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

02 APR 9 P1:02

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. //

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 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. //

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.

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.

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 -- 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 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 -- 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.

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.

FIRST, 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 SINCE THE FALL OF THE BERLIN WALL. // MAKE NO MISTAKE: I WILL NOT MAKE RECKLESS DEFENSE CUTS THAT IMPAIR OUR NATIONAL 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. 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. FOR EXAMPLE, LAST WEEK I ASKED THE CONGRESS TO REPEAL THE STEVENSON AND BYRD AMENDMENTS THAT LIMIT THE EXPORT-IMPORT BANK'S ABILITY TO HELP PROMOTE AMERICAN EXPORTS TO THE FORMER USSR -- AND I AM PLEASED THAT CONGRESS HAS ACTED. I AM ALSO 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 LAST WEEK, AND WE EXPECT MORE TO FOLLOW.

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.

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.

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.

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 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. //

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.

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 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. 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. 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.

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.

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12:15 p

Draft Six
April 9, 1992

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

Thank you, Barack
{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 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 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

*Let me thank the members
of your board --*

*and all the
members of
the ASNE
for writing
me to help
participate
in your
annual
conference.*

and East and Central Europe: to move beyond containment -- to encourage reform, to always support freedom for the captive nations of the East. //

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 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 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.

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 -- 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 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 -- 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? ~~First~~ ^{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 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.

~~First~~ ^{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. //

~~Second~~ ^{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.

And finally ^{Third:} ~~fourth:~~ the triumph of free governments and free markets in the old Soviet Union will mean ~~major new~~ ^{expansive} ~~opportunities for global trade and investment.~~ ^{econ 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. //

I am committed to giving American business every possible opportunity to compete fairly and equally in these new markets. For example, ^{Last week I asked} ~~I have asked~~ the Congress to repeal the Stevenson and Byrd amendments that limit the Export-Import Bank's ability to help promote American exports to the former USSR. I am also seeking to conclude trade, bilateral investment, and tax treaties with each of the new Commonwealth states. The first agreement -

-- AND I
AM PLEASED
THAT CONGRESS
HAS ACTED.

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. //

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.

- between the U.S. and Armenia -- was signed last week, and we expect more to follow.

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.

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.

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.

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 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

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.

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. 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.

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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. 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.

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.

#

■ mention Terry Anderson?

American Society of Newspaper Editors Convention
Greeters and headtable guest for Wednesday April 8, 1992

Meeting managers (need access to rooms)

Lee Houston (Lee) Stinnett, ASNE executive director [405-50-4298, 1/8/39]

Nancy Jean Voller Andiorio, ASNE administrative assistant [165-36-2093
1/28/46]

To greet President Bush at 1:45 p.m.

To walk out w/ POTUS @ 1:45

David (Dave) Lawrence Jr., ASNE president and publisher, Miami Herald [No
middle initial, 267-64-6124 3/5/42]

Seymour (Top) Topping, ASNE vice president and director of editorial
development, New York Times Co. [No middle name 095-143-562 12/11/22]

William Arthur (Bill) Hilliard, ASNE secretary and editor, Portland Oregonian
[542-26-1928 5/28/27]

Gregory Elton (Gregory) Favre, ASNE treasurer, convention program chair, and
executive editor, Sacramento Bee [427-58-0882 4-19-35]

William Barnard Ketter, ASNE treasurer-designate, and editor, Quincy (Mass.)
Patriot-Ledger [502-40-5683 2/25/40]

Mr. Stinnett

Headtable guests will include ASNE committee leaders:

- David Hawpe, Louisville Courier-Journal, Minorities
- Tim McGuire, Minneapolis Star Tribune, Press, Bar and Public Affairs
- ✓ • Bob Giles, Detroit News, Freedom of Information
- John Seigenthaler, Nashville Tennessean and now heading the First
Amendment Center at Vanderbilt, First Amendment Committee
- Bob Haiman, Poynter Institute, International Communication
- Alan Horton, Scripps Howard, Ethics
- Bob McGruder, Detroit Free Press, Education for Journalism
- Loren Ghiglione, Southbridge News, History and Newspapers
- C. W. Johnson Jr., Nashville Tennessean, Literacy
- Marcia McQuern, Riverside Press-Enterprise, Human Resources
- ✓ • Chris Anderson, Orange County Register, Future of Newspapers

- ✓ • Gregory Favre, Sacramento Bee, Convention Program
- Bill Burleigh, Scripps Howard, ASNE Foundation president
- Craig Klugman, Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette, Bulletin
- Ellen Goodman, Boston Globe, Writing Awards
- ✓ • Bill Ketter, Quincy Patriot Ledger, membership
- Beverly Kees, Fresno (Calif.) Bee, Nominations
- Thom Greer, Cleveland Plain-Dealer, elections judges
- Sandy Rowe, Norfolk Virginian Pilot and Ledger-Star, floor managers leader
- John Wilson, Washington Times, Press Room chair
- Wanda Lloyd, USA Today, who is managing the ASNE Reporter

▲ CHECK INDICATES BOARD MEMBER

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Draft Six
April 9, 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 realities -- new hopes --
new horizons. In the past six months alone, we've recognized 18
brand new nations. //

→ The bulk of those new 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 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. //

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 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 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 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, Byelarus [BEE-EL-UH-ROOS] 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. 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 -- 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 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 ^{ASKAR AKI-YEV}
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
-- 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 can become a democratic
friend and partner. And let me say here: they will have our
help. //

Russia, Ukraine & other new states
=
not the other

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. The threat of a major ground war in Western Europe has disappeared with the demise of the Warsaw Pact.

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 since ^{before} the fall of the Berlin Wall. // Make no mistake: Defense cuts on this scale 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 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, fourth: the triumph of free governments and free markets in the old Soviet Union will mean major opportunities for global trade and investment. //

now graph 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. 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
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crosses 11 time zones and comprises nearly 300 million people.
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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

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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. //

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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.

#

FAX MESSAGE FOR: JEANNIE BUNTON

FROM: NANCY ANDRIO

DATE: 4/7/92

5 PAGE(S) FOLLOW(S)

Revised ASNE
Convention Schedule

If there is a problem with transmission, please call ASNE Registration desk at JW Marriott Hotel 202-393-2000 EXT. 6622 or ~~6632~~ 6617

American Society of Newspaper Editors

☒ Ask Nancy if ok to mention
Topping as uncom⁶ / re: USA Today
article from 7 April 92

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April 6, 1992

May 1x @ Speech Thurs.?

ASNE APRIL 7-10 CONVENTION PRESS ADVISORY

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- Two presidents, two presidential candidates, two ambassadors, one cabinet secretary, the U.S. solicitor general, two mayors and four Olympic gold medalists will be among the distinguished speakers at this year's convention of the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

President George Bush, Nicaraguan President Violeta Chamorro, Governor Bill Clinton, former Governor Jerry Brown, Japanese Ambassador Takakuru Kuriyama, Ambassador Andreas van Agt of the Commission of the European Communities to the United States, U.S. Secretary of Health and Human Services Dr. Louis Sullivan, Boston Mayor Raymond L. Flynn, Washington Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly and Solicitor General Kenneth W. Starr will all address the 69th ASNE convention, April 7-10 in Washington, D.C.

About 625 editors, spouses, journalism educators and guests will attend the gathering, which will open Tuesday evening, April 7, with a reception at the National Gallery of Art. Most sessions will be at the JW Marriott Hotel, but Thursday morning attendees will visit either Howard or Georgetown universities. David Lawrence Jr., publisher of the Miami Herald, is president of ASNE, an organization of more than 900 directing editors of daily newspapers. Gregory Favre, executive editor of the Sacramento (Calif.) Bee, chairs the Convention Program Committee.

The focus of the Wednesday, April 8, program will be "Rethinking the Future of Newspapers." Deborah Tannen, author of the best-selling "You Just Don't Understand: Men and Women in Conversation," and Max Bazerman, author of "Negotiating Rationally," are among the experts in communications and management who will discuss trends affecting newspapers as a major information source and as an industry. A highlight of that day will be "A Conversation with Ben Bradlee and Kay Graham," which will be the luncheon session. Other major newspaper figures on the Wednesday program are Cathleen Black, president of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, and former ASNE president John Quinn.

On Thursday, April 9, convention-goers will spend the morning attending seminars and lectures at either Howard or Georgetown universities. Educators from those universities will join distinguished alumni and guests for the sessions. Mayors Flynn and Kelly and Dr. Sullivan will be on panels at Howard. Abner Mikva, chief judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, Solicitor General Starr and Talbot D'Alemberte, president of the American Bar Association, will participate in a session at Georgetown. President Bush will speak at the luncheon that day at the JW Marriott Hotel.

(over)

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS CONSISTS OF THE OFFICERS AND THE FOLLOWING:

LARRY ALLISON Long Beach Press-Telegram	JAY AMBROSE Rocky Mountain News	N. CHRISTIAN ANDERSON Orange County Register	LINDA GRIST CUNNINGHAM Rockford Register Star	JOHN S. DRISCOLL Boston Globe	ALBERT E. FITZPATRICK Knight-Ridder Inc.	ROBERT H. GILES Detroit News	JANE HEALY Orlando Sentinel
WILLIAM B. KETTER Quincy Patriot Ledger	RON MARTIN Atlanta Journal-Constitution	ACEL MOORE Philadelphia Inquirer	IRENE C. NOLAN Louisville Courier-Journal	BURL OSBORNE Dallas Morning News	JEAN OTTO Rocky Mountain News	GENEVA OVERHOLSER Des Moines Register	EDWARD SEATON Manhattan Mercury

Friday's convention program will begin with editors quizzing Bill Clinton and Jerry Brown and continue with sessions on "Exploration," "How the Business Community Views the Press" and "Intimidation of Journalists Abroad." President Chamorro of Nicaragua is the Friday luncheon speaker. She will be followed by afternoon sessions on "Sexual Harassment"; "America in the World Economy," at which ambassadors Kuriyama and van Agt; and a discussion of the Olympics with Olympic medalists Donna de Varona, Bruce Jenner, Sugar Ray Leonard and Cathy Turner.

The Society will also announce the winners of the Isaiah Thomas Newspaper History Preservation Prizes and honor the previously announced winners of this year's Distinguished Writing Awards. A daily convention newspaper, the ASNE Reporter, will be produced by a multicultural staff of college students.

During convention week, ASNE members will vote to fill seven seats on the board of directors and the board will elect new officers.

The convention's closing event will be a reception at the Organization of American States Building.

MEDIA COVERAGE

The JW Marriott Hotel, 1331 Pennsylvania Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20004, is the convention headquarters. The convention press chair is John Wilson, assistant managing editor, the Washington Times. For further information on the convention and press badges, journalists may come to the Commerce Room on the mezzanine level of Marriott beginning at noon Tuesday, April 7. The Marriott's telephone number is 202-393-2000.

Press headquarters in the Commerce Room will be open from noon until 5:30 p.m. on Tuesday and from 8 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. Wednesday through Friday. Journalists are welcome to cover all general sessions, workshops, luncheon speakers and ASNE University Day. Members of the press must comply with the following ASNE policies:

- Press name badges will be issued to working journalists, representatives of the trade press (Editor and Publisher, presstime, News Inc., Publishers' Auxiliary, The Quill, Advertising Age, etc.); and full-time media reporters for the daily press. Members of the foreign press accompanying international speakers will also be issued credentials.
- Journalists should have Washington, D.C., police press credentials; Virginia or Maryland police press credentials; White House press credentials; or House or Senate press credentials. Other reporters, free-lancers or columnists should have a letter on letterhead from their editor or news director assigning them to cover the ASNE convention.
- ASNE members should be aware that they may not obtain press credentials to attend the convention as reporters. Non-members attending ASNE committee meetings must register and pay a fee if they wish to participate in any other convention activities.
- Everyone entering the meeting halls and luncheon halls must have a name badge.
- Sandra Mims Rowe, executive editor of the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot and Ledger-Star, will supervise the convention floor managers. They will control activities in the meeting rooms to minimize disruptions.

- Electronic media must get their audio feed from a mult box. There will be no exceptions and no microphones allowed in the meeting rooms. The media may substitute a pool mult box for the hotel's box, if they wish. If a pool arrangement is to be installed, ASNE must receive notification 24 hours in advance. Any additional microphones that are set up will be removed by hotel security personnel.

- Only ASNE members may ask questions during the question-and-answer sessions.

- Press photographers and camera crews will be permitted in front of the head table to take pictures for three minutes after each speaker begins his or her remarks. After that, the photographers must return to the rear of the hall. The three-minute limit will be strictly observed and will be enforced if necessary by floor managers. Photographers are asked to comply on a voluntary basis to avoid the embarrassment of being escorted to the rear of the hall.

Arrangements for the Wednesday and Friday general sessions in the Capitol Ballroom

1. Reporters may sit where they wish in the hall.
2. Television platforms and a mult box are available at the rear of the room.

Arrangements for the Wednesday-Friday luncheons in the Grand Ballroom

1. The working press is welcome to cover the speeches.
2. Those who wish to eat may purchase tickets at the ASNE registration desk. Journalists must have press badges in order to buy luncheon tickets and no free tickets are issued to the meal functions. Luncheon tickets are \$55. Waiters will not serve anyone without a ticket.
3. Television platforms will be erected at the rear of the room and the use of the mult box is required. Chairs will be available for members of the press around the periphery of the room. The press will be allowed to set up cameras in the Grand Ballroom 9-10 a.m. before the Thursday luncheon.

Arrangements for sessions at Howard University and Georgetown University

1. Journalists must first obtain press badges from ASNE at the Marriott if they wish to cover any of the panels at the universities.
2. The rules for photographers listed above apply at the universities.
3. Mult boxes will be available at the rear of the rooms at Howard. There are no mult boxes available at Georgetown. Electronic media may use extra microphones if they wish to record the speakers at Georgetown, but arrangements must be made at least 24 hours before the session begins.
4. A television platform is available in Blackburn Center at Howard but not at Howard's Rankin Chapel or at Georgetown. If broadcasters need such facilities, they must contact Alan Hermes of the Department of University Communications at Howard (202-806-0970) and Gary Krull, vice president for public relations at Georgetown (202-687-4327), at least 24 hours in advance of the session.

ACTS Inc. will make audiotapes of all convention sessions, lunches and workshops. Tapes, at \$10 each, will be available at the Marriott.

Here's the 1992 ASNE Convention schedule

Tuesday, April 7

5:45 p.m. — Buses begin shuttle service from Pennsylvania Ave. entrance of the Marriott

6 - 8 p.m. — Opening reception — National Gallery of Art West Building

Wednesday, April 8

7:30 - 8:45 a.m. — New members breakfast

7:45 - 8:45 a.m. Workshops

"Provoking Change" (Arranged by Small Newspapers Committee) — Hunter T. George, director of editorial development, Thomson Newspapers; C.W. Baker, vice president/news, Knight-Ridder, Miami; Judith Brown, editor and publisher, New Britain (Conn.) Herald; Susan Deans, editor, Myrtle Beach (S.C.) Sun News; Timothy Gallagher, editor, Albuquerque (N.M.) Tribune

"Covering the '92 Election: We Can Do It Better" — Bill Kovach, curator, Nieman Foundation; Phil Gailey, editor of editorial page, St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times; Deborah Howell, Washington bureau chief, Newhouse News Service; John Mashek, Washington correspondent, Boston Globe; Juan Williams, columnist, Washington Post

9 a.m. - 12:30 p.m. — General Session — Rethinking the Future of Newspapers

Dramatic narration on freedom. Rev. Wintley Phipps, pastor, Capitol Hill Seventh Day Adventist Church

"The Future for Newspapers," remarks by David Lawrence Jr., Miami Herald, ASNE President

"Face to Face: Race and Gender Communication in the Newsroom" — Rafael Gonzalez, lecturer at Northwestern's Newspaper Management Center and workshop leader on diversity; Tom Kochman, University of Illinois communication scholar and author of Black & White: Styles in Conflict; Deborah Tannen, Georgetown University Professor of Linguistics, and author of You Just Don't Understand: Men and Women in Conversation

"Building Community Connections" — Clarence Page, columnist, Chicago Tribune; Albert Johnson, executive editor, Columbus (Ga.) Ledger-Enquirer; David Mathews, president, Kettering Foundation; Burl Osborne, editor and publisher, Dallas Morning News; Neal Peirce, author/editor, The Peirce Report, Washington, D.C.; Sandra Mims Rowe, executive editor, Norfolk Virginian-Pilot and Ledger-Star; Howard Schneider, managing editor/news, Newsday, Long Island, N.Y.



President Bush



President Chamorro

12:30-1 p.m. — Cash Bar

1 p.m. — Luncheon — "A Conversation with Kay Graham and Ben Bradlee"

3:00 - 5:00 p.m. — General Session — Rethinking the Future of Newspapers

Remarks by Cathleen Black, ANPA President and CEO

"Negotiating Change" — Max H. Bazerman, professor at Northwestern's Newspaper Management Center and Kellogg Graduate School of Management and author of Negotiating Rationally

"Where Do We Go From Here?" — John C. Quinn, long-time Gannett editor and former ASNE president

Evening free

Thursday, April 9

7:30-8:30 a.m. — Retired Members Committee breakfast

7:45 a.m. — Buses depart for Howard and Georgetown

-- HOWARD UNIVERSITY PROGRAM --

8:30 a.m. — Continental breakfast

9 - 10:25 a.m. — Howard University Choir, Remarks by President Franklyn G. Jenifer

"Health Issues in the African American Community" — Dr. Charles L. Curry, professor of medicine, Howard; Dr. Alfred L. Goldson, professor and chairman, Department of Radiotherapy, Howard; Dr. Margaret Kadroo, professor, infectious diseases, Howard; Dr. LaSalle D. Leffall Jr., professor and chairman, Department of Surgery, Howard; Dr. Louis Sullivan, Secretary of Health and Human Services

day of speech

10:40-11:50 a.m.

"The Future of America's Cities" — ~~Mayor David D'Amico, New York~~; Mayor Raymond L. Flynn, Boston, president of U.S. Conference of Mayors; Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly, Washington; Ronald Walters, professor of political science, Howard; Robert L. Woodson, president, National Center for Neighborhood Enterprises

-- GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY PROGRAM --

8:30 a.m. — Continental breakfast

9 - 9:50 a.m. — Performance by "The Chimes" and "The Grace Notes"; Remarks by the Rev. Leo J. O'Donovan, S.J., president of Georgetown University

10 - 10:50 a.m. — Concurrent classes

"A Long-View Look at the Supreme Court" — Judith C. Areen, dean, Law Center, Georgetown; Talbot D'Alemberte, president, American Bar Association; Thomas Krattenmaker, prof., Georgetown Law Center; Abner J. Mikva, chief, U.S. Court of Appeals, District of Columbia; Kenneth W. Starr, U.S. Solicitor General

"The Changing World Order" — Rev. J. Bryan Hehir, Kennedy Professor of Christian Ethics, Georgetown; Ambassador Donald McHenry, Distinguished Research Professor of Diplomacy, Georgetown, and former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations; Theodore Moran, Landegger Professor and director, Landegger International Business Diplomacy Program, Georgetown

11 - 11:50 a.m. — Concurrent classes

"Multiculturalism" — The Rev. Robert B. Lawton, S.J., Dean, College of Arts and Sciences, Georgetown; Joseph F. O'Connor, associate professor and chairman, Department of Classics, Georgetown; Frank M. Snowden Jr., adjunct professor of classics, Georgetown

"Rationing Health Care" — Dr. John M. Eisenberg, chairman, Department of Medicine, Georgetown; Judith Feder, co-director, Center for Health Policy Studies, Georgetown; Dr. Seymour Perry, chairman, Department of Community and Family Medicine, Georgetown

Noon - Buses return to Marriott

12:30 - 1 p.m. — Cash bar

→ 1 p.m. — Luncheon - President George Bush ←

3 - 5 p.m. — ASNE Committee Meetings

5:00 - 6:00 p.m. — ASNE women members reception

Friday, April 10

7:45 - 8:45 a.m. — Workshops

"Excellent Writing in Newspapers" — Karen Brown, associate, The Poynter Institute; ASNE Writing Awards Winners

"Muzzling Free Speech: Race, Hate and Sexual Innuendo" — Linda Grist Cunningham, Rockford (Ill.) Register Star; Jim Amoss, editor, New Orleans Times-Picayune; Geneva Overholser, editor, Des Moines (Iowa) Register; William Woo, editor, St. Louis Post-Dispatch

9 a.m. - Noon — General Session

→ "The Presidential Contenders" — Bill Clinton, governor of Arkansas; Jerry Brown, former governor of California

"Exploration" — Mike Anderson, executive director, National Congress of American Indians; Bruce Murray, professor of planetary sciences, California Institute of Technology, former director of NASA Jet Propulsion Laboratory; Herman Viola, director, Quincentennial program, Smithsonian Institution, Washington

"How Business Views the Press" — Herbert M. and Marion O. Sandler, co-chief executives, Golden West Financial Corporation, Oakland, Calif.; Stephen M. Wolf, chairman, president and CEO, United Airlines

"Intimidation of Journalists Abroad" — Isaac Bantu, Liberian journalist and Nieman Fellow; Francisco Santos Calderon, El Tiempo, Bogota, Colombia; Maria Jimena Duzan, investigative reporter and columnist, El Espectador, Bogota, Colombia, and Nieman Fellow

12:30-1 p.m. — Cash bar

→ 1 p.m. — Luncheon — President Violeta Barrios de Chamorro of Nicaragua ←

3 - 5:15 p.m. — General Session

"Sexual Harassment" — Beverly Duck, president, and Evander Duck, vice president, Human X Factors, Inc., St. Petersburg, Fla.

"America in the World Economy" — Ambassador Andreas van Agt, head of delegation of the Commission of the European Communities to the United States; Michael Farren, Undersecretary of Commerce for International Trade Administration; Japanese Ambassador Takakazu Kuriyama

"The Olympics" — Donna de Varona, Olympic gold medalist and ABC commentator; Bruce Jenner, Olympic gold medalist and NBC commentator; Sugar Ray Leonard, boxer, Olympic gold medalist; Cathy Turner, Olympic gold and silver medalist

5:45 p.m. — Buses begin shuttle service from Pennsylvania Ave. entrance of the Marriott

6 - 8 p.m. — Reception - Organization of American States

Saturday, April 11

9 a.m. — Departure for optional tour of the Virginia Wine Country

April 7, 1992 USA TODAY

New ASNE president: TV inadequate

'Times' veteran called visionary

By Pat Guy
USA TODAY

Seymour Topping has been described as "quietly passionate about newspapers."

But as incoming president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, *The New York*

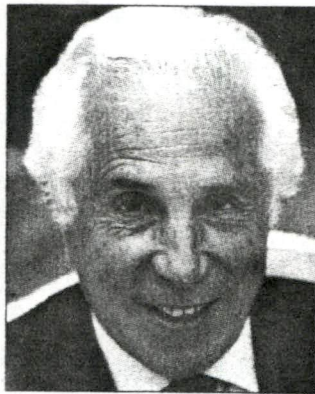
MEDIA

Times veteran plans to pump up the volume.

Topping — called Top by friends — has an ambitious agenda for his one-year tenure. He will take office Friday, succeeding David Lawrence Jr., publisher of *The Miami Herald*. The ASNE's convention opens tonight in Washington.

"He's the right president for this time of monumental change in the business because he has so much credibility from the things he's done in his career," says Lou Heldman, executive editor of the *Tallahassee Democrat*. "He's clearly a visionary."

That came as something of a surprise to Heldman, chairman of ASNE's Future of Newspapers Committee. "My image of him as a former managing editor of *The New York Times* and as a lifelong *Times* man would be someone who is very traditionbound, and I found him to be quite the opposite."



TOPPING: Wants to increase number of minorities in newsrooms.

About Seymour Topping

Born: Dec. 11, 1921 in New York.

Education: University of Missouri School of Journalism, 1943. He served as an infantry officer in the Pacific during World War II.

Family: Married to the former Audrey Elaine Ronning, an author and photojournalist who specializes in Asia. They have five daughters and four grandchildren.

Professional: Director of editorial development at *The New York Times* since 1987. He is responsible for the journalistic quality of the company's regional newspapers — 24 dailies and eight weeklies. Joined *The New York Times* in 1959 after 13 years as a foreign correspondent for International News Service and The Associated Press. Covered China's civil war and was the first correspondent to report the fall of Nanking to the communists in 1949. Also reported from Indochina, London and Berlin. At *The Times*, was chief Moscow correspondent, then chief correspondent in the Far East based in Hong Kong. Became foreign editor in 1966, deputy managing editor in 1976 and managing editor in 1977. Held that job for 10 years.

Hobbies: Skis, hikes, plays tennis and is very interested in the environment. Wrote the introduction for *Our Country, the Planet* by Shridath Ramphal, written for the Earth Summit in Brazil in June, which he plans to attend.

Topping, 70, says he intends to keep ASNE's emphasis on increasing the number of minorities in newsrooms and supporting the First Amendment. But he wants to add another mission during this election year. He's asked committee leaders to "remind Americans that there's no medium better equipped than the newspaper to define the issues and persuade voters to go to the polls. I think that too many Americans are accepting the capsules of information and the images that they get on television as sufficient to make them good, informed citizens."

Topping, ASNE vice president the past year, says ASNE's readership committee is designing prototype articles that newspapers can use to en-

courage citizens to vote. "There is a distinct correlation between the decline of newspaper reading and the decline in voting," he says.

Also on his agenda:

► A major project to develop techniques to make newspapers "an important tool of daily literacy." Topping says stories have to be written to be understandable to people of limited literacy and must also appeal to sophisticated readers.

► A "rescue mission for high-school journalism," which Topping says is in a state of crisis because of slashed budgets and censorship.

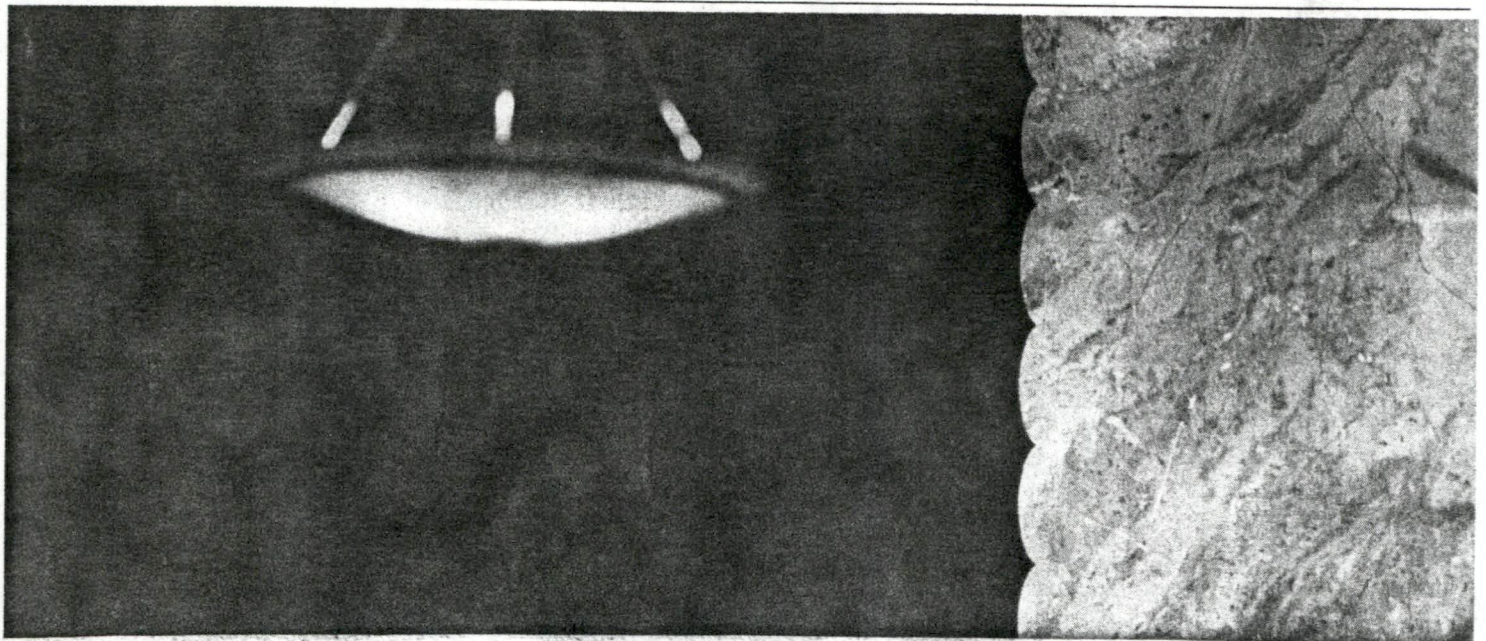
► A higher profile for the ASNE. He wants the ASNE's positions on key issues such as freedom of the press to get

more attention from the public, giving those positions greater impact.

► Establishing a retirees committee. "That's designed to mine their expertise" for ways to help newspapers, Topping says.

► Forming a committee on small newspapers. Many smaller newspapers — circulation less than 50,000 — in ASNE have complained that the organization is oriented to larger newspapers, Topping says.

The fate of newspapers and the nation are bound, Topping says with passion. "If the public ignores newspapers, I think there is much less prospect that we will be able to straighten out the country and rescue it from the mess it finds itself in today."



- Your education reporters
the education beat
- Education news belongs on the business page

McGroarty/Bunton
March 24, 1992
1:30 pm
[PROTO]

PROTOTYPE -- AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS
PLACE
APRIL 9, 1992
T.B.D.

*4/5/92 of a loaf
better than no loaf*

{Acknowledgements/Introductory section.} Even in the age of
VCRs and CNN, it's still possible to stir passion with the
printed word. I remember the story Mark Twain used to tell about
the time Napoleon shot at a magazine editor. / He missed him -
- but killed a publisher. // Twain said: "His aim may have
been bad -- but his intentions were good."

*Wit & Wisdom
Mark Twain
Quite like
Bobby*

*April 24, 1989
AP Business luncheon
Annual Conf. of ANPA
in Chicago, Ill.*

----- [THREE LEGACIES]

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, the
great Revolutions of '89 that brought down the Berlin Wall -- 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. Times change, but truths endure. 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 three precious legacies: strong families. Good jobs. A world at peace.

Securing those legacies has been my mission as President -- and it will be my mission today and every day, now and for the next four years. //

----- [FOCUS]

Right now, the number one concern for most Americans is the economy -- and turning this economy around, creating jobs, is the mission that matters most. Listen to what people say about the economy. Get beneath the cold statistics -- down to the real heart of this issue. People want to know whether they can keep the good job they've got -- and whether they're on track for a better one. For their kids, they've got grander visions: not just a job -- a career. Work that means more than simply making ends meet: Work that gives ^{additional} real meaning to their lives. //

----- [FIVE CHALLENGES FOR FUTURE]

I want to speak today about government's role in all of this. No, we can't legislate the American Dream. But government can serve as an agent for change -- clearing away the obstacles to economic growth and the unnecessary costs of doing business. Expanding the opportunities for aggressive ^{entrepreneurs} businesses and enterprising individuals to create new jobs. Training and

educating our children -- giving them the tools of thought
they'll need to compete in the new world economy. //

TR4
① The fate of America's economic future rests on five pillars:
On free trade -- our ability to break down barriers, open new
markets to American goods. Our future rests on legal reform --
on ending the explosion of litigation that strains our patience
and saps our economy. ② On health care reform -- opening up access
to all Americans, controlling the run-away cost of health care
without sacrificing choice and quality. (s) Government reform --
because only if we reverse a generation of creeping bureaucracy,
only if we restore limits to government, can we restore public
trust. Finally, our future depends on ③ education reform -- our
ability to revolutionize -- literally re-invent our schools:
prepare a new generation for the challenges of the next century.
----- [TODAY'S CHALLENGE]

To meet that challenge, we've got to turn our backs on the
status quo and set our sights on change. Today, I want to focus
on one reform that can shape the future right now. Talk to
^{the / d} ~~parent's~~ people: ask them what ^{is} ~~they see as~~ critical to their child's
future. Over and over, (all the) hopes and dreams rest on one
word: education. //

Education represents a perfect community of interest:
between the individual and society -- between one generation and
the next. Between the proud history we must pass on -- and the
path-breaking future we must create. // And in terms of

ledger -
company books for text books
profit/loss statements

Educational Fortune 500
children are our ^{share's} Blue Chip stock
debts and credits
4 profitability measured by air wealth of ideas

America's economic future -- education is a matter of economic survival. //

Right now, I'll spare you the bleak statistics. Anyone who worries about slack productivity or ^{an imbalance} a bad balance of trade ought to be alarmed about our children's test scores. Millions of children work hard, millions of dedicated teachers do their best -- and still, our schools are failing us. //

^{A responsibility to our children - we are required to.}
Recognizing that fact is the first step toward reform. It's the reason behind the education strategy I call America 2000 -- a plan to help this country put an end to business as usual, break the mold and build a new generation of American schools.

For the sake of our students, ^{we are required to} we've got to shake up the status quo. For far too long, we've (allowed) our public schools a ^{monopolistic} damaging monopoly [power] over students. Well, just as monopolies are bad for the economy -- they're bad for education.

That's why America 2000 includes a common-sense idea called school choice: every parent should have the power to choose which school is best for his child -- public, private or religious. //

And let's be clear: if we deny parents school choice -- let's recognize who's hurt worst by the status quo. It's not the well-to-do. It's not the upper middle class. It's not any one of us who ever went house-hunting with a map of the good school districts. // Deny people choice, and the ones you hurt most are the Middle Class and lower -- and especially the poor.

this isn't numbers were crunching it's children we are banalizing

(The g is -> reform, responsibility, revolution)

it's your child - in any class the 4th grade class

Speak in terms of "intellectual bankruptcy"

Choice
is not a choice

5

That's why choice is catching on in some of the hardest-hit neighborhoods in this nation. Talk to parents spearheading the school choice crusade -- people like Polly Williams in Milwaukee. They'll tell you how the lack of choice left them powerless to force change -- how a public school bureaucracy turned students into ^{statistics (social security numbers)} numbers and parents into pawns. Look at Milwaukee today -- pioneering school choice, giving poor parents control, and poor children pride. // Look at the schools in East Harlem -- where teachers put their names on waiting list ⁽⁵⁾ to get a chance to teach in a choice school. They can't wait to stand in front of a classroom of children who want to be there -- who want to learn.

Choice works -- and here's why. When our students are a captive audience -- our schools have no incentive to improve. What competition brings to the economy -- choice can bring to education. Say what you want about reforming our schools: If you're for change -- you're for school choice.

----- [CONTRAST WITH CONGRESS]

The crusade for school choice is catching fire all across the country. But the battle is far from over. Forces right now are waging a last-ditch effort to put the brakes on change -- to preserve the business-as-usual approach that's put American students at or near the bottom of the list in overall achievement. At a time when change is imperative, Congressional leadership is captive of the special interests. Too many members march in lock-step with the N.E.A. monopoly -- folks who long ago

left the blackboard for the Beltway life, and left the real world of parents, teachers and students far behind. //

Take a look at the bill now winding its way through the Congress. Under the influence of the edu-crats, House and Senate leaders have ignored the strategy I mapped out in America 2000 - and stripped out any mention of school choice from their bill. The bill they claim will help our schools is an exercise in cynicism -- call it the Status Quo Schools Act of 1992. They're going to paint anyone who opposes their bill as an enemy of education -- and let election-year pressure do the rest. Well, it won't work -- because when it comes to their children's schools, the American people are too smart for that.

So today let me serve notice to ^{the} education lobby and their friends on Capitol Hill: If your bill doesn't include school choice -- it doesn't have a chance. It'll be just like you learned in civics class: for every bad bill, there's a veto. //

----- [CONCLUSION]

The challenges we face call ^{for} action. From our ^{classrooms} schools to our courts, from our hospitals to the halls of government, from the new realities of a new world economy -- the need for reform won't wait. The only acceptable response is the American response. We must rekindle a revolution -- a revolution to bring change to the country that's changed the world. ! //

Here's what I know about this country's future: No matter how tough times get -- no matter what trials we face -- America's best day always lies ahead. / I believed that when I was a boy.

I believe it now. I'll believe it every day I live -- because that's the great glory of America. //

Thank you all for this warm welcome -- and may God bless the United States of America.

#

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Memo	John R. Undeland to Danel B. McGroarty and Jean M. Bunton, re: ASNE [American Society of Newspaper Editors speech] Ideas. (1 pp.)	04/08/92	~~P-5~~	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File, Backup
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: ASNE American Society of Newspaper Editors 4/9/92 [2]

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 (Document Follows)
 By SN (NLGB) on 4/5/2005

Date Closed: 11/29/2004	OA/ID Number: 07571
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P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	
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 P-5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
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 (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
 (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

08-Apr-1992 10:53am

TO: Daniel B. McGroarty
TO: Jean M. Bunton

FROM: John R. Undeland
Office of the Press Secretary

SUBJECT: asne ideas

Dan/Jeannie --

As you may know, I'm the Media Affairs project officer on the ASNE event. Regarding the speech, I offer the following ideas/comments:

1. During our walkthrough Monday, Lee Stinnett, the ExecDir of ASNE, made several references to how hard the recession has hit newspapers. The Wall Street Journal carried a story this week on how things appeared to be turning around for the newspaper industry. Without being overenthusiastic about it, the President could inject a hopeful economic note along those lines in his opening.

2. Pulitzer acknowledgments are in today's Washington Post

& New York Times

3. Interesting intel -- Dan Lawrence, ASNE and Miami Herald president, is in a pissing match with a Miami Cuban leader. The Cuban fellow, who is touted as Castro's successor in a democratic Cuba, has sponsored a major advertising and popular protest against Lawrence and the Herald, calling them apologists for Castro & pinkos (haven't heard that phrase in a while). Story in the Post Style this week.

4. CIS rhetoric offering: "Where the hammer and sickle flew a year ago, now flies the banner of freedom and democracy."

5. A "Terry Anderson is free" acknowledgment would make for a solid applause line, and is a natural as part of the world of change theme.

Again, these are merely suggestions. I hope you find them useful. Thanks.

-- John

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ASNE ACKS:

Δ CABINET PARTICIPATION:

Sec. Sullivan (?) @ Howard
that morning

no according to
Carla in scheduling

Δ CONGRESS:

no MC expected

call Becky Anderson 2230

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Aiken Chamber of Commerce
type group

[Garry Andrews]
here @ White House

29th April
German Ambassador

25 @ Kennel

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Major Jenkins no
Franklin no

{ Japs. Amb. (Fri.)
{ Guy Am EC. (Fri.)

Violeta Chinoris in aud. (?)
④

Lincoln, Abraham, Pres. U.S., 1809-1865.
11

THE
LINCOLN
ENCYCLOPEDIA

THE SPOKEN AND WRITTEN WORDS OF

A. Lincoln

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THE MACMILLAN COMPANY : NEW YORK

1950

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.4

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WH

TO CLARA

1881 AUG 11

"All Men Are Created Equal"—See EQUALITY.
See "'APPLE OF GOLD,' pictures of silver."

Allaying Plaster—See KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT, ended period of peace.

Allen, Robert, "favor" of, rejected—See "FAVOR," rejected.

Alliance, bipartisan, denied—See DOUGLAS-BUCHANAN FEUD, Republicans welcome.

Ambition, confession of—Every man is said to have his peculiar ambition. Whether it be true or not, I can say, for one, that I have no other so great as that of being truly esteemed by my fellow-men, by rendering myself worthy of their esteem. How far I shall succeed in gratifying this ambition, is yet to be developed.—*Address to Sangamon County, March 9, 1832.* I, 8.

2.—I claim no extraordinary exemption from personal ambition. That I like preferment as well as the average of men may be admitted. But I protest I have not entered upon this hard contest [for United States senator] solely, or even chiefly, for a mere personal object.—*Notes, Oct. 1, 1858.* IV, 214.

3.—Ambition has been ascribed to me. God knows how sincerely I prayed from the first that this field of ambition might not be opened. I claim no insensibility to political honors; but today, could the Missouri restrictions be restored, and the whole slavery question be placed on the same old grounds of "toleration" by necessity where it exists, with unyielding hostility to the spread of it, on principle, I would, in consideration, gladly agree that Judge Douglas should never be out, and I never in, an office so long as we both or either, live.—*Speech, Springfield, Oct. 30, 1858.* Angle, 198.

4.—I have never professed an indifference to the honors of official station; and were I to do so now, I should only make myself ridiculous. Yet I have never failed—do not now fail—to recognize that in the Republican cause there is a higher aim than that of mere office.—*Notes, 1858.* Hertz II, 705.

Ambition, driving power of—It is to deny what the history of the world tells us is true, to suppose that men of ambition and talents will not continue to spring up amongst us. And when they do, they will as naturally seek the gratification of their ruling passion as others have done before them. The question then is, Can that gratification be found in supporting and maintaining an edifice that has been erected by others? Most certain, it cannot! Many great and good men, sufficiently qualified for any task they should undertake, may ever be found whose ambition would

aspire to nothing beyond a seat in Congress, a gubernatorial or a presidential chair; but such belong not to the family of the lion or the tribe of the eagle. What! think you these places would satisfy an Alexander, a Caesar, or a Napoleon?—*Speech, Springfield, Jan. 27, 1837.* I, 46.

2.—Towering genius disdains a beaten path. It seeks regions hitherto unexplored. It sees no distinction in adding story to story upon the monuments of fame erected to the memory of others. It denies that it is glory enough to serve under any chief. It scorns to tread in the footsteps of any predecessor, however illustrious. It thirsts and burns for distinction; and, if possible, will have it, whether at the expense of emancipating slaves or enslaving free men.—*Speech, Springfield, Jan. 27, 1837.* I, 46.

3.—Is it unreasonable, then, to expect that some man possessed of the loftiest genius, coupled with ambition sufficient to push it to its utmost stretch, will at some time spring up amongst us? And when such a one does, it will require the people to be united with each other, attached to the government and laws, and generally intelligent, successfully to frustrate his designs. Distinction will be his paramount object, and although he would as willingly, perhaps, more so, acquire it by doing good as harm, yet, that opportunity being past, and nothing left to be done in the way of building up, he would set boldly to the task of pulling down.—*Speech, Springfield, Jan. 27, 1837.* I, 47.

America, anxiety for—See CIVIL WAR, aftermath feared.

America, "beneficial toward mankind"—A fair examination of history has served to authorize a belief that the past actions and influences of the United States were generally regarded as having been beneficial toward mankind. I have therefore reckoned upon the forbearance of nations.—*To workers of Manchester, Jan. 19, 1863.* VIII, 195.

America, citizens of, are brothers—Let us at all times remember that all American citizens are brothers of a common country, and should dwell together in the bonds of fraternal feeling.—*Speech, Springfield, Nov. 20, 1860.* VI, 72.

America, comparison in principles—We find a people on the Northeast, who have a different government from ours, being ruled by a queen. Turning to the South, we see a people who, while they boast of being free, keep their fellow-beings in bondage. Compare free states with either; shall we say here we have no interest in keeping that principle [liberty] alive?



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March 22, 1992, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: Part B; BOOKS; Pg. B8

LENGTH: 1207 words

HEADLINE: Dazzling work sees war as metaphor for nation

BYLINE: Herman Hattaway

BODY:

This tour de force by Charles Royster is a strange book, thoroughly out of the ordinary. "The Destructive War" is solidly underpinned by prodigious and exemplary historical research, but one could argue with some validity that it is more a work in the field of American culture than one in that of American history. It borders on being an extended philosophical exposition.

This seems to be a book that will be appreciated most by readers who already know a lot about the Civil War. It is not easy to digest. Not that it is poorly written; some passages are elevated by grace and literary quality. Nor is it dull or gratuitously cumbersome. But unless one is already familiar with the war, the many shifts and transitions may confuse as much as dazzle. Still, dazzle is what this book does.

More cogently than any previous book does, this one probes the meaning of the war's violence and, in some crucial respects, the meaning and nature of this nation and its people. "Americans surprised themselves with the extent of violence they could attain," Mr. Royster asserts, "and the surprise consisted, in part, of getting what they had asked for."

Both Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson and William Tecumseh Sherman, the book's principal subjects, are more representative of certain strains of the national character than shapers and delineators of it. Mr. Royster has presented full and insightful, though quite stylized, biographical sketches of both Sherman and Jackson. In many ways each man gives his body politic what it thinks it most wants.

In 1939, the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts in Richmond held an exposition of small-scale models of proposals for the equestrian stature of Jackson that eventually was erected and now stands on the Manassas battlefield. "Depending on the artist," Mr. Royster says, "he looked like Ivanhoe, Wotan, Daniel Boone, Prince Murat, a stylized Soviet or fascist State Hero, or one of the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse." Thus did the dead Jackson become "the perfect Confederate," for he could be anything that anyone imagined or wished him to be.

Even Jackson's enemies could admire his ability and perceive something attractive in his tenacity, because he possessed in abundance qualities that Yankees admired. "I have been praying every day for the death of Tom Jackson," one Virginia woman in the western part of the state told a Federal cavalry officer, "for this war can't end while he lives." Jackson's own people adored him because he gave them victories. "Under his uniquely intense influence," Mr. Royster says, "men accomplished more than they otherwise would have done."

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1992 The Washington Times, March 22, 1992

But Jackson's penchant for unleashing an extreme level of violence against his enemies was, according to Mr. Royster, of a uniquely coarse and heinous nature. There was a quality about it that differed from Sherman's. Jackson's men, at his unhesitating behest, burned Chambersburg, Penn. "Unlike Atlanta and Columbia, Chambersburg was neither a fortified, defended city nor the site of munitions plants and other military manufacturing," Mr. Royster observes. "It was just a city the Confederates could reach."

Jackson easily could have accepted - indeed he advocated - fighting under the black flag, that is, taking no prisoners in battle, giving and expecting no quarter. In March 1865 a staff officer told Sherman of Jackson's views: "Perhaps he was right," said the general. "It seems cruel, but if there were no quarter given, most men would keep out of the war. Rebellions would be few and short."

It is Sherman, however, and not Jackson, who is known to moderns mostly, or only, as a fanatic. An advocate of unlimited warfare against civilians, "he was among the few Americans in 1860 and 1861 whose imagination portrayed a civil war worse than the one that followed." He delivered himself of only two well-remembered utterances, one of which - by far the most often quoted - was "War is hell."

But anyone who has read beyond the thin surface is familiar with a sensitive Sherman who valued learning. How interesting was his not-so-well-remembered comment at Columbia, S.C., in response to a plea that the college library not be burned: "Far from destroying books, I will send them here. If there had been a few more books in this part of the world there would not have been all this difficulty."

Mr. Royster reveals that Sherman was an agnostic mystic, and following the Civil War perhaps the most interesting man of his times. Entranced with the possibility that there is ultimate order in the universe but that it is run by physical and not spiritual laws, he did not really believe in the existence of a personal God, but, like Abraham Lincoln, Sherman viewed the United States as something of a transcendent "last best hope of mankind." The nation had to be saved, and he saved it.

But only if the nation continued to progress along lines that he envisioned was saving it worthwhile. Something about the collective tendencies of the American people in the late 19th century repulsed Sherman. "At his gloomiest," Mr. Royster relates, "he joined other alarmist elitists in anticipating war between the propertied and the propertyless." The early stirrings of organized labor disquieted him. "Like his fellow alarmists," the author continues, "Sherman hardly differentiated among American labor unions, the Paris Commune, the International Workingmen's Associations, and anarchists."

Mr. Royster also offers some carefully construed passages about a myriad of other figures. One was Mary Ann "Mother" Bickerdyke - "who worked with Sherman's army, [and] won praise as much for her 'executive ability' as for her 'all-embracing motherhood.'" Another notable nurse, from Alabama, was described by one Confederate soldier as "a Napoleon of her department. . . . [S]he possesses all the energy and independence of Stonewall Jackson."

There seems something fittingly poetic that in late May 1865 Mother Bickerdyke rode with a group of staff officers in the final grand review of

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Union troops down Pennsylvania Avenue. So too is it movingly poetic to read that "preceding each of Sherman's divisions, its pioneers - construction laborers - marched like the soldiers. Conspicuously tall, muscular black men, they carried axes, picks, and spades at the position of right shoulder arms."

How correct was David F. Boyd, who had been president of Louisiana State University as Sherman had been superintendent of its precursor, when in 1890 he wrote to Sherman: "Around you & Stonewall Jackson will gather the poetry of our war. His Valley Campaign & his 'puritanism,' and your March to the Sea - the Death-Knell of the Confederacy, are the glittering points that will ever strike the popular mind, and inspire the poet's imagination." Like all of this, so too does Mr. Royster's work transcend mere prose.

Herman Hattaway is the author of "General Stephen D. Lee," co-author of "How the North Won" and of "Why the South Lost the Civil War."

***** THE DESTRUCTIVE WAR: WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN, STONEWALL JACKSON, AND THE AMERICANS

By Charles Royster

Knopf, \$30, 523 pages, illus.

REVIEWED BY HERMAN HATTAWAY

GRAPHIC: Photo, Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson ; Photo, Charles Royster ; Photo, Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman, Engraving By L.N. Rosenthal, 1864

Patty Conrad - trip Coordinator
Justice Room - Harkins Room

- Got sign-up sheet
from Patty -

6 April 1992
Monday

PRE-ADVANCE/WALK-THRU QUESTIONNAIRE

EVENT: ASNE [TELEPROMPTER!]

DATE: 9 APRIL

TIME: 1:45 PM POTUS SPEAKS AFTER LUNCH
POTUS ARRIVE →

LOCATION: J.W. MARRIOTT
(GIVE DETAILS) GRAND BALLROOM (on 4 salons) STAGE CENTER BALLROOM

VIP HOLD/PHOTOS GREETERS
EXPECTED AUDIENCE: 650 NEWSPAPER EDITORS AND SPOUSES
(NUMBER AND COMPOSITION)

PRESS COVERAGE: OPEN PRESS

NO BROG. ON MENU
TENDERLOIN

→ DIAS PARTICIPANTS:

→ EXPECTED PARTICIPATION BY MEMBERS OF
CABINET/CONGRESSIONAL/ADMINISTRATION:

→ POTUS INTRODUCTION: OFF STAGE ANNOUNCE
ACCOM. BY MR. LAWRENCE

PERTINENT SPEECH TOPICS:

* EXPECT POTUS TO TAKE Q & A (10-15 MINS.)
REASON FOR EVENT:

Teleprompter operator site
in hallway outside
ballroom (Salon III out
door)

→ Find tprompt drop
call Mike - x 6021
page 2603

[737-3042]

PLEASE ATTACH PRE-ADVANCE/WALK-THRU CALL SHEET

POTUS WIFE AS SENATOR(?) UP and Candidate; VPOTUS spoke in 91; POTUS in 90;
ASNE 925 mbrs.; daily newspaper editors; Franklin dropped out as speaker
CRYSTAL GAIL EVENT AT HOTEL PM BEFORE
BANNER BACKDROP →

BACKDROP → MONTAGE PAGES (?)
BLUE DRAPE / LOGS ASME (?)
NO DECISION
▲ 5A X 8 FT. RECT.
WHITE ON BLUE
MYLON

Draft Three
April 8, 1992

DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH TO 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, ^{can't parallel} new realities -- ^{dictatorships (?)} 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, independent states represent the best hope for peace in the world in my

rambles

lifetime, and very likely in the lives of even the young children we nurture today to carry on the American experience in democracy in the twenty-first century.

Shortly after taking office three years ago, 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 use the power of the United States and its allies to end the Cold War (with) freedom's victory.

Now, after dramatic revolutions in Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, after the unification of Germany in NATO, after the demise of the one ~~country and system of government~~ ^{for many years}, the USSR, that threatened our way of life -- that mission has been fulfilled. / The Cold War is over. / The spectre of nuclear armageddon has receded. Soviet Communism has collapsed -- and in its wake we find ourselves ^{at} 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 truly 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 ^{order} {vision} for American policy toward Russia and Eurasia. It is a ^{Mission} {vision} that can advance our economic and security interests around the world while upholding the primacy of American values -- values which, as Lincoln said, are the "last, best hope of mankind". Above all, it is a {vision} worthy of a great people -- the American people -- a democratic and peace-loving people who, having won the war, must now secure the peace.

Americans have always responded best when a new frontier beckoned. I believe ^(mission) that the next frontier for this generation of Americans and the one to follow 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, Byelarus and the Baltics will be the single best guarantee of our security, our prosperity and our values. [make this point]: democrats in the Kremlin can assure our security in a way nuclear missiles never could.

What we don't 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 just for those of us who lived through the Cold War and won it, ^{and} 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. A peace built on mutual trust -- not mutual terror. A peace built on genuine cooperation -- not the {cold peace of a Cold War.}

Today, (we find ourselves in an almost unimaginable world) where democrats, not communists, hold power in Moscow and Kiev and Yerevan. This new breed of leaders -- Boris Yeltsin, Levon Ter-Petrosian, Leonid Kravchuk and 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.

Forty years ago, Americans had the vision (YES) and the good sense to help defeated enemies back to their feet -- as democracies. What a wise investment that proved to be -- for 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.

What difference can this make for America? First, we can put behind us for good the nuclear confrontation that has held ~~hostage~~ ^{hostage} our very civilization 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. 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 havens, and where genuine coalitions of like-minded countries respond to dangers and opportunities together.

Another reason: 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, history will have turned a profoundly important corner -- {and generations of Americans will thank us for our good sense at this time of decision.}

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 would 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. //}

(hammer & sickle)
A democratic Russia will also help to promote free market economies and 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 pinpoint the value of trade opportunities we hope to have -- but the potential for prosperity is great.-- vast new markets for American goods, new opportunities for American entrepreneurs, and new jobs for American workers. //

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 free, 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. {reinforce...?}

Now, we must expand this most successful of communities to include our former adversaries. This is good for America. A world that shares our values does not threaten us. A world that trades with us brings greater prosperity.

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
~~Let me tell you briefly 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 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 ~~have~~ *g* 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 ^{to} 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} ~~the~~ exact purpose for which they were created. By working with others we're sharing the burden 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.

There will be 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
~~My answer is that~~ peace and prosperity are in the interest of every American -- each one of us alive *every* 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.

Let me close by emphasizing the great responsibility we Americans now have to create this new world of peace.

America has had three opportunities in this century 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 ~~was in~~ economic chaos *which* soon led to a fascist dictatorship. The seeds of another and more terrible war were sown.

{The mistakes of the 1920s and 1930s had to be redeemed in a global conflict in the 1940s. Like millions of other American men and women in that war, I fought to do my duty for peace and freedom. But that great victory over fascism quickly gave way to the grim reality of the new communist threat.}

what!
 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 and that kept the peace through the 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. //

this is
~~Now,~~ America faces a third opportunity to provide the kind of lasting peace which for so long was only the stuff of dreams.

Right here
 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 -- although it most certainly is -- but also because I know it is the best course, and in the very best interest, of all Americans, young and old, men and women, Democrats and Republicans. After a half century of an armed and uneasy peace, we can and must move forward together toward a new world of freedom, cooperation, reconciliation and hope.

Thank you all for this warm welcome -- and may God bless the United States of America.

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