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Folder Title:
Texas A&M [University], 5/12/89

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	15	7	2

file

need to discuss with Brent + Dave before leaving

Not happy with this but some struggle

I think we need a Noonansm or two more.....

Pewrhaps we can salute the Soviet people a little --- klet me rampble here:

In almost every conversation I have had with high Soviet officials they mention the horrible losses they suffered in WW II ----- million men dead, acountry invaded- but never humbled. We can identify with the fierce patriotism and pride of the Soviet people themselves.

Then not os long ago there was Yerevan. We saw that terrible tragedy in human terms..... My own son, went to Yerevan with our 12 year old grrandson.... and there he talked to the people and saw the kids and at the end of the long emotianlly draining day he wept. Those tears daid to the people, to the men and women and especially to the children.. we care, we care deeply... Can't we now find away given the new leadership in theKremlin to build on the good will that we feel towrad the people.Can't we convince the

new leaders that they have nothing to fear from the u.S.

I stand ready to hold out my hand, ourh ands to the people of the Soviet Union..

Tighter the grip of

*A+M
MORE SOLDIERS*

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

Davis/Martin/Rice

Title: Aggie

May 9, 1989/8:30 p.m.

Version: FIVE

Seven

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

Thank you. I am delighted to be back among my fellow Texans and friends. ((And for those of you who are Democrats, there is no truth to the rumor that Phil Gramm and I are ready to take our Elephant Walk . . . ~~nor is there any truth to the rumor that Reveille and Mills are first cousins~~))

My sincerest congratulations go to every graduate, and to your parents. In this ceremony, we celebrate nothing less than the commencement of the rest, and the best, of your life . . . Whatever you do, whatever you become, your dreams and destiny are now in your hands.

When you look back to your days at Texas A&M, you will have a lot to be proud of -- a university that is first in baseball . . . and first in service to our nation. Many are the names of heroes called in Muster in the foxholes of France, and on Corregidor. They are with us today in the spirit of Silver Taps. And they are all heroes . . . *Texas heroes,*

We are reminded that no generation can escape history. I came of age in mid-century, when America helped to win a war and rebuild ^a the world. I, along with your parents and grandparents, witnessed the drama of ^{partisan} ~~a world torn by war~~ ^{refugee nations}, then divided by Soviet subversion and force, but sustained by an Allied response most vividly seen in the Berlin Airlift. Wise men . . . Truman and Eisenhower, Vandenberg and Rayburn. . . Marshall, Acheson and Kennan, crafted the strategy of containment. They believed that the Soviet Union, denied the easy course of ~~external~~ expansion, would ultimately have to face up to the contradictions of its inefficient, repressive and inhumane system. And they were right.

~~((The strategy of containment arose out of the ruins of a shattered continent, as the possibility of postwar cooperation with the Soviet Union disappeared. It was validated by the stark recognition of the threat posed by a totalitarian and expansionist state with dominant military power.)))~~

Today, we are entering a new age because containment worked. It has been no mere propaganda victory. It worked because our democratic principles, values and institutions are sound. It worked because our alliances are united; and because the superiority of free ^{Societies} ~~peoples~~ and free markets over stagnant socialism is a truth that can no longer be ~~credibly~~ denied.

The Soviet Union has before signaled a desire for a more cooperative relationship, only to reverse course and return to militarism --

~~Seasons of know~~
~~in the 1920s, the fifties and the seventies~~
~~Every season of know has been followed~~
~~by a season of cold~~
SEASONAL - ~~Seasonal~~ Soviet foreign policy has been almost
thaw before cold.

We hope perestroika is pointing the Soviet Union to a break with this cycles the practices of the past -- a definitive break. Who would have thought we would see the deliberations of the Central Committee on the front page of Pravda, or dissident Andrei Sakharov seated near the councils of power? These are hopeful -- indeed, remarkable -- signs, and let no one doubt our sincere desire to see perestroika succeed. But the national security of America and our allies is not predicated on hope. It must be based on realism, on deeds. Therefore, we look for nothing less than permanent changes in Soviet behavior, and the restructuring of its military forces. We look for guarantees that economic and political changes we now see will become enduring and difficult to reverse.

If we hope to move beyond containment, we are now only at the beginning of the path toward the reconciliation of the Soviet Union with the West ((~~international system, a system grounded in the Western tradition of openness, freedom and self-determination.~~))) Many dangers and uncertainties lie ahead. We must not forget that the Soviet Union has acquired awesome military capabilities. That was a fact of life for my

what we refer to
9/12/81
has been almost
electronic's on a dynamic new Soviet leader taking his care to the sidelines of Moscow and, yes, of Washington D.C.

predecessors. And that is a fact of life for me . . . and for our allies.

As we seek peace, we must also remain strong. We will not abandon the policy of deterrence. The purpose of our military might is not to pressure a weak Soviet economy, or to seek military superiority. ^{It is to deter war.} It is to defend ourselves and our allies - to convince the Soviet Union that there can be no reward in pursuing expansionism. . . and in fact, quite the contrary.

AND TO DO MORE -

Western policies must be designed to encourage the evolution of the Soviet Union toward democracy. ^{MY} This task will require of us strength, patience and vision . . . ^{one of a better} vision ^{to see what kind of} world ~~we could create~~, for you and your loved ones. ^{My vision?} I see a Western Hemisphere of democratic, prosperous nations, no longer threatened by a Cuba or a Nicaragua armed by Moscow. I see a Soviet Union that contributes to moving the Middle East toward peace, not confrontation; and pulls away from ties to terrorist nations -- like Libya, like Iran.-- that threaten the legitimate security of their neighbors. I see the Soviet Union returning the Northern Territories of Japan, to undo a historic wrong; a prelude to the day when all the great nations of Asia will live in harmony.

Let me share with you

Great need we must win

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

2? I see a soviet
union respecting
China's integrity -
moving towards
improved relations
there - but relations
built on mutual
respect not on
the subservance
of the not so distant
part

WARSAW Pact

FIRST: Reduction of Soviet forces. The Soviets possess
 (number) more tanks, (number) more ^{ART} submarines and (number) more
 missiles than ^{armed troop units in Europe and they have at least} ~~(the United States or NATO)~~. They should cut their
^{than NATO} forces to less threatening levels, in proportion to their
 legitimate security needs.

↓
 Policies
 developed
 that
 will
 help

Judith Mandell 5697

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

THIRD: Adherence to the Soviet obligation -- promised in
 the final days of World War Two -- to permit self-determination
 for all the nations of Eastern and Central Europe.

FOURTH: An authoritative renunciation of the long-standing
 policy known as "The Brezhnev Doctrine," the excuse by which the
 Soviets have enforced their system on states struggling to free
 themselves from its stifling embrace.

FIFTH: Work with the West in positive, practical -- not
 merely rhetorical -- steps toward diplomatic solutions to
 regional disputes around the world. I welcome the Soviet
 withdrawal from Afghanistan and the Angola agreement. But the
 United States and the Soviet Union together can do more, much
 more, to settle disputes around the world. ^{I am ready}
 to work with Mr. Gorbachev towards this end.

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SIXTH: Achieve a lasting political pluralism and respect for human rights. I recognize that dramatic events have occurred in Moscow: limited, but freely contested, elections; a greater toleration of dissent; a frankness about the Stalin era. And I applaud them for that. But our hopes for a more cooperative relationship ultimately rest on democratization and institutionalization of the rule of law in the Soviet Union itself.

SEVENTH: Join with us in addressing pressing global problems, including the international drug menace, and dangers to the environment.

As the Soviet Union ^{meets} ~~creates~~ the conditions for reconciliation, it will find willing partners in the West. We seek verifiable, stabilizing arms-control agreements with the Soviet Union and its allies. But arms control is not an end in itself. We also seek arms-control measures that are consistent with our overall national security strategy.

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

Our basic approach is clear. In the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks, we wish to reduce the risk of nuclear war. In the companion Defense and Space Talks, our objective will be to preserve our options to deploy advanced defenses should they prove feasible. In nuclear testing we will continue to seek the necessary verification improvements in existing treaties to permit them to be brought into force. We will continue to seek a verifiable global ban on chemical weapons. We support NATO efforts to reduce the Soviet offensive threat in the negotiations on Conventional Forces in Europe.

~~((We will not seek agreements for the sake of agreements. We will not compromise our basic principles. But if the Soviets take a constructive approach, we can move together to a safer, more stable world.)))~~

why brackets

Simple openness must be an essential principle of this transforming relationship. It has always been the guiding principle of the democracies, and we are pleased that the Soviet Union now says it seeks a new era of openness. And make no mistake, a new breeze is blowing across the steppes and cities of the Soviet Union.

Why not let this spirit of openness grow, let more barriers come down. Open emigration, open debate, open airwaves . . . Let

Interstate Herald Tribune
maybe?

openness come to mean the publication and sale of ((Darkness at Noon?)) in the Soviet Union. Let it come to mean the sale of newspapers -- like Le Monde, like ~~The New York Times~~ ^{The Intern. Herald-Tribune} -- on newsstands in Moscow, as in every other major capital in Europe. Let the ~~(number)~~ ^(number) of Soviet Jews who emigrate ~~be~~ ^{per year} followed by ((1XX,000)) more ^{next year.} Let openness come to mean nothing less than the free exchange of people, books and ideas between East and West. And let it come to mean one more thing . . .

this year

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

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

I invite not only the Soviet Union, but also Moscow's allies in the Warsaw Pact, and our allies in the North Atlantic Alliance, to agree to open their skies and provide needed support

facilities for the frequent conduct of unarmed aerial inspection flights over their territory by planes from the other side. We suggest that those countries that wish to accept this invitation meet soon to work out the necessary technical details.

Such flights, in unison with satellites, would provide constant scrutiny for both sides. And such unprecedented territorial access would show the world the meaning of the Western concept of openness -- a concept as central to Western values today as it was in President Eisenhower's time. The very Soviet willingness to embrace such a concept would reveal much of the Soviet commitment to a fundamentally different relationship.

If the Soviet Union joins us in a more cooperative relationship, ^{then} ~~then our economic ties will surely broaden.~~ *we will join in broadening eco. ties*

~~American investment and commerce will grow if the Soviets create a domestic environment more congenial to free enterprise.~~ ←

But

~~Until now,~~ economic relations have been stifled by Soviet internal policies. They have also been injured by Moscow's practice of using the cloak of commerce to steal technology from the West. Ending discriminatory treatment of U.S. firms would be a helpful step. Trade and financial transactions should take place on a normal commercial basis ~~without subsidies~~. And should the Soviet Union codify its emigration laws in accord with international standards and implement its new laws faithfully, I

we have just subsidized wheat sale

??

am prepared to work with Congress on a temporary waiver of the Jackson-Vanik amendment, ^{giving the S.U. Most Trade Favorite} and ~~to seek the~~ repeal of the Stevenson amendments, ^{which limit credits for U.S. exports to S.U.} giving the Soviet Union Most Favored Nation status in our trade relations. (Chapeau) O

Today you graduate.

Career family after school graduation

You are at the beginning of a new journey -- a journey ^{the next century.} toward ~~the next century.~~ The day must come when the two halves of Europe are reconciled and united, ^{when there is no Berlin Wall} when Europeans can drive from Moscow to the Normandy coast without seeing a single guard tower, or a single strand of barbed wire. The day must come when ~~the Berlin Wall comes down,~~ when the voices of all Europeans can be heard in free elections. The day must come throughout the world when the first instinct is to settle regional disputes by discussion, not by violence.

YERUAW

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

or cut -- ((I recognize the extraordinarily ambitious character of our new objective of moving beyond containment. Our challenge is unique. We must retain the strength and determination that has kept the world at peace for a near half-century. But we must also be bold and imaginative. We must balance risk and opportunity, discretion and daring. To succeed, we only need the unity of the American people, a renewed bipartisan spirit and close cooperation between allies -- in short, the courage and goodwill of free peoples.))

Forty-three years ago, a young Lieutenant by the name of Albert Kotzebue, class of 1945 at Texas A&M ((. . . in the true Aggie spirit . . .)) was the first American soldier to shake hands with the Soviets at the banks of the Elbe River. Once again, it is a time for peace. Once again, we extend our hand across the Elbe. We do this for you.

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

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

(College Station, Texas)

For Immediate Release

May 12, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY

G. Rollie White Coliseum
College Station, Texas

3:05 P.M. CDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very, very much. Thank you, Governor. Thank you all very much for that welcome. Good luck. Good luck to you. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. Thank you all. Chairman McKenzie and Dr. Adkisson and Dr. Mobley. Thank you for having me here. And to the Singing Cadets, thank you for that very special treat. And to my Secretary of Commerce, Bob Mosbacher -- I'm delighted that he's with me today.

I want to pay my special respects to our Governor, Bill Clements; to your Congressman from this district, Joe Barton; and then, of course, to Senator Phil Gramm. He said he taught economics here and in Congress. It's hard to be humble. But nevertheless -- (laughter) -- the point is the guy's telling the truth, and we are grateful to him every day for his leadership up there in Washington as we are -- (applause) -- as we are for Joe Barton as well. (Applause.) So we've got a good combination -- Phil Gramm in the Senate, and today Joe Barton in the United States Congress -- a wonderful combination, with these Aggie values in the forefront.

I was brought here today by an Aggie, and I brought him here to this marvelous ceremony with me. He was mentioned by Congressman Barton, but I would like to ask the pilot of Air Force One, Lieutenant Colonel Dan Barr, to stand up so you can see another Aggie all suited up, up there. (Applause.)

And you met my day-to-day inside Aggie, Fred McClure. We work every minute of the day on matters affecting the legislative interests of this country. But I won't reintroduce Fred.

But I am delighted to be back among my fellow Texans and friends. And for those of you who are Democrats, there is no truth to the rumor that Phil Gramm and I are ready to take our elephant walk. (Applause.)

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

And when you look back at your days at Texas A & M, you will have a lot to be proud of -- a university that is first in baseball -- (applause) -- and first in service to our nation. Many are the heroes whose names are called at muster. Many are those you remember in Silver Taps.

We are reminded that no generation can escape history. Parents -- we share a fervent desire for our children, and their children, to know a better world, a safer world. And students -- your parents and grandparents have lived through a world war, and helped America to rebuild the world. They witnessed the drama of postwar nations divided by Soviet subversion and force, but sustained

by an Allied response most vividly seen in the Berlin Airlift.

And today, I would like to use this joyous and solemn occasion to speak to you and to the rest of the country about our relations with the Soviet Union. It is fitting that these remarks be made here at Texas A&M University.

Wise men -- Truman and Eisenhower, Vandenberg and Rayburn -- Marshall, Acheson and Kennan -- crafted the strategy of containment. They believed that the Soviet Union, denied the easy course of expansion, would turn inward and address the contradictions of its inefficient, repressive and inhumane system. And they were right. The Soviet Union is now publicly facing this hard reality. Containment worked -- containment worked because our democratic principles and institutions and values are sound and always have been. It worked because our alliances were, and are strong, and because the superiority of free societies and free markets over stagnant socialism is undeniable.

We are approaching the conclusion of an historic postwar struggle between two visions: one of tyranny and conflict, and one of democracy and freedom. The review of U.S.-Soviet relations that my administration has just completed outlines a new path toward resolving this struggle. Our goal is bold, more ambitious than any of my predecessors could have thought possible. Our review indicates that 40 years of perseverance have brought us a precious opportunity. And now, it is time to move beyond containment to a new policy for the 1990s -- one that recognizes the full scope of change taking place around the world and in the Soviet Union itself.

In sum, the United States now has as its goal much more than simply containing Soviet expansionism. We seek the integration of the Soviet Union into the community of nations. And as the Soviet Union itself moves toward greater openness and democratization, as they meet the challenge of responsible international behavior, we will match their steps with steps of our own. Ultimately, our objective is to welcome the Soviet Union back into the world order.

The Soviet Union says that it seeks to make peace with the world, and criticizes its own postwar policies. These are words that we can only applaud. But a new relationship cannot simply be declared by Moscow, or bestowed by others. It must be earned. It must be earned because promises are never enough. The Soviet Union has promised a more cooperative relationship before, only to reverse course and return to militarism. Soviet foreign policy has been almost seasonal -- warmth before cold, thaw before freeze. We seek a friendship that knows no season of suspicion, no chill of distrust.

We hope perestroika is pointing the Soviet Union to a break with the cycles of the past -- a definitive break. Who would have thought that we would see the deliberations of the Central Committee on the front page of Pravda, or dissident Andrei Sakharov seated near the councils of power? Who would have imagined a Soviet leader who canvasses the sidewalks of Moscow and also Washington, D.C.? These are hopeful -- indeed, remarkable -- signs. And let no one doubt our sincere desire to see perestroika, this reform, continue and succeed. But the national security of America and our allies is not predicated on hope. It must be based on deeds. And we look for enduring, ingrained economic and political change.

While we hope to move beyond containment, we are only at the beginning of our new path. Many dangers and uncertainties are ahead. We must not forget that the Soviet Union has acquired awesome military capabilities. That was a fact of life for my predecessors, and that's always been a fact of life for our allies. And that is a fact of life for me today as President of the United States.

As we seek peace, we must also remain strong. The purpose of our military might is not to pressure a weak Soviet economy, or to seek military superiority. It is to deter war. It is

to defend ourselves and our allies, and to do something more -- to convince the Soviet Union that there can be no reward in pursuing expansionism, to convince the Soviet Union that reward lies in the pursuit of peace.

Western policies must encourage the evolution of the Soviet Union toward an open society. This task will test our strength. It will tax our patience. And it will require a sweeping vision. Let me share with you my vision. I see a Western Hemisphere of democratic, prosperous nations, no longer threatened by a Cuba or a Nicaragua armed by Moscow. I see a Soviet Union as it pulls away from ties to terrorist nations like Libya, that threaten the legitimate security of their neighbors. I see a Soviet Union which respects China's integrity, and returns the Northern Territories to Japan; a prelude to the day when all the great nations of Asia will live in harmony.

But the fulfillment of this vision requires the Soviet Union to take positive steps, including:

First, reduce Soviet forces. Although some small steps have already been taken, the Warsaw Pact still possesses more than 30,000 tanks, more than twice as much artillery and hundreds of thousands more troops in Europe than NATO. They should cut their forces to less threatening levels, in proportion to their legitimate security needs.

Second, adhere to the Soviet obligation, promised in the final days of World War II, to support self-determination for all the nations of Eastern Europe and Central Europe. And this requires specific abandonment of the Brezhnev Doctrine. One day it should be possible to drive from Moscow to Munich without seeing a single guard tower or a strand of barbed wire. In short, tear down the Iron Curtain. (Applause.)

And third, work with the West in positive, practical -- not merely rhetorical -- steps toward diplomatic solution to these regional disputes around the world. I welcome the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan and the Angola agreement. But there is much more to be done around the world. We're ready. Let's roll up our sleeves and get to work.

And fourth, achieve a lasting political pluralism and respect for human rights. Dramatic events have already occurred in Moscow. We are impressed by limited, but freely contested elections. We are impressed by a greater toleration of dissent. We are impressed by a new frankness about the Stalin era. Mr. Gorbachev, don't stop now. (Applause.)

And fifth, join with us in addressing pressing global problems, including the international drug menace and dangers to the environment. We can build a better world for our children.

As the Soviet Union moves toward arms reduction and reform, it will find willing partners in the West. We seek verifiable, stabilizing arms control and arms reduction agreements with the Soviet Union and its allies. However, arms control is not an end in itself, but a means of contributing to the security of America, and the peace of the world. I directed Secretary Baker to propose to the Soviets that we resume negotiations on strategic forces in June. And, as you know, the Soviet Union has agreed.

Our basic approach is clear. In the Strategic Arms Reductions Talks, we wish to reduce the risk of nuclear war. And in the companion defense and space talks, our objective will be to preserve our options to deploy advanced defenses when they're ready. In nuclear testing we will continue to seek the necessary verification improvements in existing treaties to permit them to be brought into force. And we're going to continue to seek a verifiable global ban on chemical weapons. (Applause.) We support NATO efforts

to reduce the Soviet offensive threat in the negotiations on conventional forces in Europe. And, as I've said, fundamental to all of these objectives is simple openness.

Make no mistake, a new breeze is blowing across the steppes and the cities of the Soviet Union. Why not, then, let this spirit of openness grow; let more barriers come down. Open emigration, open debate, open airwaves -- let openness come to mean the publication and sale of banned books and newspapers in the Soviet Union. Let the 19,000 Soviet Jews who emigrated last year be followed by any number who wish to emigrate this year. And when people apply for exit visas, let there be no harassment against them. Let openness come to mean nothing less than the free exchange of people and books and ideas between East and West. And let it come to mean one thing more.

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

President Eisenhower's suggestion tested the Soviet readiness to open their society. And the Kremlin failed that test. Now let us again explore that proposal, but on a broader, more intrusive and radical basis -- one which I hope would include allies on both sides. We suggest that those countries that wish to examine this proposal meet soon to work out the necessary operational details, separately from other arms control negotiations. Such surveillance flights, complementing satellites, would provide regular scrutiny for both sides. Such unprecedented territorial access would show the world the true meaning of the concept of openness. The very Soviet willingness to embrace such a concept would reveal their commitment to change.

Where there is cooperation, there can be a broader economic relationship. But economic relations have been stifled by Soviet internal policies. They've been injured by Moscow's practice of using the cloak of commerce to steal technology from the West. Ending discriminatory treatment of U.S. firms would be a helpful step. Trade and financial transactions should take place on a normal commercial basis.

And should the Soviet Union codify its emigration laws in accord with international standards and implement its new laws faithfully, I am prepared to work with Congress for a temporary waiver of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, opening the way to extending Most Favored Nation trade status to the Soviet Union. (Applause.) After that last weighty point, I can just imagine what you were thinking. It had to happen. Your last day in college had to end with yet another political science lecture. (Laughter.)

In all seriousness, the policy I have just described has everything to do with you. Today you graduate. You're going to start careers and families. And you will become the leaders of America in the next century. And what kind of world will you know? Perhaps the world order of the future will truly be a family of nations.

It's a sad truth that nothing forces us to recognize our common humanity more swiftly than a natural disaster. I'm thinking, of course, of Soviet Armenia just a few months ago -- a tragedy without blame, warlike devastation without war.

Our son took our 12-year-old grandson to Yerevan. At the end of the day of comforting the injured and consoling the bereaved, the father and son went to church, sat down together in the midst of

the ruins and wept. How can our two countries magnify this simple expression of caring? How can we convey the goodwill of our people?

Forty-three years ago, a young lieutenant by the name of Albert Kotzebue, the class of 1945 at Texas A&M, was the first American soldier to shake hands with the Soviets at the bank of the Elbe River. Once again, we are ready to extend our hand. Once again, we are ready for a hand in return. And once again, it is a time for peace.

Thank you for inviting me to Texas A&M. I wish you the very best in years to come. God bless you all. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

3:28 P.M. CDT

We sent responsible proposals to Congress in four of America's most critical areas: Capital gains. America's Children. Clean Air. And Combatting crime.

In some cases, our proposals have been under consideration with Congress for the better part of a year. And these four issues have become ~~MIA's -- Missing In Action~~ ^{bogged down} in the jungles of Capitol Hill.

The clock is running. America's patience is running out.

America wants it done right.

America wants it done responsibly.

And America wants it done now. \\\

And if it's not done right -- it will be sent back.

That doesn't mean a fight. \ \ But it does mean a veto. \ \ \

These four initiatives represent only part of the way in which the events of 1989 will affect the coming year. We've seen a lot of exhilarating changes in recent months that offer new hope for world peace.

We like what's happening in Central Europe. But just as it would have been impossible -- six months ago -- to predict those thunderous changes, it's impossible today to know what will unfold in the next six months -- let alone the next six years.

But in this world of change, one thing is certain: America must be ready. America must be strong. And a strong America means not only a strong economy. It also means a strong defense.

And if proof of that were ever needed -- we saw it last month in the courage of our troops in Panama. \\\ \

Chris -

See changes on
pp 2-3 which
Dave and I
have agreed on.

If questions, pls
call. Many thanks

Jim

**REMARKS: "BEYOND CONTAINMENT"
TEXAS A&M COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS
FRIDAY, MAY 12, 1989/2 P.M.**

**THANK YOU. I AM DELIGHTED TO BE BACK AMONG MY
FELLOW TEXANS AND FRIENDS. ((AND FOR THOSE OF YOU WHO
ARE DEMOCRATS, THERE IS NO TRUTH TO THE RUMOR THAT PHIL
GRAMM AND I ARE READY TO TAKE OUR ELEPHANT WALK...))**

- 2 -

**MY SINCEREST CONGRATULATIONS GO TO EVERY GRADUATE,
AND TO YOUR PARENTS. IN THIS CEREMONY, WE CELEBRATE
NOTHING LESS THAN THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REST, AND THE
BEST, OF YOUR LIFE . . .**

**WHEN YOU LOOK BACK TO YOUR DAYS AT TEXAS A&M, YOU
WILL HAVE A LOT TO BE PROUD OF -- A UNIVERSITY THAT IS
FIRST IN BASEBALL . . . AND FIRST IN SERVICE TO OUR
NATION. MANY ARE THE HEROES WHOSE NAMES ARE CALLED AT
MUSTER.**

MANY ARE THOSE YOU REMEMBER IN SILVER TAPS.

WE ARE REMINDED THAT NO GENERATION CAN ESCAPE HISTORY. PARENTS -- WE SHARE A FERVENT DESIRE FOR OUR CHILDREN, AND THEIR CHILDREN, TO KNOW A BETTER WORLD, A SAFER WORLD. STUDENTS -- YOUR PARENTS AND GRANDPARENTS HAVE LIVED THROUGH A WORLD WAR, AND HELPED AMERICA TO REBUILD THE WORLD.

- 4 -

THEY WITNESSED THE DRAMA OF POSTWAR NATIONS DIVIDED BY SOVIET SUBVERSION AND FORCE, BUT SUSTAINED BY AN ALLIED RESPONSE MOST VIVIDLY SEEN IN THE BERLIN AIRLIFT.

WISE MEN . . . TRUMAN AND EISENHOWER, VANDENBERG AND RAYBURN. . . MARSHALL, ACHESON AND KENNAN, CRAFTED THE STRATEGY OF CONTAINMENT. THEY BELIEVED THAT THE SOVIET UNION, DENIED THE EASY COURSE OF EXPANSION, WOULD TURN INWARD AND ADDRESS THE CONTRADICTIONS OF ITS INEFFICIENT, REPRESSIVE AND INHUMANE SYSTEM.

- 5 -

**AND THEY WERE RIGHT. THE SOVIET UNION IS NOW PUBLICLY
FACING THIS HARD REALITY.**

**CONTAINMENT WORKED. CONTAINMENT WORKED BECAUSE OUR
DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES, INSTITUTIONS AND VALUES ARE
SOUND, AND ALWAYS HAVE BEEN. IT WORKED BECAUSE OUR
ALLIANCES WERE AND ARE STRONG; AND BECAUSE THE
SUPERIORITY OF FREE SOCIETIES AND FREE MARKETS OVER
STAGNANT SOCIALISM IS UNDENIABLE.**

- 6 -

**WE ARE APPROACHING THE CONCLUSION OF AN HISTORIC
POSTWAR STRUGGLE BETWEEN TWO VISIONS -- ONE OF TYRANNY
AND CONFLICT, AND ONE OF DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM. THE
REVIEW OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS THAT MY ADMINISTRATION
HAS JUST COMPLETED OUTLINES A NEW PATH TOWARD RESOLVING
THIS STRUGGLE.**

- 7 -

**OUR GOAL IS BOLD -- MORE AMBITIOUS THAN ANY OF MY
PREDECESSORS MIGHT HAVE THOUGHT POSSIBLE. OUR REVIEW
INDICATES THAT FORTY YEARS OF PERSEVERANCE HAVE BROUGHT
US A PRECIOUS OPPORTUNITY. NOW IT IS TIME TO MOVE
BEYOND CONTAINMENT, TO A NEW POLICY FOR THE 1990s --
ONE THAT RECOGNIZES THE FULL SCOPE OF CHANGE TAKING
PLACE AROUND THE WORLD, AND IN THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF.**

- 8 -

IN SUM, THE UNITED STATES NOW HAS AS ITS GOAL MUCH MORE THAN SIMPLY CONTAINING SOVIET EXPANSIONISM -- WE SEEK THE INTEGRATION OF THE SOVIET UNION INTO THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS. AS THE SOVIET UNION MOVES TOWARD GREATER OPENNESS AND DEMOCRATIZATION -- AS THEY MEET THE CHALLENGE OF RESPONSIBLE INTERNATIONAL BEHAVIOR -- WE WILL MATCH THEIR STEPS WITH STEPS OF OUR OWN. ULTIMATELY, OUR OBJECTIVE IS TO WELCOME THE SOVIET UNION BACK INTO THE WORLD ORDER.

THE SOVIET UNION SAYS IT SEEKS TO MAKE PEACE WITH THE WORLD, AND CRITICIZES ITS OWN POSTWAR POLICIES. THESE ARE WORDS WE CAN ONLY APPLAUD. BUT A NEW RELATIONSHIP CAN NOT BE SIMPLY DECLARED BY MOSCOW, OR BESTOWED BY OTHERS. IT MUST BE EARNED.

IT MUST BE EARNED BECAUSE PROMISES ARE NEVER ENOUGH. THE SOVIET UNION HAS PROMISED A MORE COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP BEFORE, ONLY TO REVERSE COURSE AND RETURN TO MILITARISM.

- 10 -

**SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY HAS BEEN ALMOST SEASONAL --
WARMTH BEFORE COLD, THAW BEFORE FREEZE. WE SEEK A
FRIENDSHIP THAT KNOWS NO SEASON OF SUSPICION, NO CHILL
OF DISTRUST.**

**WE HOPE PERESTROIKA IS POINTING THE SOVIET UNION TO
A BREAK WITH THE CYCLES OF THE PAST -- A DEFINITIVE
BREAK.**

- 11 -

WHO WOULD HAVE THOUGHT WE WOULD SEE THE DELIBERATIONS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON THE FRONT PAGE OF PRAVDA, OR DISSIDENT ANDREI SAKHAROV SEATED NEAR THE COUNCILS OF POWER? WHO WOULD HAVE IMAGINED A SOVIET LEADER WHO CANVASSES THE SIDEWALKS OF MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON, D.C.? THESE ARE HOPEFUL -- INDEED, REMARKABLE -- SIGNS. LET NO ONE DOUBT OUR SINCERE DESIRE TO SEE PERESTROIKA CONTINUE AND SUCCEED. BUT THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF AMERICA AND OUR ALLIES IS NOT PREDICATED ON HOPE.

- 12 -

IT MUST BE BASED ON DEEDS. WE LOOK FOR ENDURING, INGRAINED ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CHANGE.

WHILE WE HOPE TO MOVE BEYOND CONTAINMENT, WE ARE ONLY AT THE BEGINNING OF OUR NEW PATH. MANY DANGERS AND UNCERTAINTIES ARE AHEAD. WE MUST NOT FORGET THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS ACQUIRED AWESOME MILITARY CAPABILITIES. THAT WAS A FACT OF LIFE FOR MY PREDECESSORS. THAT HAS ALWAYS BEEN A FACT OF LIFE FOR OUR ALLIES. AND THAT IS A FACT OF LIFE FOR ME.

- 13 -

AS WE SEEK PEACE, WE MUST ALSO REMAIN STRONG. THE PURPOSE OF OUR MILITARY MIGHT IS NOT TO PRESSURE A WEAK SOVIET ECONOMY, OR TO SEEK MILITARY SUPERIORITY. IT IS TO DETER WAR. IT IS TO DEFEND OURSELVES AND OUR ALLIES, AND TO DO SOMETHING MORE -- TO CONVINCE THE SOVIET UNION THAT THERE CAN BE NO REWARD IN PURSUING EXPANSIONISM. . . TO CONVINCE THE SOVIET UNION THAT REWARD LIES IN THE PURSUIT OF PEACE.

- 14 -

WESTERN POLICIES MUST ENCOURAGE THE EVOLUTION OF THE SOVIET UNION TOWARD AN OPEN SOCIETY. THIS TASK WILL TEST OUR STRENGTH. IT WILL TAX OUR PATIENCE. AND IT WILL REQUIRE A SWEEPING VISION . . . LET ME SHARE WITH YOU MY VISION. I SEE A WESTERN HEMISPHERE OF DEMOCRATIC, PROSPEROUS NATIONS, NO LONGER THREATENED BY A CUBA OR A NICARAGUA ARMED BY MOSCOW.

- 15 -

I SEE A SOVIET UNION THAT PULLS AWAY FROM TIES TO
TERRORIST NATIONS -- LIKE LIBYA -- THAT THREATEN THE
LEGITIMATE SECURITY OF THEIR NEIGHBORS. I SEE A SOVIET
UNION WHICH RESPECTS CHINA'S INTEGRITY, AND RETURNS THE
NORTHERN TERRITORIES OF JAPAN; A PRELUDE TO THE DAY
WHEN ALL THE GREAT NATIONS OF ASIA WILL LIVE IN
HARMONY.

- 16 -

BUT THE FULFILLMENT OF THIS VISION REQUIRES THE SOVIET UNION TO TAKE POSITIVE STEPS, INCLUDING:

FIRST: REDUCE SOVIET FORCES. ALTHOUGH SOME SMALL STEPS HAVE ALREADY BEEN TAKEN, THE WARSAW PACT STILL POSSESSES MORE THAN 30,000 TANKS, MORE THAN TWICE AS MUCH ARTILLERY AND HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS MORE TROOPS IN EUROPE THAN NATO. THEY SHOULD CUT THEIR FORCES TO LESS THREATENING LEVELS, IN PROPORTION TO THEIR LEGITIMATE SECURITY NEEDS.

- 17 -

SECOND: ADHERE TO THE SOVIET OBLIGATION -- PROMISED IN THE FINAL DAYS OF WORLD WAR TWO -- TO SUPPORT SELF-DETERMINATION FOR ALL THE NATIONS OF EASTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE. THIS REQUIRES SPECIFIC ABANDONMENT OF THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE. ONE DAY IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO DRIVE FROM MOSCOW TO MUNICH WITHOUT SEEING A SINGLE GUARD TOWER OR A STRAND OF BARBED WIRE. IN SHORT, TEAR DOWN THE IRON CURTAIN . .

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- 18 -

**THIRD: WORK WITH THE WEST IN POSITIVE, PRACTICAL -
- NOT MERELY RHETORICAL -- STEPS TOWARD DIPLOMATIC
SOLUTIONS TO REGIONAL DISPUTES AROUND THE WORLD. I
WELCOME THE SOVIET WITHDRAWAL FROM AFGHANISTAN AND THE
ANGOLA AGREEMENT. BUT THERE IS MUCH MORE TO BE DONE
AROUND THE WORLD. WE'RE READY. LET'S ROLL UP OUR
SLEEVES AND GET TO WORK.**

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FOURTH: ACHIEVE A LASTING POLITICAL PLURALISM AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. DRAMATIC EVENTS HAVE ALREADY OCCURRED IN MOSCOW. WE ARE IMPRESSED BY LIMITED, BUT FREELY CONTESTED, ELECTIONS. WE ARE IMPRESSED BY A GREATER TOLERATION OF DISSENT. WE ARE IMPRESSED BY A NEW FRANKNESS ABOUT THE STALIN ERA. MR. GORBACHEV, DON'T STOP NOW.

FIFTH: JOIN WITH US IN ADDRESSING PRESSING GLOBAL PROBLEMS, INCLUDING THE INTERNATIONAL DRUG MENACE, AND DANGERS TO THE ENVIRONMENT. WE CAN BUILD A BETTER WORLD FOR OUR CHILDREN.

AS THE SOVIET UNION MOVES TOWARD ARMS REDUCTION AND REFORM, IT WILL FIND WILLING PARTNERS IN THE WEST. WE SEEK VERIFIABLE, STABILIZING ARMS-CONTROL AND ARMS-REDUCTION AGREEMENTS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES.

- 21 -

HOWEVER, ARMS CONTROL IS NOT AN END IN ITSELF, BUT A MEANS OF CONTRIBUTING TO THE SECURITY OF AMERICA, AND THE PEACE OF THE WORLD. I DIRECTED SECRETARY BAKER TO PROPOSE TO THE SOVIETS THAT WE RESUME NEGOTIATIONS ON STRATEGIC FORCES IN JUNE. AND, AS YOU KNOW, THE SOVIETS HAVE AGREED.

OUR BASIC APPROACH IS CLEAR. IN THE STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTION TALKS, WE WISH TO REDUCE THE RISK OF NUCLEAR WAR.

- 22 -

IN THE COMPANION DEFENSE AND SPACE TALKS, OUR OBJECTIVE WILL BE TO PRESERVE OUR OPTIONS TO DEPLOY ADVANCED DEFENSES WHEN THEY ARE READY. IN NUCLEAR TESTING WE WILL CONTINUE TO SEEK THE NECESSARY VERIFICATION IMPROVEMENTS IN EXISTING TREATIES TO PERMIT THEM TO BE BROUGHT INTO FORCE. WE WILL CONTINUE TO SEEK A VERIFIABLE GLOBAL BAN ON CHEMICAL WEAPONS. WE SUPPORT NATO EFFORTS TO REDUCE THE SOVIET OFFENSIVE THREAT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS ON CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE.

AND, AS I'VE SAID, FUNDAMENTAL TO ALL OF THESE OBJECTIVES IS SIMPLE OPENNESS.

MAKE NO MISTAKE, A NEW BREEZE IS BLOWING ACROSS THE STEPPES AND CITIES OF THE SOVIET UNION. WHY NOT, THEN, LET THIS SPIRIT OF OPENNESS GROW, LET MORE BARRIERS COME DOWN. OPEN EMIGRATION, OPEN DEBATE, OPEN AIRWAVES . . . LET OPENNESS COME TO MEAN THE PUBLICATION AND SALE OF BANNED BOOKS AND NEWSPAPERS IN THE SOVIET UNION.

- 24 -

LET THE 19,000 SOVIET JEWS WHO EMIGRATED LAST YEAR BE FOLLOWED BY ANY NUMBER WHO WISH TO EMIGRATE THIS YEAR. LET OPENNESS COME TO MEAN NOTHING LESS THAN THE FREE EXCHANGE OF PEOPLE, BOOKS AND IDEAS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. AND LET IT COME TO MEAN ONE THING MORE . . .

THIRTY-FOUR YEARS AGO, PRESIDENT EISENHOWER MET IN GENEVA WITH SOVIET LEADERS WHO, AFTER THE DEATH OF STALIN, PROMISED A NEW APPROACH TOWARD THE WEST.

- 25 -

HE PROPOSED A PLAN CALLED "OPEN SKIES," WHICH WOULD ALLOW UNARMED AIRCRAFT FROM THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION TO FLY OVER THE TERRITORY OF THE OTHER COUNTRY. THIS WOULD OPEN UP MILITARY ACTIVITIES TO REGULAR SCRUTINY AND, AS PRESIDENT EISENHOWER PUT IT, "CONVINCE THE WORLD THAT WE ARE . . . LESSENING DANGER AND RELAXING TENSION."

- 26 -

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S SUGGESTION TESTED SOVIET READINESS TO OPEN THEIR SOCIETY. THE KREMLIN FAILED THAT TEST. LET US AGAIN EXPLORE THAT PROPOSAL, BUT ON A BROADER, MORE INTRUSIVE AND RADICAL BASIS -- ONE WHICH I HOPE WOULD INCLUDE ALLIES ON BOTH SIDES. WE SUGGEST THAT THOSE COUNTRIES THAT WISH TO EXAMINE THIS PROPOSAL MEET SOON TO WORK OUT THE NECESSARY OPERATIONAL DETAILS, SEPARATELY FROM OTHER ARMS-CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS.

SUCH SURVEILLANCE FLIGHTS, COMPLEMENTING SATELLITES, WOULD PROVIDE REGULAR SCRUTINY FOR BOTH SIDES. SUCH UNPRECEDENTED TERRITORIAL ACCESS WOULD SHOW THE WORLD THE MEANING OF THE CONCEPT OF OPENNESS. THE VERY SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO EMBRACE SUCH A CONCEPT WOULD REVEAL THEIR COMMITMENT TO CHANGE.

WHERE THERE IS COOPERATION, THERE CAN BE A BROADER ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP. BUT ECONOMIC RELATIONS HAVE BEEN STIFLED BY SOVIET INTERNAL POLICIES.

- 28 -

THEY HAVE BEEN INJURED BY MOSCOW'S PRACTICE OF USING THE CLOAK OF COMMERCE TO STEAL TECHNOLOGY FROM THE WEST. ENDING DISCRIMINATORY TREATMENT OF U.S. FIRMS WOULD BE A HELPFUL STEP. TRADE AND FINANCIAL TRANSACTIONS SHOULD TAKE PLACE ON A NORMAL COMMERCIAL BASIS.

- 29 -

AND SHOULD THE SOVIET UNION CODIFY ITS EMIGRATION LAWS IN ACCORD WITH INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS AND IMPLEMENT ITS NEW LAWS FAITHFULLY, I AM PREPARED TO WORK WITH CONGRESS FOR A TEMPORARY WAIVER OF THE JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT, OPENING THE WAY TO EXTENDING MOST FAVORED NATION TRADE STATUS TO THE SOVIET UNION.

- 30 -

((AFTER THAT LAST POINT, I CAN JUST IMAGINE WHAT YOU ARE THINKING. IT HAD TO HAPPEN . . . YOUR LAST DAY IN COLLEGE HAD TO END WITH ANOTHER POLITICAL SCIENCE LECTURE . . .)) IN ALL SERIOUSNESS, THE POLICY I HAVE JUST DESCRIBED HAS EVERYTHING TO DO WITH YOU.

TODAY YOU GRADUATE. YOU WILL START CAREERS AND FAMILIES. AND YOU WILL BECOME THE LEADERS OF AMERICA IN THE NEXT CENTURY.

- 31 -

WHAT KIND OF WORLD WILL YOU KNOW? PERHAPS THE WORLD ORDER OF THE FUTURE WILL TRULY BE A FAMILY OF NATIONS.

IT IS A SAD TRUTH THAT NOTHING FORCES US TO RECOGNIZE OUR COMMON HUMANITY MORE SWIFTLY THAN A NATURAL DISASTER. I AM THINKING OF SOVIET ARMENIA, JUST A FEW MONTHS AGO . . . A TRAGEDY WITHOUT BLAME, WARLIKE DEVASTATION WITHOUT WAR.

- 32 -

MY SON TOOK OUR 12-YEAR-OLD GRANDSON TO YEREVAN.
AT THE END OF A DAY OF COMFORTING THE INJURED AND
CONSOLING THE BEREAVED, FATHER AND SON SAT DOWN
TOGETHER AMID THE RUINS AND WEPT. HOW CAN OUR TWO
COUNTRIES MAGNIFY THIS SIMPLE EXPRESSION OF CARING?
HOW CAN WE EACH CONVEY THE GOODWILL OF OUR PEOPLE?

- 33 -

FORTY-THREE YEARS AGO, A YOUNG LIEUTENANT BY THE NAME OF ALBERT KOTZEBUE (KOTS-BEW), CLASS OF 1945 AT TEXAS A&M, WAS THE FIRST AMERICAN SOLDIER TO SHAKE HANDS WITH THE SOVIETS AT THE BANKS OF THE ELBE RIVER. ONCE AGAIN, WE ARE READY TO EXTEND OUR A HAND. ONCE AGAIN, WE ARE READY FOR A HAND IN RETURN. ONCE AGAIN, IT IS A TIME FOR PEACE.

THANK YOU FOR INVITING ME TO TEXAS A&M, AND I WISH YOU THE VERY BEST IN THE YEARS TO COME.

REMARKS: "BEYOND CONTAINMENT"
TEXAS A&M COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS
FRIDAY, MAY 12, 1989/2 P.M.

THANK YOU. I AM DELIGHTED TO BE BACK AMONG MY
FELLOW TEXANS AND FRIENDS. ((AND FOR THOSE OF YOU WHO
ARE DEMOCRATS, THERE IS NO TRUTH TO THE RUMOR THAT PHIL
GRAMM AND I ARE READY TO TAKE OUR ELEPHANT WALK . . .))

MY SINCEREST CONGRATULATIONS GO TO EVERY GRADUATE,
AND TO YOUR PARENTS. IN THIS CEREMONY, WE CELEBRATE
NOTHING LESS THAN THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REST, AND THE
BEST, OF YOUR LIFE . . .

WHEN YOU LOOK BACK TO YOUR DAYS AT TEXAS A&M, YOU
WILL HAVE A LOT TO BE PROUD OF -- A UNIVERSITY THAT IS
FIRST IN BASEBALL . . . AND FIRST IN SERVICE TO OUR
NATION. MANY ARE THE HEROES WHOSE NAMES ARE CALLED AT
MUSTER. MANY ARE THOSE YOU REMEMBER IN SILVER TAPS.

WE ARE REMINDED THAT NO GENERATION CAN ESCAPE HISTORY. PARENTS -- WE SHARE A FERVENT DESIRE FOR OUR CHILDREN, AND THEIR CHILDREN, TO KNOW A BETTER WORLD, A SAFER WORLD. STUDENTS -- YOUR PARENTS AND GRANDPARENTS HAVE LIVED THROUGH A WORLD WAR, AND HELPED AMERICA TO REBUILD THE WORLD. THEY WITNESSED THE DRAMA OF POSTWAR NATIONS DIVIDED BY SOVIET SUBVERSION AND FORCE, BUT SUSTAINED BY AN ALLIED RESPONSE MOST VIVIDLY SEEN IN THE BERLIN AIRLIFT.

WISE MEN . . . TRUMAN AND EISENHOWER, VANDENBERG AND RAYBURN. . . MARSHALL, ACHESON AND KENNAN, CRAFTED THE STRATEGY OF CONTAINMENT. THEY BELIEVED THAT THE SOVIET UNION, DENIED THE EASY COURSE OF EXPANSION, WOULD TURN INWARD AND ADDRESS THE CONTRADICTIONS OF ITS INEFFICIENT, REPRESSIVE AND INHUMANE SYSTEM. AND THEY WERE RIGHT. THE SOVIET UNION IS NOW PUBLICLY FACING THIS HARD REALITY.

Today, I would like to use this solemn occasion to speak to you and to our country about our relations with the Soviet Union. It is fitting that these remarks be made here at Texas A & M.

CONTAINMENT WORKED. CONTAINMENT WORKED BECAUSE OUR DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES, INSTITUTIONS AND VALUES ARE SOUND, AND ALWAYS HAVE BEEN. IT WORKED BECAUSE OUR ALLIANCES WERE AND ARE STRONG; AND BECAUSE THE SUPERIORITY OF FREE SOCIETIES AND FREE MARKETS OVER STAGNANT SOCIALISM IS UNDENIABLE.

WE ARE APPROACHING THE CONCLUSION OF AN HISTORIC POSTWAR STRUGGLE BETWEEN TWO VISIONS -- ONE OF TYRANNY AND CONFLICT, AND ONE OF DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM. THE REVIEW OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS THAT MY ADMINISTRATION HAS JUST COMPLETED OUTLINES A NEW PATH TOWARD RESOLVING THIS STRUGGLE.

OUR GOAL IS BOLD -- MORE AMBITIOUS THAN ANY OF MY PREDECESSORS ^{COULD} MIGHT HAVE THOUGHT POSSIBLE. OUR REVIEW INDICATES THAT FORTY YEARS OF PERSEVERANCE HAVE BROUGHT US A PRECIOUS OPPORTUNITY. NOW IT IS TIME TO MOVE BEYOND CONTAINMENT, TO A NEW POLICY FOR THE 1990S -- ONE THAT RECOGNIZES THE FULL SCOPE OF CHANGE TAKING PLACE AROUND THE WORLD, AND IN THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF.

IN SUM, THE UNITED STATES NOW HAS AS ITS GOAL MUCH MORE THAN SIMPLY CONTAINING SOVIET EXPANSIONISM -- WE SEEK THE INTEGRATION OF THE SOVIET UNION INTO THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS. AS THE SOVIET UNION MOVES TOWARD GREATER OPENNESS AND DEMOCRATIZATION -- AS THEY MEET THE CHALLENGE OF RESPONSIBLE INTERNATIONAL BEHAVIOR -- WE WILL MATCH THEIR STEPS WITH STEPS OF OUR OWN. ULTIMATELY, OUR OBJECTIVE IS TO WELCOME THE SOVIET UNION BACK INTO THE WORLD ORDER.

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WE HOPE PERESTROIKA IS POINTING THE SOVIET UNION TO A BREAK WITH THE CYCLES OF THE PAST -- A DEFINITIVE BREAK. WHO WOULD HAVE THOUGHT WE WOULD SEE THE DELIBERATIONS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON THE FRONT PAGE OF PRAVDA, OR DISSIDENT ANDREI SAKHAROV SEATED NEAR THE COUNCILS OF POWER? WHO WOULD HAVE IMAGINED A SOVIET LEADER WHO CANVASSES THE SIDEWALKS OF MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON, D.C.? THESE ARE HOPEFUL -- INDEED, REMARKABLE -- SIGNS. LET NO ONE DOUBT OUR SINCERE DESIRE TO SEE PERESTROIKA CONTINUE AND SUCCEED. BUT THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF AMERICA AND OUR ALLIES IS NOT PREDICATED ON HOPE. IT MUST BE BASED ON DEEDS. WE LOOK FOR ENDURING, INGRAINED ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CHANGE.

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AS WE SEEK PEACE, WE MUST ALSO REMAIN STRONG. THE PURPOSE OF OUR MILITARY MIGHT IS NOT TO PRESSURE A WEAK SOVIET ECONOMY, OR TO SEEK MILITARY SUPERIORITY. IT IS TO DETER WAR. IT IS TO DEFEND OURSELVES AND OUR ALLIES, AND TO DO SOMETHING MORE -- TO CONVINCING THE SOVIET UNION THAT THERE CAN BE NO REWARD IN PURSUING EXPANSIONISM. . . TO CONVINCING THE SOVIET UNION THAT REWARD LIES IN THE PURSUIT OF PEACE.

WESTERN POLICIES MUST ENCOURAGE THE EVOLUTION OF THE SOVIET UNION TOWARD AN OPEN SOCIETY. THIS TASK WILL TEST OUR STRENGTH. IT WILL TAX OUR PATIENCE. AND IT WILL REQUIRE A SWEEPING VISION . . . LET ME SHARE WITH YOU MY VISION. I SEE A WESTERN HEMISPHERE OF DEMOCRATIC, PROSPEROUS NATIONS, NO LONGER THREATENED BY A CUBA OR A NICARAGUA ARMED BY MOSCOW. I SEE A SOVIET UNION THAT PULLS AWAY FROM TIES TO TERRORIST NATIONS -- LIKE LIBYA -- THAT THREATEN THE LEGITIMATE SECURITY OF THEIR NEIGHBORS. I SEE A SOVIET UNION WHICH RESPECTS CHINA'S INTEGRITY, AND RETURNS THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES ^{TO} OF JAPAN; A PRELUDE TO THE DAY WHEN ALL THE GREAT NATIONS OF ASIA WILL LIVE IN HARMONY.

BUT THE FULFILLMENT OF THIS VISION REQUIRES THE SOVIET UNION TO TAKE POSITIVE STEPS, INCLUDING:

FIRST: REDUCE SOVIET FORCES. ALTHOUGH SOME SMALL STEPS HAVE ALREADY BEEN TAKEN, THE WARSAW PACT STILL POSSESSES OVER 30,000 MORE TANKS, MORE THAN TWICE AS MUCH ARTILLERY AND HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS MORE TROOPS IN EUROPE THAN NATO. THEY SHOULD CUT THEIR FORCES TO LESS THREATENING LEVELS, IN PROPORTION TO THEIR LEGITIMATE SECURITY NEEDS.

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AS THE SOVIET UNION MOVES TOWARD ARMS REDUCTION AND REFORM, IT WILL FIND WILLING PARTNERS IN THE WEST. WE SEEK VERIFIABLE, STABILIZING ARMS-CONTROL AND ARMS-REDUCTION AGREEMENTS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES. HOWEVER, ARMS CONTROL IS NOT AN END IN ITSELF, BUT A MEANS OF CONTRIBUTING TO THE SECURITY OF AMERICA, AND THE PEACE OF THE WORLD. I DIRECTED SECRETARY BAKER TO PROPOSE TO THE SOVIETS THAT WE RESUME NEGOTIATIONS ON STRATEGIC FORCES IN JUNE. AND, AS YOU KNOW, THE SOVIETS HAVE AGREED.

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And when people apply for exit visas, let there be no harassment against them.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S SUGGESTION TESTED SOVIET READINESS TO OPEN THEIR SOCIETY. THE KREMLIN FAILED THAT TEST. LET US AGAIN EXPLORE THAT PROPOSAL, BUT ON A BROADER, MORE INTRUSIVE AND RADICAL BASIS -- ONE WHICH I HOPE WOULD INCLUDE ALLIES ON BOTH SIDES. WE SUGGEST THAT THOSE COUNTRIES THAT WISH TO EXAMINE THIS PROPOSAL MEET SOON TO WORK OUT THE NECESSARY OPERATIONAL DETAILS, SEPARATELY FROM OTHER ARMS-CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS.

SUCH SURVEILLANCE FLIGHTS, COMPLEMENTING SATELLITES, WOULD PROVIDE REGULAR SCRUTINY FOR BOTH SIDES. SUCH UNPRECEDENTED TERRITORIAL ACCESS WOULD SHOW THE WORLD THE MEANING OF THE CONCEPT OF OPENNESS. THE VERY SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO EMBRACE SUCH A CONCEPT WOULD REVEAL THEIR COMMITMENT TO CHANGE.

WHERE THERE IS COOPERATION, THERE CAN BE A BROADER ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP. BUT ECONOMIC RELATIONS HAVE BEEN STIFLED BY SOVIET INTERNAL POLICIES. THEY HAVE BEEN INJURED BY MOSCOW'S PRACTICE OF USING THE CLOAK OF COMMERCE TO STEAL TECHNOLOGY FROM THE WEST. ENDING DISCRIMINATORY TREATMENT OF U.S. FIRMS WOULD BE A HELPFUL STEP. TRADE AND FINANCIAL TRANSACTIONS SHOULD TAKE PLACE ON A NORMAL COMMERCIAL BASIS.

AND SHOULD THE SOVIET UNION CODIFY ITS EMIGRATION LAWS IN ACCORD WITH INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS AND IMPLEMENT ITS NEW LAWS FAITHFULLY, I AM PREPARED TO WORK WITH CONGRESS FOR A TEMPORARY WAIVER OF THE JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT, OPENING THE WAY TO EXTENDING MOST FAVORED NATION TRADE STATUS TO THE SOVIET UNION.

((AFTER THAT LAST POINT, I CAN JUST IMAGINE WHAT YOU ARE THINKING. IT HAD TO HAPPEN . . . YOUR LAST DAY IN COLLEGE HAD TO END WITH ANOTHER POLITICAL SCIENCE LECTURE . . .)) IN ALL SERIOUSNESS, THE POLICY I HAVE JUST DESCRIBED HAS EVERYTHING TO DO WITH YOU.

TODAY YOU GRADUATE. YOU WILL START CAREERS AND FAMILIES. AND YOU WILL BECOME THE LEADERS OF AMERICA IN THE NEXT CENTURY. WHAT KIND OF WORLD WILL YOU KNOW? PERHAPS THE WORLD ORDER OF THE FUTURE WILL TRULY BE A FAMILY OF NATIONS.

IT IS A SAD TRUTH THAT NOTHING FORCES US TO RECOGNIZE OUR COMMON HUMANITY MORE SWIFTLY THAN A NATURAL DISASTER. I AM THINKING OF SOVIET ARMENIA, JUST A FEW MONTHS AGO . . . A TRAGEDY WITHOUT BLAME, WARLIKE DEVASTATION WITHOUT WAR.

MY SON TOOK OUR 12-YEAR-OLD GRANDSON TO YEREVAN. AT THE END OF A DAY OF COMFORTING THE INJURED AND CONSOLING THE BEREAVED, FATHER AND SON ^{went to church,} SAT DOWN TOGETHER AMID THE RUINS AND WEPT. HOW CAN OUR TWO COUNTRIES MAGNIFY THIS SIMPLE EXPRESSION OF CARING? HOW CAN WE EACH CONVEY THE GOODWILL OF OUR PEOPLE?

FORTY-THREE YEARS AGO, A YOUNG LIEUTENANT BY THE NAME OF ALBERT KOTZEBUE (KOTS-BEW), CLASS OF 1945 AT TEXAS A&M, WAS THE FIRST AMERICAN SOLDIER TO SHAKE HANDS WITH THE SOVIETS AT THE BANKS OF THE ELBE RIVER. ONCE AGAIN, WE ARE READY TO EXTEND OUR A HAND. ONCE AGAIN, WE ARE READY FOR A HAND IN RETURN. ONCE AGAIN, IT IS A TIME FOR PEACE.

THANK YOU FOR INVITING ME TO TEXAS A&M, AND I WISH YOU THE VERY BEST IN THE YEARS TO COME.

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CLOSE HOLD

Document No. 034353SS

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/9/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5/9/89 5:00 PM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TEXAS A&M COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS REVISED DRAFT

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 5:00 PM, TODAY, Tuesday, May 9, 1989, with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

1 comment - pg 10

RESPONSE:

CLOSE HOLD

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

Davis/Martin/Rice

Title: Aggie4

May 8, 1989

Version: Four

Five

1989 MAY -0 00 1:01

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

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

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

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

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

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

The strategy of containment arose out of the ruins of a shattered continent, as the possibility of postwar cooperation with the Soviet Union disappeared. It was validated by the stark recognition of the threat posed by a totalitarian and expansionist state with dominant military power.

Today, we are entering a new age because containment worked. It has been no mere propaganda victory. It worked because our democratic principles, values and institutions are sound. It worked because our alliances are united; and because the superiority of free peoples and free markets over stagnant socialism is a truth that can no longer be credibly denied.

We approach the conclusion of a historic postwar struggle between two visions -- one of conflict and ideological conquest, and one of an international order composed of free and prosperous states. The wise policies of the past enable us to stand at the

threshold of winning this struggle. The review of U.S.-Soviet relations that we have just completed shows that we can now embark on an agenda more ambitious than any of my predecessors might have ever dreamed in the dark days of the Berlin Blockade, the struggle against aggression in Korea, the Soviet invasions of Hungary, Czechoslovakia or Afghanistan. Forty years of perseverance has brought us a precious opportunity. We can now contemplate moving beyond containment to integrate the Soviet Union into the world family of nations as a productive, rather than a destructive, member.

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

The Soviet Union has before signaled a desire for a more cooperative relationship, only to reverse course and return to militarism -- in the 1920s, the fifties and the seventies.

We hope perestroika is pointing the Soviet Union to a break with the practices of the past -- a definitive break. Who would

have thought we would see the deliberations of the Central Committee on the front page of Pravda, or dissident Andrei Sakharov seated near the councils of power? These are hopeful -- indeed, remarkable -- signs, and let no one doubt our sincere desire to see perestroika succeed. But America's national security is not predicated on hope. It must be based on realism, on deeds. Therefore, we look for nothing less than permanent changes in Soviet behavior, and the restructuring of institutions and military forces. We look for guarantees that economic and political changes we now see will become enduring and difficult to reverse.

If we hope to move beyond containment, we are now only at the beginning of the path toward the reconciliation of the Soviet Union with the international system, a system grounded in the Western tradition of openness, freedom and self-determination. Many dangers and uncertainties lie ahead. We must not forget that the Soviet Union has acquired awesome military capabilities which support a foreign policy hostile to the West. That was a fact of life for my predecessors. And that is a fact of life for me.

As we seek peace, we must remain strong. We will not abandon the practice of peace through strength. The purpose of our military might is not to pressure a weak Soviet economy, or to seek military superiority. It is to defend ourselves -- to

convince the Soviet Union that there can be no reward in pursuing expansionism. . . and in fact, quite the contrary.

Western policies must be designed to encourage the evolution of the Soviet Union from a source of instability to a productive member of the family of nations. This task will require of us strength, patience and vision . . . vision to see what kind of world we could create, for you and your loved ones. I see a Western Hemisphere of democratic, prosperous nations, no longer threatened by a Cuba or a Nicaragua armed by Moscow. I see a time when the Soviet Union contributes to moving the Middle East toward peace, not confrontation. I see a Soviet Union that chooses to promote a regional peace over its ties to terrorist nations -- like Libya, like Iran -- that threaten the legitimate security of their neighbors. I see the great nations of Asia living in harmony -- when the Soviet Union has returned the Northern Territories of Japan, to undo an historic wrong.

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

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

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

THIRD: Adherence to the Soviet obligation -- promised in the final days of World War Two -- to permit self-determination for all the nations of Eastern and Central Europe.

FOURTH: An authoritative renunciation of the long-standing policy known as "The Brezhnev Doctrine," the excuse by which the Soviets have enforced their system on states struggling to free themselves from its stifling embrace.

FIFTH: Work with the West in positive, practical -- not merely rhetorical -- steps toward diplomatic solutions to regional disputes around the world.

SIXTH: Institutionalization of political pluralism and respect for human rights. Ultimately, our hopes for a more cooperative and sustainable relationship rest on democratization and institutionalization of the rule of law in the Soviet Union itself.

SEVENTH: Join with us in addressing pressing global problems, including the international drug menace, and dangers to the environment.

As the Soviet Union creates the conditions for reconciliation, it will find willing partners in the West. We are waiting to reach out a hand in response.

We seek verifiable, stabilizing arms-control agreements with the Soviet Union and its allies. But arms control is not an end in itself. We seek arms-control measures that are consistent with our overall national security strategy.

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

Our basic approach is clear. In the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks, we wish to reduce the risk of nuclear war. In the companion Defense and Space Talks, our objective will be to preserve our options to deploy advanced defenses should they prove feasible. In nuclear testing we will continue to seek the necessary verification improvements in existing treaties to permit them to be brought into force. We will continue to seek a verifiable global ban on chemical weapons. We support NATO efforts to reduce the Soviet offensive threat in the negotiations on Conventional Forces in Europe.

We will not seek agreements for the sake of agreements. We will not compromise our basic principles. But if the Soviets take a constructive approach, we can move together to a safer, more stable world.

Simple openness must be an essential principle of this transforming relationship. It has always been the guiding principle of the democracies, and we are pleased that the Soviet Union now says it seeks a new era of openness.

Let us institutionalize our dedication to openness. Let the barriers come down. Open emigration, open debate, open airwaves . . . Let openness come to mean the publication and sale of Western books and newspapers in the Soviet Union. Let it come to mean nothing less than the free exchange of people, books and ideas between East and West. And let it come to mean one more thing . . .

Thirty-four years ago, President Eisenhower met in Geneva with Soviet leaders who, after the death of Stalin, promised a new approach toward the West. He proposed then a plan called "Open Skies," which would allow unarmed aircraft from the United States and the Soviet Union to fly over the territory of the other country. This would open up military activities to constant scrutiny and, as President Eisenhower put it, "convince

the world that we are . . . lessening danger and relaxing tension."

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

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

Such flights, in unison with satellites, would provide constant scrutiny for both sides. And such unprecedented territorial access would show the world the meaning of the Western concept of openness -- a concept as central to Western values today as it was in President Eisenhower's time. The very Soviet willingness to embrace such a concept would reveal much of the Soviet commitment to a fundamentally different relationship.

If the Soviet Union joins us in a more cooperative relationship, then our economic ties will surely broaden.

American investment and commerce will grow if the Soviets create a domestic environment more congenial to free enterprise.

Until now, economic relations have been stifled by Soviet internal policies. They have also been injured by Moscow's practice of using the cloak of commerce to steal technology from the West. Ending discriminatory treatment of U.S. firms would be a helpful step. Trade and financial transactions should take place on a normal commercial basis, without subsidies. And should the Soviet Union ^{combine to open up} codify its emigration ^{procedures} laws in accord with international standards, ~~and implement its new laws faithfully~~, I am prepared to work with Congress on a temporary waiver of the Jackson-Vanik amendment, and to seek the repeal of the Stevenson amendments, giving the Soviet Union Most Favored Nation status in our trade relations.

*need to speak
in temporary
language*

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

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

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

Forty-three years ago, a young Lieutenant by the name of Albert Kotzebue, class of 1945 at Texas A&M ((. . . in the true Aggie spirit . . .)) was the first American soldier to shake hands with the Soviets at the banks of the Elbe River. Once

again, it is a time for peace. Once again, we extend our hand across the Elbe. We do this for you.

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

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1989 MAY 10 11:11:37

Davis/Martin/Rice
Title: Aggie4
May 10, 1989/10:00 p.m.
Version: NINE

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

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

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

When you look back to your days at Texas A&M, you will have a lot to be proud of -- a university that is first in baseball . . . and first in service to our nation. Many are the heroes whose names you call in Muster. Many are those you remember in Silver Taps.

We are reminded that no generation can escape history. Parents -- we share a fervent desire for our children, and their children, to know a better world, a safer world. Students -- your parents and grandparents have lived through a world war, and helped America to rebuild the world. They witnessed the drama of

postwar nations divided by Soviet subversion and force, but sustained by an Allied response most vividly seen in the Berlin Airlift.

Wise men . . . Truman and Eisenhower, Vandenberg and Rayburn. . . Marshall, Acheson and Kennan, crafted the strategy of containment. They believed that the Soviet Union, denied the easy course of expansion, would turn inward and address the contradictions of its inefficient, repressive and inhumane system. And they were right. The Soviet Union is now publicly facing this hard reality.

Containment worked. Containment worked because our democratic principles, institutions and values are sound, and always have been. It worked because our alliances were and are strong; and because the superiority of free societies and free markets over stagnant socialism is undeniable.

We are approaching the conclusion of an historic postwar struggle between two visions -- one of tyranny and conflict, and one of democracy and freedom. The review of U.S.-Soviet relations that my Administration has just completed outlines a new path toward resolving this struggle.

Our goal is bold -- more ambitious than any of my predecessors might have thought possible. We now recognize that

forty years of perseverance have brought us a precious opportunity. Now it is time to move beyond containment, to a new policy for the 1990s -- one that recognizes the full scope of change taking place around the world, and in the Soviet Union itself.

In sum, the United States is determined that this policy has as its goal the ^{re-}integration of the Soviet Union into the community of nations. As the Soviet Union moves toward greater openness and democratization -- as they meet the challenge of responsible international behavior -- we will match their steps with steps of our own. ~~Ultimately, our goal is to welcome the Soviet Union back into the world order.~~

The Soviet Union says it seeks to make peace with the world, and criticizes its own postwar policies. These are words we can only applaud. But a new relationship can not be simply declared by Moscow, or bestowed by others. It must be **earned**.

It must be **earned** because promises are never enough. The Soviet Union has promised a more cooperative relationship before, only to reverse course and return to militarism. Soviet foreign policy has been almost seasonal -- warmth before cold, thaw before freeze. We seek a friendship that knows no season of suspicion, no chill of distrust.