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Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
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Series: Speech File Draft Files
Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13514
Folder ID Number: 13514-011

Folder Title:
Address to People of Soviet Union 12/19/89 [OA 3540]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	25	6	6	6

Davis/Martin
Dec. 18, 1989
Title: TV
Draft: Two

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION

On behalf of the American people, my wife Barbara, and my family -- I bring you our warmest greetings.

A new year is dawning around the world -- the last year of the last decade of the twentieth century. And as the world looks back to nine decades of war, of strife, of suspicion, let us also look forward -- to a new century, and a new millennium, of peace, freedom and prosperity.

Of course, there are no maps to lead us where we are going, to this new world of our own making. We can find our way only through cooperation beginning with a candid dialogue. It is in pursuit of such a dialogue that I met your President, Mikhail Gorbachev, near the island-nation of Malta. Let me share with you some of the matters we discussed:

-- First, we agreed to redouble our efforts to diminish the horrible threat from weapons of mass destruction; and to pursue, with other nations, an agreement to reduce conventional forces in Europe.

-- Second, we talked about ways we can end regional conflicts. These conflicts bring pain and suffering to villages from Central America to Asia to the African continent; but they are also obstacles to better relations between our nations.

-- Third, I want to assure you, as I did your President, that the West seeks no advantage from the extraordinary changes underway in the East. I told your President that I support the dynamic process of reform in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. We will work together to reduce barriers to trade, investment and the free movement of goods and ideas.

In these ways -- and as your economic reforms take place -- the entry of the Soviet Union into the global market can be advanced -- an historic goal that, once achieved, can improve the life of every Soviet citizen.

But it is our belief that lasting peace and prosperity come from a respect for human rights and the sharing of democratic values that are deeply rooted in the human spirit. Your own Leo Tolstoy said that if our hearts are empty, no law or political reform can fill them. The real law lives within our hearts.

These values are not exclusively American or Western. They are not the possession of any people or any domain. They belong to all men and women, through all time, and in all places. They are the inalienable rights of Man.

Of course, much remains to be done, but the progress of the past year gives me confidence that we are heading in the right direction. In this, President Gorbachev has been a good partner in peace.

Given the war-torn history of this century we should redouble our efforts to forge a new century of peace and freedom. Our nations have produced Abraham Lincoln. Leo Tolstoy. Martin

Luther King. Andrei Sakharov. We have persevered as allies in a terrible war. The challenges we face today are no less daunting. But with goodwill and determination on both sides, I am confident our two peoples will be equal to the task.

Thank you, God bless you, and have a happy New Year.

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VIDEO MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION

ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, MY WIFE BARBARA,
AND MY FAMILY -- I BRING YOU OUR WARMEST GREETINGS.

A NEW YEAR IS DAWNING AROUND THE WORLD -- THE LAST
YEAR OF THE LAST DECADE OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. AND
AS THE WORLD LOOKS BACK TO NINE DECADES OF WAR, OF
STRIFE, OF SUSPICION, LET US ALSO LOOK FORWARD -- TO A
NEW CENTURY, AND A NEW MILLENNIUM, OF PEACE, FREEDOM
AND PROSPERITY.

OF COURSE, THERE ARE NO MAPS TO LEAD US WHERE WE
ARE GOING, TO THIS NEW WORLD OF OUR OWN MAKING. WE CAN
FIND OUR WAY ONLY THROUGH COOPERATION BEGINNING WITH A
CANDID DIALOGUE. IT IS IN PURSUIT OF SUCH A DIALOGUE
THAT I MET YOUR PRESIDENT, MIKHAIL GORBACHEV, NEAR THE
ISLAND-NATION OF MALTA. LET ME SHARE WITH YOU SOME OF
THE MATTERS WE DISCUSSED:

-- FIRST, WE AGREED TO REDOUBLE OUR EFFORTS TO
DIMINISH THE HORRIBLE THREAT FROM WEAPONS OF MASS
DESTRUCTION; AND TO PURSUE, WITH OTHER NATIONS, AN
AGREEMENT TO REDUCE CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE.

-- SECOND, WE TALKED ABOUT WAYS WE CAN END REGIONAL CONFLICTS. THESE CONFLICTS BRING PAIN AND SUFFERING TO VILLAGES FROM CENTRAL AMERICA TO ASIA TO THE AFRICAN CONTINENT; BUT THEY ARE ALSO OBSTACLES TO BETTER RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR NATIONS.

-- THIRD, I WANT TO ASSURE YOU, AS I DID YOUR PRESIDENT, THAT THE WEST SEEKS NO ADVANTAGE FROM THE EXTRAORDINARY CHANGES UNDERWAY IN THE EAST. I TOLD YOUR PRESIDENT THAT I SUPPORT THE DYNAMIC PROCESS OF REFORM IN THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE. WE WILL WORK TOGETHER TO REDUCE BARRIERS TO TRADE, INVESTMENT AND THE FREE MOVEMENT OF GOODS AND IDEAS.

IN THESE WAYS -- AND AS YOUR ECONOMIC REFORMS TAKE PLACE -- THE ENTRY OF THE SOVIET UNION INTO THE GLOBAL MARKET CAN BE ADVANCED -- AN HISTORIC GOAL THAT, ONCE ACHIEVED, CAN IMPROVE THE LIFE OF EVERY SOVIET CITIZEN.

BUT IT IS OUR BELIEF THAT LASTING PEACE AND PROSPERITY COME FROM A RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE SHARING OF DEMOCRATIC VALUES THAT ARE DEEPLY ROOTED IN THE HUMAN SPIRIT. YOUR OWN LEO TOLSTOY SAID THAT IF OUR HEARTS ARE EMPTY, NO LAW OR POLITICAL REFORM CAN FILL THEM. THE REAL LAW LIVES WITHIN OUR HEARTS.

THESE VALUES ARE NOT EXCLUSIVELY AMERICAN OR WESTERN. THEY ARE NOT THE POSSESSION OF ANY PEOPLE OR ANY DOMAIN. THEY BELONG TO ALL MEN AND WOMEN, THROUGH ALL TIME, AND IN ALL PLACES. THEY ARE THE INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF MAN.

OF COURSE, MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE, BUT THE PROGRESS OF THE PAST YEAR GIVES ME CONFIDENCE THAT WE ARE HEADING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. IN THIS, PRESIDENT GORBACHEV HAS BEEN A GOOD PARTNER IN PEACE.

GIVEN THE WAR-TORN HISTORY OF THIS CENTURY WE SHOULD REDOUBLE OUR EFFORTS TO FORGE A NEW CENTURY OF PEACE AND FREEDOM. OUR NATIONS HAVE PRODUCED ABRAHAM LINCOLN. LEO TOLSTOY. MARTIN LUTHER KING. ANDREI SAKHAROV. WE HAVE PERSEVERED AS ALLIES IN A TERRIBLE WAR. THE CHALLENGES WE FACE TODAY ARE NO LESS DAUNTING. BUT WITH GOODWILL AND DETERMINATION ON BOTH SIDES, I AM CONFIDENT OUR TWO PEOPLES WILL BE EQUAL TO THE TASK.

THANK YOU, GOD BLESS YOU, AND HAVE A HAPPY NEW YEAR.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO: *Chriss*

FROM: **JAMES W. CICCONI**
Assistant to the President and
Deputy to the Chief of Staff

*Here are my suggestions,
mostly at the end. Also,
please cut references to riches
and wealth -- sounds just
like a capitalist!*

*Thanks
Jim
12/18*

Davis/Martin
Dec. 18, 1989
Title: TV
Draft: Two

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION

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Of course, there are no maps to lead us where we are going, to this new world of our own making. We can find our way only through cooperation that begins with a candid dialogue. It is in pursuit of such a dialogue that I met your President, Mikhail Gorbachev, near the island-nation of Malta. Let me share with you some of the matters we discussed:

-- First, we agreed to redouble our efforts to reduce the horrible threat from weapons of mass destruction; and to pursue, with other nations, an agreement to slash our conventional forces in Europe -- to, at long last, let thousands of young American and Soviet men return to their families.

-- Second, we talked about ways we can end regional conflicts. These brush fires have always threatened to ignite into a greater conflagration, ~~But we have another, less selfish~~

✓

~~reason for~~ ~~concern in ending these petty wars that~~ ^{and} ~~have exacted such a~~ ^{caused}
 terrible toll in human suffering in the villages of Asia, Africa
 and Latin America.

-- Third, I gave your President an assurance I want to give
 you tonight: The West seeks no advantage from the changes
 underway in the East. I told your President that I support the
 dynamic process of reform in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.
 We will work together to reduce barriers to trade, investment and
 the free movement of goods and people. We are both pledged to
 clear the way for the open exchange of ideas and people. We must
 have more than friendly relations between two governments. We
 must have deeper relations founded in lasting human contact.

In these ways, we intend to ease the entry of the Soviet
 Union into the global market -- an historic goal that, once
 achieved, ^{can improve the life of every Soviet citizen.}
~~will bring riches to your nation.~~

But it is our belief that ^a true ^{and lasting} peace and ^{can only} meaningful wealth
~~come from a respect for human rights and the sharing of~~ ^{democratic} values
^{are deeply rooted in the human spirit.}
 that ~~can only be called spiritual.~~ Your own Leo Tolstoy said
 that if our hearts are empty, no law or political reform can fill
 them. The real law lives within our hearts.

These values are not ^{exclusively} American, not Western, ~~nor do they~~
~~belong to the Soviet Union.~~ They are not the possession of any
 people or any domain. They are the rights of all men and women,
 through all time, and in all places. They are the inalienable
 rights of Man.

Much remains to be done, but the progress of the past year gives me confidence that we are heading in the right direction. In this, ^{President} Mikhail Gorbachev has been a true partner in peace.

Given the war-torn history of this century -- with its Pearl Harbors and its Leningrads -- the odds against peace and freedom may seem insurmountable. But remember -- ^{our nations have produced men} ~~mine is the nation of~~ ^{Tolstoy; King and Sakharov.} ~~Abraham Lincoln and Martin Luther King. Yours is the nation of~~ ~~Tolstoy and Andrei Sakharov.~~ We persevered as allies in a terrible war. ^{We have each} ~~We've~~ reached for the stars. ^{And} With goodwill and determination on both sides, ~~there is nothing we cannot do.~~

Thank you, God bless you, and have a happy New Year.

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I am confident our two peoples will be equal to the moment.

The challenges we face today are no less ~~equally~~ daunting, but also no less exciting. ~~For~~ For the possibilities they offer are ~~greater~~ ^{greater} democracy and freedom, and hope of a better future for our children. These are exciting times. ~~and~~

Scowcroft
says this
is OK

Rice's edits

JC edits

Davis/Martin
Dec. 18, 1989
Title: TV
Draft: Two

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-- ~~First~~, We agreed to redouble our efforts to ^{diminish} reduce the horrible threat from weapons of mass destruction; and to pursue, with other nations, an agreement to ^{reduce} slash ~~our~~ conventional forces in Europe -- ~~to, at long last, let thousands of young American and Soviet men return to their families.~~

-- ~~Second~~, We talked about ways we can ^{ameliorate} end regional conflicts. ~~These brush fires have always threatened to ignite into a greater conflagration. But we have another, less selfish~~

reason for
~~concern in ending these petty wars that have exacted such a~~
~~terrible toll in human suffering in the villages of Asia, Africa~~
~~and Latin America.~~

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is they

-- ~~Third~~ I gave your President an assurance I want to give you tonight: The West seeks no advantage from the changes underway in the East. I told your President that I support the dynamic process of reform in the Soviet Union, and Eastern Europe. We will work together to reduce barriers to trade, investment and the free movement of goods, and people. We are both pledged to clear the way for the open exchange of ideas and people. We must have more than friendly relations between two governments. We must have deeper relations founded in lasting human contact.

We talked about the magnificent efforts of the peoples of Eastern Europe to find a just...

free and democratic future

In these ways, ~~we intend to ease the entry of the Soviet Union into the global market -- an historic goal that, once achieved, will bring riches to your nation.~~

and as your economic reforms take place, the entry of the Soviet

can be ~~see~~ advanced

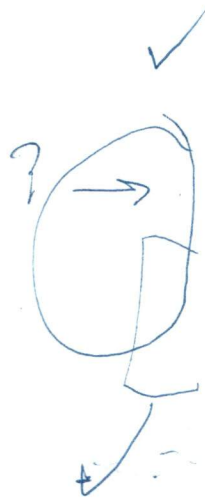
can improve the life of every Soviet citizen.

But it is our belief that ~~a true and lasting peace and meaningful wealth~~ come from a respect for human rights and the sharing of values that ~~are deeply rooted in the human spirit.~~ Your own Leo Tolstoy said that if our hearts are empty, no law or political reform can fill them. The real law lives within our hearts.

can only democratic

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Much remains to be done, but the progress of the past year gives me confidence that we are heading in the right direction. In this, ^{President} ~~Michael~~ Gorbachev has been a ^{good} ~~true~~ partner in peace.

Given the war-torn history of this century ~~with its Pearl Harbors and its Leningrads~~ ^{There is no guarantee of} the odds against peace and freedom.

^{our nations have produced men} may seem insurmountable. But remember -- ~~mine is the nation of~~ ^{like} Abraham Lincoln and ^{Tolstoy, King and Sakharov.} ~~Martin Luther King.~~

~~Yours is the nation of Tolstoy and Andrei Sakharov.~~ We persevered as allies in a

terrible war. ~~We've reached for the stars.~~ ^{We have each} ~~And~~ With goodwill and determination on both sides, ~~there is nothing we cannot do.~~

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before us.

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continent; ^{But} they are ~~often~~ ^{also} obstacles to better relations between our nations.

BF → our

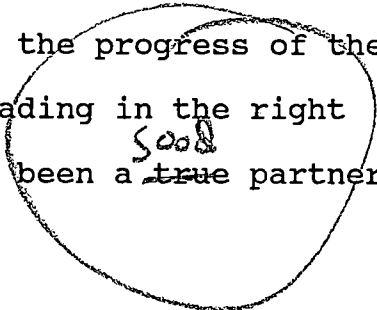
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CLOSE HOLD

Document No. 098501SS

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 12/18/89ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 12/19/89 9:00 AMSUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input 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 type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>WINSTON</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>PINKERTON</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input 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 9:00 AM, Tuesday, December 19, with a copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

CLOSE HOLD

see comments

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

Davis/Martin
Dec. 18, 1989
Title: TV
Draft: Two

1989 DEC 18 PM 3.50

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION

On behalf of the American people, my wife Barbara, and my family -- I bring you our warmest greetings.

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-- First, we agreed to redouble our efforts to reduce the horrible threat from weapons of mass destruction; and to pursue, with other nations, an agreement to ^{reduce} ~~slash~~ our conventional forces in Europe -- to, at long last, let thousands of young American and Soviet men return to their families *for good*.

-- Second, we talked about ways we can end regional conflicts. *In addition to the pain and suffering these conflicts bring to villages from Central America to the African continent,* These brush fires have always threatened to ignite into a greater conflagration. *stand in way of our reborn* ~~But we have another, less selfish~~

~~concern in ending these petty wars that have exacted such a
terrible toll in human suffering in the villages of Asia, Africa
and Latin America.~~

-- Third, I gave your President an assurance I want to give
you tonight: The West seeks no advantage from the changes
underway in the East. I told your President that I support the
dynamic process of reform in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.
We will work together to reduce barriers to trade, investment and
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clear the way for the open exchange of ideas and people. ~~We must
have more than friendly relations between two governments. We~~

add NSC
→

~~must have deeper relations founded in lasting human contact.~~

In these ways, we intend to ease the entry of the Soviet
Union into the global market -- an historic goal that, once
achieved, will bring ^{more opportunity} riches to your nation.

But it is our belief that ^{lasting} true peace and ^{prosperity} meaningful wealth
come from a respect for human rights and the ^{common} ~~sharing~~ of values. ^{Democracy} ~~that can only be called spiritual.~~ ^{It is said} Your own Leo Tolstoy said
~~that if our hearts are empty, no law or political reform can fill
them. The real law lives within our hearts.~~

These values are not American, ^{neither} ~~not~~ Western, ^{nor do they} ~~nor do they~~
belong to the Soviet Union, ^{they are universal.} ~~They are not the possession of any
people or any domain.~~ ^{belong to} They are the rights of all men and women,
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rights of Man.

STBT

Much remains to be done, but the progress of the past year gives me confidence that we are heading in the right direction. In this, Mikhail Gorbachev has been a true partner in peace.

Given the war-torn history of this century -- with its Pearl Harbors and its Leningrads -- ~~the odds against peace and freedom may seem insurmountable.~~ *we should redouble our efforts to forge a new century of* ~~But remember --~~ *The United States* mine is the nation of ~~Abraham Lincoln and Martin Luther King.~~ *Thomas Jefferson* Yours is the nation of Tolstoy and Andrei Sakharov. We persevered as allies in a terrible war. ~~We've reached for the stars.~~ *But* With goodwill and determination on both sides, ~~there is nothing we cannot do.~~ *I am confident*

Thank you, God bless you, and have a happy New Year.

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our nation's

I've made it somewhat shorter. Like to keep it to 2 pages

The challenges we face.

CLOSE HOLD

Document No. 098501SS

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM



DATE: 12/18/89

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 12/19/89 9:00 AM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input 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 type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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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"/>

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RESPONSE:

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nsc
delete }

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they are an obstacle to better relations to our nations on mainland. to villages from Central America to Asia, to the African Continent.

of course,
 Much remains to be done, but the progress of the past year gives me confidence that we are heading in the right direction. In this, ^{*President*} Mikhail Gorbachev has been a true partner in peace. ^{*[good]?*}

Given the war-torn history of this century, ^{*we should redouble*} ~~-- with its Pearl Harbors and its Leningrads~~ ^{*our efforts to forge a new century of*} ~~-- the odds against~~ peace and freedom ^{*o*}

may seem insurmountable. But remember -- mine is the nation of Abraham Lincoln and ^{*Thomas Jefferson*} ~~Martin Luther King~~. Yours is the nation of Tolstoy and Andrei Sakharov. We persevered as allies in a terrible war. We've reached for the stars. With goodwill and determination on both sides, there is nothing we cannot do.

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See
 WSC/
 Cicconi
 ALTERNATIVES

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 19, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: AUSTEN FURSE

SUBJECT: Draft Address to the People of the Soviet Union

X pg. 1, para. 3, line 1 "Of course, there are no maps to lead us where we are going, to this new world of our own making."

This line too much implies a sense of aimlessness. We unjustifiably give an excuse to those on both sides of the aisle who criticize the Administration for "timidity," e.g., George Will's remark about the Administration on Sunday, paraphrasing a Greek proverb, that the when you don't know where your going, any wind will take you there.

More importantly, it is not true that there is "no map." Our map, surely, are those values to which the draft refers later; and the institutions and procedures promoting freedom and the establishment of democratic capitalism which take us in the opposite direction of what Hayek, using the same map imagery, called the Road to Serfdom. We suggest simply omitting the line.

X 2,2,1 "The West seeks no advantage from the changes underway in the East."

It seems a little coy to say that we seek no advantage when the changes in the East (shouldn't it be "Eastern Europe") are obviously to our advantage. We suggest amending it to read: "The West seeks no selfish advantage...."

2,5,1 "These values are not American, not Western, nor do they belong to the Soviet Union."

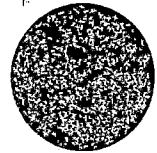
Granting Gorbachev's remonstrances to the President on the term "Western values" and the meaning intended here of these values as being universal values, still this sentence is true only in a very strict sense. There are, of course, such things as Western values, and the Soviet Union has wrongly sought to deny itself these. Therefore, to convey the same sense of the original sentence without offending, we suggest qualifying the sentence to read: "These values are not exclusively American, not only Western, nor to they belong to the Soviet Union alone. They are not the exclusive possession of any particular people or any one domain."

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CLOSE HOLD

Document No. 098501SS

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM



DATE: 12/18/89

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 12/19/89 9:00 AM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION

	ACTION FYI			ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input 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 type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>WINSTON</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>PINKERTON</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input 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 9:00 AM, Tuesday, December 19, with a copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

CLOSE HOLD

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

MARK DAVIS
EDITS

Davis/Martin
Dec. 18, 1989
Title: TV
Draft: Two

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION

On behalf of the American people, my wife Barbara, and my family -- I bring you our warmest greetings.

A new year is dawning around the world -- the last year of the last decade of the twentieth century. And as the world looks back to nine decades of war, of strife, of suspicion, let us also look forward -- to a new century, and a new millennium, of peace, freedom and prosperity.

Of course, there are no maps to lead us where we are going, to this new world of our own making. We can find our way only through cooperation, ^{which} ~~that~~ begins with a candid dialogue. It is in pursuit of such a dialogue that I met your President, Mikhail Gorbachev, near the island-nation of Malta. Let me share with you some of the matters we discussed:

-- First, we agreed to redouble our efforts to reduce the horrible threat from weapons of mass destruction; and to pursue, with other nations, an agreement to slash our conventional forces in Europe -- to, at long last, let thousands of young Americans and Soviet ~~men~~ ^s return to their families.

-- Second, we talked about ways we can end regional conflicts. These brush fires have always threatened to ignite into a greater conflagration. But we have ~~another~~ ^{MORE NOBLE} ~~less selfish~~

REASONS TO

~~concern~~ in ending ~~the~~ these petty wars that have exacted such a terrible toll in human suffering in the villages of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

-- Third, I ^{WANT TO ASSURE YOU, AS I DID YOUR PRESIDENT,} ~~gave your President an assurance I want to give~~ ~~you tonight:~~ ^{THAT}

The West seeks no advantage from the changes underway in the East. I told your President that I support the dynamic process of reform in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. We will work together to reduce barriers to trade, investment and the free movement of ^{GOODS, IDEAS AND PEOPLE} ~~goods and people.~~ We are both pledged to ~~clear the way for the open exchange of ideas and people.~~ We must have more than friendly relations between two governments. We must have deeper relations founded in lasting human contact.

In these ways, we intend to ease the ^{WAY} ~~entry~~ of the Soviet Union into the global market -- an historic goal that, once achieved, will bring riches to your nation.

But it is our belief that true peace and meaningful wealth come from a respect for human rights and the sharing of values that can only be called spiritual. Your own Leo Tolstoy said that if our hearts are empty, no law or political reform can fill them. The real law lives within our hearts.

These values are not American, not Western, nor do they belong to the Soviet Union. They are not the possession of any people or any domain. They are the rights of all men and women, through all time, and in all places. They are the inalienable rights of Man.

(Of course!)

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Much remains to be done, but the progress of the past year gives me confidence that we are heading in the right direction. In this, Mikhail Gorbachev has been a true partner in peace.

Given the war-torn history of this century -- with its Pearl Harbors and its Leningrads -- the odds against peace and freedom may seem insurmountable. But remember -- mine is the nation of Abraham Lincoln and Martin Luther King. Yours is the nation of Tolstoy and Andrei Sakharov. We persevered as allies in a terrible war. We've reached for the stars. With goodwill and determination on both sides, there is nothing we cannot do.

Thank you, God bless you, and have a happy New Year.

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Tx. B.B.φ.
Beeville - Goliad
Keller

Davis/Martin
Dec. 18, 1989
Title: TV
Draft: Two

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CLOSE HOLD

Document No. 098501SS

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM




DATE: 12/18/89

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 12/19/89 9:00 AM

videos 12/18

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input 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 type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH 	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>WINSTON</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>PINKERTON</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input 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"/>

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RESPONSE:

CLOSE HOLD
OK S.R.

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

1989 DEC 18 PM 3.50

Davis/Martin
Dec. 18, 1989
Title: TV
Draft: Two

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION

On behalf of the American people, my wife Barbara, and my family -- I bring you our warmest greetings.

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-- Second, we talked about ways we can end regional conflicts. These brush fires have always threatened to ignite into a greater conflagration. But we have another, less selfish

concern in ending these petty wars that have exacted such a terrible toll in human suffering in the villages of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

-- Third, I gave your President an assurance I want to give you tonight: The West seeks no advantage from the changes underway in the East. I told your President that I support the dynamic process of reform in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. We will work together to reduce barriers to trade, investment and the free movement of goods and people. We are both pledged to clear the way for the open exchange of ideas and people. We must have more than friendly relations between two governments. We must have deeper relations founded in lasting human contact.

In these ways, we intend to ease the entry of the Soviet Union into the global market -- an historic goal that, once achieved, will bring riches to your nation.

But it is our belief that true peace and meaningful wealth come from a respect for human rights and the sharing of values that can only be called spiritual. Your own Leo Tolstoy said that if our hearts are empty, no law or political reform can fill them. The real law lives within our hearts.

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Much remains to be done, but the progress of the past year gives me confidence that we are heading in the right direction. In this, Mikhail Gorbachev has been a true partner in peace.

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Thank you, God bless you, and have a happy New Year.

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VIDEO MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION

**ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, MY WIFE BARBARA,
AND MY FAMILY -- I BRING YOU OUR WARMEST GREETINGS.**

**A NEW YEAR IS DAWNING AROUND THE WORLD -- THE LAST
YEAR OF THE LAST DECADE OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. AND
AS THE WORLD LOOKS BACK TO NINE DECADES OF WAR, OF
STRIFE, OF SUSPICION, LET US ALSO LOOK FORWARD -- TO A
NEW CENTURY, AND A NEW MILLENNIUM, OF PEACE, FREEDOM
AND PROSPERITY.**

**OF COURSE, THERE ARE NO MAPS TO LEAD US WHERE WE
ARE GOING; TO THIS NEW WORLD OF OUR OWN MAKING. WE CAN
FIND OUR WAY ONLY THROUGH COOPERATION BEGINNING WITH A
CANDID DIALOGUE. IT IS IN PURSUIT OF SUCH A DIALOGUE
THAT I MET YOUR PRESIDENT, MIKHAIL GORBACHEV, NEAR THE
ISLAND-NATION OF MALTA. LET ME SHARE WITH YOU SOME OF
THE MATTERS WE DISCUSSED:**

**-- FIRST, WE AGREED TO REDOUBLE OUR EFFORTS TO
DIMINISH THE HORRIBLE THREAT FROM WEAPONS OF MASS
DESTRUCTION; AND TO PURSUE, WITH OTHER NATIONS, AN
AGREEMENT TO REDUCE CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE.**

-- SECOND, WE TALKED ABOUT WAYS WE CAN END REGIONAL CONFLICTS, AND ALLEVIATE THE TERRIBLE TOLL IN HUMAN SUFFERING THEY BRING.

-- THIRD, I WANT TO ASSURE YOU, AS I DID YOUR PRESIDENT, THAT THE WEST SEEKS NO ADVANTAGE FROM THE EXTRAORDINARY CHANGES UNDERWAY IN THE EAST. WE TALKED ABOUT THE MAGNIFICENT EFFORTS OF THE PEOPLE OF EASTERN EUROPE TO FIND A FREE AND DEMOCRATIC FUTURE. AND I TOLD YOUR PRESIDENT THAT I SUPPORT THE DYNAMIC PROCESS OF REFORM IN THE SOVIET UNION. WE WILL WORK TOGETHER TO REDUCE BARRIERS TO TRADE, INVESTMENT AND THE FREE MOVEMENT OF GOODS AND IDEAS.

IN THESE WAYS -- AND AS YOUR ECONOMIC REFORMS TAKE PLACE -- THE ENTRY OF THE SOVIET UNION INTO THE GLOBAL MARKET CAN BE ADVANCED -- AN HISTORIC GOAL THAT, ONCE ACHIEVED, CAN IMPROVE THE LIFE OF EVERY SOVIET CITIZEN.

BUT IT IS OUR BELIEF THAT LASTING PEACE AND PROSPERITY COME FROM A RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE SHARING OF DEMOCRATIC VALUES THAT ARE DEEPLY ROOTED IN THE HUMAN SPIRIT. YOUR OWN LEO TOLSTOY SAID THAT IF OUR HEARTS ARE EMPTY, NO LAW OR POLITICAL REFORM CAN FILL THEM. THE REAL LAW LIVES WITHIN OUR HEARTS.

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OF COURSE, MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE, BUT THE PROGRESS OF THE PAST YEAR GIVES ME CONFIDENCE THAT WE ARE HEADING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. IN THIS, PRESIDENT GORBACHEV HAS BEEN A GOOD PARTNER IN PEACE.

GIVEN THE WAR-TORN HISTORY OF THIS CENTURY WE SHOULD REDOUBLE OUR EFFORTS TO FORGE A NEW CENTURY OF PEACE AND FREEDOM. OUR NATIONS HAVE PRODUCED ABRAHAM LINCOLN. LEO TOLSTOY. MARTIN LUTHER KING. ANDREI SAKHAROV. WE HAVE PERSEVERED AS ALLIES IN A TERRIBLE WAR. THE CHALLENGES WE FACE TODAY ARE NO LESS DAUNTING. BUT WITH GOODWILL AND DETERMINATION ON BOTH SIDES, I AM CONFIDENT OUR TWO PEOPLES WILL BE EQUAL TO THE TASK.

THANK YOU, GOD BLESS YOU, AND HAVE A HAPPY NEW YEAR.

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1989 DEC 19 AM 11:50

Davis/Martin
Dec. 18, 1989
Title: TV
Draft: Two

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-- First, we agreed to redouble our efforts to diminish the horrible threat from weapons of mass destruction; and to pursue, with other nations, an agreement to reduce conventional forces in Europe.

-- Second, we talked about ways we can end regional conflicts, ^{and alleviate the terrible toll in human suffering they bring.} ~~These conflicts bring pain and suffering to villages from Central America to Asia to the African continent; but they are also obstacles to better relations between our nations.~~

-- Third, I want to assure you, as I did your President, that the West seeks no advantage from the extraordinary changes underway in the East. ^{We talked about the magnificent efforts of the people of E Europe to find a free and democratic future} ~~And~~ I told your President that I support the dynamic process of reform in the Soviet Union, and ~~Eastern Europe~~. We will work together to reduce barriers to trade, investment and the free movement of goods and ideas.

In these ways -- and as your economic reforms take place -- the entry of the Soviet Union into the global market can be advanced -- an historic goal that, once achieved, can improve the life of every Soviet citizen.

But it is our belief that lasting peace and prosperity come from a respect for human rights and the sharing of democratic values that are deeply rooted in the human spirit. Your own Leo Tolstoy said that if our hearts are empty, no law or political reform can fill them. The real law lives within our hearts.

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Of course, much remains to be done, but the progress of the past year gives me confidence that we are heading in the right direction. In this, President Gorbachev has been a good partner in peace.

Given the war-torn history of this century we should redouble our efforts to forge a new century of peace and freedom. Our nations have produced Abraham Lincoln. Leo Tolstoy. Martin

Luther King. Andrei Sakharov. We have persevered as allies in a terrible war. The challenges we face today are no less daunting. ~~But~~ with goodwill and determination on both sides, I am confident our two peoples will be equal to the task.

Thank you, God bless you, and have a happy New Year.

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But the possibilities they offer include greater democracy and freedom, and hope of a better future for our children.

VIDEO MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION

ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, MY WIFE BARBARA,
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