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**Collection/Office of Origin:** Speechwriting, White House Office of  
**Series:** Snow, Tony, Files  
**Subseries:** Subject File, 1988-1993

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**OA/ID Number:** 13897  
**Folder ID Number:** 13897-018

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**Folder Title:**  
[Presidential Speech Drafts, 1990-1992]

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**"The New World in Which We Now Live:"  
Realism and Rhetoric in American Foreign Policy**

-- Daniel McGroarty

Draft proposal, submitted to the Council on Foreign Relations, October 1991.

For the third time this century, the geopolitical tectonic plates are shifting. What began in Eastern Europe's Revolution of '89 has culminated in the short span of two years in the wholesale collapse of the communist idea. This radical transformation of the world as we have known it represents at once a triumph, for the policies guiding the United States and the West for the past four decades -- and a trauma, inducing a kind of national (or more precisely international) identity crisis.

The irony in this undisputed victory for Western ideals is that the committed "internationalist" camp that led the battle has sustained nearly as much damage as the Berlin Wall. The end of the Cold War has sparked a resurgence of isolationist sentiment, and the kaleidoscopic changes of the past two years have taken a toll on how we speak about our national aims and interests.

The danger is more than simply finding ourselves at a loss for words. The risk in terms of unguided rhetoric will be measured in opportunities squandered -- in instability and conflict that might well have been avoided.

The reason has to do with rhetoric's special role in American democracy. The American polity -- the only regime in history animated not by blood bonds or ties to a land, but by the

*new rhetoric*  
*expands*

power of an idea -- is constitutionally unable to sustain a policy based simply on realpolitik.

For too long, advocates of foreign policy "realism" have relegated rhetoric to the "idealist" camp. The dangers in doing so were less apparent during the Cold War era, when rhetoric rallying the faithful against communist ideology served the interest of realists opposed to Soviet power. In the post-Cold War world, this consonance of pragmatism and principle can no longer be assumed. Realists must recognize that, in America, rhetoric will always be the lever by which we move policy.

*independent analysis*  
*unusually*

This marriage of realism and rhetoric I am suggesting has all the allure of a shotgun wedding. Often in the past, realists scorned rhetoric as policy set to pretty words. And when Presidents urged Americans to support a "war to end all wars," to make it "the policy of the United States to support free peoples...," to "pay any price" and "bear any burden," realists frequently scored such statements as moralistic bombast, responsible for plunging America into self-defeating fits of crusading moralism.

Yet, how we speak about the larger aims of American policy, about this Nation's proper place in the world, defines who and what we are. Desert Storm offers our most recent case in point. Compelling interests were undoubtedly at stake in the Gulf -- but without a larger ideal, American support for Desert Storm would have been far more precarious.

We move forward into the post-Cold War world as victors but also as victims of our own success. For four decades, American policy was built around the core concept of containment -- an essentially negative goal. The question now is whether in the post-Cold War era we are summoned to some more positive purpose -- or whether we must merely complete the mop-up operation before America, as voices on the Right and Left now urge, "comes home again." If "internationalism" is to turn back this challenge -- as I believe it must -- it must find a new voice.

\* \* \*

This study constitutes an attempt to explore how rhetoric can be harnessed to speak to the challenges of a new world, a world of changing American objectives and enduring American ideals.

As such, it must contend with the New World Order -- the concept popularized by President Bush as a shorthand for the opportunities opened to us by the demise of the ideology and enemy against which the West defined itself for half a century. To some, New World Order is no more than a slogan; a catch-all so elastic as to be devoid of meaning. To others, the new world order is a snare: an all-too-real enticement to new and unwarranted international adventures and obligations we should not seek and cannot support.

This study should take as its point of departure the present transition period, from the summer and fall of 1989 through Desert Storm to the present. It is my intention to supplement an

analysis of the present interplay of rhetoric and policy with interviews of the major actors: President Bush, National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft, Deputy NSC advisor Robert Gates, and others experts and analysts in and out of government. Such an approach would shed light on the policy behind the rhetoric, and the relation between the two.

This study, however, must be more than a snapshot of the present. I will buttress my analysis with a close reading of the past. As a people, we are inclined not to look back but to plunge ahead. The safeguard against this danger is distance -- critical space in which we can weigh alternatives. We can purchase distance from present events by exploring past analogues. In part, this study would seek to illuminate the present by examining the rhetoric of this century's previous transition periods: the defining years of 1919 and 1945.

Such a study is relevant because in significant ways, the "new order" now emerging is hardly new at all. It shares many common characteristics with the post-war dreams of 1919 and 1945 -- visions of a world in which order (as a necessary but not sufficient cause) would form the backdrop for a widening circle of democracy. It may prove possible to anticipate the new realities of 1991 in the hopes, and therefore in the rhetoric, of 1919 and 1945.

What is at stake is far more than merely providing the present with its pedigree. The passing of the old order does not mean we have reached "the end of history." Saddam Hussein has

taught us that the end of the Cold War does not mean the end of conflict. In the Balkans, and in what stood for so long as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, we now see ancient animosities frozen in place by the long Cold War flaring into armed conflict. In China, home to more than one-fifth of the world's population, a gerontocracy continues to rule in the name of an ideology now recognized as morally bankrupt.

A rhetoric informed by realism must avoid shackling our national "freedom of action" to the vagaries of an evanescent "international will." It must rise above a cold calculus of interests that will never move the American people to act -- without verging over into a crusading moralism that sacrifices to prudence to principle.

Ultimately, the attempt to identify a new realist rhetoric resolves itself into a debate about America's purpose. The outcome of this debate will affect everything from the percentage of GNP devoted to defense and social services to a nation's sense of self. Beneath its surface rage the perennial tensions between realpolitik and idealism, the polar extremes of isolationism and internationalism -- questions that determine the commitment of U.S. power and prestige. As in 1919 and 1945, the answers will open certain avenues of action and close off others for years and decades to come. The results of such a study could contribute to our self-understanding at the critical moment when old order gives way to new.

# # #

Let us honor those who have served us -- those who have shown us all that America means to the world -- by making certain that **we here** are worthy of them. ///

Our victory sends a clear signal. **To any dictator -- to any would-be tyrant, anywhere in the world, the message is clear:** Aggression will not stand. ///

All that we have accomplished in war will be in vain, if this nation fails to serve -- now and in the future -- as a force for peace and stability. //

In 1948 and 1956 -- in '67 and again in '73 -- in 1982 in Lebanon, and today in the violence of the West Bank and Gaza -- hostility has spilled over into bloodshed and open conflict. // For too long, the passage of time in the Middle East has been measured by wars waged. //

The work of peace begins with the liberation of Kuwait -- with a peace that makes a small nation whole. Throughout the Middle East, we must work to put to rest the ancient enmities that for so long have shattered the peace. //

I am pleased to report tonight that the ceasefire is holding and appears to be secure. [[LATEST DEVELOPMENTS ON CEASEFIRE, POWs, etc.]]

historic heart and crossroads of civilization.

cultivate in ourselves -- in everything we do -- that same sense of humanity. A saving sense of humility -- and let that kind and generous spirit shine forth in all that America does. //

The fruits of this victory are far more than a free Kuwait. By defending one nation's right to exist -- we made every nation more secure. // It is that willingness to act together that is the world's best hope for lasting peace. ///

Finally, let us pray that this pain and loss and tragedy will move man to seek peace with all his strength.

// Let history mark this moment as a turning point in pursuit of peace.

////////////////////

Let's recognize right here and now what that means for our own defenses. It's time to turn away from politics-as-usual -- from the temptation to protect unneeded weapons systems and obsolete bases. It's time to put an end to micro-managing security assistance programs. It's time to enact a national energy strategy that reduces our vulnerability to foreign oil. In short, it is time to rise above the parochial and the pork-barrel -- and do what's necessary and right. //

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cultivate in ourselves -- in everything we do -- that same sense of humanity. A saving sense of humility -- and let that kind and generous spirit shine forth in all that America does. //

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America's Role in the Emerging World

I could not be more pleased than to be here this evening, to have this opportunity to speak before this gathering devoted to exploring "America's Role in the Emerging World." The subject could not be more timely. And the auspices could not be more appropriate. The Richard Nixon Library stands as a monument to a President and to an administration devoted to an active, thoughtful and above all realistic approach to the world.

The challenge faced by President Nixon could hardly have been more daunting: How to maintain domestic support for a foreign policy mandated by a growing Soviet threat at a time an over-burdened America was fighting an unpopular war in Vietnam. What emerged--the policies of detente and the doctrine that bears the name of the 37th President--provided a balance between confrontation and cooperation, (a balance between withdrawal and engagement in the world.) President Nixon managed this and more, extricating us from a war, negotiating the first comprehensive U.S.-Soviet arms control agreements, opening up relations with China, mediating disengagement pacts in the Middle East--all while preserving a consensus at home favoring continued engagement in world affairs.

*use this*

?

*B*  
*use this*

*And he did all this*

To be sure, today's challenge is fundamentally different. Yet it does bear some resemblance. Once again we must find a way

(C)

Today, we must

to balance withdrawal and engagement, to square the responsibilities of world leadership with the requirements of domestic renewal. What we must do is find a way to maintain popular support for an active foreign policy and a strong defense in the absence of an <sup>single</sup> overriding external threat to our nation's security. In this post-Cold War world, ours is the wonderful yet no less real or difficult challenge of coping with success. This challenge is by no means unprecedented. Think back to the era after World War I or the years in the immediate wake of World War II. In both instances, the American people were anxious to bring their victorious troops home, to focus their energies on making the American dream a reality.

use this

When at meeting already from coping w/ success.

Historic challenge

Perhaps more instructive, though, are the differences between our reactions following this century's two great wars. After World War I, the United States retreated behind its oceans. We refused to support the League of Nations. We allowed our military forces to shrink and grow obsolete. We helped international trade plummet, the victim of beggar-thy-neighbor protectionism. And we stood by and watched as Germany's struggling democracy, the Weimar Republic, failed under the weight of reparations, protectionism and depression, and gave way to the horror of the Third Reich.

It is true that our initial reaction to victory in World War II showed little learning. But, galvanized by an emerging Communist threat spearheaded by an imperialist Soviet Union, the United States acted. NATO, the IMF, the World Bank, the Marshall

*to Nixon? part of what J. Nixon meant by the structure of peace*

Plan--these and other institutions are proof that Americans grasped the nature of the challenge and the need to respond. Our military was modernized, free trade nourished, U.S. support for former adversaries Germany and Japan made generous. It was fitting that Dean Acheson titled his memoirs "Present at the Creation", for these years were truly creative.

The result, as they say, is history. We kept the peace. We won the Cold War. Democracy is today more rule than exception. Now, for the third time this century, we have emerged on the winning side of a war--the Cold War--involving the great powers. The question before us is the same: We have won the war. But are we prepared to secure the peace?

That is a challenge we must face. We often hear that we no longer need to worry about the world, that with the Cold War won the United States can relax. I hear too that we cannot afford to worry about the world, that we have done our part, that now it is time to spend our precious resources on ourselves, to fix what got broken here at home while we focussed on the outside world.

Already, there are voices across the political spectrum calling--in some cases, shouting--for America to "Come Home." "Gut defense" they say. "Spend the peace dividend". "Shut out foreign goods". "Slash foreign aid".

You all know the slogans. You all know the so-called solutions: Protectionism. Isolationism. America First.

But now we have the have the obligation, the responsibility to our children, to reject the false answers of isolation and

*A*  
*case study*

✓ protection, to heed history's lessons. Turning our back on the world is no answer. Allowing the world to become a worse place will not make America a better place. To the contrary, the futures of the United States and the world we are entering are inextricably linked.

Just why this is so could not be more clear. Yes, the world is a safer place. Yes, the Soviet Union that we knew and feared is no longer. But the successor republics are still struggling to establish themselves as democracies, still struggling to make the transition to Capitalism. We invested so much to win the Cold War. Can we not afford to invest what is necessary to win the peace? If we fail, if we repeat the experience of the Weimar Republic, we will create new problems for our security and that of Europe and Asia. The cost of meeting such a challenge would be far greater than the cost of avoiding it. We must support reform, not only in Russia, but throughout the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

There are as well other challenges, the responses to which will help determine the character of the emerging world.

Fledgling democracies in the Americas require our help. A historic peace process in the Middle East, one that holds out the hope of reconciling Israel and her Arab neighbors, will not succeed without U.S. support and leadership. Developments in Cambodia may allow us to resolve--finally--the vestiges of decades of bitter conflict in southeast Asia. The United Nations at long last may be in a position to fulfill the vision of its

agreement for  
engagement

of the  
regions

# Look at the Threats Ahead

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founders. But at the same time, there are real dangers: drugs, terrorism, disease, the environment, above all the spread of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons together with ballistic missiles. The post-Cold War world promises to be one of increased diffusion of military power, one with more, not less, chance for conflict. With so much that is good and right within our grasp, yet with so much still that could threaten us, to cast off the mantle of leadership would be to betray both our predecessors and our children, our past and our future.

Yes, carrying out a leadership role in determining the course of the emerging world will cost money. But like any insurance policy, the premium is cheap compared to the potential cost of living in a warring and hostile world. Many in Congress are calling for a peace dividend. They would have us slash defense spending far below the reduced levels we have calculated would be prudent. This must be resisted. The United States must remain ready and able to keep the peace; a well-trained, well-equipped military cannot be created overnight if and when the need arises. Anyone who has ever gone to war knows that peace is its own dividend.

Those who would have us do less abroad ignore the potential for overseas developments to affect life here at home. If we had not resisted aggression in the Gulf a year ago, if we had not liberated Kuwait and defeated Iraq's invading army, we would now be facing the economic consequences not of a mild recession, but of depression brought on by Saddam Hussein's control over the

use this

majority of the world's oil. It is a pipedream to believe that we can somehow insulate our society or our economy or our lives from the world beyond our borders.

This is not meant to suggest that we should not do more here at home. Of course we should. We must--to improve our schools, to fight crime and drugs, to make sure quality health care is available to every American. But the problem is not simply one of resources. We already spend more on health care than any other country in the world. And we have learned that the federal government and money alone cannot make our cities safe or keep families intact. Some things we must do for ourselves--as states, as communities, as families, as individuals. Foreign policy must not be made the scapegoat for what ails America.

Isolationism is not the only temptation we need to avoid. Protectionism is another. It too will be difficult to resist. There are many examples of unfair trade practices where U.S. firms get shut out of foreign markets owing to trade barriers of one sort or another or owing to government subsidies.

But the way to bring down barriers abroad is not to raise them at home. In trade wars there are no winners, only losers. It is not hard to see why. Prices go up. Quality and choice go down. The Atlantic and Pacific Oceans do not form a moat. This is no time to pull up the economic drawbridge and cut ourselves off from the benefits of trade. Our goal should be the opposite, to increase trade. Export growth is a proven engine for economic growth. Every billion dollars in our exports creates 20,000 jobs

*Drive down barriers that  
will not  
be new walls.*

*We did not win the Cold War  
to make the world safe for  
trade wars.*

for Americans. And we should have no doubts about the ability of our workers and farmers to thrive in a competitive world.

We all have thoughts on how best to cope with the challenges of the emerging world. What matters most is that we understand the nature of the challenges and commit ourselves to engaging them. Opting out, be it under the banner of protection or isolation, is nothing more than a recipe for impoverishment, weakness and, ultimately, disaster. We will need to act with the same energy, the same generosity, the same leadership that have made possible the current prospects for peace and prosperity. We will have little success at persuading others to do more if we ourselves are determined to do less.

If I can choose a theme for you to take away from what I have to say tonight, it is this: (there is no distinction between how we fare abroad and how we live at home.) Foreign and domestic policy are but two sides of the same coin. True, we will not be able to lead abroad if we are not united and strong at home, but it is no less true that we will be unable to build the society we seek in a world where military and economic warfare is the norm.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the responsibility for supporting an active foreign policy is one for every American. But this task falls especially upon those in this room tonight. Many of you helped form the consensus that served us so well over the past half century. Now we face a challenge no less daunting. If I may cite your conference chairman Jim Schlesinger, "The Cold War, despite its menace, had an elegant simplicity." I quote this not

Shades of  
Eisenhower

out of any regret over the Cold War's passing, but to point out the risks we face in its wake. We are entering a world that promises to be more rather than less complicated, more rather than less difficult to lead. And again you have a special responsibility to help show the way.

At this point I can do no better than to echo the words of Richard Nixon, the man responsible for our being together this evening. "We are privileged to live at a moment of history like none most people have ever experienced or will ever experience again. We must seize the moment not just for ourselves but for others. Only if this becomes a better world for others will it be a better world for us, and only when we participate in a cause greater than ourselves can we be fully true to ourselves."

As we look toward the future, the only thing that is certain is that it will bring a new world. Our task--our opportunity--is to make it an orderly one, to build a new world order of peace, democracy and prosperity. Let us dedicate ourselves to making the most of this precious opportunity, of this privilege.

Thank you.

Rec'd 9:15 3/31  
Returned to DD  
11:30 3/31

Draft 2  
March 30, 1992

DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL PRESS STATEMENT

I have just met with the Congressional leadership to request their bipartisan backing for a new and comprehensive program to support the struggle for freedom in Russia, Ukraine, Armenia and the other new states that have replaced the Soviet Union. The revolution we are witnessing in these states is a defining moment in history with profound and compelling consequences for America's own ~~future~~. *national interests and ideals.*

*Our adversary for 45 years - the one nation that posed a world-wide threat to freedom & peace - is now struggling to join us in democracy.*

~~But~~ we are more than mere spectators standing on the sidelines. The stakes are as high as any America has faced in a long time. A victory for freedom in the former USSR creates the possibility of a new world of peace for our children and grandchildren. The defeat of democratic forces, however, could plunge us back into a ~~more dangerous~~ world, *similar to the dark years of the Cold War*. *more dangerous in many respects than*

*a world of anarchy & chaos, compounded by the existence of nuclear weapons.*

America must rise to meet this challenge, joining in a global effort with those who stood beside us in ~~(the Cold War)~~ Germany, the United Kingdom, Japan, France, and our other allies.

*the battle against imperial Communism*

→ Together, we won the Cold War. *Today we* ~~We~~ must ~~now~~ win the peace.

This effort will require new resources from the industrial democracies, but ~~[nothing that would approximate what we would have to]~~ pay if democracy and reform failed in Russia and Ukraine, Armenia and Kazakstan. It will also require the efforts of a united America, strengthened by a consensus that transcends even the heated partisanship of a Presidential election campaign.

*the cost would be nothing compared to the price we'd*

✓ I am calling today *not simply for a new national effort - but* for a new global effort to respond to this challenge.

→ *To this end, I announce this 3-point plan to support the growth of democracy in the ruins of communist dictatorship:*

First, the United States and its western allies will join forces in an unprecedented multilateral program to support reform in the former USSR. The U.S. is committed to working with our allies and the IMF to develop a \$6 billion currency stabilization fund for the Russian ruble. We will also join our key allies in

→ marshalling existing and *additional* resources to develop an \$18 billion international program to extend additional financial support to Russia this year. This program will help the Russian government ~~to~~ close its financing gap and stabilize its economy at a critical moment ~~for reform~~. *in the quest for democratic reform.*

Third, I am introducing today a comprehensive bill--the Support for Freedom Act--that charts a new U.S. program of engagement and support for the new states. This bill would:

↑  
(MAKE THE BILL + ALL ITS PROVISIONS POINT 3.)

- Authorize a U.S. contribution of \$12 billion for IMF replenishment, which is critical to supporting Russia and the other new states, without spending a penny of budgetary funds. The IMF and World Bank will be the primary source of funding for the major financial assistance needs of the new governments.
- Give me the authority to work with the G-7 and the IMF to put together the stabilization program for Russia, and possible subsequent programs for other states as they embark on landmark reforms.
- Repeal <sup>old</sup> restrictive Cold War legislation to permit expanded trade and investment with Russia and the other states. This will allow American business to compete on an even footing in these new markets.
- Broaden use of the \$500 million appropriated by Congress last year to encompass not only the safe dismantling and destruction of nuclear weapons, but also the broader goals of nuclear plant safety, demilitarization and defense conversion.
- Establish a major people-to-people program between the U.S. and the CIS states to create the type of lasting, personal bonds among our peoples so critical to long-term peace.

*Second*  
*(Move to p. 1.)*  
~~Third~~, I am announcing today \$1.1 billion in new Commodity Credit Corporation credit guarantees for the purchase of American agricultural products: \$600 million for Russia, and an additional \$500 million for Ukraine and other states.

~~Let me close with a few personal reflections.~~

*Let me say to the American people why we must support this program.*

As President, I think every day about the challenge of securing a peaceful future for the American people. I believe very strongly that President Yeltsin's courageous reform program holds the greatest hope for the future of the Russian people, and for the security of the American people as we define a new relationship with that great country.

✓ For more than forty-five years the highest responsibility of nine American Presidents, Democrats and Republicans, was to wage and win the Cold War. It is my privilege to be the first American President to lead the American people in winning the peace. And  
 ✓ I intend to do so.

Instead of containing the Soviet Union, we must now turn our energies to embracing the people so recently freed from that tyranny. ~~I know I am asking for a commitment at a difficult time \* for America, but I nonetheless do so without reservation. We face an opportunity this year to shape a secure and peaceful~~

*\* I know there are those who say we should pull back - concentrate on*

*we come them into a widening circle of freedom.*

~~future into the next century. This enormous, historic challenge will not be fulfilled overnight, and will likely engage our country for many years to come. But it is a challenge that the United States must meet and win.~~ *re peaks earlier pass.*

✓ My message to all Americans today is that we must seize this moment ~~to embark on this challenge of peace. If we walk away from it, the relief would be temporary and shallow a few more dollars in somebody's pocket.~~ If we face up to the challenge, matching the courage of Russian President Boris Yeltsin, Ukrainian President Kravchuk, Armenian President Ter-Petrosian and ~~many others,~~ future generations of Americans will thank us for having had the foresight and conviction to stand up for democracy, ~~and to work for peace in this decade and into the next century.~~ *For freedom, For a future blessed by peace.*

*The democratic dreams of so many millions of people.*

83.

*If we turn away, if we do not do what we can to help democ. succeed in the lands of the old Soviet Union -- ~~we will~~ our failure to act will carry a far higher price.*

## DRAFT STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

I have just met with the Congressional leadership to request their bipartisan backing for a new, comprehensive, and integrated program to support the struggle for freedom in Russia, Ukraine, and the other new states that have replaced the Soviet Union. The revolution in these states is a defining moment in history with profound consequences for America's own national interests.

The stakes are as high as any American has faced in this century. Our adversary for 45 years -- the one nation that posed a worldwide threat to freedom and peace -- is now seeking to join the community of democratic nations. A victory for freedom in the former USSR creates the possibility of a new world of peace for our children and grandchildren. A defeat could plunge us into a world more dangerous in some respects than the dark years of the Cold War.

America must meet this challenge, joining with those who stood beside us in the battle against imperial communism -- Germany, the United Kingdom, Japan, France, and our other allies.

Together, we won the Cold War. Today we must win the peace.

This effort will require new resources from the industrial democracies, but nothing like the price we would pay if democracy and reform failed in Russia and Ukraine, Armenia, Byelarus or the other new states. It will require the efforts of a united

America, strengthened by a consensus that transcends even the heated partisanship of a Presidential election campaign. Today I call upon Congress, Republicans and Democrats alike, and the American people, to stand behind this united effort.

Our national effort must be part of a global effort. I have been in contact with Chancellor Kohl, Prime Minister Major, and other key allies, to discuss our plans, and to assure them of the high priority I place on the success of this effort.

To this end, I would like to announce today a three-point plan -- six months in the making -- to support democracy in the states of the former Soviet Union:

**First**, the United States has been working with its western allies and the international financial institutions on an unprecedented multilateral program to support reform in the newly independent states. The success of this program will depend upon their commitment to reform and willingness to work with the international community.

Russia has already exhibited that commitment, and I am announcing today that the U.S. is prepared to join in a substantial multilateral financial assistance package in support of Russia's reforms. We are committed to developing, with our allies and the IMF, a \$6 billion currency stabilization fund to help maintain confidence in the Russian ruble. The U.S. will also join in a multilateral effort to marshal \$18 billion in financial support in 1992 to assist Russian efforts to stabilize and restructure

their economy. I urge the G-7 Finance ministers to complete action on this \$24 billion package by the end of April.

**Second,** I am transmitting to Congress a comprehensive bill -- the Freedom Support Act -- to mobilize the Executive Branch, the Congress, and our private sector around a comprehensive and integrated package of support for the new states. This package will:

- Authorize a U.S. quota increase of \$12 billion for the IMF, which is critical to supporting Russia and the other new states. The IMF and World Bank will be the primary source of funding for the major financial assistance needs of the new governments. The U.S. quota increase for the IMF was specifically assumed in the budget agreement, and need not require a single penny of U.S. cash outlays.
- Strengthen my authority to work with the G-7 and the IMF to put together the stabilization program for Russia, and possible subsequent programs for other states as they embark on landmark reforms.
- Repeal restrictive Cold War legislation so that American business can compete on an even footing in these new markets.
- Broaden use of the \$500 million appropriated by Congress last year to encompass not only the safe dismantling and destruction of nuclear weapons, but also the broader goals

of nuclear plant safety, demilitarization and defense conversion.

- Establish a major people-to-people program between the U.S. and the states of the former Soviet Union to create the type of lasting, personal bonds among our peoples so critical to long-term peace.

In sending this authorization legislation to Congress, I call upon the Congress to act concurrently to provide the appropriations necessary to make these authorizations a reality.

**Third**, I am announcing today \$1.1 billion in new Commodity Credit Corporation credit guarantees for the purchase of American agricultural products: \$600 million for U.S. sales to Russia, and an additional \$500 million for U.S. sales to Ukraine and other states.

Let me close on a personal note.

As President, I think every day about the challenge of securing a peaceful future for the American people. I believe very strongly that President Yeltsin's courageous reform program holds the greatest hope for the future of the Russian people, and for the security of the American people as we define a new relationship with that great country.

For more than forty-five years the highest responsibility of nine American Presidents, Democrats and Republicans, was to wage and

win the Cold War. It is my privilege to lead the American people in winning the peace by embracing the people so recently freed from tyranny -- to **welcome them** into the community of democratic nations. I know there are those who say we should pull back -- concentrate our energies, our interest and our resources on pressing domestic problems. I ask them to think of the consequences **here at home of peace in the world.**

We **must** seize this moment. If we turn away, if we **do not do** what we can to help democracy succeed in the lands of the old Soviet Union -- our failure to act will carry a **far higher price.** If we face up to the challenge, matching the courage of Russian President Boris Yeltsin, Ukrainian President Kravchuk, Armenian President Ter-Petrosian and many others, future generations of Americans will thank us for having had the foresight and conviction to stand up for democracy and to work for peace in this decade and into the next century.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Washington

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY

To the Congress of the United States:

[ At this time of year, when the breeze grows warmer and the Earth comes alive with new life, it is appropriate that we pause as a nation to reexamine our stewardship of the Earth's many blessings. ] That is why I am pleased to report that 1990 was a banner year in the federal government's efforts to enhance environmental quality:

- o We enacted the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990, providing the United States with the world's most advanced, comprehensive, and market-oriented laws to address air pollution, including acid precipitation, urban air quality, toxic industrial pollutants, and global ozone layer depletion;
- o We adopted an international agreement to phase out chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) and other substances that deplete the Earth's ozone layer, which protects us from harmful solar radiation;
- o We enacted the Oil Pollution Act of 1990 and adopted a major international agreement to strengthen laws related to oil pollution prevention, liability, and response;

- o We enacted, as part of the 1990 Farm Bill, measures to increase conservation in rural areas and farms across the nation; and,
- o We made a host of other specific commitments to stewardship, including the expansion of national parks, wildlife refuges, and recreation areas; the establishment of a foundation to stimulate national tree planting in the 1990s; and the suspension for ten years of oil and gas leasing in large areas of the Outer Continental Shelf pending further environmental and resource analysis.

NAT'L TREE TRUST (IF SO, use name)

In each case, *progress has come from working in partnerships --* ~~working together~~ with the 101st Congress, state and local governments, environmental and conservation groups, corporations, educators, and scores of individuals -- not to mention foreign governments and international institutions. [ I am proud that our Administration played a catalytic and constructive role in the fuller realization of environmental quality. ]

As a nation, we can be proud of our environmental track record. Our skies are clearer, our lakes and streams are cleaner, and our major technologies are less wasteful. Even so, we continue to be sobered by ecological degradation at home and abroad. [more?] *will* In the coming decade, the challenge of stewardship requires *EVEN MORE* creativity and hard work. Therefore I have established our Administration's national strategy for environmental quality, based upon the following six principles:

- o Harnessing the power of the marketplace, wherever possible, *we must exhibit and free enterprise in service to the enviro,* since free markets provide for greater creativity and

cut from p. 6.

fulfillment of our freedoms and economic aspirations than central bureaucracies ever can;

and with this one?

- o Enhancing stewardship ~~enhancing our efforts~~ <sup>We must expand our</sup> to understand and protect the functional integrity of our environment;
- o Promoting creative partnerships ~~between the public and private sectors~~ <sup>We must be work</sup> that break down arbitrary barriers and utilize the enthusiasm and expertise of citizen volunteers;
- o Seeking cooperative international solutions ~~to the many~~ <sup>It's past time we realize</sup> environmental problems ~~that~~ <sup>recognize that many</sup> recognize no borders;
- o Preventing or reducing pollution ~~before it~~ <sup>We must focus</sup> comes out of the ~~end of a pipe~~ <sup>end of the pipe</sup>; and, <sup>There's no reason to think about pollution as a problem "at the end of the pipe". We must take</sup>
- o Enforcing our existing environmental laws vigorously and firmly ~~to ensure the effectiveness of~~ <sup>existing laws and regulations must be made effective.</sup>

between the public & private sectors we realize

For years we've meant to stop pollution before it begins.

Taken together, these principles and the programs that put them into action represent a turning point in American environmental affairs. No longer should we as a nation focus on isolated fragments of a holistic problem.

what is in fact

Nor should we accept rigid, short-sighted measures that stymie innovation, <sup>Simply shift</sup> ~~move~~ pollution ~~around~~ <sup>around</sup>, or impose unnecessary costs. ~~To the contrary,~~

The holistic integrity of the environment is essential to our quality of life, and must be integrated with all of our economic, social, and international policies. This means that wherever policies of the past sacrificed jobs, competitiveness, or technological innovation, we must review them carefully and adopt the appropriate reforms. The nation requires an environmental

nice phrase

strategy that is comprehensive, adaptable, and compatible with other national goals.

In the coming months, our Administration will pursue a number of new environmental initiatives to advance our environmental strategy. Many changes in our daily ways of doing business will occur as the departments and agencies begin to implement ambitious new laws. Also, last December I established by Executive Order the President's Commission on Environmental Quality (PCEQ). The PCEQ will soon be at work building public-private partnerships for concrete results in the areas of pollution prevention, conservation, education, and international cooperation. A competition for Presidential Awards for Achievement in Environmental Quality will stimulate voluntary activity and recognize the outstanding efforts of individuals and organizations.

In the legislative arena, we will work with the 102nd Congress toward enactment of Clean Water Act Amendments, seeking to replicate the success of the clean air debate in incorporating market-oriented measures to improve water quality. We will also recommend amendments to promote further our goal of no-net-loss of wetlands. I ask the Congress to study and act upon our National Energy Strategy which, if implemented, would provide a balanced national energy policy of increased energy efficiency, use of alternative fuels, and environmentally responsible development of all U.S. energy resources.

I also urge the Congress to give the environment a place at the Cabinet table by creating a Department of the Environment

*Emphasize that improving the enviro. not simply the presence of government*

*move up?*

from the Environmental Protection Agency. Given the importance of environmental matters, both domestically and internationally, EPA is already accorded equal status with other major Federal departments by this Administration. However, we believe this policy should be established in law as well as in everyday practice, without extraneous provisions that would interfere with the effective administration of environmental law.

Looking beyond purely domestic concerns, I am stating once again my strong desire to conclude an international convention on global climate change in time for its signing at the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED '92) in Brazil. In our view, such a convention should be comprehensive in scope, addressing all sources and sinks of greenhouse gases, adaptation measures and emission levels, and continued scientific research as well as policy responses.

Our preparations for the UNCED '92 conference will provide several other opportunities for cooperative global environmental progress. For example, the international market for U.S. environmental goods and services is already valued in excess of \$60 billion, and it is growing. I have asked the Department of Commerce to assess that market and, working with the private sector, to explore the opportunities to create new jobs while enhancing the quality of life <sup>here at home and</sup> ~~for our friends~~ around the globe. I also hope we can move forward on U.S. proposals for a global forestry convention; and proposals for economic/environmental assistance in several regions, including Latin America and the Caribbean, Eastern and Central Europe, and the Middle East.

Need ~~state~~ to characterize attitude at "beginning" of Enviro. movmt - circa 1970.

6

The causes and effects of our environmental problems are diverse and complex. Unlike the situation in 1970, however, we have now learned a great deal about both the problems and the solutions. We have learned that the problems are serious and persistent. But we have also learned that we can reduce environmental problems, current and prospective, through rigorous analysis, constructive dialogue, and hard work.\* As a new era of knowledge and action dawns, we will continue to employ the best tools and ideas and realize a more productive harmony between civilization and the environment.

\* That econ. + environment are not locked into a zero-sum game -

That we can submit the econ. & tech. in the service of enviro. ...

GEORGE BUSH

We have raised our sights, and our sense of mission is strengthened by several factors: our unprecedented scientific and technological capabilities; the public's strong and enduring commitment; and the federal government's newfound sense of its environmental strategy for the 1990s.

Use this on p. 2.

The accomplishments of recent months lend a sense of optimism, but we should not forget the diverse contributions of earlier generations of Americans such as Lewis and Clark, Henry David Thoreau, Teddy Roosevelt, Aldo Leopold, and Edmund Muskie. Indeed, just as their legacies shape our lives today, our own efforts will be judged by future generations.

**NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL**

5/9

Chriss: The text that it marked with arrows from page 8 to page 11 is very sensitive stuff.

The economic working group is ~~st~~ still doing the report on possible proposals, so this stuff is not fully blessed by anyone. It's included as an example of what we would like to see in general terms, and how we might have the speech flow.

Jim Jones -

PRESIDENT'S COMMENCEMENT SPEECH AT  
THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN  
SATURDAY, MAY 19, 1990

(Opening touches, comments about University of Texas at Austin and other flourishes)

Today, I want to look ahead through the decade of the 1990's and into the next century. My purpose is to propose a common vision, one that I believe is shared-- and should be shared-- by all the people of this hemisphere.

The policy of the US will be directed at making this vision a reality. Cynics will say that this vision is an illusion, but I know they are wrong, because we are already close to making it a reality.

What am I suggesting? It is the following: A Hemisphere of Democracy, stretching from Alaska in the north to Antarctica in the south; living at peace, with increasing prosperity, and free from the menace of narcotic drugs.

In pursuit of this policy during the 1990's, we propose to do the following: We will support democracy and human rights. We will promote demilitarization and nuclear non-proliferation. We will work together with the Latin American countries to combine our assistance with their forward-looking economic policies to

achieve increased prosperity and the just distribution of its fruits. And we will strive--both by reducing demand at home and by interdicting illegal production abroad-- to rid our cities and streets of narcotic drugs.

This is a vision and a policy of openness. It is open to dialogue and willing to accept differences of view. We do not fear political pluralism. Nor are we afraid of frank exchanges of views with our neighbors. We believe that the progress toward democracy throughout the hemisphere will demonstrate that we indeed have moved closer to a mature partnership.

The decade of the 1980's was a time of transition in many Latin American countries. Central America moved from a period of military domination to civilian rule. The same is true for many of the South American countries. These processes seemed to accelerate during the last year of the decade and the first several months of this year:

- Chile completed its transition to civilian rule.
- Brazil chose its first directly elected president in almost three decades.
- Paraguay shucked off a superannuated dictatorship, and has held its first truly open elections.

- The OAS and the UN supervised peaceful elections in Nicaragua, and guaranteed that the overwhelming vote for Dona Violeta was respected.
  
- The people of Panama have been able to throw off a corrupt and repressive dictatorship to begin building a new demilitarized democracy.
  
- We are hopeful that the changes which have been taking place in Haiti will also lead this year to internationally supervised democratic elections.

Ironically, however, these immensely important changes were obscured by the riveting events of Eastern and Central Europe during the last twelve months. And as a result of this, a number of Latin American and Caribbean leaders have expressed worry that the United States will disengage from this hemisphere, to devote its energies and resources to Europe.

I would like to give the following reply to these concerns: Yes, the events of the last year in Europe have been revolutionary. Yes, they have caused us to look again at our defense needs and the future of our alliance relationships. Yes, the year 1992 will signal new challenges in our relations with an integrating Europe.

However, I am personally interested in and committed to maintaining excellent relations with our Caribbean and Latin American neighbors. Over the last month, I have met with leaders

C of A.  
 of Honduras, Venezuela, Panama, Jamaica, and Bolivia at the White House. I have spoken on numerous occasions by telephone to President Salinas of Mexico, President Collor of Brazil, and President Barco of Colombia. Vice President Quayle has made three trips to the region since January, and I plan to visit five <sup>announced?</sup> countries of South America this fall. As for 1992, this may be an important year for Europe, but it is also the year in which this hemisphere will celebrate together the 500th anniversary of Columbus' epic voyages of discovery.

As long as I am president, our hemispheric neighborhood will be one of constant and open communication and contact. Our relations demand it and our commitment to democracy makes it indispensable. There can be no Hemisphere of Democracy if leaders cannot speak to each other directly, rapidly, <sup>(?)</sup> and candidly.

Another point that must be made is that United States relations with this hemisphere will be sensitive to differences among our neighbors. Our relationship with Mexico, for example, is unique in our relations in this hemisphere. We not only share a common border, but we are linked by vital lines of commerce, language and culture. Excellent and productive relations with Mexico are and will remain fundamental to U.S. security and prosperity.

In Central America, our efforts are directed at consolidation of democracy, reconciliation and demilitarization. Our Congress recently passed legislation authorizing more than \$700 million in assistance to Panama and Nicaragua, which will be used wisely to

get these countries on their feet economically. Likewise in El Salvador, our aid is directed at the need to preserve a democratically elected government, while encouraging the antagonists in the conflict there to find solutions which will guarantee political space and human rights within a functioning democratic system.

Our ties with the Andean region are dominated by the issue of drugs. At the Cartagena summit in February, we agreed on a strategy that requires the United States to increase efforts to reduce demand for drugs here, and committed Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia to implement efforts to reduce supply through eradication, interdiction, and alternative development. This is a good policy, and I will work with these countries and with our Congress to insure that this fight obtains adequate funding for the time that is required to rid us of the drug menace.

With the southern cone countries of Brazil, Argentina, and Chile, economic issues have been at the top of the bilateral agenda. But this should not obscure the fact that our dialogue with them has changed in ways one would expect for today's mature relationship. We recognize the immense size of Brazil-- the world's eighth largest economy-- and Brazil's importance not only as a democratic example but also as a guardian of much of the oxygen that we breathe. Argentina continues its efforts to break out of the strait-jacket imposed by previous statist policies, and we will do what we can to help. Chile is farthest advanced down the road to economic reform, and we want to take action to

restore GSP and make our economic relations even more active and productive.

A discussion of our relations with these countries would not be complete if I did not touch on the issue of non-proliferation.

*NON-PROLIF.*  
 The Tlatelolco agreement has made this hemisphere an example of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. I would like to call on all countries, but especially those which have advanced scientific capability, to strengthen the non-proliferation regime in this hemisphere. This should include a renewed commitment to peaceful uses of nuclear energy and to full-scope safeguards for nuclear material and facilities under international supervision. This is not a North-South issue. This is an issue for the safety of this hemisphere and the safety of mankind.

Democracy in the English-speaking Caribbean is strong, and we want it to remain that way. I have made a commitment to this region to give it effective access to the U.S. market through the extension of the Caribbean Basin Initiative, and with the help of the Congress, I will carry through with this commitment.

*CUBA*  
 I cannot leave this very broad-brush discussion of the variety and complexity of our relations with Latin America without saying a few brief words about Cuba. Unfortunately, as Marxism has faded into irrelevance elsewhere, Cuba continues to cling doggedly to a tattered old orthodoxy. We would like Cuba to join the march of democracy. There is room for Cuba among the democracies of this hemisphere. The people of Cuba deserve no less. If Cuba chooses to open its windows to the fresh breezes


CUBA  
 of democracy and economic reform that are blowing through the world, they will not find the U.S. hostile. But international respectability requires an end to repression at home and subversion abroad. If our vision of a Hemisphere of Democracy is to be a reality, we and the other democracies of this hemisphere must insist on this point.

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ECON. Devel.  
 ↓  
 Let me turn now to a second major topic-- that of development and prosperity. A commitment to democracy carries with it a corollary obligation-- to work to better the lives and welfare of the governed. In some cases, this progress will have to be purchased with painful and even difficult economic reforms. These reforms need to be taken, and are being taken, in most countries of this region. Ultimately, however, the democracies have to hold out the prospect of greater prosperity economic opportunity. The United States wants to be helpful in this effort.

There are several areas where the U.S. has already taken action. The extension of the Caribbean Basin Initiative is one of these. So is the Andean Trade Initiative which I announced last fall, and which is making progress through the Congress and the U.S. trade policy system. The Brady Plan is another-- I am delighted that Brady Plan agreements have been worked out with Mexico, Costa Rica, and Venezuela. Our economic assistance continues both in bilateral and multilateral mechanisms. Finally, we have been working with other major donors to stimulate interest in Latin America and coordinate our assistance efforts.

These policies have served as a foundation for our economic relations with Latin America. But I wanted to make certain that these are the right measures for the 1990's and beyond. So earlier this year I asked my economic advisers to examine our economic and trade relations with Latin America, asking them to look carefully at countries and policies which had succeeded, and to come up with recommendations on how the United States can help promote sustained economic growth that will complement the growth of democracy in this hemisphere.

 This review is now complete. It covered (a) Trade policy, (b) economic assistance, (c) debt policy, and (d) Investment policy. Today I am prepared to announce important initiatives in each of these areas.

First, trade policy. I propose that the countries of this region establish the Democratic Hemisphere Free Trade Area. It could be based on three requirements: democratic civilian form of government, a market-oriented economy based on sound trade and monetary policies, and a commitment to remove all trade and investment barriers. I would envision a ten-year phase-in period for such a Free Trade Agreement. As an incentive, the U.S. would be prepared in the first five years to offer unilateral duty-free and quota-free access to our market for most items. In exchange the Latin American countries would commit themselves to eliminate barriers among themselves. In the final five years, Latin

America would eliminate its market access barriers to the United States and Canada.

Let there be no mistake. This would be a complicated undertaking. But it would mean that those who engage in it would have no turning back from a course of full economic integration of a democratic hemisphere. The challenges would be great. But we are prepared to meet them.

Second, I intend to request that the Congress eliminate the domestic sugar program and replace it with a higher tariff. Those countries which are beneficiaries of CBI and GSP would have unrestricted access to the U.S. market. This would be consistent with GATT and would reward efficient producers in Latin America and elsewhere. I am also prepared to consider modifications in specific sectoral policies such as cotton imports, aviation, tariffs on other manufactured products, aviation and shipping.

With regard to economic assistance, I am proposing the following: Creation of a \$100 million fund for small countries--principally Central America and the Caribbean-- that would reward those countries which have implemented sound economic policies, such as the negotiation and implementation of bilateral investment treaties. These funds could only be used to support private enterprises. Second, I will propose at the July Summit in Houston that the donor countries represented there create a multiple donor fund for Central America and the Caribbean, which would provide up to \$300 million annually in grants to countries

which carry out investment reforms. The U.S. would be prepared to contribute \$100 million annually out of new or reallocated funds. Finally, I wish to announce that it is my intention to have our bilateral economic assistance more closely linked to economic policy performance criteria. Those who are willing to do what it takes to bring about reform will be first in line for our assistance.

The third area which I wish to address is debt policy. This is an area where the Brady Plan is working, but we have noted two different problems-- those involving the poorest countries, and those involving countries whose debt is owed mostly to official or IFI <sup>?</sup> creditors. I would like to see Toronto Terms <sup>(?)</sup> extended to such countries as Guyana and Haiti. Second, the United States would like to propose longer maturities (possibly 14 years on scheduled export credits and 20 years on aid loans) within the Paris Club for lower middle income countries. This would help such countries as Costa Rica, Honduras, Jamaica, Nicaragua, and Peru. It would also prove beneficial to other countries such as Egypt, Poland, Indonesia, and Morocco, to name a few.

In pursuit of a better environment in this hemisphere, I would also like to see the IDB take a more active role in facilitating debt-for-nature swaps. Much more can be done in this area; the environment can be protected, and debt can be more effectively managed.

Fourth, in the area of investment, I have the following proposals. First, I urge our partners in this region to enter

into bilateral investment agreements with us. These should cover national treatment, expropriation, unrestricted financial transfers, arbitration, and performance requirements. I also believe that we should create a regional arbitration facility. I realize that this means working around the obstacle posed by the Calvo Doctrine, <sup>(?)</sup> but I believe that the time has come to do so. I pledge that the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) will take a more active role in Latin America if we can make these improvements in the investment environment.

I also believe that to study these proposals in depth, we should convene a high-level regional conference focusing exclusively on investment in this hemisphere. If Latin America is going to stop the slide in its relative position in world trade, it has to be more effective in attracting investment. We can work together in a mature partnership toward this objective.

These are my proposals in outline form. To bring them to fruition will require a great deal of work, and in some cases will require totally new ways of thinking about Latin American involvement in world trade. I emphasize that I am receptive to hearing the ideas of others. Nobody can go it alone in this world, so we have to look for ways to work together. These ideas are meant to get this process going, but they are serious proposals, and I would like to follow through on them.

Developments in Europe will not distract us from an active involvement with Latin America and the Caribbean. A Hemisphere

CONCL.

of Democracy is possible. We will work with you to achieve it in this decade and into the next century.

(Final flourishes as needed)

Draft as of: May 9, 1990

(CPC - has it signed off?)  
Need: e.g. 10; lang. on  
Free Trade Zone.

FORGIVE ALL OFFICIALS  
DRAFT.

GRAND CANYON \ WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 18, 1991 \ 9:50 A.M.

THANK YOU, GOV. SYMINGTON, FOR THAT INTRODUCTION.  
RIGHT NOW, I'D LIKE TO SALUTE TWO MEMBERS OF MY  
ADMINISTRATION: SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR MANUEL LUJAN  
AND EPA ADMINISTRATOR BILL REILLY. SEN. MCCAIN, SEN.  
DECONCINI, REP. BOB STUMP AND REP. JON KYL, WELCOME.  
I'M GLAD YOU COULD JOIN US TODAY.

I LOVE RETURNING TO THIS AREA. THIS SPOT IN  
PARTICULAR REMINDS ME OF THAT OLD POLITICAL ADAGE:  
NEVER MOVE BACKWARD.

- 2 -

[[I'M ALWAYS AMAZED AT THE SHEER SIZE OF THIS PLACE. COMING FROM WASHINGTON, I'M TEMPTED TO SAY THAT IT LOOKS LIKE SOMETHING THAT STARTED OUT AS A TRENCH -- AND WENT OVER BUDGET.]] //

AS MANY OF YOU KNOW, I LOVE THE OUTDOORS -- THE SPORTS, THE RECREATION, THE BEAUTY. LET ME TELL YOU, YOU JUST CAN'T FIND BETTER A OUTDOOR ATTRACTION THAN THIS.

- 3 -

MANY TIMES, WHAT YOU DON'T SEE IS AS IMPRESSIVE AS WHAT YOU DO. HERE, AS WE LOOK OVER THE SOUTH RIM OF THE WORLD'S GREATEST NATURAL WONDER, WE SEE ARIZONA SKIES, WE SEE THE KALEIDOSCOPIC BEAUTY OF THE GRAND CANYON, WE SEE A PLACE THAT HAS MADE EVEN THE MOST CALLOUSED OBSERVER GASP WITH AWE.

WE DON'T SEE SMOG -- TODAY. BUT SOMETIMES SMOKE AND FUMES OBSCURE THIS LOVELY VIEW. WE'RE HERE TO SAY: NO MORE.

- 4 -

THE NAVAJO VISIBILITY RULE -- THE RULE WE WILL SIGN TODAY -- HONORS TEDDY ROOSEVELT'S ADMONITION ABOUT THE GRAND CANYON: "LEAVE IT AS IT IS. YOU CANNOT IMPROVE ON IT. THE AGES HAVE BEEN AT WORK ON IT, AND MAN CAN ONLY MAR IT. WHAT YOU CAN DO IS TO KEEP IT FOR YOUR CHILDREN, YOUR CHILDREN'S CHILDREN, AND ALL WHO COME AFTER YOU, AS ONE OF THE GREAT SIGHTS WHICH EVERY AMERICAN -- IF HE CAN TRAVEL AT ALL -- SHOULD SEE."

- 5 -

THE VISIBILITY RULE WILL HELP ENSURE CLEANER SKIES -- AND MORE BREATHTAKING VISTAS FOR VISITORS. IT HELPS PRESERVE THIS SPECTACULAR TREASURE WITHOUT SHUTTING DOWN THE ELECTRICITY GENERATION INDUSTRY, WITHOUT FORCING PEOPLE TO CHOOSE BETWEEN THE ENVIRONMENT AND THEIR JOBS.

- 6 -

IF PEOPLE THINK THE REVOLUTION IN THE SOVIET UNION WAS SPECTACULAR, THEY OUGHT TO COME HERE. WHO EVER THOUGHT THAT WE'D BE ABLE TO GET THE GRAND CANYON TRUST, THE ENVIRONMENTAL DEFENSE FUND, THE SALT RIVER PROJECT AND THE ARIZONA PUBLIC SERVICE COMPANY TO SHARE THE SPOTLIGHT -- AND AS PARTNERS IN AN HISTORIC AGREEMENT?

- 7 -

A LOT OF PEOPLE HERE DESERVE A HAND. // SEN. McCAIN, GOV. SYMINGTON, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL COMMUNITY, OF THE UTILITY INDUSTRY. //

AND WE OWE A SPECIAL THANKS TO BILL REILLY, OUR EPA ADMINISTRATOR. BILL REILLY'S EPA HAS TRIED TO PROMOTE A SERIES OF COOPERATIVE VENTURES, BASED ON THE COMMON SENSE VIEW THAT YOU CAN GET FURTHER BY SEEKING PEOPLE'S HELP THAN BY SUING THEM.

- 8 -

THE EPA'S GREEN LIGHTS PROGRAM ENCOURAGES THE VOLUNTARY USE OF ENERGY EFFICIENT LIGHTING. GREEN LIGHTS PROMOTES ENERGY CONSERVATION, WHICH SAVES ELECTRICITY AND CUTS DOWN ON POLLUTION.

OUR VOLUNTARY PROGRAM TO REDUCE TOXIC EMISSIONS HAS ENLISTED MORE THAN 200 COMPANIES, WHO TOGETHER HAVE PROMISED TO CUT TOXIC EMISSIONS BY MORE THAN 200 MILLION POUNDS A YEAR.

- 9 -

AND TODAY'S AGREEMENT OFFERS FURTHER PROOF THAT BILL'S OWN BRAND OF SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY HAS HELPED ELIMINATE ENVIRONMENTAL GRIDLOCK AND PRODUCE THE KIND OF CONSENSUS THAT ENABLES US TO TAKE CARE OF OUR PLANET -- AND OUR ECONOMY.

THESE AGREEMENTS ILLUSTRATE A CRUCIAL ELEMENT OF OUR ADMINISTRATION'S VISION FOR AMERICA'S FUTURE. BUT BEFORE I GO FURTHER, I JUST HAVE TO ASK: HOW'S THIS FOR A VISION THING? \\\

- 10 -

TODAY'S EVENT CELEBRATES THE KIND OF CIVILITY AND COOPERATION OUR ADMINISTRATION HAS PROMOTED FOR OUR ENTIRE SOCIETY. FOR TOO MANY YEARS, AMERICANS HAVE DIVIDED INTO FEUDING CAMPS -- PEOPLE SPARRING OVER CAUSES; SPECIAL INTERESTS BATTLING IT OUT AGAINST SPECIAL INTERESTS; AND SO ON. WE HAVE OVERLOOKED THE FACT THAT MOST AMERICANS SHARE A BROADER SET OF GOALS AND BELIEFS, WHICH WE CALL THE AMERICAN DREAM.

- 11 -

WE NEED TO REVIVE THAT DREAM AND INVITE PEOPLE TO JOIN US IN PURSUING IT -- REGARDLESS OF THEIR PARTY, BACKGROUND OR IDEOLOGY. \\  
\\

MOST OF US WANT A LOT OF THE SAME THINGS. AROUND HERE, FOR INSTANCE, EVERYONE WANTED TO PRESERVE THE CANYON -- AND THE LOCAL ECONOMY. NO ONE WANTS AN ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY THAT PERMITS THE WANTON DESTRUCTION OF OUR NATURAL TREASURES. NOR CAN WE AFFORD A POLICY THAT MAKES THE AMERICAN WORKER AN ENDANGERED SPECIES.

- 12 -

OUR POLICIES SHOULD PROMOTE ECONOMIC GROWTH; CREATE NEW JOBS -- AND LET EVERYONE ENJOY THE GRANDEUR OF THE OUTDOORS.

WE CAN ACHIEVE OUR MOST IMPORTANT GOALS ONLY BY WORKING TOGETHER -- TAKING ADVANTAGE OF OUR DIVERSE SKILLS, ABILITIES, COMMITMENTS AND PASSIONS. IF WE DIVIDE UP LIKE HATFIELDS AND McCOYS, WE DON'T ACCOMPLISH ANYTHING WORTHWHILE. WE JUST DESTROY OURSELVES AND THE CAUSES WE HOLD DEAR.

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- 13 -

TEN YEARS AGO, AS CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDENTIAL TASK FORCE ON REGULATORY RELIEF, I CALLED FOR GREATER USE OF INFORMAL NEGOTIATION TECHNIQUES -- INSTEAD OF LITIGATION -- AND FOR MARKET-BASED APPROACHES TO CONTROLLING POLLUTION. THIS AGREEMENT SHOWS THAT THOSE INNOVATIONS WORK. SO DOES THE LANDMARK CLEAN AIR ACT, WHICH I SIGNED LAST YEAR -- AND IN THE PROCESS BROKE A LOGJAM THAT HAD PREVENTED PROGRESS FOR A DOZEN YEARS.

- 14 -

OUR ADMINISTRATION HAS CRAFTED A NEW, COMMON SENSE APPROACH TO ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES -- ONE THAT HONORS OUR LOVE OF THE ENVIRONMENT AND OUR COMMITMENT TO ECONOMIC GROWTH. IN JUST THE LAST YEAR, WE'VE SIGNED BILLS TO PREVENT OIL SPILLS AND PROTECT THE ANTARCTIC. WE'VE INITIATED A PROGRAM TO PLANT A BILLION TREES A YEAR AROUND THE COUNTRY. WE'VE LAUNCHED A MASSIVE EFFORT TO PROTECT OUR PUBLIC LANDS.

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- 15 -

OUR COOPERATIVE EFFORTS GO STILL FURTHER. JUST THIS SUMMER THE EPA, KEY ENVIRONMENTAL GROUPS, AND THE PETROLEUM INDUSTRY REACHED AN EXTRAORDINARY AGREEMENT ON REFORMULATED GASOLINE -- ANOTHER GIANT STEP TOWARD CLEANER AIR -- AND ANOTHER STEP TOWARD IMPROVING VISIBILITY HERE AT THE GRAND CANYON.

- 16 -

RECENT WORLD EVENTS MAKE IT CLEAR THAT FREE MARKETS AND ECONOMIC GROWTH PROVIDE THE FIRREST FOUNDATION FOR EFFECTIVE ENVIRONMENTAL STEWARDSHIP. PEOPLE TEND TO FORGET THAT ENVIRONMENTAL STEWARDSHIP IS A HIGH-TECH BUSINESS, AND IT REQUIRES GREAT INGENUITY AND INSIGHT. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY GIVE US TOOLS FOR CLEANING OUR ENVIRONMENT AND KEEPING IT CLEAN. THEY HELP US IDENTIFY OUR PROBLEMS PRECISELY, AND DEVELOP EFFICIENT SOLUTIONS.

- 17 -

OUR GENIUS WILL OPEN UP NEW FRONTIERS OF CLEAN ENERGY: NUCLEAR POWER, SOLAR POWER, GEOTHERMAL POWER, AND OTHERS THAT EXIST ONLY IN THE IMAGINATIONS OF OUR DREAMERS AND INNOVATORS.

IT'S NO SURPRISE THAT THE POOREST NATIONS -- THOSE NOT BLESSED WITH PROSPEROUS, GROWING ECONOMIES -- SUFFER THE WORST, MOST SWEEPING ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION.

- 18 -

IT'S ALSO NATURAL THAT NATIONS WEIGHED DOWN BY CENTRALLY PLANNED ECONOMIES -- NATIONS THAT DON'T ENJOY FREE MARKETS -- WOULD EXPERIENCE HORRENDOUS POLLUTION. IN EASTERN EUROPE, THE SOVIET UNION, THE FORMER SOCIALIST WORLD: CLEAN AIR AND WATER HAVE BEEN MORE SCARCE THAN CONSUMER GOODS.

IN CONTRAST, OUR ECONOMIC EXPANSION OF THE 1980s WAS ACCOMPANIED BY AN UNPRECEDENTED IMPROVEMENT IN AIR QUALITY.

- 19 -

EPA FIGURES SHOW, FOR INSTANCE, THAT SULPHUR DIOXIDE LEVELS FELL 24 PERCENT IN THE EIGHTIES; CARBON MONOXIDE LEVELS DROPPED 25 PERCENT; SUSPENDED PARTICULATE EMISSIONS DECREASED 15 PERCENT; AND WE HAD 87 PERCENT LESS LEAD IN OUR AIR AT THE DECADE'S END THAN WE DID IN 1980. AND I PROMISE YOU: WE'LL DO EVEN BETTER IN THE 1990s.// TODAY'S AGREEMENT REPRESENTS A GOOD START: IT WILL REDUCE SULFUR DIOXIDE EMISSIONS FROM THE NAVAJO GENERATING PLANT BY 90 PERCENT. //

- 20 -

IN YEARS TO COME, WE WILL FACE TOUGHER CHALLENGES, AND OUR ADMINISTRATION HAS TAKEN STEPS TO MEET THEM. WE HAVE DEVOTED SIGNIFICANT RESOURCES TO GATHERING CRUCIAL DATA ABOUT GLOBAL WARMING, DEFORESTATION, OZONE DEPLETION AND THE POLAR ICECAPS -- ALL ELEMENTS OF GLOBAL CHANGE.

WE HAVE BEGUN USING SATELLITES TO DEVELOP SUBTLE, SOPHISTICATED AND USEFUL MODELS FOR STUDYING OUR PLANET -- FOR DETERMINING JUST WHAT PROBLEMS EXIST, AND SUGGESTING WAYS IN WHICH WE CAN ADDRESS THEM.

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- 21 -

THAT'S THE KEY TO SENSIBLE SOLUTIONS. THE SPACE SHUTTLE DISCOVERY JUST THIS WEEK PLACED IN ORBIT A SATELLITE THAT WILL MEASURE OZONE DEPLETION. THIS LAUNCH GOT OUR MISSION TO PLANET EARTH OFF THE GROUND, SO TO SPEAK. \\  
\\

AND THE NATIONAL SPACE COUNCIL, CHAIRED BY VICE PRESIDENT DAN QUAYLE, HAS PUSHED FOR WAYS TO GET SPACE-BASED ENVIRONMENTAL RESEARCH GOING NOW -- NOT TEN YEARS FROM NOW -- SO WE WON'T HAVE TO WAIT FOR ANSWERS.

- 22 -

WE WANT TO USE SCIENCE TO HELP US SOLVE OUR CHIEF ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS. BILL REILLY PUT IT BEST IN A RECENT NEWSPAPER PIECE: HE WROTE, "THE ENVIRONMENTAL DEBATE HAS LONG SUFFERED FROM TOO LITTLE SCIENCE. THERE HAS BEEN PLENTY OF EMOTION AND POLITICS, BUT SCIENTIFIC DATA HAVE NOT ALWAYS BEEN FEATURED PROMINENTLY IN ENVIRONMENTAL EFFORTS, AND HAVE SOMETIMES BEEN IGNORED EVEN WHEN AVAILABLE." BILL'S RIGHT.

- 23 -

GOOD SCIENCE HASTENS OUR PROGRESS TOWARD A CLEANER ENVIRONMENT. WE OUGHT TO USE IT TO OUR BEST ADVANTAGE.

BUT WE ALSO MUST PUT OUR MONEY WHERE OUR MOUTH IS. IN THIS YEAR'S BUDGET ALONE, I ASKED FOR NEARLY ONE BILLION DOLLARS FOR ACQUIRING PARKLAND, PROTECTING WETLANDS AND ENDANGERED SPECIES AND ENHANCING RECREATION. BUT CONGRESS HAS TENTATIVELY CUT THIS BUDGET BY MORE THAN 200 MILLION DOLLARS.

- 24 -

TODAY, I CALL ON CONGRESS TO JOIN ME IN A CRUSADE TO PRESERVE AMERICA'S OUTDOORS. ON THIS YEAR, THE 75TH ANNIVERSARY OF OUR PARK SERVICE, POLITICIANS SHOULDN'T FUND SPECIAL INTEREST PROJECTS AT THE EXPENSE OF SUCH NATIONAL TREASURES AS THE GRAND CANYON.

BUT AFTER WE TALK ABOUT TOXINS AND TAXES; EXPENDITURES AND INNOVATIONS, WE OWE IT TO OURSELVES TO STOP AND REMEMBER JUST WHY WE'RE HERE -- WHY WE CARE.

- 25 -

DAVE BEAL, FOR MANY YEARS THE CHIEF NATURALIST OF THE GRAND CANYON NATIONAL PARK, HAS OFFERED SOME SIMPLE ADVICE: "GO OUT ALONG THE CANYON RIM ALONE TO WATCH DARK SHADOWS CLIMB THE COLORED WALLS AS THE SUN DROPS TO THE HORIZON. THINK ABOUT THE EONS OF TIME REPRESENTED BY ROCK FORMATIONS EXPOSED TO YOUR VIEW AND THE FOSSIL RECORD OF LIFE THROUGH THE AGES ... FEEL THE BITE OF THE WIND ON YOUR CHEEKS AND LISTEN FOR THE SOUND OF DISTANT RAPIDS ON THE RIVER FAR BELOW.

- 26 -

FINALLY, DWELL FOR JUST A MOMENT ON THOUGHTS ABOUT YOURSELF AND THE ROLE YOU PLAY ON THIS EARTH...."

A WISE ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY ENRICHES EVERYONE. THAT'S WHAT MANY OF YOU HAVE DONE. THIS PARK -- AND THIS NATION -- OWE YOU A GREAT DEBT OF THANKS.

THANK YOU ALL, AND MAY GOD BLESS AMERICA.

- 27 -

AND NOW, I'D LIKE TO ASK REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GRAND CANYON TRUST, THE ENVIRONMENTAL DEFENSE FUND, THE SALT RIVER PROJECT AND THE ARIZONA PUBLIC SERVICE COMPANY TO WITNESS BILL REILLY'S SIGNING THIS HISTORIC AGREEMENT.

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