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Post-Summit Televised Address 6/8/90 [OA 5374] (cancelled)

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	16	3	4

China: free mkt returns
when emerge planning for freedom.
"help" Sovs → encourag/incentives

(Lange/Cawley)
June 1, 1990
2:15 P.M.
[SUMMIT.DOC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: POST-SUMMIT TELEVISED ADDRESS
THE OVAL OFFICE
TUESDAY, JUNE 5, 1990
[TIME]

My fellow Americans:

There are moments in the lives of nations when the pace of change is so great, the press of the challenges ~~before us~~ so compelling, that reality outruns imagination. This is such a moment -- for America, and for the community of nations around the world.

The world stage is still a familiar one. But we find ourselves re-writing the script. Old assumptions are being shattered. ~~And~~ tired dogma and doctrine are being scattered like ashes on the winds of change. So it is that great nations find themselves at a very decisive moment in history.

Last year, in the Revolution of '89 we saw young men and women join hands above the Berlin wall. We saw ~~freedom~~ heroes in every hemisphere. ~~finally free.~~ ~~And~~ We saw tyrants and iron-fisted dictators fall, as ballots replaced bullets -- and hope triumphed over fear.

Through the peaceful work of millions, from Managua to Warsaw, entire nations were transformed by the power of an idea -- and the soul of the world was transfixed with the force of a word: **Freedom.**

For much of humanity the long dark night is over -- and a long day's work has begun. But while this era means opportunity

~~and~~ ^{abroad} new uncertainty for nations around the world, America remains what she has always been. A nation of unlimited imagination. Confident in her convictions -- sure of her principles. ~~and~~ ^{Principled in} her policies. A nation of quiet strength, Faith, And freedom.

In this remarkable age, we bear witness as the world confirms the wisdom of our forefathers. They fought for a new social order -- democracy -- ^{one} that **limited** government. Gave free rein to ambition ^{and initiative.} Unleashed the power of the individual. And made room for dreams.

We prospered because our forefathers knew that liberty is a right that evolves from the people -- not a privilege granted by government. And just as our forefathers chose to empower the individual, ^{- at the time a difficult and risky choice -} so today other nations must make ~~similar~~ choices, ^{too}.

At times ^{those choices} it may be hard and painful. Some ~~choices~~ may be deferred. Others may be denied. But some choices ^{are} ~~are~~ ^{must be made} inevitable. ^{And} How a nation answers the cry for freedom is one of them.

^{move} The world's emerging democracies need our help. ~~in moving~~ ^{TB} forward, beyond revolution, toward the more peaceful **evolution** of democratic freedoms. ~~Our challenge is to chart a shared course for the Americas, North and South. To work with our allies in Europe's common home.~~ To make peace and freedom the world's common cause. ^{to make} And prosperity for all, our shared purpose.

Tonight I want to talk about the United States' role in this new world of freedom, by focusing on four critical issues: Our relations with the Soviet Union; ^{reform in the Peoples Republic of} ~~our decisions regarding~~ China;

democracy in Eastern Europe; and finally, developments ^{here in our} ~~in this~~ ^{own} hemisphere.

First, the Soviet Union. As you know, I've just completed a working summit with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. I believe we've achieved new candor. New clarity. New stability in U.S.-Soviet relations.

For too long, ^{our} ~~superpower~~ relations have been based on confrontation, rivalry, suspicion -- and an ugly war of words. Now, at last, we have ^{seized the} ~~an~~ opportunity to shape a new and brighter future -- and, ~~perhaps,~~ redefine East-West relations.

The time has long ^{since} passed when summits between our two nations could be applauded simply for their symbolic importance. We expect more now. Today we are grappling with the most fundamental causes of the cold war. The climb is getting steeper -- the agenda, more demanding. And while ^{there is no} ~~no one can~~ turn ^{my} back the clock, neither can anyone predict what the future will bring.

But a few things are certain.

We know President Gorbachev, a man of great courage, has made room for aspirations long suppressed in the Soviet Union. And the Soviet people themselves have shown great strength. We know that a stable, ^{more open} prosperous Soviet Union ^{can} ~~serve~~ the best interests of the world community. We welcome a Soviet Union that has ^{no need or desire to} ~~left its~~ expansionist aims ^{so} ~~behind~~. As I've said often, we want perestroika succeed.

And we also know that the Soviets ^{now} face fundamental choices. ^{new} Their leadership is struggling with the most basic questions about their society:

How to assure the accountability of leaders to the people. Whether they will ^{institutionalize} allow the freedoms we take for granted -- freedoms to emigrate, to speak out, to live, work and worship freely. ^{How to make the difficult transition from an inefficient} What kind of economy they'll have -- centrally-planned and controlled ^{economy, to a vibrant and} of market-driven -- ^{and how to make that} ~~difficult transition.~~ ^{system.}

In my talks with President Gorbachev, I encouraged the positive changes they have already made -- and discussed ways ^{in which our two countries can cooperate} that ~~America can help.~~

The Soviets are struggling to structure an economy that creates prosperity. But even as they work to promote greater economic opportunities and productivity, their government still considers it a ~~capital~~ crime to engage in "entrepreneurial activities" or other "economic crimes."

Because prices are fixed, some Soviet Republics haven't raised the price of bread in 30 years. Bread has become ^{so} cheaper ^{in the Soviet Union that} than the grain used to make it -- ^{so} many farmers feed their ^{pigs} cattle ^{S.F.} bread, instead of grain. People ^{are} have become exhausted and demoralized by ^a their central planned economy. ^{you hear them} They say ^{things} like, "We pretend to work, and the government pretends to pay us." And, "If you don't steal from the state, you're stealing from your family."

(?)

5

encourage

We want ~~to help~~ the Soviets find new stability and prosperity, by **tapping** the power of free wills and free markets. So we're encouraging foreign direct investment, joint ventures, and technical assistance to the Soviet Union.

We have just sign a major new trade agreement. And we
~~And we~~ still hope to extend Most Favored Nation trading status to the Soviet ^SUnion, ~~as soon as they make free emigration the law of the land.~~ We want to help in the Soviets' economic transformation, ~~—~~ because **prosperity means political stability.** And that means a safer world.

President Gorbachev and I also discussed issues where, frankly, we don't yet agree. The Soviet leadership has already condemned the secret pact that deprived the Baltic nations of their freedom 50 years ago. But Lithuania's drive for independence, in particular, and the aspirations of the other Baltic States, are tests of the Soviet's willingness to live with the logic of the reforms they've ushered in.

I believe that the Soviet leadership will eventually make the right choices. Choices that offer the possibility of a new age of political, social, and economic well-being -- and new security and stability in the world. That's why we're working with them like never before. Because we want to leave the cold war in history's dust. **We want to close the door on the cold war forever.** //

Our relations with the ^{an}other major ^{world}~~Eurasian~~ power, China, just began to blossom late in this century...

[China section]

~~NOT GUARANTEED~~

Let me turn now to those nations enjoying new freedoms -- making the most rapid advances toward democracy, and struggling for new economic growth: the nations of Eastern Europe, and Latin America.

In Eastern Europe, the pace of political change has been breathtaking. But economic change comes harder, as this long day's work begins.

The war of words and walls is ending. But the wounds of forty years of false economies -- the scars of the spirit left by decades of deprivation -- will be more difficult to heal.

Here, as with the Soviet Union, we can't simply "export" a free market system -- the differences are simply too great.

In Budapest, the waiting list for a telephone takes twenty years. Poland has virtually no accountants, bankers and attorneys to conduct basic business. Until recently, private companies were illegal in Yugoslavia. Now enterprise is legal -- but growth is crippled by ~~taxes~~ ^{tax rates as high as} of 80 percent. ~~tax rates~~

Ideas that we take for granted -- private property, elected representation, recourse to independent courts -- all sound fine in principle in Eastern Europe. But putting them into practice will be a monumental challenge -- and another crucial role America must play on the world stage.

We've already devoted over one billion dollars in direct U.S. aid to the nations of Eastern Europe -- and we've encouraged a worldwide collective effort of ^{more than} ~~over~~ 13 billion dollars in total aid. But **none** of the democracies in Eastern Europe are asking us

to write a blank check. **They are asking us to export our expertise.**

That's why, ^{last} ~~this~~ month, we ~~ve~~ created a Citizens Democracy Corps, to support democratic change and market-oriented economic reform in Eastern Europe. Mobilizing the talents of our private sector, on challenges ranging from parliamentary procedures to broadcasting to banking to business law to environmental protection.

We're also exporting expertise through one of the best-kept secrets in Washington: the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, which provides loans and risk insurance to American companies building businesses around the world. Those American companies gain footholds in new markets -- and by the way, you taxpayers out there will be glad to hear that OPIC is one government agency that turns a profit.

This summer, we'll be hosting a worldwide economic summit in Houston, Texas. [Tonight, for the sake of the emerging democracies struggling for prosperity in Eastern Europe, I'd like to invite the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, ^{and Panama,} to send observers to that summit. ^{Again,} ~~Because~~ we believe that when prosperity is shared, the world's stability is assured.]

But along with Eastern Europe, our eyes have also been on another drama of democracy -- a drama unfolding closer to home. Think of it -- throughout Latin America, almost all the dictators of the right and the left have yielded to the will of the people. \\ As these winds of change sweep the Americas, we are

coming close, so very close, to living in a Hemisphere of Democracy.

Look to Chile, a nation that has made the transition from authoritarian rule to civilian government. Look to Paraguay, where a people kicked out an aging autocrat, and held elections.

Then there is Panama, where a dictator once held sway. But because the brave people of Panama stood by our fighting men and women, **now the people rule in Panama.**

And in Nicaragua, just a few months ago, the edicts of a ^{dictatorship} directorate once had the force of law. **Now Violetta Chamorro is president of Nicaragua. \\ And the people rule.**

Everywhere we look, we see that the conscience of the early Spanish friars has become the human rights movement of a hemisphere. And a dozen lands now share the United States' vision of democracy. The Americas are also opening to a new kind of freedom -- freedom to choose, to prosper, to grow.

Just as the peoples of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are senselessly oppressed by state-ownership, red-tape and corruption, the same, unfortunately, is true of even a few anti-communist Latin American societies. In one large Latin city, a person who can't afford to pay officials the necessary bribes must take almost 300 days to cut the red tape just to open a small garment shop. But now the peoples of Latin America are demanding -- and getting -- freedom to work, and enjoy the fruits of their labor.

Let me tell you what America will do for them.

For nations striving to be free of the dead hand of the state, the United States is ready to open the door of opportunity with free-trade agreements.

For the new-born democracies of Panama and Nicaragua, the United States is ^{now} providing 720 million dollars in emergency aid.

For nations that struggle against the cruel caudillos ((CAW-dee-yohs)) of the drug trade, the United States is providing material assistance and ^{expertise.} ~~advice.~~

And for Cuba -- the United States will continue to stand by the people of that unfortunate island in their dark hour of need. We will ^{show} ~~bombard~~ Cuba with the sights and sounds of freedom; we will press the cause of democracy; **we will not rest until Cuba is free.** \\\

You know, cynics say you can't eat democracy. But after two centuries of American experience, the world has learned that no nation can long prosper without it.

The world has learned that democracy \\\ is another way of saying opportunity. That government, far from **fearing** private initiative, should be all **for** it. And that the surest sign of a nation's kindness is the kind of social and economic mobility it allows its people.

As Americans, we stand for freedom. For a peace that endures. For prosperity with a purpose, ^{and} ~~for~~ commerce with a conscience.

In this era when all is possible, in this age when all may be free, let us help other nations make the choices we've made.

There is a new world of freedom to be won. Just as one candle that lights another is not extinguished, just as one voice that joins another is not diminished, an offered hand only grows stronger.

So let the Iron Curtain rise. ^{Let the Cold War end.} Let every corner of the world stage be lit with the brilliant drama of democratic freedoms. And let voices still restrained, rise with the enduring harmony and grace God intended for humanity.

All is possible \\ if we but have the will to make it so.
God bless you -- and good night.

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(Lange/Cawley)
June 1, 1990
2:15 P.M.
[SUMMIT.DOC]

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THE OVAL OFFICE
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[TIME]

My fellow Americans:

There are moments in the lives of nations when the pace of change is so great, the press of the challenges before us so compelling, that reality outruns imagination. This is such a moment -- for America, and for the community of nations around the world.

The world stage is still a familiar one. But we find ourselves re-writing the script. Old assumptions are being shattered. And tired dogma and doctrine are being scattered like ashes on the winds of change. So it is that great nations find themselves at a very decisive moment in history.

Last year, in the Revolution of '89 we saw young men and women join hands above the Berlin wall. We saw heroes in every hemisphere finally free. And we saw tyrants and iron-fisted dictators fall, as ballots replaced bullets -- and hope triumphed over fear.

Through the peaceful work of millions, from Managua to Warsaw, entire nations were transformed by the power of an idea -- and the soul of the world was transfixed with the force of a word: **Freedom.**

For much of humanity the long dark night is over -- and a long day's work has begun. But while this era means opportunity

and new uncertainty for nations around the world, America remains what she has always been. A nation of unlimited imagination. Confident in her convictions -- sure of her principles and policies. A nation of quiet strength. Faith. And freedom.

In this remarkable age, we bear witness as the world confirms the wisdom of our forefathers. They fought for a new social order -- democracy -- that **limited** government. Gave free rein to ambition. Unleashed the power of the individual. And made room for dreams.

We prospered because our forefathers knew that liberty is a right that evolves from the people -- not a privilege granted by government. And just as our forefathers chose to empower the individual, so today other nations must make similar choices.

At times it may be hard and painful. Some choices may be deferred. Others may be denied. But some choices are inevitable. **How a nation answers the cry for freedom is one of them.**

The world's emerging democracies need our help in moving forward, beyond revolution, toward the more peaceful **evolution** of democratic freedoms. Our ^{shared} challenge is to chart a ~~shared~~ ^{shared} course for the Americas, North and South. (To work with our allies ^{and to} in Europe's common home.) To make peace and freedom the world's common cause. And prosperity for all, our shared purpose.

Tonight I want to talk about the United States' role in this new world of freedom, by focusing on four critical issues: Our relations with the Soviet Union; our decisions regarding China;

democracy in Eastern Europe; and finally, developments in this hemisphere.

First, the Soviet Union. As you know, I've just completed a working summit with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. I believe we've achieved new candor. New clarity. New stability in U.S.-Soviet relations.

For too long, superpower relations have been based on confrontation, rivalry, suspicion -- and an ~~ugly~~ war of words. Now, at last, we have an opportunity to shape a new and brighter future -- and, perhaps, redefine East-West relations.

The time has long passed when summits between our two nations could be applauded simply for their symbolic importance. We expect more now. Today we are grappling with the most fundamental causes of the cold war. The climb is getting steeper -- the agenda, more demanding. And while no one can turn back the clock, neither can anyone predict, ^{with certainty} what the future will bring.

But a few things are certain.

We know President Gorbachev, a man of great courage, has made room for aspirations long suppressed in the Soviet Union. And the Soviet people themselves have shown great strength. We know that a stable, prosperous Soviet Union serves the best interests of the world community. We welcome a Soviet Union that has left its expansionist aims behind. As I've said often, we want perestroika succeed.

And we also know that the Soviets face fundamental choices now. Their leadership is struggling with the most basic questions about their society:

How to assure the accountability of leaders to the people. Whether they will allow the freedoms we take for granted -- freedoms to emigrate, to speak out, to live, work and worship freely. What kind of economy they'll have -- centrally-planned and controlled, or market-driven -- and how to make that difficult transition.

In my talks with President Gorbachev, I encouraged the positive changes they have already made -- and discussed ways that America can help.

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 And, "If you don't steal from the state, you're stealing from your family."

We want to help the Soviets find new stability and prosperity, by **tapping** the power of free wills and free markets. So we're encouraging foreign direct investment, joint ventures, and technical assistance to the Soviet Union.

last week, Pres G. & I signed 2 major trade agreements;
 And we still hope to extend Most Favored Nation trading status to the Soviet Union, ~~(as soon as they make free emigration the law of the land)~~ We want to help in the Soviets' economic transformation -- because **prosperity means political stability. And that means a safer world.**

President Gorbachev and I also discussed issues where, frankly, we don't yet agree. The Soviet leadership has already condemned the secret pact that deprived the Baltic nations of their freedom 50 years ago. But Lithuania's drive for independence, in particular, and the aspirations of the other Baltic States, are tests of the Soviet's willingness to live with the logic of the reforms they've ushered in.

I believe that the Soviet leadership will eventually make the right choices. Choices that offer the possibility of a new age of political, social, and economic well-being -- and new security and stability in the world. That's why we're working with them like never before. Because we want to leave the cold war in history's dust. **We want to close the door on the cold war forever. //**

Our relations with the other major Eurasian power, China, just began to blossom late in this century. But one year ago yesterday, Americans awoke to the sounds of distant thunder from

another gathering storm -- and the shocking news of gunfire in the streets of Beijing. We were and remain both outraged and deeply concerned about the needless violence and the tragic loss of life. Outraged because the demonstrators did nothing more than raise the same cry for democracy that soon was echoed around the world. Concerned because America wants to play a responsible role in helping to bring about better days and better conditions in the lives of all the Chinese people.

In the year since those tragic events, we have listened to many voices -- voices of outrage, voices of anger, voices of compassion and hope. And after long and careful deliberation, last week I determined that ^{spill out} MFN trade status -- the basis of everyday trade throughout the world -- should be extended for another year. Not for China -- but for her people.

For 10 years Americans applauded the historic free market reforms that were energizing the Chinese economy and transforming the lives of people ⁱⁿ in farms and ⁱⁿ factories ^{the heart of} from frozen Manchuria to the tropics of ^{Cishuan} ~~Yunnan~~. Then the success of those reforms was derailed by the terrible events of last June, events that will not soon be overlooked by the people of either of our nations. But it is in the interest of the United States -- and more importantly -- in the interest of the Chinese people -- that the reforms be continued, that the engine of free market reform be put back on track.

Millions of Chinese have benefitted from renewed contact with the West. I think of the plea of a Chinese student here in

the United States, asking that the Congress not impose additional sanctions against the Chinese people. He told of how, shortly after the "bamboo curtain" was cracked open in 1972, he started to learn English when some friends were able to borrow a two-volume textbook, brought to China by one of the earliest American delegations. They stayed up all night, typing the entire book in a language they did not understand, in order to return it the next day. And each night they secretly tied a radio wire onto the plumbing to tune into the Voice of America -- and hear the strange and wonderful new words of an idea called America.

Today that young man is a graduate of Columbia Law School, hoping to go back to help his homeland to learn and grow and rejoin the community of nations. He writes: "Contact with the outside world brought the spark of democracy to China. Further isolation will keep the spark from catching fire again."

Slamming the door against troubled neighbors has always been the easy way out. But it has never been the American way. When America opened the door to China in 1972, the Cultural Revolution was in full rage, a toll of torture and imprisonment now said to have affected the lives of 100 million Chinese. But because the people of this country had the courage to do the right thing -- to extend a hand rather than raise a fist -- 17 years later it was the words of Patrick Henry -- and the image of the Statue of Liberty -- that roused a brave, lone man to stand up before a column of tanks.

Let me turn now to those nations enjoying new freedoms -- making the most rapid advances toward democracy, and struggling for new economic growth: the nations of Eastern Europe, and Latin America.

In Eastern Europe, the pace of political change has been breathtaking. But economic change comes harder, as this long day's work begins.

The war of words and walls is ending. But the wounds of forty years of false economies -- the scars of the spirit left by decades of deprivation -- will be more difficult to heal.

Here, as with the Soviet Union, we can't simply "export" a free market system -- the differences are simply too great.

In Budapest, the waiting list for a telephone takes twenty years. Poland has virtually no accountants, bankers and attorneys to conduct basic business. Until recently, private companies were illegal in Yugoslavia. Now enterprise is legal -- but growth is crippled by taxes of 80 percent.

Idea ? Ideas that we take for granted -- private property, elected representation, recourse to independent courts -- (all sound fine in principle in Eastern Europe) But putting them into practice will be a monumental challenge -- and another crucial role for America on the world stage.

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Then there is Panama, where a dictator once held sway. But because the brave people of Panama stood by our fighting men and women, **now the people rule in Panama.**

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As Americans, we stand for freedom. For a peace that endures. For prosperity with a purpose. For commerce with a conscience.

In this ^{historic time,} ~~era~~ ^{seems} when all is possible, in this age when all may be free, let us help other nations make the choices we've made.

There is a new world of freedom to be won. Just as one candle that lights another is not extinguished, just as one voice that joins another is not diminished, an offered hand only grows stronger.

The I.C. has risen, and the Cold War is ending.
So let the ~~Iron Curtain~~ rise. Let every corner of the world stage be lit with the brilliant drama of democratic freedoms. And let voices still restrained, rise with the enduring harmony and grace God intended for humanity.

All is possible \\ if we but have the will to make it so.

God bless you -- and good night.

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