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

OA/ID Number: 13615
Folder ID Number: 13615-004

Folder Title:
American Society of Newspaper Editors 4/9/92 [OA 6100]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	18	1	2

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 4/8/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ---

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS
J.W. MARRIOT
APRIL 9, 1992
1:45 P.M.

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SKINNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MOORE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CALIO	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	YEUTTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>FINDLAY</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>McGROARTY</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BOSKIN		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>KAUFMAN</u>		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

The attached remarks have been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY
 Assistant to the President
 and Staff Secretary
 Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 8, 1992

02 APR 8 P4:32

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVID F. DEMAREST *DD*
FROM: DAN MC GROARTY *DMG*
SUBJECT: PROPOSED REMARKS FOR THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF
NEWSPAPER EDITORS

I. SUMMARY

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

II. DISCUSSION

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

Draft Four
April 8, 1992

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Thursday, April 9, 1992; 1:45 p.m.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is not inevitable, as de Toqueville wrote, that America and Russia were destined to struggle for global supremacy. Toqueville only knew a despotic Russia. But we see, and can help secure, a democratic Russia.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 8, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

OUR VALUES ARE THEIR VALUES. AND IN THIS TIME OF TRANSITION -- THEY SEEK OUR HELP.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

AND FINALLY, THIRD: THE TRIUMPH OF FREE GOVERNMENTS AND FREE MARKETS IN THE OLD SOVIET UNION WILL MEAN EXTENSIVE OPPORTUNITIES FOR GLOBAL TRADE AND ECONOMIC GROWTH. //

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

I AM COMMITTED TO GIVING AMERICAN BUSINESS EVERY POSSIBLE OPPORTUNITY TO COMPETE FAIRLY AND EQUALLY IN THESE NEW MARKETS. FOR EXAMPLE, LAST WEEK I ASKED THE CONGRESS TO REPEAL THE STEVENSON AND BYRD AMENDMENTS THAT LIMIT THE EXPORT-IMPORT BANK'S ABILITY TO HELP PROMOTE AMERICAN EXPORTS TO THE FORMER USSR -- AND I AM PLEASED THAT CONGRESS HAS ACTED. I AM ALSO SEEKING TO CONCLUDE TRADE, BILATERAL INVESTMENT, AND TAX TREATIES WITH EACH OF THE NEW COMMONWEALTH STATES. THE FIRST AGREEMENT -- BETWEEN THE U.S. AND ARMENIA -- WAS SIGNED LAST WEEK, AND WE EXPECT MORE TO FOLLOW.

RUSSIAN DEMOCRACY IS IN AMERICA'S INTEREST. IT IS ALSO IN KEEPING WITH THIS NATION'S GUIDING IDEALS. ACROSS THE BOUNDARIES OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURE, ACROSS THE COLD WAR CHASM OF MISTRUST, WE FEEL THE PULL OF COMMON VALUES. IN THE ORDEAL OF THE LONG-SUFFERING PEOPLES OF THE SOVIET EMPIRE WE SEE GLIMPSSES OF THIS NATION'S PAST. IN THEIR HOPES AND DREAMS -- WE SEE OUR OWN.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

92 APR 8

All: April 8, 1992

*w/out Roger's
Okay*

MEMORANDUM FOR DAN MCGROARTY

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER

SUBJECT: American Society of Newspaper Editors

This is an excellent speech.

We have two suggestions to strengthen the point about the long-term economic benefits of aiding Russia:

- Page 3. Revise last sentence of 4th paragraph to read: Who in 1946, when our adversaries lay defeated and devastated, could have foreseen the day when our two-way trade with Japan and Germany would contribute to our joint economic prosperity.
- Page 3. Insert after 4th paragraph.

Let us remember too the lessons of history. After World War I, the victorious allies imposed a Carthaginian peace on a defeated Germany. In the midst of war reparations, poverty, defeat, and despair, a fragile democracy collapsed, and Adolf Hitler rose to power.

At the end of World War II, America rejected the impulse to disengage. We developed the Marshall plan to rebuild Europe. In a spirit of bipartisan cooperation between the Executive Branch and the Congress, this nation aided Japan and Germany, and showed them the way to democracy. This far-sighted American leadership has produced immense benefits to this nation. Today, the United States exports more than \$180 billion to Germany and Japan. The European Community has become a pillar of democracy and stability in Europe, and a vital U.S. trading partner.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 8, 1992

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 4/7/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11:00 A.M. 4/8/92

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS

SUBJECT: J.W. MARRIOT
APRIL 9, 1992
1:45 p.m.

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SKINNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MOORE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CALIO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	YEUTTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>FINDLAY</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>McGROARTY</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KAUFMAN		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Dan McGroarty NO LATER THAN 11:00 A.M., WEDNESDAY, APRIL 8, with a copy to this office.

Thank you.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY
 Assistant to the President
 and Staff Secretary
 Ext. 2702

McGroarty/Bunton
April 7, 1992
4:15 pm
[ASNE]

12 APR 7 P4:20

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS
J.W. MARRIOT
APRIL 9, 1992
1:45 P.M.

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

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

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

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

The triumph we celebrate today -- the collapse of imperial communism -- was 45 years in the making. From the first moments of the Cold War, our mission was containment -- to use the combined resources of the West to check the expansionist aims of the Soviet empire. It has been my policy as President to move beyond containment -- to use the power of the U.S. and its allies to end the Cold War with freedom's victory.

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

Right now, in the lands of the old Soviet Union, people are waging a valiant struggle for the rights and freedoms we possess. The fate of that revolution -- the future of democracy in Russia and the other new nations of the old Soviet empire -- is the most important foreign policy issue of our time.

To understand this struggle, we must understand the scope of the challenge. In Russia and across the old empire, nations now seek to build a system of free government and free markets -- to cultivate a spirit of public trust in people more experienced in enduring servitude than exercising self-government.

History weighs heavily against hope: 74 years of communist mis-rule will not be wiped away overnight. And yet in Moscow and Kiev, in Yerevan and _____, a new breed of leaders -- drawing on

the power of popular mandates -- are pushing forward with reform.

Boris Yeltsin, / Levon Ter-Petrosian, / Leonid Kravchuk / and like-minded leaders across the old Soviet Union seek to replace the rule of force with the rule of law.

They seek for the first time not to impose rule in the name of the people -- but to build governments of, by and for the people.

They seek a future of free and open markets -- systems where economic rights rest in the hands of individuals, not on the whims of central planners.

They seek a partnership and alliance with us -- an end to competition and conflict.

They seek to shape a new history -- to secure a democratic peace.

And in this time of transition -- they seek our help.

America must heed the call -- America must make a new friend of an old enemy. //

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

There can be no question that it is in America's interest to have Russia as a friend and partner. The failure of the democratic experiment would bring a dark future -- at best, a return to authoritarianism. At worst, a descent into anarchy. In either case, the outcome would threaten our peace, prosperity and security for years to come. //

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

The importance of democracy's success in the old Soviet Union can be summed up in a single sentence: No free nation has ever waged war with a fellow democracy.

Democracy in the former USSR will also lead to free market economies and a vast increase in global trade and investment, providing new markets for American goods, new opportunities for American entrepreneurs, new jobs for American workers.

Today, two-way trade with the former Soviet Union is a scant \$4 billion dollars a year. No economist can pin-point the value of trade opportunities we hope to have -- but the potential for prosperity is great.

The people of the former Soviet Union are well-schooled and highly-skilled. They seek for their families the same better future each of us wishes for our own. Together, they form a potentially vast market that crosses 11 time zones and comprises nearly 300 million people. For those who see Russia's present economic peril, and wonder whether the promise of prosperity is real -- I ask this question: Who in 1946, when our adversaries lay defeated and devastated, would have foreseen the day when our two-way trade with Germany and Japan would total more than \$180 billion dollars?

We must act to support democracy for the sake of peace and prosperity. But in the deepest sense, America must act not out of some vague sense of altruism, or narrow calculation of interest. We must act to uphold the ideals that give America its meaning.

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

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

This democratic peace must be founded on the twin pillars of political and economic freedom for the peoples of the former Soviet Union.

Here is how we can make this new world a reality:

Strategically, the United States will continue to push forward to reach historic nuclear reductions on all sides. To Russia, Ukraine, Byelarus and Kazakhstan, we are offering our help in dismantling and destroying their nuclear weapons -- and we will work together to contain their spread. We are ready to engage in an intensive program of military-to-military ties and exchanges with the Commonwealth military forces.

Politically, we're reaching out so that America -- and American values -- will be well represented in these new lands. Only the United States has opened embassies in all of the former

republics. We will add to this presence "America Houses" -- to bring American culture, America's heritage and history to the former USSR. We will send hundreds of Peace Corps volunteers to help create small businesses -- launch major exchanges of students, professionals and scientists, artists and educators -- so that our peoples can establish the bonds so important to permanent peace.

Economically, we must help these new nations build thriving free markets on the ruins of the socialist model. The U.S. has led the effort to provide urgent emergency food and medical supplies this past winter. I have asked the Congress for \$620 million in new funds so that Americans can share their expertise in building a new free market -- in making needed improvements in food distribution, energy production, in defense conversion and democracy-building.

One week ago, I sent to Congress the Freedom Support Act, designed to remove the old Cold War legislation that stands in the way of increased trade and investment.

Just as the rewards of this new world belong will belong to no one nation, so too the burden does not fall to America alone. We are pursuing a policy of shared responsibility: Working with the IMF and the World Bank, with G-7 nations such as Germany, Italy, and Japan -- three former adversaries we helped after World War II to rebuild their democratic foundations -- and who are now helping Russia achieve the same goal. 45 years after their founding, the Bretton Woods institutions can now serve the

precise purpose for which they were created. By working with others we're sharing the burden responsibly and acting in the best interests of the American taxpayer.

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

I am heartened by the many messages of support from the Congressional leadership -- in both Houses and in both parties -- to move forward on our program. But I know that broad public support will be critical to our effort to get this program passed.

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

My answer is that peace and prosperity are in the interest of every American -- each one of us alive today, and all the generations that will follow.

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

Ultimately, the victory for democracy cannot be won in the West. That victory can only be won by the people of Russia and Ukraine -- by all the new nations rising out of the old Soviet empire. Only they can determine their future. Only they can make freedom their own.

But our help comes at a critical moment -- at a time when the forces of freedom are fragile, and the outcome is ~~all but~~ ^{or} certain.

We stand at history's hinge-point -- a new world beckons on the horizon, while the ghosts of history stand in the shadows.

We face this challenge for the third time this century. 75 years ago this month, American troops poured into Europe to tip the balance against aggression. Yet, with the battle won, America withdrew across the ocean -- and the "war to end all wars" produced a peace that did not last a generation.

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

Today, again, we hear the echoes of earlier times. In the aftermath of the Cold War, as in the wars we've won before, America is less interested in conquest than coming home -- to make up for lost time.

I remember: I was one of those young men in a hurry. We felt the same temptation to turn inward, away from a world that

seemed so full of chaos to the comforts of home. In two years' time, we brought our Armed Forces down from a war-time peak of 12 million to a force little more than one-tenth that size.

And then the glory of the great victory over fascism gave way to the grim reality of the new communist threat.

Leaders like Truman and Vandenburg, Acheson and Eisenhower saw the threat -- shaped a coalition that kept America engaged - - kept the peace through the long twilight struggle to the last dying days of the communist system. And they taught the lesson we must heed today: that the noblest mission of the victor is to turn an enemy into a friend. //

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

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

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM
 92 APR 7 P5:22

DATE: 4/7/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11:00 A.M. 4/8/92

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS
J.W. MARRIOT
APRIL 9, 1992
1:45 p.m.

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SKINNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT <i>Darius 6/8/19 Boston 6/38</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MOORE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY <i>Gardner</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CALIO <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	YEUTTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY <i>B...</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FINDLAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	McGROARTY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BOSKIN <i>6042 N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KAUFMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Dan McGroarty NO LATER THAN 11:00 A.M., WEDNESDAY, APRIL 8, with a copy to this office.

Thank you.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY
 Assistant to the President
 and Staff Secretary
 Ext. 2702

McGroarty/Bunton
April 7, 1992
4:15 pm
[ASNE]

02 APR 7 P4:20

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APRIL 9, 1992
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Look around the world today. Think of the Page One stories of the past few years. Our victory in the Cold War, / the collapse of imperial communism, / the liberation of Kuwait. Think of the great Revolutions of '89 that brought down the Berlin Wall -- broke the chains of communism -- and brought a new world of freedom to Eastern Europe. Think of the role this nation played in every one of these great triumphs -- the sacrifices we made, the sense of mission that carried us through.

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

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I remember: I was one of those young men in a hurry. We felt the same temptation to turn inward, away from a world that

seemed so full of chaos to the comforts of home. In two years' time, we brought our Armed Forces down from a war-time peak of 12 million to a force little more than one-tenth that size.

And then the glory of the great victory over fascism gave way to the grim reality of the new communist threat.

Leaders like Truman and Vandenburg, Acheson and Eisenhower saw the threat -- shaped a coalition that kept America engaged -- kept the peace through the long twilight struggle to the last dying days of the communist system. And they taught the lesson we must heed today: that the noblest mission of the victor is to turn an enemy into a friend. //

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


#

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 8, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR DANIEL MCGROARTY

FROM: STEPHEN G. RADEMAKER 
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: American Society of
Newspaper Editors

Pursuant to Phil Brady's request, Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced matter. We have no legal objection to the draft remarks, provided "seek" is substituted for "need" on page 7, line six of the remarks. This change avoids any implication that the President requires congressional authorization to agree to an IMF quota increase, which under the Constitution he does not.

Attachment

cc: Phillip D. Brady

precise purpose for which they were created. By working with others we're sharing the burden responsibly and acting in the best interests of the American taxpayer.

Together with our allies, we have developed a \$24 billion package of financial assistance, to provide urgently needed support for President Yeltsin's reforms. I ~~need~~ ^{seek} Congress's support to increase the U.S. quota in the IMF by \$12 billion to help bring this about. Our help will be critically important to the cause of reform.

I am heartened by the many messages of support from the Congressional leadership -- in both Houses and in both parties -- to move forward on our program. But I know that broad public support will be critical to our effort to get this program passed.

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

My answer is that peace and prosperity are in the interest of every American -- each one of us alive today, and all the generations that will follow.

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

6/18

Stevenson - Ford Amendments
 which limit Ex-Im's
 ability to export.
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EX-IM

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

92 APR 8 09:18

April 8, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR DAN MCGROARTY

FROM: John S. Gardner *JSG*

SUBJECT: ASNE Speech

This was a good draft. I've marked just a few comments on the draft. Beyond that, two general points:

1. I think this needs some set-up as to why humanitarian aid is so crucial -- chronic shortage of food and medicine, inefficient Communist distribution system which permits food to rot in the fields while people go hungry, etc. This makes the case for aid and also addresses the "take care of home first" argument. ✓

✓ 2. There were two points from the NSC draft you may want to put back in. First, the sentence "Democrats in power in the Kremlin can assure our security in a way nuclear missiles never could." This is a powerful point and would be quoted. It also reflects the general dislike of nuclear weapons as a means of security policy; the President gets applause in stump speeches talking about the reduced fear of nuclear war.

Second, I liked the references to "the Stalinists" and contrasts to our way of life. I also liked calling the Cold War a "struggle over values." This is a good point -- it wasn't about territory or geopolitics, but about the values that distinguish our nation from others.

Thanks.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 4/7/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11:00 A.M. 4/8/92

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS
 SUBJECT: J.W. MARRIOT
APRIL 9, 1992
1:45 p.m.

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SKINNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MOORE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CALIO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	YEUTTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>FINDLAY</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>McGROARTY</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KAUFMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

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Thank you.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY
 Assistant to the President
 and Staff Secretary
 Ext. 2702

McGroarty/Bunton
April 7, 1992
4:15 pm
[ASNE]

32 APR 7 P4:20

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Right now, in the lands of the old Soviet Union, people are waging a valiant struggle for the rights and freedoms we possess. The fate of that revolution -- the future of democracy in Russia and the other new nations of the old Soviet empire -- is the most important foreign policy issue of our time.

To understand this struggle, we must understand the scope of the challenge. In Russia and across the old empire, nations now seek to build a system of free government and free markets -- to cultivate a spirit of public trust in people more experienced in enduring servitude than exercising self-government.

History weighs heavily against hope: 74 years of communist mis-rule will not be wiped away overnight. And yet in Moscow and Kiev, in Yerevan and _____, a new breed of leaders -- drawing on

the power of popular mandates -- are pushing forward with reform.

Boris Yeltsin, / Levon Ter-Petrosian, / Leonid Kravchuk / and like-minded leaders across the old Soviet Union seek to replace the rule of force with the rule of law.

They seek for the first time not to impose rule in the name of the people -- but to build governments of, by and for the people.

They seek a future of free and open markets -- systems where economic rights rest in the hands of individuals, not on the whims of central planners.

They seek a partnership and alliance with us -- an end to competition and conflict.

They seek to shape a new history -- to secure a democratic peace.

And in this time of transition -- they seek our help.

America must heed the call -- America must make a new friend of an old enemy. //

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

There can be no question that it is in America's interest to have Russia as a friend and partner. The failure of the democratic experiment would bring a dark future -- at best, a return to authoritarianism. At worst, a descent into anarchy. In either case, the outcome would threaten our peace, prosperity and security for years to come. //

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

The importance of democracy's success in the old Soviet Union can be summed up in a single sentence: No free nation has ever waged war with a fellow democracy.

Democracy in the former USSR will also lead to free market economies and a vast increase in global trade and investment, providing new markets for American goods, new opportunities for American entrepreneurs, new jobs for American workers.

Today, two-way trade with the former Soviet Union is a scant \$4 billion dollars a year. No economist can pin-point the value of trade opportunities **we hope to have -- but the potential for prosperity is great.**

The people of the former Soviet Union are well-schooled and highly-skilled. They seek for their families the same better future each of us wishes for our own. Together, they form a potentially vast market that crosses 11 time zones and comprises nearly 300 million people. For those who see Russia's present economic peril, and wonder whether the promise of prosperity is real -- I ask this question: Who in 1946, when our adversaries lay defeated and devastated, would have foreseen the day when our two-way trade with Germany and Japan would total more than \$180 billion dollars?

We must act to support democracy for the sake of peace and prosperity. But in the deepest sense, America must act not out of some vague sense of altruism, or narrow calculation of interest. We must act to uphold the ideals that give America its meaning.

Doesn't this give rise to the fear that we're just helping potential creditors instead of expanding our markets?

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

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

This democratic peace must be founded on the twin pillars of political and economic freedom for the peoples of the former Soviet Union.

Here is how we can make this new world a reality:

Strategically, the United States will continue to push forward to reach historic nuclear reductions on all sides. To Russia, Ukraine, Byelarus and Kazakhstan, we are offering our help in dismantling and destroying their nuclear weapons -- and we will work together to contain their spread. We are ready to engage in an intensive program of military-to-military ties and exchanges with the Commonwealth military forces.

Politically, we're reaching out so that America -- and American values -- will be well represented in these new lands. Only the United States has opened embassies in all of the former

republics. We will add to this presence "America Houses" -- to bring American culture, America's heritage and history to the former USSR. We will send hundreds of Peace Corps volunteers to help create small businesses -- launch major exchanges of students, professionals and scientists, artists and educators -- so that our peoples can establish the bonds so important to permanent peace.

Economically, we must help these new nations build thriving free markets on the ruins of the socialist model. The U.S. has led the effort to provide urgent emergency food and medical supplies this past winter. I have asked the Congress for \$620 million in new funds so that Americans can share their expertise in building a new free market -- in making needed improvements in food distribution, energy production, in defense conversion and democracy-building.

One week ago, I sent to Congress the Freedom Support Act, designed to remove the old Cold War legislation that stands in the way of increased trade and investment.

Just as the rewards of this new world belong will belong to no one nation, so too the burden does not fall to America alone. We are pursuing a policy of shared responsibility: Working with the IMF and the World Bank, with G-7 nations such as Germany, Italy, and Japan -- three former adversaries we helped after World War II to rebuild their democratic foundations -- and who are now helping Russia achieve the same goal. 45 years after their founding, the Bretton Woods institutions can now serve the

precise purpose for which they were created. By working with others we're sharing the burden responsibly and acting in the best interests of the American taxpayer.

Together with our allies, we have developed a \$24 billion package of financial assistance, to provide urgently needed support for President Yeltsin's reforms. I need Congress's support to increase the U.S. quota in the IMF by \$12 billion to help bring this about. Our help will be critically important to the cause of ^{democracy and} reform.

I am heartened by the many messages of support from the Congressional leadership -- in both Houses and in both parties - - to move forward on our program. But I know that broad public support will be critical to our effort to get this program passed.

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

My answer is that peace and prosperity are in the interest of every American -- each one of us alive today, and all the generations that will follow.

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

Ultimately, the victory for democracy cannot be won in the West. That victory can only be won by the people of Russia and Ukraine -- by all the new nations rising out of the old Soviet empire. Only they can determine their future. Only they can make freedom their own.

But our help comes at a critical moment -- at a time when the forces of freedom are fragile, and the outcome is all but certain.

We stand at history's hinge-point -- a new world beckons on the horizon, while the ghosts of history stand in the shadows.

We face this challenge for the third time this century. 75 years ago this month, American troops poured into Europe to tip the balance against aggression. Yet, with the battle won, America withdrew across the ocean -- and the "war to end all wars" produced a peace that did not last a generation.

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

Today, again, we hear the echoes of earlier times. In the aftermath of the Cold War, as in the wars we've won before, America is less interested in conquest than coming home -- to make up for lost time.

I remember: I was one of those young men in a hurry. We felt the same temptation to turn inward, away from a world that

seemed so full of chaos to the comforts of home. In two years' time, we brought our Armed Forces down from a war-time peak of 12 million to a force little more than one-tenth that size.

And then the glory of the great victory over fascism gave way to the grim reality of the new communist threat.

Leaders like Truman and Vandenberg, Acheson and Eisenhower saw the threat -- shaped a coalition that kept America engaged - - kept the peace through the long twilight struggle to the last dying days of the communist system. And they taught the lesson we must heed today: that the noblest mission of the victor is to turn an enemy into a friend. //

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

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

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

92 APR 8 AID: 06

DATE: 4/7/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11:00 A.M. 4/8/92

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS

SUBJECT: J.W. MARRIOT
APRIL 9, 1992
1:45 p.m.

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SKINNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MOORE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CALIO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	YEUTTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FINDLAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	McGROARTY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KAUFMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Dan McGroarty NO LATER THAN 11:00 A.M., WEDNESDAY, APRIL 8, with a copy to this office.

Thank you.

RESPONSE:

See comments

PHILLIP D. BRADY
 Assistant to the President
 and Staff Secretary
 Ext. 2702

McGroarty/Bunton
April 7, 1992
4:15 pm
[ASNE]

32 APR 7 P4: 20

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS
J.W. MARRIOT
APRIL 9, 1992
1:45 P.M.

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

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

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

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

The triumph we celebrate today -- the collapse of imperial communism -- was 45 years in the making. From the first moments of the Cold War, our mission was containment -- to use the combined resources of the West to check the expansionist aims of the Soviet empire. It has been my policy as President to move beyond containment -- to use the power of the U.S. and its allies to end the Cold War with freedom's victory.

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

Right now, in the lands of the old Soviet Union, people are waging a valiant struggle for the rights and freedoms we possess. The fate of that revolution -- the future of democracy in Russia and the other new nations of the old Soviet empire -- is the most important foreign policy issue of our time.

To understand this struggle, we must understand the scope of the challenge. In Russia and across the old empire, nations now seek to build a system of free government and free markets -- to cultivate a spirit of public trust in people more experienced in enduring servitude than exercising self-government.

History weighs heavily against hope: 74 years of communist mis-rule will not be wiped away overnight. And yet in Moscow and Kiev, in Yerevan and _____, a new breed of leaders -- drawing on

the power of popular mandates -- are pushing forward with reform.

Boris Yeltsin, / Levon Ter-Petrosian, / Leonid Kravchuk / and like-minded leaders across the old Soviet Union seek to replace the rule of force with the rule of law.

They seek for the first time not to impose rule in the name of the people -- but to build governments of, by and for the people.

They seek a future of free and open markets -- systems where economic rights rest in the hands of individuals, not on the whims of central planners.

They seek a partnership and alliance with us -- an end to competition and conflict.

They seek to shape a new history -- to secure a democratic peace.

And in this time of transition -- they seek our help.

America must heed the call -- America must make a new friend of an old enemy. //

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

There can be no question that it is in America's interest to have Russia as a friend and partner. The failure of the democratic experiment would bring a dark future -- at best, a return to authoritarianism. At worst, a descent into anarchy. In either case, the outcome would threaten our peace, prosperity and security for years to come. //

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

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Democracy in the former USSR will also lead to free market economies and a vast increase in global trade and investment, providing new markets for American goods, new opportunities for American entrepreneurs, new jobs for American workers.

Today, two-way trade with the former Soviet Union is a scant \$4 billion dollars a year. No economist can pin-point the value of trade opportunities we hope to have -- but the potential for prosperity is great.

The people of the former Soviet Union are well-schooled and highly-skilled. They seek for their families the same better future each of us wishes for our own. Together, they form a potentially vast market that crosses 11 time zones and comprises nearly 300 million people. For those who see Russia's present economic peril, and wonder whether the promise of prosperity is real -- I ask this question: Who in 1946, when our adversaries lay defeated and devastated, would have foreseen the day when our two-way trade with Germany and Japan would total more than \$180 billion dollars?

We must act to support democracy for the sake of peace and prosperity. But in the deepest sense, America must act not out of some vague sense of altruism, or narrow calculation of interest. We must act to uphold the ideals that give America its meaning.

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

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

This democratic peace must be founded on the twin pillars of political and economic freedom for the peoples of the former Soviet Union.

Here is how we can make this new world a reality:

Strategically, the United States will continue to push forward to reach historic nuclear reductions on all sides. To Russia, Ukraine, Byelarus and Kazakhstan, we are offering our help in dismantling and destroying their nuclear weapons -- and we will work together to contain their spread. We are ready to engage in an intensive program of military-to-military ties and exchanges with the Commonwealth military forces.

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MY GRANDCHILDREN WILL NOT FACE THE NUCLEAR WINTER OF MY GENERATION

→ MENTION
6 "people TO people"

republics. We will add to this presence "America Houses" -- to bring American culture, America's heritage and history to the former USSR. We will send hundreds of Peace Corps volunteers to help create small businesses -- launch major exchanges of students, professionals and scientists, artists and educators -- so that our peoples can establish the bonds so important to permanent peace.

Economically, we must help these new nations build thriving free markets on the ruins of the socialist model. The U.S. has led the effort to provide urgent emergency food and medical supplies this past winter. I have asked the Congress for \$620 million in new funds so that Americans can share their expertise in building a new free market -- in making needed improvements in food distribution, energy production, in defense conversion and democracy-building.

One week ago, I sent to Congress the Freedom Support Act, designed to remove the old Cold War legislation that stands in the way of increased trade and investment.

Just as the rewards of this new world belong will belong to no one nation, so too the burden does not fall to America alone. We are pursuing a policy of shared responsibility: Working with the IMF and the World Bank, with G-7 nations such as Germany, Italy, and Japan -- three former adversaries we helped after World War II to rebuild their democratic foundations -- and who are now helping Russia achieve the same goal. 45 years after their founding, the Bretton Woods institutions can now serve the

precise purpose for which they were created. By working with others we're sharing the burden responsibly and acting in the best interests of the American taxpayer. *LET THERE BE NO MISTAKE. TO DO NOTHING NOW WILL COST TRILLIONS IN THE FUTURE -*

Together with our allies, we have developed a \$24 billion package of financial assistance, to provide urgently needed support for President Yeltsin's reforms. I need Congress's support to increase the U.S. quota in the IMF by \$12 billion to help bring this about. Our help will be critically important to the cause of reform. *BIPARTISANSHIP - ALL OUR BEST INTERESTS*

I am heartened by the many messages of support from the Congressional leadership -- in both Houses and in both parties - - to move forward on our program. But I know that broad public support will be critical to our effort to get this program passed.

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

My answer is that peace and prosperity are in the interest of every American -- each one of us alive today, and all the generations that will follow. *WE CAN LEAVE NO GREATER LEGACY.*

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

THAT'S WHY WE NEED TO MOVE FORWARD NOW

Ultimately, the victory for democracy cannot be won in the West. That victory can only be won by the people of Russia and Ukraine -- by all the new nations rising out of the old Soviet empire. Only they can determine their future. Only they can make freedom their own.

But our help comes at a ^{FRAGILE} ~~critical~~ moment -- at a time when the forces of freedom are fragile, and the outcome is all but certain.

We stand at history's [?] hinge-point ^{CROSSROADS} ^{JUNCTURE} -- a new world beckons on the horizon, while the ghosts of history stand in the shadows.

We face this challenge for the third time this century. 75 years ago this month, American troops poured into Europe to tip the balance against aggression. Yet, with the battle won, America withdrew across the ocean -- and the "war to end all wars" produced a peace that did not last a generation.

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

Today, again, we hear the echoes of earlier times. In the aftermath of the Cold War, as in the wars we've won before, America is less interested in conquest than coming home -- to make up for lost time.

I remember: I was one of those young men in a hurry. We felt the same temptation to turn inward, away from a world that

seemed so full of chaos to the comforts of home. In two years' time, we brought our Armed Forces down from a war-time peak of 12 million to a force little more than one-tenth that size.

And then the glory of the great victory over fascism gave way to the grim reality of the new communist threat.

Leaders like Truman and Vandenburg, Acheson and Eisenhower saw the threat -- shaped a coalition that kept America engaged - - kept the peace through the long twilight struggle to the last dying days of the communist system. And they taught the lesson we must heed today: that the noblest mission of the victor is to turn an enemy into a friend. //

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

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

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Document No. 320604

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 4/7/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11:00 A.M. 4/8/92

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS

SUBJECT: J.W. MARRIOT
APRIL 9, 1992
1:45 p.m.

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SKINNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCSBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MOORE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CALIO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	YEUTTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FINDLAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	McGROARTY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KAUFMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Dan McGroarty NO LATER THAN 11:00 A.M., WEDNESDAY, APRIL 8, with a copy to this office.

Thank you.

RESPONSE:

*See comments. Thanks.
PK
Paul Korfonta
04/08*

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

McGroarty/Bunton
April 7, 1992
4:15 pm
[ASNE]

02 APR 7 P4:20

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J.W. MARRIOT
APRIL 9, 1992
1:45 P.M.

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still turn to the printed word. //

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

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

2

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

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

Right now, in the lands of the old Soviet Union, people are waging a valiant struggle for the rights and freedoms we possess. The fate of that revolution -- the future of democracy in Russia and the other new nations of the old Soviet empire -- is the most important foreign policy issue of our time.

To understand this struggle, we must understand the scope of the challenge. In Russia and across the old empire, nations now seek to build a system of free government and free markets -- to cultivate a spirit of public trust in people more experienced in enduring servitude than exercising self-government.

History weighs heavily against hope: 74 years of communist mis-rule will not be wiped away overnight. And yet in Moscow and Kiev, in Yerevan and _____, a new breed of leaders -- drawing on

the power of popular mandates -- are pushing forward with reform.

Boris Yeltsin, / Levon Ter-Petrosian, / Leonid Kravchuk /
and like-minded leaders across the old Soviet Union seek to
replace the rule of force with the rule of law.

They seek for the first time not to impose rule in the name
of the people -- but to build governments of, by and for the
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They seek a future of free and open markets -- systems where
economic rights rest in the hands of individuals, not on the
whims of central planners.

They seek a partnership and alliance with us -- an end to
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They seek to shape a new history -- to secure a democratic
peace.

And in this time of transition -- they seek our help.

America must heed the call -- America must make a new friend
of an old enemy. //

If we are to act -- we must see clearly what is at stake.
There can be no question that it is in America's interest to have
Russia as a friend and partner. The failure of the democratic
experiment would bring a dark future -- at best, a return to
authoritarianism. At worst, a descent into anarchy. In either
case, the outcome would threaten our peace, prosperity and
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But we should focus not on the dangers of failure -- but on
the dividends of success.

4

The importance of democracy's success in the old Soviet Union can be summed up in a single sentence: [No free nation has ever waged war with a fellow democracy.] *False statement... How about 1812? I'm sure there are others.*

Democracy in the former USSR will also lead to free market economies and a vast increase in global trade and investment, providing new markets for American goods, new opportunities for American entrepreneurs, new jobs for American workers.

Today, two-way trade with the former Soviet Union is a scant \$4 billion dollars a year. No economist can pin-point the value of trade opportunities we hope to have -- but the potential for prosperity is great.

The people of the former Soviet Union are well-schooled and highly-skilled. They seek for their families the same better future each of us wishes for our own. Together, they form a potentially vast market that crosses 11 time zones and comprises nearly 300 million people. For those who see Russia's present economic peril, and wonder whether the promise of prosperity is real -- I ask this question: Who in 1946, when our adversaries lay defeated and devastated, would have foreseen the day when our two-way trade with Germany and Japan would total more than \$180 billion dollars?

We must act to support democracy for the sake of peace and prosperity. But in the deepest sense, America must act not out of some vague sense of altruism, or narrow calculation of interest. We must act to uphold the ideals that give America its meaning.

5

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This democratic peace must be founded on the twin pillars of political and economic freedom for the peoples of the former Soviet Union.

Here is how we can make this new world a reality:

Strategically, the United States will continue to push forward to reach historic nuclear reductions on all sides. To Russia, Ukraine, Byelarus and Kazakhstan, we are offering our help in dismantling and destroying their nuclear weapons -- and we will work together to contain their spread. We are ready to engage in an intensive program of military-to-military ties and exchanges with the Commonwealth military forces.

Politically, we're reaching out so that America -- and American values -- will be well represented in these new lands. Only the United States has opened embassies in all of the former

(Important)
Should really mention MFN

Insert
(USTR)

to extend most favored nation tariff treatment to the newly individual states. Just this past Tuesday, for example, we extended MFN to Armenia, reducing tariff barriers facing Armenian goods by approximately 90%.

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Just as the rewards of this new world ~~will~~ will belong to no one nation, so too the burden does not fall to America alone. We are pursuing a policy of shared responsibility: Working with the IMF and the World Bank, with G-7 nations such as Germany, Italy, and Japan -- three former adversaries we helped after World War II to rebuild their democratic foundations -- and who are now helping Russia achieve the same goal. 45 years after their founding, the Bretton Woods institutions can now serve the

precise purpose for which they were created. By working with others we're sharing the burden responsibly and acting in the best interests of the American taxpayer.

(Treas.)
Sounds like we're looking half the bill here...
Not true!

Together with our allies, we have developed a \$24 billion (Treasury) package of financial assistance, to provide urgently needed support for President Yeltsin's reforms. I need Congress's

to ensure that the IMF has the resources to meet the needs of the former Soviet Union and other countries including Eastern Europe and our neighbors to the South.

support to increase the U.S. quota in the IMF by \$12 billion. ~~hope bring this about~~ Our help will be critically important to the cause of reform.

I am heartened by the many messages of support from the Congressional leadership -- in both Houses and in both parties - to move forward on our program. But I know that broad public support will be critical to our effort to get this program passed.

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

My answer is that peace and prosperity are in the interest of every American -- each one of us alive today, and all the generations that will follow.

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

8

Ultimately, the victory for democracy cannot be won in the West. That victory can only be won by the people of Russia and Ukraine -- by all the new nations rising out of the old Soviet empire. Only they can determine their future. Only they can make freedom their own.

But our help comes at a critical moment -- at a time when the forces of freedom are fragile, and the outcome is all but certain.

We stand at history's hinge-point -- a new world beckons on the horizon, while the ghosts of history stand in the shadows.

We face this challenge for the third time this century. 75 years ago this month, American troops poured into Europe to tip the balance against aggression. Yet, with the battle won, America withdrew across the ocean -- and the "war to end all wars" produced a peace that did not last a generation.

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

Today, again, we hear the echoes of earlier times. In the aftermath of the Cold War, as in the wars we've won before, America is less interested in conquest than coming home -- to make up for lost time.

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9

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And then the glory of the great victory over fascism gave way to the grim reality of the new communist threat.

Leaders like Truman and Vandenburg, Acheson and Eisenhower saw the threat -- shaped a coalition that kept America engaged - - kept the peace through the long twilight struggle to the last dying days of the communist system. And they taught the lesson we must heed today: that the noblest mission of the victor is to turn an enemy into a friend. //

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

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

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Jeppson

secretly done
almost seamless.

McGroarty/Bunton
April 7, 1992
4:15 pm
[ASNE]

2 APR 7 P4:20

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS
J.W. MARRIOT
APRIL 9, 1992
1:45 P.M.

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

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

Handwritten notes:
Mandela when
& makes
I going to bed

He will probably ad lib this anyway -
better to fold it in now than risk
disruption of the flow of the speech when
2 he delivers it.

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

The triumph we celebrate today -- the collapse of imperial
communism -- was 45 years in the making. From the first moments
of the Cold War, our mission was containment -- to use the
combined resources of the West to check the expansionist aims of
the Soviet empire. It has been my policy as President to move
beyond containment -- to use the power of the U.S. and its allies
to end the Cold War with freedom's victory.

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

Right now, in the lands of the old Soviet Union, people are
waging a valiant struggle for the rights and freedoms we possess.
The fate of that revolution -- the future of democracy in Russia
and the other new nations of the old Soviet empire -- is the most
important foreign policy issue of our time.

~~To understand this struggle,~~ we must understand the scope of
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History weighs heavily against hope: 74 years of communist
mis-rule will not be wiped away overnight. And yet in Moscow and
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Boris Yeltsin, / Levon Ter-Petrosian, / Leonid Kravchuk / and like-minded leaders across the old Soviet Union seek to replace the rule of force with the rule of law.

They seek for the first time not to impose rule in the name of the people -- but to build governments of, by and for the people.

They seek a future of free and open markets -- systems where economic rights rest in the hands of individuals, not on the whims of central planners.

They seek a partnership and alliance with us -- an end to competition and conflict.

They seek to shape a new history -- to secure a democratic peace.

And in this time of transition -- they seek our help.

America must heed the call -- America must make a new friend of an old enemy. //

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

There can be no question that it is in America's interest to have Russia as a friend and partner. The failure of the democratic experiment would bring a dark future -- at best, a return to authoritarianism. At worst, a descent into anarchy. In either case, the outcome would threaten our peace, prosperity and security for years to come. //

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

The importance of democracy's success in the old Soviet Union can be summed up in a single sentence: No free nation has ever waged war with a fellow democracy.

Democracy in the former USSR will also lead to free market economies and a vast increase in global trade and investment, providing new markets for American goods, new opportunities for American entrepreneurs, new jobs for American workers.

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The people of the former Soviet Union are well-schooled and highly-skilled. They seek for their families the same better future each of us wishes for our own. Together, they form a potentially vast market that crosses 11 time zones and comprises nearly 300 million people. For those who see Russia's present economic peril, and wonder whether the promise of prosperity is real -- I ask this question: Who in 1946, when our adversaries lay defeated and devastated, would have foreseen the day when our two-way trade with Germany and Japan would total more than \$180 billion dollars?

We must act to support democracy for the sake of peace and prosperity. But in the deepest sense, America must act not out of some vague sense of altruism, or narrow calculation of interest. We must act to uphold the ideals that give America its meaning.

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

#

Clouse

Memorandum for Speechwriting Staff

From: Dan McGroarty

Regarding: *Newspaper Editors*

Please return your comments to
Room 122 by:

10 AM Today

Today's Date: APR 8 1992

02 APR 7 P4:20

*Very excellent speech!
- very minor edits throughout
- tight logic
- well-written
- Juice*

McGroarty/Bunton
April 7, 1992
4:15 pm
[ASNE]

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J.W. MARRIOT
APRIL 9, 1992
1:45 P.M.

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

The triumph we celebrate today -- the collapse of imperial communism -- was 45 years in the making. From the first moments of the Cold War, our mission was containment -- to use the combined resources of the West to check the expansionist aims of the Soviet empire. It has been my policy as President to move beyond containment -- to use the power of the U.S. and its allies to end the Cold War with freedom's victory.

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*imperialistic?
sounding???*

Meaning unclear to me?

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92 APR 8 9:47

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 4/7/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11:00 A.M. 4/8/92

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS
SUBJECT: J.W. MARRIOT
APRIL 9, 1992
1:45 p.m.

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SKINNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MOORE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CALIO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	YEUTTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FINDLAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	McGROARTY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KAUFMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Dan McGroarty NO LATER THAN 11:00 A.M., WEDNESDAY, APRIL 8, with a copy to this office.

Thank you.

RESPONSE:

(Handwritten circled note: AS - S.R.)

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

McGroarty/Bunton
April 7, 1992
4:15 pm
[ASNE]

02 APR 7 P4:20

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS
J.W. MARRIOT
APRIL 9, 1992
1:45 P.M.

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

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

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

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

The triumph we celebrate today -- the collapse of imperial communism -- was 45 years in the making. From the first moments of the Cold War, our mission was containment -- to use the combined resources of the West to check the expansionist aims of the Soviet empire. It has been my policy as President to move beyond containment -- to use the power of the U.S. and its allies to end the Cold War with freedom's victory.

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

Right now, in the lands of the old Soviet Union, people are waging a valiant struggle for the rights and freedoms we possess. The fate of that revolution -- the future of democracy in Russia and the other new nations of the old Soviet empire -- is the most important foreign policy issue of our time.

To understand this struggle, we must understand the scope of the challenge. In Russia and across the old empire, nations now seek to build a system of free government and free markets -- to cultivate a spirit of public trust in people more experienced in enduring servitude than exercising self-government.

History weighs heavily against hope: 74 years of communist mis-rule will not be wiped away overnight. And yet in Moscow and Kiev, in Yerevan and _____, a new breed of leaders -- drawing on

the power of popular mandates -- are pushing forward with reform.

Boris Yeltsin, / Levon Ter-Petrosian, / Leonid Kravchuk / and like-minded leaders across the old Soviet Union seek to replace the rule of force with the rule of law.

They seek for the first time not to impose rule in the name of the people -- but to build governments of, by and for the people.

They seek a future of free and open markets -- systems where economic rights rest in the hands of individuals, not on the whims of central planners.

They seek a partnership and alliance with us -- an end to competition and conflict.

They seek to shape a new history -- to secure a democratic peace.

And in this time of transition -- they seek our help.

America must heed the call -- America must make a new friend of an old enemy. //

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

There can be no question that it is in America's interest to have Russia as a friend and partner. The failure of the democratic experiment would bring a dark future -- at best, a return to authoritarianism. At worst, a descent into anarchy. In either case, the outcome would threaten our peace, prosperity and security for years to come. //

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

The importance of democracy's success in the old Soviet Union can be summed up in a single sentence: No free nation has ever waged war with a fellow democracy.

Democracy in the former USSR will also lead to free market economies and a vast increase in global trade and investment, providing new markets for American goods, new opportunities for American entrepreneurs, new jobs for American workers.

Today, two-way trade with the former Soviet Union is a scant \$4 billion dollars a year. No economist can pin-point the value of trade opportunities we hope to have -- but the potential for prosperity is great.

The people of the former Soviet Union are well-schooled and highly-skilled. They seek for their families the same better future each of us wishes for our own. Together, they form a potentially vast market that crosses 11 time zones and comprises nearly 300 million people. For those who see Russia's present economic peril, and wonder whether the promise of prosperity is real -- I ask this question: Who in 1946, when our adversaries lay defeated and devastated, would have foreseen the day when our two-way trade with Germany and Japan would total more than \$180 billion dollars?

We must act to support democracy for the sake of peace and prosperity. But in the deepest sense, America must act not out of some vague sense of altruism, or narrow calculation of interest. We must act to uphold the ideals that give America its meaning.

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

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

This democratic peace must be founded on the twin pillars of political and economic freedom for the peoples of the former Soviet Union.

Here is how we can make this new world a reality:

Strategically, the United States will continue to push forward to reach historic nuclear reductions on all sides. To Russia, Ukraine, Byelarus and Kazakhstan, we are offering our help in dismantling and destroying their nuclear weapons -- and we will work together to contain their spread. We are ready to engage in an intensive program of military-to-military ties and exchanges with the Commonwealth military forces.

Politically, we're reaching out so that America -- and American values -- will be well represented in these new lands. Only the United States has opened embassies in all of the former

republics. We will add to this presence "America Houses" -- to bring American culture, America's heritage and history to the former USSR. We will send hundreds of Peace Corps volunteers to help create small businesses -- launch major exchanges of students, professionals and scientists, artists and educators -- so that our peoples can establish the bonds so important to permanent peace.

Economically, we must help these new nations build thriving free markets on the ruins of the socialist model. The U.S. has led the effort to provide urgent emergency food and medical supplies this past winter. I have asked the Congress for \$620 million in new funds so that Americans can share their expertise in building a new free market -- in making needed improvements in food distribution, energy production, in defense conversion and democracy-building.

One week ago, I sent to Congress the Freedom Support Act, designed to remove the old Cold War legislation that stands in the way of increased trade and investment.

Just as the rewards of this new world belong will belong to no one nation, so too the burden does not fall to America alone. We are pursuing a policy of shared responsibility: Working with the IMF and the World Bank, with G-7 nations such as Germany, Italy, and Japan -- three former adversaries we helped after World War II to rebuild their democratic foundations -- and who are now helping Russia achieve the same goal. 45 years after their founding, the Bretton Woods institutions can now serve the

precise purpose for which they were created. By working with others we're sharing the burden responsibly and acting in the best interests of the American taxpayer.

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

I am heartened by the many messages of support from the Congressional leadership -- in both Houses and in both parties - - to move forward on our program. But I know that broad public support will be critical to our effort to get this program passed.

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

My answer is that peace and prosperity are in the interest of every American -- each one of us alive today, and all the generations that will follow.

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

Ultimately, the victory for democracy cannot be won in the West. That victory can only be won by the people of Russia and Ukraine -- by all the new nations rising out of the old Soviet empire. Only they can determine their future. Only they can make freedom their own.

But our help comes at a critical moment -- at a time when the forces of freedom are fragile, and the outcome is all but certain.

We stand at history's hinge-point -- a new world beckons on the horizon, while the ghosts of history stand in the shadows.

We face this challenge for the third time this century. 75 years ago this month, American troops poured into Europe to tip the balance against aggression. Yet, with the battle won, America withdrew across the ocean -- and the "war to end all wars" produced a peace that did not last a generation.

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

Today, again, we hear the echoes of earlier times. In the aftermath of the Cold War, as in the wars we've won before, America is less interested in conquest than coming home -- to make up for lost time.

I remember: I was one of those young men in a hurry. We felt the same temptation to turn inward, away from a world that

seemed so full of chaos to the comforts of home. In two years' time, we brought our Armed Forces down from a war-time peak of 12 million to a force little more than one-tenth that size.

And then the glory of the great victory over fascism gave way to the grim reality of the new communist threat.

Leaders like Truman and Vandenburg, Acheson and Eisenhower saw the threat -- shaped a coalition that kept America engaged - - kept the peace through the long twilight struggle to the last dying days of the communist system. And they taught the lesson we must heed today: that the noblest mission of the victor is to turn an enemy into a friend. //

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

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

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Draft One

April 6, 1992

DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH TO SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS

A DEMOCRATIC PEACE

Ladies and Gentlemen, I want to talk to you today about the most important foreign policy issue of our time--an issue that will affect the security and the future of every American, young and old, throughout this decade. The democratic revolution underway in Russia, in Armenia, Ukraine and in other countries that have succeeded the old Soviet Union represents the best hope for peace in the world in my lifetime and likely in the lives of even the young children we are nurturing today to carry on the American experience in democracy in the twenty-first century.

Before speaking of the future, let us look back for a moment to remember where we have been. For over four decades since the end of this century's greatest and most terrible conflict, the Second World War, American foreign policy was dominated by one overriding preoccupation: to deter Communist aggression and to avoid nuclear war by containing the efforts of the Soviet Union to export its brutal and failed system to Europe and Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Shortly after taking office three years ago, I outlined a new American strategy for our foreign policy in response to changes underway in the Soviet Union and East and Central Europe: to

move beyond containment, to use the power of the United States and its allies to end the Cold War with freedom's victory.

Now, after a series of dramatic and truly revolutionary events in Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, after the unification of Germany in NATO, after the demise of the one country and system of government, the USSR, that threatened our way of life, that mission has been fulfilled. The Cold War is over. The spectre of nuclear armageddon has receded. Soviet Communism has collapsed and in its wake we find ourselves on the threshold of a new world of opportunity and peace.

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

With you today, I want to outline a new vision for American policy toward the new states of the former USSR in response to these events-- a vision to mobilize the American people and our creative genius into the next century. It is a vision that can advance our economic and security interests around the world while upholding the primacy of American values--values, as Lincoln knew, which are the "last, best hope of mankind". Above all, it is a vision worthy of a great people -- the American people-- a democratic and peace-loving people who, having won the war, know the value of winning the peace.

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

This democratic peace must be founded on the twin pillars of political and economic freedom for the peoples of the former Soviet Union. The success of democracy in Russia and Ukraine, Armenia and Kazakhstan, Byelarus and the Baltics will be the single best guarantee of our security and our prosperity for decades to come. Democrats in power in the Kremlin can assure our security in a way nuclear missiles never could.

If the first term of my Administration has been about winning the Cold War peacefully, then the next four years must be about building a democratic peace -- a peace that can endure for decades to come, not just for those of us who lived through the Cold War and won it, but for generations to come.

While this is a vision within the grasp of the American people and our allies in the West, it will not be easily won. The weight of history, and of seventy-four years of Communist rule in the former USSR, tell us that democracy and economic freedom will be years in the building. America must therefore be resolved that our commitment to help the Russian, Ukrainian, Armenian and other peoples is firm and lasting.

Let me explain why this vision is so important and how I plan to pursue it through our policy of an active and collective engagement with our former adversaries.

To some, the Cold War was merely a conflict over geopolitical interests. Some believed that the Soviets were simply focussed on spreading their power inexorably across the globe. But while this view reflects the pattern of past events, it does not explain the cause. And the cause was the true threat to America. For the Cold War was at heart a titantic struggle over fundamental values and beliefs, not mere interests.

While America and its allies believed in the sanctity of the individual, to the Stalinists the individual was ultimately expendable.

While we believed in the ballot box, to the Stalinists the coup d'etat was the best way to change governments.

While we believed in free markets, to the Stalinists an anonymous central planner knew what was best.

While we believed in peaceful resolution of disputes, to the Stalinists power flowed from the barrel of a gun.

This struggle over values -- the inherent conflict between freedom and totalitarianism -- was ultimately the cause and the engine of the Cold War. While temporary accommodations were

reached to avoid the danger of nuclear war, there was no possibility of long-term reconciliation with those who opposed our most fundamental values.

During the Cold War, peace was maintained but only at a high price. Peace was the avoidance of war, not the reconciliation of peoples. And the avoidance of war was achieved only through confrontation, tension, and the haunting shadow and threat of nuclear holocaust.

Now we have the chance to build a very different world. A world that could permit a real and enduring peace for our future -- a peace built on the common values of political and economic freedom between Russia and America, between East and West.

As spring arrives in 1992, so does spring arrive for the twentieth century. We find ourselves in an almost unimaginable world where democrats, not communists, hold power in Moscow and Kiev and Yerevan. President Boris Yeltsin's courageous and ambitious reforms hold out the prospect of peace and prosperity for the Russian people and a new partnership with the American people. Our values are their values.

Boris Yeltsin, Levon Ter-Petrosian and Leonid Kravchuk are seeking to build states ruled by law, not fiat.

They are seeking to build governments by and for the people, not ruling over the people.

They are seeking free and open markets where individuals control their economic destinies, not central planners.

And they are seeking a partnership and alliance with us, not competition and conflict.

America has many reasons to respond positively and generously to this historic transformation.

First, there can be no question that it is in our geopolitical interest to have Russia as a friend and partner, and not as an adversary. A democratic Russia is the best guarantee against a return to authoritarianism in Moscow and the threat it could pose to our own long-term security.

Second, democracy in the former USSR will lead to free market economies and a vast increase in global trade and investment, providing new markets for American workers and entrepreneurs.

But, most of all, we should reach out to help the democrats coming to power all over the former Soviet Union today because it is the right thing to do. America has always stood for democracy and freedom, not just for Americans, but for peoples in every corner of the world. We have always dreamed, and our vision must still be, to see democracy and freedom triumph everywhere. And while we may not see this happen everywhere in the world in our lifetimes, we can help it happen now in Russia and the other new states.

Democracy in Russia will bring peace for the future between the U.S. and Russia. It is not inevitable, as was fashionable to think until quite recently, that America and Russia were destined to struggle for supremacy in Europe and Asia. Democracies do not fight each other. A democratic Russia and democratic America will form a vital new alliance for liberty all over the world and help to transmit the message of liberty even to the remaining, lonely outposts where totalitarianism still reigns.

Let us remember that one of America's great contributions to the world in this century has been our leadership of a remarkable community of nations--the free world. This community is free, democratic, stable, prosperous, cooperative and interdependent, and America is the better for it. We have strong allies. We have enormous trade. We are safer as a result of our commitment to this free world.

Now, we should set our sights at making the free world a truly free world by expanding this most successful of communities. This is good for America because a world that shares our values does not threaten us. A world that trades with us is good for America. Russia, Ukraine and the other new states must now become our partners in the free world.

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

Here is how we can achieve this new world during the 1990s so that by the year 2000, America, Russia and the other new nations of the former USSR are truly our partners for peace.

Strategically, the United States is moving with determination to reach historic nuclear reductions on both sides. We are offering to Russia, Ukraine, Byelarus and Kazakhstan our help in dismantling and destroying their nuclear weapons. We are ready to engage in an intensive program of military-to-military ties and exchanges with the Commonwealth military forces.

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

Economically, we led the effort to provide urgently-needed emergency food and medical supplies this past winter. I have asked the Congress for \$620 million in new funds so that we can send Americans to help promote a new free market and improvements in food distribution, energy, defense conversion and democratization. I have sent to Congress the Freedom Support Act which will remove the Cold War legislation that impedes our companies from significant trade and investment. I have been

heartened by many messages of support from the Congressional leadership on our program. This must be a bipartisan effort, and I am willing to work with the Congress so that this legislation can be passed quickly.

Of course, the Russians, Ukrainians and others have to help themselves. Only they can determine their future. And they are now acting to do so.

American will not bear the burden of helping them alone. We are pursuing a policy of shared responsibility. Working with the G-7, the IMF and the World Bank, we are pursuing a long-term peace in concert with Germany, Italy, and Japan -- three former adversaries we helped after World War II to rebuild their democratic foundations. They are now key players in helping Russia achieve the same goal. And the Bretton Woods institutions we created after World War II are now serving the exact purpose for which they were created. By working with others we're sharing the burden responsibly and acting in the best interests of the American taxpayer.

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

America has had three opportunities in this century to help construct a lasting peace in Europe. Seventy-five years ago this month, the United States entered World War I. While we won the war, by the time I was born in 1924, the peace was already unravelling. Germany was in economic chaos which soon led to a fascist dictatorship. The seeds of another and more terrible war were sown.

The mistakes of the 1920s had to be redeemed in war in the 1940s. It was a war I did not want any more than any one else. Like millions of other American men and women in that war, I fought to do my duty for peace and freedom.

We are fortunate that our postwar leaders, Democrats and Republicans alike, did not forget the lessons of the 1920s in building the peace of the 1940s. They remembered that the noblest mission was to turn an enemy into a friend.

Now, we face a third opportunity to provide the kind of lasting peace which for so long was only the stuff of dreams. I know where I stand. I will stand for American engagement in support of a democratic peace, a peace that can secure the next generation a world free from war and conflict.

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

cause, not simply because it is the right thing to do--although it most certainly is--but also because I know it is the best course, and in the very best interest, of all Americans, young and old, men and women, Democrats and Republicans.

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 9, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS

J.W. Marriott Hotel
Washington, DC

1:53 P.M. EDT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MORE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(A Q&A with the audience begins.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Q Let's say two other Texans.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Q You're office says one more question.

THE PRESIDENT: Do they? Okay.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Q Mr. President, over here, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Got you.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. (Laughter.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

END

2:45 P.M. EDT