpredictable rulers -- new sources of instability -- all require a strong and engaged America.

The brutal aggression launched last night against Kuwait illustrates my central thesis: Notwithstanding the alteration in the Soviet threat, the world remains a dangerous place with serious threats to important U.S. interests wholly unrelated to the earlier patterns of the U.S.-Soviet relationship. Such threats can arise suddenly, unpredictably, and from unexpected quarters. U.S. interests can be protected only with capability which is in existence, and which is ready to act without delay. The events of the past day underscore also the vital need for a defense structure which not only preserves our security but provides the resources for supporting the legitimate self-defense needs of our friends and allies. This will be an enduring commitment as we continue with our force restructuring. Let no one, friend or foe, question this commitment.

In spite of our best efforts to control the spread of chemical and nuclear weapons and ballistic missile technologies, more nations are acquiring weapons of mass destruction -- and the means to deliver them. Right now, 20 countries have the capacity to produce chemical weapons. And by the year 2000, as many as 15 developing nations could have their own ballistic missiles. In the future, even conflicts we once thought of as limited or local may carry far-reaching consequences.

To cope with the full range of challenges we may confront, we must focus on readiness and rapid response. And to prepare to meet the challenges we may face in the future, we must focus on research -- an active and inventive program of defense R&D.

Let me begin with the component with great long-range consequences -- research. Time and again, we have seen technology revolutionize the battlefield. The U.S. has always relied upon its technological edge to offset the need to match potential adversaries' strength in numbers. Cruise missiles, Stealth fighters and bombers, today's "smart" weapons with state-of-the-art guidance systems, and tomorrow's "brilliant" ones: The men and women in our Armed Forces deserve the best technology America has to offer.

And we must realize the heavy price we will pay if we look for false economies in defense R&D. Most modern weapons systems take a minimum of 10 years to move from the drawing board to the battlefield. The nature of national defense demands that we plan now for threats on the distant horizon. The decisions we make today -- the programs we push forward, or push aside -- will dictate the kind of military forces we have at our disposal in the year 2000 -- and beyond.

Second, we must focus on rapid response. As we saw most recently in Panama, the U.S. may be called on to respond to a variety of challenges from various points on the compass. In an era when threats may emerge with little or no warning, our ability to defend our interests will depend on our speed and agility. We will need forces that give us global reach. No amount of political change will alter the geographic fact that we are separated from many of our most important allies and interests by thousands of miles of water.

In many of the conflicts we could face, we may not have the luxury of matching manpower with pre-positioned material. We will have to have air and sea-lift capacities to get our forces where they are needed -- when they are needed. A new emphasis on flexibility and versatility must guide our efforts.

Finally, as we restructure, we must put a premium on readiness. For those active forces we'll rely on to respond to crises, readiness must be our highest priority. True military capability never exists on paper -- it is measured in the hours spent, and experience gained, on the training ground, under sail, and in the cockpit. Nothing is more short-sighted than cutting back on training time to cut costs -- and nothing is more demoralizing for our troops. Our soldiers, sailors, airmen and marines must be well-trained, tried and tested -- ready to perform every mission we ask of them.

In our restructured forces, reserves will be important, but in new ways. The need to be prepared for a massive, short-term mobilization has diminished. We can now adjust the size, structure and readiness of our reserve forces, to help us deal with the more likely challenges we will face.

Our strategy will guard against a major reversal in Soviet intentions by incorporating into our planning the concept of reconstitution of our forces. By the mid-90s, the time it would take the Soviets to return to the levels of confrontation that marked the depths of the Cold War will be sufficient to allow us to rely not solely on existing forces -- but to generate wholly new forces. This readiness to rebuild -- made explicit in our defense policy -- will be an important element in our ability to deter aggression.

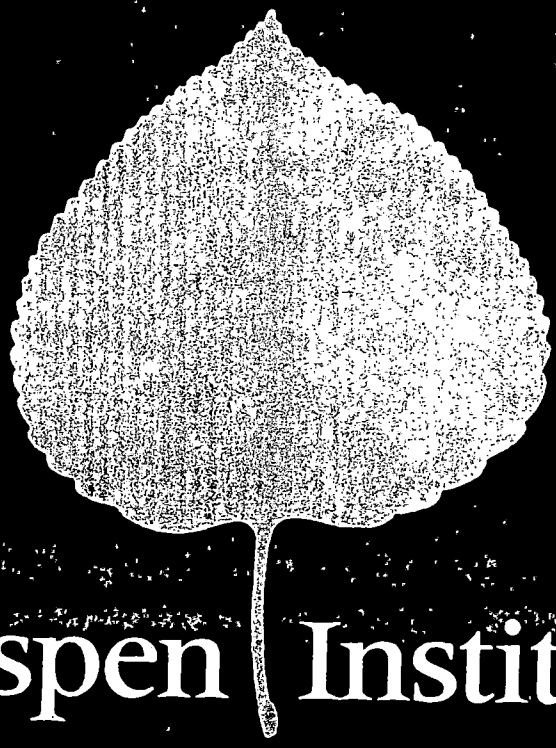
A rational restructuring of the kind I've outlined will take five years. I am confident we can meet the challenges I've outlined today -- provided we proceed with an orderly reduction -- not a fire sale. Any reduction of this magnitude must be managed carefully to minimize dislocations -- not just to the military balance, but to morale. And I can say right now, as Commander-in-Chief, that we will take every step possible to minimize the turbulence these changes will create for our soldiers, sailors, airmen and marines. I will not break faith with the young men and women who have freely chosen to serve their country.

All of us know the challenges we face are fiscal, as well as military. The budget constraints we face are very real -- but so too is the need to protect the gains that 40 years of peace through strength have earned us. The simple fact is this: When it comes to national security, America can never afford to fail or fall short.

Let me say once again how pleased I am to appear here today -- especially with our honored friend, Mrs. Thatcher. Today, of course, is not the only time American and British leaders have shared the stage. The world remembers that day 44 years ago -- in Fulton, Missouri, when Churchill delivered what history calls the "Iron Curtain" speech. But that wasn't what he called it. He titled it "The Sinews of Peace." By that, he meant to summon up a vision of the strength of free nations -- united in defense of democracy.

At long last, we are writing the final chapter of the 20th Century's third great conflict. The Cold War is now drawing to a close. After four decades of division and discord, our challenge today is to fulfill the great dream of all democracies: A true commonwealth of free nations. To marshall the growing forces of the Free World -- to work together, to bring within reach for all men and nations the liberty that belongs by right to all.

# # #



The Aspen Institute

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 25, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR PRE-ADVANCE PARTICIPANTS

FROM: JOHN G. KELLER, JR. JGK

SUBJECT: **PRE-ADVANCE TO ASPEN, COLORADO**

Attached for your information is a list of participants and an outline schedule for the Pre-Advance to Aspen, Colorado.

PRE-ADVANCE PARTICIPANTS

Office of Presidential Advance
Jay Parmer, Deputy Director for Special Projects
Peggy Hazelrigg, Trip Coordinator
Mel Lukens, Advance Lead, Aspen *
Kelley Gannon, Press Lead *

United States Secret Service
Charles DeVita, ASAIC, Presidential Protective Division
Don Balberchak, Lead *

White House Communications Agency
Captain Jim Bintzler, Operations
Major Bob Risney, Trip Officer *

White House Military Office
Major Mike Gould, U.S. Air Force Aide to the President

Office of Communications
Peggy Dooley, Research Assistant

* drops in Aspen

PRE-ADVANCE SCHEDULE

Thursday, July 26, 1990

7:15 am — Vans depart West Basement for those requiring transportation to Andrews Air Force Base.

(Drive Time: 30 Minutes)

7:30 am — Those with own transportation should be at Andrews Air Force Base at this time for check-in.

7:45 am — Vans arrive Andrews Air Force Base.

8:00 am — Depart Andrews Air Force Base en route Aspen, Colorado.

(Flying Time: 3 Hours 45 Minutes)
(Time Change: Back 2 Hours)
(Food Service: Breakfast)

9:45 am (M.D.T.) — Arrive Pitkin Airport, Aspen, Colorado and proceed to Vans.

Contact: Ms. Mona Chamberlain
Aspen Institute
303/920-2338

Ramp: Base Operations
303/920-2016
(Tail #60204)

9:55 am — Board Vans and depart Pitkin Airport en route Aspen Institute.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

10:05 am — Arrive Aspen Institute and begin Site Survey.

* ADDRESS ASPEN INSTITUTE SYMPOSIUM
- Open Press
- Remarks

12:10 pm — Conclude Site Survey and proceed to Luncheon.

12:15 pm — Working Luncheon.

1:00 pm — Conclude Luncheon and depart Aspen Institute route Ambassador Catto Residence.

(Drive Time: 25 Minutes)

1:25 pm — Arrive Catto Residence and begin Site Survey.

Contact: Mrs. Jessica Catto
303/923-5500

2:00 pm — Conclude Site Survey and depart Catto Residence en route Hotel Jerome.

(Drive Time: 25 Minutes)

2:25 pm — Arrive Hotel Jerome and drop advance team.

2:30 pm — Board Vans and depart Hotel Jerome en route Pitkin Airport.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

2:40 pm — Arrive Pitkin Airport and proceed to board C-20.

2:50 pm (M.D.T.) — Depart Aspen, Colorado en route Salina, Kansas.

(Flying Time: 1 Hour 20 Minutes)
(Time Change: Ahead 1 Hour)
(Food Service: Beverages and Snacks)

5:10 pm (C.D.T.) — Arrive Salina, Kansas Airport for Refueling.

(Refueling: 30 Minutes)

Ramp: Flower Aviation
719/948-2634

5:40 pm (C.D.T.) — Depart Salina, Kansas, en route Andrews Air Force Base.

(Flying Time: 2 Hours 25 Minutes)
(Time Change: Ahead 1 Hour)
(Food Service: Dinner)

9:05 pm (E.D.T.) — Arrive Andrews Air Force Base and proceed to Vans.

9:10 pm — Board Vans and depart Andrews Air Force Base en route White House.

(Drive Time: 30 Minutes)

9:40 pm — Arrive White House.

The Aspen Institute 40th Anniversary Symposium
August 2-5, 1990
Participants List (As Of 7/25/90)

CHAIRS

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President
The Carnegie Foundation for the
Advancement of Teaching
Five Ivy Lane
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

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