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Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File Backup Files
Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13807
Folder ID Number: 13807-003

Folder Title:
ASNE [American Society of Newspaper Editors] 4/9/92 [OA 7571] [1]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	22	4	4

Called Dick Burns etc - not speaking about
 delegation/dynamics @ special's
 careful changes

Told all above to Christian

[Signature]

Chris Adams - No
 First Comm - No
 Patterson - No

Waiting to hear -

Asked Ed to duplicate check in / host
 numbers etc on MC / CAB
 and due to nature of Potts remarks
 [Foreign Policy / Soviet Aid] look for
 possible dig's / JMS / etc. guests
 with Mary show up.

Called Vlad advance to get her acks
 @ 3 - in return my card at 5

8 Apr. 92 6:30 pm
 for future reference
 -> Ed Cowling 903-956-6259

Five Economic Pillars
 (TEP)
 Jim Scanlon
 David Taylor
 Steve Hunt

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 8, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVID F. DEMAREST *DF*

FROM: DAN MC GROARTY *DMG*

SUBJECT: PROPOSED REMARKS FOR THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF
NEWSPAPER EDITORS

Nov 9, 1989

top. save from
def spend cuts b4
Beloin will come
down \$14 billion
reduced \$250 billion

take pay defines spend b4
will come down and
savings since war down
b/c of what the dissonance
of war part
Bill said words in ballpark
is enough check

I. SUMMARY

On Thursday, April 9 at 1:45 p.m. you will deliver remarks to 650 members of the American Society of Newspaper Editors and their 69th annual convention in the Grand Ballroom of the J.W. Marriott in Washington, D.C.

II. DISCUSSION

Your remarks (on teleprompter) make the case for aid to Russia and the new nations of the former USSR. The draft argues that the success of the democratic experiment now taking place will have profound impact on America's peace and prosperity.

Bill RICHARDS:
703-697-2332

Phonetic key (?)

dig thing → currently unaware of anyone

Lincoln quote

p. 5

draw cost savings for company new plan
to our last plan that would assume a
hostile threat by Soviet Union

DDI # 5411 defense plan (89/90)

expectations of a hostile threat

Secure Soviet

Kuak Griffen -
- Me: sure we didn't do @
just let's not sure we did @

desires plan how risk new

(Nick BURNS-6849)

Bin Richards POP computer

\$295 billion (if that was 267B)

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FY 90-94 by nearly \$30 billion.

5
-: the plan (90 budget) covered years 90-94 -
95 for money but - get budget for
out years - which was can do

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gan'92 am. \$50 billion out to yrs. (92-97)
92-94 the work in calculator the was put
who overlag (on the that)

of) on Jan. am. 505 out out budget than 97
on top of 267B (over 1/2 trillion \$) that was
but the out of very cheap spend & spend
of Bill was.

No Congress
No Cabinet

Lawrence will give brief intro

Draft Four
April 8, 1992

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS
Thursday, April 9, 1992; 1:45 p.m.

{Acknowledgements of ASNE leadership.} Even in the age of
VCRs and CNN, people who want to understand the times we live in
still turn to the printed word. //

Look around the world today. Think of the Page One stories
of the past few years. Our victory in the Cold War. The
collapse of imperial communism. The liberation of Kuwait. Think
of the great Revolutions of '89 that brought down the Berlin Wall
-- broke the chains of communism -- and brought a new world of
freedom to Eastern Europe. Think of the role this nation played
in every one of these great triumphs -- the sacrifices we made,
the sense of mission that carried us through.

Each day brings new changes: new nations, new realities --
new hopes and new horizons. Yes, dictators have given way to
democracy -- and yet dangers remain. We've put an end to a long
era of military confrontation -- and entered a new age of
economic competition. But the challenges we face -- the sheer
complexity of our world -- can't obscure the basic values that
guide this Nation. I'm talking about the big issues that shape
our world -- about the values close to home. Everything I've
done -- I've done to preserve and advance three precious
legacies: strong families. Good jobs. A world at peace.

I want to talk today about the most important foreign policy
opportunity of our time -- an opportunity that will affect the
security and the future of every American, young and old,

throughout this decade. The democratic revolutions underway in Russia, in Armenia, Ukraine and in the other new nations of the old Soviet empire represent the best hope for real peace in my lifetime.

Shortly after I took office, I outlined a new American strategy in response to the changes underway in the Soviet Union and East and Central Europe: to move beyond containment -- to help reform become revolution in the captive nations of the East.

Now, after dramatic revolutions in Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia -- after the unification of Germany in NATO -- after the demise of the one power, the USSR, that threatened our way of life -- that mission has been fulfilled. / The Cold War is over. The specter of nuclear armageddon has receded. Soviet Communism has collapsed -- and in its wake we find ourselves on the threshold of a new world of opportunity and peace.

But with the passing of the Cold War, a new order has yet to take its place. The opportunities are great, but so too are the dangers. We stand at history's hinge point -- a new world beckons while the ghosts of history stand in the shadows.

I want to outline today a new mission for American policy toward Russia and Eurasia. It is a mission that can advance our economic and security interests, while upholding the primacy of American values -- values which, [as Lincoln said, are the "last, best hope of mankind". Above all, it is a mission worthy of a great people -- the American people -- a democratic and peace-loving people who, having won the war, must now secure the peace.

*the
Nations
the West
vs US
America*

Barlett's

Americans have always responded best when a new frontier beckoned. I believe that the next frontier for us and for the generation that follows is to secure a democratic peace in Europe and Eurasia that will ensure a lasting peace for America.

This democratic peace must be founded on the twin pillars of political and economic freedom. The success of reform in Russia and Ukraine, Armenia and Kazakhstan, ^{Democratic added} Byelarus and the Baltics will be the single best guarantee of our security, our prosperity and our values. After the long Cold War, this much is clear: Democrats in the Kremlin can assure our security in a way nuclear missiles never could.

Do we not want to achieve @, Don't we know

If the first term of my Administration's foreign policy has been dedicated to winning the Cold War peacefully, *then* the next four years must be dedicated to building a democratic peace -- not simply for those of us who lived through the Cold War and won it, but for generations to come.

From the first moments of the Cold War, our mission was containment -- to use the combined resources of the West to check the expansionist aims of the Soviet empire. It has been my policy as President to move beyond containment -- to use the power of ~~the~~ America and the West to end the Cold War with freedom's victory. //

Today, we have reached a turning point. We have defeated imperial communism. We have not yet won the victory for democracy.

This victory will not be easily won. The weight of history -- seventy-four years of Communist mis-rule in the former USSR -- tell us that democracy and economic freedom will be years in the building. America must therefore resolve that our commitment be equally firm and lasting.

With this commitment, we have the chance to build a very different world -- a peace built on the common values of political and economic freedom between Russia and America, between East and West. At long last, a peace built on mutual trust -- not mutual terror. //

Today, we find ourselves in an almost unimaginable world where democrats, not communists, hold power in Moscow and Kiev and Yerevan. A new world where a new breed of leaders -- Boris Yeltsin, ^{L Tony VOTN} Levon Ter-Petrosian, ^{ILANOWS} Leonid Kravchuk and ^{Oscar A. - KIEV} Askar Akayev -- are pushing forward to reform. //

They seek to replace the rule of force with the rule of law. / They seek for the first time in their countries' histories not to impose rule in the name of the people, but to build governments of, by, and for the people. / They seek a future of free and open markets where economic rights rest in the hands of individuals -- not on the whims of central planners. / They seek partnerships and alliances with us -- and an end to competition and conflict.

Our values are their values. And in this time of transition -- they seek our help.

If we are to act, we must see clearly what is at stake.

phonetics →

Forty years ago, Americans had the vision and the good sense to help defeated enemies back to their feet -- as democracies. What a wise investment that proved to be. Those we helped became close allies and major trading partners. Our choice today is just as clear. With our help, Russia can become a democratic friend and partner. And let me say here: they will have our help. //

What difference can this make for America? First, we can put behind us for good the nuclear confrontation that has held our very civilization hostage for over four decades. Second, we can reap a genuine peace dividend year after year in the form of permanently reduced defense budgets. / Already, we've proposed \$50 billion dollars worth of defense spending reductions between now and 1997. / Reducing our defense spending means we can reduce that massive budget deficit -- and that will be good for our economy. Third, working with our Russian partners and our allies we can create a new international landscape -- a landscape where emerging threats are contained and undone, where proliferation is stopped and reversed, where terrorists find no safe haven, and where genuine coalitions of like-minded countries respond to dangers and opportunities together. And finally, fourth: the triumph of free governments and free markets in the old Soviet Union will mean major opportunities for global trade and investment. //

Russian democracy is in America's interest. It is also in keeping with this nation's guiding ideals. Across the boundaries

of language and culture, across the Cold War chasm of mistrust, we feel the pull of common values. In the ordeal of the long-suffering people of the Soviet empire we see glimpses of this nation's past. In their hopes and dreams -- we see our own.

This is an article of the American creed: Freedom is not the special preserve of one nation -- it is the birthright of men and women everywhere. We have always dreamed of the day democracy and freedom will triumph in every corner of the world, in every captive nation and closed society. This may never happen in our lifetimes -- but it can happen now for the millions of people who for so long suffered Soviet rule.

Some may say this view of the future is unrealistic. Well let me remind you that three of our leading partners in helping democracy succeed in Russia are none other than Germany, Japan and Italy. If we can now bring Russia into the community of free nations who share American ideals, we will have redeemed hope in a century that has known so much suffering. //

A democratic Russia is the best guarantee against a return to authoritarianism in Moscow, a renewed danger of competition, and the threat of nuclear rivalry. The failure of the democratic experiment could bring a dark future -- at best, a return to authoritarianism. At worst, a descent into anarchy. In either case, the outcome would threaten our peace, prosperity and security for years to come. //

But we should focus not on the dangers of failure -- but on the dividends of success. A democratic Russia -- one dedicated

to free market economies -- will provide an impetus for a major increase in global trade and investment. The people of the former Soviet Union are well-schooled and highly-skilled. They seek for their families the same better future each of us wishes for our own. Together, they form a potentially vast market that crosses 11 time zones and comprises nearly 300 million people. No economist can pin-point the value of trade opportunities we hope to have -- but the potential for prosperity is great. Increased trade means vast new markets for American goods, new opportunities for American entrepreneurs, and new jobs for American workers. //

[[I am committed to giving American business every possible opportunity to compete fairly and equally in these new markets. That is why we are seeking to conclude trade, bilateral investment, and tax treaties with each of the new Commonwealth states. The first agreement -- between the U.S. and Armenia -- was signed this week, and we expect more to follow.]]

It is not inevitable, as de Toqueville wrote, that America and Russia were destined to struggle for global supremacy.

de Toqueville only knew a despotic Russia. But we see, and can help secure, a democratic Russia.

One of America's greatest achievements in this century has been our leadership ⁱⁿ of a remarkable community of nations -- the free world. This community is democratic, stable, prosperous, cooperative and interdependent -- and America is the better for

it. We have strong allies. We have enormous trade. We are safer as a result of our commitment to this free world.

Now, we must expand this most successful of communities to include our former adversaries. This is good for America. A world that trades with us brings greater prosperity. A world that shares our values strengthens the peace. ←

This is the world that lies before us. This is the world that can be achieved if we have the vision to reach for it. This is the peace we must not lose.

This is what we are doing right now to win this peace:

Strategically, we are moving with the Russians to reach historic nuclear reductions. We are offering our help to dismantle and destroy nuclear weapons. We are engaged in an intensive program of military-to-military exchanges to strengthen the ties between our two military forces -- indeed to build unprecedented and previously unthinkable defense cooperation.

Politically, we're reaching out so America -- and American values -- will be well represented in these new lands. We are the only country with Embassies in all of the former republics. We are planning to bring "America Houses" and American expertise to the former USSR, to send hundreds of Peace Corps volunteers to help create small businesses, to launch major exchanges of students, professionals and scientists so that our peoples can establish the bonds so important to permanent peace. //

Economically, working with the European Community and many other countries, we organized a global coalition to provide

urgently-needed emergency food and medical supplies this past winter. We will now send Americans to help promote improvements in food distribution, energy, defense conversion and democratization. I have sent Congress the Freedom Support Act - - a comprehensive and integrated legislative package that will provide new opportunities to support freedom while purging Cold War restrictions that prevent American companies from engaging in significant trade and investment.

I pledge to work with the Congress on a bipartisan basis to pass this act. I want to sign this bill into law before my June summit with President Yeltsin. //

Just as the rewards of this new world will belong to no one nation, so too the burden does not fall to America alone. We are pursuing a policy of collective engagement and shared responsibility. Working with the G-7, the IMF and the World Bank, we are seeking to help promote the economic transformation so central to an enduring democratic peace. Forty-five years after their founding, the Bretton Woods institutions we created after World War II are now serving their purpose. By working with others we're sharing the burden ^{of} responsibly and acting in the best interests of the American taxpayer. ←

Together with these allies, we have developed a \$24 billion package of financial assistance to provide urgently needed support for President Yeltsin's reforms. And now I need Congress's support to increase the U.S. quota in the IMF by \$12 billion to help bring this about.

I know that broad public support will be critical to our effort to get this program passed.

So let me say something to those who say, yes, the people of Russia and all across the old Soviet empire are struggling. Yes, we want to see them succeed, to join the democratic community. But what about us -- what about the challenges and demands we must meet right here in America? Isn't it time we took care of our own?

To them I say: peace and prosperity are in the interest of every American -- each one of us alive today, and all the generations that will follow.

As a nation, we spent more than four trillion dollars to wage and win the Cold War. Compared to such monumental sacrifice, the costs of promoting democracy will be small -- and the consequences for our peace and prosperity beyond measure.

America must take the lead in creating this new world of peace.

Three times this century, America has been called on to help construct a lasting peace in Europe. Seventy-five years ago this month, the United States entered World War I to tip the balance against aggression. Yet with the battle won, America withdrew across the ocean -- and the "war to end all wars" produced a peace that did not last a generation. Indeed, by the time I was born in 1924, the peace was already unravelling. Germany's economic chaos soon led to fascist dictatorship. The seeds of another, more terrible war were sown.

Still, the isolationist impulse remained strong. Years later, as the Nazis began their march across the continent, I can still remember the editorials here in the U.S., talking about "Europe's war" -- as if America could close itself off, as if we could isolate ourselves from the world beyond our shores.

As a consequence, we fought the most costly war in the history of man -- a war that claimed the lives of countless millions.

At war's end, once again we saw the prospect of a new world on the horizon -- but the great victory over fascism quickly gave way to the grim reality of the new communist threat.

We are fortunate that our postwar leaders, Democrats and Republicans alike, did not forget the lessons of the past in building the peace of the next four decades. They shaped a coalition that kept America engaged -- that kept the peace through the long twilight struggle against Soviet communism. And they taught the lesson we must heed today: that the noblest mission of the victor is to turn an enemy into a friend. //

Now, America faces a third opportunity to provide the kind of lasting peace that for so long eluded us. I know where I stand. I stand for American engagement in support of a democratic peace, a peace that can secure for the next generation a world free from war and conflict.

We have a great opportunity now in this defining moment to sow the seeds of a democratic peace and a new prosperity which will stand for generations. I am committed with all my heart to

this cause, not simply because it is the right thing to do -- but also because I know it is the best course, and in the very best interest, of all Americans.

After a half-century of fear and mistrust, America, Russia and the new nations of the former USSR can become partners in peace. After a half-century of Cold War and harsh words -- we can speak and act on common values. After a half-century of armed and uneasy peace -- we can move forward toward a new world of freedom, cooperation, reconciliation and hope. //

Thank you all for inviting me today. / May God bless the free peoples of the former Soviet empire -- and may God bless the United States of America.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 9, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS

J.W. Marriott Hotel
Washington, DC

1:53 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Dave. And may I start by thanking the members of the board, and say to all the members of ASNE, I'm grateful for this return engagement, glad to participate in an annual event that Washington looks forward to -- this annual conference.

Even in the age of VCRs and CNN, people who want to understand the times we live in still, as Dave indicated in that sweet and short introduction, turn to the printed word.

And today I want to share some serious observations with you on events around the world. Look around the world today. Think of the page one stories of the past few years and our victory in the Cold War, the collapse of imperial communism, the liberation of Kuwait. Think of the great revolutions of '89 that brought down the Berlin Wall and broke the chains of communism and brought a new world of freedom to Eastern Europe. And this of the role this nation played in every one of these great triumphs -- the sacrifices we made, the sense of mission that carried us through.

Each day brings new changes -- new realities, new hopes, new horizons. In the past six months alone, we've recognized 18 -- in six months -- 18 brand-new nations. The bulk of those nations, of course, are born of one momentous event: the collapse of Soviet communism.

And today I want to talk to you all about the most important foreign policy opportunity of our time -- an opportunity that will affect the security and the future of every American, young and old, throughout this entire decade.

The democratic revolutions underway in Russia, in Armenia, Ukraine, and the other new nations of the old Soviet empire, represent the best hope for real peace in my lifetime. And shortly after taking office, I outlined a new American strategy in response to the changes underway in the Soviet Union and East and Central Europe. It was to move beyond containment, to encourage reform, to always support freedom for the captive nations of the East.

And now, after dramatic revolutions in Poland and Hungary and Czechoslovakia, revolutions that spread then to Romania and Bulgaria and even Albania; after the unification of Germany in NATO; after the demise of the one power -- the USSR -- that threatened our way of life, that mission has been fulfilled. The Cold War is over. The specter of nuclear armageddon has receded and Soviet communism has collapsed. And in its wake we find ourselves of the threshold of a new world of opportunity and peace.

MORE

But with the passing of the Cold War, a new order has yet to take its place. The opportunities -- tremendous. They're great. But so, too, are the dangers. And so we stand at history's hinge point -- a new world beckons while the ghost of history stands in the shadows.

I want to outline today a new mission for American policy toward Russia and the other new nations of the old USSR. It's a mission that can advance our economic and security interests, while upholding the primacy of American values -- values which, as Lincoln said, are the "last, best hope of Earth."

Americans have always responded best when a new frontier beckoned. And I believe that the next frontier for us and for the generation that follows is to secure a democratic peace in Europe and the former USSR that will ensure a lasting peace for the United States of America.

The democratic peace must be founded on twin pillars of political and economic freedom. The success of reform in Russia and Ukraine, Armenia and Kazakhstan, Byelarus and the Baltics will be the single best guarantee of our security, our prosperity and our values.

After the long Cold War, this much is clear: Democrats in the Kremlin can assure our security in a way nuclear missiles never could. Much of my administration's foreign policy has been dedicated to winning the Cold War peacefully. And the next four years must be dedicated to building a democratic peace -- not simply for those of us who live through the Cold War and won it, but for generations to come.

From the first moments of the Cold War, our mission was containment -- to use the combined resources of the West to check the expansion, the expansionist aims of the Soviet empire. It's been my policy as President to move beyond containment to use the power of America and the West to end the Cold War with freedom's victory.

And today, we have reached a turning point. We have defeated imperial communism. We've not yet won the victory for democracy, though. This democratic peace will not be easily won. The weight of history, 74 years of communist misrule in the former USSR, tells us that democracy and economic freedom will be years in the building. America must, therefore, resolve that our commitment be equally firm and lasting.

With this commitment, we have the chance to build a very different world -- a world built on the common values of political and economic freedom between Russia and America, between East and West and, at long last, a peace built on mutual trust, not on mutual terror.

And today, we find ourselves in an almost unimaginable world where democrats, not communists, hold power in Moscow and Kiev and Yerevan; a new world where a new breed of leaders -- Boris Yeltsin, Levon Ter-Petrosian, Leonid Kravchuk, Askar Akayev among others -- are pushing forward to reform.

They seek to replace the rule of force with the rule of law. And they seek for the first time in their countries' histories not to impose rule in the name of the people, but to build governments of, by and for the people. And they seek a future of free and open markets where economic rights rest in the hands of individuals, not on the whims of the central planners. They seek partnerships. They seek alliances with us. And they also seek an end to competition and conflict.

MORE

Our values are their values. And in this time of transition, they are reaching out to us. They seek our help. And if we're to act, we must see clearly what is at stake.

Forty years ago, Americans had the vision and the good sense to help defeated enemies back to their feet -- as democracies. Well, what a wise investment that proved to be. Those we helped became close allies and major trading partners.

Our choice today just as clear: With our help, Russia, Ukraine, other new states, can become democratic friends and partners. And let me say here, they will have our help. What difference can this make for America, you might ask? We can put behind us for good the nuclear confrontation that has held our very civilization hostage for over four decades. The threat of a major ground war in Western Europe has disappeared with the demise of the Warsaw Pact.

A democratic Russia is the best guarantee against a renewed danger of competition and the threat of nuclear rivalry. The failure of the democratic experiment could bring a dark future -- a return to authoritarianism, or a dissent into anarchy. In either case, the outcome would threaten our peace, our prosperity, and our security for years to come.

But we should focus not on the dangers of failure, but on the dividends of success.

First, we can reap a genuine peace dividend this year, and then year after year, in the form of permanently-reduced defense budgets. Already we've proposed \$50-billion worth of defense spending reduction between now and 1997. Now that cut comes on top of savings totally \$267 billion, more than a quarter of a trillion dollars in projected defense expenditures since the fall of the Berlin Wall. Make no mistake: I am not going to make reckless defense cuts that impair our own fundamental nation security.

Second, working with our Russian partners and our allies, we can create a new international landscape -- a landscape where emerging threats are contained and undone, where we work in concert to confront common threats to our environment, where terrorists find no safe haven, and where genuine coalitions of like-minded countries respond to dangers and opportunities together.

And finally, third, the triumph of free governments and free markets in the old Soviet Union will mean extensive opportunities for global trade and economic growth. A democratic Russia, one dedicated to free market economies, will provide an impetus for a major increase in global trade and investment. The people of the former Soviet Union are well-schooled and highly skilled. They seek for their families the same better future each of us wishes for our own.

And together, they form a potentially vast market that crosses 11 time zones and comprises nearly 300 million people. No economist can pinpoint the value of trade opportunities we hope to have. It's impossible to compute. But the potential for prosperity is great. Increased trade means vast new markets for American goods, new opportunities for American entrepreneurs, new jobs for American workers. And I'm committed to giving American business every possible opportunity to compete fairly and equally in these new markets.

For example, last week I asked the Congress to repeal the Stevenson and Byrd amendments that limit Export-Import Bank's ability to help promote American exports to the former USSR. And I'm pleased that Congress has acted. I'm also seeking to conclude trade, bilateral investment and tax treaties with each of the new

MORE

Commonwealth States. The first agreement between the U.S. and Armenia was signed last week. And we expect a lot more to follow.

Russian democracy is in America's interest. It's also in keeping with this nation's guiding ideals. Across the boundaries of language and culture, across the Cold War chasm of mistrust, we feel the pull of common values. And in the ordeal of long-suffering peoples of the Soviet empire we see glimpses of this nation's past. In their hopes and dreams, we see our own.

This is an article of the America creed: Freedom is not the special preserve of one nation. It is the birthright of men and women everywhere. And we have always dreamed of the day democracy and freedom will triumph in every corner of the world, in every captive nation in closed society.

And this may never happen in our lifetime, but it can happen now for the millions of people who for so long suffered under that totalitarian Soviet rule. Some may say this view of the future is a little unrealistic. Let me remind you that three of our leading partners in helping democracy succeed in Russia are none other than Germany, Japan and Italy. And if we can now bring Russia into the community of free nations who share American ideals, we will have redeemed hope in a century that has known so much suffering.

It is not inevitable, as De Toqueville wrote, that America and Russia were destined to struggle for global supremacy. De Toqueville only knew a despotic Russia, but we see and can help secure a democratic Russia. One of America's greatest achievements in this century has been our leadership of a remarkable community of nations, the free world. This community is democratic, it is stable, it's prosperous, cooperative, it is independent; in America all of us are the better for that. And we have strong allies. We have enormous trade and we are safer as a result of our commitment to this free world.

And now, we must expand this most successful of communities to include our former adversaries. Now, this is good for America. A world that trades with us brings greater prosperity. A world that shares our values, strengthens the peace. This is the world that lies out there before us. This is the world that can be achieved if we have the vision to reach for it. And this is the peace that we must not lose.

And this is what we're doing right now to win this peace. Strategically, we're moving with the Russians to reach historic nuclear reductions. We've urged speedy ratification of START and CFE. And we're working with all the new states to prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction. We are offering our help in safety, in nuclear weapons safety, in security, and, yes, in the dismantlement.

And we're engaged in an intensive program of military-to-military exchanges to strengthen the ties between our two militaries; indeed, to build unprecedented defense cooperation -- cooperation that would have simply been unthinkable a few short months ago.

Politically, we're reaching out so America -- and American values -- will be well represented in these new lands. We are the only country with embassies in all of the former republics. We're planning to bring American houses and American expertise to the former USSR; to send hundreds of Peace Corps volunteers to help create small businesses; to launch major exchanges of students, professionals and scientists so that our people can establish the bonds so important to permanent peace.

MORE

Economically, working with the European Community and many other countries, we organized a global coalition to provide urgently-needed emergency food and medical supplies this past winter. And now we will send Americans to help promote improvements in food distribution, energy, defense conversion and democratization. I have sent Congress the Freedom Support Act -- a comprehensive and integrated legislative package that will provide new opportunities to support freedom and repeal all Cold War legislation. In its key features this bill asks Congress to meet my request for \$620 million to fund technical assistance projects in the former USSR. It urges congress to increase the U.S. quota in the IMF -- International Monetary Fund -- by \$12 billion.

And I pledge to work with the Congress on a bipartisan basis to pass this act. And I want to sign this bill into law before my June summit with President Yeltsin here in Washington, D.C.

Just as the rewards of this new world will belong to no one nation, so, too, the burden does not fall to America alone. Together with our allies, we've developed a \$24-billion package of financial assistance. Its aim: to provide urgently needed support for President Yeltsin's reforms.

And ours is a policy of collective engagement and shared responsibility. Working with the G-7, the IMF and the World Bank, we are seeking to help promote the economic transformation so central to an enduring democratic peace. Forty-five years after their founding, the Bretton Woods Institutions we created after World War II are now serving their original purpose. By working with others we're sharing the burden responsibly and acting in the best interests of the American taxpayer.

I know that broad public support will be critical to our effort to get this program passed. And so let me say something to those who say: Yes, the people of Russia and all across the old Soviet Empire are struggling; yes, we want to see them succeed, to join the democratic community. But what about us -- what about the challenges and demands we must meet right here in America? Isn't it time we took care of our own? And to them I would say this: Peace and prosperity are in the interest of every American -- each one of us alive today and all the generations that will follow.

As a nation, we spent more than \$4 trillion to wage and win the Cold War. Compared to such monumental sacrifice, the costs of promoting democracy will be a fraction -- and the consequences for our peace and prosperity beyond measure. America must take the lead in creating this new world of peace.

Three times this century, America has been called on to help construct a lasting peace in Europe. Seventy-five years ago this month, the United States entered World War I to tip the balance against aggression. And yet, with the battle won, America withdrew across the ocean and the "war to end all wars" produced a peace that did not last even a generation. Indeed, by the time I was born in 1924, the peace was already unraveling. Germany's economic chaos soon led to what? To fascist dictatorship. The seeds of another, more terrible war were sown.

And still, the isolationist impulse remained strong. Years later, as the Nazis began their march across the continent, I can still remember the editorials here in the United States talking about "Europe's war," as if America could close itself off, as if we could isolate ourselves from the world beyond our shores.

As a consequence -- you know the answer -- we fought the most costly war in the history of man. A war that claimed the lives of countless millions. At war's end, once again we saw the prospect

MORE

of a new world on the horizon. But the great victory over fascism quickly gave way to the grim reality of a new communist threat.

We are fortunate that our postwar leaders, Democrats and Republicans alike, did not forget the lessons of the past in building the peace of the next four decades. They shaped a coalition that kept America engaged, that kept the peace through the long twilight struggle against Soviet communism. And they taught the lesson that we simply must heed today: that the noblest mission of the victor is to turn an enemy into a friend.

And now America faces a third opportunity to provide the kind of lasting peace that for so long eluded us. At this defining moment, I know where I stand. I stand for American engagement in support of a democratic peace, a peace that can secure for the next generation a world free from war, free from conflict.

After a half-century of fear and mistrust, America, Russia and the new nations of the former USSR must become partners in peace. After a half-century of Cold War and harsh words, we must speak and act on common values. After a half-century of armed and uneasy peace, we must move forward toward a new world of freedom, cooperation, reconciliation and hope.

Thank you all very much for inviting me here today. And may God bless the free peoples of the former Soviet Empire -- and may God bless the United States of America. Thank you very, very much. (Applause.)

(A Q&A with the audience begins.)

THE PRESIDENT: -- (in progress) -- of the Gulf area. At that time not only the United States but the United States and many of the Gulf countries, the GCC countries, felt that the major threat to stability in the Gulf was from Iran. We did not want an Iran that would take over Iraq and then inexorably move south. So there was a real logic for that.

Shelby, I'm not going to -- by my silence, acquiesce in all the charges that the question included, but some of this was true. We did some business with Iraq, but I just don't want to sign off on each one of the allegations that some of these stories have contained. But this was our policy.

And then we saw what Saddam Hussein did after this war ended. We tried to bring him into the family of nations through commerce, and we failed. And when he reached out to crush a neighboring country, we mobilized the best and most effective coalition, I think, that's been seen in modern times. And the objective was to set back aggression.

The U.N. resolutions never called for the elimination of Saddam Hussein. It never called for taking the battle into downtown Baghdad. And we have a lot of revisionists who opposed me on the war now saying, how come you didn't go into downtown Baghdad and find Saddam Hussein and do him in?

We put together a coalition. We worked effectively with the coalition to fulfill the aims of the United Nations resolutions. And we fulfilled those aims. We set back aggression. And as any one of our respected military leaders will tell you, we have all but removed the threat of Saddam Hussein to his neighbors.

Now, we are still concerned about him. There's no question about that. And I am very much concerned, as he goes north of the 36th parallel the other day with airplanes, as to what that means to the safety of the Kurds. I am concerned about the Shiites in the south and to the southeast. I was also concerned when I saw

MORE

an Iranian incursion of the Iraq borders to go after those Shiites. We can't condone that, as much as we detest the regime of Saddam Hussein.

So we will -- do I have regrets was your question? I guess if I had 90-90 hindsight and any action that we might have taken beforehand would guarantee that Saddam Hussein did not move down into Kuwait, which he did, I'd certainly rethink our position. But I can't certify that by not helping Iraq in the modest way we did that that would have guaranteed that he would stay within his confines, the confines of his own border. And I can't say to you what would have happened in terms of Iran's aggression.

We are dealing with the facts as they came down the pike. And one of them was that he committed an aggression that mobilized the whole world against him. And he is going to remain isolated as long as I am President. He is going to live by those U.N. resolutions, and we are going to see that he complies with each and every one of them, including the most dangerous of all -- the one that -- in the most dangerous area of all, the one where he is doing things he ought not to be doing in terms of missiles and in terms of a nuclear capability.

So we're not going to lighten up on it. And I think -- oh, there's one other point since you've given me such a wonderful opening, Shelby. (Laughter.) I read that General Norm Schwarzkopf wanted to keep going after I stopped the war. I will tell you unequivocally that that is simply, totally untrue.

I sat in the Oval Office that fateful day -- when you remember the turkey shoot along the highway going north -- and Colin Powell came to me, our respected Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, and said, Mr. President, it's our considered opinion that the war is over. We have achieved our objectives, and we should stop. And I said, do our commanders in the field feel that way? And he said, yes. And I said, well, let's double-check. Something to that effect. He walked over to my desk -- I was sitting on this end near the Stewart picture in the Oval Office -- picked up the secure phone, dialed a number, and talked to Norm Schwarzkopf out in the desert. And said, what do you think? The President has asked me to double-check. We have achieved our objectives. We ought to stop. We agreed that we would stop at -- I think it was midnight that night -- 100 hours after the battle began.

And now we're caught up in a real peculiar election year. And you hear all kinds of people -- some of who supported what I did, many of whom oppose it -- now going after this administration and our military for stopping too soon. I don't think that's right. Am I happy Saddam Hussein is still there? Absolutely not. Am I determined he's going to live with these resolutions? Absolutely. But we did the right thing. We did the honorable thing. And I have absolutely no regrets about that part of it at all.

Q Mr. President, as you know, another Texan is thinking about running for President in 1992. He'll be joining us tomorrow morning. As a matter of fact --

THE PRESIDENT: Are you speaking about Lloyd Bentsen?
(Laughter.)

Q Let's say two other Texans.

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, I see. (Laughter.)

Q Some might even think that Ross Perot sounds a little more Texan than you do. My question would be, why do you think he's been as successful as he has in the early going in gaining support? What impact do you think he might have in the general

MORE

election, particularly his possible ability to carry the state of Texas? And finally, do you feel part of his appeal is based on his ability to connect with the average American who wants to lift himself economically? Is he better able to do that than you are?

THE PRESIDENT: You know, I'm going to give you another question because I am not going to get -- do something now I've assiduously avoided all during the primary: going after anybody else or quantify it in any way that might run or is running. And I'm going to stay with that ground rule right now. When the battle is joined and the conventions are over and the nominees are out there, I will happily answer your question for you. But let him -- Ross -- make his determination. Let him do what the rest of us do -- take our case to the American people. Let him enjoy the same scrutiny that I've had for, what, 12 years at this relatively high level of government -- Vice President and President.

But there's no point in me trying to define his candidacy, nor the candidacy of the Democrats that are left in the race on the other side. What I'm trying to do, having gone into some of these primaries and emerged, I think, as the nominee of our party, is to lead this country, to talk about these serious issues.

You know, they say to me, as they say -- how can you be the candidate of change? You've been in Washington all this time. I say we're the ones that are trying to change things -- whether it's education, whether it's tort reform, whether it's in matters of this nature that have to do with life and death and peace and war.

And so I'm going to keep on doing that now. And then, when the battle is joined and we get past the convention stage, I'll have plenty of comment to help you along in assessing the opposition. But I really am going to stay out of it now. And this isn't a new position. Just because I'm standing before a lot of editors, I think most that -- these traveling White House press will tell you that's the way it's been.

So if you want another one that I can answer, shoot.

Q Let me ask one other one then, Mr. President. Abortion certainly continues to be one of the hottest issues not only in the United States but in the Republican Party. Is it your preference that the GOP platform in 1992 stay silent on that issue, come out flatly against abortion, or support those abortion rights activists who are inside the GOP?

THE PRESIDENT: My position has not changed. I am pro-life. And I'm going to stay with that position. In terms of the platform, we have a platform committee that's going to debate that. You mentioned inside the Republican Party -- take a look at the state of Pennsylvania. This isn't an issue that divides just Republicans, this is an issue that divides Democrats as well if you look at the laws in the books and the position of the governor of that state and other states as well.

So each of us should say what we feel, fight for our views, and then we've got a party platform process that will resolve that.

Q Mr. President, you have attended three economic summits since taking office in which a very high priority was assigned to a new world trade agreement under GATT. Each time these deadlines have been broken; on Easter I think we're going to have another deadline broken. And you just spoke about a world in which we would trade with the Soviet Union or the former Soviet Union. How can the Soviet Union really survive unless we get a world trade agreement?

MORE

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think they could survive but they would survive much less well. And we are going to keep on working for a successful conclusion of this Uruguay Round of GATT. The major stumbling block has been agriculture. And we cannot have a satisfactory conclusion to the GATT Round unless agriculture is addressed. That has been a particularly difficult problem for France and a particularly difficult problem for Germany.

And we, as you know, from following this have said we will work with the Dunkel text -- this is highly technical -- but it spells out some broad ground rules on agriculture. And we still have some problems other than agriculture.

I am told that the EC leader, Delors, now feels that we are very, very close on agriculture. He's coming here soon with Cavaco Silva of Portugal, and we're going to be sitting down in one of each -- we have meetings twice a year. I will then be talking to him -- I won't be doing the negotiating -- but with our top negotiators and try to hammer out that agreement.

We still have some other problems -- property rights, and, you know, trademarks and all this kind of thing. But I am more optimistic now. I asked Brent the other day, my trusted and able National Security Adviser, where do each of these deadlines that you referred to come from? They keep coming. Well, we'd have a deadline -- and you're right, somebody throws up a deadline and says we've got to meet it by February; we've got to do it by June. I don't know where the deadline comes from. But I do know that it is in the interest of the free world, say nothing of the now freeing world -- the Soviet Union, the former Soviet Union -- that we achieve this agreement.

And one last point on the trade agreement. Far better -- far better than a foreign aid program for the emerging democracies of the Third World, Africa particularly, is a trade agreement. Far better than aid is trade. And so we will keep on playing, I think, a very constructive role to achieve a conclusion of this.

And, parenthetically, we are going to work for the North American Free Trade Agreement. You know, we're in a political year, some of you may know, and we're getting shot at by various predictable organizations on the Mexican agreement. The Mexican agreement, in my view, will create jobs in the United States, will help the environment. A country that's doing better economically can do a lot more for its environment than one that is kept down on the ropes because we don't have fair and free trade.

So we're going to work to that end to get a Mexican agreement along with the Uruguay Round. And, yes, all of that will benefit the emerging republics that I've been talking about here today. But I'm not despairing about it. The point is, if we come to some new deadline, we're going to keep on pushing. But right now, it looks like we may have a better chance than we've had in the last years of negotiation.

Q You're office says one more question.

THE PRESIDENT: Do they? Okay.

Q Mr. President, oddly enough part of your reply there dealt with my question. You've given a good vision of our obligations to help redeem the emergent nations of the former Soviet empire. But I wonder if anyone's paying much attention to our obligations to the truly hungry, starving nations of the world. Patrick Buchanan wants to do away with all foreign aid as part of his, I guess, Judeo-Christian tradition platform, forgetting the admonition that we bear one another's burdens. Our foreign aid appropriation has been about \$18 billion a year. Almost half went to

MORE

Middle East countries. And our spending, seems to me, to be a disgraceful pittance in relation to the hunger and the deprivation of the really deprived nations of the Third World.

I wonder if you think we should spend more to help the countries that have no influence, like Somalia and Ethiopia and even Haiti, closer where there are millions of children with swollen stomachs crying for aid still. Do you think we are spending enough for actual food and aid for the hungry countries of the Earth?

THE PRESIDENT: Not included in the figures you gave are other activities, such as the Peace Corps, such as some agricultural programs. And such is clearly the most important -- the benefit of trade that you referred to in the first part.

Let me tell you something, it is going to be impossible to get anything through the Congress this year, in terms of foreign aid, beyond what we have suggested. We would be unrealistic to think that there might be more. I'm not suggesting, though, that the answer is to spend more money on it. I think the trade initiative is important. I think the position that our administration has taken in debt forgiveness has been tremendously important to many of the emerging democracies in Africa and, indeed, in this hemisphere.

Look at the basket case that was Argentina just a while back. And working with us, they are now on the move. They've come in, they've taken a very constructive approach to their economy. They are in the debt forgiveness -- we've worked out a deal, they have, with the private financial institutions, just very recently, to lower their debt burden. The Enterprise for the Americas Initiative and the Brady Plan are meaningful. And the impoverished people in that country, and in other countries in our hemisphere, are beginning to get a little break here.

So we're in a realistic time. I will continue to push for the trade agreements. I will continue to do what I can in these debt-reduction initiatives. And we'll continue to support foreign aid. And I think everybody here who writes, understands that that is not necessarily a popular position in an election year or any other time.

But we are dealing also with a time when we must address ourselves, and are trying so to do, to our own problems at home. And when your operating at enormous deficits in a sluggish economy, it isn't easy. And yet I want to not end here because we can take a couple more -- but I'm a little more optimistic on the economy. And I was very pleased today when the Fed lowered its rates by another quarter. That was instantly pretty well received in the market. Far be it for me to mention what levels markets should be at. I learned that long ago by mistake saying something that triggered -- I don't remember how it worked, triggered a market reaction.

But I think the lowering of the rate by the Fed is a good thing, and I hope that it will guarantee that this fledgling recovery that we're seeing will now be a little more robust.

Q Mr. President, over here, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Got you.

Q The government's going in the hole about a billion dollars a day right now. And what reason can you give the American people for voting for four more years of the same kind of deficit spending?

THE PRESIDENT: I certainly don't want them to vote for four more years of deficit spending. And I would like to get some changes in the United States Congress to guarantee against that. I

MORE

would like to see them enact our budget that takes a major step towards the containment of an area that is the main area that's causing the deficit, and that is the entitlement area. And what are we proposing? We're proposing that the entitlements not grow beyond inflation and population growth. That in itself will save literally billions -- billions, many billions -- of dollars.

So we've got to go forward with a sensible budget approach. Right now I'm battling against a Congress that wants to knock off the one guarantee that the American taxpayer has on spending and that is the caps out of the nefarious 1990 budget agreement, the caps on discretionary spending. We're getting into an election year so we're trying to hold the line on those caps. And I'm determined to do it and I think we will prevail.

But what I'll be doing is taking my case to the American people and say, yes, we've had some tough things. We've had banking problems that have cost the taxpayer enormously. We've had savings and loan problems that have cost the taxpayers enormously as we protect every single depositor. But we've got to try to exert some fiscal discipline on the system. And I'll be ready for the debate that will follow come fall, because I think we're on the right track with what I've just told you here.

Dave says I'm out of here. We'll do one more and then I'm gone.

Q It's your staff, Mr. President, who says you're out of here. (Laughter.) You can stay as long as you want.

THE PRESIDENT: I don't want to be in trouble with them. (Laughter.) Let's see what we've got here.

Q Mr. President, as you've astutely noted for us today we are in an election year.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. (Laughter.)

Q And in seven months, much to the chagrin of this group, many Americans will be deciding their vote on the basis of television advertising. In 1988, many voters -- most of us were bombarded with what we would probably consider very negative television advertising that attacked the reputation of your opponent and seemed to pander to some of the fears of our society.

I guess my question to you as you look into this election year, do you plan to direct, encourage or discourage your consultants from pursuing a similar negative ad campaign in 1992?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, you asked me at a time when this is in the heightened attention of the American people, isn't it? I look across at the Democratic primary and anything that happened in 1988 is pale in comparison to what's going on there. We've tried to have most of ours positive.

You may recall an ad we ran in Michigan that triggered the famous line I used at the Gridiron Club, "Ich Bin Ein Mercedes owner." (Laughter.) But that is a negative ad. Now, I don't know whether you consider that a turn-off or not, but just by the genesis of that ad came about that the opponent in this case was talking about protection and jobs and American jobs and American workers and all of this, and he was driving a Mercedes. Nobody was pointing it out. A lot of editors here -- and I don't remember a brutal revelation of this terribly important fact. (Laughter.) So we brought it out.

Now, I don't know if you consider that -- I don't want to get into a debate since you might clearly win it -- (laughter) -- but is that a negative ad or is that fair in the way -- everybody now that puts on the television at least have a thing -- and the

newspapers, too -- here's why the ad was fair or unfair. I can't remember what they said about that one. I think when you define a person on issues, that's very, very important. I think some would consider it negative.

But just seriously on that one. Then I can maybe answer your question a little better.

Q I think what it does is set the tone. I guess people maybe care whether the opponent drives a Mercedes. But I guess we get into discussions of other character issues. I think that's really where the --

THE PRESIDENT: Well, as I've said, I would like to see it on the issues and not on some of the sleaze questions. I've said that before and I'll keep repeating that. I know that we will try hard, but I also know that this is about the ugliest political year I've ever seen already. And I don't know what it's going to hold, but I will try to keep my head up and try to do my job as President and try to do it with a certain sense of decency and honor.

But we've seen it start off that way in the early primaries and then something else evolved, for reasons I'm not quite sure I fully understand. But I don't want to make you a firm statement because I don't know what's negative and what's not these days. If it's just ripping down somebody's character or tearing them apart, I don't want to do that. If it's factual and brings out something that hasn't been brought out, I think that's fair. And so we have to just use your judgment I guess is the answer to that one.

Well, I guess I really do have to go. But thank you all very, very much. I appreciate it. (Applause.)

END

2:45 P.M. EDT

George Bush Introduction

ASNE

April 9, 1992; 1:00 p.m.

Dave Lawrence
Publ. Res. ASNE
Chairman
Miami Beach

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(dependent) for

Natl Defense (pentagon)
+ Dept. Energy weapons)

since US budget surplus
41 years - 19-89

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89 end of Sept 89

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Jim Richards - Congress
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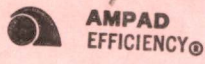
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Elaine Brown

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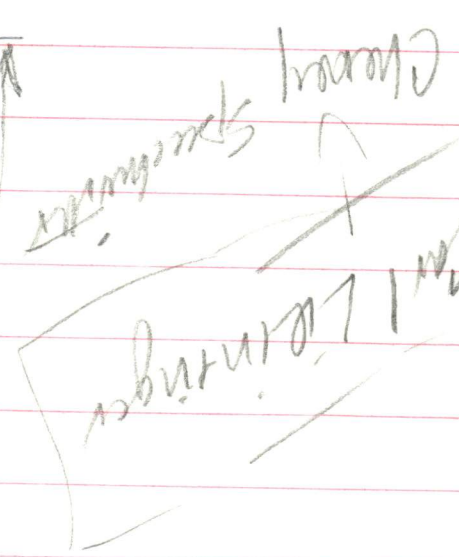
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during the 4 decades of
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92 APR 3 P2:02

4/3/92

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**FROM: CHRIS SCHMITT, ASNE (703-648-1148)
FAX 703-620-4557**

SIX Pages Follow

List of registrants for ASNE convention.

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WASHINGTON

*Bobbie said it's a
media affairs event; not
one of their groups -*

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TO: SHERRIE ROLLINS
FROM: KATHY SUPER
SUBJECT: APPROVED PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY
EVENT: Address the American Society of Newspaper Editors
DATE: Thursday, April 9, 1992
TIME: 1:45 p.m.
DURATION: TBD
LOCATION: J. W. Marriott, Washington, D.C.
ATTIRE: Business Suit
REMARKS REQUIRED: Yes
MEDIA COVERAGE: Open
FIRST LADY PARTICIPATION: Is Invited
ADDITIONAL INFORMATION:
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NOTE: PROJECT OFFICER, SEE ATTACHED CHECKLIST

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From Nancy Andlorio, American Society of Newspaper Editors

P.O. Box 17004, Washington, DC 20041 Telephone (703) 648-1144 Fax (703) 620-4557 Telex 292810

April 1, 1992

TO: Jeannie Bunton
White House
Fax 202-456-6218

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 1, 1992

MULTILATERAL FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE PACKAGE FOR RUSSIA

President Bush today announced U.S. support for a multilateral financial assistance package to help Russia and the other new states of the former Soviet Union transform their economies to free market systems. There are three elements of this program:

- o roughly \$18 billion in financial support in 1992 to help Russia stabilize and restructure its economy;
- o \$6 billion currency Stabilization Fund to bolster confidence in the Russian ruble; and
- o early membership for Russia and the other new states in the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

The President has urged the G-7 to complete action on this approximately \$24 billion package by the end of April.

Financial Support

The United States is working with its allies and the international financial institutions to marshal \$18 billion in financial assistance in 1992 to support Russia's economic reform efforts.

Russia is already embarked on the path of bold market-oriented economic reforms. The reforms taken to date are part of an IMF-endorsed "shadow program" which does not involve financing. Negotiations are now underway between Russia and the IMF with the aim of converting the shadow program as soon as possible into a full and comprehensive reform program which would merit IMF financial support. These reforms would include reduction of the budget deficit, curbing inflation, privatization, and reform of the agricultural and energy sectors.

\$18 billion in financial support could be obtained from:

- o \$11 billion of existing and new bilateral commitments from key industrial countries, including the United States. Negotiations on specific contributions are underway among the G-7 countries.
- o \$4-1/2 billion from the international financial institutions, including the IMF, World Bank, and EBRD.
- o The remaining \$2-1/2 billion in deferral of debt payments owed to Western creditors.

Currency Stabilization Fund (CSF)

An integral part of Russia's reform program is an effort to stabilize the ruble and bolster the public's confidence in it, by making it freely convertible. To help achieve these objectives, President Yeltsin has requested the creation of a currency stabilization fund.

The major industrial countries recognize that a stable, convertible ruble would have important benefits for the Russian reform effort. Thus, the United States and the other major countries are working together to establish such a fund for Russia.

The Fund would total \$6 billion, an amount equal to roughly 3 months of Russia's 1991 hard currency imports. Russian membership in the IMF and compliance with a formal IMF program would be a precondition for use of the fund.

The resources for the fund will be financed entirely by activating the IMF's General Arrangements to Borrow (GAB). The GAB consists of emergency credit lines to the IMF from the G-7 and other industrial countries. The U.S. share of the GAB is 25 percent. U.S. participation in the GAB, and the funds required for the U.S. contribution, have been authorized and appropriated by Congress. Use of the GAB involves no net U.S. budgetary outlays.

Early Membership in the IMF

Russia and the other new states have applied for IMF membership. The United States has strongly supported early membership for them to promote market reforms and forge strong links with the West. Russia, as well as some of the other new states, should become members of the IMF by early May.

The IMF Executive Board is in the final stages of determining Russia's terms of entry into the Fund, including the size of Russia's quota, which will establish the basis for Russia's representation, voting power and access to IMF resources. The Board has agreed upon a 3 percent Russian quota share, which will place Russia in the ninth position in the IMF.

It will soon forward membership resolutions to the IMF Board of Governors. In turn, under standard IMF procedures, the Board of Governors would have thirty days to cast ballots in support of the resolutions. A vote by the Board of Governors requires a quorum of one-half of IMF members with two-thirds of the voting power, with approval by a simple majority of those voting.

The President has called for legislation providing for U.S. participation in the IMF quota increase in order to ensure that the IMF has adequate resources to meet prospective demands for financing.

how much?

4/15

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 1, 1992

PRESS CONFERENCE BY THE PRESIDENT,
SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES BAKER,
SECRETARY OF TREASURY NICHOLAS BRADY,
AND SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE EDWARD MADIGAN

The Briefing Room

11:04 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: I have a statement that is a little longer than the normal, but let me just say that I have just met with the congressional leadership to request their bipartisan backing for a new, comprehensive and integrated program to support the struggle of freedom underway in Russia, Ukraine, and the other new states that have replaced the Soviet Union.

The revolution in these states is a defining moment in history, with profound consequences for America's own national interests. The stakes are as high for us now as any that we have faced in this century. And our adversary for 45 years, the one nation that posed a worldwide threat to freedom and peace, is now seeking to join the community of democratic nations.

A victory for democracy and freedom in the former USSR creates the possibility of a new world of peace for our children and grandchildren. But if this democratic revolution is defeated, it could plunge us into a world more dangerous in some respects than the dark years of the Cold War.

America must meet this challenge, joining with those who stood beside us in the battle against imperial communism -- Germany, the United Kingdom, Japan, France, Canada, Italy and other allies. Together we won the Cold War, and today we must win the peace.

This effort will require new resources from the industrial democracies. But nothing like the price we would pay if democracy and reform failed in Russia and Ukraine and Byelorussia and Armenia and the states of Central Asia. It will require the commitment of the united America, strengthened by a consensus that transcends even the heated partisanship of a presidential election campaign.

And today I call upon Congress, Republicans and Democrats alike, and the American people to stand behind this united effort.

Our national effort must be part of a global effort. I've been in contact with Chancellor Kohl, Prime Minister Major, President Mitterrand, other key allies to discuss our plans and to assure them of the high priority I place on the success of this endeavor. To this end, I would like to announce today a plan to support democracy in the states of the former Soviet Union.

This is a complex set of issues which took months to sort out, working within the administration, working with our major allies and with the leaders of the new independent states of the former Soviet Union. A number of things had to come together to make sure we got it right.

MORE

Let me give you a little bit of the history. I asked Secretary Baker to outline our fundamental approach in his December 12th speech at Princeton. I spoke again on the need to embrace Russia and the other new states of the former Soviet Union in my January 22nd speech at the Washington conference to coordinate the humanitarian assistance.

On February 1st, Boris Yeltsin and I discussed these issues at Camp David. And that same day, Secretary Brady met with Boris Yeltsin's key economic advisor, Igor Gaydar, to discuss how we could support Russian reforms.

A week later, Jim Baker followed up during his meeting with Kozyrev -- Foreign Minister Kozyrev -- and Boris Yeltsin in Moscow. And just yesterday the IMF reached tentative agreement with Russia on its market reform program. After weeks of intensive consultations in the G-7, Chancellor Kohl, currently serving as Chairman of the G-7, has announced today G-7 support for an IMF program for Russia.

The program that I'm announcing today builds on this progress and includes three major components: First, the United States has been working with its Western allies and the international financial institutions on an unprecedented multilateral program to support reform in the newly independent states. The success of this program will depend upon their commitment to reform and their willingness to work with the international community.

Russia is exhibiting that commitment. And I'm announcing today that the U.S. is prepared to join in a substantial multilateral financial assistance package in support of Russia's reforms. We're working to develop, with our allies and the IMF, a \$6-billion currency stabilization fund to help maintain confidence in the Russian ruble. The U.S. will also join in a multilateral effort to marshal roughly \$18 billion in financial support in 1992 to assist Russian efforts to stabilize and restructure their economy. We've been working with the Russian government for three months to help it develop an economic reform plan to permit the major industrialized countries to provide support.

We will work to complete action on this approximately \$24-billion package by the end of April. And I pledge the full cooperation of the United States in this effort.

Secondly, the United States will also act to broaden its own capacity to extend assistance to the new states. I'm transmitting to Congress a comprehensive bill, the Freedom Support Act, to mobilize the Executive Branch, the Congress and, indeed, our private sector around a comprehensive and integrated package of support for the new states.

Now, this package will authorize a U.S. quota increase of \$12 billion for the IMF, which is critical to supporting Russia and the other new states. The IMF and World Bank will be the primary source of funding for the major financial assistance needs of the new governments. The U.S. quota increase for the IMF was specifically assumed in the budget agreement and does not require a budget outlay.

Support my existing authority to work with the G-7 and the IMF to put together the stabilization program for Russia and support possible subsequent programs for other states of the former Soviet Union as they embarked on landmark reforms, including up to \$1 billion for stabilization funds.

It would also repeal restrictive Cold War legislation so that American business can compete on an even footing in these new markets. And I'm determined that American business be given the

chance to invest and trade with the new states. And to that end, I've also directed that the United States negotiate trade and bilateral investment and tax treaties with these countries just as soon as possible. Significant new trade relationships can create jobs right here in this country.

The package will broaden the use of \$500 million appropriated by Congress last year to encompass not only the safe dismantling and destruction of nuclear weapons, but also the broader goals of nuclear plant safety, demilitarization, and defense conversion. It will also establish a major people-to-people program between the United States and the states of the former Soviet Union to create the type of lasting personal bonds among our peoples, and Russian understanding of democratic institutions so critical to long-term peace.

This effort will complement our existing programs to bring hundreds of businessmen to the United States from the Commonwealth and then send hundreds of Peace Corps volunteers to the new states.

In sending this authorization legislation to Congress, I call upon the Congress to act concurrently to provide the appropriations necessary to make these authorizations a reality.

Third, in addition to the \$3.75 billion already extended by the U.S. since January 1991, I'm announcing today \$1.1 billion in new Commodity Credit Corporation credit guarantees for the purchase of American agricultural products. Six hundred million of that will go for U.S. sales to Russia, and an additional \$500 million for U.S. sales to the Ukraine and other states.

Now, let me close on a personal note. I think every day about the challenge of securing a peaceful future for the American people. And I believe very strongly that President Yeltsin's reform program holds the greatest hope for the future of the Russian people and for the security of the American people as we define a new relationship with that great country.

President Yeltsin has taken some very courageous steps for democracy and free markets. And I am convinced that it is in our own national interest to support him strongly.

For more than 45 years, the highest responsibility of nine American presidents, Democrats and Republicans, was to wage and win the Cold War. It was my privilege to work with Ronald Reagan on these broad programs, and now to lead the American people in winning the peace by embracing the people so recently freed from tyranny to welcome them into the community of democratic nations.

I know there are those who say we should pull back, concentrate our energies, our interests and our resources on our pressing domestic problems. And they are very important. But I ask them to think of the consequences here at home of peace in the world. We've got to act now. And if we turn away, if we do not do what we can to help democracy succeed in the lands of the old Soviet Union, our failure to act will carry a far higher price. And if we face up to the challenge, matching the courage of President Yeltsin, of Ukrainian President Kravchuk, of Armenian President Ter-Petrosyan, many other future generations of Americans will thank us for having had the foresight and the conviction to stand up for democracy and work for peace in this decade and into the next century.

That's the end of this statement. I'll be glad to take just a handful of questions, and then Jim Baker and Secretary Brady -- I think Secretary Baker will go into more detail on the legislation and Secretary Brady and others will be available. I think Ed Madigan will talk to you about the agricultural sect of it.

Terry?

Q Mr. President, you mentioned several figures in your statement. Overall, what's the cost of this to taxpayers, and where's the money going to come from?

THE PRESIDENT: Most of it will come from the IFIs, from the international financial institutions. About a fifth of the total is assigned to the -- about a fifth of it, 20 percent of it, is our share. And there's not a lot of new money. It's our feeling and the feeling of the partners that we ought to go use these international financial organizations who were set up to do this very job. Now, we have a significant commitment to these organizations. But that's the fact as to how this breaks out.

Q Was there any kind of figure that you could provide? You say there's not much new money. What --

THE PRESIDENT: I'll let Jim Baker give you the details on it, but, yes, we can. There is some new money in it. There's some new credits in it -- agricultural credits. But let him give you the details on what's going to be in the bill. It's not a tremendous amount of money, our commitment is very, very substantial.

Yes, Helen.

Q Mr. President, not in the either-or sense, you've acknowledged the pressing domestic problems. What are you going to do to help the American people, the financially strapped states, the decaying cities? Is there a post-Cold War Marshall Plan for America in view of its problems? And why do we have to have 150,000 troops in Europe when the enemy has disappeared from the screen?

THE PRESIDENT: We are working on programs that will help the cities, including trying to get through a significant block grant that would help, including a crime bill, including a brand-new revolutionary approach to education that, longer run, is terribly significant. And, yes, it is very important we do these things.

But my point to the American people is we have a major stake in the success of democracy in Russia and in these other states. And the cost of risking doing nothing -- the cost of doing nothing could be exorbitant, could far transcend the money that we have spent in the past. And I just don't want to risk that.

In terms of the troops, it is important that the United States stay involved in guaranteeing against any unforeseen action. We saw the need to be involved a year ago in Desert Storm. And if we had listened to the critics that would have suggested that we disarm and unilaterally pull back, we would be in terrible shape today -- and we're not in terrible shape today. We have a vital stake in European security. Our allies and ourselves agree that the United States should remain there with troops, and we will stay there with troops.

Q Mr. President, if the risks are so great, the stakes so high, why did you wait until three months into an election year to outline this program and begin the push for it, especially when, as you say, there's little new money involved?

THE PRESIDENT: Because -- we haven't waited. If you listen to what I said earlier, we spelled out our determination to do this in December. We have been working with our allies constructively to bring about agreement on this international financial institution approach. That was hammered out this weekend by Secretary Brady's people overseas. The formulation of the bill has just been completed. And we've just gotten agreement from --

this morning I talked to Kravchuk and to Yeltsin -- once again, both of them -- on this. I might say that they both sounded quite enthusiastic about it.

A lot of work has been going into it. And rather than kind of posturing out there, we wanted to have a sound program that will have strong international support. And that is exactly, thanks to the cooperation of the allies, what we have. So this isn't any Johnny-come-lately thing, and this isn't driven by election-year pressures. It's what's right for the United States.

And I must say, without committing anybody to anything, that the reception from the joint leadership seemed quite positive, Brit. I was very pleased, but we'll let them speak for themselves. But most of them saying, we should be doing this.

Q Well, sir, whether you are posturing or not, have you not waited a while before beginning this sales pitch --

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know that --

Q -- in the knowledge that you were going to have to do something along these lines?

THE PRESIDENT: I said something about it in January, Jim Baker mentioned it in December. I've been talking about it.

The question, though, is not a lot of political rhetoric, the question is getting something done that's positive. And when you're dealing with a whole bunch of allies and you're dealing with many new countries, you want to be sure that you do it in a sensible way. And the fact that it's coming out now is because we now have, with great cooperation from the allies, working with them, come up with this approach that we think makes sense. And it's not something that's new.

Q Sir, the reason there is this skepticism is, back when Pat Buchanan was beating you about the head in New Hampshire, you weren't out there in New Hampshire, you weren't in New Hampshire saying, we've got to help Boris Yeltsin, we've got to help Kravchuk. You weren't talking about that at all. You weren't preparing American public opinion.

Today, Bill Clinton's out there talking about his plan for Russia and the republics. That's why it looks a little weird.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, that I've explained to you, John, that there's a great deal of diplomacy. I remember when one of the people that used to sit proudly in this room accused me of not being emotional about Germany, about trying to get a reunited Germany when the wall came down. I said -- what I was saying to myself, much less interested in emotion, much more interested in getting something positively done. Use the power of the presidency of the United States to see if you can't have that be accomplished in a very peaceful way.

And we have been doing the diplomacy that is necessary to come forward with a program that I hope will have the support of the American people; that I am proud to take to the American people, even though some people are going to be saying, well, you shouldn't be doing this in an election year. You've got to be -- along the lines of Helen's question -- people will be suggesting that. But I'm going to fight for this because I believe in it.

Q Our recent poll showed that 55 percent of the public thinks that foreign aid should, in fact, be cut, and another 40 percent thinks that it shouldn't be increased at all. How are you going to persuade the public that this, in fact, is worthwhile when

they look around and see roads deteriorating and schools in trouble and so forth?

THE PRESIDENT: Simply make the case that to do nothing would be irresponsible; that the United States must continue to lead; and that we have an enormous stake, personal stake, for every American in the success of these democracies, and to risk their failure by doing nothing is very short-sighted.

And so that's the case I'm going to make. And I will also be saying we have a lot of blessings in this country, and one of them today is peace. Your kids and mine don't go to sleep at night as worried about nuclear weapons as some of the preceding generations here. And I want to be sure that I can certify to the American people I've done everything I can as President to see that that continues, that democracies are strengthened, that freedom is on the march and continues to stay on the march. And this approach we're taking is the way to do what we can to guarantee that.

Q Well, then to flip the question around a little bit, what do you say to those who are also going to say that this really isn't that much; that, in fact, Germany has already contributed \$45 billion to this effort and that compared to what we could do, we aren't doing enough if so much, in fact, is at stake?

THE PRESIDENT: I will say that I think it is enough and that it's what we ought to do right now and fight like heck for what we believe in here. And I think it is. And I must say I was very pleased with the response by President Yeltsin, the response by President Kravchuk this morning. And I would cite that as evidence of their enthusiasm for what we're doing.

But I guess you're right, some people will attack you for doing too much, and some for not doing enough. I think this is right. I believe Congress will give it the proper support. And I want the American people to support it because I know that it is in the best interest of world peace. And the failure of world peace has a staggering price tag on it that I don't want to even contemplate. So I'll continue to work for this.

Now, let me turn it over to Jim, and he can go --

Q Is it enough to make Nixon happy?

Q Don't take that seal away. (Laughter.)

SECRETARY BAKER: Let me make a couple of brief comments, and then I'd be glad to try and respond to your questions, as I know Secretary Brady would.

First of all, you heard the President in his opening remarks mention that this is, in effect, a three-part program; it's a three-way approach. You have a multilateral component of this which has to do with the agreement among the G-7 to provide \$24 billion in support for Russia. That applies to the Russian Federation.

Secondly, you have the Freedom for Russia and Emerging Eurasian Democracies and Open Markets Support Act of 1992, which we are going to call the Freedom Support Act, and which we are today sending to the Congress in legislative form, together with fact sheets, in the hopes that Congress will join with us in what you've heard the President characterize as a very, very important national imperative.

This bill is very comprehensive. It is very broad. It is very far-reaching. And it is our view that it will help mobilize support not just among the Legislative Branch, but among the United States public as well.

This is, in our view, a once-in-a-century opportunity that we cannot miss. We spent trillions of dollars to win the Cold War, and we ought to be willing to spend a few billion dollars to secure the peace, or we might find ourselves in the position of having to spend far more again if things go in the wrong direction over there. And this is, therefore, a very important national security issue. And it is an issue that is very important to the American people.

*
The third element of the program, you heard the President mention, is the provisioning of additional CCC credits to an amount of about \$1.1 billion -- \$600 million of that destined for the Russian Federation; \$500 million for the other former -- republics of the former Soviet Union.

I'll be glad to give you some detail if you want it on the bill. Let me simply say that it is a 10-point plan, a comprehensive one, as I've mentioned, that speaks to the provisioning of additional humanitarian assistance; that talks to the issue of nuclear safety and responsibility. It expands assistance opportunities in building free markets. It increases support for democratic institutions in these new countries. It improves access to credits for purchases of food. It stimulates greater trade and investment opportunities for and with these new countries. It supports in many ways the development of a private sector. It leverages our financial contributions through the IMF. It points up the importance to the United States and to this issue of moving on the quota increase for the IMF. It supports United States leadership in developing a stabilization fund or funds for these newly-emerging nations up to an amount of \$3 billion. And it expands the American presence on the ground in Russia and the new states and their presence here. And opens up quite a few opportunities for person-to-person contact.

There's only one other thing I want to say and then I'm glad to respond to your questions -- Nick may have something he wants to say before we get to that -- and that is picking up on the questions that were asked of the President about why now. This is not a recent effort. We have been doing this for not just a period of months, but indeed I would argue a period of years. That is supporting the historic transformations that are taking place in the former Soviet Union. Transformations in which Americans have a very major stake.

Indeed, as the President mentioned, I said in my speech at Princeton last December 12th, as we organized an alliance against Stalinism during the Cold War, today America can mobilize a coalition in support of freedom. That's what we're doing.

We've also said over the course of the past several months that the first step, of course, was to match outside support with self-help. And it has been recently in the last few months that we've seen Russia particularly move in the area of adopting credible economic reform programs.

We began with humanitarian and technical assistance. You will remember the coordinating conference in January in which we involved many, many other nations and through which we provided a substantial amount of humanitarian assistance to these new states. We will have follow-up coordinating conferences to be hosted by other countries.

By the beginning of 1992 we had already pledged over \$5 billion in assistance, as well as having held a coordinating conference.

The time, we think, to mobilize American public support for this -- and we don't underestimate the responsibility that that is and the job that is before us -- is now. We think that this is a way in which we can integrate our efforts across the board and in which we can coordinate American contributions with the contributions of many, many other governments. Now is the time, we think, to catalyze congressional action, and now is particularly the time for us to send a very powerful signal to the democrats and reformers in the former Soviet Union who are trying to convert to democracy, freedom and free markets.

Please don't lose sight of the fact that President Yeltsin has a session of the Russian Parliament on the 6th of April. So I'd like to say that with respect to timing. And maybe, Nick, do you want to say anything before we take questions?

SECRETARY BRADY: Just two things, Jim. One, that this program, to try and arrive at the point we are today, has been going on some time with the President and Jim Baker's leadership. And the negotiations leading to the amount of money that we talked about today have been going on the latter part of '91 and all through '92.

With regard to the amount of money involved, this is real money.

Q How much?

SECRETARY BRADY: Well, just exactly what the President said -- \$18 billion in bilateral aid and \$6 billion in the form of a stabilization fund -- and would point out that a good part of it, of course, comes from the IMF, the World Bank and the European Bank for reconstruction and development. That is money. Don't be -- this is a strong program, and it's in response to what the Russians have asked for. And I would only point out to you that the United States' share of the IMF is roughly 20 percent, and the World Bank about the same.

Q You said that as of the beginning of 1992 the United States has pledged \$5 billion. How much further does this commit the United States in terms of money? How much more will this cost?

SECRETARY BAKER: It's going to be -- as the Secretary of the Treasury just told you, this is a significant and substantial program involving significant and substantial contributions. The \$6 billion currency stabilization fund for Russia -- and let me make sure everybody understands that is a currency stabilization fund for Russia because it is further along in its economic reform. There are provisions in the bill that speak to congressional support for stabilization funds for all of the states of the Soviet Union up to \$3 billion. The U.S. share of that stabilization fund is probably in the neighborhood of 25 percent. That money --

Q Which fund?

SECRETARY BAKER: The stabilization fund, the \$6 billion

--

Q Not 20, but 25?

SECRETARY BAKER: The overall American participation in the \$24 billion is between 20 and 25 percent. I can't give you the exact percentage. The participation in the stabilization fund is 25 percent.

SECRETARY BRADY: Correct.

SECRETARY BAKER: The funding of that will come through an arrangement called the "general agreements to borrow" with the IMF, which is a mechanism under which the IMF borrows from its members for eventualities just such as this. This will not require an additional appropriation. The funds for the "general agreements to borrow" have already been appropriated by the Congress. But it will be a commitment of funds, but it will not require an additional appropriation and therefore will not constitute a budget yet.

Q The ruble fund you're talking about?

SECRETARY BAKER: Yes, I'm talking about the \$6 billion stabilization fund.

The \$18 billion in balance of payment support is made up both of some things that are already in the pipeline and of some new money. We'll have to work out the exact amount for you, but there is substantial new money involved. Some of that is the provision of CCC credits announced today -- \$600 million for Russia and \$500 million for the other states.

Do you want to add anything to that, Nick?

Q Is that a budget hit?

SECRETARY BAKER: Some of it will be. Some of our share of that will be.

Q Do you have any kind of broad number on how much --

SECRETARY BAKER: Well, let me give you some examples. We have some requests on the Hill now that have not been provided for in the current foreign ops continuing resolution. As in when those are granted, and we expect and hope that they will be, that will be budget hit, but it would be within the budget limitations and within the totals.

Q Secretary Baker, are you saying that we do not have to increase our contribution to these organizations?

SECRETARY BAKER: No, I'm saying --

Q How much are we going to have to increase --

SECRETARY BAKER: I'm saying that the -- well, let me take that one item by item. One of the most important things that Nick and I have been working toward on the Hill and we have so far been unsuccessful, is to get the quota increase for the International Monetary Fund. It is the international financial institutions, quite frankly, that make possible this very substantial package for Russia.

The bill that we are sending up asks for the authority for that quota increase. That quota increase is a \$12-billion authorization. It does not involve any outlays because it is, in effect, a guarantee, just like all of our quota provisions for the IMF are.

Q We have to pay that money eventually, do we not?

SECRETARY BAKER: No, we've never had to in history.

Q Mr. Secretary, how do we know that the money goes for what it's supposed to go, that it's not going to wind up in the hands of a few people, and like in the case of the Philippine aid, wind up for shoes for Imelda?

SECRETARY BAKER: Let me say that the one thing that we have quite a bit of experience with so far, indeed more than other countries if I might suggest that, is the provisioning of humanitarian assistance under arrangements where we supervise its delivery. And we have been very careful to have people on the ground, with our Operation Provide Hope, which delivered 2200 tons, I think, of food and medicines in 64 flights to all of these countries. We had people on the ground to make sure that it never went astray.

We will be taking those kinds of similar precautions with respect to the other elements of this program.

Q Mr. Secretary, can you tell us, please, how you and the President plan to continue to lobby for this program? The congressional leaders have said the only hope this has is if you and the President continue to take a high profile. Are you willing to commit to that, and do you intend to lobby hard?

SECRETARY BAKER: Indeed, we said in the meeting with the leaders that -- I personally offered to the Foreign Relations and Foreign Affairs Committees that I would be prepared to come up tomorrow. There was some discussion about the possibility of their prompt introduction of the legislation. I hope they do that. I'm ready to go up there tomorrow and start fighting for this legislation.

This is a once-in-a-century opportunity that is extraordinarily important to the national security interests of this country. We simply cannot afford to have those countries slide back into a totalitarian model.

Q And the President, Mr. Secretary, is he willing to fight --

SECRETARY BAKER: Absolutely.

Q Mr. Secretary, you call it a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity --

SECRETARY BAKER: A once-in-a-century.

Q Once-in-a-century. Well, it's a long lifetime.
(Laughter.)

SECRETARY BAKER: It would be lifetime for you and me, Saul. (Laughter.)

Q You seem to be going out of your way to hide from us the amount of money, new money, that it's going to cost American taxpayers in addition to that which you've already proposed to the Hill. The President said it's not a lot of money. How much is not a lot? And one other thing: I heard no mention of the \$645 million that the President proposed at that coordinating conference late last year. Where is it?

SECRETARY BAKER: That's in part of the \$2 billion or so that the United States will pick up of the \$18 billion.

But let me say this, what the President was referring to, in my opinion, was budget hits. That's different, in my view, than new money. The "general agreements to borrow" money that will support the \$6 billion stabilization fund -- we're picking up 25 percent of it -- is new money. But it's already been appropriated. Therefore, it won't hit the budget. But it's not right to say it's not new money. It is --

Q You've actually just finally designated that for a purpose, it was always there?

SECRETARY BAKER: That is correct.

Q It's never been designated for anything before?

SECRETARY BRADY: Can I just follow up with Jim because I think he's exactly right. What the President was talking about is the need for appropriated funds. And this program doesn't need that at this particular point in time. But the money is there in the international financial institutions which were put together for this exact purpose. And it's a question of agreeing with allies to bring that money out to support the program, as well as some of the bilateral aid that Jim's mentioned that's underway from the United States. So it is real money.

Q -- \$35 million, is that not new money that's already been appropriated?

SECRETARY BAKER: That has not been appropriated. We have sent it up in our budget. That would be new money because it has not yet been appropriated. We've asked for it. So you might say, or Terry might say, oh, you've asked for it, it's not new money. That's why I'm saying to you that's not easy of a yes or no answer. We've asked for it. It hasn't been provided. We're going to continue to ask for it. When it's provided, I would argue that it's new money, even though we asked for it in the 1992 bill.

Q Whether it's new money or old money, how much is the total?

Q Where do you propose that Congress get the new money in this time of budget cutting and when there's a focus on the domestic priorities?

SECRETARY BAKER: The same way we proposed it in the bill that's still up there right now in the Senate, Susan. We found sources for that money and we would suggest that they get it from those very same sources. We were within the budget caps, and we will continue to do this within the budget caps.

Q The President spoke about a defining moment in history and this is humanitarian assistance to the emerging democracies -- it's not there yet through democracy -- the hope for democracy. And you and the administration have deliberately put a political condition in the \$10-billion loan guarantee that Israel has asked without any new money, without any political condition. It's a democracy that supports the United States more than any other country in the world. Why is there a double standard?

SECRETARY BAKER: There are conditions in this bill. There will be substantial conditions in the provisioning of assistance. There are many, many conditions in our foreign aid programs to countries all around the world.

Q Mr. Secretary, speaking of Israel, Sinclair Martel just returned with a mission to Israel. Are you satisfied as a result of that mission that the technology of the Patriot remains uncompromised?

SECRETARY BAKER: I can't comment on that for you here this afternoon. The report will be coming to me probably later today. I haven't seen the report of the mission. I rather imagine that we would have a comment to make for you tomorrow.

Q If I could follow up, sir, if you haven't seen it, have you not had any preliminary awareness of what its contents are?

SECRETARY BAKER: I have not discussed it with any of the members of the team. I've had a very brief discussion with the Deputy Secretary, but I, of course, would like to see it myself, and then I'm sure we will have a statement tomorrow.

Q Regardless of the definition of new or old money -- I apologize for coming back to this over and over, but I think the American taxpayer is going to want to know, what does this cost? Can you summarize for us or give us a figure, compared to what we were going to spend, what we're now going to spend, how much is this program going to cost?

SECRETARY BAKER: It's going to cost because --

Q How much is it going to cost?

SECRETARY BAKER: You're asking me for a number this morning that I really can't give you this morning. But we will give you a number and we will analyze each and every one of these sources of funding, and maybe let you make the determination. But let me explain it to you one more time. Years ago, maybe months ago, the Congress of the United States authorized and appropriated money -- probably \$6 billion for the United States' share of the "general agreements to borrow." Maybe not that much. So take the number out. But the Congress appropriated money for the United States' share of the "general agreements to borrow" within the IMF.

It has rarely been utilized, although, frankly, we utilized it, we borrowed -- the United States borrowed from this fund back in the late '70s -- 1979. Other countries have. The United Kingdom. It is a fund that is set up to accomplish, to meet eventualities just such as this.

Now, you tell me what that cost is to the taxpayer. The money was authorized and appropriated quite some time ago. It is out there. Obviously, there is a cost, and it is real money. It is not funny money. But I'm not -- I don't think the Secretary of Treasury can put a number on it today.

Q Let's just say, just call it a bottom line as opposed to --

SECRETARY BRADY: Let me say one thing. This may help. First of all, we're talking about cash. At some time in 1992, the cash will transfer. We're not talking about funny money -- this is real money. Secondly, you could ask the same question about the money that went from the IMF to Poland. That's what the IMF and the World Bank do. They take emerging democracies, put together programs with them, and funds flow out of those international organizations. It's the reason why they're out there, and this is the job they do every-day.

Q Well, Mr. Secretary, is it fair to say that this is all going to be new money and real money as far as the Soviet Union is concerned because it's going to receive it, but only a part of it will be new and real in terms of added cost to the taxpayer -- is that correct?

SECRETARY BAKER: I think's that's a generally fair statement, yes.

Q Is the \$24 billion package in all, as far as what the Soviets will receive or be loaned or whatever -- can you give us a rough estimate at least of what fraction of that will be borne by the American taxpayer in the sense that the money will have to be appropriated or otherwise obtained that has not already been obtained?

SECRETARY BAKER: Of the \$18 billion? Of the \$6 billion there will need -- nothing needs to be appropriated. You do not need a new appropriation. Of the \$18 billion, the United States' share is roughly \$2 billion, and it will have to be -- no, it won't all have to be appropriated because \$600 million of it is reflected in the Secretary of Agriculture's decision to provide that much in additional grain credits. But there will be some that will have to be appropriated of that \$2 billion.

Q I have a question on the ruble fund. What conditions are going to be placed on that to make sure that it's not used instantaneously? And also, Russia is behind in some interest payments. Are we postponing interest on their debt right now? I know the Paris Club extended the principal payment out longer.

SECRETARY BRADY: At this moment in time we are not, I believe, postponing any interest payments. And your question about will there be conditions on the fund, the stabilization fund -- there always are. There are ones in the Polish fund that is now in place. There are conditions on it such as, number one, that the country has to stay in concert with the program they've agreed with the IMF. And there's other conditions as well.

Q How long might that fund exist? I mean, you don't expect it to be used up in five months or a year or --

SECRETARY BRADY: None of the Polish fund has been used so far because the zloty has stayed within good trading ranges. So you can't predict that.

SECRETARY BAKER: Let me give you a couple of other figures. It may help you break this down. Of the \$18 billion in balance-of-payment support, \$4.5 billion is coming from the international financial institutions in the form of loans from those institutions. That is, the IMF, the World Bank and the EBRD -- \$4.5 billion; \$2.5 billion roughly is coming from debt deferral, debt restructuring for Russia; and the remaining \$11 billion will come from the G-7 countries themselves, of which the United States will have a \$2 billion share.

Q Along with the credits, are you going to assure the allies, specifically Australia who has been complaining that you're not going to cut into their markets on this? Can you both answer that?

SECRETARY BAKER: I would defer to the Secretary of Agriculture on that. But we follow that as a practice of --

Q Australia is not in that market.

Q They are -- they do sell to Russia.

Q Are you going to make any effort to assure the allies who have been complaining that we're traditionally breaking into their markets, and that this will delete their markets a bit more?

SECRETARY MADIGAN: You're talking about two different programs. The complaints from the Australians are with regard to our Export Enhancement Program, moving into commercial markets that we traditionally have been in and which they say that they have also been a traditional supplier. Here we're talking about the GS-IM program, GS-IM 102 credit, which we've already been extending to the former Soviet Union and they've already been making the payments. And we're talking about adding \$600 million in additional GS-IM activity to the Russian Republic and \$500 million to Ukraine and the other republics. It has nothing to do with the Export Enhancement

arguments going on between the United States and Australia and other countries.

Q There's still the complaint, though, that by submitting subsidized American products to these markets you're draining markets of other countries.

SECRETARY MADIGAN: You're missing my point. The Export Enhancement Program has to do with subsidizing sales. The GS-IM program which we're discussing here this morning has nothing to do with subsidizing sales. It's a credit program where we guarantee the credit, they borrow the money from the banks, they buy the agriculture commodities, they pay the banks back at commercial rates of interest. There is no subsidy. All we're talking about here is a credit guarantee.

Q And it's not less than the world market rate?

SECRETARY MADIGAN: It is commercial rates. The money is borrowed from banks. We simply guarantee the debt repayment if the recipient country doesn't pay the debt.

Q You said that this would require no new appropriations this year. Then you said we have commitments. That means how much appropriations will you ask for in succeeding years?

SECRETARY BAKER: I didn't say that we would not ask for appropriations. Indeed, we have appropriation requests on the Hill right as we speak here, and we intend to continue to pursue appropriations. What I said, I think, was that the participation of the United States in the \$6 billion currency stabilization fund for Russia will not require appropriations.

Q How much will you go back to Congress and have to ask for in the next few years?

SECRETARY BAKER: Few years? Well, I can't --

Q How much are you going to ask for every year?

SECRETARY BAKER: I can't predict what the budget requests will be in future years down the line, Sarah; I just can't do that.

Q But you must know if you're setting up this program, you must know what you're going to ask for next year, say.

SECRETARY BAKER: I can tell you what we've asked for now. We've got a lot of requests up there now, one of which is that the Congress should vote the IMF quota increase. We hope they will. Let me say it one more time: That is authorization. That does not -- it takes an appropriation to trigger it, but it doesn't take any outlays. There are no dollars put out; it is a guarantee.

Q Let me try this one more time. Of the \$24 billion total package, okay, you have one-fourth of the \$6 billion; that's \$1.5 billion. Okay, that's the ruble stabilization. Then you've got \$2 billion of the other \$18 billion.

SECRETARY BAKER: Right.

Q So that's \$3.5 billion -- okay. We know about the \$1.5 billion, that's already in there. You get back down to \$2 billion. Out of that \$2 billion, you say \$600 million of that is already in agricultural appropriations, right?

SECRETARY BAKER: Yes.

Q All right, so now we're down to \$1.4 billion that may possibly be what a lot of us would consider new money. Is that reasonable?

Q Real cash.

SECRETARY BAKER: I don't think it's -- well, let me ask you this question: Would you say that the \$620 million that we've asked for, that we announced at the coordinating conference and that we have an appropriation request for up there, is that new money?

Q Let's just do total cost.

SECRETARY BAKER: Is it new money? Fair question.

Q Let's do that. Let's add that to -- then you get \$600 million plus --

SECRETARY BAKER: Much of this, John, is in the pipeline, if I can put it that way. Much of it is in the pipeline in the sense that we have made requests for it. It has been in our budgets. Six hundred million Ed has already acted on. I think there's roughly \$750 million to \$800 million -- really rough, now -- that could be characterized as requests we've made -- formally, requests we've made for humanitarian assistance, technical assistance and that sort of thing.

The bill, the Freedom Support Act, is going to remove a lot of restrictions on things that government agencies will be able to do with respect to these countries. For instance, OPIC and Ex-Im -- and they will be able to extend a lot more credit than they have been able to in the past. And maybe some of the balance would come from that. So you just can't say here today.

SECRETARY BRADY: Can I just add one thing? I think the point that we're trying to emphasize is here, the success of this program, which we've said is real cash, very little of it depends on the appropriation process. Now, there are bits and pieces, as Jim says, that may have to be taken care of to fit into it. But this program is not going to succeed based on our appropriation process. The Congress already provided for most of it.

The quota increase will, but not the money that's already out there and coming out of the institutions.

Q Mr. Secretary, forgetting about distinctions between new money, old money, new budget hits, old budget hits, you and the President have asked the American people today to support this program. Can't you tell them what it's going to cost?

SECRETARY BAKER: Yes. Yes, we have.

Q What's the total?

SECRETARY BAKER: The total? There's a \$24 billion program for the Russian Federation. There's legislation that would authorize the United States to participate to a substantial degree with respect to all of these other new states. The \$24 billion program for Russia has been worked out with our allies. We would hope to work out maybe similar types of programs, certainly not to the same magnitude with the other new emerging states.

So you say to me, well, how much of the \$24 billion are you going to pick up? And we've answered that for you. We've said 20 to 25 percent. And 25 percent of the \$6 billion we're going to take.

So I don't think we ought to lose sight of the fact that you have a very major program here. Don't lose sight of it in the arcane budget appropriation authorization process or new or old money. I mean, I go back to my question to John. Is it new money or old money when we've asked for it and the Congress hasn't given it to us?

Q Can we say the American share in all of this is \$3.5 billion? And of that \$3.5 billion virtually all of it has been either asked for or has already been approved?

SECRETARY BRADY: You've forgotten the IFI piece, which is the IMF and the World Bank. If you're doing it the way you're doing it, it adds up to about \$4.5 billion.

SECRETARY BAKER: Go ahead. You wanted to follow up.

Q Are you saying then that the U.S. share is going to be approximately 25 percent of \$24 billion? That's what you want the taxpayers to spend?

SECRETARY BAKER: No, because \$2.5 billion of that 24 percent is generated through debt restructuring and debt deferral. And frankly, some other countries hold a lot more of that debt than the United States does.

These are the kinds of things that prevent a simple number answer to your question. But we will give you all of the facts. We can tell you what's been appropriated. When it was. What's been authorized. And then you determine what it -- how much of it's new, how much of it's old, how much of it is -- but there's a lot of resources in here. A lot of resources. And believe me, I think the response, as the President indicated, from over there is going to be very, very positive. And I hope that the response from the Congress and the American people will likewise be positive, because we ought not to lose sight of the overall imperative here, which is we better secure this peace.

Have you all had enough?

Q Noooo!

SECRETARY BAKER: We have.

Q We're a bit confused.

Q Mr. Secretary, as you know, Governor Clinton is giving an address in New York in which he touches on this same sort of policy. But in that, he has also branched off into the Middle East, saying that the Middle East peace talks are good, but that you, sir, have brow-beaten the Israelis to the point that you are undermining the process. As you also know, he has accused you of some overt anti-Semitism. Would you care to respond to that?

SECRETARY BAKER: Only, Charles, by saying that, look, I understand that he is in a very tough race there in New York. But I want to make one point here. Nothing is more abhorrent to me, and I know to President Bush as well, than intolerance or racism or anti-Semitism or any other form of bigotry.

Q I would like to go to -- try to get some straightforward answers on foreign aid. In some of our foreign aid accounts you can say each year that we're asking for a certain amount of money in -- funds and economic support funds and military aid. Each year you're asking for very little cash here, and what cash is being asked for there's some defensiveness about it. But each year we give about \$7 billion -- each year we give about \$7 billion to

Egypt and Israel. Could you say something about what that says to you about the priorities? Are you satisfied with those priorities?

SECRETARY BAKER: This bill that we're talking about here and this overall package is very comprehensive and meets what we think is a very, very important need. And it does so without getting us into an extremely -- what I think would be an extremely lengthy and complex debate about whether we should go in and reorder our foreign assistance priorities. It's going to be a big enough job for us to mobilize support -- congressional support and public support as it is without, I think, our taking on now an overall reassessment of our foreign assistance priorities.

Q Will the CCC credits be in monthly installments or will it be one lump sum that they can just draw on at their own discretion?

SECRETARY MADIGAN: We have already extended to them \$3.75 billion in GSM credit. They are current with us on all of their principal and interest payments. We extend that credit to them in monthly tranches. There are interest payments payable in monthly installments and principal payments payable in annual installments. And we would expect that we would continue to follow that same kind of procedure with what we're doing here.

Q So this amount covers the next three months or is this now through the end of the fiscal year?

SECRETARY MADIGAN: That will be negotiated with the buyers from the Soviet Union when they come in. The commodity mix and the schedule for delivery will be negotiated with them when they come in. But that's a reasonable assumption for you to make.

Q To go on like the same pattern. Also, why are we not offering credit for meat purchases? I know the U.S. denied pork sales to Russia. Are we going to offer any credits for meat?

SECRETARY MADIGAN: We're talking here about a commercial program where they buy what they want to buy and we don't try to tell them what to buy because they ultimately have to pay for it. And with regard to the pork program which you referred to, the agencies in the former Soviet Union that are responsible for paying the bills didn't want pork. The pork agency wanted pork, but they're not the people responsible for paying the bills, and they're not the people who come in to discuss the commodity mix with us, nor are they people who have the letter of credit.

Q Secretary Brady --

Q Secretary Baker --

SECRETARY BAKER: We're out of here. We're going to give you fact sheets and we will also --

Q Has anybody briefed Nixon on this?

SECRETARY BAKER: Yes, he has been briefed.

Q How is he on this?

SECRETARY BAKER: Fine.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

12:02 P.M. EST

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

9 April 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID F. DEMAREST
DAN MC GROARTY
SPEECHWRITERS
RESEARCHERS

FROM:

JEANNIE BUNTON 

SUBJECT:

POTUS REMARKS TO THE AMERICAN SOCIETY
OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS

Hear me now, believe me later -- Timberwolf was in charge. He upstaged himself. Great start. POTUS intro - best I've heard in S&S [short and sweet] category. Intro As delivered included.

Speech long. 22 minutes. Delivery: added libs, confident and comfortable, poised and precise -- until page 18 [of 22] when "tongue tiredness" set in.

Speech flowing -- then NOTHING. He stops. Page 16. [Minds race, Sr. staffers fidget -- did the prompter die?] Reaches over grabs Mr. Random guy sitting at head table's glass of water for a swig. [Every Advance Man's nightmare. POTUS' water glass.] Then back to our regularly scheduled programming...

Audience engaged. Ballroom cold. Press cynical. Ann Devroy laughed at speech and Sara McClendon said there wasn't a stitch of anything new.

Long speech was followed by even longer Q&A session -- 25 minutes. POTUS supposed to take 2 questions. Somewhere between holding and dais Timberwolf decides more than 2. More minds racing, time ticking, watch turning, Sr. Staff fidgeting.

He hit them all [Iraq, abortion, Ross Perot, GATT, negative campaigning] out of the ballpark. Some very clever language -- "in the interests of the free world, no less the freeing world....far better than aid is trade." Read the Q&A as delivered. Some good lines there. Pay close attention to section on neg. campaigns -- he said the 88 campaign ads paled in comparison to the ads the Dems are airing -- he resurrected the "Ich bin ein Mercedes owner line from Gridiron and was a commanding success.

He was confident, funny and in control during Q&A -- which despite his greatness -- seemed interminably long and in my opinion diminished the speech. When Gen. Scowcroft rose from staff viewing and walked toward dais -- POTUS said "I gotta go, but I'll take two more."

POTUS intro by Dave Lawrence, Pres. of ASNE, publisher of Miami Herald:

"Ladies and gentlemen, I present to you my kind of newspaper reader...a man who gets 30 daily newspapers delivered to his home at 1600 Pennsylvania Ave. every day...a fellow married to this nation's most prominent advocate for literacy. My fellow editors and guests, it is a privilege to present to you...the President of the United States."

APPLAUSE

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS
J.W. MARRIOTT
THURSDAY, APRIL 9, 1992
1:45 P.M.

*Jim. Gow
Henson*

fabulous intro warm applause

THANK YOU, DAVE [LAWRENCE]. MY THANKS TO THE MEMBERS OF YOUR BOARD -- AND TO ALL THE MEMBERS OF ASNE FOR INVITING ME TO PARTICIPATE IN YOUR ANNUAL CONFERENCE. /

EVEN IN THE AGE OF VCRS AND CNN, PEOPLE WHO WANT TO UNDERSTAND THE TIMES WE LIVE IN STILL TURN TO THE PRINTED WORD. //

ad lib

LOOK AROUND THE WORLD TODAY. THINK OF THE PAGE ONE STORIES OF THE PAST FEW YEARS. OUR VICTORY IN THE COLD WAR. THE COLLAPSE OF IMPERIAL COMMUNISM. THE LIBERATION OF KUWAIT. THINK OF THE GREAT REVOLUTIONS OF '89 THAT BROUGHT DOWN THE BERLIN WALL -- BROKE THE CHAINS OF COMMUNISM -- AND BROUGHT A NEW WORLD OF FREEDOM TO EASTERN EUROPE. THINK OF THE ROLE THIS NATION PLAYED IN EVERY ONE OF THESE GREAT TRIUMPHS -- THE SACRIFICES WE MADE, THE SENSE OF MISSION THAT CARRIED US THROUGH.

EACH DAY BRINGS NEW CHANGES: NEW REALITIES -- NEW HOPEs -- NEW HORIZONS. IN THE PAST SIX MONTHS ALONE, WE'VE RECOGNIZED 18 BRAND NEW NATIONS. THE BULK OF THOSE NATIONS ARE BORN OF ONE MOMENTOUS EVENT: THE COLLAPSE OF SOVIET COMMUNISM.

I WANT TO TALK TODAY ABOUT THE MOST IMPORTANT FOREIGN POLICY OPPORTUNITY OF OUR TIME -- AN OPPORTUNITY THAT WILL AFFECT THE SECURITY AND THE FUTURE OF EVERY AMERICAN, YOUNG AND OLD, THROUGHOUT THIS ^{entire} DECADE. THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONS UNDERWAY IN RUSSIA, IN ARMENIA, UKRAINE AND IN THE OTHER NEW NATIONS OF THE OLD SOVIET EMPIRE REPRESENT THE BEST HOPE FOR REAL PEACE IN MY LIFETIME.

SHORTLY AFTER TAKING OFFICE, I OUTLINED A NEW AMERICAN STRATEGY IN RESPONSE TO THE CHANGES UNDERWAY IN THE SOVIET UNION AND EAST AND CENTRAL EUROPE: TO MOVE BEYOND CONTAINMENT -- TO ENCOURAGE REFORM, TO ALWAYS SUPPORT FREEDOM FOR THE CAPTIVE NATIONS OF THE EAST. //

Audience English
- 3 -

NOW, AFTER DRAMATIC REVOLUTIONS IN POLAND, HUNGARY, AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA, / REVOLUTIONS THAT SPREAD TO ROMANIA, BULGARIA AND EVEN ALBANIA -- AFTER THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY IN NATO -- AFTER THE DEMISE OF THE ONE POWER, THE USSR, THAT THREATENED OUR WAY OF LIFE -- THAT MISSION HAS BEEN FULFILLED. / THE COLD WAR IS OVER. THE SPECTER OF NUCLEAR ARMAGEDDON HAS RECEDED. SOVIET COMMUNISM HAS COLLAPSED -- AND IN ITS WAKE WE FIND OURSELVES ON THE THRESHOLD OF A NEW WORLD OF OPPORTUNITY AND PEACE.

BUT WITH THE PASSING OF THE COLD WAR, A NEW ORDER HAS YET TO TAKE ITS PLACE. THE OPPORTUNITIES ARE GREAT, BUT SO TOO ARE THE DANGERS. WE STAND AT HISTORY'S HINGEPOINT -- A NEW WORLD BECKONS WHILE THE GHOSTS OF HISTORY STAND IN THE SHADOWS.

Frank —

I WANT TO OUTLINE TODAY A NEW MISSION FOR AMERICAN POLICY TOWARD RUSSIA AND THE OTHER NEW NATIONS OF THE OLD USSR. IT IS A MISSION THAT CAN ADVANCE OUR ECONOMIC AND SECURITY INTERESTS, WHILE UPHOLDING THE PRIMACY OF AMERICAN VALUES -- VALUES WHICH, AS LINCOLN SAID, ARE THE "LAST, BEST HOPE OF EARTH."

AMERICANS HAVE ALWAYS RESPONDED BEST WHEN A NEW FRONTIER BECKONED. I BELIEVE THAT THE NEXT FRONTIER FOR US AND FOR THE GENERATION THAT FOLLOWS IS TO SECURE A DEMOCRATIC PEACE IN EUROPE AND THE FORMER USSR THAT WILL ENSURE A LASTING PEACE FOR AMERICA.

THIS DEMOCRATIC PEACE MUST BE FOUNDED ON THE TWIN PILLARS OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FREEDOM. THE SUCCESS OF REFORM IN RUSSIA AND UKRAINE, ARMENIA AND KAZAKHSTAN, BYELARUS AND THE BALTICS WILL BE THE SINGLE BEST GUARANTEE OF OUR SECURITY, OUR PROSPERITY AND OUR VALUES. AFTER THE LONG COLD WAR, THIS MUCH IS CLEAR: DEMOCRATS IN THE KREMLIN CAN ASSURE OUR SECURITY IN A WAY NUCLEAR MISSILES NEVER COULD.

*Propose (and)
take notes*

*Main unit
Power, Progress, Patriotism
Album*

- 5 -

MUCH OF MY ADMINISTRATION'S FOREIGN POLICY HAS BEEN DEDICATED TO WINNING THE COLD WAR PEACEFULLY. THE NEXT FOUR YEARS MUST BE DEDICATED TO BUILDING A DEMOCRATIC PEACE -- NOT SIMPLY FOR THOSE OF US WHO LIVED THROUGH THE COLD WAR AND WON IT, BUT FOR GENERATIONS TO COME.

FROM THE FIRST MOMENTS OF THE COLD WAR, OUR MISSION WAS CONTAINMENT -- TO USE THE COMBINED RESOURCES OF THE WEST TO CHECK THE EXPANSIONIST AIMS OF THE SOVIET EMPIRE. IT HAS BEEN MY POLICY AS PRESIDENT TO MOVE BEYOND CONTAINMENT -- TO USE THE POWER OF AMERICA AND THE WEST TO END THE COLD WAR WITH FREEDOM'S VICTORY. //

TODAY, WE HAVE REACHED A TURNING POINT. WE HAVE DEFEATED IMPERIAL COMMUNISM. WE HAVE NOT YET WON THE VICTORY FOR DEMOCRACY.

THIS DEMOCRATIC PEACE WILL NOT BE EASILY WON. THE WEIGHT OF HISTORY -- SEVENTY-FOUR YEARS OF COMMUNIST MIS-RULE IN THE FORMER USSR -- TELL⁵ US THAT DEMOCRACY AND ECONOMIC FREEDOM WILL BE YEARS IN THE BUILDING. AMERICA MUST THEREFORE RESOLVE THAT OUR COMMITMENT BE EQUALLY FIRM AND LASTING.

WITH THIS COMMITMENT, WE HAVE THE CHANCE TO BUILD A VERY DIFFERENT WORLD -- A WORLD BUILT ON THE COMMON VALUES OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FREEDOM BETWEEN RUSSIA AND AMERICA, BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. AT LONG LAST, A PEACE BUILT ON MUTUAL TRUST -- NOT MUTUAL TERROR. //

TODAY, WE FIND OURSELVES IN AN ALMOST UNIMAGINABLE WORLD WHERE DEMOCRATS, NOT COMMUNISTS, HOLD POWER IN MOSCOW AND KIEV AND YEREVAN. A NEW WORLD WHERE A NEW BREED OF LEADERS -- BORIS YELTSIN, LEVON TER-PETROSIAN, LEONID KRAVCHUK AND ASKAR AKAYEV AMONG OTHERS -- ARE PUSHING FORWARD TO REFORM. //

THEY SEEK TO REPLACE THE RULE OF FORCE WITH THE
RULE OF LAW. / THEY SEEK FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THEIR
COUNTRIES' HISTORIES NOT TO IMPOSE RULE IN THE NAME OF
THE PEOPLE, BUT TO BUILD GOVERNMENTS OF, BY, AND FOR
THE PEOPLE. / THEY SEEK A FUTURE OF FREE AND OPEN
MARKETS WHERE ECONOMIC RIGHTS REST IN THE HANDS OF
INDIVIDUALS -- NOT ON THE WHIMS OF CENTRAL PLANNERS. /
THEY SEEK PARTNERSHIPS AND ALLIANCES WITH US -- AND AN
END TO COMPETITION AND CONFLICT.

OUR VALUES ARE THEIR VALUES. AND IN THIS TIME OF
TRANSITION -- ^{By the people of the US} THEY SEEK OUR HELP.

IF WE ARE TO ACT, WE MUST SEE CLEARLY WHAT IS AT
STAKE.

FORTY YEARS AGO, AMERICANS HAD THE VISION AND THE GOOD SENSE TO HELP DEFEATED ENEMIES BACK TO THEIR FEET -- AS DEMOCRACIES. WHAT A WISE INVESTMENT THAT PROVED TO BE. THOSE WE HELPED BECAME CLOSE ALLIES AND MAJOR TRADING PARTNERS. OUR CHOICE TODAY IS JUST AS CLEAR. WITH OUR HELP, RUSSIA, UKRAINE AND OTHER NEW STATES CAN BECOME DEMOCRATIC FRIENDS AND PARTNERS. AND LET ME SAY HERE: THEY WILL HAVE OUR HELP. //

WHAT DIFFERENCE CAN THIS MAKE FOR AMERICA? WE CAN PUT BEHIND US FOR GOOD THE NUCLEAR CONFRONTATION THAT HAS HELD OUR VERY CIVILIZATION HOSTAGE FOR OVER FOUR DECADES. THE THREAT OF A MAJOR GROUND WAR IN WESTERN EUROPE HAS DISAPPEARED WITH THE DEMISE OF THE WARSAW PACT.

*she
the ownership as long as
she has what she missed*

- 9 -

A DEMOCRATIC RUSSIA IS THE BEST GUARANTEE AGAINST
A RENEWED DANGER OF COMPETITION, AND THE THREAT OF
NUCLEAR RIVALRY. THE FAILURE OF THE DEMOCRATIC
EXPERIMENT COULD BRING A DARK FUTURE -- A RETURN TO
AUTHORITARIANISM, OR A DESCENT INTO ANARCHY. IN EITHER
CASE, THE OUTCOME WOULD THREATEN OUR PEACE, OUR
PROSPERITY AND OUR SECURITY -- FOR YEARS TO COME. //

BUT WE SHOULD FOCUS NOT ON THE DANGERS OF FAILURE
-- BUT ON THE DIVIDENDS OF SUCCESS.

frs 2

SECOND, WE CAN REAP A GENUINE PEACE DIVIDEND YEAR AFTER YEAR IN THE FORM OF PERMANENTLY REDUCED DEFENSE BUDGETS. ALREADY, WE'VE PROPOSED \$50 BILLION DOLLARS WORTH OF DEFENSE SPENDING REDUCTIONS BETWEEN NOW AND 1997. THAT CUT COMES ON TOP OF SAVINGS TOTALLING \$267 BILLION DOLLARS -- MORE THAN A QUARTER OF A TRILLION DOLLARS -- IN PROJECTED DEFENSE EXPENDITURES BEFORE THE FALL OF THE BERLIN WALL. // MAKE NO MISTAKE: I WILL NOT MAKE RECKLESS DEFENSE CUTS THAT IMPAIR OUR NATIONAL SECURITY. DEFENSE CUTS ON THIS SCALE MEANS WE CAN REDUCE THAT MASSIVE BUDGET DEFICIT -- AND THAT WILL BE GOOD FOR OUR ECONOMY. //

per Danmy

Stu

June

frs

Stu

THIRD, WORKING WITH OUR RUSSIAN PARTNERS AND OUR ALLIES WE CAN CREATE A NEW INTERNATIONAL LANDSCAPE -- A LANDSCAPE WHERE EMERGING THREATS ARE CONTAINED AND UNDONE, WHERE WE WORK IN CONCERT TO CONFRONT COMMON THREATS TO OUR ENVIRONMENT, WHERE TERRORISTS FIND NO SAFE HAVEN, AND WHERE GENUINE COALITIONS OF LIKE-MINDED COUNTRIES RESPOND TO DANGERS AND OPPORTUNITIES TOGETHER.

Third

AND FINALLY, FOURTH: THE TRIUMPH OF FREE GOVERNMENTS AND FREE MARKETS IN THE OLD SOVIET UNION WILL MEAN ^{of system} MAJOR OPPORTUNITIES FOR GLOBAL TRADE AND INVESTMENT. *economic growth*

A DEMOCRATIC RUSSIA -- ONE DEDICATED TO FREE MARKET ECONOMIES -- WILL PROVIDE AN IMPETUS FOR A MAJOR INCREASE IN GLOBAL TRADE AND INVESTMENT. THE PEOPLE OF THE FORMER SOVIET UNION ARE WELL-SCHOOLED AND HIGHLY-SKILLED. THEY SEEK FOR THEIR FAMILIES THE SAME BETTER FUTURE EACH OF US WISHES FOR OUR OWN. TOGETHER, THEY FORM A POTENTIALLY VAST MARKET THAT CROSSES 11 TIME ZONES AND COMPRISES NEARLY 300 MILLION PEOPLE. NO ECONOMIST CAN PIN-POINT THE VALUE OF TRADE OPPORTUNITIES WE HOPE TO HAVE -- BUT THE POTENTIAL FOR PROSPERITY IS GREAT. INCREASED TRADE MEANS VAST NEW MARKETS FOR AMERICAN GOODS, NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR AMERICAN ENTREPRENEURS, AND NEW JOBS FOR AMERICAN WORKERS. //

RUSSIAN DEMOCRACY IS IN AMERICA'S INTEREST. IT IS ALSO IN KEEPING WITH THIS NATION'S GUIDING IDEALS.

ACROSS THE BOUNDARIES OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURE, ACROSS THE COLD WAR CHASM OF MISTRUST, WE FEEL THE PULL OF COMMON VALUES. IN THE ORDEAL OF THE LONG-SUFFERING PEOPLES OF THE SOVIET EMPIRE WE SEE GLIMPSES OF THIS NATION'S PAST. IN THEIR HOPES AND DREAMS -- WE SEE OUR OWN.

THIS IS AN ARTICLE OF THE AMERICAN CREED: FREEDOM IS NOT THE SPECIAL PRESERVE OF ONE NATION -- IT IS THE BIRTHRIGHT OF MEN AND WOMEN EVERYWHERE. WE HAVE ALWAYS DREAMED OF THE DAY DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM WILL TRIUMPH IN EVERY CORNER OF THE WORLD, IN EVERY CAPTIVE NATION AND CLOSED SOCIETY. THIS MAY NEVER HAPPEN IN OUR LIFETIMES -- BUT IT CAN HAPPEN NOW FOR THE MILLIONS OF PEOPLE WHO FOR SO LONG SUFFERED UNDER SOVIET RULE.

What Historian

✓
New 95

and and and

SOME MAY SAY THIS VIEW OF THE FUTURE IS UNREALISTIC. WELL LET ME REMIND YOU THAT THREE OF OUR LEADING PARTNERS IN HELPING DEMOCRACY SUCCEED IN RUSSIA ARE NONE OTHER THAN GERMANY, JAPAN AND ITALY. IF WE CAN NOW BRING RUSSIA INTO THE COMMUNITY OF FREE NATIONS WHO SHARE AMERICAN IDEALS, WE WILL HAVE REDEEMED HOPE IN A CENTURY THAT HAS KNOWN SO MUCH SUFFERING. //

IT IS NOT INEVITABLE, AS DE TOQUEVILLE WROTE, THAT AMERICA AND RUSSIA WERE DESTINED TO STRUGGLE FOR GLOBAL SUPREMACY. TOQUEVILLE ONLY KNEW A DESPOTIC RUSSIA. BUT WE SEE, AND CAN HELP SECURE, A DEMOCRATIC RUSSIA.

just

cough cough

ONE OF AMERICA'S GREATEST ACHIEVEMENTS IN THIS CENTURY HAS BEEN OUR LEADERSHIP OF A REMARKABLE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS -- THE FREE WORLD. THIS COMMUNITY IS DEMOCRATIC, STABLE, PROSPEROUS, COOPERATIVE AND INTERDEPENDENT -- AND AMERICA IS THE BETTER FOR IT. WE HAVE STRONG ALLIES. WE HAVE ENORMOUS TRADE. WE ARE SAFER AS A RESULT OF OUR COMMITMENT TO THIS FREE WORLD.

said independent

NOW, WE MUST EXPAND THIS MOST SUCCESSFUL OF COMMUNITIES TO INCLUDE OUR FORMER ADVERSARIES. THIS IS GOOD FOR AMERICA. A WORLD THAT TRADES WITH US BRINGS GREATER PROSPERITY. A WORLD THAT SHARES OUR VALUES STRENGTHENS THE PEACE.

THIS IS THE WORLD THAT LIES BEFORE US. THIS IS THE WORLD THAT CAN BE ACHIEVED IF WE HAVE THE VISION TO REACH FOR IT. THIS IS THE PEACE WE MUST NOT LOSE.

THIS IS WHAT WE ARE DOING RIGHT NOW TO WIN THIS PEACE:

*Water in Jordan?
asked for Jordan
Water break*

- 16 -

STRATEGICALLY, WE ARE MOVING WITH THE RUSSIANS TO REACH HISTORIC NUCLEAR REDUCTIONS. WE HAVE URGED SPEEDY RATIFICATION OF START AND CFE -- AND ARE WORKING WITH ALL THE NEW STATES TO PREVENT THE SPREAD OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION. WE ARE OFFERING OUR HELP IN NUCLEAR WEAPONS SAFETY, SECURITY AND DISMANTLEMENT. WE ARE ENGAGED IN AN INTENSIVE PROGRAM OF MILITARY-TO-MILITARY EXCHANGES TO STRENGTHEN THE TIES BETWEEN OUR TWO MILITARIES -- INDEED TO BUILD UNPRECEDENTED DEFENSE COOPERATION -- COOPERATION THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN UNTHINKABLE A FEW SHORT MONTHS AGO.

POLITICALLY, WE'RE REACHING OUT SO AMERICA -- AND AMERICAN VALUES -- WILL BE WELL REPRESENTED IN THESE NEW LANDS. WE ARE THE ONLY COUNTRY WITH EMBASSIES IN ALL OF THE FORMER REPUBLICS. WE ARE PLANNING TO BRING "AMERICA HOUSES" AND AMERICAN EXPERTISE TO THE FORMER USSR, TO SEND HUNDREDS OF PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEERS TO HELP CREATE SMALL BUSINESSES, TO LAUNCH MAJOR EXCHANGES OF STUDENTS, PROFESSIONALS AND SCIENTISTS SO THAT OUR PEOPLES CAN ESTABLISH THE BONDS SO IMPORTANT TO PERMANENT PEACE. //

ECONOMICALLY, WORKING WITH THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND MANY OTHER COUNTRIES, WE ORGANIZED A GLOBAL COALITION TO PROVIDE URGENTLY-NEEDED EMERGENCY FOOD AND MEDICAL SUPPLIES THIS PAST WINTER. WE WILL NOW SEND AMERICANS TO HELP PROMOTE IMPROVEMENTS IN FOOD DISTRIBUTION, ENERGY, DEFENSE CONVERSION AND DEMOCRATIZATION. I HAVE SENT CONGRESS THE FREEDOM SUPPORT ACT -- A COMPREHENSIVE AND INTEGRATED LEGISLATIVE PACKAGE THAT WILL PROVIDE NEW OPPORTUNITIES TO SUPPORT FREEDOM, AND REPEAL ALL COLD WAR LEGISLATION. IN ITS KEY FEATURES, THIS BILL ASKS CONGRESS TO MEET MY REQUEST FOR \$620 MILLION TO FUND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROJECTS IN THE FORMER USSR. AND IT URGES CONGRESS TO INCREASE THE U.S. QUOTA IN THE IMF BY \$12 BILLION DOLLARS.

I PLEDGE TO WORK WITH THE CONGRESS ON A BIPARTISAN BASIS TO PASS THIS ACT. I WANT TO SIGN THIS BILL INTO LAW BEFORE MY JUNE SUMMIT WITH PRESIDENT YELTSIN. //

Getting tired

JUST AS THE REWARDS OF THIS NEW WORLD WILL BELONG TO NO ONE NATION, SO TOO THE BURDEN DOES NOT FALL TO AMERICA ALONE. TOGETHER WITH OUR ALLIES, WE HAVE DEVELOPED A \$24 BILLION PACKAGE OF FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE. ITS AIM: TO PROVIDE URGENTLY NEEDED SUPPORT FOR PRESIDENT YELTSIN'S REFORMS.

OURS IS A POLICY OF COLLECTIVE ENGAGEMENT AND SHARED RESPONSIBILITY. WORKING WITH THE G-7, THE IMF AND THE WORLD BANK, WE ARE SEEKING TO HELP PROMOTE THE ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION SO CENTRAL TO AN ENDURING DEMOCRATIC PEACE. FORTY-FIVE YEARS AFTER THEIR FOUNDING, THE BRETTON WOODS INSTITUTIONS WE CREATED AFTER WORLD WAR II ARE NOW SERVING THEIR ORIGINAL PURPOSE. BY WORKING WITH OTHERS WE'RE SHARING THE BURDEN RESPONSIBLY AND ACTING IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE AMERICAN TAXPAYER.

and

I KNOW THAT BROAD PUBLIC SUPPORT WILL BE CRITICAL TO OUR EFFORT TO GET THIS PROGRAM PASSED.

MG to Spudly

SO LET ME SAY SOMETHING TO THOSE WHO SAY: YES, THE PEOPLE OF RUSSIA AND ALL ACROSS THE OLD SOVIET EMPIRE ARE STRUGGLING. YES, WE WANT TO SEE THEM SUCCEED, TO JOIN THE DEMOCRATIC COMMUNITY. BUT WHAT ABOUT US -- WHAT ABOUT THE CHALLENGES AND DEMANDS WE MUST MEET RIGHT HERE IN AMERICA? ISN'T IT TIME WE TOOK CARE OF OUR OWN?

TO THEM I SAY: PEACE AND PROSPERITY ARE IN THE INTEREST OF EVERY AMERICAN -- EACH ONE OF US ALIVE TODAY, AND ALL THE GENERATIONS THAT WILL FOLLOW.

AS A NATION, WE SPENT MORE THAN FOUR TRILLION DOLLARS TO WAGE AND WIN THE COLD WAR. COMPARED TO SUCH MONUMENTAL SACRIFICE, THE COSTS OF PROMOTING DEMOCRACY WILL BE A FRACTION -- AND THE CONSEQUENCES FOR OUR PEACE AND PROSPERITY BEYOND MEASURE.

AMERICA MUST TAKE THE LEAD IN CREATING THIS NEW WORLD OF PEACE.

THREE TIMES THIS CENTURY, AMERICA HAS BEEN CALLED ON TO HELP CONSTRUCT A LASTING PEACE IN EUROPE. SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO THIS MONTH, THE UNITED STATES ENTERED WORLD WAR I TO TIP THE BALANCE AGAINST AGGRESSION. YET WITH THE BATTLE WON, AMERICA WITHDREW ACROSS THE OCEAN -- AND THE "WAR TO END ALL WARS" PRODUCED A PEACE THAT DID NOT LAST A GENERATION. INDEED, BY THE TIME I WAS BORN IN 1924, THE PEACE WAS ALREADY UNRAVELLING. GERMANY'S ECONOMIC CHAOS SOON LED TO FASCIST DICTATORSHIP. ^{what} THE SEEDS OF ANOTHER, MORE TERRIBLE WAR WERE SOWN.

STILL, THE ISOLATIONIST IMPULSE REMAINED STRONG. YEARS LATER, AS THE NAZIS BEGAN THEIR MARCH ACROSS THE CONTINENT, I CAN STILL REMEMBER THE EDITORIALS HERE IN THE U.S., TALKING ABOUT "EUROPE'S WAR" -- AS IF AMERICA COULD CLOSE ITSELF OFF, AS IF WE COULD ISOLATE OURSELVES FROM THE WORLD BEYOND OUR SHORES.

John W. ...
AS A CONSEQUENCE, WE FOUGHT THE MOST COSTLY WAR IN THE HISTORY OF MAN -- A WAR THAT CLAIMED THE LIVES OF COUNTLESS MILLIONS.

AT WAR'S END, ONCE AGAIN WE SAW THE PROSPECT OF A NEW WORLD ON THE HORIZON -- BUT THE GREAT VICTORY OVER FASCISM QUICKLY GAVE WAY TO THE GRIM REALITY OF THE NEW COMMUNIST THREAT.

WE ARE FORTUNATE THAT OUR POSTWAR LEADERS, DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS ALIKE, DID NOT FORGET THE LESSONS OF THE PAST IN BUILDING THE PEACE OF THE NEXT FOUR DECADES. THEY SHAPED A COALITION THAT KEPT AMERICA ENGAGED -- THAT KEPT THE PEACE THROUGH THE LONG TWILIGHT STRUGGLE AGAINST SOVIET COMMUNISM. AND THEY TAUGHT THE LESSON WE ^{Simply} MUST HEED TODAY: THAT THE NOBLEST MISSION OF THE VICTOR IS TO TURN AN ENEMY INTO A FRIEND. // Wayne Clapper

NOW, AMERICA FACES A THIRD OPPORTUNITY TO PROVIDE THE KIND OF LASTING PEACE THAT FOR SO LONG ELUDED US. AT THIS DEFINING MOMENT, I KNOW WHERE I STAND. I STAND FOR AMERICAN ENGAGEMENT IN SUPPORT OF A DEMOCRATIC PEACE, A PEACE THAT CAN SECURE FOR THE NEXT GENERATION A WORLD FREE FROM WAR AND CONFLICT.

Am

AFTER A HALF-CENTURY OF FEAR AND MISTRUST,
AMERICA, RUSSIA AND THE NEW NATIONS OF THE FORMER USSR
MUST BECOME PARTNERS IN PEACE. AFTER A HALF-CENTURY OF
COLD WAR AND HARSH WORDS -- WE MUST SPEAK AND ACT ON
COMMON VALUES. AFTER A HALF-CENTURY OF ARMED AND
UNEASY PEACE -- WE MUST MOVE FORWARD TOWARD A NEW WORLD
OF FREEDOM, COOPERATION, RECONCILIATION AND HOPE. //

THANK YOU ALL FOR INVITING ME TODAY. / MAY GOD
BLESS THE FREE PEOPLES OF THE FORMER SOVIET EMPIRE --
AND MAY GOD BLESS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

#

*On candidate of change
will be the ones try to change things*

Warm applause

Rmk, took Q's A →

[Turkey shoot along ↑ way gov. N.]

- PRAG
- ROX, PLOT
- Abortion - GOP Platform - Out of the park
- ECONOMIC SUMMITS - GATT DEMONSTRATES - Address as (Fr. & Germany)
*we work w/ Gorb. text
Dobros facts close w/ sit down*
- "Interests of the free world not less the free world"
— Far better than aid is trade

Actual title to press
(You have given a great vision to an obnoxious marketing
the ~~best~~ company)

(Q? A determined speaker)
Q? A longer than yours

recycled lab in ~~an~~ ~~an~~
Prof Bruchman

was of 88 gave to the yr.

OMG's or

→ In ~~some~~ / Not always ~~issue~~
against gov. ^{already} ~~the~~ ~~was~~ ~~been~~
of factors - what's fair