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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Warsaw, Poland)

For Immediate Release

July 10, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT JOINT SESSION OF PARLIAMENT

The Sejm
Warsaw, Poland

2:28 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Chairman Jaruzelski, Marshall Kozakiewicz and Stelmachowski, Prime Minister Rakowski and senators and delegates, on behalf of the people of the United States, I am honored to greet the newly-elected representatives of the Polish Parliament. To be here with you on this occasion is proof that we live in extraordinary, indeed thrilling times.

The power and potential of this moment was first made clear to me when I saw a photo -- a worldwide photo -- flashed all around the world -- a photo of General Jaruzelski, Senator Leader Lech Walesa shoulder-to-shoulder -- Solidarity Leader Lech Walesa -- shoulder-to-shoulder at the opening session of this Parliament -- committed to new progress in Poland. Believe me, that sent a wonderful signal all around the world.

Poland and the United States are bound, it is often said, by ties of kinship and culture. But our peoples are linked by more than sentiment.

The May 3rd Constitution of 1791 set Poland ahead of her peers -- ahead of her time -- in the pursuit of freedom and democratic ideas, just as our Constitution -- the American Constitution of 1787 set new standards for protection of the rights of the individual.

For decades, beginning with the Versailles Peace Conference, the United States has stood for Polish independence, freedom, prosperity. And we are proud of our early and longstanding commitment to Polish self-determination. As America's President, I am here today to reaffirm that proud commitment.

I understand something of the work you are commencing, for I began my own public service in the American Congress. Democratically-chosen legislatures are among mankind's greatest forums for debate and dialogue. And while I've been to Poland before, I did not expect to return so soon -- nor to such altered circumstances in your country. And so, too, perhaps many of you didn't expect to be here -- serving in this, or any Polish parliament. And your achievement has surpassed all expectation and has earned all our admiration.

Our meeting today bears witness to the character of our age.

Some 450 years ago, when the Polish astronomer Copernicus came to understand the natural order of the planets -- and had the courage to question accepted wisdom -- the world was changed. From this year forward, as Poland works to reaffirm the nature of man and government, so too will Poland be changed forever.

For today the scope of political and economic change in Poland is indeed Copernican. A fundamental change in p

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On May 3, 1991, the Polish constitution will also be 200 years old. Your constitution of 1791 was crushed, but never forgotten. And now, this generation's calling is to redeem the promise of a free Polish republic. Poland has not been lost so long as the Polish spirit lives. (Applause.)

America wishes you well as you face the tough problems today. I salute General Jaruzelski for his leadership and his extraordinary hospitality to me. I salute the leaders and members of these two great legislative bodies. God, in His infinite wisdom and love, is with us in this chamber. May God bless you and your efforts. Long live Poland. Long live Poland. Thank you very, very much. (Applause.)

END

2:58 P.M. (L)

EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE
UNTIL 2:30 PM (L)
8:30 AM EDT
MONDAY, JULY 10, 1989

FACT SHEET

GSP FOR POLAND

Purpose and Scope

To support ongoing reform and economic recovery in Poland, the President has called for action to declare Poland a beneficiary country under the U.S. Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) program.

- o The GSP program allows 4,100 products from GSP-beneficiary countries to enter the United States duty-free.
- o Duty-free access to the United States will provide a savings of hard currency reserves to Poland.
- o Had it been GSP-eligible in 1988, Poland's trade under the program would have totalled \$73 million dollars with a duty savings of \$3.5 million.

Actions Taken

A bill has been introduced in Congress to remove Poland from the list of countries explicitly listed as ineligible for GSP.

- o The list of ineligible countries includes a number of Western and Eastern nations.

Next Steps

The Administration has begun its review of the so-called mandatory eligibility criteria for Poland that must be satisfied before GSP-eligibility is conferred. These criteria are detailed in section 502(b) (1-7) of the Trade Act of 1974, as amended.

- o These reviews require a public comment period, and comments on Poland have already been received. All comments to date have been in support of this initiative.
- o An Administration determination on the criteria will be made at the end of this process and this determination, when forwarded to the Congress, will serve as formal notification of the President's intent to designate Poland as a GSP-beneficiary.
- o Upon such notification, Washington-based GSP experts will travel to Poland to provide officials and exporters with instructions/advice on how to quickly and effectively maximize use of the U.S. GSP program.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Warsaw, Poland)

For Immediate Release

July 9, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
UPON ARRIVAL IN POLAND

Warsaw Airport
; Warsaw, Poland

10:25 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your hospitable and gracious words of welcome. To you and to the people of Poland -- friends and cousins of so many in my homeland -- we extend the heartfelt best wishes of the American people. And here in the heart of Europe, the American people have a fervent wish -- that Europe be whole and free.

In my first moments as President, I told my countrymen that a new breeze was blowing across the world. And the winds of change have surely touched the land here, where so much has happened since my last visit.

It is wonderful to be back at such an exciting time. History -- which has so often conspired with geography to deny the Polish people their freedom -- now offers up a new and brighter future for Poland.

I listened carefully, sir, to your words of welcome and, yes, Poland has started along an ascending path of change -- democratic change. And this climb is exhilarating, but not always easy, and will require further sacrifices. But, if followed, it will lead to a renaissance for this remarkable nation.

These are great days for Poland. Solidarity is legal. The beginnings of a free press now exist. A new Parliament is in place. The Polish Senate has been restored through free and fair elections. And Poland is making its own history. And America -- and the whole world -- is watching.

The government of Poland and you, Mr. Chairman, have shown wisdom and courage in taking the path of those Roundtable Accords. And the world is inspired by what is happening here.

Mr. Chairman, we do look forward to our talks with you and other representatives of the Polish government -- with the democratic opposition, as well. While in your country, I want to hear the many voices of the people of Poland.

And as we begin these discussions, I carry with me many happy memories of my first visit to Poland. And my thoughts turn on this Sunday to the memory of another Sunday outside Warsaw, when we attended morning mass at St. Margaret's Church in Lomianki. The cracks of her historic walls were filled with flowers and the church itself was filled to overflowing with your countrymen, their devoted faces touched by tears of joy.

And it reminds me of other churches that I've visited since that morning at St. Margaret's. Churches like St. Adalbert's in Philadelphia, St. Hyacinth's in Chicago. Churches built by Polish hands and nurtured by Polish dreams. In America -- and in Poland -- those dreams are as ancient and as fundamental as the courageous spirit of the Polish people.

And as we meet this evening in Warsaw, the sun still

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shines on those churches across the sea. There is -- it's still Sunday afternoon there, and America's churches are filled with people in prayer. And as we begin these discussions -- and as your country continues its hard journey up the path it has chosen -- my prayers and the prayers of the American people remain with Poland, as they have throughout its long struggle.

And, yes, there is a good deal of work to be done, and we will work together to gain new ground, to expand our common ground and U.S.-Polish ties.

So thank you again, sir, for this warm welcome. Rest well on this Sunday night. And long live Poland. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

10:35 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(Budapest, Hungary)

EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE
UNTIL 1:30 P.M. (L)
7:30 A.M. EDT
WEDNESDAY, JULY 12, 1989

FACT SHEET

A PROGRAM IN SUPPORT OF HUNGARIAN REFORM

Hungary has entered a period of dynamic political and economic change. President Bush announced several measures to support Hungary's already considerable efforts to develop private enterprise and a freer political system.

- o Concerted Western Action. The President is proposing concerted action by the U.S., West European and Japanese governments in support of Hungarian economic reform and recovery. This will be a major topic at the Paris Summit.
- o Hungarian-American Enterprise Fund. The President proposes establishment of an Enterprise Fund, with a grant of \$25 million, to help the Hungarians expand their private sector, already one of the most extensive in East Central Europe.
- o Most-Favored-Nation Status. The President has announced his intention to grant Hungary most-favored-nation status, without the requirement of annual waivers, as soon as Hungary passes its new emigration law. This new law will satisfy the free emigration requirements of the Jackson-Vanik amendment. Hungary would thus become the first Warsaw Pact country deemed to be in full compliance with Jackson-Vanik.
- o Environmental Initiative. President Bush has made environmental policy a cornerstone of his plan for assisting East European reform. The President will ask Congress to provide \$5 million for the establishment of a regional environmental center in Budapest. The center will bring together private and governmental experts and organizations to address ecological issues.
- o Exchanges. The President has announced a substantial expansion of exchange programs in Hungary and elsewhere in the region. USIA has identified \$6.1 million for these new programs.
- o Science and Technology (S&T) Agreement. The President has announced the U.S. intention to conclude an umbrella S&T agreement with Hungary. We envision a broad program of scientific and technological cooperation in such areas of joint interest and expertise as basic sciences, the environment, agriculture, medicine, energy, and nuclear safety.
- o Peace Corps. The President has announced the establishment of a Peace Corps program in Hungary, centered on assisting Hungarian efforts to develop and expand English language teaching.

CONCERTED WESTERN ACTION FOR HUNGARY AND POLANDProposal

The President is proposing that nations of the Summit Seven intensify their concerted action to support economic reforms based on political pluralism in Hungary and Poland. Complementary efforts by leading industrial democracies will provide a powerful impetus to economic recovery and progress in these nations as they face a turning point. Other interested countries could contribute to this process as well.

Scope

Efforts will involve work with the Hungarian and Polish governments, and with other official and independent organizations in those countries, to gather information and provide feedback on issues of mutual concern. Involved governments will also work as appropriate with representatives of the IMF, World Bank, EC Commission and other multilateral and private sector institutions.

Specific issues addressed could include:

- o Needed economic reforms;
- o Timing and conditions for new credits; and
- o Concrete support for privatization and private business, environmental projects, management and training initiatives, social safety nets to accompany restructuring, housing, etc.

These efforts would not undercut or replace existing institutions such as the World Bank, Paris Club or IMF.

Next Steps

The President will discuss this proposal in Paris with the leaders of the other Summit Seven nations -- the UK, FRG, France, Japan, Italy and Canada.

HUNGARIAN-AMERICAN ENTERPRISE FUNDProposal

Hungary has taken a number of steps to enlarge its private sector which can produce wealth that will benefit the entire nation. At the President's initiative, the U.S. and Hungary will jointly establish a "Hungarian-American Enterprise Fund." The President is asking Congress to provide \$25 million for this initiative.

Purpose

The Fund will support the development of the growing private sector in Hungary. It will be empowered to disburse hard currency loans or venture capital grants for approved projects, including:

- o Private sector development (business loans/grants, possible establishment of a private sector development bank);
- o Privatization of state firms (e.g., provide funding for entrepreneurs to buy into state firms);
- o Technical assistance or training programs in support of or run by Hungary's private sector;
- o Funding of export projects partly or wholly private;
- o Joint ventures between private Hungarian and American investors (e.g., encourage participation of private Hungarian firms in joint ventures).

HUNGARY: MOST-FAVORED-NATION STATUS

Proposal

The President has announced that upon enactment of the new law on emigration by the Hungarian Parliament, he will inform the Congress that Hungary is in full compliance with the Jackson-Vanik Amendment to the 1974 Trade Act. Hungary will be eligible to receive most-favored-nation (MFN) status for the maximum period allowable under our legislation, without any need of annual waivers.

Background

On June 26, 1989 Hungary's Council of Ministers approved the final draft of a new law on emigration to be submitted to the Hungarian Parliament for adoption. The approved draft incorporates the provisions considered necessary to satisfy the free emigration requirements of Section 402 of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment.

Under the Jackson-Vanik amendment to the Trade Act of 1974, the President is empowered to waive the prohibition on the granting of most-favored-nation (MFN) tariff treatment to a country which substantially restricts emigration, if such a waiver would further the goals of the amendment.

- o The President has taken this step annually with respect to Hungary since 1978.
- o Hungary is now approaching total compliance with the provisions of the Jackson-Vanik amendment.
- o Hungary will be the first Warsaw Pact country to have legalized and implemented free emigration, thus satisfying the requirements of Jackson-Vanik.

A REGIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL CENTER
LOCATED IN BUDAPEST

Proposal

The President has proposed the establishment of a \$5 million regional environmental center, located in Budapest. This is a substantive follow up to the President's initiative in Mainz to help Eastern and Central Europe overcome its environmental problems.

Purpose

The Center will provide a facility for cooperative research and activities between governmental and nongovernmental experts and public interest groups from the United States, Western Europe and Eastern Europe concerned with the environment including energy and nuclear safety.

Scope

The Center would be an independent organization supported by both private and governmental funds. It would focus on developing the broadest human resource base for comprehensive environmental improvement and protection activities in the region.

- o The Center would facilitate loans of lab equipment and organize workshops and other exchanges.
- o Specific emphasis would be placed on:
 - Trans-boundary pollution problems;
 - Toxic waste disposal;
 - Alternative sources of non-polluting energy; and
 - Promotion of nuclear safety technology and practices.
- o Although located in or near Budapest, the Center's objective would be to attract funding and direct participation by both governmental and private entities and groups from East and West.

EXCHANGES WITH EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE

Proposal

The President has called for expanded and imaginative exchange initiatives. USIA will allocate up to \$6.1 million from 1990 resources in order to implement this new initiative to strengthen the trends toward democratic values and institutions through significantly expanded academic, cultural, and people-to-people contacts.

The principal emphasis of this initiative will be in Hungary and Poland, but other countries in the region will also be involved. Hundreds will participate in the new government-sponsored exchanges in both directions over the next year.

The initiative has the following elements:

Political, Social and Legal Institutions

- o The John Marshall Study Program in the Rule of Law. Visits to the U.S. by more than 50 legal scholars, judicial and parliamentary officials to examine the U.S. jurisprudence and legislative system;
- o Visits by Congressional experts to consult with new democratic legislatures in Hungary and Poland;
- o Consultations for representatives of East-Central European political parties with U.S. party organizations to learn the mechanics of democratic electoral politics;
- o Samuel Gompers Labor Leader Exchanges. Travel and study programs for trade unionists in the U.S.;
- o Translation and distribution of up to 100,000 books, magazines, and videocassettes in local languages on the U.S. political and economic system;
- o Placement of U.S. specialists in law and public administration at East-Central European academic institutions; and

- o Visits to the U.S. by East-Central European "future leaders" under the age of 30. Approximately 100 participants are projected for this program.

Free Market Initiative

- o Alexander Hamilton Fellowships in Management, Internships, educational, and training programs for at least 50 entrepreneurs and enterprise managers.
- o Consulting visits by U.S. executives and management specialists to advise private and cooperative enterprises.
- o Support of management training programs and institutes through U.S. instructors, curriculum materials, and short-term seminars. Hundreds of East-Central European management specialists would benefit from this expanded effort.

Educational and Youth Exchange

- o Establishment of Noah Webster Chairs in American Language and Literature at Central and Eastern European universities.
- o Citizen Exchange Initiative. Assistance to the U.S. private sector in developing youth and other people-to-people exchange activities in Eastern and Central Europe. Several hundred American and European citizens would be involved in this intensified two-way exchange initiative.

Environmental Protection and Cultural Preservation

- o Two-way exchanges with specialists in the fields of environmental protection and cultural preservation.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (S&T) AGREEMENT WITH HUNGARY

Scope

The President has announced the U.S. intention to conclude an umbrella S&T agreement with Hungary. We envision a broad program of scientific and technological cooperation in such areas of joint interest and expertise as basic sciences, the environment, agriculture, medicine, energy, geology and nuclear safety.

Purpose

The agreement would develop and implement high-quality cooperative research programs.

- o S&T cooperation recognizes Hungary's first rate scientific establishment.
- o The agreement also complements the President's Eastern European Environmental Initiative by coordinating research activities, providing core funds, and encouraging contacts in the environmental area.

Next Steps

We expect to send a technical delegation to Hungary shortly to negotiate the final terms of the agreement and work out detailed arrangements for funding.

Funding

Annual contributions of approximately \$1 million or the equivalent in Hungarian currency from each side would implement the agreement.

- o The U.S. can expect reasonable and tangible returns that far exceed U.S. costs because such core money often returns much larger dividends in terms of scientific innovations and by stimulating additional funding by participating technical agencies.
- o This program will complement other existing and valuable U.S. S&T programs with Poland and Yugoslavia.

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UNITED STATES PEACE CORPS/HUNGARY

The Program

The United States and the Government of Hungary have agreed in principle to establish a Peace Corps program, centered on assisting Hungarian efforts to develop and expand English language teaching.

- o The Peace Corps entry into Hungary represents a new era for American volunteers serving overseas. The Hungarian program, which could begin as early as the fall of 1989 with training for assignment in early 1990, eventually will involve teaching English in Budapest and all 19 of the country's counties.

The Volunteers

There are now nearly 6,000 volunteers and trainees in 65 nations in the Americas, Africa, Asia and the Pacific. Hungary will be the first European country where U.S. volunteers are assigned.

- o Around the world, these Peace Corps volunteers offer skills in a wide variety of programs: e.g., maternal and child health, family nutrition, fresh water fisheries, agriculture extension, teacher training, small business consulting, public administration, natural resource development, energy, engineering, and industrial arts.
- o A volunteer must be a U.S. citizen at least 18 years old. There is no upper age limit, and currently, nearly 500 volunteers are over 50.

Training

All volunteers will receive language and cultural training within Hungary before being assigned to schools. Strong emphasis will be placed on learning Hungarian. Cultural studies include Hungary's history, customs, and social and political systems.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Gdansk, Poland)

For Immediate Release

July 11, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT SOLIDARITY WORKERS' MONUMENT

Lenin Shipyard Gates
Gdansk, Poland

2:32 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Hello Lech Walesa; hello Solidarnosc; hello Polska. (Applause.) And congratulations on what you've done since I last visited -- the first free elections in modern Polska. (Applause.)

Poland has a special place in the American heart -- and in my heart. And when you hurt, we feel pain. And when you dream, we feel hope. And when you succeed, we feel joy. It goes far beyond diplomatic relations -- it's more like family relations. And coming to Poland is like coming home. (Applause.)

This special kinship is the kinship of an ancient dream -- a recurring dream -- the dream of freedom. "They are accustomed to liberty," wrote a Byzantine historian about the Slavic people more than a thousand years ago. And the spirit of the Poles has been conveyed across the centuries and across the oceans -- a dream that would not die.

That dream was severely tested here in Gdansk. Fifty years ago this summer, the pre-dawn quiet of this peaceful Baltic harbor was shattered by the thunder from the 15-inch guns of Nazi warship Schleswig-Holstein. Within the hour, iron panzers rolled across the Polish frontier. And Europe was plunged into darkness that would engulf the world.

For Poland the choices were few: Surrender to tyranny -- or resist against impossible odds. And in the brutal fighting that followed, you set a standard for courage that will never be forgotten. (Applause.) In World War II Poland lost everything -- except her honor, except her dreams.

Before Poland fell, you gave the allies "Enigma" -- the Nazi's secret coding machine. Breaking the "unbreakable" Axis codes saved tens of thousands of allied lives -- of American lives -- and for this you have the enduring gratitude of the American people. (Applause.) And, ultimately, Enigma and freedom fighters played a major role in winning the Second World War.

But for you, the war's end did not end the darkness. The Cold War brought a long and chilly night of sorrow and hardship. And the dream was again denied.

And yet, there were glimmers of the long-awaited dawn. In the summer of 1980, you occupied the shipyards where we stand. And a patriotic electrician clambered over these iron gates -- and emerged as one of the heroes of our times -- Lech Walesa. (Applause.)

And above your streets a graceful monument rose -- in the tradition of our own Statue of Liberty -- to become a symbol recognized around the world as a beacon of hope.

But the hope -- like the dawn -- proved fleeting. For

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under cover of darkness, the electrician was arrested and your movement outlawed. And in the icy cold of a savage winter, a modern nation was sealed off from the outside world. (Applause.)

But still the dream would not die. In the wintry darkness, candles appeared in silent protest, lighting the windows of your villages, of your cities. And as the years unfolded and as the world watched in wonder, you -- the Polish people -- and your leaders -- turned despair into hope -- turned darkness into dreams. (Applause.)

Hope and hard work were the foundation of Poland's resurrection as a state in 1918. Against enormous odds, confidence and determination made that dream a reality. And these same qualities have brought you to this new crossroads in history. Your time has come. It is Poland's time of possibilities. It's time of responsibilities. It is Poland's time of destiny. (Applause.)

A time when dreams can live again. Solidarity reborn. Productive negotiations between the government of Poland and the Polish people. And the first fruits of democracy -- elections. At another time, in another city where the human spirit was being tested, a great American President spoke eloquently about the struggle for liberty. Today the world watches the inevitable outcome of that struggle.

Today to those who think that hopes can be forever suppressed, I say, let them look at Poland. (Applause.)

To those who think that freedom can be forever denied, I say, let them look at Poland.

And to those who think that dreams can be forever repressed, I say, let at Poland. For here in Poland, the dream is alive. (Applause.)

Yes, today the brave workers of Gdansk stand beside this monument as a beacon of hope, a symbol of that dream. And the brave workers of Gdansk know Poland is not alone. America stands with you. (Applause.)

THE AUDIENCE: President Bush. President Bush. President Bush.

THE PRESIDENT: Because Americans are so free to dream, we feel a special kinship with those who dream of a better future. Here in Poland, the United States supports the Roundtable Accords, and applauds the wisdom, tenacity and patience of one of Poland's great leaders -- Lech Walesa. (Applause.) And again --

THE AUDIENCE: Lech Walesa. Lech Walesa. Lech Walesa.

THE PRESIDENT: And we cheer a movement that has touched the imagination of the world. That movement is Solidarnosc. And we applaud those who have made this progress possible -- the Polish people. (Applause.) We recognize, too, that the Polish government has shown wisdom and creativity and courage in proceeding with these historic steps.

Poles and Americans share a commitment to overcome the division of Europe and to redeem the promise that is the birthright of men and women throughout the world. Poles and Americans want Europe to be whole and free. (Applause.)

A more democratic Poland can be a more prosperous Poland. The Roundtable provisions -- as they continue to be carried out -- can liberate the energy of a dynamic people to work together to build a better life.

We understand the legacy of distrust and shattered dreams as Poles of all political complexions travel together down the path of negotiation and compromise. Your challenge is to rise above

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distrust and bring the Polish people together toward a common purpose.

Speaking before the new Parliament and the Senate -- your freely-elected Senate -- I outlined steps that America is prepared to take to assist Poland as you move forward on the path of reform.

It will not be easy. Sacrifice and economic hardship have already been the lot of the Polish people. And hard times are not yet at an end. Economic reform requires hard work and restraint before the benefits are realized. And it requires patience and determination. But the Polish people are no strangers to hard work, and have taught the world about determination.

So I say follow your dream of a better life for you and for your children. You can see a new and prosperous Poland. Not overnight -- not in a year. But yes, a new and prosperous Poland in your lifetime. (Applause.)

It has been done by Polish people before. Hopeful immigrants came to that magical place called "America" -- and built a new life for themselves in a single generation. And it can be done by Polish people again. But this time, it will be done in Poland. (Applause.)

Just before I left a few days ago, I was asked in my beautiful Oval Office in the White House by one of your journalists if I would leave Poland and go to America, were I a young Pole. And I answered that in this time of bright promise, of historic transition, of unique opportunity, I would want to stay in Poland and be a part of it, help make the dream come true for all the Polish people. (Applause.)

The magic of America --

AUDIENCE: President Bush. President Bush. President Bush.

THE PRESIDENT: The magic of America is not found in the majesty of her land; and yes, our country has been blessed. But Poland, too, is a land of natural beauty -- ample timber and ore and water and coal -- abundant agriculture potential -- and a talented, creative people that is determined to succeed.

No, the magic of America is in an idea. I described it in my first moments as President of the United States.

"We know what works: Freedom works. We know what's right: Freedom is right. (Applause.) We know how to secure a more just and prosperous land for man on Earth."

And today, you can rediscover a new land -- a land of your dreams -- a land of your own making. A Poland, strong and proud.

Poland is where World War II began. And Poland is where -- and why -- the Cold War got started. And it is here, in Poland, where we can work to end the division of Europe.

It is in your power to help end the division of Europe. I can think of no finer or more capable people with whom to entrust this mission. And just as a son of Poland has shown the world the heights of spiritual leadership in the Vatican, so the people of Poland can show the world what a free people with commitment and energy can accomplish. (Applause.)

A new century is almost upon us. It is alive with possibilities. And in your quest for a better future for yourselves and for those wonderful children that I saw coming in from the airport -- in that quest America stands shoulder-to-shoulder with the Polish people in solidarity. (Applause.)

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Americans and Poles both know that nothing can stop an idea whose time has come. The dream is a Poland reborn, and the dream is alive.

Poland is not lost while Poles still live. (Applause.)
I came here to assure you we will help Poland. (Applause.)
Good-bye, God bless you, and God save this wonderful country of Poland. (Applause.)

END

2:53 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 1, 1989

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

When President Barco of Colombia visited me September 28, I promised to examine what the United States could do to expand economic cooperation between our two countries. I directed the United States Trade Representative, Carla Hills, to lead a United States Government interagency effort to develop a package of trade initiatives that will contribute to the Administration's war on drugs.

Today I am announcing the result of that effort. The package of trade initiatives described below is designed to create opportunities for expanded trade and investment between the countries of the Andean region and the United States. Given the regional nature of the drug problem, I have decided to offer these trade initiatives to the countries in the Andean region. In creating such opportunities, this package aims to encourage and support fundamental economic reform in the countries of the region on the basis of market-driven policies.

I believe that through increased trade we can make a contribution to the creation of economic alternatives to drug trafficking. Healthy economies are the only lasting solution for eliminating the drug trade and substituting legitimate trade. They also offer the potential for increased United States exports and investment. Our goal must be to help create an environment where entrepreneurship can flourish and comparative advantages can be successfully pursued in competitive world markets.

With regard to bilateral and regional initiatives, we are prepared to:

- do all that we can to enhance the benefits the countries of the region enjoy under our Generalized System of Preferences, including a review, to begin immediately, to consider the addition of new products, both agricultural and industrial, to the program;

- undertake appropriate technical assistance to help the Andean countries improve their trade performance in industrial as well as agricultural products, and urge the multilateral institutions to do the same; and
- after consulting with the affected parties, explore possibilities for expanding textiles trade consistent with current United States Government policies and programs and the Multifiber Arrangement.

In the multilateral arena we are proposing to:

- build on the political consensus to negotiate a new International Coffee Agreement that corrects the fundamental problems with the previous agreement;
- undertake an accelerated negotiation on tariffs and non-tariff measures with participants in the Uruguay Round;
- consult with our major trading partners (Canada, the EC, and Japan) to determine areas in which we can help the Andean countries improve their trade performance; and
- support the multilateral development banks in their efforts to work with the Andean countries to promote meaningful trade policy reforms in the Andean countries.

In order to ensure that these initiatives are implemented quickly and efficiently, the Office of the United States Trade Representative is heading up an interagency Andean Trade Task Force to manage the process and to consider additional ideas for strengthening our cooperation with the Andean countries.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 1, 1989

FACT SHEET

Andean Trade Package

I. BILATERAL AND REGIONAL INITIATIVES

A. Generalized System of Preferences (GSP):

1. Suggest that the Governments of Venezuela and Ecuador initiate the exchange of letters which would provide those countries with GSP for six categories of handicraft textiles. These categories are USHTS 5701.10.1300, 5702.10.1000, 5702.91.2000, 5805.00.2000, 6304.99.1000, and 6304.99.4000.
2. For Bolivia, Colombia, Peru, and Ecuador: Accelerate implementation of any GSP benefits as a normal part of the 1989 GSP Annual Review. This includes product petitions now under review as well as product redesignations.
3. For Bolivia, Colombia, Peru, and Ecuador: Offer the opportunity to submit new GSP petitions as soon as is practical, and review these on an expedited basis. Petitions would be due January 15, 1990, with results announced July 15 and implemented August 1.
4. Provide GSP technical seminars to assist Andean countries to expand their use of GSP petitions. We would also consider providing technical seminars and technical advice beyond 1990.

B. Technical Assistance to Help the Andean Countries Improve Their Trade Performance: U.S. Government agencies determine what technical assistance could be provided to the countries of the region. We will also encourage the multilateral development banks to undertake the same assistance.

C. Textiles: After consulting with all affected parties, explore possibilities for expanding textiles trade consistent with current U.S. Government policies and programs and the Multifiber Arrangement.

II. MULTILATERAL INITIATIVES

- A. International Coffee Agreement: Build on the recently-achieved multilateral political consensus to negotiate a new International Coffee Agreement.
- B. Accelerated Uruguay Round Tariff Negotiations: Undertake an accelerated negotiation on tariffs and non-tariff measures with Andean participants in the Uruguay Round.
- C. U.S. Consultations with Canada, the EC and Japan: Consult with our major trading partners to determine areas in which we can cooperate to assist the Andean countries improve their trade performance. We will be raising this at the upcoming meeting on the Uruguay Round of the Trade Ministers of the Quadrilateral countries (i.e., U.S., Canada, and Japan) which begins on November 12.
- D. Support the Multilateral Development Banks' Efforts to Encourage Meaningful Trade Policy Reforms: Consult with the multilateral development banks to support their efforts to work with the Andean countries to promote meaningful trade policy reforms.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 9, 1989

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT
AND QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION

The Oval Office

3:34 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: We just wanted to make a brief statement here. I've just been briefed by the Secretary of State and my National Security Advisor on the latest news coming out of Germany. And, of course, I welcome the decision by the East German leadership to open the borders to those wishing to emigrate or travel. And this, if it's implemented fully, certainly conforms with the Helsinki Accords -- Helsinki Final Act, which the GDR signed.

And if the GDR goes forward now, this wall built in '61 will have very little relevance. And it clearly is a good development in terms of human rights. And I must say that after discussing this here with the Secretary of State and the National Security Advisor, I am very pleased with this development.

Q Mr. President, would the United States now consider doing more to help West Germany house, to take care of some of these East Germans coming into that country? Is there more that you could do now to help West Germany accommodate --

THE PRESIDENT: Well, we have such a close relationship with the Federal Republic that if we're -- Chancellor Kohl asks us to be of some assistance, I'm certain we would give it serious consideration. I mean, I don't know what it is they'd have in mind, because I think with a truly open border, it is hard to predict how many will be trying to leave. And so it's a dynamic development, and we just have to wait and see. But our relationship with the Federal Republic is such that we would want to be of the maximum help if it was needed. So far, Germany has done a magnificent job in handling those who have preceded -- this new exodus.

Q Have you assured Mr. Kohl that if he does need help that we'll be there for them?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I haven't talked to him, Lesley, since this development because he just went off to Poland. I talked to him about this last week and made very clear to him that we thought -- I think it was last week -- made very clear to him that we thought they were handling it with great sensitivity. It's an enormous burden on the Federal Republic, and I don't remember in that conversation if I said if we can be of any help, please let me know, but I'm sure he knows that's the case.

Q Did he give any indication of how far he'd be able to go to accommodate this influx of refugees? I think the number stands at about 110,000 now. Did he say if it hits a million we're going to have real problems?

THE PRESIDENT: No, he didn't go into numbers at all, but he demonstrates a quiet confidence that the Federal Republic can cope. As I say, they have done a good job. And here's a new development in this rapidly-changing part of the world that we can salute. And it's a dramatic happening for East Germany, and of course for freedom.

MORE

Q Is this the end of the Iron Curtain, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I don't think any single event is the end of what you might call the Iron Curtain, but clearly this is a long way from the harsh days of the -- the harshest Iron Curtain days -- a long way from that.

Q Mr. President, what do you think the implications are for the Warsaw Pact now? I mean, can we say that this may be an indication that they're headed toward a loosening or even a dismantling of the Warsaw Pact?

THE PRESIDENT: I think you have to say what you mean by Warsaw Pact. I mean, it seems to me that it's certainly a loosening up in terms of travel. It concurs with the Helsinki Final Act, and it is a very good development.

Our objective is a Europe whole and free. And is it a step towards that? I would say yes. Gorbachev talks about a common home. Is it a step towards that? Probably so.

Q Mr. President, what's the danger --

Q What do you think the implications are for our -- for emigration to this country, Mr. President? Do you think we'll be seeing very many of these new refugees?

THE PRESIDENT: There's no indication of that. These are Germans going to the Federal Republic of Germany.

Q What's the danger here of events just spinning out of control? Secretary Baker commented earlier about how rapid the pace of change has been in Eastern Europe. Nobody really expected this to happen as quickly as it did. Is there a danger here that things are accelerating too quickly?

THE PRESIDENT: I wouldn't want to say this kind of development makes things to be moving too quickly at all. It's the kind of development that we have long encouraged by our strong support for the Helsinki Final Act. So I'm not going to hypothecate that it may -- anything goes too fast.

Q So you don't see --

THE PRESIDENT: But we are handling it in a way where we are not trying to give anybody a hard time. We're saluting those who can move forward with democracy. We are encouraging the concept of a Europe whole and free, and so we just welcome it. But I don't like to go into a lot of hypotheses about too much change or too rapid change or what I'd do, what our whole team here would do if something went wrong. I think it's been handled by the West very well, and certainly we salute the people in East Germany, the GDR, whose aspirations for freedom seem to be a little further down the road now.

Q Mr. President, do you think now that East Germany appears to be moving in the direction of Poland and Hungary that the rest of the Eastern Bloc can continue to resist this? I'm thinking of Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania? Will they be the next?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I don't think anyone can resist it -- in Europe or in the Western Hemisphere.

Q Did you ever imagine --

THE PRESIDENT: That's one of the great things about dynamic change in Central America -- moving in our direction.

Q Did you ever imagine anything like this happening?

Q On your watch?

THE PRESIDENT: We've imagined it, but I can't say that I foresaw this development at this stage. Now I didn't foresee it. But imagining it, yes. When I talk about a Europe whole and free, we're talking about this kind of freedom to come and go, this kind of staying with and living by the Helsinki Final Act, which gives the people the rights to come and go.

Q In what you just said, that this is a sort of great victory for our side in the big East-West battle -- but you don't seem elated. And I'm wondering if you're thinking of the problems.

THE PRESIDENT: I am not an emotional kind of guy.

Q Well, how elated are you?

THE PRESIDENT: I'm very pleased. And I've been very pleased with a lot of other developments. And, as I've told you, I think the United States' part of this, which is not related to this development today particularly, is being handled in a proper fashion. And we'll have some that'll suggest more flamboyant courses of action for this country, and we're, I think, handling this properly with allies, staying in close touch in this dynamic change. Try to help as development takes place, try to enhance reform, both political and economic.

And so, the fact that I'm not bubbling over, maybe it's getting along towards evening, because I feel very good about it.

Q Well, what I wanted to ask is the second part of that was, is your second thought -- what are we going to do if it really does explode over there -- coming into play here? I mean, obviously, if they just flood into West Germany, they're handling it now, but they've only gotten 200,000. What if they get a million? What if they get 2 million?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, what I'd like to think is that the political change in the GDR would catch up very fast with this liberation, if you will. You may remember that, before I went to Poland, I think -- I don't know whether Jim Baker was sitting next to me. I know Brent was there and John Sununu. And I was asked by a Polish journalist if I were a young Pole, what would my advice be. And what I said is, I think you ought to stay there and participate in this dramatic change in your country. You ought to feel the surge of freedom, feel the move toward democracy and be a part of it.

These are Germans. And Germans love their country. And at some point, I think a lot of Germans who had felt pent in and unable to move are going to say, look, we can move. But wouldn't it be better to participate in the reforms that are taking place in our own country?

So I think it's too early to predict that because these openings are there that that means everybody is going to take off.

Q Do you think this will give you a stronger position when you go on the ship next month and you're talking to President Gorbachev? I mean, that your side is winning? I mean, is that the kind of thing you're going to communicate to him? Are you going to say the --

THE PRESIDENT: He's already expressed his interest in a common European home. We've phrased it differently. We've said a Europe whole and free. And when you see citizens wanting to go and flee what has been an oppressive society, clearly that is a message that Mr. Gorbachev will understand. He sees it not only in Eastern Europe, but he sees it inside the Soviet Union. And so we'll have a good, lively -- before these developments took place, I have said that we would be discussing the rapid change inside Eastern Europe. And we've been talking about that today, just before you all came in here. We've been talking about the Gorbachev meeting. And one of the things that we are determined we will discuss -- and I know he'll want to discuss -- is this change.

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Q Mr. President, are you saying you think maybe East Germans will want to stay and participate in reforming their country. That suggests you think German reunification is some ways off. What is your view on German reunification? Does this bring it closer?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't see the -- I don't know. I think it's way too early to speak on that. I've spoken out on the question of German reunification. I notice the President of France, President Mitterrand, spoke out. I've heard what Chancellor Kohl has had to say about it. But Michael, I don't know whether the development of today speeds up the day or not.

Q Mr. President, will you consider lifting Jackson-Vanik restrictions on East Germany?

THE PRESIDENT: I will be discussing a wide array of those subjects with the Soviets, I'm sure, including -- I know of their interest in talking about that, so we'll be prepared to talk about it.

Q Are you going to be speaking to Chancellor Kohl in the next couple of days?

THE PRESIDENT: I'd like to talk to him soon, but he's off in Poland. I may try to get him there, but I talked to him quite recently. We confer quite regularly.

Q Do you talk to any of the other Western European --

Q Will you try to reach Mitterrand?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, personally I don't know. We're in -- again, I talked to him very recently, but he might want to talk about it.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

3:47 P.M. EST

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE
UNTIL 6:00 P.M. EST
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1989

TEXT OF REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT THE CEREMONY TO HONOR LECH WALESZA

East Room
The White House

November 13, 1989

Just before Christmas, 1981, a darkness descended across Poland for the third time this century. What had begun as a year of hope and freedom ended in violence and repression.

In snow-filled crossroads and town squares across Poland, iron tanks rumbled to a stop. Lech Walesa made the sign of the cross on the foreheads of his sleeping children, and was taken away into the night. Solidarity, a movement embracing the Polish nation, was outlawed. Communications with the outside world were cut off. And Poland awoke to snow and steel and silence, an entire nation imprisoned.

But you can't lock up a dream. One by one, candles lit the windows of Poland's farmhouses and tenements, silent beacons of the liberty still burning in the hearts of a brave and ancient people. And that Christmas Eve, not far from where we stand, a candle burned all night in the White House, like others all across America, glowing in solidarity with the Polish people.

When Spring came, a time of renewal and rebirth, Lech Walesa's fate was still unknown. And as colleges and universities approached graduation, one by one, again and again, the same two names were heard. Lech Walesa. Solidarity.

Of course, Lech Walesa could not come to accept those honorary degrees. And so in crowded assembly halls and packed arenas across America, where every precious space was filled with proud and loving families, stage after stage held a single, unfilled place -- an empty chair, bearing only the Solidarity banner -- awaiting the release of Lech Walesa, and the liberation of the Polish people.

We saw empty chairs in Maine and Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Illinois. At Notre Dame, the crowd stood for three minutes in cheering tribute to the empty chair and the man who wasn't there. At Holy Cross, Lane Kirkland accepted the award on Lech Walesa's behalf. And back in Poland, in a humble wooden church on the outskirts of Gdansk, an empty chair was placed near the altar for the baptism of tiny Maria-Victoria, Lech's seventh child, a little girl he had never seen.

For eight years, these empty chairs, and the American people, have waited for you to come. We waited because we believe in freedom. We waited because we believe in Poland. We waited because we believe in you.

Today, the waiting is over. Today, Lech Walesa -- man of freedom, is at the White House -- the house of freedom.

Lech Walesa, on behalf of the people of the United States, I am proud to say to you today: "Take your place in this house of freedom. Take your place in the empty chair."

In just a few days, you will be the second private citizen from abroad in our history to ever address a Joint Meeting of Congress -- after the Marquis de Lafayette in 1824.

Like him, you helped win an historic struggle. And like him, you represent not only a people but also an idea -- an idea whose time has come. And nothing can stop an idea whose time has come.

The idea is freedom. And the time is now.

You were called a "nobody." But Lenin and Stalin have been disproved, not by Presidents or Princes, but by the likes of an electrician from Gdansk and his fellow workers in a brave union called Solidarity. The iron curtain is fast becoming a rusted, abandoned relic, symbolizing a lost era and a failed ideology.

The change is everywhere. Poland. Hungary. Czechoslovakia. And ladies and gentlemen -- the week that brought Lech Walesa to America -- is the week the headlines proclaimed: "And The Wall Comes Tumbling Down."

What's happening in Berlin, and on our television screens, is astounding. World War II fought for freedom ironically left the world divided between the free and the unfree. Most of us alive today were born into that sundered world.

Now almost 50 years have passed. Some have wondered, all these years, why we stayed in Berlin. Let me tell you. We stayed because we knew -- we knew this day would come.

And now a century that was born in war and revolution may bequeath a legacy of peace unthinkable only a few years ago.

The story of our times is the story of brave men and women who seized a moment, who took a stand. Lech Walesa showed how one individual could inspire in others a faith so powerful that it vindicated itself, and changed the course of a nation. History may make men, but Lech Walesa has made history.

And I believe history continues to be made, every day, by small, daily acts of courage, by people who strive to make a difference. Such people, says Lech, "are everywhere, in every factory, steel mill, mine and shipyard, everywhere." And we've certainly seen them in the American labor movement, where from the leadership of Lane Kirkland to the rank and file across the Nation, they have struggled in the vanguard of the free labor movement around the world.

Our own humble electrician, Ben Franklin, declared that "Our cause is the cause of all mankind, for we are fighting for their liberty in defending our own." And like Franklin -- who seized lightning from the skies and brought it to Earth -- Lech Walesa seized an idea -- a powerful idea -- and with it electrified the world. The idea is freedom. And the time is now.

Country by country, people by people, year by year, courageous new voices are raised in a hundred languages -- in Spanish; German; Chinese; and Russian. And yet, from these varied lips comes a word all can understand. Freedom. As if with one voice the people of the world have spoken. Freedom. In America, it is our greatest natural resource, the secret of our success. And freedom will bring success to Poland, too. American aid has begun and more is coming. From Washington to Warsaw, from Kansas City to Krakow, from Green Bay to Gdansk, Americans are linked in spirit with the Polish people in their brave struggle for opportunity, prosperity and freedom.

Lech Walesa, by your abiding faith, and by the miracle of democracy's new birth in your homeland, you have come to personify the new breeze that is sweeping the world East and West, the spiritual godfather of a new generation of democracy.

Even while Solidarity was banned, your example, and the example of the Polish people, was mirrored across Asia when "People Power" became a chant, first in the Philippines, and then in Pakistan, and South Korea, and yes, even in Tiananmen Square.

The whole world is watching. And the whole world is with you.

Thank you, Poland -- for showing us that the dream is alive. Thank you, Poland, for showing us that a dream wrought by flesh and blood cannot be stilled by walls of steel. Thank you, Poland. And thank you, Lech Walesa.

And now, it is with great pride that I bestow the medal previously awarded to the likes of Martin Luther King, John F. Kennedy, Anwar Sadat and Mother Teresa. It is our Nation's highest civilian honor. Let me read the citation.

To Lech Walesa, of Gdansk, Poland -- The Presidential Medal of Freedom.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Boston, Massachusetts)

For Immediate Release

May 21, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT BOSTON UNIVERSITY COMMENCEMENT CEREMONY

Boston University
Boston, Massachusetts

12:33 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, President Silber. And President and Madame Mitterrand, it's a great honor to have you here today. And to Governor Dukakis, my respects -- the Chief Executive of this great state and my friend as well. To Mayor Flynn, His Eminence Cardinal Law, and Dr. Metcalf, Dr. Wiesel, and yes, Kimberly, to you for that wonderful speech earlier on. And to Nancy Joaquim, who rendered both The Marseillaise and The Star-Spangled Banner in such fine way.

It's a pleasure to be back in Boston, back in one of my home states -- (laughter) -- and I am delighted and honored to receive a Doctor of Laws from Boston University along with President Mitterrand. (Applause.) Doctor of Laws -- does this now make us a couple of Boston lawyers, my friend, Mr. Mitterrand? (Laughter.) Who knows?

I also would like to salute another most distinguished visitor -- Prime Minister Mahathir of Malaysia -- a friend to the United States, whose son is graduating today. We're honored to have him here. (Applause.)

And I want to congratulate Barbara on a B.U. degree of her very own. (Laughter and applause.) And now that you're an alumna, take note -- this kinder and gentler America that I'm speaking of does not always include the Terriers. (Laughter.)

My sincerest congratulations go to every Boston University graduate, and to all you proud parents cooking out along the 50-yard line there. (Laughter and applause.) And as Boston University graduates, you take with you a degree from a great institution, and something more -- (applause) -- something more -- knowledge of the past and responsibility for the future. And take a look at our world today. Nations are undergoing changes so radical that the international system you know and will know in the future will be as different from today's, as today's world is from the time of Woodrow Wilson. How will America prepare, then, for the challenges ahead?

It's with your future in mind that, after deliberation and a review, we are adapting our foreign policies to meet this challenge. I've outlined how we're going to try to promote reform in Eastern Europe; and how we're going to work with our friends in Latin America. In Texas, I spoke to another group of graduates of our new approach to the Soviet Union, one of moving beyond containment, to seek to integrate the Soviets into the community of nations, to help them share the rewards of international cooperation. (Applause.)

But today, I want to discuss the future of Europe, that mother of nations and ideas that is so much a part of America. And it is fitting that I share this forum with a very special friend of the United States -- President Mitterrand, you have the warm affection and high regard of the American people. (Applause.) And I remember well about eight years ago when you joined us in Yorktown in

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1981 to celebrate the bicentennial of that first Franco-American fight for freedom. And soon, I will join you in Paris, sir, to observe the 200th anniversary of the French struggle for liberty and equality. (Applause.)

And this is just one example of the special bond between two continents. But consider this city. From the Old North Church to Paul Revere's home nestled in the warm heart of the Italian North End, to your famous song-filled Irish pubs -- the Old and New Worlds are inseparable in this city. But as we look back to Old World tradition, we must look ahead to a new Europe. Historic changes will shape your careers and your very lives.

The changes that are occurring in Western Europe are less dramatic than those taking place in the East, but they are no less fundamental. The postwar order that began in 1945 is transforming into something very different. And yet certain essentials remain, because our Alliance with Western Europe is utterly unlike the cynical power alliances of the past. It is based on far more than the perception of a common enemy. It is a tie of culture and kinship and shared values. And as we look toward the 21st century, Americans and Europeans alike should remember the words of Raymond Aron, who called the Alliance a "moral and spiritual community." Our ideals are those of the American Bill of Rights and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man. And it is precisely because the ideals of this community are universal that the world is in ferment today.

Now a new century holds the promise of a united Europe. And as you know, the nations of Western Europe are already moving toward greater economic integration, with the ambitious goal of a single European market in 1992. The United States has often declared it seeks a healing of old enmities, an integration of Europe. And at the same time, there has been an historical ambivalence on the part of some Americans towards a more united Europe. To this ambivalence has been added apprehension at the prospect of 1992. But whatever others may think, this administration is of one mind. We believe a strong, united Europe means a strong America. (Applause.)

Western Europe has a gross domestic product that is roughly equal to our own and a population that exceeds ours. European science leads the world in many fields, and European workers are highly educated and highly skilled. We are ready to develop, with the European Community and its member states, new mechanisms of consultation and cooperation on political and global issues from strengthening the forces of democracy in the Third World to managing regional tensions, to putting an end to the division of Europe. A resurgent Western Europe is an economic magnet, drawing Eastern Europe closer toward the commonwealth of free nations. A more mature partnership with Western Europe will pose new challenges. There are certain to be clashes and controversies over economic issues. America will, of course, defend its interests. But it is important to distinguish adversaries from allies and allies from adversaries. What a tragedy; what an absurdity it would be if future historians attribute the demise of the Western Alliance to disputes over beef hormones and wars over pasta. We must all work hard to ensure that the Europe of 1992 will adopt the lower barriers of the modern international economy, not the high walls and the moats of medieval commerce.

But our hopes for the future rest ultimately on keeping the peace in Europe. Forty-two years ago, just across the Charles River, Secretary of State George Marshall gave a commencement address that outlined a plan to help Europe recover. Western Europe responded heroically, and later joined with us in a partnership for the common defense -- a shield we call NATO. And this Alliance has always been driven by a spirited debate over the best way to achieve peaceful change. But the deeper truth is that the Alliance has achieved an historic peace because it is united by a fundamental purpose. Behind the NATO shield, Europe has now enjoyed 40 free years of conflict, -- 40 years free of conflict -- the longest period

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of peace the continent has ever known. (Applause.) Behind this shield, the nations of Western Europe have risen from privation to prosperity -- all because of the strength and resolve of free peoples.

With a Western Europe that is now coming together, we recognize that new forms of cooperation must be developed. We applaud the defense cooperation developing in the revitalized Western European Union, whose members worked with us to keep open the sea-lanes of the Persian Gulf. And we applaud the growing military cooperation between West Germany and France. And we welcome British and French programs to modernize their deterrent capability and their moves toward cooperation in this area. It is perfectly right and proper that Europeans increasingly see their defense cooperation as an investment in a secure future. But we do have a major concern of a different order -- a growing complacency throughout the West.

And, of course, your generation can hardly be expected to share the grip of past anxieties. With such a long peace, it is hard to imagine how it could be otherwise. But our expectations in this rapidly changing world cannot race so far ahead that we forget what is at stake. There's a great irony here. While an ideological earthquake is shaking asunder the very communist foundation, the West is being tested by complacency.

We must never forget that twice in this century, American blood has been shed over conflicts that began in Europe. And we share the fervent desire of Europeans to relegate war forever to the province of distant memory. (Applause.) But that is why the Atlantic Alliance is so central to our foreign policy. And that's why America remains committed to the Alliance and the strategy which has preserved freedom in Europe. We must never forget that to keep the peace in Europe is to keep the peace for America.

NATO's policy of flexible response keeps the United States linked to Europe and lets any would-be aggressors know that they will be met with any level of force needed to repel their attack and frustrate their designs. And our short-range deterrent forces based in Europe, and kept up-to-date, demonstrate that America's vital interests are bound inextricably to Western Europe, and that an attacker can never gamble on a test of strength with just our conventional forces. Though hope is now running high for a more peaceful continent, the history of this century teaches Americans and Europeans to remain prepared.

As we search for a peace that is enduring, I'm grateful for the steps that Mr. Gorbachev is taking. If the Soviets advance solid and constructive plans for peace, then we should give credit where credit is due. And we're seeing sweeping changes in the Soviet Union that show promise of enduring, of becoming ingrained. At the same time, in an era of extraordinary change, we have an obligation to temper optimism -- and I am optimistic -- with prudence.

For example, the Soviet Foreign Minister informed the world last week that his nation's commitment to destroy SS-23 missiles under the recently enacted INF Treaty may be reversible. And the Soviets must surely know the results of failure to comply with this solemn agreement. Perhaps their purpose was to divide the West on other issues that you're reading about in the papers today. But regardless, it is clear that Soviet "new thinking" has not yet totally overcome the old.

I believe in a deliberate, step-by-step approach to East-West relations because recurring signs show that while change in the Soviet Union is dramatic, it's not yet complete. The Warsaw Pact retains a nearly 12-to-one advantage over the Atlantic Alliance in short-range missile and rocket launchers capable of delivering nuclear weapons; and more than a two-to-one advantage in battle tanks. And for that reason, we will also maintain, in cooperation with our allies, ground and air forces in Europe as long as they are wanted and needed to preserve the peace in Europe. At the same time,

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my administration will place a high and continuing priority on negotiating a less militarized Europe, one with a secure conventional force balance at lower levels of forces. Our aspiration is a real peace -- a peace of shared optimism, not a peace of armed camps. (Applause.)

Nineteen-ninety-two is the 500th anniversary of the discovery of the New World. So we have five centuries to celebrate, nothing less than our very civilization -- the American Bill of Rights and the French Rights of Man, the ancient and unwritten Constitution of Great Britain, and the democratic visions of Konrad Adenauer and Alcide de Gasperi.

And in all our celebrations, we observe one fact: this truly is a moral and spiritual community. It is our inheritance and so let us protect it. Let us promote it. Let us treasure it for our children, for Americans and Europeans yet unborn. We stand with France as part of a solid Alliance. And once again, let me say how proud I am to have received this degree from this noble institution and to have shared this platform with the President of the French Republic Francois Mitterrand.

Thank you very, very much. Viva la France and long live the United States of America. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

12:50 P.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(New London, Connecticut)

For Immediate Release

May 24, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT THE COAST GUARD ACADEMY
GRADUATION CEREMONY

Nitchman Field
Coast Guard Academy
New London, Connecticut

12:13 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very much. And, Mr. Superintendent, my friend, Rick, thank you for inviting me here. Thank all of the -- particularly those in the white uniforms who are fixing to move on for that warm welcome. To Admiral Yost, the Commandant and Secretary Skinner, Dr. Alex Haley, and all the distinguished, broke but happy parents sitting over here -- (laughter) -- this is a special day. I want to single out Admiral Cueroni for -- who will be leaving the service, that he has served so well. And it was my pleasure as Vice President of the United States to work directly with him when he headed the south Florida effort fighting narcotics. And he showed us a lot of class then and he showed the country a lot of class for his many years in service to the Coast Guard. (Applause.)

I want to congratulate each member of this year's class on receiving your commission into such a proud service. You mention the Coast Guard and most people think about lives saved at sea, daring rescue operations. But those daily acts of heroism are just one part of the vital work that this Coast Guard performs. Right now, in Prince William Sound, the Coast Guard continues to work around the clock in a major environmental clean-up. And let me at this point, on behalf of a grateful nation, commend Admiral Yost. Through his personal commitment, his involvement, and the leadership that he has shown, he has served his country in the finest tradition of the United States Coast Guard.

And those of us who care about the environment -- and that is 250 million Americans at a minimum -- he's showing us the way. And your service -- backing him up in every way, and I am very proud of what Paul Yost has done. (Applause.)

Right now, off the Florida coast, Coast Guard patrols are chasing down drug smugglers -- helping to keep the drugs off the streets. And that may be all in a day's work for the Coast Guard -- but it is absolutely vital to our national health, our well-being and our security.

I'm sure on that long first day of Swab Summer that you never thought four years could pass so quickly. But they have. And you've worked hard -- Billet Night has come and gone -- (laughter) -- and you're ready -- Semper Paratus in the words of your motto -- ready to enter the Coast Guard service, enter the world. And the truth is, that's what commencement is all about. The world is yours, and today's ceremony is really part of the change of command from one generation to the next.

Today our world -- your world -- is changing, East and West. And today I want to speak to you about the world we want to see, and what we can do to bring that new world into clear focus.

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We live in a time when we are witnessing the end of an idea -- the final chapter of the communist experiment. Communism is now recognized -- even by many within the communist world itself -- as a failed system -- one that promised economic prosperity but failed to deliver the goods, a system that built a wall between the people and their political aspirations.

But the eclipse of communism is only one half of the story of our time. The other is the ascendancy of the democratic idea. Never before has the idea of freedom so captured the imaginations of men and women the world over. And never before has the hope of freedom beckoned so many. Trade unionists in Warsaw. The people of Panama. Rulers consulting the ruled in the Soviet Union. And even as we speak today, the world is transfixed by the dramatic events in Tiananmen Square. Everywhere those voices are speaking the language of democracy and freedom, and we hear them and the world hears them, and America will do all it can to encourage them.

So today I want to speak about our security strategy for the 1990's -- one that advances American ideals and upholds American aims.

Amidst the many challenges we'll face, there will be risks. But let me assure you -- we'll find more than our share of opportunities. We and our allies are strong -- stronger really than at any point in the post-war period, and more capable than ever of supporting the cause of freedom.

There's an opportunity before us to shape a new world.

What is it that we want to see? It is a growing community of democracies anchoring international peace and stability, and a dynamic free market system generating prosperity and progress on a global scale. The economic foundation of this new era is the proven success of the free market -- and nurturing that foundation are the values rooted in freedom and democracy.

Our country, America, was founded on these values and they gave us the confidence that flows from strength. So let's be clear about one thing: America looks forward to the challenge of an emerging global market. But these values are not ours alone; they are now shared by our friends and allies around the globe.

The economic rise of Europe and the nations of the Pacific Rim is the growing success of our post-war policy. This time is a time of tremendous opportunity -- and destiny is in our own hands. To reach the world we want to see, we've got to work, and work hard. There's a lot of work ahead of us.

We must resolve international trade problems that threaten to pit friends and allies against one another. We must combat misguided notions of economic nationalism that will tell us to close off our economies to foreign competition, just when the global marketplace has become a fact of life.

We must open the door to the nations of Eastern Europe and other socialist countries that embrace free market reforms.

And finally, for developing nations heavily burdened with debt, we must provide assistance and encourage the market reforms that will set those nations on a path towards growth.

If we succeed, the next decade and the century beyond will be an era of unparalleled growth -- an era which sees the flourishing of freedom, peace and prosperity around the world.

But this new era cannot unfold in a climate where conflict and turmoil exist. And therefore, our goals must also include security and stability: security for ourselves and our

allies and our friends; stability in the international arena, and an end to regional conflicts.

Such goals are constant, but the strategy we employ to reach them can, and must, change as the world changes. Today, the need for a dynamic and adaptable strategy is imperative. We must be strong -- economically, diplomatically, and, as you know, militarily -- to take advantage of the opportunities open to us in a world of rapid change. And nowhere will the ultimate consequences of change have more significance for world security than within the Soviet Union itself.

What we're seeing now in the Soviet Union is indeed dramatic. The process is still ongoing, unfinished. But make no mistake -- our policy is to seize every, and I mean every, opportunity to build a better, more stable relationship with the Soviet Union -- just as it is our policy to defend American interests in light of the enduring reality of Soviet military power.

We want to see perestroika succeed. And we want to see the policies of glasnost and perestroika -- so far, a revolution imposed from top down -- institutionalized within the Soviet Union. And we want to see perestroika extended as well. We want to see a Soviet Union that restructures its relationship toward the rest of the world -- a Soviet Union that is a force for constructive solutions to the world's problems.

The grand strategy of the West during the post-war period has been based on the concept of containment: checking the Soviet Union's expansionist aims, in the hope that the Soviet system itself would one day be forced to confront its internal contradictions. The ferment in the Soviet Union today affirms the wisdom of this strategy. And now we have a precious opportunity to move beyond containment. You're graduating into an exciting world, where the opportunity for peace -- world peace, lasting peace -- has never been better.

Our goal -- integrating the Soviet Union into the community of nations -- is every bit as ambitious as containment was at its time. And it holds tremendous promise for international stability.

Coping with a changing Soviet Union will be a challenge of the highest order. But the security challenges we face today do not come from the East alone. The emergence of regional powers is rapidly changing the strategic landscape.

In the Middle East, in South Asia, in our own hemisphere, a growing number of nations are acquiring advanced and highly destructive capabilities -- in some cases, weapons of mass destruction, and the means to deliver them. And it is an unfortunate fact that the world faces increasing threat from armed insurgencies, terrorists, and as you in the Coast Guard are well aware, narcotics traffickers -- and, in some regions, an unholy alliance of all three.

Our task is clear: we must curb the proliferation of advanced weaponry; we must check the aggressive ambitions of renegade regimes; and we must enhance the ability of our friends to defend themselves. We have not yet mastered the complex challenge. We and our allies must construct a common strategy for stability in the developing world.

How we and our allies deal with these diverse challenges depends on how well we understand the key elements of defense strategy. And so let me just mention today two points in particular.

First, the need for an effective deterrent, one that demonstrates to our allies and adversaries alike American strength, American resolve;

And second, the need to maintain an approach to arms reduction that promotes stability at the lowest feasible level of armaments.

Deterrence is central to our defense strategy. The key to keeping the peace is convincing our adversaries that the cost of aggression against us or our allies is simply unacceptable.

In today's world, nuclear forces are essential to deterrence. Our challenge is to protect those deterrent systems from attack. And that's why we'll move Peacekeeper ICBMs out of fixed and vulnerable silos -- making them mobile and thus harder to target. Looking to the longer-term, we will also develop and deploy a new highly mobile single-warhead missile, the Midgetman. With only minutes of warnings, these new missiles can relocate out of harm's way. Any attack against systems like this will fail.

We are also researching -- and we are committed to deploy when ready -- a more comprehensive defensive system, known as SDI. Our premise is straightforward: defense against incoming missiles endangers no person, endangers no country.

We're also working to reduce the threat we face -- both nuclear and conventional. The INF Treaty demonstrates that willingness. In addition, in the past decade, NATO has unilaterally removed 2400 shorter-range theater warheads. But theater nuclear forces contribute to stability, no less than strategic forces, and thus it would be irresponsible to depend solely on strategic nuclear forces to deter conflict in Europe.

The conventional balance in Europe is just as important, and is linked to the nuclear balance. For more than 40 years -- and look at your history books to see how pronounced this accomplishment is -- for more than 40 years, the Warsaw Pact's massive advantage in conventional forces has cast a shadow over Europe.

The unilateral reductions that President Gorbachev has promised give us hope that we can now redress that imbalance. We welcome those steps because, if implemented, they will help reduce the threat of surprise attack. And they confirm what we've said all along -- that Soviet military power far exceeds the levels needed to defend the legitimate security interests of the USSR. And we must keep in mind that these reductions alone -- even if implemented -- are not enough to eliminate the significant numerical superiority that the Soviet Union enjoys right now.

Through negotiation, we can now transform the military landscape of Europe. The issues are complex, stakes are very high. But the Soviets are now being forthcoming, and we hope to achieve the reductions that we seek.

Let me emphasize -- our aim is nothing less than removing war as an option in Europe.

The USSR has said that it is willing to abandon its age-old reliance on offensive strategy. It's time to begin. This should mean a smaller force -- one less reliant on tanks and artillery and personnel carriers that provide the Soviets' offensive striking power. A restructured Warsaw Pact -- one that mirrors the defensive posture of NATO -- would make Europe and the world more secure.

Peace can also be enhanced by movement towards more openness in military activities. And two weeks ago, I proposed an "open skies" initiative, to extend the concept of openness. That plan for territorial overflights would increase our mutual security against sudden and threatening military activities. In the same spirit, let us extend this openness to military expenditures as well. I call on the Soviets to do as we have always done. Let's open the ledgers. Publish an accurate defense budget.

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But as we move forward we must be realistic. Transformations of this magnitude will not happen overnight. If we are to reach our goals, a great deal is required of us, our allies -- and of the Soviet Union. But we can succeed.

I began today by speaking about the triumph of a particular, peculiar, very special American ideal -- freedom. And I know there are those who may think there's something presumptuous about that claim -- those who will think it's boastful. But it is not, for one simple reason: Democracy isn't our creation -- it is our inheritance.

And we can't take credit for democracy -- but we can take that precious gift of freedom, preserve it and pass it on -- as my generation does to you, and you, too, will do one day. And perhaps -- provided we seize the opportunities open to us -- we can help others attain the freedom that we cherish.

As I said on the Capitol steps the day I took this office, as President of the United States, "There is but one just use of power, and it is to serve people." As your Commander in Chief, let me call on this Coast Guard class to reaffirm with me that American power will continue in its service to the enduring ideals of democracy and freedom.

Congratulations to each and every one of you. Thank you and God bless the United States of America. Thank you all very much. (Applause.)

END

12:32 P.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Frankfurt, Federal Republic of Germany)

For Immediate Release

May 31, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT RHEINGOLDHALLE

Rheingoldhalle
Mainz, Federal Republic of Germany

1:16 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Chancellor Kohl. At the outset, let me tell you that lest you think that he has forgotten his home state because he is the Chancellor of the Federal Republic, I will only tell you that in the last 24 hours, Chancellor Kohl has been convincing me that when I came to this state and to Mainz, I would be coming to heaven. And having gotten here, I think he may just about be right, I'll tell you. (Laughter.) Thank you all very much. (Applause.)

Dr. Wagner and Lord Mayor, distinguished hosts -- I want to also thank these two bands -- West German and American -- for that stirring music. And Chancellor Kohl, I especially want to thank you again for inviting me to this beautiful and ancient city on my first presidential trip to the Republic of Germany -- the Federal Republic. And Herr Kohl and I have concluded now our deliberations at the NATO summit in Brussels -- an excellent start to our working partnership as Chancellor and President.

And here in Mainz, by the banks of the Rhine, it's often said that this heartland of mountain vineyards and villages embodies the very soul of Germany. So Mainz provides a fitting forum for an American President to address the German people. (Applause.)

Today I come to speak, not just of our mutual defense, but of our shared values. I come to speak, not just of the matters of the mind, but of the deeper aspirations of the heart.

Just this morning, Barbara and I were charmed with the experiences we had. I met with a group -- a small group of German students, bright young men and women who studied in the United States. Their knowledge of our country and the world was impressive to say the least. But sadly, too many in the West, Americans and Europeans alike, seem to have forgotten the lessons of our common heritage and how the world we know came to be. And that should not be, and that cannot be. We must recall that the generation coming into its own in America and Western Europe is heir to gifts greater than those bestowed to any generation in history -- peace, freedom and prosperity. (Applause.)

This inheritance is possible because 40 years ago the nations of the West joined in that noble, common cause called NATO. And first, there was the vision, the concept of free peoples in North America and Europe working to protect their values. And second, there was the practical sharing of risks and burdens, and a realistic recognition of Soviet expansionism. And finally, there was the determination to look beyond old animosities. The NATO Alliance did nothing less than provide a way for Western Europe to heal centuries-old rivalries, to begin an era of reconciliation and restoration. It has been, in fact, a second Renaissance of Europe. (Applause.)

As you know best, this is not just the 40th birthday of the Alliance. It's also the 40th birthday of the Federal Republic --

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a Republic born in hope, tempered by challenge. And at the height of the Berlin Crisis in 1948, Ernst Reuter called on Germans to stand firm and confident, and you did -- courageously, magnificently.

And the historic genius of the German people has flourished in this age of peace. And your nation has become a leader in technology, and the fourth largest economy on Earth. But more important, you have inspired the world by forcefully promoting the principles of human rights, democracy and freedom. The United States and the Federal Republic have always been firm friends and allies. But today we share an added role -- partners in leadership.

Of course, leadership has a constant companion -- responsibility. And our responsibility is to look ahead and grasp the promise of the future.

I said recently that we're at the end of one era, and at the beginning of another. And I noted that in regard to the Soviet Union, our policy is to move beyond containment.

For 40 years, the seeds of democracy in Eastern Europe lay dormant, buried under the frozen tundra of the Cold War. And for 40 years, the world has waited for the Cold War to end. And decade after decade, time after time, the flowering human spirit withered from the chill of conflict and oppression. And again, the world waited. But the passion for freedom cannot be denied forever. The world has waited long enough. The time is right. Let Europe be whole and free. (Applause.)

To the founders of the Alliance, this aspiration was a distant dream, and now it's the new mission of NATO. If ancient rivals like Britain and France, or France and Germany, can reconcile, then why not the nations of the East and West?

In the East, brave men and women are showing us the way. Look at Poland, where Solidarity -- Solidarnosc and the Catholic Church have won legal status. The forces of freedom are putting the Soviet status quo on the defensive.

In the West, we have succeeded because we've been faithful to our values and our vision. And the other side of the rusting Iron Curtain, their vision failed.

The Cold War began with the division of Europe. It can only end when Europe is whole. (Applause.) Today, it is this very concept of a divided Europe that is under siege. And that's why our hopes run especially high, because the division of Europe is under siege not by armies, but by the spread of ideas that began here, right here. It was a son of Mainz, Johannes Gutenberg, who liberated the mind of man through the power of the printed word.

And that same liberating power is unleashed today in a hundred new forms. The Voice of America, Deutsche Welle allow us to enlighten millions deep within Eastern Europe and throughout the world. Television satellites allow us to bear witness from the shipyards of Gdansk to Tiananmen Square. But the momentum for freedom does not just come from the printed word or the transistor or the television screen. It comes from a single powerful idea -- democracy. (Applause.)

This one idea -- this one idea is sweeping across Eurasia. This one idea is why the communist world, from Budapest to Beijing, is in ferment. Of course, for the leaders of the East, it's not just freedom for freedom's sake. But whatever their motivation, they are unleashing a force they will find difficult to channel or control -- the hunger for liberty of oppressed peoples who have tasted freedom.

Nowhere is this more apparent than in Eastern Europe, the birthplace of the Cold War. In Poland, at the end of World War II,

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the Soviet Army prevented the free elections promised by Stalin at Yalta. And today, Poles are taking the first steps toward real elections, so long promised -- so long deferred. And in Hungary, at last we see a chance for multi-party competition at the ballot box.

As President, I will continue to do all I can to help open the closed societies of the East. We seek self-determination for all of Germany and all of Eastern Europe. (Applause.) And we will not relax and we must not waver. Again, the world has waited long enough.

But democracy's journey East is not easy. Intellectuals like the great Czech playwright Vaclav Havel still work under the shadow of coercion. And repression still menaces too many peoples of Eastern Europe. Barriers and barbed wire still fence in nations. So when I visit Poland and Hungary this summer, I will deliver this message: There cannot be a common European home until all within it are free to move from room to room. (Applause.)

And I'll take another message: The path of freedom leads to a larger home -- a home where West meets East, a democratic home -- the commonwealth of free nations.

And I said that positive steps by the Soviets would be met by steps of our own. And this is why I announced on May 12th a readiness to consider granting to the Soviets a temporary waiver of the Jackson-Vanik trade restrictions, if they liberalize emigration. And this is also why I announced on Monday that the United States is prepared to drop the "no exceptions" standard that has guided our approach to controlling the export of technology to the Soviet Union -- lifting a sanction enacted in response to their invasion of Afghanistan. (Applause.)

And in this same spirit, I set forth four proposals to heal Europe's tragic division, to help Europe become whole and free.

First, I propose we strengthen and broaden the Helsinki process to promote free elections and political pluralism in Eastern Europe. As the forces of freedom and democracy rise in the East, so should our expectations.

And weaving together the slender threads of freedom in the East will require much from the Western democracies. In particular, the great political parties of the West must assume an historic responsibility -- to lend counsel and support to those brave men and women who are trying to form the first truly representative political parties in the East, to advance freedom and democracy, to part the Iron Curtain. (Applause.)

In fact, it's already begun to part. The frontier of barbed wire and minefields between Hungary and Austria is being removed, foot by foot, mile by mile. Just as the barriers are coming down in Hungary, so must they fall throughout all of Eastern Europe. Let Berlin be next. (Applause.) Let Berlin be next. (Applause.)

Nowhere is the division between East and West seen more clearly than in Berlin. And there this brutal wall cuts neighbor from neighbor, brother from brother. And that Wall stands as a monument to the failure of communism. It must come down. (Applause.)

Now, glasnost may be a Russian word, but openness is a Western concept. West Berlin has always enjoyed the openness of a free city. And our proposal would make all Berlin a center of commerce between East and West -- a place of cooperation, not a point of confrontation. And we rededicate ourselves to the 1987 allied initiative to strengthen freedom and security in that divided city. This, then is my second proposal -- bring glasnost to East Berlin. (Applause.)

My generation remembers a Europe ravaged by war. And of course, Europe has long since rebuilt its proud cities and restored its majestic cathedrals. But what a tragedy it would be if your continent was again spoiled, this time by a more subtle and insidious danger -- the Chancellor referred to it -- that of poisoned rivers and acid rain.

America has faced an environmental tragedy in Alaska. Countries from France to Finland suffered after Chernobyl. West Germany is struggling to save the Black Forest today. And throughout, we have all learned a terrible lesson -- environmental destruction respects no borders. (Applause.)

So my third proposal is to work together on these environmental problems, with the United States and Western Europe extending a hand to the East. Since much remains to be done in both East and West, we ask Eastern Europe to join us in this common struggle. We can offer technical training, assistance in drafting laws and regulations, and new technologies for tackling these awesome problems. And I invite the environmentalists and engineers of the East to visit the West, to share knowledge so we can succeed in this great cause.

My fourth proposal -- actually, a set of proposals -- concerns a less militarized Europe, the most heavily armed continent in the world. Nowhere is this more important than in the two Germanys. And that's why our quest to safely reduce armaments has a special significance for the German people.

To those who are impatient with our measured pace in arms reductions, I respectfully suggest that history teaches us a lesson -- that unity and strength are the catalyst and prerequisite to arms control. We've always believed that a strong Western defense is the best road to peace. (Applause.) Forty years of experience have proven us right.

But we've done more than just keep the peace. By standing together, we have convinced the Soviets that their arms buildup has been costly and pointless. Let us not give them incentives to return to the policies of the past. Let us give them every reason to abandon the arms race for the sake of the human race. (Applause.)

In this era of both negotiation and armed camps, America understands that West Germany bears a special burden. Of course, in this nuclear age, every nation is on the front line. But not all free nations are called to endure the tension of regular military activity, or the constant presence of foreign military forces. We are sensitive to these special conditions that this needed presence imposes.

To significantly ease the burden of armed camps in Europe, we must be aggressive in our pursuit of solid, verifiable agreements between NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

On Monday, with my NATO colleagues in Brussels, I shared my great hope for the future of conventional arms negotiations in Europe. I shared with them a proposal for achieving significant reductions in the near future.

And as you know, the Warsaw Pact has now accepted major elements of our Western approach to the new conventional arms negotiations in Vienna. The Eastern Bloc acknowledges that a substantial imbalance exists between the conventional forces of the two Alliances. And they've moved closer to NATO's position by accepting most elements of our initial conventional arms proposal. These encouraging steps have produced the opportunity for creative and decisive action, and we shall not let that opportunity pass. (Applause.)

Our proposal has several key initiatives.

I propose that we "lock in" the Eastern agreement to Western-proposed ceilings on tanks and armored troop carriers. We should also seek an agreement on common numerical ceiling for artillery in the range between NATO's and that of the Warsaw Pact, provided these definitional problems can be solved. And the weapons we remove must be destroyed.

We should expand our current offer to include all land-based combat aircraft and helicopters, by proposing that both sides reduce in these categories to a level 15 percent below the current NATO totals. Given the Warsaw Pact's advantage in numbers, the Pact would have to make far-deeper reductions than NATO to establish parity at those lower levels. Again, the weapons we remove must be destroyed.

I propose a 20 percent cut in combat manpower in U.S.-stationed forces, and a resulting ceiling on U.S. and Soviet ground and air forces stationed outside of national territory in the Atlantic-to-the-Urals zone, at approximately 275,000 each. This reduction to parity, a fair and balanced level of strength, would compel the Soviets to reduce their 600,000-strong Red Army in Eastern Europe by 325,000. And these withdrawn forces must be demobilized. (Applause.)

And finally, I call on President Gorbachev to accelerate the timetable for reaching these agreements. There is no reason why the five-to-six year timetable as suggested by Moscow is necessary. I propose a much more ambitious schedule. And we should aim to reach an agreement within six months to a year, and accomplish reductions by 1992, or 1993 at the latest. (Applause.)

In addition to my conventional arms proposals, I believe that we ought to strive to improve the openness with which we and the Soviets conduct our military activities. And therefore, I want to reiterate my support for greater transparency. I renew my proposal that the Soviet Union and its allies open their skies to reciprocal, unarmed aerial surveillance flights, conducted on short notice, to watch military activities. Satellites are a very important way to verify arms control agreements. But they do not provide constant coverage of the Soviet Union. An Open Skies policy would move both sides closer to a total continuity of coverage, while symbolizing greater openness between East and West.

These are my proposals to achieve a less militarized Europe. A short time ago they would have been too revolutionary to consider. And yet today, we may well be on the verge of a more ambitious agreement in Europe than anyone considered possible.

But we are also challenged by developments outside of NATO's traditional areas of concern. Every Western nation still faces the global proliferation of lethal technologies, including ballistic missiles and chemical weapons. We must collectively control the spread of these growing threats. So we should begin as soon as possible with a worldwide ban on chemical weapons. (Applause.)

Growing political freedom in the East, a Berlin without barriers, a cleaner environment, a less militarized Europe -- each is a noble goal, and taken together they are the foundation of our larger vision -- a Europe that is free and at peace with itself. And so let the Soviets know that our goal is not to undermine their legitimate security interests. Our goal is to convince them, step by step, that their definition of security is obsolete, that their deepest fears are unfounded. (Applause.)

When Western Europe takes its giant step in 1992, it will institutionalize what's been true for years -- borders open to people, commerce and ideas. No shadow of suspicion, no sinister fear

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is cast between you. The very prospect of war within the West is unthinkable to our citizens. (Applause.) But such a peaceful integration of nations into a world community does not mean that any nation must relinquish its culture, much less its sovereignty.

This process of integration, a subtle weaving of shared interests, which is so nearly complete in Western Europe, has now finally begun in the East. We want to help the nations of Eastern Europe realize what we, the nations of Western Europe, learned long ago. The foundation of lasting security comes, not from tanks, troops or barbed wire. It is built on shared values and agreements that link free peoples. (Applause.)

The nations of Eastern Europe are rediscovering the glories of their national heritage. So let the colors and hues of national culture return to these grey societies of the East. Let Europe forego a peace of tension for a peace of trust, one in which the peoples of the East and West can rejoice; a continent that is diverse, yet whole.

Forty years of Cold War have tested Western resolve and the strength of our values. NATO's first mission is now nearly complete. But if we are to fulfill our vision -- our European vision -- the challenges of the next 40 years will ask no less of us. Together, we shall answer the call. The world has waited long enough.

Thank you for inviting me to Mainz. May God bless you all. Long live the friendship between Germany and the United States. Thank you and God bless you. (Applause.)

END

1:45 P.M. (L)

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

The Briefing Room

4:07 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I have a statement here, and then I'll be glad to take a couple of questions. And then I will turn the meeting over to General Scowcroft for any follow-up.

The people of Latin America and the Caribbean have sacrificed, fought, and died to establish democracy. Today, elected constitutional government is the clear choice of the vast majority of the people in the Americas. And the days of the dictator are over. Still, in many parts of our hemisphere, the enemies of democracy lie in wait to overturn elected governments through force or to steal elections through fraud.

All nations in the democratic community have a responsibility to make it clear through our actions and our words that efforts to overturn constitutional regimes or steal elections are unacceptable. If we fail to send a clear signal when democracy is imperiled, the enemies of constitutional government will become more dangerous. And that's why events in Panama place an enormous responsibility on all nations in the democratic community.

This past week, the people of Panama, in record numbers, voted to elect a new democratic leadership of their country, and they voted to replace the dictatorship of General Manuel Noriega. The whole world was watching. Every credible observer, the Catholic Church, Latin and European observers, leaders of our Congress, and two former Presidents of the United States tell the same story: the opposition won. It was not even a close election. The opposition won by a margin of nearly three to one.

The Noriega regime first tried to steal this election through massive fraud and intimidation and now has nullified the election and resorted to violence and bloodshed. In recent days, a host of Latin American leaders have condemned this election fraud. They've called on General Noriega to heed the will of the people of Panama.

We support and second those demands. The United States will not recognize, nor accommodate with a regime that holds power through force and violence at the expense of the Panamanian people's right to be free.

I've exchanged these views over the last several days with democratic leaders in Latin America and in Europe. These consultations will continue.

The crisis in Panama is a conflict between Noriega and the people of Panama. The United States stands with the Panamanian people. We share their hope that the Panamanian Defense Forces will stand with them and fulfill their constitutional obligation to defend democracy. A professional Panamanian Defense Force can have an important role to play in Panama's democratic future.

The United States is committed to democracy in Panama. We respect the sovereignty of Panama and, of course, we have great affection for the Panamanian people. We are also committed to protect the lives of our citizens. And we're committed to the

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integrity of the Panama Canal treaties which guarantee safe passage for all nations through the Canal.

The Panama Canal treaties are a proud symbol of respect and partnership between the people of the United States and the people of Panama. In support of these objectives and after consulting this morning with the bipartisan leadership of the Congress, I am taking the following steps:

First, the United States strongly supports and will cooperate with initiatives taken by governments in this hemisphere to address this crisis through regional diplomacy and action in the Organization of American States and through other means.

Second, our Ambassador in Panama, Arthur Davis, has been recalled and our Embassy staff will be reduced to essential personnel only.

Third, U.S. government employees and their dependents living outside of U.S. military bases or Panama Canal commissioned housing areas will be relocated out of Panama or to secure U.S. housing areas within Panama. This action will begin immediately. It will be completed as quickly and in an orderly a manner as possible.

Fourth, the State Department, through its travel advisory, will encourage U.S. business representatives resident in Panama to arrange for the extended absences of their dependents wherever possible.

Fifth, economic sanctions will continue in force.

Sixth, the United States will carry out its obligations and will assert and enforce its treaty rights in Panama under the Panama Canal treaties.

And finally, we are sending a brigade-size force to Panama to augment our military forces already assigned there. If required, I do not rule out further steps in the future.

The United States and all democratic nations in this hemisphere hope that a peaceful resolution can be found to the crisis in Panama. And we urge all those in Panama, every individual, every institution, to put the well-being of their country first and seek an honorable solution to this crisis. The way is still open.

Thank you. God bless.

Q Mr. President, are you willing to drop the drug charges against Noriega if it will mean that he will leave the country or at least give up control in a quid pro quo?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

Q Mr. President, do you recognize Mr. Endara as the President-elect, and what steps should the United States help to get him inaugurated?

THE PRESIDENT: We have not made any formal recognition determination at this point.

Q Mr. President, I understand that you've been trying

THE PRESIDENT: We have been talking to other countries in the hemisphere on that point I might add, Terry, but we have made no further -- no official determination.

Q I understand you've been trying today, sir, to get other leaders in the hemisphere to agree on a joint statement of condemnation of Noriega, and I wonder if you could give us a progress report on that diplomatic effort, sir?

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THE PRESIDENT: Well, one, I have not -- by joint statement -- encouraged a joint statement in which the United States would participate. Some of the leaders in this hemisphere are working on getting a joint statement and, indeed, I'm told authoritatively that there might be a joint statement out of some European countries. But we would encourage countries in this hemisphere to either jointly or personally make strong statements. And I believe that -- I want to say 10 countries have already made individual statements and now I think the next collective diplomatic action is going to be at the OAS.

Q Sir, how many troops will that mean and will they be quartered in the military compound? Will they stay there quietly and just be there or will they be out on the streets patrolling?

THE PRESIDENT: We will assert our treaty rights, enforce our treaty rights, and I will refer to -- let General Skowcroft answer the question, but my estimate of the troops would be about 2,000.

Q Mr. President, what is your justification for sending the brigade of troops? What are you worried about?

THE PRESIDENT: I'm worried about the lives of American citizens. And I will do what is necessary to protect the lives of American citizens. And we will not be intimidated by the bullying tactics, brutal though they may be, of the dictator, Noriega.

Q Mr. President, your statement just now about defense forces, would that be a signal that the United States would look favorably on a coup attempt?

THE PRESIDENT: I have asserted what my interest is at this point. It is democracy in Panama; it is protection of the life of Americans in Panama.

I'm going to take two more and then I'm going to go.

Q Sir, we've been calling around to these Latin American embassies. We find no enthusiasm for the dispatch of American troops there and the Mexican embassy even said that they warned against intervention. Are you disappointed at the reaction you're getting from Latin America?

THE PRESIDENT: We've had good reaction from the Latin Americans. I haven't talked to them on that particular point, but we have had very good reaction from them and I have been impressed with what -- the role of several of the Latin American leaders.

I think for the first time there is a total understanding on their part of the threat to democracy from the stealing of this election, or the threat to democracy in the hemisphere from totalitarianism, and it's brought home by this theft of the election.

So they don't -- I might add on the troops, I have a profound obligation and that is -- as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces and as President -- and that is to protect American life, and I'm going to do what is prudent and necessary to do this. And so we have a different obligation. We also have certain treaty rights and obligations. I'm prepared to fulfill our treaty obligations and I am prepared to see that our treaty rights are exercised. And that -- so, I'd leave it right there in terms of the troop deployments.

Last one.

Q Mr. President, in the Reagan administration there was a very formal negotiating process with General Noriega over terms under which he might leave. Is there any possibility that that might repeat itself now, that there might be some sort of formal discussions between yourselves and the Panamanian government and General Noriega about conditions under which he might leave?

MORE

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, he knows my position on the fact that if he does leave we would have the instant restoration of normal relations with Panama. That has been conveyed to him very, very recently. But, look, I will be open-minded about seeing what it might take to see him leave. I'm not going to go back and do what Helen asked about in dropping these indictments. I'm not going to do that. That has profound implications for our fight against narcotics, which has got to be worldwide. But if there's something short of that, the door is open to understand what it is that would be required. But I don't think he's -- the Panamanian people should be asked to compromise in terms of their election, which was won three to one by those opposed to Noriega. So there would be certain things, other non-negotiable things -- but I don't think -- that's between Noriega and the Panamanian people.

Thank you all very much. And Brent will take the remaining questions.

Q How is Endara? Is he in the hospital?

THE PRESIDENT: He was out and then I think he's back in. But now, I don't know whether he's gotten out later on or not.

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: I think he's back.

Q Is Noriega capable of --

Q Are you concerned about him taking hostages?

THE PRESIDENT: I'm concerned about protecting the lives of Americans. And that is exactly why I've taken the action I have here today.

END

4:20 P.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(New York, New York)

EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE
UNTIL 11:45 A.M. EDT
MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1989

FACT SHEET

The President's Chemical Weapons Initiative

In his speech to the 44th United Nations General Assembly, the President announced a new initiative to halt and reverse the growing spread and use of chemical weapons, and to accelerate the negotiations for a global ban on chemical weapons.

The United States has long taken the lead in the effort to prevent the use and spread of chemical weapons:

- o In April 1984, then Vice President Bush proposed a draft treaty that would ban development, acquisition, production, stockpiling, transfer, and use of chemical weapons. Since then, the U.S. draft treaty has served as the basis for negotiations on CW among the 40-nation Conference on Disarmament in Geneva.
- o While the Geneva negotiations have achieved agreement on a number of knotty issues, many important questions remain to be resolved.

The President reaffirmed the U.S. commitment to a multilateral treaty that would completely eliminate chemical weapons in ten years, provided all CW capable states become party to the treaty. In order to give new impetus to the negotiations for such a ban, the President proposed the following initiatives:

- o The U.S. will destroy more than 98 percent of its current chemical weapons stockpile within eight years after entry into force of a multilateral chemical weapons convention, provided the Soviet Union is also a party to the convention.
- o The remaining two percent would then be destroyed in the following two years after all chemical weapons capable countries become parties to the convention.
- o While working to complete a global chemical weapons convention, the U.S. will propose to the Soviet Union that the two countries agree to the destruction of a major portion of their respective CW stockpiles down to equal levels. This destruction would be on mutually agreed terms, and must include far-reaching verification provisions. We would propose that the interim level be set at about 20 percent of the current U.S. level. The U.S. objective is to reach agreement quickly so that substantial destruction of existing U.S. and Soviet stockpiles could be underway even before the multilateral CW convention takes effect.
- o Finally, the U.S. will accelerate and significantly expand its efforts to improve verification capabilities and resolve the many technical and procedural questions associated with verification of a CW ban.

The objective of this initiative is to accelerate agreement on, and implementation of, a global ban on the production, storage, transfer and use of chemical weapons. This task has greater urgency today because:

- o The use of chemical weapons in violation of international law has increased in recent years;
- o The number of countries that have acquired or seek to acquire chemical weapons capability now numbers about 20. Coupled with the acquisition of increasingly sophisticated and far-ranging delivery systems, this poses a serious and growing threat to regional stability;
- o The 1925 Geneva Protocol only bans the first use of CW in war, not the possession of these weapons.

The evidence of eroding respect for the international norms against the use of chemical weapons, and their continuing spread to new parts of the globe call for urgent action on the part of all civilized nations. The U.S. believes that the best way to attack these problems would be to conclude a global treaty banning chemical weapons. The President's initiative will significantly advance prospects for such an agreement, and will challenge other nations to demonstrate their commitment to the goal of a global CW ban:

- o Many nations, including the Soviet Union, now accept the principle, proposed by the U.S., of extensive verification measures, including on-site inspections. Agreement on the detailed procedures and requirements for verification will be an important demonstration of a nation's commitment to the CW ban.

The U.S. has led the way in promoting the openness required for an effective ban by making public extensive information on the composition and location of U.S. CW stockpiles and production facilities. The President is determined to make every effort to make further improvement in our verification capabilities. The U.S. has also been in the forefront of efforts to identify and resolve other outstanding issues:

- o At the Baker-Shevardnadze meeting in Wyoming, the U.S. reached agreement with the Soviet Union for an exchange of data on existing CW stockpiles, and on experiments for inspections of stockpiles and production facilities, in order to build confidence and gain valuable experience for a CW Convention;
- o At the Canberra Conference Against Chemical Weapons, the U.S. announced an initiative for the establishment of a Technical Experts Group (TEG) in the Conference on Disarmament to address at this early stage the technical and scientific questions related to a CW ban.

The President's initiative will significantly advance prospects for a global agreement to rid the world of chemical weapons. All nations who share that goal should seize this opportunity.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(New York, New York)

EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE
UNTIL 11:45 A.M. EDT
MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1989

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE 44TH SESSION
OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

United Nations Headquarters
New York, New York

September 25, 1989

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary General, distinguished delegates of the United Nations: I am honored to speak to you today as you open the 44th Session of the General Assembly.

I would like to congratulate Joseph Garba of Nigeria -- a distinguished diplomat -- on his election as President of this session of the General Assembly, and I wish him success in his Presidency.

I feel a great personal pleasure on this occasion. This is a homecoming for me. The memories of my time here in 1971 and 1972 are still with me today -- the human moments -- the humorous moments -- that are part of even the highest undertaking.

Let me share one story -- from one of the many sessions of the Security Council. I was 45 minutes late getting to the meeting -- and all 45 minutes were filled by the first speaker to take the floor. When I walked in and took my seat, the speaker paused and said with great courtesy: "I welcome the Permanent Representative of the United States, and now -- for his benefit -- I will start my speech again -- from the beginning." At that moment, differences of alliance and ideology didn't matter. The universal groan that went up around the table -- from every member present -- and the laughter that followed -- united us all.

Today, I would like to begin by recognizing the current permanent representatives with whom I served. Roberto Martinez-Ordenez. Blaise Rabetafika. Permanent Observer John Dube.

It's wonderful to look around and see so many familiar faces -- foreign ministers, members of the Secretariat, delegates. And of course Mr. Secretary General -- you were Permanent Representative for your country when we served together and Under Secretary Abby Farah -- you were a Permanent Representative back then, too. It's an honor to be back with you in this historic hall.

The United Nations was established 44 years ago upon the ashes of war -- and amidst great hopes. And the United Nations can do great things. No, the UN isn't perfect. It's not a panacea for the world's problems. But it is a vital forum where the nations of the world seek to replace conflict with consensus -- and it must remain a forum for peace.

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The UN is moving closer to that ideal. And it has the support of the United States of America. In recent years -- certainly since my time here -- the war of words that has often echoed in this chamber is giving way to a new mood. We've seen a welcome shift -- from polemics to peacekeeping.

UN Peacekeeping forces are on duty right now -- and over the years, more than 700 Peacekeepers have given their lives in service to the United Nations. Today, I want to remember one of these soldiers of peace. An American -- on a mission of peace under the UN flag -- on a mission for all the world. A man of unquestioned bravery and unswerving dedication to the UN ideal: Lt. Col. William Richard Higgins.

I call on the General Assembly to condemn the murder of this soldier of peace -- and call on those responsible to return his remains to his family. And let us all right now -- right here -- rededicate ourselves and our nations to the cause that Colonel Higgins served so selflessly.

The founders of this historic institution believed that it was here that the nations of the world might come to agree that law -- not force -- shall govern. And the United Nations can play a fundamental role in the central issue of our time. For today, there is an idea at work around the globe -- an idea of undeniable force. That idea is: Freedom.

Freedom's advance is evident everywhere. In Central Europe: In Hungary -- where state and society are now in the midst of a movement towards political pluralism and a free market economy. Where the barrier that once enforced an unnatural division between Hungary and its neighbors to the West has been torn down -- replaced by a new hope for the future -- new hope in freedom.

We see freedom at work in Poland -- where, in deference to the will of the people, the Communist Party has relinquished its monopoly on power. And in the Soviet Union -- where the world hears the voices of people no longer afraid to speak out, or to assert the right to rule themselves.

But freedom's march is not confined to a single continent -- or to the developed world alone.

We see the rise of freedom in Latin America -- where, one by one, dictatorships are giving way to democracy.

We see it on the continent of Africa -- where more and more nations see in the system of free enterprise, salvation for economies crippled by excessive state control.

East and West -- North and South: on every continent, on every horizon, we can see the outlines of a new world of freedom.

Of course, freedom's work remains unfinished. The trend we see is not yet universal. Some regimes still stand against the tide. Some rulers still deny the right of the people to govern themselves. But now, the power of prejudice and despotism is challenged. Never before have these regimes stood so isolated and alone -- so out of step with the steady advance of freedom.

Today, we are witnessing an ideological collapse -- the demise of the totalitarian idea of the omniscient, all-powerful State.

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There are many reasons for this collapse. But in the end, one fact alone explains what we see today: Advocates of the totalitarian idea saw its triumph written in the laws of history. They failed to see the love of freedom written in the human heart.

Two hundred years ago today, the United States Congress proposed the Bill of Rights -- fundamental freedoms belonging to every individual. Rights no government can deny. Those same rights have been recognized in this congress of nations -- in the words of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, "a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations."

From where we stand -- on the threshold of this new world of freedom -- the trend is clear enough. If, for those who write the history of our times, the 20th century is remembered as the century of the State -- the 21st must be an era of emancipation -- the age of the Individual.

Make no mistake: Nothing can stand in the way of freedom's march. There will come a day when freedom is seen the world over to be the universal birthright of every man and woman -- of every race and walk of life. Even under the worst of circumstances, at the darkest of times, freedom has always remained alive -- a distant dream, perhaps, but always alive.

Today, that dream is no longer distant. For the first time, for millions around the world -- a new world of freedom is within reach. Today -- is freedom's moment.

You see, the possibility now exists for the creation of a true community of nations -- built on shared interests and ideals. A true community -- a world where free governments and free markets meet the rising desire of the people to control their own destiny: to live in dignity, and to exercise freely their fundamental human rights.

It is time we worked together to deliver that destiny into the hands of men and women everywhere.

Our challenge is to strengthen the foundations of freedom -- encourage its advance, and face our most urgent challenges. The global challenges of the 21st Century: economic health, environmental well-being, and the great questions of war and peace.

First, global economic growth. During this decade, a number of developing nations have moved into the ranks of the world's most advanced economies -- all of them -- each and every one -- powered by the engine of free enterprise.

In the decade ahead, others can join their ranks. But -- for many nations -- barriers stand in the way. In the case of some countries, these are obstacles of their own making: unnecessary restrictions and regulations that act as dead weights on their own economies and obstacles to foreign trade.

But other barriers to growth exist, and those too require effective action. Too many developing countries struggle today under a burden of debt that makes growth all but impossible. The nations of the world deserve a better opportunity to achieve a measure of control over their own economic fate, and build better lives for their own people.

The approach the U.S. has put forward -- the Brady Plan -- will help these nations reduce that debt -- and at the same time encourage the free market reforms that will fuel growth.

In just two days I will be speaking to the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. I'll discuss there in more detail steps our nations can take in dealing with the debt problem. But I can say now: The new world of freedom is not a world where a few nations live in comfort, while others live in want.

The power of commerce is a force for progress. Open markets are the key to continued growth in the developing world. Today, the United States buys over one-half of the manufactured exports that all the developing nations combined sell to the industrialized world. It's time for the other advanced economies to follow suit -- to create expanded opportunities for trade.

I believe we'll learn in the century ahead that many nations of the world have barely begun to tap their true potential for development. The free market and its fruits are not the special preserve of a few. They are a harvest everyone can share.

Beyond the challenge of global growth lies another issue of global magnitude: the environment. No line drawn on a map can stop the advance of pollution. Threats to our environment have become an international problem. We must develop an international approach to urgent environmental issues -- one that seeks common solutions to common problems.

The United Nations is already at work. On the question of global warming. In the effort to prevent oil spills and other disasters from fouling our seas and the air we breathe.

And I will tell you now: The United States will do its part. We've committed ourselves to the world-wide phase-out of all chloroflourocarbons by the year 2000. We've proposed amending our Clean Air Act to ensure clean air for our citizens within a single generation. We've banned the import of ivory to protect the elephant and rhinoceros from the human predators who exterminate them for profit.

And we have begun to explore ways to work with other nations -- with the major industrialized democracies, in Poland and in Hungary -- to make common cause for the sake of our environment. The environment belongs to all of us. In our new world of freedom, the world's citizens must enjoy this common trust for generations to come.

Global economic growth -- the stewardship of our planet -- both are critical issues. But as always, questions of war and peace must be paramount to the United Nations.

We must move forward to limit -- and eliminate -- weapons of mass destruction. Five years ago, at the UN Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, I presented a U.S. draft treaty outlawing chemical weapons. Since then, progress has been made -- but time is running out. The threat is growing. More than 20 nations now possess chemical weapons or the capability to produce them. And these horrible weapons are now finding their way into regional conflicts. This is unacceptable.

For the sake of mankind, we must halt and reverse this threat. Today, I want to announce steps the U.S. is ready to take -- steps to rid the world of these truly terrible weapons -- towards a treaty that will ban, eliminate, all chemical weapons from the earth ten years from the day it is signed.

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This initiative contains three major elements:

First, in the first eight years of a chemical weapons treaty, the U.S. is ready to destroy nearly all -- 98% -- of our chemical weapons -- stockpile -- provided the Soviet Union joins the ban. I think they will.

Second, we are ready to destroy all of our chemical weapons -- 100%, every one -- within ten years, once all nations capable of building chemical weapons sign the total ban treaty.

And third, the U.S. is ready to begin now. We'll eliminate more than 80% of our stockpile -- even as we work to complete a treaty -- if the Soviet Union joins us in cutting chemical weapons to an equal level, and we agree on inspections to verify that stockpiles are destroyed.

We know that monitoring a total ban on chemical weapons will be a challenge. But the knowledge we've gained from our recent arms control experience -- and our accelerating research in this area -- makes me believe we can achieve the level of verification that gives us confidence to go forward with the ban.

The world has lived too long in the shadow of chemical warfare. Let us act together -- beginning today -- to rid the earth of this scourge.

We are serious about achieving conventional arms reductions as well. That's why we tabled new proposals just last Thursday at the Conventional Forces in Europe negotiations in Vienna -- proposals that demonstrate our commitment to act rapidly to ease military tensions in Europe, and move the nations of that continent one step closer to their common destiny: a Europe whole and free.

And the United States is convinced that open and innovative measures can move disarmament forward -- and also ease international tensions. That's the idea behind the Open Skies proposal the Soviets have now indicated they are willing to pursue. It's the idea behind the Open Lands proposal -- permitting, for the first time ever, free travel for all Soviet and American diplomats throughout each other's countries. Openness is the enemy of mistrust -- and every step towards a more open world is a step towards the new world we seek.

And let me make this comment on our meetings with Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze over the past few days. I am very pleased by the progress we made. The Soviet Union removed a number of obstacles to progress on conventional and strategic arms reductions. We reached agreements in principle on issues from verification to nuclear testing. And of course, we agreed to a summit in the spring or early summer of 1990.

Each of these achievements is important in its own right -- but they are more important still as signs of a new attitude that prevails between the U.S. and USSR. Serious differences -- but the willingness to deal constructively and candidly -- with those differences is news that we -- and indeed the world -- must welcome.

We have not entered an era of perpetual peace. The threats to peace that nations face may today be changing -- but they have not vanished. In fact, in a number of regions around the world, a dangerous combination is now emerging: Regimes armed with old and unappeasable animosities -- and modern weapons of mass destruction.

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This development will raise the stakes whenever war breaks out. Regional conflict may well threaten world peace as never before.

The challenge of preserving peace is a personal one for all of you here in this hall. The United Nations can be a mediator -- a forum where parties in conflict come in search of peaceful solutions.

For the sake of peace, the UN must redouble its support for the peace efforts now underway in regions of conflict all over the world. And let me assure you: The U.S. is determined to take an active role in settling regional conflicts. Sometimes, our role in regional disputes is and will be highly public. Sometimes, like many of you, we work quietly -- behind the scenes. But always -- we are working for positive change and lasting peace.

Our world faces other, less conventional threats -- no less dangerous to international peace and stability. Illegal drugs are a menace to social order and a source of human misery wherever they gain a foothold. The nations who suffer this scourge must join forces in the fight. And we are. Let me salute the commitment and extraordinary courage of one country in particular -- Colombia -- where we are working with the people and their President, Virgilio Barco, to put the drug cartels out of business, and bring the drug lords to justice.

Finally, we must join forces to combat the threat of terrorism. Every nation -- and the United Nations -- must send the outlaws of the world a clear message: Hostage taking and the terror of random violence are methods that cannot win the world's approval. Terrorism of any kind is repugnant to all values a civilized world holds in common. And make no mistake: Terrorism is a means that no end -- no matter how just -- can sanctify.

Whatever the challenge, freedom greatly raises the chances of our success. Freedom's moment is a time of hope for all the world. Because freedom -- once set in motion -- takes on a momentum of its own.

As I said the day I assumed the Presidency: "We don't have to talk late into the night about which form of government is better." We know that free government -- democracy -- is best.

I believe that is the hard-won truth of our time -- the unassailable fact that still stands at the end of a century of great struggle and human suffering.

And this is true not because all our differences must give way to democracy -- but because democracy makes room for all our differences. In democracy, diversity finds its common home.

At the very heart of the democratic ideal is respect -- for freedom of belief, freedom of thought and action in all its diversity -- for human rights. The world has experienced enough of the ideologies that have promised to remake man in some new and better image. We've seen the colossal tragedies and dashed hopes. We know now that freedom and democracy hold the answers. What men and nations want is the freedom to live by their own lights, and a chance to prosper in peace.

When I began today, I spoke to you about peacekeeping. I want to speak to you now about peacemaking. We must bring peace to the people who have never known its blessings.

There's a painting that hangs on the wall of my office in the White House. It pictures President Lincoln and his generals, meeting near the end of a war that remains the bloodiest in American history. Outside, at that moment, a battle rages. And yet what we see in the distance is a rainbow -- a symbol of hope, of the passing of the storm. That painting is called "The Peacemakers." For me, it is a constant reminder that our struggle -- the struggle for peace -- is a struggle blessed by hope.

I do remember sitting in this hall. I remember the mutual respect among all of us proudly serving as representatives. I remember the almost endless speeches, Security Council sessions. The receptions and receiving lines. The formal meetings of this Assembly -- and the informal discussions in the Delegates' Lounge.

And I remember something more. Something beyond the frantic pace and sometimes frustrating experiences of daily life here: The heartbeat of the United Nations -- the quiet conviction that we could make the world more peaceful. More free.

What we sought then, now lies within our reach. I ask each of you here in this hall: Can we not bring a unity of purpose to the United Nations? Can we not make this new world of freedom the common destiny we seek?

I believe we can. I know we must.

My solemn wish today is that here -- among the United Nations -- that spirit will take hold, and that all men and all nations will make freedom's moment their own.

Thank you, God bless you, and may God bless the work of the United Nations.

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**Promoting Freedom and Peace: The United States Approach
to Arms Control and East-West Relations**

**An Address by Ambassador Edward L. Rowny
Special Advisor to the President
and Secretary of State for Arms Control Matters**

**Solidarity Parliamentary Club
Warsaw, Poland - October 13, 1989**

The United States is now facing what Secretary of State Baker has called the "challenge of change" in the political and military developments facing the United States around the globe. To meet this challenge the United States will pursue prudent and realistic policies. We will rely on the proven policies that have contributed so fundamentally to America's foreign policy success, and to the improvement of relations with the Soviet Union.

We will continue to build relations with the Soviet Union on a solid foundation. President Bush is fortunate in that he has not had to reconstruct our relations with the Soviet Union from the ground up. Rather, he has inherited a strong foundation which he helped to build in eight years as Vice President. This foundation is a broad agenda for US-Soviet relations, which incorporates human rights questions; bilateral issues between us and the Soviets; regional conflicts such as Afghanistan, Cambodia, and Central America; transnational issues such as the environment; and arms control. Arms control is not the centerpiece of US-Soviet affairs, since arms control treats the symptoms, not the causes, of East-West tension. Arms control is not soundly based if pursued as an end in itself. It is but one part of a larger agenda that places our dealings with the Soviet Union into balance and perspective.

In order to fulfill the promise of the current period we will continue to deal with the Soviet Union from a position of strength. The Soviets respect strength, and they abhor weakness. Far from jeopardizing our relations with the USSR, a sustained United States defense effort prepares the ground for a better relationship. It is a tangible demonstration to Soviet leaders that they cannot secure an advantage by military means. Our continued strength will convince the Soviet leadership that the United States will not abandon a task half finished, that we will not abide a return to old-style Soviet expansion.

President Bush has called for a policy of moving beyond containment of the Soviet Union to a new era of cooperation based on respect for personal freedom and the rule of law. Ending the artificial division of Europe is one of the top priorities on the President's international agenda. For only when Europe is whole and free again can we pronounce the Cold War over.

Since Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in the Soviet Union in 1985, I have taken part in some two dozen foreign ministers' meetings and four summits. The contrast between four years ago and now is dramatic. In the beginning, Gorbachev and Shevardnadze refused to discuss any items other than arms control. We persisted with our objective and over time got the Soviets gradually to transform their approach. Now the Soviets engage us on all five points of the broad agenda. This more balanced approach has borne fruit for arms control.

The Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, now in force, is bringing about the elimination of an entire class of nuclear missiles. Its unprecedented, intrusive verification measures, moreover, are giving us

valuable field experience toward the much more difficult task of effectively verifying a Strategic Arms Reduction (START) Treaty.

I will have more to say later about START, but first I would like to tell you about President Bush's political, social and arms control initiatives for healing the division of Europe.

Freedom and Security for Europe, East and West

At NATO's 40th anniversary summit last May, the President challenged the alliance to undertake a broad plan for making all of Europe once again whole and free. Specifically, he made the following proposals:

1. Strengthen and broaden the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in its work on economic, human rights and security matters. Intensify the efforts of Western democratic political parties to help the coalescing political opposition in Eastern Europe develop the democratic process.
2. Remove the Wall and bring glasnost to East Berlin. Berlin is where the division of Europe is seen most clearly and brutally.
3. Work together on environmental problems, with the U.S. extending technical assistance to East European countries plagued by pollution.
4. Accelerate a NATO-Warsaw Pact agreement for deep reductions in conventional forces. Our key objectives in the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) talks are to:
 - ** Eliminate the capability for surprise attack and large scale offensive action;
 - ** Remove the major source of military instability on the European continent: the threat posed by excessively large, offensively configured forces of the Warsaw Pact, especially forward deployed Soviet forces; and
 - ** Concentrate on reducing those weapons that are best suited for surprise attack and offensive operations: tanks, artillery, armored troop carriers, and combat aircraft and helicopters. The Warsaw Pact has indicated willingness to make deep, asymmetrical cuts in these systems, and we are seeking to lock it into a firm commitment.

The President proposed further that US and Soviet troops based on foreign soil in Europe be limited to 275,000 each -- a cut of 30,000 from current US levels and 325,000 from Soviet levels. All withdrawn troops would be demobilized, and all reduced weapons would be destroyed. The President ended by challenging NATO and Warsaw Pact negotiators to complete a CFE treaty within one year -- a challenge we are glad to see has been embraced by both sides.

When the CFE talks resumed in September, NATO tabled its proposals on information exchange, stabilizing measures, verification, and non-circumvention. A formal response from the East is eagerly awaited. We were happy to see the Warsaw Pact move closer to NATO's position on combat aircraft although its position continues to reflect a narrower definition than that used by NATO. Good progress is being made and will be sustained if both sides work constructively and with a sense of urgency.

Verification Will Expedite START

In Geneva we now are engaged in two important sets of talks on strategic programs, the START talks and the Defense and Space Talks.

In START, we and the Soviets have agreed in principle to stabilizing reductions in each side's long-range nuclear forces. But reductions are not the whole story. Indeed, it is possible to cut weapons and end up with a more dangerous situation if the resulting balance of forces is improperly structured. In time of crisis, a relative advantage on one side -- or the perceived vulnerability of the other's retaliatory forces -- could put a premium on striking first. This is why one of the key criteria for resolving the remaining details in START is whether they will enhance stability, that is, strengthen deterrence by ensuring that no first strike can succeed.

President Bush's first major initiative in START has been to put verification on the front burner. He proposes that we and the Soviets work out certain verification and stability measures for START, and implement them as soon as possible, even before a START treaty enters into force. The President is seeking both to expedite START and to ensure that any treaty he signs will be effectively verifiable.

Verification is one of the most complex issues in the START negotiations. We made a quantum leap in verification with the INF Treaty's provisions for baseline and short notice on-site inspections, and portal monitoring of missile facilities. But verification of START, compared to INF, is considerably more difficult. While INF provided for the complete elimination of limited types of missile systems and banned their production, deployment, and testing, in START the problem is both different and harder.

Production, deployment and modernization of strategic weapons will continue under START. START also includes other constraints, like a limit on ballistic missile throw-weight. We will have to keep track of specific numbers of disparate weapons, some of which are mobile. So a high priority will be placed on satisfying our concerns about the possible acquisition by the Soviets of a covert strategic force and resulting Soviet capability to violate or break out of a START agreement.

Including certain verification techniques in an agreement does not necessarily make that agreement effectively verifiable. Simply having the right to on-site inspection does not mean inspections will automatically yield relevant information. What is required is a comprehensive system of verification procedures, based on a detailed exchange of data, incorporating unhindered national technical means of verification, on-site inspection, continuous monitoring of key ballistic missile production facilities, and clear rules covering the permitted disposition of limited systems. This verification system must also allow each side to protect its sensitive facilities from unwarranted scrutiny. Developing such a system takes time and effort.

In verification, as in other endeavors, practice makes perfect. The highly useful experience we have gained implementing the INF Treaty shows there is no substitute for hands-on experience. Exploring, developing, and practicing methods of verification early in the negotiating process can help prevent glitches that could delay a treaty.

One such problem arose in INF when the Soviets told us late in the game that the first stage of the prohibited SS-20 was "outwardly similar" to that of the permitted SS-25. Eventually we were able to solve this problem, but dry run inspections and an early data exchange could have expedited the development of a way to deal with it. Field experience in verifying a future START Treaty -- for example, monitoring the production of ballistic missiles or inspecting the number of warheads on a missile -- can help prevent such problems. It can also help ensure that talk around the negotiating table doesn't result in a commitment to procedures of little or no practical utility.

Because START deals with the core of the US deterrent -- our strategic forces -- it is critical to our security. Verification is critical to knowing that reductions that would be agreed upon in a START Treaty, the text of which now runs 400-plus pages, would be implemented faithfully -- especially in light of the poor Soviet record on compliance. This is the key to the benefits of increased security, stability, and predictability that a well-constructed arms control agreement can provide.

Some critics of the President's initiative allege it is intended to stall negotiations and delay agreement. This is nonsense. A positive Soviet response to implement the US proposal would accelerate the START process. The critics argue in effect that it is more important to sign an agreement quickly than to see to it that arms reductions actually take place verifiably. If arms reduction is a serious enough matter to warrant concluding a treaty carrying the weight of domestic and international law, then effective verification must be taken just as seriously. Prudence dictates that we must not rest a matter as critical as our national security on Soviet promises.

Finally, verification is an important buttress of domestic support for arms control's role in our national security policy. A replay of the divisive debate that occurred over the SALT II Treaty would not be in the interests of the US, of our allies, or of US-Soviet relations. Effective verification is an essential criterion in determining whether a START treaty will be signed by the President and ratified by the Senate.

Putting verification on the front burner shows that the President is serious about reaching a START treaty that is in the US national interest. Soviet agreement to make a special effort to develop and put into practice ways of verifying START limits would be a positive sign that "new thinking" translates into action.

In Geneva the Soviets were not prepared to engage on the verification and stability measures. At the Wyoming ministerial in September, the sides signed an umbrella agreement which in principle commits both to making concrete progress on specific verification and stability measures. Those now under discussion include: early data exchange; halting denial of ballistic missile telemetry data; establishment of perimeter/portal monitoring of certain ballistic missile production facilities; addressing the problem of short-time-of-flight submarine-launched ballistic missiles; procedures for ballistic missile re-entry vehicle inspections; briefing and demonstrations of "tagging" missiles with unique identifiers. We hope the Soviets will engage more constructively on these measures during the current Geneva round.

Transition to Strategic Defenses

In the Defense and Space Talks, our negotiators are making the case for strategic defense. We want to pave the way for a cooperative transition to a world in which effective defenses against ballistic missile attack play an increasing role in assuring deterrence. To this end, we have introduced a draft treaty building on the agreement reached between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev at the Washington Summit in December 1987. We aim in these talks to protect our right to investigate defensive technologies and preserve our options to deploy strategic defenses when they are ready.

Last month at the Wyoming ministerial, the Soviets dropped their insistence that they would not sign a START treaty unless we agreed to cripple or kill our SDI program. Though this removes an artificial barrier to the START agreement, make no mistake: The Soviets still want to kill or cripple SDI. Instead of engaging us on our Defense and Space draft treaty which in

effect amends the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty to permit a transition to strategic defenses, the Soviets want to hold us to even stricter limits on defense than the original ABM Treaty prescribed.

The Soviets do not oppose the idea of strategic defenses; they only oppose the U.S. acquiring a defensive system. Unlike some theorists in my own country, the Soviets do not put their faith in offense alone but in a combination of defense and offense. The Soviets never have subscribed to the theory of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD). They have the world's only deployed strategic defenses and are spending an estimated eight to 10 times as much as the U.S. for strategic defense.

Moscow has great respect for our technological prowess. The Soviets realize that the United States has a comparative advantage over them in technology. Accordingly, they work in the negotiating process to limit us whenever possible.

SDI has the same purpose as sound arms control, namely to enhance stability and reduce the risk of war. Today, the threat of retaliation is our sole means of deterring a nuclear attack. A layered system of space and ground based defenses, however, would strengthen deterrence while threatening no one. Effective ballistic missile defenses would shatter Soviet war planners' confidence of being able to succeed with an ICBM first strike. A strategy relying increasingly on defenses would solve problems that purely retaliatory strategy has been unable to deal with satisfactorily. Effective defenses are our only sure protection against mobile missiles, which are difficult to target with offensive forces.

We believe the case for offensive reductions is strengthened by effective strategic defenses. As we make reductions in strategic offensive forces, the impact of cheating and breakout potential magnifies. Strategic defenses would act as an insurance policy against these threats. As we look to the future, our security will grow increasingly reliant on strategic defenses.

Meanwhile we no longer can afford to consider strategic defenses exclusively in terms of the U.S.-Soviet superpower relationship. It would be naive to assume that the current situation -- where the only substantial ballistic missile threat to the U.S. stems from the Soviet Union -- will continue into the 21st century. Capability to produce ballistic missiles is no longer "high" technology. It is becoming accessible to a growing number of countries, some with dangerously unstable governments. Reliable estimates predict that within a little over a decade 15 developing nations might have the capability to launch ballistic missiles.

Curbing the Chemical Weapons Threat

Chemical weapon proliferation is another concern on a par with the spread of ballistic missile technology. As the Iran-Iraq war showed, the taboo against chemical warfare is not as strong as we imagined. Chemical weapons could become a cheap and widely available "poor man's atomic bomb." The combination of ballistic missiles and chemical weapons coming into the possession of the same people who today have no compunction about blowing up airliners filled with innocent passengers should galvanize our will to develop missile defenses.

The chemical weapons threat is such a danger that President Bush has redoubled United States efforts to ban these weapons. U.S. and Soviet bilateral discussions on this problem yielded a very helpful memorandum of understanding, on the exchange of data, signed in Wyoming by Minister Shevardnadze and Secretary Baker.

In a speech to the United Nations General Assembly on September 25, President Bush reaffirmed the U.S. commitment to a multilateral treaty that would completely eliminate chemical weapons (CW) in 10 years, provided that all states with chemical weapons capability become party to the treaty. The President proposed the following initiatives to give new impetus to the negotiations:

* The U.S. will destroy more than 98 percent of its current CW stockpile within eight years after entry into force of a multilateral CW treaty, provided the Soviet Union also is a party.

* The remaining 2 percent would be destroyed in the following two years after all CW-capable countries become parties to the treaty.

* While working to complete a global CW treaty, the U.S. will propose to the Soviet Union that the two countries agree to the destruction of a major portion of their respective CW stockpiles down to equal levels. This destruction would be on mutually agreed terms and must include far-reaching verification provisions.

* The U.S. will accelerate and significantly expand its efforts to improve verification capabilities.

Conclusion

In conclusion, I want to stress again that while arms control is important, it must not be pursued as an end in itself. Peace is not the mere absence of war. Neither is true peace achieved through the narrow pursuit of arms control. The United States still adheres to the approach of our great President Ronald Reagan, who summarized our policy with an aphorism. "Nations do not mistrust one another because they have arms"; he said. "They have arms because they mistrust one another." Our international aim is to lessen the threats posed not only from military violence but also from tyranny and oppression.

Foreign
Policy

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Will Toby Chris Winston
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TALKING POINTS ON THE STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE

- * The President is committed to the development and deployment of Strategic Defenses when they are ready.
- * By developing the means to defend against ballistic missiles that threaten us, we also lessen the incentives for aggression thus enhancing stability and deterrence.
- * The primary issues concerning SDI can generally be categorized as technological, strategic, political and economic.

Technology and SDI

- * Though many complex scientific and engineering problems remain, there appear to be no technological show-stoppers for SDI.
- * In some areas, such as kinetic kill, important technological advances have been achieved. A system popularly known as Brilliant Pebbles is one example.

Strategy and SDI

- * SDI's ultimate goal is to deter ~~a~~ ^{an} ~~attack~~ ^{attack} on the U.S. and its allies by the devaluation in the strategic utility of ballistic missiles.
- * We are seeking a more stable balance that relies increasingly on defense. It would be preferable, but not necessary, if the Soviets would work with us to develop a cooperative arrangement for making this transition.
- * Progress on strategic offensive arms reductions and strategic defense are not mutually exclusive -- on the contrary, START and SDI are complementary.
- ** In general, the more progress we make toward offensive reductions, the more SDI will help us deter, or deal with, possible Soviet cheating or breakout. SDI is an insurance policy for START.
- *** First, the Soviets' largely modern land-based ICBM force is projected to ensure them a first-strike capability well into the 21st century. A ~~reasonable~~ reliable system of strategic defenses would increase our security in the face of this ICBM threat.

12 JUL 88

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- *** Second, the U.S. would be better able to deal with the problem of Soviet mobile ICBMs. SDI would complement a mobile verification regime in START that has many unresolved and important details.
- *** Third, the sheer complexity of the proposed START treaty will probably result in unavoidable loopholes that arms control on its own cannot plug. In turn, this situation would jeopardize treaty ratification. Strategic defenses could help plug the loopholes.
- * Finally, Strategic Defense could be the only thoroughly reliable way to address the problem of accidental, unauthorized, or "madman" launches of ballistic missiles.
 - ** Concerns are no longer hypothetical. The Director of Central Intelligence, William Webster, testified recently that up to 15 developing nations could have a ballistic launch capability by the turn of the century.
 - ** The instability of many regimes raises another frightening scenario -- who has authority to release missiles during periods of intense civil strife? As the nuclear and chemical club grows, this question will be asked more often.
 - ** Controlling missile technology from the supply side is not enough -- ultimately we must also have the capability to defend ourselves against ballistic missiles.
 - ** Defending other countries against rogue launches is another possible use of a U.S. space-based defense.

Politics and Economics of SDI

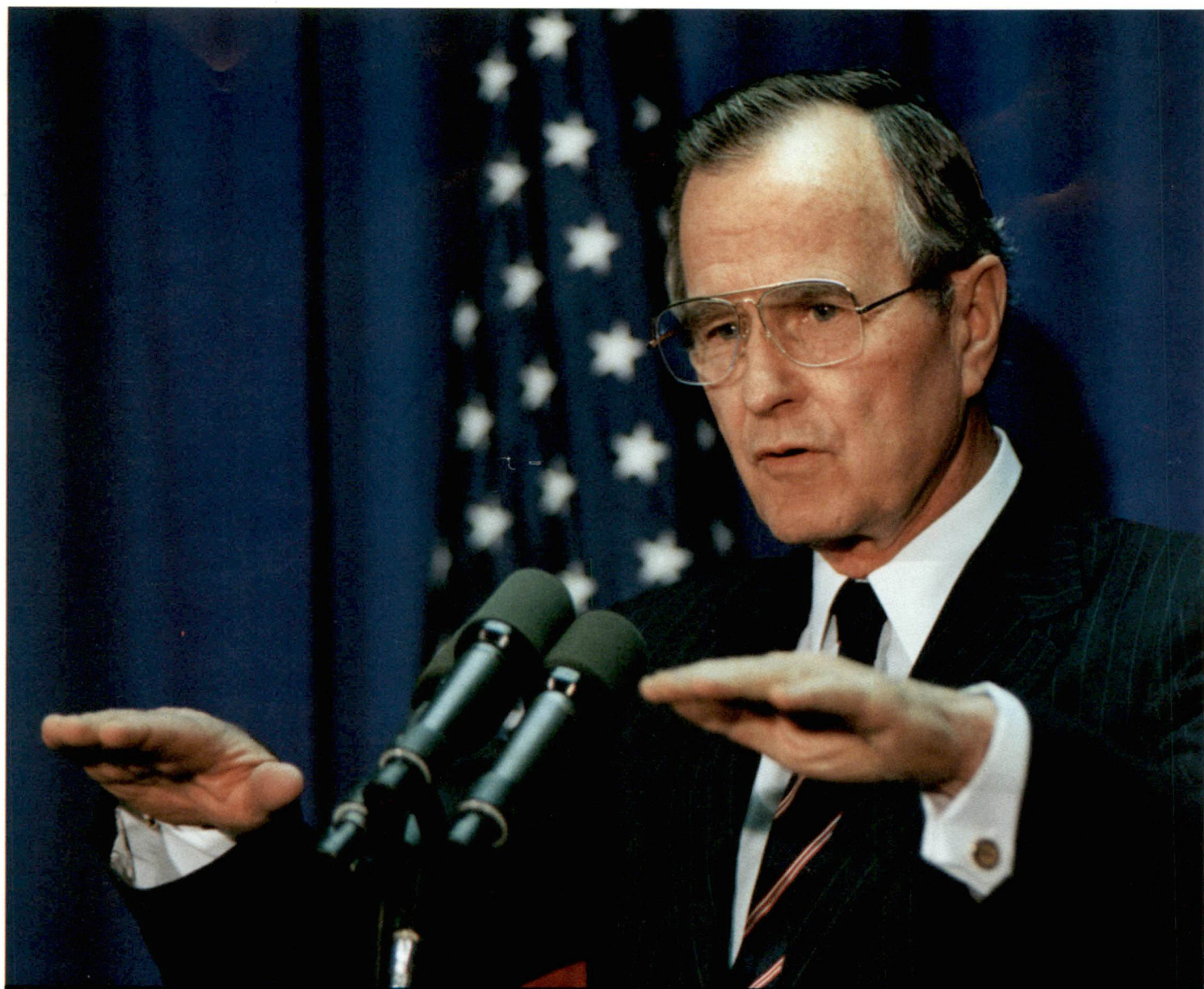
- * The recent ~~recommendation by the majority of the members of the House Armed Services Committee~~ ^{action} to cut the SDI budget by ^{by} ~~over a~~ billion dollars is a shortsighted move. *almost two*
- * Just at the time American ingenuity is starting to produce technological breakthroughs, SDI opponents are trying to reduce the funding to a level which could not sustain a viable program.
- * Strategic modernization and strategic defense should not be allowed to become an either/or proposition -- as pointed out above, offenses and defenses are synergistic.

What Next?

- * In order to make a sound deployment decision in three or four years, the President must be able to depend on the results of his carefully designed research and development program. It must be adequately funded.
- * The program schedule for the next two years includes a number of very important tests and experiments. These include:
 - ** The first-ever test of a Neutral Particle Beam in Space.
 - ** Space tests of tracking, pointing, sensor, and communications technologies.
 - ** Numerous interceptor tests for kinetic kill systems such as Brilliant Pebbles.
- * All these early tests comply with the ABM Treaty.

Bottom Line

- * SDI is one of several answers to the many strategic problems the U.S. faces going into the next century.
 - ** SDI would dramatically reduce the risk of nuclear war by denying an aggressor the confidence or incentive -- to execute a first strike.
 - ** SDI would provide the American people with much-needed insurance against an accidental or inadvertent attack or against a deliberate launch by an irrational government.
- * The Bush Administration continues to believe that strategic defense is technologically feasible, strategically necessary, and ~~morally imperative~~, *completely compatible with our ^{other} strategic and arms control objectives.*



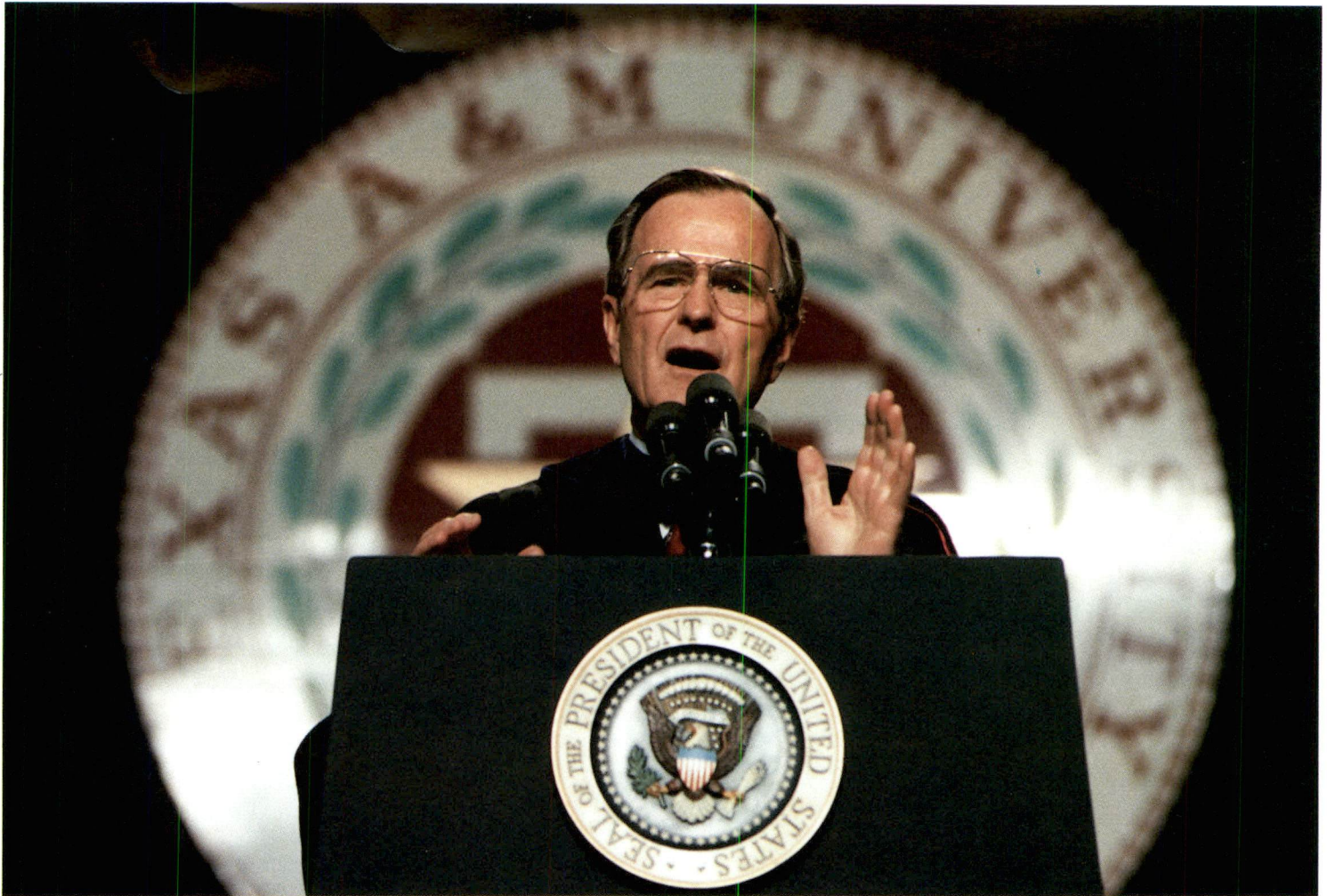
Beyond Containment

EXCERPTS FROM THE SPEECHES OF PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
ON EUROPE AND EAST-WEST RELATIONS

APRIL 17 - MAY 31, 1989

“We seek the integration of the Soviet Union into the community of nations”

President Bush speaking at Texas A&M University.



President Bush greets a young resident of the Polish-American community of Hamtramck, Michigan.

“The winds of change are shaping a new European destiny. Western Europe is resurgent, and Eastern Europe is awakening to yearnings for democracy, independence and prosperity. In the Soviet Union itself, we are encouraged by the sound of voices long silent and the sight of the rulers consulting the ruled. We see new thinking in some aspects of Soviet foreign policy. We are hopeful that these stirrings presage meaningful, lasting and more far-reaching change....

Let no one doubt the sincerity of the American people and their government in our desire to see reform succeed inside the Soviet Union. We welcome the changes that have taken place, and we will continue to encourage greater recognition of human rights, market incentives and free elections.”

HAMTRAMCK, MICHIGAN
April 17, 1989

“The United States now has as its goal much more than simply containing Soviet expansionism. We seek the integration of the Soviet Union into the community of nations. As the Soviet Union itself moves toward greater openness and democratization, as they meet the challenge of responsible international behavior, we will match their steps with steps of our own.”

TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE STATION, TEXAS
May 12, 1989

“The grand strategy of the West during the postwar period has been based on the concept of containment: checking the Soviet Union's expansionist aims.... And now we have a precious opportunity to move beyond containment... where the opportunity for peace—world peace, lasting peace—has never been better.”

COAST GUARD ACADEMY
NEW LONDON, CONNECTICUT
May 24, 1989

Bush Urges Force Cuts in Europe

President Briefs NATO Allies, Foresees No 'Peace Dividend'

WP 12-5-89 A)
By David Hoffman and Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writers

BRUSSELS, Dec. 4—President Bush called today for a renewed drive by U.S. allies to complete negotiations on reducing conventional forces in Europe but warned against any "rush to throw off defense burdens" and said there would not be a "peace dividend" any time soon from the thaw in superpower relations.

In a report to leaders of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization following his weekend summit with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, Bush said the alliance must "seize this urgent opportunity" for a conventional forces pact, now being negotiated in Vienna. "If we in this alliance are not equal to the changes that are going on in Europe around us," he said, the "process could be overrun by events. That could be dangerous and we must avoid it."

Bush said he had an "open mind" about the possibility of negotiating even lower levels of conventional forces in Europe, as Gorbachev suggested at the summit, but stressed that the current round of negotiations, known as the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) talks, must be completed first. At the Malta summit, Bush and Gorbachev said they would like to sign a treaty before the end of next year.

The president, speaking to reporters, said he would like to put this negotiation "in the bank first, get it locked up, get those troops out." He promised to "kick our bureaucracy and push it as fast as I possibly can."

Bush appeared confident after a day of talks with allied leaders that was dominated by the upheaval in East Germany and the possibility of its reunification with West Germany. Asked whether he agrees with his ambassador to West Ger-

many, Vernon Walters, that reunification is inevitable and likely within five years, Bush responded that he prefers not to set deadlines. He then read a portion of his own statement to the allied leaders, in which he called for a series of principles to guide reunification, including that it "should occur in the context of Germany's continued commitment to NATO and an increasingly integrated European Community."

The Soviets have emphasized their desire to keep the two Germans separate, at least for now.

Although Bush promised Gorbachev that the West would not attempt to exploit the collapse of hard-line Communist regimes in Eastern Europe—he said he would not "dance on the Berlin Wall"—Secretary of State James A. Baker III will visit West Berlin next week for an address on the changes in Europe, the State Department announced today.

Recalling his eight hours of talks with Gorbachev aboard a Soviet cruise liner, Bush said he gained new insights about Gorbachev's intentions as a reformer. While skeptics have questioned whether Gorbachev can succeed and how long he can persevere in the daunting task of restructuring Soviet society, Bush declared, "I'm convinced that he is determined to do . . . what he told me he's doing—reform, *perestroika*, openness . . ." Bush said Gorbachev "seemed very much in control" during the talks. "He seemed—subdued is the wrong word, but I would say determined and unemotional about it."

Bush said Gorbachev's willingness to let the East European reform efforts continue was the major factor that persuaded him the time had come to cooperate more openly with Moscow. Earlier, Bush and his advisers had been hesitant about dealing with Gorbachev, but the president said his views changed "as I watched the way in which Mr. Gorbachev has handled the changes in Eastern Europe."

"It deserves new thinking. It absolutely mandates new thinking. And when I see his willingness to give support to a CFE agreement that calls for him to disproportionately reduce his forces, and that is there on the table, I think that mandates new thinking. When I hear him talk about peaceful change and the right of countries to choose, that deserves new thinking," he said.

Bush said he now approaches Gorbachev "with a certain respect for what he's doing, and thus we want to try to meet him on some of the areas where he needs help."

The president acknowledged, however, that all was not "sweetness and light" in the discussions about Soviet policy. Recounting the objections he raised about Eastern Bloc arms shipments through Cuba to Nicaragua, and the arms pipeline to rebels in El Salvador, Bush said,

"I would like to see him use his influence with Mr. [Fidel] Castro, and if he's got any left, with Mr. [Daniel] Ortega, to facilitate democratic change in the Western Hemisphere."

Bush said he did not know to what extent Gorbachev could influence Ortega, Nicaragua's president. Bush and Baker said after the summit that Soviet officials had told them that Moscow was pressing Nicaragua's Sandinista leaders and Cuba's President Castro to halt the arms shipments.

Bush pledged in a joint news conference with Gorbachev on Sunday that he would encourage Soviet integration into the global economy in "every way I can." But today he stopped short of extending an invitation to Gorbachev to attend next year's summit of the seven leading industrial democracies, scheduled to be held in Houston. "Two chances, slim to none, for that particular meeting," Bush said. When a reporter noted that the economic summit will follow the U.S.-Soviet summit now scheduled for late June, Bush said, "I don't think it's likely that he would hang around Houston waiting for the next meeting."

Gorbachev this year wrote a letter to French President Francois Mitterrand, who hosted the 1989 economic summit, indicating a desire for closer association with the Western industrial powers.

Bush told the allied leaders that he had made a counter-suggestion to Gorbachev's proposal for a new 35-nation summit on the future of Europe. According to a text of Bush's remarks to the leaders, he said he suggested that the existing Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) be used to "breathe new life" into economic development. Bush said he suggested to Gorbachev that the CSCE

process, which grew out of the 1975 Helsinki conference, be used to focus on "the practical questions involved in the transition from stagnant planned economies to free and competitive markets."

Bush repeatedly emphasized his desire to use existing European institutions to "manage" the changes on the continent, and he said the CSCE "is a structure that should be able to contribute much to the future architecture of Europe."

Bush opened his remarks to the allied leaders by saying he wanted to talk about "the new Europe and the new Atlanticism," which he said would be distinguished by the goals of "self-determination and individual freedom everywhere" replacing "coercion and tyranny," and where "economic liberty everywhere replaces economic controls and stagnation."

While outlining his view of the future, Bush also prodded the allied leaders to move swiftly on the negotiations to reduce conventional forces in Europe. When Bush offered his conventional arms initiative at the NATO summit last May, many specialists said his timetable was unrealistic. Today, Bush acknowledged that progress was lagging.

"We have made good progress" since the effort was launched, he said, "but too little and too slowly to take full advantage of the opportunity before us: the chance to ease the Soviet army out of Eastern Europe and substantially reduce the risk of surprise attack and aggression."

Bush told the allied leaders that they all "need to remain fixed on this goal and reenergize our bureaucracies and negotiators to seize this urgent opportunity."

Even as he emphasized the need for progress in this area, Bush was characteristically cautious about the

prospects for still-deeper reductions in U.S. troops in Europe or cuts in defense budgets by either the United States or West European governments.

"We must stand together," he insisted, "for negotiated, coordinated, stabilizing reductions against a rush to throw off defense burdens, against a return to the narrow protection of self-interests that could be so dangerous at a time when European politics are in a state of flux rivaled in my adult life only by the immediate aftermath of the Second World War."

While Defense Secretary Richard B. Cheney has publicly discussed the possibility of defense spending cuts as a result of a reduced Soviet military threat, Bush said, "I think it is premature to speak, as some are at home, about a 'peace dividend'—take a lot of money out of defense and put it into other worthy causes."

Asked when he envisioned that reduced tensions with the Soviet Union would produce extra funds for needs at home, Bush said, "I don't want to hold out to those that want to rush out and spend a lot more money the hope that this is going to happen."

Bush shrugged off questions about whether he had taken any unnecessary risks by going out to the USS Belknap on Saturday in the midst of a gale-force windstorm that trapped him there.

"Don't tell me that little chop was risking anything," he said. "I haven't had that much fun in a long time." He said the 50-knot winds didn't bother him and "in fact, we had a very relaxed evening out there."

Asked if he wasn't "hot-dogging," Bush made fun of his own penchant for caution and prudence. "Hot-dogging? No," he said. "Well, you know, these charismatic, macho, visionary guys, they'll do anything."

Bush Confident He Struck Right Balance at the Summit

By ANDREW ROSENTHAL

Special to The New York Times

NY 12-5-89 A17
BRUSSELS, Dec. 4 — President Bush ended the Malta summit talks confident that he had shown global leadership while not angering a Western alliance resistant to American dominance in world affairs, Administration officials said today.

In the Administration's view, a senior official said, Mr. Bush could claim credit for opening the way to improvements in economic relations and arms control with the Soviets, even though those changes were seen as largely inevitable and likely to provide more benefit than cost to the United States.

In his two days of talks with Mr. Gorbachev, officials said, Mr. Bush was able to offer Mikhail S. Gorbachev trade concessions and assurances of technical support without committing American money to an uncertain economic future in the Soviet Union.

On the arms control front, they said Mr. Bush's proposals answered complaints that the United States was slipping from the leadership of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. But at the same time they said the President was careful not to try to carve out a new European map or undertake the kind of unilateral, impromptu arms control negotiations that so alarmed Western Europe when President Reagan met with Mr. Gorbachev in Reykjavik, Iceland, in 1986.

'To Demonstrate Leadership'

"We're standing here at the seat of NATO, and it's clear they perceive that the President of the United States has done what they fundamentally want the President of the United States to do: to demonstrate leadership in an international environment," a senior of-

Showing leadership, but without angering the allies.

ficial said after Mr. Bush briefed his allies on the Malta meetings.

"They like the President to demonstrate a sense of direction," the official said. "But they definitely don't like the President jumping out too far too fast."

Mr. Bush repeatedly said before going to Malta that he was determined not to become engaged in detailed arms control negotiations. But part of the credit for avoiding a repetition of the Reykjavik situation must go to Mr. Gorbachev, who seemed equally aware of the new pressures on the superpowers from their own alliances and did not set any tripwires for the American President.

Mr. Bush was able to point to Mr. Gorbachev's agreement to speed the negotiations on a treaty to reduce strategic arms and on conventional weapons in Europe. But they were both able to say to their allies that they had not tried to go too far beyond those frameworks. The delicacy of this issue seemed apparent in the relative lack of emphasis that Mr. Bush and Mr. Gorbachev have given to Eastern Europe in their public statements.

In Defense of NATO

Both Mr. Bush and Mr. Gorbachev were careful to stress that they were not calling for the eventual dissolution of the NATO and Warsaw Pact alliances. Administration officials said before the Malta talks that they were keenly aware that NATO provides the United States with a foothold in a Western Europe that is becoming increasingly integrated economically.

"The United States must stay involved," Mr. Bush said at a news conference here. "What we don't want to do is send the signal of decoupling, the

decoupling of the United States and Canada from NATO at this critical time." Mr. Gorbachev, he said, "understood that."

During the summit meeting, Mr. Bush seemed to take a considerably milder tone toward Soviet behavior in regional conflicts than was struck by Mr. Reagan and even by some Administration officials before they went to Malta.

A senior official said today that the United States remained deeply concerned about Soviet support for Nicaragua and about arms shipments to the leftist rebels in El Salvador, which Washington says are being provided by the Sandinista Government in Managua. But he said American officials believed that they had much to gain from trying to work with the Soviet Union on Middle Eastern, African, Asian and even Central American issues.

This explains Mr. Bush's purpose in trying to separate American attitudes toward the Sandinistas from the Soviet-American relationship by saying the Nicaraguans had lied to Moscow about arms shipments to El Salvador.

'Work in Common Cause'

"If you can diminish tensions, there are a lot of issues in which the United States and Soviet Union can work in common cause and draw benefit," an American official said. "Soviet behavior has already led to results in some places that are very much in the interest of diminishing conflict."

On economic issues, Administration officials said Mr. Bush had given Mr. Gorbachev two important offers that he had long sought: American support for Soviet observer status in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and a promise to consider lifting American trade restrictions.

Neither one will cost the United States money, Administration officials said. At the same time, they argued, the White House stands to gain from the proposals.

For one thing, Mr. Bush's suggestion satisfies complaints from the Soviet Union, Western Europe and even back home that he has not done enough to capitalize on the economic evolution in Europe. In addition, an American official said, the United States believes it is encouraging the Soviets "to make adjustments that we have been seeking for a long time."

Soviet-American economic cooperation will allow the United States to remain more closely engaged with the Soviets, the Americans argued.

"If through your economic proposals and the institutionalization of a human rights agenda, you can build a more pluralistic Soviet Union, that helps make the changes in the Soviet Union less easy to reverse," an official said. "It also makes for a more transparent Soviet Union, so you have a better sense of whether there are really changes."

Personal Stake for Bush

There was an intensely personal stake for Mr. Bush in the Malta summit. He demonstrates that he was able to deal with Mr. Gorbachev smoothly and effectively and try to dispel the notion that he was missing opportunities.

"He took my measure, and I took his, and we both feel more comfortable about our common objectives," Mr. Bush said.

The President retained some of his characteristic reserve today, declining to answer a question about whether, like Mr. Gorbachev, he now considers the cold war to be over. "I don't want to give you a headline," he said.

But he seemed clearly sensitive to the criticism that he has been too timid and lacking in a world vision. Asked why he had insisted on staying aboard his warship, the cruiser Belknap, during the summit despite a powerful gale, Mr. Bush replied: "Well, you know these charismatic, macho, visionary guys. They'll do anything."

Bush summit performance draws praise from NATO

By Peter Almond *WT*
THE WASHINGTON TIMES *12-5-19 45*

BRUSSELS, Belgium — America's European allies yesterday hailed President Bush's performance at the summit meeting with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, lauding Mr. Bush's commitment to Europe and his emphasis on maintaining NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

The leaders of the 16-nation North Atlantic Treaty Organization came together yesterday with concerns that fast-moving events in Eastern Europe and budget pressures on the United States to remove troops from Europe would make the 40-year-old alliance outmoded.

But after hearing Mr. Bush's report on Mr. Gorbachev, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl's report on East Germany, and several hours of discussion on the situation in Europe and the Soviet Union, the allies emerged expressing no doubts about the future of NATO.

"Whatever the nature of the speeches and whatever the political content, time after time the need to keep NATO strong and secure came through," British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said of the NATO meeting.

"The point is that NATO and the Warsaw Pact structures are the main way we negotiate arms control and disarmament."

Mr. Bush toned down discussion of planning for a second round of Conventional Forces in Europe arms-reduction talks.

Mrs. Thatcher, though, appeared to have qualms about some of the president's remarks, in which Mr. Bush raised the possibility of greater arms cuts in Europe and even closer ties among the 12 nations of the European Community.

She said Mr. Bush's speech "was so full of meat that we really should consider it very carefully before we reply to it."

Others were not so hesitant. Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lub-

bers said he was impressed by the United States' "extraordinarily positive attitude" toward events in Europe.

"It has nothing to do with a 'We are pulling out' attitude," he told reporters. "On the contrary, they are again promising a meaningful presence [in Europe]."

Belgian officials said it was obvious that the president took Europe seriously.

Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney said there was no question of withdrawing his country's forces from Europe. NATO provides a security link between the United States and Canada and Western Europe.

Mr. Mulroney said NATO was "more relevant now than ever."

"It offers both security and stability," Mrs. Thatcher added.

Just last week, Defense Secretary Richard Cheney was at NATO headquarters trying to dispel fears that the United States would unilaterally pull its troops out of Europe because of budget-deficit pressures and reduced East-West tensions.

What was not dealt with at the NATO meetings, however, was exactly how the West should help Eastern Europe economically and politically. The economic issues are scheduled for discussion at upcoming talks by the EC; the so-called "Group of 24," which includes the NATO nations, Japan and other Western allies; and NATO foreign ministers.

With changes in Eastern Europe occurring from day to day and almost hour by hour, the allies persuaded one another it was not the time to make fast, bold moves of their own. Some were even hesitant to acknowledge an end to the Cold War, despite the fact that newspapers from London to Budapest, Hungary, headlined its demise yesterday.

"Time after time the word 'caution' came [at the NATO summit]," Mrs. Thatcher said. "Time after time security and stability and value came. Of course we don't know the

future, but turmoil can be very disturbing and we don't know what may happen.

"Times of great change are times when we have even greater need for secure and stable alliances."

Mrs. Thatcher raised a point echoed by Dutch and French officials: that there is still a long way to go before nations in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union fully grasp the Western concepts of impartial law and market forces.

"It is easier to demand freedom than it is to set the structures of freedom in place," she said. "... The Soviet [Union] has very little idea how to run a market economy."

Significantly, French President Francois Mitterrand, who does not believe NATO is the right forum to negotiate with the East, did not make a major contribution to yesterday's discussions.

Mr. Mitterrand arrived late and returned to Paris immediately after the meeting without any public comment. According to French officials, he is due to meet with Mr. Gorbachev tomorrow in the Soviet city of Kiev and be host to an EC meeting Friday in Strasbourg, France.

Several smaller NATO nations have fears about what the situation in Eastern Europe may do to them. Portugal and Greece, for instance, worry that EC funds they need may now be diverted to Eastern Europe, and officials said they used their limited opportunities to subtly remind the allies that the status quo is their best bet to help their still-developing economies.

The same went for new Turkish Prime Minister Yildirim Akbulut, whose only major ticket for admission to Europe is its NATO membership. He told the allies he was very pleased by the outcome of the Bush-Gorbachev summit — and the NATO summit — because it stressed the value of the alliance.

• This article is based in part on wire service reports.

After the Summit: The Climate 'Was Really Good'

Excerpts From Bush's News Conference After NATO Meeting

BRUSSELS, Dec. 4 (AP) — Following are excerpts from a transcript of President Bush's news conference today after his meeting here with leaders of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization: *NYT 12-5-89 A1b*

OPENING STATEMENT

This year, the people of the East made fundamental choices about their destiny, and governments there began to honor the citizens' right to choose. What these changes amount to is nothing less than a peaceful revolution. And the task before us, therefore, is to consolidate the fruits of this peaceful revolution and provide the architecture for continued peaceful change, to end the division of Europe and of Germany, to make Europe whole and free.

Although this is a time of great hope — and it is — we must not blur the distinction between promising expectations and present realities. We must remain constant with NATO's traditional security mission. I pledged today that the United States will maintain significant military forces in Europe as long as our allies desire our presence as part of a common defense effort. The U.S. will remain a European power, and that means that the United States will stay engaged in the future of Europe and in our common defense.

Many of the values that should guide Europe's future are described in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. These values encompass the freedom of people to choose their destiny under a rule of law with rulers who are democratically accountable.

I think we can look to the C.S.C.E. to play a greater role in the future of Europe. The 35 nations of the C.S.C.E. bridge both the division of Europe and the Atlantic Ocean. It is a structure that should be able to contribute much to the future architecture of Europe.

I also appreciate the vital role that the E.C. must play in the new Europe. And it is my belief that the events of our times call both for a continued, perhaps even intensified, effort of the 12 to integrate and a role for the E.C. as a magnet that draws the forces of reform toward Eastern Europe.

The people of Europe, especially the brave citizens of the East, are illuminating the future, and yet the outcome is not predestined. It depends on our continued strength and our solidarity as an alliance.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

The 'Peace Dividend'

Q. Mr. President, I have a two-part question. You have made it clear that you are going to stay in Europe. But in view of the dramatic reduction in tensions and the obvious weakening of the Warsaw Pact, what will be

the real American role? And two, will there now be more money for the poor and the homeless, public housing? The nation is really badly in need of repair of infrastructure.

A. We have a lot of demands at home, and there's no question about that. But I think it is premature to speak, as some are at home, about a "peace dividend" — take a lot of money out of defense and put it into other worthy causes. . . . We are under a tremendous burden to get our total spending down in order to meet the Gramm-Rudman and the Gramm-Rudman targets. . . .

German Reunification

Q. Mr. President, Vernon Walters, your trusted adviser and the Ambassador to Bonn, said that he envisions a — said that Germany, East and West, will be reunited within five years. Do you think that's possible? And what would be the implications for NATO and the Warsaw Pact?

A. I am not into the predicting of time on the question of Germany. . . . I think it's better to let things move on their own and without the United States certainly setting some kind of deadline.

What Bush Learned

Q. Mr. President, you said, in announcing your meeting with Chairman Gorbachev, that one of the main reasons was that you wanted to make sure that, in this time of change, you didn't miss anything. In your two days of meetings, did you learn anything that you fear, or feel, that you might have missed had you not had this?

A. Yes. What I would have missed is I wouldn't see quite as clearly his priorities. I see them more clearly because he and I sat down and talked. . . . And I feel I can sense much more clearly the things he feels more strongly about.

And we had a good chance to point out to him some of the difficulties with our relationship. It wasn't all sweetness and light. I had a very — very good opportunity to tell him how we view the — our problems in our own hemisphere: the sending of arms in there to help the F.M.L.N., and the role that — unhelpful role — that Cuba is playing. I recited in detail the Oscar Arias phone call to me: "Please raise with Mr. Gorbachev the unhelpful role, the destructive role of Cuba." . . .

And I think he was pleased, because I think from his standpoint — and this is important from mine — he now sees that we want to have a cooperative, forward-leaning relationship with the Soviet Union.

'Decoupling' the NATO Link

Q. . . . After World War II, the Europeans needed our money for the Marshall Plan. Then they needed our military backing because of the Soviet threat. But now . . . what are they going to need from us? What role do we really have to play here? We don't live on this continent.

A. You mean — would — why will there always have to be a U.S. presence?

Q. Why will there always have to be a NATO?

A. Well, I'm not sure — I'm — if you want to project out 100 years or —

Q. Well, no.

A. — take some — take some years off of that, you can look to a utopian day when there might not be. But as I pointed out to them, that day hasn't arrived, and they agree with me. And so the United States must stay involved. What we don't want to do is send the signal of decoupling, the decoupling of the United States and Canada from NATO, particularly at this highly sensitive time, and Mr. Gorbachev understood that.

Impressions of Gorbachev

Q. Mr. President, you had mentioned that you got some insight into President Gorbachev at this summit. I wonder if the insight included any sense of his internal position. Did he behave as if a man operating from a strong position, a man who seems to be in jeopardy, or how do you feel about that?

A. I thought he seemed very much in control. You can tell the way that he interacted with his own top people there. And he felt very confident in discussing . . . a wide array of subjects with me. . . . He seemed — "subdued" is the wrong word, but I would say determined and unemotional about it. The most emotion we saw was at that press conference yesterday, but it was a wonderful presentation. And the climate for — leave out the weather — the climate for the discussions was really good. . . .

Gorbachev's Views on Germany

Q. Mr. President, again as part of the insight you gained, what is your understanding about Secretary General Gorbachev's view of the unification of Germany? Do you think he's as opposed as he's said in public, or do you think that he accepts the fact that —

A. I think his view was one of . . . caution, and I really believe that. I think he recognizes the rapidity of change. He has very constructively talked about "peaceful change," and I don't — I think his hope is that people don't try to set up some artificial calendar by which — date by which that reunification should happen. And I think he feels that, if there were outside forces setting dates on something like that, that would complicate the way in which he is managing the change and helping manage the change in the Pact. . . .

Troop Reductions

Q. Mr. President, there was a lot of speculation going in that you and Mr. Gorbachev might get involved in talking about deeper cuts, particularly in European forces. Did you, in fact, do that? And is there skepticism within this organization here about moving too rapidly beyond what has now been dubbed C.F.E. 1?

A. No, we didn't get into that. We talked very broadly about our aspirations for further arms control, but there was no emphasis on that. And I — there may be some strains in one country or another viewing the rapidity of change differently than we do. But what I suggested to our NATO allies is let's go forward with the agreements we've got out there. The C.F.E., let's get it done.

I, the President of the United States, will kick our bureaucracy and push it as fast as I possibly we can. . . . I'm convinced that we — I must do more to keep it on schedule. And I've encouraged the other allies to do the same. I don't think there was any resistance to that. Similarly, Start and chemical weapons.

ON BUDGET PRIORITIES

"I think it is premature to speak, as some are at home, about a 'peace dividend.'"

So before we go into a wide array of other questions, I think the best thing to do is take advantage of the moment and move forward in those three areas. And I — we went — I went over that in little talks with individuals from NATO, as well as in the meeting itself.

Q. But do you accept the principle of a C.F.E.?

A. Well, I'd like to get a C.F.E. 1 in the bank first, get it locked up, get those troops out, move down to equal levels — U.S. and Soviet forces. And so we ought to — we ought to

manage that before we start the architecture of something else. I want to see that done on time....

East German Instability

Q. Mr. President, on East Germany, as you know, the party structure, the Communist Party structure has collapsed there. It's unclear who's running the Government. I wonder if you talked about that, if you personally think that it's a dangerous situation, if that moves unification up in the timetable at all? And secondly, what Gorbachev said to you when you said to him, unification of Germany would have to be in the NATO context?

A. No, I don't think it's a dangerous situation. I don't think anybody here in this room, including myself, has been able to predict the rapidity of the change, the totality of the change. But I don't see it as dangerous, as long as the Soviet leader and the Germans and the West conduct themselves the way I've been — been urging.

What was the second part?

Q. Well, what Mr. Gorbachev said to you when you said unification, but only in the NATO context? I mean, he keeps saying it has to be in the Warsaw Pact context.

A. No, we — we — we were — I don't think we went into that in real depth, Lesley.

Q. Well, what do you think he thinks about it? I mean, obviously —

A. Well, that's too hypothetical. I got trouble figuring it out on our side with all our experts, rather than knowing what I think he might think about something he hasn't thought about maybe....

Bush's New View of Gorbachev

Q. Mr. President — Mr. President, you seem to have traveled some distance between what you were saying about Mr. Gorbachev a year or so ago and some of the things you said yesterday. Could you please talk in a little bit more detail about the evolution in your thinking that you mentioned yesterday, how that happened and what persuaded you along the way?

A. As I watched the way in which Mr. Gorbachev has handled the changes in Eastern Europe, it deserves new thinking. It absolutely mandates new thinking. And when I see his willingness to give support to a C.F.E. agreement that calls for him to dispropor-

ON GORBACHEV

"I feel I can sense much more clearly the things he feels more strongly about."

tionately reduce his forces, and that is there on the table, I think that mandates new thinking. When I hear him talk about peaceful change and the right of countries to choose — countries in the Warsaw Pact to choose — that deserves new thinking.

And so I approach this, and I think, in step with our allies, with a certain respect for what he's doing, and thus we want to try to meet him on some of the areas where he needs help. I'm thinking of a few suggestions I had in the economic area. But I also believe that the West must remain strong and together and try to be helpful where we can in a united way, but not be imprudent....

The Moments of Tension

Q. Mr. President, you mentioned earlier that there was some tension during the meetings and earlier, to reporters you had said that there was no personal rancor. Could you outline the moments of tension or tell us a little bit about the moments when you felt there was tension between you and the Soviet leader?

A. ... We have a big difference on how we look at Central America. And I would like to see him use his influence with Mr. Castro, and if he's got any left, with Mr. Ortega, to facilitate democratic change in the Western Hemisphere. ... So when you get into a subject like that, where he may have a different formula, it's a little more concentrated than when you're clicking off agreements in some areas.

More Swords and Plowshares

Q. Mr. President, you stepped aside on a question about the "peace dividend" and said that you've got a terrible Gramm-Rudman problem next year. As you look at the changes in Europe and the possibilities of further defense cuts, do you expect any time in your first term to have a dividend, a "peace dividend" to apply to some of the economic and social problems at home? And when would you expect that?

A. That's an awful tough question to answer about any time. I would think it would be extraordinarily difficult because of the — of the — not only the enormity of the Gramm-Rudman — the difficulty of reaching the Gramm-Rudman target this year, but what follows on. ... There just isn't a lot of quote excess money unquote floating around there.

Q. Not for the foreseeable future, not for the rest of your first term?

A. Well, look at the Gramm-Rudman targets that face us. I don't want to hold out to those that want to rush out and spend a lot more money the hope that that is going to happen. We've got some tremendous economic problems that have to be solved. Because the best answer to helping people ... is to have a job. And the best way to have the

ON BRAVING THE SEAS

"Hot-dogging? No. Well, you know, these charismatic, macho, visionary guys — they'll do anything."

climate for a job is to have a sound economy. And to our foreign friends here, I'd say one of the things that would be the best guarantee of that would be to get our Federal deficits down. It would also help us with investment. ... I had a letter from a distinguished senator before I left, because he had read about possible defense cuts, a reduction in the defense budget, saying take that money and spend it for a cause that he felt was very worthy. And I had to write him back and say, "Look, that isn't the way it's going to work." That isn't the way it's going to work.

Q. Chairman Gorbachev said yesterday that you and he agreed in your talks that the world — that the Malta meeting marked the end of the epoch of the Cold War and entering a new period. Do you agree with him that the Cold War is over?

A. Carl, let me tell you something. We're fooling with semantics here. I don't want to give you a headline. I've told you the areas where I think we have progress. Why do we resort to these code words that send different signals to different people? I'm not going to answer. I can —

Q. (Inaudible)

A. Well, good. He can speak for himself

very — in a very eloquent way. But in terms of if you want me to define it — is the Cold War the same — I mean, is it raging like it was before in the times of the Berlin Blockade? Absolutely not. Things have moved dramatically. But if I signal to you there's no Cold War, then you'll say, "Well, what are you doing with troops in Europe?" I mean, come on! ...

Q. Mr. President, what is your reaction to Chairman Gorbachev's proposal that NATO and the Warsaw Pact should not remain yet military alliances, but rather become military-political alliances, and later on just political alliances? Can you envisage in the future any form of cooperation between the two alliances?

A. Well, I can see an economic interaction. And I hope that NATO will, along with the E.C. and along with O.E.C.D. and these other areas, will take more of an active East-West role in the economy, in helping each other in terms of systems. But he did not press that point with me at all. I think he envisions an active U.S. presence in Europe, in one way or another. ...

High-Seas Machismo

Q. Mr. President, after five hours of talks on Saturday, despite extremely treacherous seas, and you even had trouble getting to the talks, you got back in your launch and went

ON THE COLD WAR

"If I signal to you there's no cold war, then you'll say, 'Well, what are you doing with troops in Europe?' I mean, come on!"

back to your ship. Mr. President, why did you do that? And —

A. Because I wanted to go back in time to receive him for dinner.

Q. Didn't you understand you were risking the summit, number one? And number two, what do you think Gorbachev thinks of your judgment?

A. Maureen, you've been to Maine. Don't tell me that that little chop was — was risking anything. Frankly, I haven't had that much fun in a long time ... But we didn't miss a beat. In fact, we had a very relaxed evening out there, and then showed up and we got eight hours of talks in. ... I didn't feel there was any risk in getting into a little safe launch like that and going back out to the ship. It was sheer pleasure, really.

Q. And it was hot-dogging?

A. Hot-dogging? No. Well, you know, these charismatic, macho, visionary guys — they'll do anything. ...

Nicaragua

Q. Mr. President, a few moments ago, you questioned whether Gorbachev had any influence at all over Daniel Ortega. Yet in his news conference yesterday, Chairman Gorbachev indicated that there may be an opportunity now for peace in the region. Did he indicate to you in any way whether, one, he had any control over Ortega, or, two, whether there was something in the works that may lead to some kind of peaceful political —

A. No, he didn't, but I think — he didn't indicate whether he had any control over him. What he did indicate was that there were going to be free elections. And I told him, that's fine to have those free elections, but they've got to be fair. You have to have access from — for the minorities to — minority parties and the opposition party, the UNO, to get in there and participate, a full access. And so we had a little discussion of that. But that was about it.

Q. To follow up, if he indicated there would be free elections, that in turn would indicate that he does in fact maintain some sort of influence on Ortega. And then wouldn't you hold him further responsible to stop that flow of arms in El Salvador?

A. Well, I'm not sure that — I don't see quite the logic, that if he says there's going to be a free election that means he controls them. I'm unclear on your —

Q. How could he — how could he assure you that there would be free elections?

A. I don't — oh, excuse me — I don't think he assured me there was. He just says free elections are scheduled. And I told him how important we felt it was that they go forward.

I think he was impressed — I may be wrong, but I — I think he was impressed by the message from Oscar Arias. And I asked Arias if it was O.K. to tell him of the call, and he said, "Yes, I hope you will." So when I said this man, this Nobel Prize winner — prize winner down there — who — with whom we've had some differences, though normally we're in pretty good sync — appeals to you, "Use your influence to, you know, stop the export of revolution," it may have made an impact.

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ARRIVAL STATEMENT IN BRUSSELS, 12/3/89

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Today, we met in Malta, Winston Churchill's "tiny rock of history and romance." Ancient stepping stone to Europe. Today, the crossroads of East and West.

And tonight we meet in Brussels. Tonight we stand at the crossroads of history, on our way to a Europe whole and free.

It is always a pleasure to return to Brussels. This city represents the finest that Europe has to offer in friendship and hospitality. It also represents the strength and vitality of European institutions, nourished and protected for more than 40 years by the security shield of NATO -- one of the great success stories of our century.

Brussels symbolizes a vibrant and growing trans-Atlantic partnership -- one that has helped foster the astounding changes we are seeing today.

The modern Atlantic Alliance was born at sea. It was on a battleship off the coast of Canada that Franklin Roosevelt met Winston Churchill during Europe's darkest hour; great leaders in a rendezvous at sea, a rendezvous with destiny.

The legacy of that meeting became known as the Atlantic Charter, significant not for its details, but for its vision.

It spoke of a day when all peoples, in all nations, would freely choose their form of government, and live lives rich with opportunity and hope. It spoke of a day when nations would

resolve their differences at the negotiating table, not on the field of battle.

Tonight, I have come to Brussels to share with our friends and allies the results of that vision -- results born of strength and solidarity, continuity and commitment.

It seems like the world is changing overnight. But the yearning for freedom lives within all of us, and always has. That simple truth is manifested in the thunderous events taking place a few hundred kilometers to the East. And that simple truth brought Mikhail Gorbachev and I together in a windswept harbor off Malta.

The seas were as turbulent as our times. But it was not an ill wind carrying us on our mission. No, it was the winds of change. Strong and constant. Profound.

And today, as the sun broke through the clouds, we could both see a new world taking shape -- a new world of freedom.

Here in Brussels, only six months ago, we pledged as Allies to work together to end the division of Europe. We now stand at the threshold of making that dream a reality.

My presence here, and that of my NATO colleagues, underscores the importance we attach to consultations within the Alliance. I look forward to my discussions with Prime Minister Martens, Secretary-General Woerner, and E.C. Commission President DeLors.

It is an exciting time for the Alliance, for Europe, and for America. I have come with good news. Thank you, God bless you, and good night.

Cherry et al.
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PRESIDENT'S AFTERNOON INTERVENTION
ON THE FUTURE OF EUROPE

INTRODUCTION

- THIS MORNING I REVIEWED MY DISCUSSIONS WITH PRESIDENT GORBACHEV AT MALTA AND WE HEARD FROM PRIME MINISTER ANDREOTTI AND PRIME MINISTER MULRONEY ABOUT THEIR RECENT MEETINGS WITH HIM.

- I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY THIS AFTERNOON TO TALK ABOUT A SUBJECT OF EVEN BROADER SCOPE: THE FUTURE SHAPE OF THE NEW EUROPE AND THE NEW ATLANTICISM.

A TIME OF CHOICE

- WHEN WE LAST MET IN MAY, OUR SUMMIT DECLARATION DESCRIBED THE SETTING AS A "JUNCTURE OF UNPRECEDENTED CHANGE AND OPPORTUNITIES." IN THE LAST SIX MONTHS, WE HAVE WITNESSED EVENTS THAT HAVE FINALLY BEGUN TO MATCH OUR HOPES THESE FORTY YEARS. OUR DREAMS FOR AN HISTORIC TRANSFORMATION OF EUROPE FROM A DIVIDED CONTINENT INTO A CONTINENT WHOLE AND FREE ARE COMING TRUE.

- THE ALLIANCE WAS ESTABLISHED IN 1949 TO PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR PRECISELY THE EXTRAORDINARY EVOLUTION WHICH IS OCCURRING IN EASTERN EUROPE TODAY.

- THIS YEAR THE PEOPLE OF THE EAST MADE FUNDAMENTAL CHOICES ABOUT THEIR DESTINY, AND GOVERNMENTS THERE BEGAN TO HONOR THE CITIZEN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE. WHAT THESE CHANGES AMOUNT TO IS NOTHING LESS THAN A PEACEFUL REVOLUTION.

- THE TASK BEFORE US IS TO CONSOLIDATE THE FRUITS OF THIS PEACEFUL REVOLUTION AND PROVIDE THE ARCHITECTURE FOR CONTINUED PEACEFUL CHANGE. GREAT CHOICES ARE BEING MADE, AND GREATER OPPORTUNITIES BECKON.

THE FIRST PRINCIPLE FOR EUROPE'S FUTURE: OVERCOMING THE DIVISION OF EUROPE THROUGH FREEDOM

- IN ANY TIME OF GREAT CHANGE, IT IS GOOD TO HAVE FIRM PRINCIPLES TO GUIDE OUR WAY. OUR GOVERNMENTS COMMITTED THEMSELVES AGAIN IN MAY TO SEEK AN END TO THE PAINFUL DIVISION OF EUROPE. WE HAVE NEVER ACCEPTED THIS DIVISION. THE PEOPLE OF EVERY NATION HAVE THE RIGHT TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN WAY OF LIFE IN FREEDOM.

- OF COURSE, WE HAVE ALL SUPPORTED GERMAN REUNIFICATION FOR FOUR DECADES. AND IN OUR VIEW, THIS GOAL OF GERMAN UNIFICATION SHOULD BE BASED ON THE FOLLOWING PRINCIPLES.

- FIRST, SELF-DETERMINATION MUST BE PURSUED WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO ITS OUTCOME. WE SHOULD NOT AT THIS TIME ENDORSE NOR EXCLUDE ANY PARTICULAR VISION OF UNITY.

- SECOND, UNIFICATION SHOULD OCCUR IN THE CONTEXT OF GERMANY'S CONTINUED COMMITMENT TO NATO AND AN INCREASINGLY INTEGRATED EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, AND WITH DUE REGARD FOR THE LEGAL ROLE AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE ALLIED POWERS.
- THIRD, IN THE INTERESTS OF GENERAL EUROPEAN STABILITY, MOVES TOWARD UNIFICATION MUST BE PEACEFUL, GRADUAL, AND PART OF A STEP-BY-STEP PROCESS.
- LASTLY, ON THE QUESTION OF BORDERS WE SHOULD REITERATE OUR SUPPORT FOR THE PRINCIPLES OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT.
- AN END TO THE UNNATURAL DIVISION OF EUROPE, AND OF GERMANY, MUST PROCEED IN ACCORDANCE WITH AND BE BASED UPON THE VALUES THAT ARE BECOMING UNIVERSAL IDEALS, AS ALL THE COUNTRIES OF EUROPE BECOME PART OF A COMMONWEALTH OF FREE NATIONS. I KNOW MY FRIEND HELMUT KOHL COMPLETELY SHARES THIS CONVICTION.

THE ROLE OF NATO

- THE POLITICAL STRATEGY FOR NATO THAT WE AGREED UPON LAST MAY MAKES THE PROMOTION OF GREATER FREEDOM IN THE EAST A BASIC ELEMENT OF ALLIANCE POLICY. ACCORDINGLY, NATO SHOULD PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS, DEMOCRACY, AND REFORM WITHIN EASTERN COUNTRIES AS THE BEST MEANS OF ENCOURAGING RECONCILIATION AMONG THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN AND WESTERN EUROPE.
- THIS EFFORT RECALLS THE ORIGIN OF NATO AS A POLITICAL ALLIANCE OF NATIONS SHARING THE SAME FUNDAMENTAL VALUES, A FOUNDATION ON WHICH I EXPECT NATO WILL INCREASINGLY BUILD IN THIS NEW AGE OF EUROPE.
- ALLIANCE SUPPORT FOR REFORM AND POSITIVE CHANGE IN THE EAST NEEDS TO BE BROAD, MULTIFACETED, AND FLEXIBLE. IT SHOULD NOT ONLY BE A QUESTION OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE -- AS IMPORTANT AS THAT MIGHT BE -- BUT OF STEPS TO SUPPORT GREATER POLITICAL PLURALISM, OPEN UP FLOWS OF INFORMATION, DEVELOP NEEDED TECHNICAL EXPERTISE, AND PROVIDE THROUGH OUR DEFENSE AND ARMS CONTROL EFFORTS A STABLE SECURITY ENVIRONMENT FOR INDIVIDUAL EUROPEAN STATES, BOTH EAST AND WEST.
- THIS FITS THE CONCEPT OF "NEW MISSIONS FOR NATO" WHICH I PROPOSED WHEN I WAS HERE LAST MAY FOR OUR SUMMIT.
- BUT WE ALSO MUST REMAIN CONSTANT WITH NATO'S TRADITIONAL SECURITY MISSION. THE POTENTIAL FOR STRIFE IS INHERENT IN ANY PERIOD OF FUNDAMENTAL POLITICAL TRANSITION. IN SEEKING AND PREPARING PEACEFUL CHANGE, THIS ALLIANCE ALSO MUST REMAIN A RELIABLE GUARANTOR OF PEACE IN EUROPE, AS IT HAS BEEN FOR FORTY YEARS. IT UNITES THE FREE STATES OF THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY IN SHARING RISKS AND RESPONSIBILITIES AS WE WORK TOGETHER TO NURTURE AND GUIDE THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW EUROPE.

- AS A DEFENSIVE ALLIANCE AND PARTNERSHIP OF DEMOCRACIES, NATO SHOULD NOT BE SEEN AS THREATENING BY THE EAST. RATHER, IT CAN HELP MANAGE PEACEFUL CHANGE IN EUROPE IN A WAY THAT PRESERVES SECURITY AND STABILITY FOR ALL STATES. A HEALTHY NATO WILL SUPPORT BOTH MOVES TOWARD GREATER UNITY WITHIN WESTERN EUROPE AS WELL AS THE DISSOLUTION OF BARRIERS WITH THE EAST.
- ALTHOUGH THIS IS A TIME OF GREAT HOPE, WE MUST NOT BLUR THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN PROMISING EXPECTATIONS AND PRESENT REALITIES.
- MY GOVERNMENT THEREFORE REMAINS COMMITTED TO THE ALLIANCE STRATEGY FOR THE PREVENTION OF WAR, BASED ON A MIX OF NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL FORCES.
- I PLEDGE TODAY THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL MAINTAIN SIGNIFICANT MILITARY FORCES IN EUROPE AS LONG AS OUR ALLIES DESIRE OUR PRESENCE AS PART OF A COMMON SECURITY EFFORT.
- AS I SAID AT NATO EARLIER THIS YEAR, THE U.S. WILL REMAIN A EUROPEAN POWER. THAT MEANS THE U.S. WILL STAY ENGAGED IN THE FUTURE OF EUROPE, AND IN OUR COMMON DEFENSE.
- THIS IS NOT OLD THINKING. IT IS GOOD THINKING. OF COURSE I WOULD LIKE TO SEE A LESS MILITARIZED EUROPE. EVERYONE HERE KNOWS HOW STRONGLY I SUPPORT THE PROGRESS BEING MADE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS ON CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE TOWARD AN AGREEMENT THAT WOULD REDUCE THE SIZE OF THE CONVENTIONAL FORCES ON BOTH SIDES OF THE EAST-WEST DIVIDE.
- THIS CFE AGREEMENT WOULD DRAMATICALLY CUT BACK WARSAW PACT, PARTICULARLY SOVIET, FORCE STRENGTH. THIS HAS GREAT IMPLICATIONS FOR THE PROCESS OF REFORM IN EASTERN EUROPE AS WELL AS FOR THE SECURITY OF WESTERN EUROPE. AND IT WOULD PROVIDE FOR A CAREFULLY MANAGED AND RESPONSIBLE SET OF ALLIED REDUCTIONS AS WELL.
- AS WE SEEK TO ADJUST OUR MILITARY POSTURE TO THE CHANGING POLITICAL CLIMATE, I CAN THINK OF NO BETTER MODEL THAN THE CFE PROCESS AS A WAY TO COORDINATE OUR RESPONSES TO THE NEW REQUIREMENTS OF EUROPEAN SECURITY. WE MUST STAND TOGETHER FOR NEGOTIATED, COORDINATED, STABILIZING REDUCTIONS AGAINST A RUSH TO THROW OFF DEFENSE BURDENS, AGAINST A RETURN TO THE NARROW PROTECTION OF SELF-INTEREST THAT COULD BE SO DANGEROUS AT A TIME WHEN EUROPEAN POLITICS ARE IN A STATE OF FLUX RIVALED IN MY ADULT LIFE ONLY BY THE IMMEDIATE AFTERMATH OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR.
- YET, THE CFE PROCESS HAS NOT REALIZED ITS FULL POTENTIAL. LAST MAY WE AGREED TO SEEK AN AGREEMENT WITHIN ONE YEAR. WE HAVE MADE GOOD PROGRESS SINCE THEN, BUT TOO LITTLE AND TOO SLOWLY TO TAKE FULL ADVANTAGE OF THE OPPORTUNITY BEFORE US: THE CHANCE TO EASE THE SOVIET ARMY OUT OF EASTERN EUROPE AND SUBSTANTIALLY REDUCE THE RISK OF SURPRISE ATTACK AND AGGRESSION.

- WE AS POLITICAL LEADERS NEED TO REMAIN FIXED ON THIS GOAL AND TO RE-ENERGIZE OUR BUREAUCRACIES AND NEGOTIATORS TO SEIZE THIS URGENT OPPORTUNITY. I HOPE YOU AGREE WITH ME ON THE NEED FOR ACTION NOW. IF WE IN THIS ALLIANCE ARE NOT EQUAL TO THE CHANGES THAT ARE GOING ON IN EUROPE AROUND US, THE CFE PROCESS COULD BE OVERRUN BY EVENTS. THAT COULD BE DANGEROUS AND WE MUST AVOID IT.
- SIMILARLY, WE NEED TO GIVE THOUGHT TO HOW THE ALLIANCE CAN BEST MAINTAIN, IN THE MIDST OF CHANGE, DETERRENCE AT THE LOWEST POSSIBLE LEVEL OF FORCES.
- FOR THAT REASON, I AM PREPARED TO LOOK WITH AN OPEN MIND AT WAYS IN WHICH WE CAN TOGETHER ACHIEVE EVEN LOWER LEVELS OF CONVENTIONAL AND NUCLEAR FORCES IN EUROPE AS PART OF A NEGOTIATED AGREEMENT.

THE ROLE OF CSCE

- MANY OF THE VALUES THAT SHOULD GUIDE EUROPE'S FUTURE ARE DESCRIBED IN THE FINAL ACT OF THE CONFERENCE OF SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE. THESE VALUES ENCOMPASS THE FREEDOM OF PEOPLE TO CHOOSE THEIR DESTINY UNDER A RULE OF LAW WITH RULERS WHO ARE DEMOCRATICALLY ACCOUNTABLE.
- I THINK WE CAN LOOK TO THE CSCE TO PLAY A GREATER ROLE IN THE FUTURE OF EUROPE.
- EARLIER THIS YEAR, I SUGGESTED WE EXPAND THE CSCE HUMAN RIGHTS BASKET TO INCLUDE FREE ELECTIONS. GIVEN THE CALLS AND COMMITMENTS TO ELECTIONS IN MANY NATIONS TO THE EAST, THIS COULD BE AN EXCELLENT TIME FOR THE CSCE TO ASSUME THIS ADDITIONAL MANDATE.
- IN ADDITION, THE "ECONOMIC BASKET" OF THE CSCE HAS BEEN UNDERDEVELOPED. I SUGGESTED TO CHAIRMAN GORBACHEV THIS WEEKEND THAT WE COULD BREATHE NEW LIFE INTO THIS ASPECT OF CSCE BY FOCUSING ON THE PRACTICAL QUESTIONS INVOLVED IN THE TRANSITION FROM STAGNANT PLANNED ECONOMIES TO FREE AND COMPETITIVE MARKETS.
- IN SUM, THE THIRTY-FIVE NATIONS OF THE CSCE BRIDGE BOTH THE DIVISION OF EUROPE AND THE ATLANTIC OCEAN. IT IS A STRUCTURE THAT SHOULD BE ABLE TO CONTRIBUTE MUCH TO THE FUTURE ARCHITECTURE OF EUROPE.

THE ROLE OF THE EC

- I ALSO APPRECIATE THE VITAL ROLE THE EC MUST PLAY IN THE NEW EUROPE.
- BEFORE MY TRIP TO MALTA, PRESIDENT MITTERRAND CALLED TO SHARE WITH ME THE VIEWS ABOUT RECENT EVENTS EXPRESSED AT THE EC MEETING HE HAD CALLED. AND I KNOW THE COMMUNITY WILL BE RETURNING TO THESE TOPICS IN STRASBOURG LATER THIS WEEK.

- IT'S MY BELIEF THAT THE EVENTS OF OUR TIMES CALL BOTH FOR A CONTINUED, PERHAPS EVEN INTENSIFIED, EFFORT OF THE TWELVE TO INTEGRATE, AND A ROLE FOR THE EC AS A MAGNET THAT DRAWS THE FORCES OF REFORM FORWARD IN EASTERN EUROPE.
- THAT'S WHY I WAS EXCEPTIONALLY PLEASED THAT WE AGREED AT THE PARIS ECONOMIC SUMMIT ON A SPECIFIC ROLE FOR THE EC IN THE GROUP OF 24 EFFORT TO ASSIST POLAND AND HUNGARY. NOW THE G-24, CATALYZED BY EC EFFORTS, MUST DELIVER. ONE KEY STEP IS TO HELP POLAND ASSEMBLE THE \$1 BILLION STABILIZATION FUND IT HAS REQUESTED TO SUPPORT THE MAJOR MACROECONOMIC OVERHAUL PLAN IT INTENDS TO PUT IN PLACE WITHIN WEEKS.
- I RECOGNIZE, OF COURSE, THAT THE EC CANNOT BEAR THIS BURDEN ALONE. THE UNITED STATES WILL BE AT THE COMMUNITY'S SIDE IN THIS NOBLE ENDEAVOR.
- I ALSO AM COMMITTED TO A CLOSE U.S. PARTNERSHIP WITH THE EC. WE ARE BOUND TOGETHER BY COMMON VALUES AND DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AS WELL AS BY SHARED INTERESTS. SO WE SHOULD LOOK FOR WAYS TO IMPROVE OUR TIES SO A NEW ATLANTICISM WILL PULL IN HARNESS WITH A NEW EUROPE.

CONCLUSION

- WE STAND ON THE THRESHOLD OF A NEW ERA. WE KNOW THAT WE ARE CONTRIBUTING TO A PROCESS OF HISTORY DRIVEN BY PEOPLES DETERMINED TO BE FREE. THE PEOPLE OF EUROPE, ESPECIALLY THE BRAVE CITIZENS OF THE EAST, ARE ILLUMINATING THE FUTURE.
- YET THE OUTCOME IS NOT PREDESTINED. IT DEPENDS ON OUR CONTINUED STRENGTH AND SOLIDARITY AS AN ALLIANCE. IT DEPENDS VITALLY ON THE ACTIONS WE TAKE, AS GOVERNMENTS AND INDIVIDUALS, TO OFFER LEADERSHIP, PROTECTION, AND ENCOURAGEMENT FOR THIS PROCESS OF PEACEFUL TRANSFORMATION.
- EUROPE IS CHANGING, AND WE WILL BE EQUAL TO THE CHANGE. OUR TRANSATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP CAN CREATE THE ARCHITECTURE OF A NEW EUROPE, AND A NEW ATLANTICISM, WHERE SELF-DETERMINATION, AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM EVERYWHERE REPLACE COERCION AND TYRANNY, WHERE ECONOMIC LIBERTY EVERYWHERE REPLACES ECONOMIC CONTROLS AND STAGNATION, AND WHERE LASTING PEACE IS REINFORCED EVERYWHERE BY COMMON RESPECT FOR THE RIGHTS OF MAN.

*Class et al
F41*

ARRIVAL STATEMENT: ANDREWS AFB 12/4/89 DD

Thank you. Thank you for that warm greeting on such a brisk evening. It's great to be home. Back in the U.S.A.

Our mission to Malta, and then Brussels, was about peace. Not the kind of peace we've known for the last forty years - hard and cold - but about a new kind of peace. One that is rich with the promise of permanence. One that is a growing foundation for freedom.

That was the message I brought to President Gorbachev - a message that reflects the hopes and aspirations of all Americans.

Many Americans watched on television as the winds of the Mediterranean tossed our ships about. And I think it's just now that some of the staff are getting back their appetite.

But as I said in Brussels, it was not an ill wind that brought Mikhail Gorbachev and me together at Malta. It was the winds of change. Dramatic change. Witnessed by a world captivated, awed, by the tumultuous events of 1989.

At Malta, President Gorbachev and I took our first hopeful step into a new American - Soviet relationship. We took our first step into the next decade and the new world that is taking shape - a new world of freedom.

The promise of this new world would not have been possible without the steadfast support of the American people. It would not have been possible without the heroes of the East: people like Lech Walesa, Alexander Dubcek, Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn,

and so many, many more. And, it would not have been possible without the strength and stability of one of this century's greatest successes: the NATO Alliance.

[At Malta, we made much progress. We accelerated the timetables for reducing arms. We agreed to meet again in June in the United States. We agreed to press forward on building a closer economic relationship. We agreed to be pals.]

You know, during World War II, Winston Churchill called the island of Malta "democracy's fortress." It withstood one attack after another, never succumbing to the terrible tyranny of the Axis assault. En route home from the Teheran Conference in 1943, Franklin Roosevelt stopped there to deliver the thanks of the American people, praising Malta as "one tiny, bright flame in the darkness, a beacon of hope for clearer days."

I thought of that quote as the skies cleared on our second day of talks. The flame of freedom is casting its glow in many a dark corner around the world. And ladies and gentlemen, tonight new beacons of hope are shining brightly: in Warsaw, in Prague, in Budapest and Berlin, and, I believe, in Moscow.

And America, as always, will be at the forefront of these extraordinary times.

Thank you for your warm greeting on this winter's night. God bless you this Christmas season. And God bless the United States of America.

*Britain's
problems
remain
Central
America*

Chuss et al
FYI

TALKING POINTS: TRI-MISSION GREETING, BRUSSELS 12/4/89

* Members of the Brussels family, Ambassador Glitman, Ambassador Taft, Ambassador Niles (Taft and Niles are new since your previous visit)

* It's nice to see some familiar faces. When I was in Brussels six months ago, you would have thought I'd at least wait a year before I put you through a Presidential visit again.

* But, you know, that is one of the nice things about our crew here in Brussels: you're ready for anything. You know the drill, and you're pros.

* Because in these exciting times we need people like you: unflappable, quick to respond, dedicated veterans of the foreign policy process.

* The other thing I like about the operation here in Brussels is your ability to work together. The Joint Administrative Service support group typifies that kind of effort. And believe me, I know what a visit like this demands of your admin offices. Where's Nick Basky? Nick, it's professionals like you that make these trips bearable. (Nick was also brought in to help out on the Costa Rica trip)

* It's an exciting time for America. And particularly for you here in Brussels. You've all seen the reports out of Malta, and our meeting here with our partners in the Alliance. We are standing on the threshold of a new era in our relationships with the East, and you here are on the cutting edge.

* (Here, you may want to give them a personal anecdote or reflection about President Gorbachev or your meeting)

* Thank you for your commitment and your dedication. God bless you and God bless the United States of America.

- * MEMBERS OF THE BRUSSELS FAMILY, AMBASSADOR GLITMAN, AMBASSADOR TAFT, AMBASSADOR NILES (TAFT AND NILES ARE NEW SINCE YOUR PREVIOUS VISIT)

- * IT'S NICE TO SEE SOME FAMILIAR FACES. WHEN I WAS IN BRUSSELS SIX MONTHS AGO, YOU WOULD HAVE THOUGHT I'D AT LEAST WAIT A YEAR BEFORE I PUT YOU THROUGH A PRESIDENTIAL VISIT AGAIN.

- * BUT, YOU KNOW, THAT IS ONE OF THE NICE THINGS ABOUT OUR CREW HERE IN BRUSSELS: YOU'RE READY FOR ANYTHING. YOU KNOW THE DRILL, AND YOU'RE PROS.

- * BECAUSE IN THESE EXCITING TIMES WE NEED PEOPLE LIKE YOU: UNFLAPPABLE, QUICK TO RESPOND, DEDICATED VETERANS OF THE FOREIGN POLICY PROCESS.

- * THE OTHER THING I LIKE ABOUT THE OPERATION HERE IN BRUSSELS IS YOUR ABILITY TO WORK TOGETHER. THE JOINT ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE SUPPORT GROUP TYPIFIES THAT KIND OF EFFORT. AND BELIEVE ME, I KNOW WHAT A VISIT LIKE THIS DEMANDS OF YOUR ADMIN OFFICES. WHERE'S NICK BASKY? NICK, IT'S PROFESSIONALS LIKE YOU THAT MAKE THESE TRIPS BEARABLE. (NICK WAS ALSO BROUGHT IN TO HELP OUT ON THE COSTA RICA TRIP)

- * IT'S AN EXCITING TIME FOR AMERICA. AND PARTICULARLY FOR YOU HERE IN BRUSSELS. YOU'VE ALL SEEN THE REPORTS OUT OF MALTA, AND OUR MEETING HERE WITH OUR PARTNERS IN THE ALLIANCE. WE ARE STANDING ON THE THRESHOLD OF A NEW ERA IN OUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE EAST, AND YOU HERE ARE ON THE CUTTING EDGE.

- * (HERE, YOU MAY WANT TO GIVE THEM A PERSONAL ANECDOTE OR REFLECTION ABOUT PRESIDENT GORBACHEV OR YOUR MEETING)

* THANK YOU FOR YOUR COMMITMENT AND YOUR DEDICATION. GOD
BLESS YOU AND GOD BLESS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 9, 1989

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT
AND QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION

The Oval Office

3:34 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: We just wanted to make a brief statement here. I've just been briefed by the Secretary of State and my National Security Advisor on the latest news coming out of Germany. And, of course, I welcome the decision by the East German leadership to open the borders to those wishing to emigrate or travel. And this, if it's implemented fully, certainly conforms with the Helsinki Accords -- Helsinki Final Act, which the GDR signed.

And if the GDR goes forward now, this wall built in '61 will have very little relevance. And it clearly is a good development in terms of human rights. And I must say that after discussing this here with the Secretary of State and the National Security Advisor, I am very pleased with this development.

Q Mr. President, would the United States now consider doing more to help West Germany house, to take care of some of these East Germans coming into that country? Is there more that you could do now to help West Germany accommodate --

THE PRESIDENT: Well, we have such a close relationship with the Federal Republic that if we're -- Chancellor Kohl asks us to be of some assistance, I'm certain we would give it serious consideration. I mean, I don't know what it is they'd have in mind, because I think with a truly open border, it is hard to predict how many will be trying to leave. And so it's a dynamic development, and we just have to wait and see. But our relationship with the Federal Republic is such that we would want to be of the maximum help if it was needed. So far, Germany has done a magnificent job in handling those who have preceded -- this new exodus.

Q Have you assured Mr. Kohl that if he does need help that we'll be there for them?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I haven't talked to him, Lesley, since this development because he just went off to Poland. I talked to him about this last week and made very clear to him that we thought -- I think it was last week -- made very clear to him that we thought they were handling it with great sensitivity. It's an enormous burden on the Federal Republic, and I don't remember in that conversation if I said if we can be of any help, please let me know, but I'm sure he knows that's the case.

Q Did he give any indication of how far he'd be able to go to accommodate this influx of refugees? I think the number stands at about 110,000 now. Did he say if it hits a million we're going to have real problems?

THE PRESIDENT: No, he didn't go into numbers at all, but he demonstrates a quiet confidence that the Federal Republic can cope. As I say, they have done a good job. And here's a new development in this rapidly-changing part of the world that we can salute. And it's a dramatic happening for East Germany, and of course for freedom.

MORE

Q Is this the end of the Iron Curtain, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I don't think any single event is the end of what you might call the Iron Curtain, but clearly this is a long way from the harsh days of the -- the harshest Iron Curtain days -- a long way from that.

Q Mr. President, what do you think the implications are for the Warsaw Pact now? I mean, can we say that this may be an indication that they're headed toward a loosening or even a dismantling of the Warsaw Pact?

THE PRESIDENT: I think you have to say what you mean by Warsaw Pact. I mean, it seems to me that it's certainly a loosening up in terms of travel. It concurs with the Helsinki Final Act, and it is a very good development.

Our objective is a Europe whole and free. And is it a step towards that? I would say yes. Gorbachev talks about a common home. Is it a step towards that? Probably so.

Q Mr. President, what's the danger --

Q What do you think the implications are for our -- for emigration to this country, Mr. President? Do you think we'll be seeing very many of these new refugees?

THE PRESIDENT: There's no indication of that. These are Germans going to the Federal Republic of Germany.

Q What's the danger here of events just spinning out of control? Secretary Baker commented earlier about how rapid the pace of change has been in Eastern Europe. Nobody really expected this to happen as quickly as it did. Is there a danger here that things are accelerating too quickly?

THE PRESIDENT: I wouldn't want to say this kind of development makes things to be moving too quickly at all. It's the kind of development that we have long encouraged by our strong support for the Helsinki Final Act. So I'm not going to hypothecate that it may -- anything goes too fast.

Q So you don't see --

THE PRESIDENT: But we are handling it in a way where we are not trying to give anybody a hard time. We're saluting those who can move forward with democracy. We are encouraging the concept of a Europe whole and free, and so we just welcome it. But I don't like to go into a lot of hypotheses about too much change or too rapid change or what I'd do, what our whole team here would do if something went wrong. I think it's been handled by the West very well, and certainly we salute the people in East Germany, the GDR, whose aspirations for freedom seem to be a little further down the road now.

Q Mr. President, do you think now that East Germany appears to be moving in the direction of Poland and Hungary that the rest of the Eastern Bloc can continue to resist this? I'm thinking of Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania? Will they be the next?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I don't think anyone can resist it -- in Europe or in the Western Hemisphere.

Q Did you ever imagine --

THE PRESIDENT: That's one of the great things about dynamic change in Central America -- moving in our direction.

Q Did you ever imagine anything like this happening?

Q On your watch?

THE PRESIDENT: We've imagined it, but I can't say that I foresaw this development at this stage. Now I didn't foresee it. But imagining it, yes. When I talk about a Europe whole and free, we're talking about this kind of freedom to come and go, this kind of staying with and living by the Helsinki Final Act, which gives the people the rights to come and go.

Q In what you just said, that this is a sort of great victory for our side in the big East-West battle -- but you don't seem elated. And I'm wondering if you're thinking of the problems.

THE PRESIDENT: I am not an emotional kind of guy.

Q Well, how elated are you?

THE PRESIDENT: I'm very pleased. And I've been very pleased with a lot of other developments. And, as I've told you, I think the United States' part of this, which is not related to this development today particularly, is being handled in a proper fashion. And we'll have some that'll suggest more flamboyant courses of action for this country, and we're, I think, handling this properly with allies, staying in close touch in this dynamic change. Try to help as development takes place, try to enhance reform, both political and economic.

And so, the fact that I'm not bubbling over, maybe it's getting along towards evening, because I feel very good about it.

Q Well, what I wanted to ask is the second part of that was, is your second thought -- what are we going to do if it really does explode over there -- coming into play here? I mean, obviously, if they just flood into West Germany, they're handling it now, but they've only gotten 200,000. What if they get a million? What if they get 2 million?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, what I'd like to think is that the political change in the GDR would catch up very fast with this liberation, if you will. You may remember that, before I went to Poland, I think -- I don't know whether Jim Baker was sitting next to me. I know Brent was there and John Sununu. And I was asked by a Polish journalist if I were a young Pole, what would my advice be. And what I said is, I think you ought to stay there and participate in this dramatic change in your country. You ought to feel the surge of freedom, feel the move toward democracy and be a part of it.

These are Germans. And Germans love their country. And at some point, I think a lot of Germans who had felt pent in and unable to move are going to say, look, we can move. But wouldn't it be better to participate in the reforms that are taking place in our own country?

So I think it's too early to predict that because these openings are there that that means everybody is going to take off.

Q Do you think this will give you a stronger position when you go on the ship next month and you're talking to President Gorbachev? I mean, that your side is winning? I mean, is that the kind of thing you're going to communicate to him? Are you going to say the --

THE PRESIDENT: He's already expressed his interest in a common European home. We've phrased it differently. We've said a Europe whole and free. And when you see citizens wanting to go and flee what has been an oppressive society, clearly that is a message that Mr. Gorbachev will understand. He sees it not only in Eastern Europe, but he sees it inside the Soviet Union. And so we'll have a good, lively -- before these developments took place, I have said that we would be discussing the rapid change inside Eastern Europe. And we've been talking about that today, just before you all came in here. We've been talking about the Gorbachev meeting. And one of the things that we are determined we will discuss -- and I know he'll want to discuss -- is this change.

Q Mr. President, are you saying you think maybe East Germans will want to stay and participate in reforming their country. That suggests you think German reunification is some ways off. What is your view on German reunification? Does this bring it closer?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't see the -- I don't know. I think it's way too early to speak on that. I've spoken out on the question of German reunification. I notice the President of France, President Mitterrand, spoke out. I've heard what Chancellor Kohl has had to say about it. But Michael, I don't know whether the development of today speeds up the day or not.

Q Mr. President, will you consider lifting Jackson-Vanik restrictions on East Germany?

THE PRESIDENT: I will be discussing a wide array of those subjects with the Soviets, I'm sure, including -- I know of their interest in talking about that, so we'll be prepared to talk about it.

Q Are you going to be speaking to Chancellor Kohl in the next couple of days?

THE PRESIDENT: I'd like to talk to him soon, but he's off in Poland. I may try to get him there, but I talked to him quite recently. We confer quite regularly.

Q Do you talk to any of the other Western European --

Q Will you try to reach Mitterrand?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, personally I don't know. We're in -- again, I talked to him very recently, but he might want to talk about it.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

3:47 P.M. EST

Foreign Media Analysis

United States Information Agency
Washington, D.C. 20547



Office of Research

December 11, 1989

WEST EUROPEAN PRESS SAYS BUSH-GORBACHEV MEETING ENDED COLD WAR, MALTA WAS NO YALTA

This analysis is based on USIS reporting of major West European papers December 1-8, 1989. It draws on 250 editorials, commentaries and news analyses appearing in 70 papers of 12 countries. Papers are characterized by their dominant views.

Key Findings:

- o Two-thirds of the papers, across the political spectrum, said the Malta meeting ended the "Cold War."
- o A third said "Malta was no Yalta." The balance were silent on the issue. The papers commenting said the U.S. and the USSR are no longer in a position to dictate their will on their allies and are facing events in East Europe that neither can control.
- o A half said President Bush took the lead at Malta and that Gorbachev was the weaker of the two. These papers praised them for not upstaging each other and, for the first time, acting like partners instead of antagonists. The other papers did not compare the two leaders.
- o A third said arms control agreements now should not be difficult because of new trust and confidence built at Malta. They said NATO and Warsaw Pact alliances remain necessary to manage political change in Europe.
- o A half said the Soviet economy could collapse and Gorbachev's survival may not be certain. They said the U.S. should "help" the USSR but not "rescue" it.

"Cold War Is History"

Two-thirds of the papers said four decades of U.S.-Soviet antagonisms were buried at Malta and the two leaders met as partners to begin a new era. They said that despite the absence of major decisions a dramatic change from confrontation to cooperation had occurred.

"Malta Was No Yalta"

A third of the papers said European fears about a "new Yalta" were unfounded. Two-thirds did not comment. Those papers commenting said that Bush and Gorbachev discussed how they might preserve the primary roles of the two countries rather than how to dictate their will. The papers claimed that both the United States and the Soviet Union suffer from "muscular atrophy," and can no longer control events like the collapse of Communist regimes in Eastern Europe. They said the United States is stronger than the Soviet Union and is a more "attractive model to copy," and now holds most "trump cards." A few (4) suggested that, except for its nuclear arsenal, the Soviet Union can no longer be called a superpower.

President Bush Took the Lead

A half of the papers said the President took the lead at the meeting, and that Gorbachev mostly explained and listened. However, both were praised for acting like partners rather than antagonists and for not upstaging each other. A few papers (6) suggested that Gorbachev did not try to upstage the U.S. with spectacular proposals as in previous summits because of his weak domestic position and desperate need for U.S. economic help.

NATO Still Needed As Guarantor of Stability

A third of the papers, across the political spectrum, said that negotiating and concluding new conventional and strategic arms reduction agreements should no longer be difficult in the new atmosphere of greater trust. NATO and Warsaw Pact alliances may no longer have to rely on military buildups but will be necessary as instruments of political change and guarantors of stability. These papers said Europe must take the initiative to control its own future and noted that while NATO remains politically strong, there is not much unity left in the Warsaw Pact.

Gorbachev's Survival Is Not Certain

A wide range of opinions centered on Gorbachev's ability to survive the serious crisis in the Soviet economy. Half said the economy may collapse and that Gorbachev's tenure depends on whether he can prevent it. These papers said the U.S. should help the Soviets with investments but not try to "rescue" them with aid. Opinion was mixed on whether the U.S. should help to preserve Gorbachev's leadership.

Prepared by: Vello Ederma R 485-7116

FMA-12/11/89

Approved by: Nils H. Wessell, Director of Research 485-2965

Sources**Independent**

Austria	Die Presse; Der Standard
Belgium	Le Soir
Britain	Financial Times
Finland	Helsingin Sanomat
Netherlands	NRC Handelsblad

Centrist

Britain	The Independent
Italy	La Stampa; Corriere della Sera; Il Messaggero; Stampa Sera
Spain	Diario 16
Switzerland	La Suisse; Tribune de Geneve
West Germany	General-Anzeiger; Sueddeutsche Zeitung; Westdeutsche Allgemeine; Stuttgarter Zeitung; Der Tagesspiegel (West Berlin)

Conservative/Rightist

Belgium	Gazet van Antwerpen; La Libre Belgique
Britain	The Times; The Sunday Times; Daily Telegraph; Sunday Telegraph
Denmark	Jyllands-Posten; Berlingske Tidende
Finland	Uusi Suomi
France	Quotidien; Figaro; economic Les Echos; financial La Tribune
Italy	Il Giornale; economic Il Sole-24 Ore
Netherlands	De Telegraaf; Algemeen Tagblad; Het Binnenhof
Spain	Ya; ABC
Sweden	Svenska Dagbladet
Switzerland	Aargauer Tagblatt; Neue Zuercher Zeitung
West Germany	right-of-center Frankfurter Allgemeine; right-of-center Die Welt; business paper Handelsblatt; right-of-center Berliner Morgenpost

Liberal/Leftist

Austria	Neue Arbeiterzeitung
Belgium	Het Volk; De Morgen; La Wallonie
Britain	Guardian
Denmark	Politiken; Information; Aktuelt
Finland	Demari; Hufvudstadsbladet
France	Le Monde; Liberation
Italy	La Repubblica
Netherlands	Trouw; De Volkskrant
Spain	El Pais
Sweden	Dagens Nyheter; Expressen
Switzerland	Le Matin
West Germany	left of center Die Zeit; left-of-center Frankfurter Rundschau; left-of-center Westfaelische Rundschau; far-left Die Tageszeitung; left-of-center Volkblatt Berlin

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 15, 1989

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

The President today announced the private sector members of the U.S. Presidential Economic Delegation to Poland, scheduled to visit that country Nov. 28 through Dec. 2 as part of the Administration's continuing efforts to assist in Poland's economic reform and restructuring and to support its democratic transition.

U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Clayton Yeutter will head the delegation, which will provide the President with recommendations as to the most effective use of U.S. assistance to Poland, and assist the Poles in developing their economic restructuring program.

Other senior Administration officials leading the delegation are Secretary of Commerce Robert A. Mosbacher, Sr., Secretary of Labor Elizabeth H. Dole, and Michael J. Boskin, Chairman of the White House Council of Economic Advisers.

The private-sector members are:

Thomas Carroll, Chief Executive Officer, International Executive Service Corps, Stamford, Conn.;

Theodore Cooper, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Upjohn Corp., Kalamazoo, Mich.;

William Donaldson, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Donaldson Enterprises, Inc., New York City, and founding dean, Yale Graduate School of Organization and Management;

Robert Galvin, Chairman, Motorola Corp., Schumberg, Illinois;

John Gingrich, President, National Pork Producers Council, Parnell, Iowa;

Robert Georgine, President, Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C.;

Ray Goldberg, Professor, Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration, Boston, Mass.;

Arnold Harberger, Professor, University of Chicago Department of Economics, Chicago;

Charles M. Harper, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, ConAgra Corp., Omaha, Neb.;

D. Gale Johnson, Professor, University of Chicago Department of Economics, Chicago;

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 15, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE AFL-CIO CONVENTION

The Sheraton Washington Hotel
Washington, D.C.

3:40 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very much. Lane Kirkland, thank you, sir. Tom Donahue and, of course, your special guest and our special guest -- America's special guest -- Lech Walesa. (Applause.) I've got some good news for you and some bad news for you. After Lech Walesa's stirring ovation before the United States Congress today, it is clear that he's ready to run for office in the United States. (Applause.) Bad news for some of you is he's going to run as a Republican. Thank you very much. (Laughter.) Now, I knew you'd like that -- come on.

No, but in all seriousness, this is a great moment for the AFL-CIO. After eight long years of struggle, Mr. Walesa has accepted the George Meany Human Rights Award, first intended for Solidarnosc. Back in 1981, you remember, Lech wasn't allowed to be here to claim that prize. And the waiting began.

I can really identify with Lech. (Laughter.) I understand what it's like to wait so long to get here. But I don't regret a minute of it because, after all it is great to be with you -- and to see the members who endorsed me sitting back there in the back row over there. (Laughter.) All four of them. (Laughter and applause.)

Lately I have been feeling pretty confident. Barbara had a hunch that I'd be addressing this group today. And this morning she caught me in the shower singing the "Union Yes" theme song. (Laughter.)

Let me begin sincerely by congratulating the leadership. And some of you were over at the White House the other day and I really wish every one of you could have been there for the ceremony in which, not only was Lech Walesa honored by the country, but Lane Kirkland was as well. (Applause.) He's now serving his 10th year, continuing the work begun by George Meany before him -- your unions truly are uniting under the banner of the AFL-CIO, as Lane promised. UAW, Mine Workers, Teamsters, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Longshoremen, Warehousemen's Union, Writer's Guild East -- all have affirmed their ties to this great organization. Lane Kirkland has done -- as he continues to do -- outstanding work on behalf of organized labor. (Applause.)

And his work to consolidate and renew labor's strength gives the AFL-CIO the power to play its best role -- protecting the rights of working Americans at home and striving for those rights abroad through the support of democracy around the world.

Labor has been an enduring force for freedom -- (applause) -- at times a lonely cry in the wilderness, at times the conductor of a thundering chorus -- rejecting all forms of totalitarianism, fascist and communist alike. With each passing year, through the labor movement, freedom is finding its voice.

You understand that democracy rests not on cold marble

MORE

enough to remember this and, regrettably, so am I -- during Hitler's rise to power in the 1930's, American labor was among the very first to recognize that great evil. You extended your hand in solidarity to those fighting in the early underground movement.

And then when the Nazi regime was finally destroyed, American labor went to work building democratic institutions and these independent trade unions.

And later, when postwar Western Europe was threatened by the spread of international communism, it was American labor that stood firm. Tough, behind-the-scenes operators like Irving Brown -- (applause) -- your AFL's European representative -- saw to it that the Alliance was preserved and democracy prevailed in Western Europe.

When Irving Brown died last winter, after four decades of fighting for workers' rights, he was widely recognized as an architect of Western democracy -- symbolizing American labor's commitment to freedom around the world.

Today the tradition continues -- nowhere more powerfully than in Poland. The AFL-CIO was at the forefront, standing with Solidarity in its darkest hour, firm in the belief that the dawn would come. Because of that support, courageous leaders like Lech Walesa are now transforming Poland before the eyes of an admiring world.

Stories of that transformation continue to unfold. Early in this century, in the Polish town of Lodz, David Dubinsky -- later to become the renowned head of the ILG -- was arrested for organizing. In 1908, that would-be organizer was sent from Lodz to Siberia by the Czar. Last week, a Solidarity candidate was elected mayor of Lodz. (Applause.) I Poland -- look at how things have moved.

In Poland, Solidarity unlocked freedom's door. Today, holding Poland in their hearts as an example and inspiration, workers around the world are risking everything for democracy. The door cannot be locked again.

Miners are striking peacefully in the Soviet Union for the first time since the early 1920's, one of them even calling their independent union -- and this is high praise for our special guest today, Lech Walesa -- one of them even calling that union "Solidarity."

They and those like them offer hope for peaceful change, which the AFL-CIO is supporting actively through direct contact and assistance on workers' rights, union organization, collective bargaining. These are the tools your brothers and sisters abroad need most to hammer out justice on the anvil of freedom.

With new legislation in the Supreme Soviet recognizing the right to strike in all but a handful of essential industries, the people of the Soviet Union now have an opportunity to voice their grievances. This will be a challenge to President Gorbachev as he works through Perestroika to raise productivity and living standards at the same time.

Across Eastern Europe, we see vindication of the AFL-CIO's refusal to deal with puppet unions controlled by either employers or governments. Hungarian workers are turning to the Democratic League of Free Unions. Bulgarian workers are laying the foundations of a free trade union, to be called "Support." East German workers have created their first independent trade union, free of communist influence, to be called "Reform."

The idea that motivated Lech Walesa and the members of Solidarnosc as they sat down to negotiate with the Polish government is a powerful one -- that men must be free in order to prosper. That idea spread to Hungary, where the physical dismantling of the Iron Curtain began. Uplifted by the hope that Europe will one day be

MORE

year around the world. We grieve deeply for these sacrifices. Let there be no mistake: We condemn any efforts, by any government, to try to intimidate democratic unions or their members.

In Thailand, South Korea, Malaysia, the Philippines, the AFL-CIO's support of worker education, libraries, and conferences on human rights all add to the inevitable momentum toward worker representation and collective bargaining.

Workers in Southeast Asia by the millions -- especially children and young women -- are being used and abused and abandoned. Looking for a solution, we've enforced worker rights as part of the Generalized System of Preferences -- and in our trade policy review mechanism under the GATT, we've incorporated workers rights.

In the long run, the surest solution to the struggle for workers rights is to support the growth of democratic institutions like free labor unions -- and to encourage economic development that will render child labor and nightmarish working conditions not merely illegal, but unthinkable. (Applause.)

Just as a house is built from the ground up, labor's house rests on a bedrock principle of free association -- and rises by the strength of its members. Free trade union movements today stand on the threshold of change as a leading force for democracy. Labor's strength has opened the door to freedom for millions. The door must remain open.

You know, last week the Soviet Union celebrated the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. In a protest march, a banner was carried that said, "Workers of the world, we apologize." It was the first time in memory that Soviet authorities allowed such demonstrations on that holiday. That banner is another sign that democracy is doing the unthinkable, by saying the unspeakable.

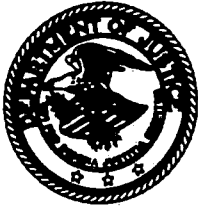
The 1984 of George Orwell has come and gone. And I am hopeful that 1989 will be remembered as the year when American labor, business and, yes, government first began to work together in a real partnership for the freedom and dignity of workers everywhere. Not out of some utopian vision, but because we simply believe in the same basic values.

The key to freedom rests in our hands. With that key, nothing is impossible. The door to democracy will remain unlocked, to each according to his ability to dream.

Thank you all very, very much. God bless you. And may God bless working people everywhere. And, Lech Walesa, God bless you, sir. Thank you very, very much. (Applause.)

END

4:00 P.M. EST



Office of the Attorney General

Washington, D. C. 20530 7 PM 1:06

January 16, 1990

The President
The White House
Washington

My dear Mr. President:

On November 30, 1989, you directed me to take certain actions to improve the immigration status of nationals of the People's Republic of China ("PRC") currently in the United States. You requested that I report to you on the status of these actions. This letter sets forth the actions I have taken. In each instance, the action I have taken affords relief equivalent to, or greater than, the relief that would have been provided by H.R. 2712 (the "bill"). (I have attached copies of my letter to the Immigration and Naturalization Service ("INS") of December 1, 1989, and INS' cable to its field offices of the same date, implementing your directives).

1. You directed that I provide PRC nationals with an irrevocable waiver, that they may exercise until January 1, 1994, of the foreign residence requirement of 8 U.S.C. § 1182(e).

I have waived this requirement for all PRC aliens present in the United States as of December 1, 1989. This waiver is irrevocable. Any such alien who makes a nonfrivolous application for adjustment or any change of status may avail himself of the waiver until January 1, 1994. This action provides adjustment relief equivalent to that provided by the bill.

2. You directed that I take steps to assure the continued lawful status of PRC aliens lawfully present in the United States on June 5, 1989.

I have directed that PRC aliens who were in lawful status as of June 5, 1989, be considered to have maintained lawful status for the purposes of adjustment or change of nonimmigrant status. Again, this action provides relief equivalent to that provided by the bill.

3. You directed that I provide authorization for employment of PRC nationals present in the United States on June 5, 1989.

I have directed that INS grant all PRC aliens who were present in the United States as of June 5, 1989, the necessary authorization to engage in employment. This action provides employment opportunities greater than those afforded by the bill, which would have granted employment authorization only to certain PRC aliens, i.e., Chinese students in the F, J, or M visa categories.

4. You directed that I provide notice of expiration of nonimmigrant status, rather than institution of deportation proceedings, to PRC aliens who are eligible for deferral of enforced departure and whose nonimmigrant status has expired.

I have directed that any PRC aliens who are eligible for deferral of enforced departure and whose authorized period of stay has expired be given notice of expiration of nonimmigrant status. This notice will be nonadversarial in nature and will explain the options available. This action provides for notification equivalent to that required by the bill.

5. Finally, you directed that I provide for enhanced consideration under the immigration laws for individuals from any country who express a fear of persecution upon return to their country related to that country's policy of forced abortion or sterilization.

I have directed that, with respect to all applications for asylum, withholding of deportation, and refugee status, careful consideration be given to applicants expressing fear of persecution related to family planning policies of forced abortion or sterilization. If an applicant establishes that the applicant has refused to abort or to be sterilized, he or she will be considered to have established a well-founded fear of persecution. All other factors that may contribute to a determination of eligibility for asylum, withholding of deportation, and refugee status, will also be given additional weight. These actions provide broader relief to persons fearing coercive family planning policies than that provided by the bill, which extended only to PRC aliens. Draft regulations to implement this directive, effective upon publication, will be available within a week.

In addition to these measures, INS has established an Outreach Program to assist PRC aliens in the United States. INS has held briefings and consultations with representatives of PRC student leaders, the National Association of Foreign Student Affairs, and private groups interested in the PRC, to inform them of available options. Many INS district offices have also arranged meetings with local Chinese community and educational

institutions. Each INS District Office has designated a point of contact specifically to assist PRC nationals under this program.

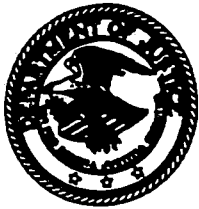
INS field offices are also making every effort to expedite the processing of applications for benefits provided under the emergency relief measures. As of January 12, 1990, INS has granted work authorization to 2,779 PRC nationals; granted adjustment to permanent resident status for 87, with 108 cases still pending; authorized a change in temporary status for 225; and granted waivers of the foreign residence requirement of section 1182(e) for 70.

Initial results of the program indicate that these outreach efforts have been successful and that PRC aliens are aware of the available options and are filing applications. Of course, I will continue to monitor developments to assure the success of your policy of providing necessary relief to PRC nationals present in the United States.

Sincerely,



Dick Thornburgh
Attorney General



Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D. C. 20530

December 1, 1989

Honorable Gene McNary
Commissioner
Immigration and Naturalization Service
7100 Chester Arthur Building
425 Eye Street
Washington, D.C. 20536

Dear Commissioner:

I am writing to you with regard to an issue of great concern to the President and this Department: the status of Chinese nationals who, as of June 5, 1989, were present in the United States ("Chinese aliens"). In order to eliminate any concern about their status and to make clear that they are entitled to remain in the United States, I am directing the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to undertake the following steps.

First, I have received a favorable recommendation from the United States Information Agency that I waive the two-year foreign residency requirement found in 8 U.S.C. § 1182(e) for Chinese aliens who, as of June 5, 1989, were present in the United States. I have determined that the admission of these aliens into the United States is in the public interest. Therefore, I hereby waive the two-year residency requirement for any such alien. These waivers are irrevocable and may be exercised until January 1, 1994 by any such alien who makes a nonfrivolous application for adjustment or any change of status. 8 U.S.C. § 1182(e).

Second, I direct that Chinese aliens who were in lawful status as of June 5, 1989 shall be considered to have maintained lawful status for purposes of adjustment of status or change of nonimmigrant status.

Third, INS shall grant all Chinese aliens the necessary authorization to engage in employment.

Fourth, any Chinese aliens who are eligible for deferral of enforced departure and whose authorized period of stay has expired shall be given a notice of expiration of nonimmigrant status. Such notice shall be nonadversarial in nature and shall contain an explanation of the options available to such aliens pursuant to my directives and those of INS.

Finally, with respect to the adjudication of all applications to the Executive Branch for asylum, withholding of deportation, or refugee status, careful consideration shall now be given to such an applicant who expresses a fear of persecution upon return to their country related to that country's family planning policy of forced abortion or coerced sterilization. If the applicant establishes that such an applicant has refused to abort or be sterilized, then the applicant will now be considered to have established a well-founded fear of persecution on the basis of political opinion. 8 U.S.C. § 1101(a)(42). All other factors (such as overt political activities, membership in an ethnic or religious minority, and family background and history) which may contribute to a determination that an applicant is eligible for asylum, withholding of deportation, or refugee status, are also to be given additional weight. INS shall, in consultation with the Executive Office for Immigration Review and the Department of State, issue any necessary implementing regulations.

Sincerely,



Dick Thornburgh
Attorney General

cc: David L. Milhollan

Emergency Committee

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 11, 1990

FACT SHEET

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR AID TO POLAND

NAME: The Emergency Committee for Aid to Poland (ECAP)

CO-CHAIRMEN: The Honorable Bob Dole
The Honorable Zbigniew Brzezinski

STATUS: ECAP is a non-profit voluntary organization. It enjoys tax exempt status by virtue of its affiliation with the Polish American Congress Charitable Fund.

COMMITTEE: See Annexes #1 and #2 for Steering Committee and Committee membership lists.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE: Ambassador John W. Shirley (Ret.), Executive Director
Mrs. Paulette Magnuson, Assistant to the Executive Director

6640 Madison-McLean Drive
McLean, VA 22101

Tel: (703) 506-1088 (703) 506-1089
Fax: (703) 790-1403

- more -

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The purpose of the Emergency Committee for Aid to Poland (ECAP) is to provide to the Polish people an earnest of the desire of the American people to rally to them in the form of concrete assistance as they engage in the daunting task of building a democracy.

RATIONALE

Mindful that the new Solidarity-led government inherited from its predecessors a failed political system, a bankrupt economy, and a bureaucracy locked into the mindset of the past, the Committee is persuaded that the challenges faced by Poland are so great that they cannot be met by governments alone. The private sector must do its part to respond to the needs of the most vulnerable population groups and, in the longer run, provide technical assistance and training to ease the transition from a totalitarian social and economic system, to a democracy responsive to the will of the Polish people.

The Committee believes that it can best meet its objectives by proceeding in three stages.

STAGE I

The long, cold Polish winter has always been a time of suffering and want. This winter threatens to be the worst which Poland has faced in two generations. If help does not come, not only will the deprivations of the men and women responsible for the rebirth of democracy in their homeland be intense, but the success of the struggle in which they are engaged may be in peril of foundering.

The Committee must necessarily narrow its focus so that it might succor those whose needs are the most urgent.

The winter months will visit particularly severe hardships on two groups: on infants and young children, and on the sick. To organize help, the Committee has had extensive discussions with private individuals, government officials, and with its Polish counterpart, the Solidarity Social Assistance Fund (Spoleczna Fundacja Solidarnosci).

In early December, ECAP received from the Solidarity Social Assistance Fund a list of requirements, including particularly regular infant formula, specialized infant formula, antibiotics and expendable medical supplies.

The response of the American business community to ECAP's efforts to meet the Polish request has been prompt and generous. The Bristol-Myers Squibb Co., Pfizer Inc., the Schering-Plough Corporation, Wyeth-Ayerst Laboratories, and Loma Linda Foods, have already contributed over one million dollars worth of products which are now on their way to Poland. Other companies have assured us of support to enable us to build on this initial effort for so long as necessity dictates.

STAGE II

Concurrently with the planning and execution of Stage I, and working closely with the Polish American Congress and others already engaged in relief efforts, the Committee will address the question of the needs of the older poor, as well as those of other groups whose requirements will emerge as events unfold and as the Committee gains in experience.

The lessons the Committee will have learned during Stage I with regard to the efficiency of the distribution organizations with whom it will be working in Poland will be important during Stage II as bulkier commodities in large quantities are moved from the Baltic ports inland. (ECAP is keenly sensitive to the need to work with Polish institutions under the direct control of the Solidarity-led government, or the Polish Episcopate. Every care will be taken not to associate the Committee with discredited organizations still in the hands of the nomenklatura.)

STAGE III

ECAP will sponsor and organize technical assistance programs based on consultations with its Polish counterparts, and with other U.S. voluntary organizations.

The decision to explore areas of endeavor beyond traditional relief efforts is predicated on needs already identified, on preliminary conversations with members of the new government, and with the Solidarity Social Assistance Fund.

Illustratively, one of the gravest obstacles to democratization is the old bureaucracy, steeped in the Communist past, unwilling and, perhaps, unable to adjust to the needs of the new Poland. Instituting training programs for local officials to whom the American experience could be passed on and adapted to Polish needs, would make an enormous difference in the way services are delivered to the people and, ultimately, in the relations between the people and the Mazowiecki and subsequent democratic governments.

INQUIRIES

Persons of institutions interested in supporting the work of the Committee, or who wish to make financial contributions, should telephone or fax the ECAP Executive Office:
(703) 506-1088 or (703) 506-1089. Our fax number is
(703) 790-1403.

#

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Notes	Handwritten notes, Re: foreign policy. (3 pp.)	n.d.	F-5	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Grant, Mary Kate
Subseries: Subject File
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Foreign Policy 1989

Open on Expiration of PRA
(Document Follows)
 By SN (NLGB) on 4/5/2005

Date Closed: 12/20/2004	OA/ID Number: 04423
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Re-review Case #: 2005-0482-S	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

- (b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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- (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
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- (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

Commercial radio station to open shortly b/f arrival
will carry Potus Live -
Radio Free Europe - 1st time operating in Com country
will be operational

5 mins - Prison Hill
a few Americans there
Fides mostly most-democ.

free elections
soft future
Western role
training in elections + TV

Joan Bury - China protests -
Steve Wender there too

Steady serious process toward elections
but not ready till next year
→ going at the right pace - "Don't upset
it by being too aggressive" He should
tell students this. Dem elections
among students at univ -

Stress econ over dem w/ Hungarian reform
dem stressed in Poland w/ Walesa

Very much debate on how transition from
dictatorship → dem (Spain's example)
privatization issues
multiparty system w/ comnies rectified
military vs politics reconciled
What is socialism? dem/soc or soc dem.
nationalism

Madison quoted in Parliament

They want to be Europeans & modern

Highest suicide rate in world

Questioning legitimacy

v. confidence about the survival of nation
huge part -> need vision from Pörrs.

Unemployment concerns during this transition
inflection now @ 207.

Austerity prog not popular (if proposed
rather than successful companies (after reform)
and solid adjustment for prosperity

Rubik's cube - big entrepreneur there / opposition

These people invented privatization & markets
in early 60's -

Pörrs coming to see Hungarian people not party

Last time in 1983 there - then
next high-ranking official over to visit

Management school has been set up to
teach enterprenial & management
(by Amb & others)

INDEX

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 5, 1990

PRESS CONFERENCE BY THE PRESIDENT

The Briefing Room

1:08 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: This morning I met with the Attorney General, Dick Thornburgh, to discuss the legal process related to the prosecution of General Noriega.

We are committed to a fair trial and to providing all the protections guaranteed by the United States Constitution and laws. The Attorney General assures me that our case is strong, our resolve is firm, and our legal representations are sound.

Our government is not seeking a deal with Noriega. Our policy remains that we brought him to this country for prosecution. I will be ever mindful of this legal process in the days ahead and will not comment on any aspect of this prosecution or any matters that could even inadvertently affect the outcome of this case. And I'm going ask others from this administration to do the same.

Deputy Secretary of State Eagleburger and Deputy Secretary of Treasury Robson have just given me a report on the economic reconstruction efforts in Panama. The first action that the United States took after General Noriega was removed from power was to release some \$400 million in money that was withheld by virtue of our economic sanctions -- sanctions which are now being lifted -- \$140 million, I believe, is already in Panama. The revitalization of the Panamanian economy is a major priority in the months ahead, as our efforts for humanitarian assistance. And I would say here I've been very grateful for the medical supplies that have gone to Panama.

I can report today that considerable progress has been made so far in returning Panama to a normal state of affairs. The new government has taken charge and President Endara is working tirelessly to meet the needs of his people. Both Under Secretary Robson and Eagleburger were very high in their praise of Mr. Calderon, Mr. Ford and, of course, President Endara. They're discussing housing programs, business development, bank loans that will help spur economic growth. We are committed to be a part of that process.

I want to assure all of the countries of Latin America that United States policy remains one of a friendly, supportive and respectful neighbor. We have worked hard and intensively to consult bilaterally and multilaterally with Latin America, and we will continue to do that. I personally will be involved in that.

At the Latin American summit in Costa Rica, I pledged that we would work with the countries of this hemisphere to build a better life for the citizens. Our policy of cooperation is firm. Yesterday, I had a lengthy discussion with Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez of Spain who is so well respected in this hemisphere as well. And I share his deep, personal interest in seeing that the countries of this hemisphere pull together on behalf of democracy and economic freedom.

I know the yearnings of my fellow leaders in this hemisphere -- leaders in Latin America -- and I believe they will support the new government of Panama and they will support the United

MORE

States as we work together in this hemisphere. I've asked the Vice President, Dan Quayle, to visit a number of these Latin American countries within the next several weeks to personally deliver this message. I view this as very, very important diplomacy. And I am determined not to neglect the democracies in this hemisphere. Some have felt that we were so infatuated with the change in Eastern Europe that we were in the process of neglecting this hemisphere. And that is not the case. And the Quayle trip, in my view, will help. I have been undertaking consultations directly with leaders since I've been President. I will resume that, as I said, and the Vice President will be in a position to explain very clearly not only U.S. policy, but our aspirations for Panama and, indeed, for this entire hemisphere.

So that's where we are, and I'd be glad to take a few questions.

Q Mr. President, you said that the government is not seeking any kind of a deal concerning Noriega.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q Does that mean that you are irrevocably ruling out any reducing of charges, increasing of charges? And also, since the indictment runs from '81 to '86 and you had many contacts, apparently, with Panama during that period, were you ever aware of any drug activities on the part of Noriega?

THE PRESIDENT: On the first part of the question, there's no such plan. The man's entitled to to whatever is granted him under our law. So there isn't any such plan.

Secondly, I have made some statements in reply to your second question, so punch it in the computer, and I'll have nothing more to say about it because I do not want, even inadvertently, to prejudice this case. But my actions are, in my view, totally unrelated.

Q Mr. President, with General Noriega out of Panama and safely in custody in this country it seems like you may have a difficult choice in deciding how to maintain order in Panama. Do you envision keeping a U.S. military peacekeeping force there beyond the usual contingent of 12,000 troops, or would you like to see the Panamanian Defense Forces reconstituted?

THE PRESIDENT: One, I'd like to see their police forces, whatever emerges, reconstituted. Two, we will get our forces that went in out as soon as possible. Three, I will just say this because your question obviously understands this, but to those listeners out there, South Com has had a force there and that force, under the treaty, will remain there. But the answer is, we want to get those additional augmented forces out as soon as possible, and we will.

Q Mr. President, I'd like to try to follow up a question you were asked when you were here last about secrecy and the two missions by General Scowcroft to China. As I'm sure you may be aware, Secretary of State Baker was asked about the first -- what we then thought was the first China mission on one of the weekend talk shows, and he indicated that it was indeed. It turned out to be the second. He has since acknowledged quite openly that his answer was false and that he felt constrained to give that answer to protect the secrecy of the mission. And I wondered first, sir, whether you felt it was worth it for him to have to do that? And second, whether that sort of thing is acceptable in your administration?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, let me simply say that some things will be conducted in secrecy. And I know you don't like it. Your business is to get everything out in the open, and my business is to conduct the foreign affairs of this country in the way I think I was elected to -- and for the most part, that will be in the open. But this move into Panama was held in secrecy, and I think the American people understand that.

MORE

My move to send people to China was controversial. Some think that the best way to make change for human rights in China is isolation. Don't talk to them. Try to punish them by excommunication. I don't feel that way. And so I asked these people to go forward, and I don't think Jim Baker would ever deliberately mislead somebody, and so I will stand with him.

Q Sir, I believe he indicated that he felt he had to do that and that he knew what he was doing, that he had to do it. And I wondered how you felt about it.

THE PRESIDENT: Ask him about it. I support my Secretary of State.

Q You talk about your concern about prejudicing the case, but as you well know, you have called Noriega a thug and other people in the administration have gone further. You've said he's poisoning our children. Haven't you already done that and --

THE PRESIDENT: I think I've heard all kinds of characterizations of him in the press, columnists, even commentators, presidents, members of the United States Congress. He is now in custody. Time for rhetoric is over. Time for answering hypothetical questions that might prejudice the trial is over. I would go back, Lesley, to help you on that, to Watergate, where there were hearings -- hearings held, charges made over and over again, editorials written and voiced, and yet the people received a fair trial. So I am convinced that our system of justice is so fair that the person will get a fair trial. But I can tell you from my standpoint, I am going to bend over backwards and not answer hypothetical questions or not do anything that might prejudice that.

Q Can I have a follow-up, please? I want to actually follow up on Helen.

THE PRESIDENT: Now, that's a separate question.
(Laughter.)

Q But it's a follow-up. Reducing of charges. Are you saying that if he wants to go for that, if he wants to try to go for reducing of charges, that we will entertain it? You said --

THE PRESIDENT: No, I'm not saying that. I'm saying he has a right to do what he wants and let the legal process determine how that should work out.

Q You're not ruling it out.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I'm not ruling it in. I'm just saying he's got his rights and we ought not to stand up here and try to define narrowly what they are.

Q Mr. President, based on your opening remarks and your comments about the Vice President's trip, it would indicate that you're concerned about relations with Latin America. Has the actions you've taken set it back?

THE PRESIDENT: To some degree I am concerned. Because I am well aware of how our friends south of our border, including my friend, President Salinas, look at the use of American force anywhere. So I am concerned about it. I think it's something that's correctable because I think they know that I have tried a lot of consultation, that we have exhausted the remedies in this particular case of multilateral diplomacy. But given the history of the use of U.S. force, I would be remiss if I didn't face up to the problem that we must go forward diplomatically now to explain how this President looks at the protection of American life; that we acted, in our view, well within our rights, but that we will continue consultation. But look, I felt strongly about the protection of American life. So we've got to get them to understand that this isn't a shift away from what some had termed excessively timid diplomacy.

MORE

Q Well, Mr. President, wouldn't that indicate that actually you were continuing old American policies that have upset the people in Latin America?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, to the degree -- if there is that perception, then it's up to me and the Secretary. And in this instance, the Vice President's trip takes on enormous importance to convince the people of the truth. And that is that we are not reverting to just a willful -- what's the word I'm groping for here -- use of force that has no rationale. But when it comes to the protection of American life, please, our friends south of the border, understand this President is going to protect it.

I'll tell you one thing that's helped on this, to the degree there is a problem at all. And that is the way the Panamanian democracy is now starting to move forward, the certification of the three people who had been deprived of their right to hold office by the previous regime. That's been of enormous help. And then I think the other thing is the reception, the public reception in Panama for our action. It has been overwhelming -- overwhelming.

Q On that, sir, Lee Atwater, the Chairman of the RNC, says Panama is a political jackpot for you and it could will wipe out the disenchantment, for example, for the way you handled China. Without saying that's why you went into Panama, sending troops in, is one effect of it that it is a political jackpot?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, Jesse Jackson doesn't think so. He talked to my wife. And so there's differences of opinion on that. But I didn't do something for political reason. That's not the reason I do that. I did it to protect American life. A President's called on to take certain actions. We're not going in to try to furbish a political image; that's ridiculous.

Q Having said that, though, have you now neutralized the Democrats on foreign policy? Is this the last time George Mitchell can ever accuse you of having a timid foreign policy?

THE PRESIDENT: Knowing George, he'll find a reason, he'll find a way. And that's his job. Look, we're going into an election year. But I want to try if I can to separate the response -- and he's been supportive of this. Let's give the man credit. But I don't think it's laid to rest or put off bounds any criticism of the President by Democratic opposition if that's the question -- no, absolutely not.

Q Mr. President, do you anticipate that the combat troops -- the bulk of the additional combat troops sent into Panama will indeed be out by the end of this month, as some administration officials have said? And secondly and more broadly, do you now see an expanded role for the American military in small, regional issues like this one, or more particularly in the war against drugs, since there was a strong connection to this operation?

THE PRESIDENT: I see no parallel between the situation here where American lives are at stake and you had an indicted person who usurped power and declared war against the United States -- I don't think you can draw a parallel between that unique situation and then other countries.

What was the other part of it?

Q The bit about whether you see these additional combat troops able to come home, all of them.

THE PRESIDENT: As soon as possible. And I have made clear to the Secretary of Defense, to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs who is down in Panama right now, I believe that this is what we should do, this is what they themselves want to do. Some U.S. forces that went in are already out, so I would look for an early return.

MORE

Q General time frame?

THE PRESIDENT: Can't help you. But as soon as General Powell gets back, we'll have a more --

Q What about the international law implications? Isn't this something that you are also going to talk to the Latin American countries?

THE PRESIDENT: Absolutely.

Q Isn't this setting a precedent? What is the explanation behind it?

THE PRESIDENT: The right to protect American lives granted under the U.N. Charter, and we will protect lives of citizens, and we will go forward with that. The State Department, as I understand it, has already spelled that out. But I think you raise a good point. Yes, we should make very clear why we acted and under what authority we acted, as we did.

Q Mr. President, you just described Panama as a unique case. And I'd just like to ask you sort of a philosophical question. If the criteria you listed here -- protecting American lives, having exhausted all the other diplomatic options -- presented themselves again, should we look in a Bush presidency for more such deployments in military force if your criteria were met?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, if you can spell out what the criteria is, and then if you can look to the future to see the situation surrounding it. I can't visualize another situation quite this unique. But let me just say when American life is threatened -- we were concerned in El Salvador, for example -- a civilian hotel could well have been occupied by a guerrilla force that would have threatened the use of -- threatened American life. That concerned me. And indeed, we moved forces not in some macho way, but to try to protect the lives of American citizens. But I think most people understood that. But I don't see -- David, I don't see another real parallel here looming on the horizon at all.

Q Mr. President, back to the issue of China. Your decision to send emissaries to China carried some cause for you. Have you seen any payoff yet? Have you had any response from the regime there that is productive or encouraging for you?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, it does carry some, and I think some who are familiar with the situation have been quite supportive -- and some quite critical -- I will admit that. As I indicated, some favor isolation -- don't talk and let them come to us. I think one of the great things that happened to us is -- under the Shanghai communique and prior to that is the fact that we had a kind of contact and they began to see -- began to facilitate our contact -- help facilitate the changes and the reforms that have taken place. So I want to see those go forward again.

Is that responsive? I can't remember --

Q Let me ask you specifically -- are we close to a resolution on the issue of the dissidents who are --

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know the answer to that. I don't know the answer to that. They know my position, and it is one of adherence to human rights, I might add. The thing I object to about this whole one is the assigning of motives to the other person. You can question the tactics, but I refuse to let my political critics get me down in terms of they understand human rights and I don't.

I want to see, through the contacts that we've made, change that can be manifested in several ways. Now, there has been some. The Voice of America, for example, now has -- they have a person permitted to go there. There's been a reiteration of the sale

MORE

of missiles which we are very much in our -- I think in the interest of peace in the world. So there's been progress. And hopefully -- I would like to hope that there would be more.

Q Mr. President, as you know, Mikhail Gorbachev has been visiting the Baltics in his country to deal with the growing independence or autonomy movement there. Have you encouraged him to allow those movements to continue, or do you consider that essentially an internal affair of the Soviet Union?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, he's got his own internal affairs, but he knows of our advocacy of peaceful change. And to the man's credit, he has been the big advocate of peaceful change. He has been the advocate of reform. I mean, you've got to link it, Jerry, to Eastern Europe to some degree. And I realize -- and we can discuss this -- that the problems are different. But give the credit that I don't think any of us a year ago from this day would have given in terms of Soviet adherence to -- Gorbachev adherence to change, given the dynamic upheaval in Eastern Europe.

Now, he's facing problems inside the borders of the Soviet Union. The Baltics -- recently this other one -- and he keeps reiterating his conviction about peaceful change. So I support that. But we did have an opportunity to discuss in broad philosophical terms this question at Malta.

Q Are you confident as a result that there's not going to be a crackdown?

THE PRESIDENT: I'm certainly not buying into the hypothesis that there will, and I hope that this approach that he has taken for which we give credit will prevail.

Q Yes, Mr. President, several times today you've made reference to the U.S. right to -- indeed, your obligation to protect American lives. Today, an American nun is being buried here in the United States. Even the Catholic order she represented there in Nicaragua claims that she was killed by Contra forces.

THE PRESIDENT: -- did claim that? I heard --

Q Representatives of that group say the Contra forces have been known to operate in that area using those tactics, and perhaps they didn't recognize the pickup truck that they were driving in. What do we know about who may have killed those nuns, and what are you doing to communicate to the Contra -- are you trying to call them off?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, we're not calling them off because we don't know they were called on. And I'm interested in your hypothesis because you're telling me that some have concluded that it was the Contras. The Contras have denied that. Some have suggested it might be the other side. And the answer is, I deplore the loss of that nun's life. And similarly, there was another that I believe was killed that was a Nicaraguan there. And I deplore that loss of life. But it is murky. It is extraordinarily murky, similarly to the situation in El Salvador.

But I want to take this opportunity to speak out against it. But we don't know the answer to it. And in El Salvador, we've said, find out. We'll give you whatever technical assistance we can. And we want to find the answer to this question.

Q But you're not confident then that the Contras didn't --

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know the answer to your question. They've said they didn't -- others are accusing them. And I don't know, and I don't think our government knows. I'd share it with you if they did.

Q Mr. President, in Panama we saw women leading troops

in combat for the first time. Are you comfortable with women in that role and would you support changes in restrictions on women in combat?

THE PRESIDENT: No. I think this is a matter -- I'd willingly accept -- listen to recommendations from the Defense Department. But these were not combat assignments. But anytime you have a highly trained, gung-ho volunteer force and they're caught up in some of the firefights that went on, a person, man or woman, can be inflicted into a -- put into a combat situation.

But it's my understanding -- and I think Cheney took a question on that today -- that these were not combat roles. And so I would let the heroic performance of these people be weighed and measured and then see if the Defense Department wanted to recommend to the President any additional changes.

Q Do you have assurances from Moscow that the operation in Panama won't hurt U.S.-Soviet relations?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I'm confident -- they didn't seem overly enthused about it, by Mr. Gerasimov's statement, but on the other hand, we -- I don't agree with him at all, but I don't think it's going to fundamentally flaw the relationships between ourselves and the United States. *

Q Do you think that the Latin leaders have been hypersensitive to the -- given the fact that in back channels, apparently, they've been supportive of the invasion? Can you say if that is correct? And then also because of that, do you think they're hypersensitive in their public statements about U.S. force in the region?

THE PRESIDENT: I like to feel that, given the way the situation is resolved, there is more support than has manifested itself in votes at the United Nations or in public statements. The Vice President's trip will help on this. My own consultations will help decide -- give me a clearer answer to your question, but I am absolutely convinced, given what happened and the reason why it happened, that if there's damage I can repair it, we can repair it, the State Department and whoever else is involved can repair it.

Q But is it hypersensitive, their reaction so far?

THE PRESIDENT: I think predictably so.

Q Mr. President, some countries think the precedent now of Panama -- feel that their sovereignty might be violated if the United States pursues drug dealers in their countries. And there has been some change in laws that can be -- that they are worried about this in the sense of the CIA, the FBI going out, being able to apprehend people outside the United States territory.

THE PRESIDENT: And so the question is what?

Q Do these countries have reason to be worried that the precedent of Panama might serve as --

THE PRESIDENT: Oh. Panama was more than that. Panama had clearly other ingredients that caused American action. It wasn't a simple case of going after a person who had been indicted for narcotics. And we know you had the abortion of democracy, but you also had this threat to the lives of Americans.

* Soviet Union

Let me do something in conclusion that may be a little risky, and it's a housekeeping detail and it relates mainly to television.

I got a lot of mail after the last press conference. I had some calls. Because when I was speaking here in this room, juxtaposed against my frivolous comments at the time were some split-screen technique. It showed American lives -- the bodies of dead soldiers, the caskets of dead soldiers coming home. And I would respectfully request that if the urgency of the moment is such that that technique is going to be used, if I could be told about and we'll stop the proceedings. Or if it's something less traumatic. But that one -- I could understand why the viewers were concerned about this. They thought their President at a solemn moment like that didn't give a damn. And I do. I do. I feel it so strongly. So please help me with that if you would. Thank you all very much.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

1:35 P.M. EST

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

December 20, 1989

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

President Bush met with his national security advisers Sunday afternoon at 2:30 in the Residence to consider the situation in Panama. They met for approximately 90 minutes. President Bush asked for options and an action plan to achieve four objectives: protect American lives, support democracy, bring the fugitive Manuel Noriega to justice, and protect the integrity of the Panama Canal Treaties.

On Monday, the President maintained his normal schedule of activities. Plans were being made at all levels of the command structure for the operation scheduled to commence at 1:00 Wednesday morning.

On Tuesday afternoon, President Bush met with the Vice President and his national security advisers in the Oval Office at about 3:00 to discuss final plans for the military operation in Panama. The President was briefed on the readiness of all aspects of the plan. General Scowcroft, the President's National Security Adviser, laid out an hour-by-hour plan for the rest of the day and evening prior to the time of launch. That plan included activities of all the Departments and Agencies and all White House Staff in the carrying out of this complex arrangement. The President was satisfied the planning was comprehensive.

The President continued to conduct his normal schedule, including attending the White House Christmas Party Tuesday evening. The President received updates on the status of preparations throughout the evening. General Scowcroft and Governor Sununu visited with the President at several points. Early evening, the President called the Congressional Leadership to discuss the action with them.

The Deputies Committee of the National Security Council was convened at midnight to begin monitoring the operational aspects of the Panama action. They were convened by National Security Council Deputy Director Robert Gates and continued to meet throughout the night and most of the day Wednesday. The Press Office Staff was alerted to prepare for an early morning briefing shortly after 1:00 a.m., and the White House Press Corps was notified accordingly. In addition, the Pentagon pool had been activated earlier in the evening to accompany U.S. forces to Panama.

President Bush arrived in the Oval Office shortly before 1:00 a.m. to monitor the progress throughout the night. He was wearing a dark blue sweater over his shirt and tie. The mood was businesslike, as various members of the President's security team moved in and out of the Oval Office with reports of progress.

As we outlined in Wednesday morning's briefing, the President spent most of the night calling American leaders and Members of Congress. Vice President Quayle, Secretary Baker, Governor Sununu, and National Security Adviser Scowcroft spent most of the evening with the President in his private study, occasionally stepping out to make phone calls to various leaders around the world. Secretary Cheney, General Powell, Director Webster, Attorney General Thornburgh and others carried out their respective functions at their appropriate control center.

The President was somber throughout the night, worried about the possibility of casualties, and anxious for any word of specific military progress. He watched the White House announcement of the military action on the television in his study. He made notes on 5x7 blue Presidential notepads as he talked to various leaders. He reported to aides that the phone calls were going well, mostly supportive. Everyone the President called was appreciative of his making the effort on this early notification.

The President retired to the Residence at approximately 4:00 in the morning, when it was decided that he would address the American people at 7:00 a.m. The President returned to the Oval Office at approximately 6:30 to review his remarks, and make editorial changes. Because of the time involved, the President was not able to use the teleprompter normally associated with the Presidential statement. The President read from the typewritten print, making notations in the margin only minutes before air time.

After delivering his Address to the Nation, the President remained in the Oval Office for the rest of the day, meeting with diplomatic representatives. All other events previously scheduled for the day were canceled with the exception of the Presentation of Diplomatic Credentials, so that the President could concentrate on the action in Panama. He continues to receive military updates from General Scowcroft, General Powell, Secretary Cheney, and others. Vice President Quayle spent a good deal of time with the President during the day discussing the progress of the operation.

The President received a series of reports on the success of the military in securing various objectives of the pre-planned mission.

At approximately 3:00, the President met with his National Security Advisers to receive an operational update, which we commented upon in a previous press statement. The President's operational briefing was similar to the one given to the press at 5:00 this afternoon by General Kelly in the Pentagon.

This evening the President will again attend the Christmas Party and then retire to the Residence. He is pleased by the military precision and smoothness of the operation. The President has been told by military leaders that this has been one of the most effective and efficiently conducted operations in some time. The President will continue to receive monitored reports throughout the evening on the status of the Panamanian situation.

The President's National Security Advisers who met with him at various times during the last three days included: Vice President Quayle; Secretary of State Baker; Secretary of Defense Cheney; Director of Central Intelligence Bill Webster; General Colin Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; General Brent Scowcroft, the President's National Security Council Adviser; Robert Gates, Deputy National Security Adviser; and Richard Thornburgh, Attorney General of the United States.

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**REMARKS: WELCOMING BANQUET TOAST
GREAT HALL OF THE PEOPLE
BEIJING, CHINA
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1989**

**PRESIDENT YANG, PREMIER LI, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS:
BARBARA AND I ARE DELIGHTED TO BE RETURNING ONCE
AGAIN TO CHINA. I FIRST CAME HERE IN 1974 AND DEPARTED AT
THE END OF 1975. SINCE THEN, INCLUDING THIS VISIT, I HAVE
BEEN BACK 5 TIMES; BARBARA 6 TIMES.**

2

**AND, EACH TIME WE COME, WE ARE FASCINATED BY THE DYNAMIC
CHANGE AND GROWTH, ALL OF WHICH TAKES PLACE AGAINST AN
EXTRAORDINARY, UNCHANGING BACKDROP OF A GREAT CULTURE
SEVERAL THOUSAND YEARS OLD.**

**THERE IS A CHINESE PROVERB THAT SAYS "ONE GENERATION
PLANTS A TREE, THE NEXT SITS IN ITS SHADE." AND THERE IS
A TIMELESS WISDOM IN THAT. BUT THANKS TO YOUR REFORMS --
COURAGEOUS REFORMS, AND I DON'T MINIMIZE THE DIFFICULTIES
-- THE CHINESE PEOPLE ARE PLANTING GREAT AND STURDY TREES
SOME OF WHICH ARE BEARING FRUIT RIGHT NOW, FOR THIS
GENERATION.**

TODAY, THE PEOPLE OF CHINA HAVE MORE OPPORTUNITIES TO EXPRESS THEMSELVES AND TO MAKE IMPORTANT DECISIONS IN THEIR PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL LIVES. YOUR NEW AND FARSIGHTED ECONOMIC PROGRAM IS ALREADY IMPROVING THE LIVES OF THE PEOPLE, AS IT WILL FOR GENERATIONS TO COME. THE EXPANSION OF YOUR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS IS ALSO CREATING NEW POSSIBILITIES FOR PEACE, PROSPERITY, AND WORLD LEADERSHIP, AND THE UNITED STATES WELCOMES THE ENLARGED ROLE THAT CHINA HAS TAKEN IN THE WORLD.

WHEN I FIRST ARRIVED IN BEIJING IN 1974, IT WAS A PERIOD WHEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES WERE JUST BEGINNING TO RE-ESTABLISH CONTACT AFTER ALMOST A QUARTER CENTURY OF ESTRANGEMENT. IT WAS NOT EASY; THERE WERE GREAT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US. BUT IN THE PRINCIPLES OF THE HISTORIC SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE SIGNED 17 YEARS AGO THIS COMING MONDAY, WE FOUND A COMMON BASIS FOR MOVING BEYOND THOSE DIFFERENCES TO FIND OUR SHARED INTERESTS. SO, TOGETHER, WE HELPED TO PLANT A TREE. AND WE SHOULD KEEP PLANTING TREES.

WE VALUE THE NEW RELATIONSHIP OUR TWO COUNTRIES HAVE ESTABLISHED WITH EACH OTHER. OUR FRIENDSHIP IS CONTINUING TO DEVELOP, AND THAT IS GOOD. FOR A RELATIONSHIP MUST BE STRONG ENOUGH TO TACKLE AREAS OF DISAGREEMENT AS WELL AS THOSE OF COMMON INTEREST, AND IT MUST BE BASED ON RESPECT FOR THE INDIVIDUAL AS WELL AS THE INTEGRITY OF STATES.

WE REMAIN FIRMLY COMMITTED TO THE PRINCIPLES SET FORTH IN THE THREE JOINT COMMUNIQUEES THAT FORM THE BASIS OF OUR RELATIONS.

AND BASED ON THE BEDROCK PRINCIPLE THAT THERE IS BUT ONE CHINA, WE HAVE FOUND WAYS TO ADDRESS TAIWAN CONSTRUCTIVELY AND WITHOUT RANCOR. WE AMERICANS HAVE A LONG HISTORICAL FRIENDSHIP WITH CHINESE PEOPLE EVERYWHERE, WHETHER THEY ARE IN TAIWAN, HONG KONG, OR IN OUR OWN COUNTRY, JUST AS WE HAVE A NEW AND IMPORTANT RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

AND IN THE LAST FEW YEARS WE HAVE SEEN AN ENCOURAGING EXPANSION OF FAMILY CONTACTS, TRAVEL, INDIRECT TRADE, AND OTHER FORMS OF PEACEFUL INTERCHANGE ACROSS THE TAIWAN STRAIT, WHICH HAS COME NOT FROM OUTSIDE PRESSURE, BUT FROM THE INTERESTS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE THEMSELVES. THIS TREND -- THIS NEW ENVIRONMENT -- IS CONSISTENT WITH AMERICA'S PRESENT AND LONG-STANDING INTEREST IN A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THEIR DIFFERENCES BY THE CHINESE THEMSELVES.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA HAVE ALSO FOUND COMMON INTEREST IN A GROWING ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP. WHEN I CAME HERE IN 1974, OUR TWO-WAY TRADE TOTALED ABOUT \$900 MILLION; NOW IT IS SOME \$14 BILLION. FOR THIS WE MUST CREDIT THE REFORMS CHINA EMBARKED UPON TEN YEARS AGO UNDER CHAIRMAN DENG XIAOPING'S FARSIGHTED LEADERSHIP.

AND WE HAVE SEEN GREATER EXCHANGES IN EDUCATION AS WELL, WITH TENS OF THOUSANDS OF CHINESE STUDENTS NOW STUDYING IN THE UNITED STATES, JUST AS THOUSANDS OF U.S. SCHOLARS HAVE STUDIED AND TAUGHT IN THE FARTHEST CORNERS OF CHINA.

AND WE HAVE DEVELOPED AN ACTIVE PROGRAM OF MILITARY COOPERATION THAT IS FORGING TIES OF FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR DEFENSE ESTABLISHMENTS, EVEN AS WE HAVE FOUND A DIPLOMATIC UNITY IN OUR SHARED OPPOSITION TO POLICIES OF INTERNATIONAL AGGRESSION AND DOMINATION.

OUR TWO COUNTRIES, AS NUCLEAR POWERS AND AS PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL, HAVE A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR PRESERVING WORLD PEACE. WE OWE IT TO MANKIND TO WORK TOGETHER FOR PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL STABILITY.

THE UNITED STATES HAS PRESSED FORWARD WITH THE SOVIET UNION IN THE ARMS REDUCTION PROCESS, ACHIEVING UNDER THE I.N.F. TREATY AN AGREEMENT TO ELIMINATE U.S. AND SOVIET INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILES, ON OUR INSISTENCE, FROM ASIA AS WELL AS EUROPE.

WE ARE MINDFUL OF THE DANGER POSED TO OTHER COUNTRIES BY THE PROLIFERATION OF DEADLY WEAPON TECHNOLOGIES, INCLUDING CHEMICAL WEAPONS, PARTICULARLY IN REGIONS OF THE WORLD MARKED BY CONFLICT.

THE PROSPECT OF IMPROVED RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION INSPIRES HOPE FOR NEW PROGRESS IN THE SEARCH FOR SELF-DETERMINATION AND PEACE FOR THE CAMBODIAN PEOPLE AND STABILITY FOR KOREA.

THERE CAN BE LITTLE DOUBT THAT EVEN AS THE PEOPLE OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES ARE WATCHING THIS MEETING, THE WORLD AS A WHOLE IS WATCHING THE LARGER MOVEMENT OF OUR TWO GREAT NATIONS AS WE BUILD EVER FIRMER BONDS ACROSS THE VAST OCEAN THAT JOINS US.

BARBARA AND I HAVE HAD THE GREAT GOOD FORTUNE TO TRAVEL ACROSS YOUR VAST AND BEAUTIFUL LAND AS GUESTS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE.

WE WENT FROM THE HIGH PLATEAU OF TIBET TO THE GREAT CITY OF CHENGDU [CHUHNG-DOO], WHERE WE VISITED THE HOME OF YOUR TANG [TAHNG] POET DUFU [DOO-FOO], AND WHERE WE LATER PERSONALLY OPENED THE FIRST AMERICAN CONSULATE IN THE WESTERN PART OF THE P.R.C. WE THEN HAD THE UNFORGETTABLE EXPERIENCE OF TRAVELING BY BOAT THROUGH THE HAUNTINGLY BEAUTIFUL AND HISTORIC YANGTZE [YAHNG-ZEH] GORGES WHERE WE RELISHED THE HISTORY OF THE THREE KINGDOMS AND COULD ALMOST HEAR THE POET LI BO'S [LEE-BWAH'S] DESCRIPTION OF "MONKEYS WHO SCREAMED FROM THE TWO SIDES WITHOUT STOPPING."

THEN ON TO WUHAN AND THE FIRST BRIDGE TO SPAN THE YANGTZE, AND FINALLY GUEILIN [GWAY-LIN] AND THE LI RIVER WHERE WE SAW THE MOUNTAINS AND WATERS OF YOUR PAINTINGS AND POETRY.

BARBARA AND I ARE GRATEFUL FOR THE FRIENDSHIP AND KINDNESS THAT WE HAVE BEEN SHOWN OVER THE YEARS BY THE CHINESE PEOPLE. AND THE EXPANDING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN YOUR COUNTRY AND OURS HAS BEEN A SOURCE OF SATISFACTION TO US, AS WELL. LET US CONTINUE, THEN, TO WORK TOGETHER, TO PLANT TREES TOGETHER, SO THAT THE NEXT GENERATION, OURS AND YOURS, CAN SIT TOGETHER IN THE SHADE.

SO PLEASE LET ME ASK YOU ALL TO JOIN ME, AND BARBARA, IN A TOAST: TO THE HEALTH OF PRESIDENT YANG; TO THE HEALTH OF PREMIER LI; TO THE HEALTH OF CHAIRMAN DENG AND GENERAL SECRETARY ZHAO; TO BARBARA'S AND MY DEAR CLOSE FRIENDS HERE TONIGHT; AND TO SINO-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP. GANBEI!

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OFFICIAL WORKING VISIT
TO WASHINGTON, D.C.

FYI
FROM
KIVISTON GEAV

DEFINITION

An Official Working Visit to Washington, D.C. is made by either a Chief of State (President, reigning monarch, or ruler) or by a Head of Government (Prime Minister, Chancellor). The invitation is issued by the President of the United States for the visitor to meet with him for substantive talks or for a Chief of State or Head of Government who has already received a State/Official Visit to the United States during a particular U.S. Administration. A visitor in this category is considered a guest of the United States Government only while he/she is in Washington, D.C., three days and two nights. Blair House, the President's Guest House, is made available as the official residence while the visitor is in Washington, D.C.

U.S. RESPONSIBILITIES

The Official Party is limited to twelve, including the visitor and spouse, the Ambassador and spouse in Washington, and spouses of accompanying official party members. In addition, other persons such as secretaries, valets, aides, etc. are included as accompanying members of the party.

The visitor resides at Blair House during the two nights and three days normally spent in Washington, D.C., on this visit. The United States Government provides air transportation for the Official Party from the location of the visitor within the United States to Washington, D.C., and from Washington, D.C., to the visitor's next stop within the United States.

In addition to the limousines provided by Secret Service for the visitor and spouse and possibly a limousine(s) provided by State Department Security for the Foreign Minister, a maximum of four limousines will be provided by the U.S. Government in Washington, D.C. A baggage truck as well as a baggage handler will be provided for all luggage at the Washington, D.C. stop except that of the traveling press.

SCHEDULE -- GENERAL FORMAT

DAY ONE

Upon arrival in Washington, D.C., the visitor is greeted by a Welcoming Committee, and is then flown from Andrews Air Force Base via U.S. Presidential helicopters to the Washington Monument Grounds. At the Washington Monument Grounds, the visitor is greeted by the Secretary of State and escorted through an honor cordon. The Secretary of State then escorts the visitor to Blair House via motorcade.

DAY TWO

The visitor is greeted by the President at the White House along with an honor cordon.

The President normally hosts a Working Luncheon at the White House in the visitor's honor following the substantive meeting. Departure statements are made at the conclusion of the luncheon.

Additional appointments and visits to places of interest are arranged as desired for the remainder of the Washington, D.C. visit. Among the more frequently desired activities are:

- Wreath-laying Ceremony at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, Arlington National Cemetery
- Meetings with the Congressional Leadership, Senate Foreign Relations Committee and House Foreign Affairs Committee
- Luncheon and address at the National Press Club
- Meetings with specific Cabinet members
- Meetings with International Organizations
- Meetings with American and/or foreign journalists

The Ambassador of the visiting country may host a dinner or a reception honoring the visitor. The Vice President, Secretary of State and other U.S. Government Officials are included.

DAY THREE

Substantive meeting and a Luncheon or Dinner are usually hosted by the Secretary of State - (Size may vary).

Continue with meetings in town.

Possible reciprocal events, i.e. dinner.

NOTE: A separate schedule for the wife of the visiting dignitary is arranged by the Office of Protocol. This will include appointments and visits to places of interest as well as a small Tea hosted by the First Lady at the White House.

Departure from Washington

At the departure, the Farewell Committee is headed by the Secretary of State at the Washington Monument Grounds. The dignitary receives a (19 or 21) gun salute upon departure along with an honor cordon.

OFFICIAL VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES

DEFINITION

An OFFICIAL VISIT to the United States is made by a Head of Government (Prime Minister, Chancellor). The invitation is issued by the President of the United States. The visit normally lasts seven days (three days and three to four nights in Washington, D.C. and up to three or four days elsewhere in the United States) with the visitor arriving the day before the White House Welcoming Ceremony begins. Blair House, the President's Guest House, is made available as the official residence while the visitor is in Washington.

U.S. RESPONSIBILITIES

The Official Party is limited to fourteen, including the visitor and spouse, the Ambassador and spouse in Washington, and any spouses of accompanying official party members. In addition, other persons such as aides, secretaries, valets, etc. are included as accompanying members of the party.

The United States Government provides air transportation for the Official Party from the place of arrival within the United States throughout the seven-day period, ending within the United States. It cannot, however, assume any portion of the accompanying members' travel or living expenses beyond their stay at Blair House (except travel which is on the same aircraft used by the Official Party).

In addition to the limousines provided by Secret Service for the visitor and spouse and possibly a limousine(s) provided by State Department Security for Foreign Minister, a maximum of four staff limousines will be provided during the State Visit. A baggage truck and handler will be provided throughout the visit.

The United States Government bears all normal living expenses of the Official Party during the visit, including hotel expenses incurred on the traveling portion of the visit. If the visitor stays in the United States beyond the seven-day period, the United States does not provide air transportation nor assume financial responsibility for ground transportation or living expenses. A Protocol officer will escort only throughout the official portion of the visit.

SCHEDULE -- GENERAL FORMAT

-- DAY ONE

Arrival in Washington, D.C. via Presidential aircraft from U.S. entry. Greeted by Welcoming Committee headed by Secretary of State. Transit from Andrews Air Force Base via U.S. Presidential helicopters to the Washington Monument grounds. Motorcade to Blair House/Hotel.

NOTE: If helicopters are not used, the Party will motorcade straight to Blair House.

-- DAY TWO

The visitor is greeted by the President at the an Official Arrival Ceremony at the White House. They proceed through the Welcoming Committee and are escorted onto the Reviewing Platform. Following Arrival Ceremony the President escorts Visitor to Oval Office for Meeting.

The Secretary of State gives a luncheon at the Department of State. Depending upon the wishes of the Secretary, this luncheon might be co-hosted by the Secretary of State and spouse.

Note: Former Secretaries have utilized various formats. It is Secretary's personal preference.

A substantive meeting with the Secretary of State may follow this luncheon.

A State Dinner is given by the President at the White House. Dress is Black Tie/National Dress.

-- DAY THREE

Additional appointments and visits to places of interest are arranged as desired for the remainder of the Washington visit. Among the more frequently desired activities are:

NOTE: Meeting and/or event held with the Vice President.

Wreath-laying Ceremony at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, Arlington National Cemetery;

Meetings with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and House Foreign Affairs Committee;

Luncheon and address at the National Press Club;

Meetings with specific Cabinet members;

Meetings with International Organizations;

Meetings with American and/or foreign journalists;

On the evening of the second day in Washington, the Ambassador and/or Head of State of the visiting country may host a dinner or a reception honoring the Vice President or Secretary of State the visit.

-- DAY FOUR

The departure ceremony takes place at the Washington Monument. The Secretary escorts the Dignitary through the Farewell Committee and the honor cordon and bids farewell.

Visits to other places in the United States for up to three to four days are arranged as desired.

On the final day in the country, the visitor will be taken to the point of departure of their choosing.

NOTE: A separate schedule for the wife of the visiting dignitary is arranged by the Office of Protocol. This will include appointments and visits to places of interest as well as a small tea hosted by the First Lady at the White House.

STATE VISIT
TO THE UNITED STATES

DEFINITION

A STATE VISIT to the United States can only be made by a Chief of State (President, reigning monarch, or ruler). The invitation is issued by the President of the United States. A State Visit is normally limited to a Chief of State visiting for the first time during a particular U.S. Administration. The visit normally lasts seven days (three days and three to four nights in Washington, D.C. and up to three or four days elsewhere in the United States) with the visitor arriving the day before the White House Welcoming Ceremony begins. Blair House, the President's Guest House, is made available as the official residence while the visitor is in Washington.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 25, 1990

PRESS CONFERENCE BY THE PRESIDENT

The Briefing Room

3:24 P.M. EST

MR. PRESIDENT: Two subjects I'd like to address myself to. First, I want to acknowledge the vote in the Senate upholding my veto this afternoon and reaffirming our commitment to Chinese students in this country, as well as the goal of improving relations with China. No Chinese student in this country is going to be sent back against his or her will. And we will continue to urge the People's Republic of China to recognize the human rights of its citizens, to participate in the affairs of the world community.

And I do want to express my personal thanks to the leadership of the Republican Party in the Senate -- Senator Dole, Senator Simpson -- who lead this effort with courage and determination. And a special thanks to all those members who voted for the values of justice and human freedom that I believe were at stake in this question.

Secondly, this morning I called President Endara of Panama to assure him of our continuing support of his efforts to establish democracy in Panama. Part of this effort involves the establishment of a healthy economy. And I'm deeply impressed with his commitment to reform Panama's economy. And based on this commitment and the report I received from Larry Eagleburger and John Robson, with us here, I informed President Endara that we'd arrived at an economic assistance package to help assist Panama in its economic recovery.

Our plan, valued at about \$1 billion, includes \$500 million in humanitarian assistance for housing, emergency public works, business assistance, loans, guarantees and export opportunities; and then \$500 million in addition assistance package for balance of payment support, public investment and economic restructuring.

The Vice President will review the details of this plan with President Endara on his visit to Panama. We're going to work closely with the Congress on this package to ensure its prompt implementation. The economic challenges that Panama faces are great, but we will work with the people to build a prosperous, democratic nation.

I've just met again with Secretaries Robson and Eagleburger, and they believe, given the history in Panama on the business side, that this economic assistance can indeed result in short-run in a vastly improved economic situation.

Q Mr. President, isn't it about time that you told the American people what were the results of two secret missions to China, whether you got any kind of promise from Beijing for loosening up and becoming a more tolerant society, and will this victory lead you to trying to lift the sanctions against China?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think I addressed myself to that yesterday, but let me repeat, I was very pleased at their lifting of martial law; I was very pleased at the release of 573 people from

MORE

jail in a kind of an amnesty. I've said that these weren't all the steps that need to be taken. I'm very pleased that they've stopped harassing the United States Mission there, our Embassy in Beijing. I'm very pleased that they've lightened up on the areas where I think we can really move things forward, and that is the Peace Corps and the Fulbright exchanges.

So this was all part of the debate on the Hill. And I must say that I think that -- the fact that they had made those moves carried some weight with some of the senators.

Q Is that the promise that you were given? I mean, they say now that martial law is really --

THE PRESIDENT: There were no promises -- I'm looking for action, not words.

Q Well, how about the sanctions?

THE PRESIDENT: That's the third question, and -- what sanctions? Which part of the sanctions?

Q Military and technical assistance and so forth.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, we're looking at the whole performance scale. And I expect they are, too. But I'm very, very pleased with the results on the Hill today.

Q Mr. President, out of 535 members of Congress, 62 supported you on this veto. Do you view that as any kind of overall -- do you view that as a mandate for your policies?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Because you've got to give disproportionate weight to how the Executive Branch feels. We're an equal branch. So you add to that the support on the Hill; we come out more than equal.

Q And does it give you any support for new initiatives toward China?

THE PRESIDENT: It gives me -- the thing I like about it, given the mournful predictions of some a couple of weeks ago, is that it gives me the confidence that I'm going to go forward the way I think is correct here. And I've had a lot of chance to talk to people that voted with us and some that didn't, and I understand their sensitivities. And I vow to do a better job of informing them as these things develop as to what it is we're intending. But I'm very, very pleased with the result, for reasons that I'm sure everybody out here can understand.

Q Mr. President, back to the Chinese students for a moment. Does your commitment that no Chinese student would be sent back against his or her will -- does that run absolutely, or is that something that will run until such time as you feel that China has changed its ways in some way that meets your approval?

THE PRESIDENT: Against his or her will --

Q Ever?

THE PRESIDENT: -- is the controlling statement, yes.

Q Mr. President, on the aid to Panama, some assessments say \$1 billion is only a fraction of what it will need to restore the effects down there. What is your assessment, and what are people saying? Is this the first step toward what?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I'm basing my judgment on what President Endara said and on the recommendations of the economic mission that went there. And President Endara seemed very pleased with this. I said to him, if there is additional categories where we can -- in which we can be helpful, please let me know. But I think

he was very pleased and I think both Larry and John feel that it is a very good step. Whether it's the last step or not, I don't know. We've got to see how that private sector responds and how the economic recovery goes forward. But I wouldn't say this is the end of the road in terms of what we can do to help them.

Q But is there a full assessment of what the total cost will be?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think they feel that this is -- let's go here, see what happens, and then take another look. Some may come up with higher figures, but this is what we think is a good and full program to give them the help they need right now.

Q Mr. President, have you been personally briefed on the exact number of people left homeless as a result of the U.S. invasion of Panama? And when specifically, sir, can they expect to get new homes to replace those destroyed?

THE PRESIDENT: I think these programs will give instant -- or as close to instant relief as we can hope for here. In fact, there's a provision -- I'd like to ask Larry and John to take a couple of questions after I bail out on this that will address themselves in more specificity, because I don't have the exact number there. But I would like to help as best I can with the reconstruction.

Q I know you're talking about foreign policy, but may I ask you a drug question since you were talking about that today, though?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, sir.

Q Given the fact that in your Inaugural Address you talked about -- you promised to stop the scourge of drugs, and given the fact that today you told the newspaper publishers that drugs was at the top of your agenda, is this going to be the primary test for your administration in its first four years at least, the primary domestic test -- assuming the economy doesn't fall apart? Is this the big one?

THE PRESIDENT: I think it's the big one, and I think it's the test not for the administration, but for every community in the country, every state, every local government, for the people. And somebody asked me, if you had to set goals -- changes in the education system or -- but where could you most readily hope to see results? I would say in the antinarcotics fight. I think it's really that kind of priority.

Q Mr. President, going back to China. You gave us an accounting of why General Scowcroft went in December, but I wonder if I could ask you to go back to July. Could you give us an accounting of that trip? What happened? What did you learn? Why did you send him then?

THE PRESIDENT: To see -- to make clear to the Chinese leadership that the relationship is important, but that it could not go forward until certain changes had taken place. And that, in sum, was what it was about.

Q Was it your initiative, or theirs?

THE PRESIDENT: Mine. Mine, I should say.

Q Back to the override vote. Does this suggest to you, your victory today, that if you can win here you can win on anything with Congress?

THE PRESIDENT: No, because I think we had a very good case here. If I took a case up there that wasn't any good, why, I'd probably get beat. But this one I think people were willing to listen -- some that had been positioned opposed to it -- opposed to

my position. And I think when they heard the full argument, I think they decided; well, we should support the President on this one.

Q Could you extrapolate a little bit on that, Mr. President? Given that you've pointed out repeatedly that you have done administratively what Congress ought to do legislatively, why was it so important to win this vote?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I said yesterday, I mean, for several reasons. One reason: I think there was a political ingredient in it, and nobody likes to get pounded on that. And also, I think from a foreign policy standpoint, I think it's better to do it this way. I think there's a trust factor that hopefully will result in changes that are satisfactory to the American people and to me -- a trust factor in the administration. And I hope that I can use that, having won this now, to further the kinds of things that I think will help move China forward.

You see, I think that the unilateral decision by President Nixon to send Kissinger on a secret mission to establish contact in days when they were far darker in China's U.S. relations was a good decision. And I think the decisions I've made are good decisions. I can understand the controversy and I can understand why there wasn't a unanimous endorsement. But I view it as a very good step. I will pledge right here to work with the Congress. I love the way the debate ended with both Senator Mitchell and Dole saluting each other for the way in which the matter was discussed. And I think that's a good signal for the political fights that may lie ahead.

Q If I could follow up on David's question. You said that Mr. Scowcroft's trip in July, the Chinese were told certain things had to happen for the relationship to go forward. Can you elaborate on this things and tell us if they've happened?

THE PRESIDENT: No, because I think that we've seen China take certain steps. In diplomacy, I don't think you make progress by throwing down a list of things telling somebody else how to behave. I do think you adhere to your own principles. And I think sometimes you have to undertake the kind of diplomacy that I engaged in here to reiterate principles and to explain the severity of problems to people. But if you do it publicly all the time and you do it so you're painting somebody into a corner, I don't think you get results. And that's why I did what I've done.

Q Is the status of Mr. Fang one of those things that needs to be resolved? And can you give us any information on that?

THE PRESIDENT: It certainly is a matter that I would like to see resolved.

Q Mr. President, on capital gains you've pointed out on several occasions that because of parliamentary rules you've been thwarted. You've asked that Congress give the majority the right to exercise their will by passing capital gains. Now, in this case, you technically won on this veto because of parliamentary rules. But the vast majority voted against you on this. Don't you believe that that is, in fact, a repudiation of your Chinese policy?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I don't see a parallel. This is Executive Branch. You are equal with the Legislative Branch. The whole ball game is entitled to have the veto process. Part of the election is about the veto process. It's not a question of whether -- but when you have a majority of senators up there doing one thing, that's fine, provided the President agrees with it. But that's what I'm saying.

Q But I'm talking specifically about what Congress did over the last couple of days.

THE PRESIDENT: Surprised you, didn't it?

Q The majority of congressmen in both the House and the Senate voted against you on this issue. Do you believe that that's a repudiation by Congress of your Chinese policy?

THE PRESIDENT: No. They're entitled to do their thing, and the Executive's entitled to do its own thing. And it worked. And we're going to stay right on track. And I think the process worked very well. I don't view it as a repudiation at all.

Q Mr. President, I understand that Transportation Secretary Skinner was among those making calls on this vote.

THE PRESIDENT: I hope so.

Q Well, that suggests a little pork barrel persuasion as well. Was there something more than just the pure --

THE PRESIDENT: Highways in China -- what are you talking about?

Q Well, I mean, was it just the pure merits of the case that won the day, or was it win one for the --

THE PRESIDENT: I think there were some politics in it. I think there was politics in it.

Q Both sides?

Q On both sides?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, both sides.

Q That you used?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes -- because some of them said, look, let's stand with the President. Some that may have had a slight difference of emphasis on our side; and clearly there was plenty on the other side when you don't see one single vote come across the aisle -- not one. Not one.

Q Did you make specific promises to anyone on help on any other issue?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

Q Did you play hardball?

THE PRESIDENT: Softball -- great, big, fat one coming over the plate. Excuse me.

Q You spoke of a trust factor. I wonder if I can apply that to the American people, sir. What can you say to convince the people that the missions to China weren't secret simply to avoid the overwhelming public opposition to them?

THE PRESIDENT: I say I think what I'm doing is correct, and I say I think I was elected to do in foreign policy what I think was correct. And you have the checks and balances of the Congress. They had a shot to say that it wasn't correct in this instance. And so I say that I feel encouraged that the process worked out this way, and I point back to the original relationship with China. And I don't believe you would have ever had it if there hadn't been some secret diplomacy.

Q If I could ask the question again, sir --

THE PRESIDENT: You might. You'll get the same answer if you ask the same question.

Q Were the missions not kept secret to avoid the overwhelming public opposition to them?

THE PRESIDENT: No. The missions were kept secret because I believe this is the best way in dealing with China to effect change -- positive change.

Q Mr. President, as you're aware, China issued an angry statement overnight over the House action yesterday, referring to their vote as interference in China's affairs. You warned yesterday about China's action if your veto was not sustained. What I don't understand is why China would -- since you've promised to do the same things administratively that the Pelosi bill would have done, why China would regard that as interference, but you doing it they wouldn't?

THE PRESIDENT: I think they would see it as a further public slap at a time when they feel some steps have been taken that are positive. And I think that is probably what -- but let there be no mistake about it -- I'm sure they're not very happy with my Executive Order. I mean, they're entitled to their view, and we're entitled to ours. And I have a mandate to protect these students, and China, as you know, has a very different view on it. But I think that's the only thing I can think of.

Q Let me ask on a different topic, on the Middle East. You've had three press conferences in two days now, and there's been no questions at all about the Middle East. Is this a signal that your administration and that the American public as a whole is disgusted with the slow pace of events toward the peace process?

THE PRESIDENT: No, because I don't write the questions for the press conference. I mean, I can't help it if I had no questions. But I don't think anything in the status quo should be interpreted as a lack of interest in trying to be helpful on the talks going, if that's what you mean. In fact, there is discussion going on. We had discussions with our most recent visitor, President Saleh. I've just concluded a meeting with Senator Specter, who is just back from Syria and from Iraq, and there's a lot going on. I wish I could tell you I felt that there was demonstrable progress. But, no, please don't assume because I have addressed myself in the statements to the China question and the question of Panama or the question of our domestic agenda, that we have lost interest in trying to be a catalyst in the Middle East.

Q Do you think one side is being more recalcitrant than the other?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think it would be helpful to quantify recalcitrance. I think what we ought to do is what Jim Baker is trying to do right now, and that is to facilitate the talks to get them started.

Q Mr. President, with this victory in the Senate, do you anticipate sending General Scowcroft or perhaps some other envoy back to China to talk again, perhaps in open this time?

THE PRESIDENT: I'm not sure Scowcroft and Eagleburger want any more grief like this. (Laughter.) There are no plans to do -- let me be very clear. This -- again, and I'm not dodging your question. One, there are no plans for anything of that nature. Secondly, this was my idea, for good or for bad. And these are seasoned diplomats and seasoned people in national security, and we talk about these matters. And when the President makes a decision, why, they do what I suggest here. And so I don't want to be doing anything other than expressing total confidence in them and in their mission. And I know it's been controversial.

But I'm not somebody that's always looking for a way to do something in secret. When I see, though, back to the question I was asked, that in my judgment a quiet conversation might lead to progress, I hope I will continue to feel I have the flexibility to pursue such conversation.

Q Mr. President, when you sent your memorandum of

disapproval on the China students bill, you characterized it as a pocket veto and said that the constitutional provision precluded it becoming law. Yet, we haven't heard you object to the fact that the Congress took the vote to override. Have you changed your mind on that?

THE PRESIDENT: I need a lawyer on that one. I don't --

Q I'd certainly like to follow it up somehow.

THE PRESIDENT: I think you should get --

Q You need a lawyer.

THE PRESIDENT: I really do. (Laughter.) It's technical, and I can't --

Q Some people said that by sending the message back, you undid your pocket veto and actually gave them a veto to override. But I don't think the White House accepts that, and I'd certainly like to get an answer to it.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, let me get you an answer, because we're not seeking to do some clever parliamentary maneuver to have people have to vote on this question when I would rather have seen the matter lie dormant.

Q You indicated in the beginning of your statement that you feel you do have a mandate now on this China policy. A lot of people have criticized it as a secret policy. You also indicated that perhaps you might do more to keep Congress informed. Why not keep them informed of these secret missions, and what do you plan to do in terms of keeping them informed?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think we do. We bend over backwards to keep people informed in the Congress. And I think once in a while there is something that is done quietly, and then when it is proper, why, we'll give a thorough and full briefing. And I think in this one, when this matter was disclosed by us, we immediately briefed Congress on what it was we had intended to do, why we did it. And so I don't think there's any real lack of consultation. In fact, I pride myself on the fact that we have had outstanding consultation. And I've had these leaders down here over and over again -- bipartisan -- and I'm going to continue to do that.

Q The July trip, Mr. President, it was six months before Congress found out about it.

THE PRESIDENT: That's right.

Q Why not inform the people?

THE PRESIDENT: Because we were working on some initiatives and in my judgment it was better that it be quiet. And I've cited some examples in history, particularly the China trip -- the opening to China that I think was best served by the way it was done.

Q Mr. President, as you analyze the outcome today and the vote itself, how much of it was a vote on the Chinese student issue, and how much of it do you perceive to be a vote on your overall approach to China?

THE PRESIDENT: Or on the political side -- I don't know. I don't know how you measure it. But I do think this: As I had an opportunity to discuss it with individuals, and as our team did, I think there was much more understanding of the merits than had been granted originally, and I think we'd all agree -- everybody here -- that a couple of weeks ago there was just -- it just was kind of written off as -- and getting pounded on the merits as well as on the politics. So the consultations and the discussions to try to get support for this I think have increased understanding even by those

that didn't vote for me. At least I think they understand that there were some merits to what I was trying to do. They may have disagreed with it. Some may have agreed with what is the thrust of some of these questions, on the secrecy question. Some may have felt that legislation is better than the Executive Branch authority doing it. But I think I was given the benefit of the doubt by some in terms of knowledge of the importance of a relationship with China. I think I've hopefully dissuaded some in terms of some of the propaganda on the other side that I didn't care about human rights.

So it was an interesting development here -- taking a project that many had considered extraordinarily difficult and then seeing it resolve itself in this way. But there's no intention on my part to crow about it. I mean, it was a very close vote, and it worked out better than many had felt it would. And now, we've got to go forward. Tomorrow, it's something else. I'm not going to live there on this thing forever.

Q If I may follow -- was there not a broader issue in regard to the China policy here than just the situation with the students?

THE PRESIDENT: I'm not sure --

Q Was this not a congressional mandate or a Senate mandate on the way you've handled the overall China policy more than just the student issue?

THE PRESIDENT: Some of it was. Some of it was political, some of it was -- we'd already accomplished by Executive Order what the Pelosi bill was going to do, so some of it was a feeling that maybe it would be better to lock it in on legislation; some of it was they wanted to make a statement. There's a lot of reasons -- you have to just ask those who voted as they did.

Q Mr. President, a lot of the emotion over your China policy had to do with the famous Scowcroft toast on videotape. It angered a lot of people to see him toasting people responsible for the Tiananmen Square massacre. Will you say that at least that part of it was a mistake, that if --

THE PRESIDENT: No, because when you go to China, that is -- I don't know of anybody that's been there that doesn't engage in that activity. And if you read the full context of what was said, I think it was a very unfair shot. But I agree with you; some people used that as something that was outrageous. But they ought to go over to China and just understand how it works.

Q If it had not been televised, do you think the public reaction to -- if people had only known that he went over there and that he had talks, do you think the public reaction would have been different than it was when they saw him toasting on television?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I think the people that are outraged by it and expressed themselves were concerned about my whole approach to it -- I think. But I can say that that -- I think that it may have affected one or two. I don't really know the answer to that one.

Q Back to Panama, sir. The election last May was the one that never really resulted in a full count because of General Noriega, yet that's the same election on which the Endara government is basing its legitimacy. Is it time, sir, for another election in Panama?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think, fortunately, the Endara government has been endorsed by the electoral commission -- they were kind of diverted from their normal course of business by Mr. Noriega a while back. But I don't -- I think that's a matter for the Panamanians to decide. I think it would be a little bit outrageous for us to come charging in and tell them when they ought to have an

election.

Q But what is your opinion on it?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I'm not going to have an opinion. I want this to be the Panamanian system. The emphasis from now on ought to be Panama's democracy, Panama determination, let Panama figure out -- and then we'll try to help or, if they ask for criticism or suggestions, fine. But I don't want to be appearing that we are trying to run the new democracy in Panama from up here. That would be the worst thing we could do.

Q On another topic, several key Democratic senators say they no longer -- they don't believe President Cristiani has control of the military any longer. What is your response to that? They are also drafting legislation which would kill future military aid. Do you think you will be as successful in defeating that package as you were today?

THE PRESIDENT: I hope so because Cristiani is trying hard. And I think there is some evidence that he doesn't control all his military -- the very fact he's trying to bring some to justice who at least have been accused of wrong-doing demonstrates that. But the man was elected, certifiably-free elections. He is trying very hard. He has taken some extraordinarily courageous and tough steps. And he has my full support.

Q My question is about Mexico and Venezuela and other countries in South America that have been offended by the invasion in Panama.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q I wonder if you have spoken with their leaders and used some of your personal diplomacy to convince them that you didn't intend any -- and won't be invading any other countries anytime soon. (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I haven't given them my invasion list, but I have -- (laughter) -- no, but seriously, it's a very important question diplomatically; it's a good question. And I -- first place, as of today, because of what's happened since the fighting began, things are better. Some of it may be just that time heals. Secondly, I think that they have been informed -- some by me, mail, phone calls when these actions took place, and our State Department and our representatives as to what our intention was, what the cause was, what we're doing. They've seen a lot of forces come out now, which I think is helpful. There's a history. And anytime you undertake an engagement like I authorized, you've got to assess what the down side is because of the history.

But, Jessica, I am pleased with where we are now. And I have not engaged in the last week or so in a lot of diplomatic activity with my friends, but I've sent enough communications that I think they know what my heartbeat is on this and I think they -- I hope now, when they saw what happened with the Panamanian people, that that made a profound impression on them. And they've seen Endara go forward and they've seen the stamp of approval given to his democracy and they see that now, as of today, that we're determined to help not just with rhetoric, but with a means of recovery. So things are better. And I think, given the action that I authorized, in pretty good shape. I'm not suggesting I have no diplomacy ahead.

Q Mr. President, it was a surprise victory to start the year. Will this transfer to other issues, and is this what someone once called "big Mo," momentum starting off 1990? (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: Listen, I learned a lesson not to talk about that. And I learned it the hard way -- took it right on the chin. And I'm coming in here in the spirit of cooperation. And excuse me if the adrenaline flew one or two of the questions because

things didn't look too bright a little while back. But no, there's no point in -- this is too serious a business, especially as it relates to this China policy. And so I'm not in a mode of talking about momentum or something of that nature.

I do think because of the way it worked out it's going to be helpful in reaching accommodation in the Senate and in the House on certain of our objectives. By that I mean I offer out that hand of cooperation, but it is a two-way street. I simply cannot accept legislation that is opposed to principles I believe in.

So I don't know where it will fall out, but there is -- and I promise you, I don't come in here with some sense of gloating or anything of that nature at all. It was too tough a vote for a lot of my friends on both sides of the aisle.

Ellen, last one.

Q Mr. President, in announcing \$1 billion for Panama, that's an awful lot of money. So what countries are going to get less money as a result of our generosity to Panama?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, there will be offsets and we will, at the appropriate time, which is fairly soon, tell the Congress where we think those offsets should come from. But let me reiterate my philosophical approval for the Bob Dole position, which is to give the President more flexibility on this concept of earmarking.

I've boycotted the back benches, so we're going to end with this one right here.

Q Mr. President, do you agree with the NAACP and other organizations that there is a rising tide of racism in this country?

THE PRESIDENT: I had a long talk with some of the executives of the NAACP the other day, and they expressed to me their concerns. And I share their concerns. But whether it -- I like to think that there isn't a rising tide. I think that there are some very ugly incidents. And if I can use this platform, the White House, to speak out against that bigotry and against that ugliness, perhaps it will help. But I will tell you that several of those leaders felt that there was a growing pattern of racism, and as your question said, a rising tide. I don't know that I agree with it, but I do agree there is some very ugly incidents lately, and we all ought to do what we can to make clear that is not the American way.

Thank you, I really do have to go. Thank you. You guys have been stiffed, but I'll get you next time, I promise.

END

3:57 P.M. EST

BEYOND CONTAINMENT

Selected Speeches by President George Bush
on Europe and East-West Relations
April 17 - June 2, 1989



The White House

In this series of speeches, President George Bush projects a policy that seeks to move beyond containment—to integrate the Soviet Union into the community of nations.

It is a policy based on the strength and vitality of the Atlantic Alliance, which has brought Europe its longest period of uninterrupted peace in the modern age. The Alliance's unity and the force of its democratic foundations have opened up new possibilities—of a less militarized Europe, of a stronger and more united Western Europe, of a Europe whole and free and at peace with itself.

President Bush articulates policies and proposes concrete initiatives aimed at helping end the division of Europe. From proposals for more comprehensive and faster negotiated cuts in conventional arms to initiatives aimed at supporting the growth of democracy in Eastern Europe, they have the same purpose: to promote a reconciliation based on shared values, where East joins West in a commonwealth of free nations.

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REMARKS TO CITIZENS OF HAMTRAMCK

Hamtramck, Michigan

April 17, 1989

I want to address, at this important gathering, the health and prosperity of a whole nation: the proud people of Poland. You know, we Americans are not mildly sympathetic spectators of events in Poland. We are bound to Poland by a very special bond: a bond of blood, of culture and shared values. And so, it is only natural that as dramatic change comes to Poland we share the aspirations and excitement of the Polish people.

Old Ideas and New Thinking

In my Inaugural Address, I spoke of the new breeze of freedom gaining strength around the world. "In man's heart," I said, "if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient lifeless tree."

I spoke of the spreading recognition that prosperity can only come from a free market and the creative genius of individuals. I spoke of the new potency of democratic ideals: of free speech, free elections and the exercise of free will. We should not be surprised that the ideals of democracy are returning with renewed force in Europe, the homeland

of philosophers of freedom, whose ideals have been so fully realized in our great United States of America. Victor Hugo said: "An invasion of armies can be resisted, but not an idea whose time has come." My friends, liberty is an idea whose time has come in Eastern Europe, and make no mistake about it.

For almost half a century, the suppression of freedom in Eastern Europe, sustained by the military power of the Soviet Union, has kept nation from nation, neighbor from neighbor. As East and West now seek to reduce arms, it must not be forgotten that arms are a symptom, not a source, of tension. The true source of tension is the imposed and unnatural division of Europe. How can there be stability and security in Europe and the world as long as nations and peoples are denied the right to determine their own future, a right explicitly promised by agreements among the victorious powers at the end of World War II? How can there be stability and security in Europe as long as nations which once stood proudly at the front rank of industrial powers are impoverished by a discredited ideology and stifling authoritarianism? The United States—and let's be clear on this—has never accepted the legitimacy of Europe's division. We accept no spheres of influence that deny the sovereign rights of nations.

Yet the winds of change are shaping a new European destiny. Western Europe is resurgent, and Eastern Europe is awakening to yearnings for democracy, independence and prosperity. In the Soviet Union itself, we are encouraged by the sound of voices long silent and the sight of the rulers consulting the ruled. We see new thinking in some aspects of Soviet foreign policy. We are hopeful that these stirrings presage meaningful, lasting and more far-reaching change. Let no one doubt the sincerity of the American people and their government in their desire to see reform succeed inside the Soviet Union. We welcome the changes that have taken place, and we will continue to encourage greater recognition of human rights, market incentives and free elections.

East-West Negotiations

East and West are now negotiating on a broad range of issues, from arms reductions to the environment. But the Cold War began in Eastern Europe, and if it is to end, it will end in this crucible of world conflict. And it must end. The American people want to see East and Central Europe free, prosperous and at peace. With prudence, realism and patience, we seek to promote the evolution of freedom—the opportunities sparked by the Helsinki Accords and the deepening East-West contact. In recent years, we have improved relations with countries in the region, and in each case, we looked for progress in international posture and internal practices: in human rights, cultural openness, emigration issues, opposition to international terror. While we

want relations to improve, there are certain acts we will not condone or accept, behavior that can shift relations in the wrong direction: human rights abuses, technology theft, and hostile intelligence or foreign policy actions against us.

Reform

Some regimes are now seeking to win popular legitimacy through reforms. In Hungary, a new leadership is experimenting with reforms that may permit a political pluralism that only a few years ago would have been absolutely unthinkable. And in Poland, on April 5th, Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and Interior Minister Kiszczak signed agreements that, if faithfully implemented, will be a watershed in the postwar history of Eastern Europe.

Under the auspices of the roundtable agreements, the free trade union *Solidarnosc* was today—this very day, under those agreements—*Solidarnosc* was today formally restored. And the agreements also provide that a free opposition press will be legalized, independent political and other free associations will be permitted, and elections for a new Polish Senate will be held. These agreements testify to the realism of General Jaruzelski [Chairman of Poland's Council of State] and his colleagues, and they are inspiring testimony to the spiritual guidance of the Catholic Church, the indomitable spirit of the Polish people, and the strength and wisdom of Lech Walesa.

Poland faces, and will continue to face for some time, severe economic problems. A modern French writer observed that communism is not another form of economics: It is the death of economics. In Poland, an economic system crippled by the inefficiencies of central planning almost proved the death of initiative and enterprise—almost. But economic reforms can still give free rein to the enterprising impulse and creative spirit of the great Polish people.

Agenda for Poland

The Polish people understand the magnitude of this challenge. Democratic forces in Poland have asked for the moral, political and economic support of the West. And the West will respond. My administration is completing now a thorough review of our policies toward Poland and all of Eastern Europe, and I've carefully considered ways the United States can help Poland. We will not act unconditionally. We're not going to offer unsound credits. We're not going to offer aid without requiring sound economic practices in return. We must remember that Poland still is a member of the Warsaw Pact. I will take no steps that compromise the security of the West.

The Congress, the Polish-American community..., the American labor movement, our allies and international financial institutions—our

allies—all must work in concert if Polish democracy is to take root anew and sustain itself. We can and must answer this call to freedom. And it is particularly appropriate here in Hamtramck for me to salute the members and leaders of the American labor movement for hanging tough with Solidarity through its darkest days. Labor deserves great credit for that.

Now the Poles are now taking steps that deserve our active support. I have decided as your president on specific steps to be taken by the United States, carefully chosen to recognize the reforms underway and to encourage reforms yet to come now that *Solidarnosc* is legal. I will ask Congress to join me in providing Poland access to our Generalized System of Preferences, which offers selective tariff relief to beneficiary countries. We will work with our allies and friends in the Paris Club to develop sustainable new schedules for Poland to repay its debt, easing a heavy burden so that a free market can grow. I will also ask Congress to join me in authorizing the Overseas Private Investment Corporation to operate in Poland, to the benefit of both Polish and U.S. investors. We will propose negotiations for a private business agreement with Poland to encourage cooperation between U.S. firms and Poland's private businesses. Both sides can benefit. The United States will continue to consider supporting, on their merits, viable loans to the private sector by the International Finance Corporation. We believe that the roundtable agreements clear the way for Poland to be able to work with the International Monetary Fund on programs that support sound, market-oriented economic policies. We will encourage business and private non-profit groups to develop innovative programs to swap Polish debt for equity in Polish enterprises, and for charitable, humanitarian and environmental projects. We will support imaginative educational, cultural and training programs to help liberate the creative energies of the Polish people.

When I visited Poland in September of 1987, I was then vice president, and told Chairman Jaruzelski and Lech Walesa that the American people and government would respond quickly and imaginatively to significant internal reform of the kind that we now see. Both of them valued that assurance. So, it is especially gratifying for me today to witness the changes now taking place in Poland and to announce these important changes in U.S. policy. The United States of America keeps its promises.

If Poland's experiment succeeds, other countries may follow. While we must still differentiate among the nations of Eastern Europe, Poland offers two lessons for all. First, there can be no progress without significant political and economic liberalization. Second, help from the West will come in concert with liberalization. Our friends and European allies share this philosophy.

Vision of Freedom

The West can now be bold in proposing a vision of the European future. We dream of the day when there will be no barriers to the free movement of peoples, goods and ideas. We dream of the day when Eastern European peoples will be free to choose their system of government and to vote for the party of their choice in regular, free, contested elections. We dream of the day when Eastern European countries will be free to choose their own peaceful course in the world, including closer ties with Western Europe. And we envision an Eastern Europe in which the Soviet Union has renounced military intervention as an instrument of its policy—on any pretext. We share an unwavering conviction that one day all the peoples of Europe will live in freedom. And make no mistake about that.

Next month, at a summit of the North Atlantic Alliance, I will meet with the leaders of the Western democracies. The leaders of the Western democracies will discuss these concerns. These are not bilateral issues just between the United States and the Soviet Union. They are, rather, the concern of all the Western allies, calling for common approaches. The Soviet Union should understand, in turn, that a free, democratic Eastern Europe as we envision it would threaten no one and no country. Such an evolution would imply and reinforce the further improvement of East-West relations in all dimensions—arms reductions, political relations, trade—in ways that enhance the safety and well-being of all of Europe. There is no other way.

What has brought us to this opening? The unity and strength of the democracies, yes, and something else: the bold, new thinking in the Soviet Union, the innate desire for freedom in the hearts of all men. We will not waver in our dedication to freedom now. If we're wise, united and ready to seize the moment, we will be remembered as the generation that made all Europe free.

Two centuries ago, a Polish patriot, Thaddeus Kosciuszko, came to these American shores to stand for freedom. Let us honor and remember this hero of our own struggle for freedom by extending our hand to those who work the shipyards of Gdansk and walk the cobbled streets of Warsaw. Let us recall the words of the Poles who struggled for independence: "For your freedom and ours." Let us support the peaceful evolution of democracy in Poland. The cause of liberty knows no limits; the friends of freedom, no borders.

REMARKS AT THE TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY COMMENCEMENT CEREMONY

College Station, Texas
May 12, 1989

We are reminded that no generation can escape history. Parents, we share a fervent desire for our children, and their children, to know a better world, a safer world. Students, your parents and grandparents have lived through a world war and helped America to rebuild the world. They witnessed the drama of postwar nation's divided by Soviet subversion and force, but sustained by an Allied response most vividly seen in the Berlin Airlift.

And today I would like to use this joyous and solemn occasion to speak to you and to the rest of the country about our relations with the Soviet Union....

Containment—and Beyond

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

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

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

Our goal is bold, more ambitious than any of my predecessors could have thought possible. Our review indicates that 40 years of perseverance have brought us a precious opportunity, and now it is time to move beyond containment to a new policy for the 1990s, one that recognizes the full scope of change taking place around the world and in the Soviet Union itself. In sum, the United States now has as its goal much more than simply containing Soviet expansionism. We seek the integration of the Soviet Union into the community of nations. And as the Soviet Union itself moves toward greater openness and democratization, as they meet the challenge of responsible international behavior, we will match their steps with steps of our own. Ultimately, our objective is to welcome the Soviet Union back into the world order.

New Thinking

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

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

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

As we seek peace, we must also remain strong. The purpose of our military might is not to pressure a weak Soviet economy or to seek military superiority. It is to deter war. It is to defend ourselves and our allies, and to do something more: to convince the Soviet Union that there can be no reward in pursuing expansionism, to convince the Soviet Union that reward lies in the pursuit of peace.

Fulfilling a Vision

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Arms Control and Openness

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

Our basic approach is clear. In the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks [START], we wish to reduce the risk of nuclear war. In the companion Defense and Space Talks, our objective will be to preserve our options to deploy advanced defenses when they're ready. In nuclear testing, we will continue to seek the necessary verification improvements in existing treaties to permit them to be brought into force. We're going to continue to seek a verifiable global ban on chemical weapons. We support NATO efforts to reduce the Soviet offensive threat in the negotiations on conventional forces in Europe. And as I've said, fundamental to all of these objectives is simple openness.

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

And let it come to mean one thing more.

"Open Skies"

Thirty-four years ago, President Eisenhower met in Geneva with Soviet leaders who, after the death of Stalin, promised a new approach toward the West. He proposed a plan called "Open Skies," which would allow unarmed aircraft from the United States and the Soviet Union to fly over the territory of the other country. This would open up military activities to regular scrutiny and, as President Eisenhower put it, "convince the world that we are...lessening danger and relaxing tension." President Eisenhower's suggestion tested the Soviet readiness to open their society. The Kremlin failed that test. Now, let us again explore that proposal, but on a broader, more intrusive and radical basis, one which I hope would include allies on both sides. We suggest that those countries that wish to examine this proposal meet soon to work out the

necessary operational details, separately from other arms control negotiations. Such surveillance flights, complementing satellites, would provide regular scrutiny for both sides. Such unprecedented territorial access would show the world the true meaning of the concept of openness. The very Soviet willingness to embrace such a concept would reveal their commitment to change.

U.S.-Soviet Cooperation

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

And should the Soviet Union codify its emigration laws in accord with international standards and implement its new laws faithfully, I am prepared to work with Congress for a temporary waiver of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment,* opening the way to extending Most-Favored-Nation trade status** to the Soviet Union.... The policy I have just described has everything to do with you....

It is a sad truth that nothing forces us to recognize our common humanity more swiftly than a natural disaster. I'm thinking, of course, of Soviet Armenia, just a few months ago—a tragedy without blame, war-like devastation without war. Our son took our 12-year-old grandson to Yerevan. At the end of a day of comforting the injured and consoling the bereaved, the father and son went to church, sat down together in the midst of the ruins and wept. How can our two countries magnify this simple expression of caring? How can we convey the goodwill of our people?

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

*An amendment to the Trade Act of 1974 that prohibits the extension of credits and Most-Favored-Nation [MFN] trade status to any non-market economy country that restricts the free emigration of its citizens.

**A country receiving such status gets the lowest tariff rate that the U.S. government generally extends to its other trading partners.

**REMARKS AT THE BOSTON UNIVERSITY
COMMENCEMENT CEREMONY**

*Boston, Massachusetts
May 21, 1989*

Take a look at our world today. Nations are undergoing changes so radical that the international system you know and will know in the future will be as different from today's, as today's world is from the time of Woodrow Wilson. How will America prepare, then, for the challenges ahead?

It's with your future in mind that, after deliberation and a review, we are adapting our foreign policies to meet this challenge. I've outlined how we're going to try to promote reform in Eastern Europe and how we're going to work with our friends in Latin America. In Texas, I spoke to another group of graduates of our new approach to the Soviet Union, one of moving beyond containment, to seek to integrate the Soviets into the community of nations, to help them share the rewards of international cooperation.

Change in Western Europe

But today, I want to discuss the future of Europe, that mother of nations and ideas that is so much a part of America. And it is fitting that I share this forum with a very special friend of the United States—President Mitterrand, you have the warm affection and high regard of the American people. And I remember well about eight years ago when you joined us in Yorktown [Virginia] in 1981 to celebrate the bicentennial of that first Franco-American fight for freedom. And soon, I will join you in Paris, sir, to observe the 200th anniversary of the French struggle for liberty and equality.

This is just one example of the special bond between two continents. But consider this city. From the Old North Church to Paul Revere's home, nestled in the warm heart of the Italian North End, to your famous song-filled Irish pubs—the Old and New Worlds are inseparable in this city. But as we look back to Old World tradition, we must look ahead to a new Europe. Historic changes will shape your careers and your very lives.

The changes that are occurring in Western Europe are less dramatic than those taking place in the East, but they are no less

fundamental. The postwar order that began in 1945 is transforming into something very different. Yet certain essentials remain because our Alliance with Western Europe is utterly unlike the cynical power alliances of the past. It is based on far more than the perception of a common enemy. It is a tie of culture and kinship and shared values. As we look toward the 21st century, Americans and Europeans alike should remember the words of Raymond Aron, who called the Alliance a "moral and spiritual community." Our ideals are those of the American Bill of Rights and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man. And it is precisely because the ideals of this community are universal that the world is in ferment today.

Now a new century holds the promise of a united Europe. As you know, the nations of Western Europe are already moving toward greater economic integration, with the ambitious goal of a single European market in 1992. The United States has often declared it seeks a healing of old enmities, an integration of Europe. At the same time, there has been an historical ambivalence on the part of some Americans towards a more united Europe. To this ambivalence has been added apprehension at the prospect of 1992. But whatever others may think, this administration is of one mind. We believe a strong, united Europe means a strong America.

Western Europe has a gross domestic product that is roughly equal to our own and a population that exceeds ours. European science leads the world in many fields, and European workers are highly educated and highly skilled. We are ready to develop, with the European Community and its member states, new mechanisms of consultation and cooperation on political and global issues, from strengthening the forces of democracy in the Third World to managing regional tensions, to putting an end to the division of Europe. A resurgent Western Europe is an economic magnet, drawing Eastern Europe closer, toward the commonwealth of free nations. A more mature partnership with Western Europe will pose new challenges. There are certain to be clashes and controversies over economic issues. America will, of course, defend its interests. But it is important to distinguish adversaries from allies and allies from adversaries. What a tragedy; what an absurdity it would be if future historians attribute the demise of the Western Alliance to disputes over beef hormones and wars over pasta. We must all work hard to ensure that the Europe of 1992 will adopt the lower barriers of the modern international economy, not the high walls and the moats of medieval commerce.

NATO: Maintaining Peace in Europe

But our hopes for the future rest ultimately on keeping the peace in Europe. Forty-two years ago, just across the Charles River, Secretary of

State George Marshall gave a commencement address that outlined a plan to help Europe recover. Western Europe responded heroically, and later joined with us in a partnership for the common defense—a shield we call NATO. This Alliance has always been driven by a spirited debate over the best way to achieve peaceful change. But the deeper truth is that the Alliance has achieved an historic peace because it is united by a fundamental purpose. Behind the NATO shield, Europe has now enjoyed 40 years free of conflict—the longest period of peace the continent has ever known. Behind this shield, the nations of Western Europe have risen from privation to prosperity—all because of the strength and resolve of free peoples.

With a Western Europe that is now coming together, we recognize that new forms of cooperation must be developed. We applaud the defense cooperation developing in the revitalized Western European Union, whose members worked with us to keep open the sea-lanes of the Persian Gulf. We applaud the growing military cooperation between West Germany and France. We welcome British and French programs to modernize their deterrent capability and their moves toward cooperation in this area. It is perfectly right and proper that Europeans increasingly see their defense cooperation as an investment in a secure future. But we do have a major concern of a different order—a growing complacency throughout the West.

Of course, your generation can hardly be expected to share the grip of past anxieties. With such a long peace, it is hard to imagine how it could be otherwise. But our expectations in this rapidly changing world cannot race so far ahead that we forget what is at stake. There's a great irony here. While an ideological earthquake is shaking asunder the very communist foundation, the West is being tested by complacency.

We must never forget that, twice in this century, American blood has been shed over conflicts that began in Europe. We share the fervent desire of Europeans to relegate war forever to the province of distant memory. But that is why the Atlantic Alliance is so central to our foreign policy. That's why America remains committed to the Alliance and the strategy which has preserved freedom in Europe. We must never forget that to keep the peace in Europe is to keep the peace for America.

NATO's policy of flexible response keeps the United States linked to Europe and lets any would-be aggressors know that they will be met with any level of force needed to repel their attack and frustrate their designs. Our short-range deterrent forces, based in Europe and kept up to date, demonstrate that America's vital interests are bound inextricably to Western Europe, and that an attacker can never gamble on a test of strength with just our conventional forces. Though hope is now running high for a more peaceful continent, the history of this century teaches Americans and Europeans to remain prepared.

East-West Relations

As we search for a peace that is enduring, I'm grateful for the steps that Mr. Gorbachev is taking. If the Soviets advance solid and constructive plans for peace, then we should give credit where credit is due. We're seeing sweeping changes in the Soviet Union that show promise of enduring, of becoming ingrained. At the same time, in an era of extraordinary change, we have an obligation to temper optimism—and I am optimistic—with prudence.

For example, the Soviet foreign minister informed the world last week that his nation's commitment to destroy SS-23 missiles under the recently enacted INF [Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces] Treaty may be reversible. The Soviets must surely know the results of failure to comply with this solemn agreement. Perhaps their purpose was to divide the West on other issues that you're reading about in the papers today. But regardless, it is clear that Soviet new thinking has not yet totally overcome the old.

I believe in a deliberate, step-by-step approach to East-West relations because recurring signs show that while change in the Soviet Union is dramatic, it's not yet complete. The Warsaw Pact retains a nearly 12-to-one advantage over the Atlantic Alliance in short-range missile and rocket launchers capable of delivering nuclear weapons; and more than a two-to-one advantage in battle tanks. For that reason, we will also maintain in cooperation with our allies, ground and air forces in Europe as long as they are needed and needed to preserve the peace in Europe. At the same time, my administration will place a high and continuing priority on negotiating a less militarized Europe, one with a secure conventional force balance at lower levels of forces. Our aspiration is a real peace—a peace of shared optimism, not a peace of armed camps.

A Moral and Spiritual Community

Nineteen-ninety-two is the 500th anniversary of the discovery of the New World. So we have five centuries to celebrate, nothing less than our very civilization—the American Bill of Rights and the French Rights of Man, the ancient and unwritten Constitution of Great Britain, and the democratic visions of Konrad Adenauer and Alcide de Gasperi.

And in all our celebrations, we observe one fact: This truly is a moral and spiritual community. It is our inheritance and so let us protect it. Let us promote it. Let us treasure it for our children, for Americans and Europeans yet unborn.

REMARKS AT THE COAST GUARD ACADEMY GRADUATION CEREMONY

New London, Connecticut
May 24, 1989

Today our world—your world—is changing, East and West. And today I want to speak to you about the world we want to see, and what we can do to bring that new world into clear focus.

The Democratic Idea

We live in a time when we are witnessing the end of an idea—the final chapter of the communist experiment. Communism is now recognized—even by many within the communist world itself—as a failed system, one that promised economic prosperity but failed to deliver the goods, a system that built a wall between the people and their political aspirations.

But the eclipse of communism is only one-half of the story of our time. The other is the ascendancy of the democratic idea. Never before has the idea of freedom so captured the imaginations of men and women the world over. And never before has the hope of freedom beckoned so many: trade unionists in Warsaw, the people of Panama, rulers consulting the ruled in the Soviet Union. And even as we speak today, the world is transfixed by the dramatic events in Tiananmen Square. Everywhere those voices are speaking the language of democracy and freedom, and we hear them, and the world hears them, and America will do all it can to encourage them.

So today I want to speak about our security strategy for the 1990s—one that advances American ideals and upholds American aims.

Amidst the many challenges we'll face, there will be risks. But let me assure you, we'll find more than our share of opportunities. We and our allies are strong—stronger really than at any point in the postwar period—and more capable than ever of supporting the cause of freedom.

There's an opportunity before us to shape a new world.

Free Markets and Security

What is it that we want to see? It is a growing community of democracies anchoring international peace and stability, and a dynamic

free market system generating prosperity and progress on a global scale. The economic foundation of this new era is the proven success of the free market, and nurturing that foundation are the values rooted in freedom and democracy.

Our country, America, was founded on these values and they gave us the confidence that flows from strength. So let's be clear about one thing: America looks forward to the challenge of an emerging global market. But these values are not ours alone; they are now shared by our friends and allies around the globe.

The economic rise of Europe and the nations of the Pacific Rim is the growing success of our postwar policy. This time is a time of tremendous opportunity, and destiny is in our own hands. To reach the world we want to see, we've got to work, and work hard. There's a lot of work ahead of us.

We must resolve international trade problems that threaten to pit friends and allies against one another. We must combat misguided notions of economic nationalism that will tell us to close off our economies to foreign competition, just when the global marketplace has become a fact of life.

We must open the door to the nations of Eastern Europe and other socialist countries that embrace free market reforms.

And finally, for developing nations heavily burdened with debt, we must provide assistance and encourage the market reforms that will set those nations on a path towards growth.

If we succeed, the next decade and the century beyond will be an era of unparalleled growth, an era which sees the flourishing of freedom, peace and prosperity around the world.

But this new era cannot unfold in a climate where conflict and turmoil exist. And therefore, our goals must also include security and stability: security for ourselves and our allies and our friends; stability in the international arena and an end to regional conflicts.

Such goals are constant, but the strategy we employ to reach them can and must change as the world changes. Today, the need for a dynamic and adaptable strategy is imperative. We must be strong—economically, diplomatically and, as you know, militarily—to take advantage of the opportunities open to us in a world of rapid change. And nowhere will the ultimate consequences of change have more significance for world security than within the Soviet Union itself.

Change in the Soviet Union

What we're seeing now in the Soviet Union is indeed dramatic. The process is still ongoing, unfinished. But make no mistake—our policy is to seize every, and I mean every, opportunity to build a better, more stable relationship with the Soviet Union—just as it is our policy to defend

American interests in light of the enduring reality of Soviet military power.

We want to see *perestroika* succeed. And we want to see the policies of *glasnost* and *perestroika*—so far, a revolution imposed from top down—institutionalized within the Soviet Union. And we want to see *perestroika* extended as well. We want to see a Soviet Union that restructures its relationship toward the rest of the world, a Soviet Union that is a force for constructive solutions to the world's problems.

The grand strategy of the West during the postwar period has been based on the concept of containment: checking the Soviet Union's expansionist aims, in the hope that the Soviet system itself would one day be forced to confront its internal contradictions. The ferment in the Soviet Union today affirms the wisdom of this strategy. And now we have a precious opportunity to move beyond containment. You're graduating into an exciting world, where the opportunity for peace—world peace, lasting peace—has never been better.

Our goal, integrating the Soviet Union into the community of nations, is every bit as ambitious as containment was at its time. And it holds tremendous promise for international stability.

Coping with a changing Soviet Union will be a challenge of the highest order. But the security challenges we face today do not come from the East alone. The emergence of regional powers is rapidly changing the strategic landscape.

Proliferation of Weapons

In the Middle East, in South Asia, in our own hemisphere, a growing number of nations are acquiring advanced and highly destructive capabilities—in some cases, weapons of mass destruction and the means to deliver them. And it is an unfortunate fact that the world faces increasing threat from armed insurgencies, terrorists, and as you in the Coast Guard are well aware, narcotics traffickers—and, in some regions, an unholy alliance of all three.

Our task is clear: We must curb the proliferation of advanced weaponry; we must check the aggressive ambitions of renegade regimes; and we must enhance the ability of our friends to defend themselves. We have not yet mastered the complex challenge. We and our allies must construct a common strategy for stability in the developing world.

Deterrence

How we and our allies deal with these diverse challenges depends on how well we understand the key elements of defense strategy. And so let me just mention today two points in particular:

—first, the need for an effective deterrent, one that demonstrates to our allies and adversaries alike American strength, American resolve;

—and second, the need to maintain an approach to arms reduction that promotes stability at the lowest feasible level of armaments.

Deterrence is central to our defense strategy. The key to keeping the peace is convincing our adversaries that the cost of aggression against us or our allies is simply unacceptable.

In today's world, nuclear forces are essential to deterrence. Our challenge is to protect those deterrent systems from attack. And that's why we'll move Peacekeeper ICBMs out of fixed and vulnerable silos, making them mobile and thus harder to target. Looking to the longer term, we will also develop and deploy a new highly mobile single-warhead missile, the Midgetman. With only minutes of warnings, these new missiles can relocate out of harm's way. Any attack against systems like this will fail.

We are also researching—and we are committed to deploy when ready—a more comprehensive defensive system, known as SDI (Strategic Defense Initiative). Our premise is straightforward: Defense against incoming missiles endangers no person, endangers no country.

Arms Reductions

We're also working to reduce the threat we face, both nuclear and conventional. The INF (Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces) Treaty demonstrates that willingness. In addition, in the past decade, NATO has unilaterally removed 2,400 shorter-range theater warheads. But theater nuclear forces contribute to stability no less than strategic forces, and thus it would be irresponsible to depend solely on strategic nuclear forces to deter conflict in Europe.

The conventional balance in Europe is just as important and is linked to the nuclear balance. For more than 40 years—and look at your history books to see how pronounced this accomplishment is—the Warsaw Pact's massive advantage in conventional forces has cast a shadow over Europe.

The unilateral reductions that President Gorbachev has promised give us hope that we can now redress that imbalance. We welcome those steps because, if implemented, they will help reduce the threat of surprise attack. And they confirm what we've said all along, that Soviet military power far exceeds the levels needed to defend the legitimate security interests of the USSR. And we must keep in mind that these reductions alone, even if implemented, are not enough to eliminate the significant numerical superiority that the Soviet Union enjoys right now.

Through negotiation, we can now transform the military landscape of Europe. The issues are complex, stakes are very high. But the Soviets are now being forthcoming, and we hope to achieve the reductions that we seek.

Let me emphasize—our aim is nothing less than removing war as an option in Europe.

The USSR has said that it is willing to abandon its age-old reliance on offensive strategy. It's time to begin. This should mean a smaller force, one less reliant on tanks and artillery and personnel carriers that provide the Soviets' offensive striking power. A restructured Warsaw Pact—one that mirrors the defensive posture of NATO—would make Europe and the world more secure.

Openness

Peace can also be enhanced by movement towards more openness in military activities. And two weeks ago, I proposed an "Open Skies" initiative to extend the concept of openness. That plan for territorial overflights would increase our mutual security against sudden and threatening military activities. In the same spirit, let us extend this openness to military expenditures as well. I call on the Soviets to do as we have always done. Let's open the ledgers. Publish an accurate defense budget.

But as we move forward, we must be realistic. Transformations of this magnitude will not happen overnight. If we are to reach our goals, a great deal is required of us, our allies and of the Soviet Union. But we can succeed.

Inheritance of Freedom

I began today by speaking about the triumph of a particular, peculiar, very special American ideal: freedom. And I know there are those who may think there's something presumptuous about that claim, those who will think it's boastful. But it is not, for one simple reason: Democracy isn't our creation; it is our inheritance.

And we can't take credit for democracy, but we can take that precious gift of freedom, preserve it and pass it on, as my generation does to you, and you, too, will do one day. And perhaps—provided we seize the opportunities open to us—we can help others attain the freedom that we cherish.

As I said on the Capitol steps the day I took this office, as President of the United States, "There is but one just use of power, and it is to serve people." As your commander in chief, let me call on this Coast Guard class to reaffirm with me that American power will continue in its service to the enduring ideals of democracy and freedom.

REMARKS UPON DEPARTURE FOR EUROPE

Andrews Air Force Base, Maryland

May 26, 1989

I depart for Europe this morning to meet with all our North Atlantic allies, and also to pay visits to Italy, Germany and the United Kingdom for discussions with the leaders of those Alliance nations on issues of common interest.

Celebrating NATO

I am especially pleased that my first visit to Europe as president is to celebrate the 40th anniversary of NATO. America is a proud partner in the Atlantic Alliance—and American interests have been well served by the Alliance.

Twice in the first half of this century, Europe was the scene of world war. Twice, Americans fought in Europe for the sake of peace and freedom. Today, Europe is enjoying a period of unparalleled prosperity and uninterrupted peace—longer than any it has known in the modern age. NATO has made the difference—and the Alliance will prove every bit as important to American and European security in the decade ahead.

United Europe

The importance of the Alliance and its democratic underpinnings is the message I now take to Europe. NATO has been a success by any measure. But success breeds its own challenges. Today, dramatic changes are taking place in Europe, East and West. For us, those changes bring new challenges and unparalleled opportunities.

For too long, unnatural and inhuman barriers have divided East from West. We hope to overcome that division, to see a Europe that is truly free, united and at peace. We are ready to work with a united Europe, to extend the peace and prosperity we enjoy to other parts of the world. And we hope to move beyond containment—to integrate the Soviet Union into the community of nations.

We welcome the political and economic liberalization that has taken place so far in the Soviet Union and in some countries of Eastern Europe. We watch hoping that more changes will follow.

Trans-Atlantic Partnership

Many common concerns confront us. Beyond the traditional economic and security spheres, we and our partners in the Alliance are working hard on a growing international agenda—from a common approach to environmental protection, to cooperation against terrorism and drug trafficking.

We also welcome Europe's progress towards a truly common market and growing European cooperation on security issues as the basis of an even more dynamic trans-Atlantic partnership. As we approach 1992, it is essential that we work with our European partners to ensure an open and expanding world trading system, and that we take strong steps to prevent trade disputes from obscuring our common political and security concerns.

NATO is based on the many bonds between us: our shared heritage, history and culture; our shared commitment to freedom, democracy and the rights of the individual. These values represent the moral compass of America and the values I will bring to the summit.

REMARKS AT RHEINGOLDHALLE

Mainz, Federal Republic of Germany

May 31, 1989

Today, I come to speak, not just of our mutual defense, but of our shared values. I come to speak, not just of the matters of the mind, but of the deeper aspirations of the heart.

A Common Heritage

Just this morning, Barbara and I were charmed with the experiences we had. I met with a small group of German students, bright young men and women who studied in the United States. Their knowledge of our country and the world was impressive to say the least. But sadly, too many in the West, Americans and Europeans alike, seem to have forgotten the lessons of our common heritage and how the world we know came to be. And that should not be, and that cannot be. We must recall that the generation coming into its own in America and Western Europe is heir to gifts greater than those bestowed to any generation in history—peace, freedom and prosperity.

This inheritance is possible because 40 years ago the nations of the West joined in that noble, common cause called NATO. First there was the vision, the concept of free peoples in North America and Europe working to protect their values. And second, there was the practical sharing of risks and burdens, and a realistic recognition of Soviet expansionism. And finally, there was the determination to look beyond

old animosities. The NATO Alliance did nothing less than provide a way for Western Europe to heal centuries-old rivalries, to begin an era of reconciliation and restoration. It has been, in fact, a second Renaissance of Europe.

Four Decades

As you know best, this is not just the 40th birthday of the Alliance. It's also the 40th birthday of the Federal Republic—a republic born in hope, tempered by challenge. At the height of the Berlin crisis in 1948, Ernst Reuter called on Germans to stand firm and confident, and you did—courageously, magnificently.

And the historic genius of the German people has flourished in this age of peace. And your nation has become a leader in technology and the fourth largest economy on Earth. But more important, you have inspired the world by forcefully promoting the principles of human rights, democracy and freedom. The United States and the Federal Republic have always been firm friends and allies. But today we share an added role: partners in leadership.

Of course, leadership has a constant companion—responsibility. And our responsibility is to look ahead and grasp the promise of the future.

I said recently that we're at the end of one era and at the beginning of another. And I noted that, in regard to the Soviet Union, our policy is to move beyond containment.

For 40 years, the seeds of democracy in Eastern Europe lay dormant, buried under the frozen tundra of the Cold War. And for 40 years, the world has waited for the Cold War to end. And decade after decade, time after time, the flowering human spirit withered from the chill of conflict and oppression. And again, the world waited. But the passion for freedom cannot be denied forever. The world has waited long enough. The time is right. Let Europe be whole and free.

One Europe

To the founders of the Alliance, this aspiration was a distant dream, and now it's the new mission of NATO. If ancient rivals like Britain and France, or France and Germany, can reconcile, then why not the nations of the East and West?

In the East, brave men and women are showing us the way. Look at Poland, where Solidarity—*Solidarnosc*—and the Catholic Church have won legal status. The forces of freedom are putting the Soviet status quo on the defensive.

In the West, we have succeeded because we've been faithful to our values and our vision. And on the other side of the rusting Iron Curtain, their vision failed.

The Cold War began with the division of Europe. It can only end when Europe is whole. Today, it is this very concept of a divided Europe that is under siege. And that's why our hopes run especially high, because the division of Europe is under siege not by armies, but by the spread of ideas that began here, right here. It was a son of Mainz, Johannes Gutenberg, who liberated the mind of man through the power of the printed word.

And that same liberating power is unleashed today in a hundred new forms. The Voice of America, Deutsche Welle allow us to enlighten millions deep within Eastern Europe and throughout the world. Television satellites allow us to bear witness from the shipyards of Gdansk to Tiananmen Square. But the momentum for freedom does not just come from the printed word or the transistor or the television screen. It comes from a single powerful idea—democracy.

Struggle for Democracy

This one idea—this one idea is sweeping across Eurasia. This one idea is why the communist world, from Budapest to Beijing, is in ferment. Of course, for the leaders of the East, it's not just freedom for freedom's sake. But whatever their motivation, they are unleashing a force they will find difficult to channel or control—the hunger for liberty of oppressed peoples who have tasted freedom.

Nowhere is this more apparent than in Eastern Europe, the birthplace of the Cold War. In Poland, at the end of World War II, the Soviet army prevented the free elections promised by Stalin at Yalta. And today, Poles are taking the first steps toward real elections, so long promised, so long deferred. And in Hungary, at last we see a chance for multi-party competition at the ballot box.

As president, I will continue to do all I can to help open the closed societies of the East. We seek self-determination for all of Germany and all of Eastern Europe. And we will not relax, and we must not waver. Again, the world has waited long enough.

But democracy's journey East is not easy. Intellectuals like the great Czech playwright, Vaclav Havel, still work under the shadow of coercion. And repression still menaces too many peoples of Eastern Europe. Barriers and barbed wire still fence in nations. So when I visit Poland and Hungary this summer, I will deliver this message: There cannot be a common European home until all within it are free to move from room to room.

U.S. Proposals

And I'll take another message: The path of freedom leads to a larger home—a home where West meets East, a democratic home—the commonwealth of free nations.

And I said that positive steps by the Soviets would be met by steps of our own. And this is why I announced on May 12 a readiness to consider granting to the Soviets a temporary waiver of the Jackson-Vanik* trade restrictions, if they liberalize emigration. And this is also why I announced on Monday [May 29] that the United States is prepared to drop the "no exceptions" standard that has guided our approach to controlling the export of technology to the Soviet Union—lifting a sanction enacted in response to their invasion of Afghanistan.

And in this same spirit, I set forth four proposals to heal Europe's tragic division, to help Europe become whole and free.

First, I propose we strengthen and broaden the Helsinki Process to promote free elections and political pluralism in Eastern Europe. As the forces of freedom and democracy rise in the East, so should our expectations.

And weaving together the slender threads of freedom in the East will require much from the Western democracies. In particular, the great political parties of the West must assume an historic responsibility—to lend counsel and support to those brave men and women who are trying to form the first truly representative political parties in the East, to advance freedom and democracy, to part the Iron Curtain.

The Wall

In fact, it's already begun to part. The frontier of barbed wire and minefields between Hungary and Austria is being removed, foot by foot, mile by mile. Just as the barriers are coming down in Hungary, so must they fall throughout all of Eastern Europe. Let Berlin be next. Let Berlin be next.

Nowhere is the division between East and West seen more clearly than in Berlin. And there this brutal Wall cuts neighbor from neighbor, brother from brother. And that Wall stands as a monument to the failure of communism. It must come down.

Now, *glasnost* may be a Russian word, but openness is a Western concept. West Berlin has always enjoyed the openness of a free city. And our proposal would make all Berlin a center of commerce between East and West—a place of cooperation, not a point of confrontation. And we rededicate ourselves to the 1987 allied initiative to strengthen freedom and security in that divided city. This, then is my second proposal—bring *glasnost* to East Berlin.

*These restrictions, set out in the Jackson-Vanik Amendment to the Trade Act of 1974, prohibit the extension of credits and Most-Favored-Nation (MFN) trade status to any non-market economy country that restricts the free emigration of its citizens.

Environment

My generation remembers a Europe ravaged by war. And of course, Europe has long since rebuilt its proud cities and restored its majestic cathedrals. But what a tragedy it would be if your continent was again spoiled, this time by a more subtle and insidious danger—the chancellor referred to it—that of poisoned rivers and acid rain.

America has faced an environmental tragedy in Alaska. Countries from France to Finland suffered after Chernobyl. West Germany is struggling to save the Black Forest today. And throughout, we have all learned a terrible lesson: Environmental destruction respects no borders.

So my third proposal is to work together on these environmental problems, with the United States and Western Europe extending a hand to the East. Since much remains to be done in both East and West, we ask Eastern Europe to join us in this common struggle. We can offer technical training, assistance in drafting laws and regulations, and new technologies for tackling these awesome problems. And I invite the environmentalists and engineers of the East to visit the West to share knowledge so we can succeed in this great cause.

Arms Control

My fourth proposal, actually, a set of proposals, concerns a less militarized Europe, the most heavily armed continent in the world. Nowhere is this more important than in the two Germanys. And that's why our quest to safely reduce armaments has a special significance for the German people.

To those who are impatient with our measured pace in arms reductions, I respectfully suggest that history teaches us a lesson—that unity and strength are the catalysts and prerequisites to arms control. We've always believed that a strong Western defense is the best road to peace. Forty years of experience have proven us right.

But we've done more than just keep the peace. By standing together, we have convinced the Soviets that their arms buildup has been costly and pointless. Let us not give them incentives to return to the policies of the past. Let us give them every reason to abandon the arms race for the sake of the human race.

In this era of both negotiation and armed camps, America understands that West Germany bears a special burden. Of course, in this nuclear age, every nation is on the front line. But not all free nations are called to endure the tension of regular military activity or the constant presence of foreign military forces. We are sensitive to these special conditions that this needed presence imposes.

To significantly ease the burden of armed camps in Europe, we must be aggressive in our pursuit of solid, verifiable agreements between NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

On Monday [May 29], with my NATO colleagues in Brussels, I shared my great hope for the future of conventional arms negotiations in Europe. I shared with them a proposal for achieving significant reductions in the near future.

And as you know, the Warsaw Pact has now accepted major elements of our Western approach to the new conventional arms negotiations in Vienna. The Eastern bloc acknowledges that a substantial imbalance exists between the conventional forces of the two alliances. And they've moved closer to NATO's position by accepting most elements of our initial conventional arms proposal. These encouraging steps have produced the opportunity for creative and decisive action, and we shall not let that opportunity pass.

Arms Reductions and Parity

Our proposal has several key initiatives.

I propose that we "lock in" the Eastern agreement to Western-proposed ceilings on tanks and armored troop carriers. We should also seek an agreement on common numerical ceilings for artillery in the range between NATO's and that of the Warsaw Pact, provided these definitional problems can be solved. And the weapons we remove must be destroyed.

We should expand our current offer to include all land-based combat aircraft and helicopters by proposing that both sides reduce in these categories to a level 15 percent below the current NATO totals. Given the Warsaw Pact's advantage in numbers, the Pact would have to make far deeper reductions than NATO to establish parity at those lower levels. Again, the weapons we remove must be destroyed.

I propose a 20-percent cut in combat manpower in U.S.-stationed forces, and a resulting ceiling on U.S. and Soviet ground and air forces stationed outside of national territory in the Atlantic-to-the-Urals zone at approximately 275,000 each. This reduction to parity, a fair and balanced level of strength, would compel the Soviets to reduce their 600,000-strong Red army in Eastern Europe by 325,000. And these withdrawn forces must be demobilized.

And finally, I call on President Gorbachev to accelerate the timetable for reaching these agreements. There is no reason why the five-to-six year timetable, as suggested by Moscow, is necessary. I propose a much more ambitious schedule. And we should aim to reach an agreement within six months to a year and accomplish reductions by 1992, or 1993 at the latest.

"Open Skies" and Proliferation

In addition to my conventional arms proposals, I believe that we ought to strive to improve the openness with which we and the Soviets conduct

our military activities. And therefore, I want to reiterate my support for greater transparency. I renew my proposal that the Soviet Union and its allies open their skies to reciprocal, unarmed aerial surveillance flights, conducted on short notice to watch military activities. Satellites are a very important way to verify arms control agreements. But they do not provide constant coverage of the Soviet Union. An "Open Skies" policy would move both sides closer to a total continuity of coverage, while symbolizing greater openness between East and West.

These are my proposals to achieve a less militarized Europe. A short time ago they would have been too revolutionary to consider. And yet today, we may well be on the verge of a more ambitious agreement in Europe than anyone considered possible.

But we are also challenged by developments outside of NATO's traditional areas of concern. Every Western nation still faces the global proliferation of lethal technologies, including ballistic missiles and chemical weapons. We must collectively control the spread of these growing threats. So we should begin as soon as possible with a worldwide ban on chemical weapons.

A Vision for Europe

Growing political freedom in the East, a Berlin without barriers, a cleaner environment, a less militarized Europe—each is a noble goal, and taken together, they are the foundation of our larger vision: a Europe that is free and at peace with itself. And so, let the Soviets know that our goal is not to undermine their legitimate security interests. Our goal is to convince them, step by step, that their definition of security is obsolete, that their deepest fears are unfounded.

When Western Europe takes its giant step in 1992, it will institutionalize what's been true for years—borders open to people, commerce and ideas. No shadow of suspicion, no sinister fear, is cast between you. The very prospect of war within the West is unthinkable to our citizens. But such a peaceful integration of nations into a world community does not mean that any nation must relinquish its culture, much less its sovereignty.

This process of integration, a subtle weaving of shared interests, which is so nearly complete in Western Europe, has now finally begun in the East. We want to help the nations of Eastern Europe realize what we, the nations of Western Europe, learned long ago. The foundation of lasting security comes, not from tanks, troops or barbed wire. It is built on shared values and agreements that link free peoples.

The nations of Eastern Europe are rediscovering the glories of their national heritage. So let the colors and hues of national culture return to these gray societies of the East. Let Europe forego a peace of tension for a peace of trust, one in which the peoples of the East and West

REMARKS UPON ARRIVAL AT PEASE AIR FORCE BASE

Portsmouth, New Hampshire

June 2, 1989

In the last week, Barbara and I have been to Rome and the Vatican, Brussels, Bonn and London, and working with our allies in Europe, we set a course for the future. And we must move to fulfill that promise, moving beyond containment, moving beyond the era of conflict and Cold War that the world has known for more than 40 years, because keeping the peace in Europe means keeping the peace for America. Our Alliance seeks a less militarized Europe—a safer world for all of us.

And I'm now returning from Europe with a message for the American people—a message of hope. We have a great and historic opportunity to shape the changes that are transforming Europe. This chance has been delivered not just because of our strength and resolve, but also because of our power of ideas, especially one idea which is sweeping the communist world—democracy.

Charting the Path to Peace

For the last six weeks, I've presented, in a series of speeches, ways to deal with these changes to make the most of this opportunity. And let me summarize: In Michigan I stressed that the United States will actively encourage peaceful reform led by the forces of freedom in Eastern Europe. The Texas speech explains America's commitment to a balanced approach in our relationship with the Soviet Union—that we must remain strong and realistic, judge their performance, not their rhetoric, all the while seeking a friendship with the Soviets that knows no season of suspicion.

And at Boston University the focus was our partnership with a more united Western Europe—how a strong Europe means a strong America. And then at the Coast Guard Academy I said that America is ready to seize every—and I do mean every—opportunity to bring the Soviet Union into the community of nations. And then, with my colleagues in Brussels, on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the North Atlantic Alliance, we celebrated NATO's 40 years of success in

preserving the peace in Europe—the longest period without war in all the recorded history of that continent.

And we were reminded that once again the future of so many nations depends on NATO's unity and resolve. We were reminded that NATO must remain strong and together, and we were challenged to seize this new opportunity for progress while staying true to the principles that got us here.

Well, we met that challenge. We agreed to strive—to hope—for a Europe that is whole and free. At the Rheingoldhalle in Mainz, in the heart of Germany, I said that the Cold War began with the division of Europe, and it must end with a reconciliation based on shared values, where East joins West in a commonwealth of free nations.

Arms and Environment

And that is my vision for the future, and here is how we get there. The Warsaw Pact has a lot more planes, a lot more arms, a lot more troops in Europe than the NATO Alliance, and we challenge the Soviets, if they are serious, to reduce to equal numbers. Our proposal is bold, but fundamentally fair, and every single one of our allies agreed with our proposal.

We proposed a new initiative for more comprehensive and faster negotiated cuts in conventional arms to lift the West at last from the shadow cast over Europe since 1945 by massive Soviet ground and air forces, and our allies agreed. And we proposed that Berlin, East and West, become a center of cooperation, not confrontation. And our allies agreed. And we proposed that we strengthen the Helsinki Process to support free elections in Eastern Europe, and our allies agreed.

Because the threat of environmental destruction knows no borders, we proposed that the West enlist the countries of Eastern Europe in one of the great causes of our time—the common struggle to save our natural heritage.

And, with our agreement in NATO on our short-range nuclear forces in Europe, we demonstrated as an Alliance that we can manage change while remaining true to the strategy of deterrence which has kept the peace.

New World

In short, this week's NATO summit in Brussels showed that we are ready to help shape a new world. In this period of historic change, the NATO Alliance has never been more united, never been stronger, and we issued a summit declaration detailing our vision for the future and plan of action. And ours is not an arrogant challenge to Mr. Gorbachev, it's an appeal in good faith. The summit was a triumph for the Alliance, a triumph of ideas, and—most of all—it was a triumph of hope.

And let me say, it is truly gratifying that all of this was understood so well at home and abroad. While keeping our defenses up and our eyes wide open, we must go forward. We must stay on the offensive. We must get to work now to end the Cold War. The world has waited long enough, and if we succeed, the world your children will know—the world of the 21st century—will be all the better.