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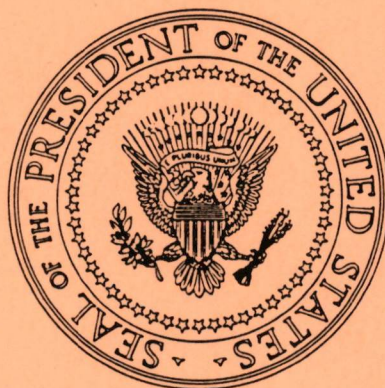
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ADDRESSES BY PRESIDENT BUSH ON U.S.-EUROPEAN AND SOVIET RELATIONS

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Hamtramck, Michigan)

For Immediate Release

April 17, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO CITIZENS OF HAMTRAMCK

Hamtramck City Hall
Hamtramck, Michigan

11:53 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very, very much. Cardinal Szoka, Your Eminence. Bob, thank you for the warm greeting to your wonderful community. Governor Blanchard -- it's an honor to have the Governor of the great state here. And I want to pay my respects to the members of the Michigan congressional delegation that came out here with me -- Senator Riegle, and several distinguished members of the House of Representatives sitting over here -- and also to Senator John Engler, who is the Majority Leader of the Michigan State Senate, and to other leaders -- elected leaders not only from your community, but in other parts of this state.

I'm delighted to be here. Bread and salt are both of the earth, an ancient symbol of a life leavened by health and prosperity. And in this same spirit, I wish you all the same. And now, if I may, I want to address at this important gathering the health and prosperity of a whole nation -- the proud people of Poland. (Applause.)

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.

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 leafless tree." (Applause.) I spoke of the spreading recognition that prosperity can only come from a free market and the creative genius of individuals. And I spoke of the new potency of democratic ideals -- of free speech, free elections, and the exercise of free will.

And we should not be surprised that the ideas 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. And 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. (Applause.)

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. And 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. (Applause.)

And 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 far more-reaching change.

So 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 encourage -- continue to encourage greater recognition of human rights, market incentives, and free elections. (Applause.)

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.

Some regions 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. (Applause.) 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 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. (Applause.)

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.

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 that the United States can help Poland. And 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. And we must remember that Poland still is a member of the Warsaw Pact. And I will take no steps that compromise the security of the West.

The Congress, the Polish-American community -- and I support, I endorse strongly Ed Moskal and what he is doing in the Polish American Congress, I might say, and I'm delighted he's here. Good Chicago boy right here in Hamtramck. (Applause.) That 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. And 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. (Applause.)

Now, the Poles are now taking steps that deserve our active support. And 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 International Monetary Fund on programs that support sound, market-oriented economic policies.

We will encourage business and private nonprofit 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.

You know, when I visited Poland in September of 1987, I was then Vice President, and I 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. (Applause.)

If Poland's experiment succeeds, other countries may follow. And 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. And second, help from the West will come in concert with liberalization. Our friends and European allies share this philosophy.

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. (Applause.) And 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. (Applause.)

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. And 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 -- the innate desire for freedom in the hearts of all men. We will not waver in our dedication to freedom now. And 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." (Applause.) Let us support the peaceful evolution of democracy in Poland. The cause of liberty knows no limits; the friends of freedom, no borders.

God bless Poland. God bless the United States of America. Thank you all very much. "Niech Zyje Polska." (Let Poland Live.) Thank you very much. (Applause.)

12:14 P.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(College Station, Texas)

For Immediate Release

May 12, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY

G. Rollie White Coliseum
College Station, Texas

3:05 P.M. CDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very, very much. Thank you, Governor. Thank you all very much for that welcome. Good luck. Good luck to you. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. Thank you all. Chairman McKenzie and Dr. Adkisson and Dr. Mobley. Thank you for having me here. And to the Singing Cadets, thank you for that very special treat. And to my Secretary of Commerce, Bob Mosbacher -- I'm delighted that he's with me today.

I want to pay my special respects to our Governor, Bill Clements; to your Congressman from this district, Joe Barton; and then, of course, to Senator Phil Gramm. He said he taught economics here and in Congress. It's hard to be humble. But nevertheless -- (laughter) -- the point is the guy's telling the truth, and we are grateful to him every day for his leadership up there in Washington as we are -- (applause) -- as we are for Joe Barton as well. (Applause.) So we've got a good combination -- Phil Gramm in the Senate, and today Joe Barton in the United States Congress -- a wonderful combination, with these Aggie values in the forefront.

I was brought here today by an Aggie, and I brought him here to this marvelous ceremony with me. He was mentioned by Congressman Barton, but I would like to ask the pilot of Air Force One, Lieutenant Colonel Dan Barr, to stand up so you can see another Aggie all suited up, up there. (Applause.)

And you met my day-to-day inside Aggie, Fred McClure. We work every minute of the day on matters affecting the legislative interests of this country. But I won't reintroduce Fred.

But I am delighted to be back among my fellow Texans and friends. And for those of you who are Democrats, there is no truth to the rumor that Phil Gramm and I are ready to take our elephant walk. (Applause.)

My sincerest congratulations go to every graduate, and to your parents. In this ceremony, we celebrate nothing less than the commencement of the rest, and the best, of your life.

And when you look back at your days at Texas A & M, you will have a lot to be proud of -- a university that is first in baseball -- (applause) -- and first in service to our nation. Many are the heroes whose names are called at muster. Many are those you remember in Silver Taps.

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. And students -- your parents and grandparents have lived through a world war, and helped America to rebuild the world. They witnessed the drama of postwar nations 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. It is fitting that these remarks be made here at Texas A&M University.

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.

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 simply be 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 that 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. And 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. And 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.

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 Europe and Central Europe. And 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. (Applause.)

And third, work with the West in positive, practical -- not merely rhetorical -- steps toward diplomatic solution 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.

And 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. (Applause.)

And 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.

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 Baker to propose to the Soviets that we resume negotiations on strategic forces in June. And, as you know, the Soviet Union has agreed.

Our basic approach is clear. In the Strategic Arms Reductions Talks, we wish to reduce the risk of nuclear war. And 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. And we're going to continue to seek a verifiable global ban on chemical weapons. (Applause.) 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.

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. And 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.

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. (Applause.) After that last weighty point, I can just imagine what you were thinking. It had to happen. Your last day in college had to end with yet another political science lecture. (Laughter.)

In all seriousness, the policy I have just described has everything to do with you. Today you graduate. You're going to start careers and families. And you will become the leaders of America in the next century. And what kind of world will you know? Perhaps the world order of the future will truly be a family of nations.

It's 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, warlike devastation without war.

Our son took our 12-year-old grandson to Yerevan. At the end of the 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, the class of 1945 at Texas A&M, was the first American soldier to shake hands with the Soviets at the bank of the Elbe River. Once again, we are ready to extend our hand. Once again, we are ready for a hand in return. And once again, it is a time for peace.

Thank you for inviting me to Texas A&M. I wish you the very best in years to come. God bless you all. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

3:28 P.M. CDT

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

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

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,

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.)

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.

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.

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.)

12:32 P.M. EDT

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 --

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,

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

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.)

1:45 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Kennebunkport, Maine)

For Immediate Release

June 2, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
UPON ARRIVAL AT PEASE AIR FORCE BASE
FOLLOWING TRIP TO EUROPE

Pease Air Force Base
Portsmouth, New Hampshire

12:15 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Well, thank you very, very much. What a surprise and wonderful welcome back. (Applause.) I am delighted and overwhelmed. (Applause.) Thank you so very much.

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. (Applause.)

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 -- of 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. (Applause.)

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. (Applause.)

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. (Applause.)

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. (Applause.)

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.

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. (Applause.)

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 that 21st century -- will be all the better.

We are delighted to be here. I salute the men and women of Pease Air Force Base, who help keep the peace. (Applause.) I thank my friends and neighbors from New Hampshire, and I even spot a few from Kennebunkport, Maine, here. (Applause.) I thank the two Governors and the members of the United States Congress that came out to greet us, and I particularly thank a former Governor of the State of New Hampshire standing over here, my able Chief of Staff, John Sununu. (Applause.) Our Secretary of Defense, Dick Cheney, our Secretary of State, Jim Baker, and my very able friend and advisor, the head of the National Security Council, General Brent Scowcroft. (Applause.)

Listen, Barbara and I are overwhelmed by this welcome home. Thank you all. God bless you, and God bless the United States of America. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

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 forever. From this year forward, as Poland works to reaffirm the natural order 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 perspective

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that places the people at the center. A new understanding that the governed are the true source of lasting social peace and economic prosperity -- around which government revolves, and exists to serve.

Poland has a rich democratic heritage. The May 3rd Constitution was a stroke of genius. Today, at the dawn of that document's third century, you're called upon to match its genius with contemporary action -- to make a peaceful transition toward political and economic renewal -- through representative government that expresses the will of the people. (Applause.)

I said a few weeks ago here in Europe that East and West have arrived at the end of one era, and at the beginning of another. Chairman Jaruzelski recently said of Poland that "the life of the nation has undergone deep changes -- society has the full right to ask when a ray of sun will shine over Poland." In truth, this applies not just to Poland, but to the entirety of relations between East and West.

A profound cycle of turmoil and great change is sweeping the world from Poland to the Pacific. It is sometimes inspiring, as here, in Warsaw. And sometimes it's agonizing, as in China today. But the magnitude of change we sense around the world compels us to look within ourselves -- and to God -- to forge a rare alloy of courage and restraint.

The future beckons with both hope and uncertainty. Poland and Hungary find themselves at a crossroads. Each has started down its own road to reform, without guarantee of easy success. The people of these nations -- and the courage of their leaders -- command our admiration. The way is hard. But the moment is right, both internally and internationally, for Poland to walk its own path.

On the day Solidarity was restored, I spoke of my support and admiration for the political experiment just getting underway in Poland. You've since proceeded further along that road -- including holding the remarkable elections that produced this Parliament. And let us consider what your experiment may mean, not just for Poland, but for Europe and for the entire world.

The divided world of the modern age began here -- right here -- in Poland, 50 years ago this summer. Your country -- and then nearly all of Europe -- was first besieged and then occupied by totalitarian, despotic forces. A courageous Poland was our ally. And in that fearful time, Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill devised the Atlantic Charter which outlined principles on which we hoped to build a better world -- including freedom from want and fear, and the right of peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live.

But as you know better than anyone, the world that we sought then was not to be. Stalinist systems were imposed over a third of a continent. The Cold War began. The countries of the West organized themselves in defense of democratic principles. And we proposed that the Marshall Plan include Eastern Europe. But again, that was not to be.

The Western strategy -- our strategy of containment -- was a means, but was never an end in itself. It was no substitute for a free and united Europe. And we did not forget the frustrated and lost hopes of 1945, nor the promise of a better world. Neither did the Polish people. You have been a crucible of conflict. You're now becoming a vessel for change.

Poland is where the Cold War began -- and now the people of Poland can help bring the division of Europe to an end. The time has come to move beyond containment to a world too long deferred -- a better world. And now, at long last, two developments have allowed us to redeem the principles of the Atlantic Charter for which the United States and Poland fought as allies. One is the manifest

failure of the classic Stalinist system. And the other is the indomitable will of the people -- through leaders in Poland and Hungary, who are working to overcome the mistakes of the past with honesty, creativity and, yes, courage. The world watches in admiration.

And now, in part because of what you are doing here, the genuine opportunity exists for all of us to build a Europe which many thought was destroyed forever in the 1940s. That Europe -- the Europe of our children -- will be open, whole, and free.

We can make it so in two ways. First, a new East-West relationship must rest on greatly reduced levels of arms. I notice what General Jaruzelski said on that point, and I support him. We in the West have proposed dramatic reductions in conventional armed forces in Europe, reductions that promise to transform the military map of Europe and diminish the very threat of war. The new willingness in Moscow to accept this Western framework for reductions in troops and tanks and aircraft and other categories of weapons gives us hope that the negotiations in Vienna will succeed. A good beginning has been made. Constructive proposals are being offered on both sides. We are determined to push hard for an early and successful conclusion to these talks.

Second, reductions in military forces will go further and be more sustainable if they take place in parallel with political change. Excessive levels of arms, we believe, are the symptom and not the source of political tensions. In Europe, those tensions spring from an unnatural and cruel division.

Poland's decision to embrace political reform -- and Hungary's movement in the same direction -- thus have great importance beyond their borders. By creating political structures legitimized by popular will -- by that, your reforms can be the foundation of stability, security, and prosperity -- not just here, but in all of Europe, now and into the next century.

Mikhail Gorbachev has written, "universal security rests on the recognition of the right of every nation to choose its own path of social development and on the renunciation of interference in the domestic affairs of other states. A nation may choose either capitalism or socialism. This is its sovereign right." In principle, I agree. But I might well have said that the people of a nation may freely choose either a free market economy, or socialism. That is their right.

And so the West works not to disrupt, not to interfere, not to threaten any nation's security, but to help forge closer and enduring ties between Poland and the rest of Europe.

As a result of the Roundtable Accords, Poland's fate lies more than ever in Polish hands. And there it must ever remain.

Your responsibility for your country's future is immense. Poland's friends, including the American people, want Poland to be free, prosperous, democratic, independent -- true to the best tradition of your nation's past. (Applause.) And this regime is moving forward with a sense of realism and courage, in a time of great difficulty and challenge. Lech Walesa and Solidarity are deeply committed to institutions in Poland that will serve all its people. This Parliament, by its very existence, is advancing pluralism. And the Church has served as a source of spiritual guidance and unity in turbulent times. But above all, there are the people of Poland -- people who are steadfastly working toward productive change.

And yet, even under the best circumstances, representative government has its own challenges. It requires patience, tolerance, and give-and-take between political opponent. But its virtue is that it grants legitimacy to leaders and their

policies. It gives governments and societies the mandate to make hard choices. And through their involvement, it gives the people a stake in the choices that are made.

For over 200 years, Americans have wrestled over political and economic interests, over individual and civil rights, and the role of a loyal opposition. Democracy is not a conclusion, it's a process -- and perfecting it never ends. But history has taught Americans one very clear lesson. Democracy works.

We understand in my country the enormous economic problems you face. Economic privation is a danger that can threaten any great democratic experiment. And I must speak honestly. Economic reform and recovery cannot occur without sacrifices. Even in an economy as productive as ours, we still debate the roles and limits of government -- how to regulate the private sector without discouraging innovation, how to reduce our own enormous budget deficit, how to balance workers' needs and industrial efficiency, how to handle the painful disruptions of change -- for the sake of productivity, the sake of progress, for the sake of prosperity.

The reform of the Polish economy presents an historic challenge. There can be no substitute for Poland's own efforts. But I want to stress to you today that Poland is not alone. Given the enormity of this moment, the United States stands ready to help as you help yourselves.

In Hamtramck, Michigan, three months ago, I outlined a policy of support for the reforms then just beginning in Poland. I proposed specific steps, carefully chosen to recognize the reforms underway here and to encourage reforms yet to come. It is a policy built on dynamic interplay of progress in Poland and Western engagement -- and not on unsound credits made without regard to necessary reforms. That was the record of the 1970s. Poland and the United States need not repeat that. Our efforts will be carefully targeted in support of an emerging new Poland.

We've made progress on the steps announced at Hamtramck, and this is where we stand.

Legislation is well underway that will help Polish exporters compete more effectively in the U.S. market through generalized systems of preferences, and that will authorize our Overseas Private Investment Corporation to operate in Poland, providing investment insurance and setting up missions to stimulate U.S. investment and joint ventures here.

The United States is proposing a private business agreement that will promote contacts between Poland's growing private business sector and its American counterparts. We hope to conclude an agreement soon, to build on what promises to be an unprecedented opportunity.

There is great interest and excitement in the United States about what you're doing in Poland and a clear-cut desire to help the reform process. I hosted a White House Symposium on July 6th to bring together citizens of my country interested in promoting investment, trade and academic exchange with Poland and Hungary. And I can assure you that, more than ever before, the American people will be involved in your democratic experiment.

I've said that as Poland reforms itself, the U.S. will respond. Much has happened even in the short time since Hamtramck. So today, I'm pleased to announce that we plan to do more and go farther for the sake of a stable and prosperous Poland.

First, I will propose at the upcoming economic summit in Paris that the nations of the summit -- that Summit Seven -- intensify their coordination and concerted action to promote democratic reform in Poland and Hungary, and to help manage

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compassionately the process of change. We will work with our partners at the summit, moving quickly with increased Western aid and technical assistance. This concerted action will complement existing institutions like the World Bank, the Paris Club, and IMF; and address needed economic reforms, credits, management and training initiatives, social safety nets, housing, and other issues important to Poland.

Second, I will ask the United States Congress to provide a \$100 million fund to capitalize and invigorate the Polish private sector -- and we will encourage parallel contributions from other nations of the economic summit.

Third, I will encourage the World Bank to move ahead with \$325 million in economically viable loans to help Polish agriculture and industry reach the production levels they are so clearly capable of.

And fourth, I will ask my counterparts in the West to support an early and generous rescheduling of Polish debt. This could provide deferral of debt payments amounting to about \$5 billion this year, if our allies and friends in the Paris Club agree to join us in offering liberalized terms. I plan to discuss this issue with my colleagues at the Paris summit.

Fifth, economic progress should not come at the expense of our common heritage -- our common inheritance -- the environment. In fact, sound ecology and a strong economy can and must coexist. Air and water pollution know no boundaries. And this concern is worldwide. Almost two years ago I visited Krakow, your former Royal Capital -- a city recognized by UNESCO as an international treasure. Today, Krakow is under siege by pollution. Its priceless monuments are being destroyed. Krakow must be reclaimed. And the United States will help. (Applause.) And I'll ask the Congress for \$15 million for a cooperative venture with Poland to help fight air and water pollution there.

Sixth, and finally, when I began my remarks, I mentioned the shared cultured heritage of our two nations. (Applause.) Today, I'm proud to announce that the United States will establish a Cultural and Information Center in Warsaw, and we'll ask Poland to establish a similar center in the United States. This will be the first time that either of our two countries will be able to conduct educational and cultural programs outside of our embassies and consulates.

The elections which brought us -- all of us -- together here today mean that the path the Polish people have chosen is that of political pluralism and economic rebirth. The road ahead is a long one, but it is the only road which leads to prosperity and social peace. Poland's progress along this road will show the way toward a new era throughout Europe, an era based on common values and not just geographic proximity. The Western democracies will stand with the Polish people, and other peoples of this region.

Democracy has captured the spirit of our time. Like all forms of government, though it may be defended, democracy can never be imposed. We believe in democracy. For without doubt, though democracy may be a dream deferred for many, it remains, in my view, the destiny of man.

Two hundred years ago, democratic constitutions were adopted by three nations, embodying the powerful influence of the enlightenment, as a testament to ideas that endure.

The American Constitution was first, and has stood the test of history for the over 200 years of our existence as a republic. Constitutional democracy in France began two centuries ago this summer. And in a few days, leaders from all over the world will be in Paris to celebrate the anniversary of its birth.

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.)

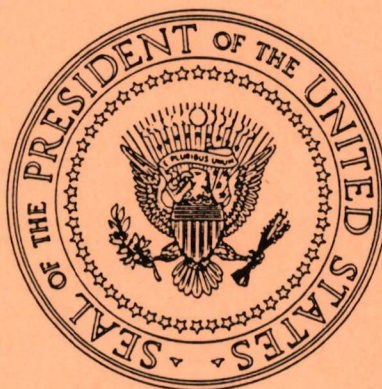
America wishes you well as you face the tough problems today. I salute General Jaruzelski for his leadership and his extraordinary hospitality to me. I salute the leaders and members of these two great legislative bodies. God, in His infinite wisdom and love, is with us in this chamber. May God bless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

END

2:58 P.M. (L)

ADDRESSES BY PRESIDENT BUSH ON U.S.-EUROPEAN AND SOVIET RELATIONS

- Citizens of Hamtramck, Michigan - April 17, 1989
- Texas A&M University - May 12, 1989
- Boston University Commencement Ceremony - May 21, 1989
- Coast Guard Academy Graduation Ceremony - May 24, 1989
- Rheingoldhalle, Mainz, Germany - May 31, 1989
- Pease Air Force Base - June 2, 1989
- Joint Session of Parliament at the Sejm, Warsaw, Poland - July 10, 1989



THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Hamtramck, Michigan)

For Immediate Release

April 17, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO CITIZENS OF HAMTRAMCK

Hamtramck City Hall
Hamtramck, Michigan

11:53 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very, very much. Cardinal Szoka, Your Eminence. Bob, thank you for the warm greeting to your wonderful community. Governor Blanchard -- it's an honor to have the Governor of the great state here. And I want to pay my respects to the members of the Michigan congressional delegation that came out here with me -- Senator Riegle, and several distinguished members of the House of Representatives sitting over here -- and also to Senator John Engler, who is the Majority Leader of the Michigan State Senate, and to other leaders -- elected leaders not only from your community, but in other parts of this state.

I'm delighted to be here. Bread and salt are both of the earth, an ancient symbol of a life leavened by health and prosperity. And in this same spirit, I wish you all the same. And now, if I may, I want to address at this important gathering the health and prosperity of a whole nation -- the proud people of Poland. (Applause.)

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.

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 leafless tree." (Applause.) I spoke of the spreading recognition that prosperity can only come from a free market and the creative genius of individuals. And I spoke of the new potency of democratic ideals -- of free speech, free elections, and the exercise of free will.

And we should not be surprised that the ideas 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. And 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. (Applause.)

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. And 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. (Applause.)

And 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 far more-reaching change.

So 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 encourage -- continue to encourage greater recognition of human rights, market incentives, and free elections. (Applause.)

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.

Some regions 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. (Applause.) 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 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. (Applause.)

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.

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 that the United States can help Poland. And 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. And we must remember that Poland still is a member of the Warsaw Pact. And I will take no steps that compromise the security of the West.

The Congress, the Polish-American community -- and I support, I endorse strongly Ed Moskal and what he is doing in the Polish American Congress, I might say, and I'm delighted he's here. Good Chicago boy right here in Hamtramck. (Applause.) That 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. And 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. (Applause.)

Now, the Poles are now taking steps that deserve our active support. And 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 International Monetary Fund on programs that support sound, market-oriented economic policies.

We will encourage business and private nonprofit 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.

You know, when I visited Poland in September of 1987, I was then Vice President, and I 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. (Applause.)

If Poland's experiment succeeds, other countries may follow. And 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. And second, help from the West will come in concert with liberalization. Our friends and European allies share this philosophy.

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. (Applause.) And 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. (Applause.)

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. And 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 -- the innate desire for freedom in the hearts of all men. We will not waver in our dedication to freedom now. And 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." (Applause.) Let us support the peaceful evolution of democracy in Poland. The cause of liberty knows no limits; the friends of freedom, no borders.

God bless Poland. God bless the United States of America. Thank you all very much. "Niech Zyje Polska." (Let Poland Live.) Thank you very much. (Applause.)

12:14 P.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(College Station, Texas)

For Immediate Release

May 12, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY

G. Rollie White Coliseum
College Station, Texas

3:05 P.M. CDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very, very much. Thank you, Governor. Thank you all very much for that welcome. Good luck. Good luck to you. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. Thank you all. Chairman McKenzie and Dr. Adkisson and Dr. Mobley. Thank you for having me here. And to the Singing Cadets, thank you for that very special treat. And to my Secretary of Commerce, Bob Mosbacher -- I'm delighted that he's with me today.

I want to pay my special respects to our Governor, Bill Clements; to your Congressman from this district, Joe Barton; and then, of course, to Senator Phil Gramm. He said he taught economics here and in Congress. It's hard to be humble. But nevertheless -- (laughter) -- the point is the guy's telling the truth, and we are grateful to him every day for his leadership up there in Washington as we are -- (applause) -- as we are for Joe Barton as well. (Applause.) So we've got a good combination -- Phil Gramm in the Senate, and today Joe Barton in the United States Congress -- a wonderful combination, with these Aggie values in the forefront.

I was brought here today by an Aggie, and I brought him here to this marvelous ceremony with me. He was mentioned by Congressman Barton, but I would like to ask the pilot of Air Force One, Lieutenant Colonel Dan Barr, to stand up so you can see another Aggie all suited up, up there. (Applause.)

And you met my day-to-day inside Aggie, Fred McClure. We work every minute of the day on matters affecting the legislative interests of this country. But I won't reintroduce Fred.

But I am delighted to be back among my fellow Texans and friends. And for those of you who are Democrats, there is no truth to the rumor that Phil Gramm and I are ready to take our elephant walk. (Applause.)

My sincerest congratulations go to every graduate, and to your parents. In this ceremony, we celebrate nothing less than the commencement of the rest, and the best, of your life.

And when you look back at your days at Texas A & M, you will have a lot to be proud of -- a university that is first in baseball -- (applause) -- and first in service to our nation. Many are the heroes whose names are called at muster. Many are those you remember in Silver Taps.

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. And students -- your parents and grandparents have lived through a world war, and helped America to rebuild the world. They witnessed the drama of postwar nations 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. It is fitting that these remarks be made here at Texas A&M University.

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.

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 simply be 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 that 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. And 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. And 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.

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 Europe and Central Europe. And 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. (Applause.)

And third, work with the West in positive, practical -- not merely rhetorical -- steps toward diplomatic solution 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.

And 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. (Applause.)

And 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.

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 Baker to propose to the Soviets that we resume negotiations on strategic forces in June. And, as you know, the Soviet Union has agreed.

Our basic approach is clear. In the Strategic Arms Reductions Talks, we wish to reduce the risk of nuclear war. And 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. And we're going to continue to seek a verifiable global ban on chemical weapons. (Applause.) 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.

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. And 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.

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. (Applause.) After that last weighty point, I can just imagine what you were thinking. It had to happen. Your last day in college had to end with yet another political science lecture. (Laughter.)

In all seriousness, the policy I have just described has everything to do with you. Today you graduate. You're going to start careers and families. And you will become the leaders of America in the next century. And what kind of world will you know? Perhaps the world order of the future will truly be a family of nations.

It's 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, warlike devastation without war.

Our son took our 12-year-old grandson to Yerevan. At the end of the 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, the class of 1945 at Texas A&M, was the first American soldier to shake hands with the Soviets at the bank of the Elbe River. Once again, we are ready to extend our hand. Once again, we are ready for a hand in return. And once again, it is a time for peace.

Thank you for inviting me to Texas A&M. I wish you the very best in years to come. God bless you all. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

3:28 P.M. CDT

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

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

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,

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.)

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.

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.

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.)

12:32 P.M. EDT

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 --

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,

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

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.)

1:45 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Kennebunkport, Maine)

For Immediate Release

June 2, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
UPON ARRIVAL AT PEASE AIR FORCE BASE
FOLLOWING TRIP TO EUROPE

Pease Air Force Base
Portsmouth, New Hampshire

12:15 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Well, thank you very, very much. What a surprise and wonderful welcome back. (Applause.) I am delighted and overwhelmed. (Applause.) Thank you so very much.

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. (Applause.)

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 -- of 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. (Applause.)

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. (Applause.)

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. (Applause.)

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. (Applause.)

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.

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. (Applause.)

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 that 21st century -- will be all the better.

We are delighted to be here. I salute the men and women of Pease Air Force Base, who help keep the peace. (Applause.) I thank my friends and neighbors from New Hampshire, and I even spot a few from Kennebunkport, Maine, here. (Applause.) I thank the two Governors and the members of the United States Congress that came out to greet us, and I particularly thank a former Governor of the State of New Hampshire standing over here, my able Chief of Staff, John Sununu. (Applause.) Our Secretary of Defense, Dick Cheney, our Secretary of State, Jim Baker, and my very able friend and advisor, the head of the National Security Council, General Brent Scowcroft. (Applause.)

Listen, Barbara and I are overwhelmed by this welcome home. Thank you all. God bless you, and God bless the United States of America. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

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 forever. From this year forward, as Poland works to reaffirm the natural order 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 perspective

MORE

that places the people at the center. A new understanding that the governed are the true source of lasting social peace and economic prosperity -- around which government revolves, and exists to serve.

Poland has a rich democratic heritage. The May 3rd Constitution was a stroke of genius. Today, at the dawn of that document's third century, you're called upon to match its genius with contemporary action -- to make a peaceful transition toward political and economic renewal -- through representative government that expresses the will of the people. (Applause.)

I said a few weeks ago here in Europe that East and West have arrived at the end of one era, and at the beginning of another. Chairman Jaruzelski recently said of Poland that "the life of the nation has undergone deep changes -- society has the full right to ask when a ray of sun will shine over Poland." In truth, this applies not just to Poland, but to the entirety of relations between East and West.

A profound cycle of turmoil and great change is sweeping the world from Poland to the Pacific. It is sometimes inspiring, as here, in Warsaw. And sometimes it's agonizing, as in China today. But the magnitude of change we sense around the world compels us to look within ourselves -- and to God -- to forge a rare alloy of courage and restraint.

The future beckons with both hope and uncertainty. Poland and Hungary find themselves at a crossroads. Each has started down its own road to reform, without guarantee of easy success. The people of these nations -- and the courage of their leaders -- command our admiration. The way is hard. But the moment is right, both internally and internationally, for Poland to walk its own path.

On the day Solidarity was restored, I spoke of my support and admiration for the political experiment just getting underway in Poland. You've since proceeded further along that road -- including holding the remarkable elections that produced this Parliament. And let us consider what your experiment may mean, not just for Poland, but for Europe and for the entire world.

The divided world of the modern age began here -- right here -- in Poland, 50 years ago this summer. Your country -- and then nearly all of Europe -- was first besieged and then occupied by totalitarian, despotic forces. A courageous Poland was our ally. And in that fearful time, Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill devised the Atlantic Charter which outlined principles on which we hoped to build a better world -- including freedom from want and fear, and the right of peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live.

But as you know better than anyone, the world that we sought then was not to be. Stalinist systems were imposed over a third of a continent. The Cold War began. The countries of the West organized themselves in defense of democratic principles. And we proposed that the Marshall Plan include Eastern Europe. But again, that was not to be.

The Western strategy -- our strategy of containment -- was a means, but was never an end in itself. It was no substitute for a free and united Europe. And we did not forget the frustrated and lost hopes of 1945, nor the promise of a better world. Neither did the Polish people. You have been a crucible of conflict. You're now becoming a vessel for change.

Poland is where the Cold War began -- and now the people of Poland can help bring the division of Europe to an end. The time has come to move beyond containment to a world too long deferred -- a better world. And now, at long last, two developments have allowed us to redeem the principles of the Atlantic Charter for which the United States and Poland fought as allies. One is the manifest

failure of the classic Stalinist system. And the other is the indomitable will of the people -- through leaders in Poland and Hungary, who are working to overcome the mistakes of the past with honesty, creativity and, yes, courage. The world watches in admiration.

And now, in part because of what you are doing here, the genuine opportunity exists for all of us to build a Europe which many thought was destroyed forever in the 1940s. That Europe -- the Europe of our children -- will be open, whole, and free.

We can make it so in two ways. First, a new East-West relationship must rest on greatly reduced levels of arms. I notice what General Jaruzelski said on that point, and I support him. We in the West have proposed dramatic reductions in conventional armed forces in Europe, reductions that promise to transform the military map of Europe and diminish the very threat of war. The new willingness in Moscow to accept this Western framework for reductions in troops and tanks and aircraft and other categories of weapons gives us hope that the negotiations in Vienna will succeed. A good beginning has been made. Constructive proposals are being offered on both sides. We are determined to push hard for an early and successful conclusion to these talks.

Second, reductions in military forces will go further and be more sustainable if they take place in parallel with political change. Excessive levels of arms, we believe, are the symptom and not the source of political tensions. In Europe, those tensions spring from an unnatural and cruel division.

Poland's decision to embrace political reform -- and Hungary's movement in the same direction -- thus have great importance beyond their borders. By creating political structures legitimized by popular will -- by that, your reforms can be the foundation of stability, security, and prosperity -- not just here, but in all of Europe, now and into the next century.

Mikhail Gorbachev has written, "universal security rests on the recognition of the right of every nation to choose its own path of social development and on the renunciation of interference in the domestic affairs of other states. A nation may choose either capitalism or socialism. This is its sovereign right." In principle, I agree. But I might well have said that the people of a nation may freely choose either a free market economy, or socialism. That is their right.

And so the West works not to disrupt, not to interfere, not to threaten any nation's security, but to help forge closer and enduring ties between Poland and the rest of Europe.

As a result of the Roundtable Accords, Poland's fate lies more than ever in Polish hands. And there it must ever remain.

Your responsibility for your country's future is immense. Poland's friends, including the American people, want Poland to be free, prosperous, democratic, independent -- true to the best tradition of your nation's past. (Applause.) And this regime is moving forward with a sense of realism and courage, in a time of great difficulty and challenge. Lech Walesa and Solidarity are deeply committed to institutions in Poland that will serve all its people. This Parliament, by its very existence, is advancing pluralism. And the Church has served as a source of spiritual guidance and unity in turbulent times. But above all, there are the people of Poland -- people who are steadfastly working toward productive change.

And yet, even under the best circumstances, representative government has its own challenges. It requires patience, tolerance, and give-and-take between political opponent. But its virtue is that it grants legitimacy to leaders and their

policies. It gives governments and societies the mandate to make hard choices. And through their involvement, it gives the people a stake in the choices that are made.

For over 200 years, Americans have wrestled over political and economic interests, over individual and civil rights, and the role of a loyal opposition. Democracy is not a conclusion, it's a process -- and perfecting it never ends. But history has taught Americans one very clear lesson. Democracy works.

We understand in my country the enormous economic problems you face. Economic privation is a danger that can threaten any great democratic experiment. And I must speak honestly. Economic reform and recovery cannot occur without sacrifices. Even in an economy as productive as ours, we still debate the roles and limits of government -- how to regulate the private sector without discouraging innovation, how to reduce our own enormous budget deficit, how to balance workers' needs and industrial efficiency, how to handle the painful disruptions of change -- for the sake of productivity, the sake of progress, for the sake of prosperity.

The reform of the Polish economy presents an historic challenge. There can be no substitute for Poland's own efforts. But I want to stress to you today that Poland is not alone. Given the enormity of this moment, the United States stands ready to help as you help yourselves.

In Hamtramck, Michigan, three months ago, I outlined a policy of support for the reforms then just beginning in Poland. I proposed specific steps, carefully chosen to recognize the reforms underway here and to encourage reforms yet to come. It is a policy built on dynamic interplay of progress in Poland and Western engagement -- and not on unsound credits made without regard to necessary reforms. That was the record of the 1970s. Poland and the United States need not repeat that. Our efforts will be carefully targeted in support of an emerging new Poland.

We've made progress on the steps announced at Hamtramck, and this is where we stand.

Legislation is well underway that will help Polish exporters compete more effectively in the U.S. market through generalized systems of preferences, and that will authorize our Overseas Private Investment Corporation to operate in Poland, providing investment insurance and setting up missions to stimulate U.S. investment and joint ventures here.

The United States is proposing a private business agreement that will promote contacts between Poland's growing private business sector and its American counterparts. We hope to conclude an agreement soon, to build on what promises to be an unprecedented opportunity.

There is great interest and excitement in the United States about what you're doing in Poland and a clear-cut desire to help the reform process. I hosted a White House Symposium on July 6th to bring together citizens of my country interested in promoting investment, trade and academic exchange with Poland and Hungary. And I can assure you that, more than ever before, the American people will be involved in your democratic experiment.

I've said that as Poland reforms itself, the U.S. will respond. Much has happened even in the short time since Hamtramck. So today, I'm pleased to announce that we plan to do more and go farther for the sake of a stable and prosperous Poland.

First, I will propose at the upcoming economic summit in Paris that the nations of the summit -- that Summit Seven -- intensify their coordination and concerted action to promote democratic reform in Poland and Hungary, and to help manage

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compassionately the process of change. We will work with our partners at the summit, moving quickly with increased Western aid and technical assistance. This concerted action will complement existing institutions like the World Bank, the Paris Club, and IMF; and address needed economic reforms, credits, management and training initiatives, social safety nets, housing, and other issues important to Poland.

Second, I will ask the United States Congress to provide a \$100 million fund to capitalize and invigorate the Polish private sector -- and we will encourage parallel contributions from other nations of the economic summit.

Third, I will encourage the World Bank to move ahead with \$325 million in economically viable loans to help Polish agriculture and industry reach the production levels they are so clearly capable of.

And fourth, I will ask my counterparts in the West to support an early and generous rescheduling of Polish debt. This could provide deferral of debt payments amounting to about \$5 billion this year, if our allies and friends in the Paris Club agree to join us in offering liberalized terms. I plan to discuss this issue with my colleagues at the Paris summit.

Fifth, economic progress should not come at the expense of our common heritage -- our common inheritance -- the environment. In fact, sound ecology and a strong economy can and must coexist. Air and water pollution know no boundaries. And this concern is worldwide. Almost two years ago I visited Krakow, your former Royal Capital -- a city recognized by UNESCO as an international treasure. Today, Krakow is under siege by pollution. Its priceless monuments are being destroyed. Krakow must be reclaimed. And the United States will help. (Applause.) And I'll ask the Congress for \$15 million for a cooperative venture with Poland to help fight air and water pollution there.

Sixth, and finally, when I began my remarks, I mentioned the shared cultured heritage of our two nations. (Applause.) Today, I'm proud to announce that the United States will establish a Cultural and Information Center in Warsaw, and we'll ask Poland to establish a similar center in the United States. This will be the first time that either of our two countries will be able to conduct educational and cultural programs outside of our embassies and consulates.

The elections which brought us -- all of us -- together here today mean that the path the Polish people have chosen is that of political pluralism and economic rebirth. The road ahead is a long one, but it is the only road which leads to prosperity and social peace. Poland's progress along this road will show the way toward a new era throughout Europe, an era based on common values and not just geographic proximity. The Western democracies will stand with the Polish people, and other peoples of this region.

Democracy has captured the spirit of our time. Like all forms of government, though it may be defended, democracy can never be imposed. We believe in democracy. For without doubt, though democracy may be a dream deferred for many, it remains, in my view, the destiny of man.

Two hundred years ago, democratic constitutions were adopted by three nations, embodying the powerful influence of the enlightenment, as a testament to ideas that endure.

The American Constitution was first, and has stood the test of history for the over 200 years of our existence as a republic. Constitutional democracy in France began two centuries ago this summer. And in a few days, leaders from all over the world will be in Paris to celebrate the anniversary of its birth.

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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)

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.)

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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.)

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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

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)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Hamtramck, Michigan)

For Immediate Release

April 17, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO CITIZENS OF HAMTRAMCK

Hamtramck City Hall
Hamtramck, Michigan

11:53 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very, very much. Cardinal Szoka, Your Eminence. Bob, thank you for the warm greeting to your wonderful community. Governor Blanchard -- it's an honor to have the Governor of the great state here. And I want to pay my respects to the members of the Michigan congressional delegation that came out here with me -- Senator Riegle, and several distinguished members of the House of Representatives sitting over here -- and also to Senator John Engler, who is the Majority Leader of the Michigan State Senate, and to other leaders -- elected leaders not only from your community, but in other parts of this state.

I'm delighted to be here. Bread and salt are both of the earth, an ancient symbol of a life leavened by health and prosperity. And in this same spirit, I wish you all the same. And now, if I may, I want to address at this important gathering the health and prosperity of a whole nation -- the proud people of Poland. (Applause.)

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.

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 leafless tree." (Applause.) I spoke of the spreading recognition that prosperity can only come from a free market and the creative genius of individuals. And I spoke of the new potency of democratic ideals -- of free speech, free elections, and the exercise of free will.

And we should not be surprised that the ideas 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. And 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. (Applause.)

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. And 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

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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. (Applause.)

And 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 far more-reaching change.

So 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 encourage -- continue to encourage greater recognition of human rights, market incentives, and free elections. (Applause.)

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.

Some regions 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. (Applause.) 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 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. (Applause.)

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.

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 that the United States can help Poland. And 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. And we must remember that Poland still is a member of the Warsaw Pact. And I will take no steps that compromise the security of the West.

The Congress, the Polish-American community -- and I support, I endorse strongly Ed Moskal and what he is doing in the Polish American Congress, I might say, and I'm delighted he's here. Good Chicago boy right here in Hamtramck. (Applause.) That 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. And 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. (Applause.)

Now, the Poles are now taking steps that deserve our active support. And 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 International Monetary Fund on programs that support sound, market-oriented economic policies.

We will encourage business and private nonprofit 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.

You know, when I visited Poland in September of 1987, I was then Vice President, and I 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. (Applause.)

If Poland's experiment succeeds, other countries may follow. And 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. And second, help from the West will come in concert with liberalization. Our friends and European allies share this philosophy.

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. (Applause.) And 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. (Applause.)

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. And 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 -- the innate desire for freedom in the hearts of all men. We will not waver in our dedication to freedom now. And 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." (Applause.) Let us support the peaceful evolution of democracy in Poland. The cause of liberty knows no limits; the friends of freedom, no borders.

God bless Poland. God bless the United States of America. Thank you all very much. "Niech Zyje Polska." (Let Poland Live.) Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

12:14 P.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Kennebunkport, Maine)

For Immediate Release

June 2, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
UPON ARRIVAL AT PEASE AIR FORCE BASE
FOLLOWING TRIP TO EUROPE

Pease Air Force Base
Portsmouth, New Hampshire

12:15 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Well, thank you very, very much. What a surprise and wonderful welcome back. (Applause.) I am delighted and overwhelmed. (Applause.) Thank you so very much.

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. (Applause.)

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 -- of 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. (Applause.)

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. (Applause.)

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. (Applause.)

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. (Applause.)

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.

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. (Applause.)

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 that 21st century -- will be all the better.

We are delighted to be here. I salute the men and women of Pease Air Force Base, who help keep the peace. (Applause.) I thank my friends and neighbors from New Hampshire, and I even spot a few from Kennebunkport, Maine, here. (Applause.) I thank the two Governors and the members of the United States Congress that came out to greet us, and I particularly thank a former Governor of the State of New Hampshire standing over here, my able Chief of Staff, John Sununu. (Applause.) Our Secretary of Defense, Dick Cheney, our Secretary of State, Jim Baker, and my very able friend and advisor, the head of the National Security Council, General Brent Scowcroft. (Applause.)

Listen, Barbara and I are overwhelmed by this welcome home. Thank you all. God bless you, and God bless the United States of America. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

12:24 P.M. EDT

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

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
(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 forever. From this year forward, as Poland works to reaffirm the natural order 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 perspective

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that places the people at the center. A new understanding that the governed are the true source of lasting social peace and economic prosperity -- around which government revolves, and exists to serve.

Poland has a rich democratic heritage. The May 3rd Constitution was a stroke of genius. Today, at the dawn of that document's third century, you're called upon to match its genius with contemporary action -- to make a peaceful transition toward political and economic renewal -- through representative government that expresses the will of the people. (Applause.)

I said a few weeks ago here in Europe that East and West have arrived at the end of one era, and at the beginning of another. Chairman Jaruzelski recently said of Poland that "the life of the nation has undergone deep changes -- society has the full right to ask when a ray of sun will shine over Poland." In truth, this applies not just to Poland, but to the entirety of relations between East and West.

A profound cycle of turmoil and great change is sweeping the world from Poland to the Pacific. It is sometimes inspiring, as here, in Warsaw. And sometimes it's agonizing, as in China today. But the magnitude of change we sense around the world compels us to look within ourselves -- and to God -- to forge a rare alloy of courage and restraint.

The future beckons with both hope and uncertainty. Poland and Hungary find themselves at a crossroads. Each has started down its own road to reform, without guarantee of easy success. The people of these nations -- and the courage of their leaders -- command our admiration. The way is hard. But the moment is right, both internally and internationally, for Poland to walk its own path.

On the day Solidarity was restored, I spoke of my support and admiration for the political experiment just getting underway in Poland. You've since proceeded further along that road -- including holding the remarkable elections that produced this Parliament. And let us consider what your experiment may mean, not just for Poland, but for Europe and for the entire world.

The divided world of the modern age began here -- right here -- in Poland, 50 years ago this summer. Your country -- and then nearly all of Europe -- was first besieged and then occupied by totalitarian, despotic forces. A courageous Poland was our ally. And in that fearful time, Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill devised the Atlantic Charter which outlined principles on which we hoped to build a better world -- including freedom from want and fear, and the right of peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live.

But as you know better than anyone, the world that we sought then was not to be. Stalinist systems were imposed over a third of a continent. The Cold War began. The countries of the West organized themselves in defense of democratic principles. And we proposed that the Marshall Plan include Eastern Europe. But again, that was not to be.

The Western strategy -- our strategy of containment -- was a means, but was never an end in itself. It was no substitute for a free and united Europe. And we did not forget the frustrated and lost hopes of 1945, nor the promise of a better world. Neither did the Polish people. You have been a crucible of conflict. You're now becoming a vessel for change.

Poland is where the Cold War began -- and now the people of Poland can help bring the division of Europe to an end. The time has come to move beyond containment to a world too long deferred -- a better world. And now, at long last, two developments have allowed us to redeem the principles of the Atlantic Charter for which the United States and Poland fought as allies. One is the manifest

failure of the classic Stalinist system. And the other is the indomitable will of the people -- through leaders in Poland and Hungary, who are working to overcome the mistakes of the past with honesty, creativity and, yes, courage. The world watches in admiration.

And now, in part because of what you are doing here, the genuine opportunity exists for all of us to build a Europe which many thought was destroyed forever in the 1940s. That Europe -- the Europe of our children -- will be open, whole, and free.

We can make it so in two ways. First, a new East-West relationship must rest on greatly reduced levels of arms. I notice what General Jaruzelski said on that point, and I support him. We in the West have proposed dramatic reductions in conventional armed forces in Europe, reductions that promise to transform the military map of Europe and diminish the very threat of war. The new willingness in Moscow to accept this Western framework for reductions in troops and tanks and aircraft and other categories of weapons gives us hope that the negotiations in Vienna will succeed. A good beginning has been made. Constructive proposals are being offered on both sides. We are determined to push hard for an early and successful conclusion to these talks.

Second, reductions in military forces will go further and be more sustainable if they take place in parallel with political change. Excessive levels of arms, we believe, are the symptom and not the source of political tensions. In Europe, those tensions spring from an unnatural and cruel division.

Poland's decision to embrace political reform -- and Hungary's movement in the same direction -- thus have great importance beyond their borders. By creating political structures legitimized by popular will -- by that, your reforms can be the foundation of stability, security, and prosperity -- not just here, but in all of Europe, now and into the next century.

Mikhail Gorbachev has written, "universal security rests on the recognition of the right of every nation to choose its own path of social development and on the renunciation of interference in the domestic affairs of other states. A nation may choose either capitalism or socialism. This is its sovereign right." In principle, I agree. But I might well have said that the people of a nation may freely choose either a free market economy, or socialism. That is their right.

And so the West works not to disrupt, not to interfere, not to threaten any nation's security, but to help forge closer and enduring ties between Poland and the rest of Europe.

As a result of the Roundtable Accords, Poland's fate lies more than ever in Polish hands. And there it must ever remain.

Your responsibility for your country's future is immense. Poland's friends, including the American people, want Poland to be free, prosperous, democratic, independent -- true to the best tradition of your nation's past. (Applause.) And this regime is moving forward with a sense of realism and courage, in a time of great difficulty and challenge. Lech Walesa and Solidarity are deeply committed to institutions in Poland that will serve all its people. This Parliament, by its very existence, is advancing pluralism. And the Church has served as a source of spiritual guidance and unity in turbulent times. But above all, there are the people of Poland -- people who are steadfastly working toward productive change.

And yet, even under the best circumstances, representative government has its own challenges. It requires patience, tolerance, and give-and-take between political opponent. But its virtue is that it grants legitimacy to leaders and their

policies. It gives governments and societies the mandate to make hard choices. And through their involvement, it gives the people a stake in the choices that are made.

For over 200 years, Americans have wrestled over political and economic interests, over individual and civil rights, and the role of a loyal opposition. Democracy is not a conclusion, it's a process -- and perfecting it never ends. But history has taught Americans one very clear lesson. Democracy works.

We understand in my country the enormous economic problems you face. Economic privation is a danger that can threaten any great democratic experiment. And I must speak honestly. Economic reform and recovery cannot occur without sacrifices. Even in an economy as productive as ours, we still debate the roles and limits of government -- how to regulate the private sector without discouraging innovation, how to reduce our own enormous budget deficit, how to balance workers' needs and industrial efficiency, how to handle the painful disruptions of change -- for the sake of productivity, the sake of progress, for the sake of prosperity.

The reform of the Polish economy presents an historic challenge. There can be no substitute for Poland's own efforts. But I want to stress to you today that Poland is not alone. Given the enormity of this moment, the United States stands ready to help as you help yourselves.

In Hamtramck, Michigan, three months ago, I outlined a policy of support for the reforms then just beginning in Poland. I proposed specific steps, carefully chosen to recognize the reforms underway here and to encourage reforms yet to come. It is a policy built on dynamic interplay of progress in Poland and Western engagement -- and not on unsound credits made without regard to necessary reforms. That was the record of the 1970s. Poland and the United States need not repeat that. Our efforts will be carefully targeted in support of an emerging new Poland.

We've made progress on the steps announced at Hamtramck, and this is where we stand.

Legislation is well underway that will help Polish exporters compete more effectively in the U.S. market through generalized systems of preferences, and that will authorize our Overseas Private Investment Corporation to operate in Poland, providing investment insurance and setting up missions to stimulate U.S. investment and joint ventures here.

The United States is proposing a private business agreement that will promote contacts between Poland's growing private business sector and its American counterparts. We hope to conclude an agreement soon, to build on what promises to be an unprecedented opportunity.

There is great interest and excitement in the United States about what you're doing in Poland and a clear-cut desire to help the reform process. I hosted a White House Symposium on July 6th to bring together citizens of my country interested in promoting investment, trade and academic exchange with Poland and Hungary. And I can assure you that, more than ever before, the American people will be involved in your democratic experiment.

I've said that as Poland reforms itself, the U.S. will respond. Much has happened even in the short time since Hamtramck. So today, I'm pleased to announce that we plan to do more and go farther for the sake of a stable and prosperous Poland.

First, I will propose at the upcoming economic summit in Paris that the nations of the summit -- that Summit Seven -- intensify their coordination and concerted action to promote democratic reform in Poland and Hungary, and to help manage

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compassionately the process of change. We will work with our partners at the summit, moving quickly with increased Western aid and technical assistance. This concerted action will complement existing institutions like the World Bank, the Paris Club, and IMF; and address needed economic reforms, credits, management and training initiatives, social safety nets, housing, and other issues important to Poland.

Second, I will ask the United States Congress to provide a \$100 million fund to capitalize and invigorate the Polish private sector -- and we will encourage parallel contributions from other nations of the economic summit.

Third, I will encourage the World Bank to move ahead with \$325 million in economically viable loans to help Polish agriculture and industry reach the production levels they are so clearly capable of.

And fourth, I will ask my counterparts in the West to support an early and generous rescheduling of Polish debt. This could provide deferral of debt payments amounting to about \$5 billion this year, if our allies and friends in the Paris Club agree to join us in offering liberalized terms. I plan to discuss this issue with my colleagues at the Paris summit.

Fifth, economic progress should not come at the expense of our common heritage -- our common inheritance -- the environment. In fact, sound ecology and a strong economy can and must coexist. Air and water pollution know no boundaries. And this concern is worldwide. Almost two years ago I visited Krakow, your former Royal Capital -- a city recognized by UNESCO as an international treasure. Today, Krakow is under siege by pollution. Its priceless monuments are being destroyed. Krakow must be reclaimed. And the United States will help. (Applause.) And I'll ask the Congress for \$15 million for a cooperative venture with Poland to help fight air and water pollution there.

Sixth, and finally, when I began my remarks, I mentioned the shared cultured heritage of our two nations. (Applause.) Today, I'm proud to announce that the United States will establish a Cultural and Information Center in Warsaw, and we'll ask Poland to establish a similar center in the United States. This will be the first time that either of our two countries will be able to conduct educational and cultural programs outside of our embassies and consulates.

The elections which brought us -- all of us -- together here today mean that the path the Polish people have chosen is that of political pluralism and economic rebirth. The road ahead is a long one, but it is the only road which leads to prosperity and social peace. Poland's progress along this road will show the way toward a new era throughout Europe, an era based on common values and not just geographic proximity. The Western democracies will stand with the Polish people, and other peoples of this region.

Democracy has captured the spirit of our time. Like all forms of government, though it may be defended, democracy can never be imposed. We believe in democracy. For without doubt, though democracy may be a dream deferred for many, it remains, in my view, the destiny of man.

Two hundred years ago, democratic constitutions were adopted by three nations, embodying the powerful influence of the enlightenment, as a testament to ideas that endure.

The American Constitution was first, and has stood the test of history for the over 200 years of our existence as a republic. Constitutional democracy in France began two centuries ago this summer. And in a few days, leaders from all over the world will be in Paris to celebrate the anniversary of its birth.

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)

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(College Station, Texas)

For Immediate Release

May 12, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY

G. Rollie White Coliseum
College Station, Texas

3:05 P.M. CDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very, very much. Thank you, Governor. Thank you all very much for that welcome. Good luck. Good luck to you. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. Thank you all. Chairman McKenzie and Dr. Adkisson and Dr. Mobley. Thank you for having me here. And to the Singing Cadets, thank you for that very special treat. And to my Secretary of Commerce, Bob Mosbacher -- I'm delighted that he's with me today.

I want to pay my special respects to our Governor, Bill Clements; to your Congressman from this district, Joe Barton; and then, of course, to Senator Phil Gramm. He said he taught economics here and in Congress. It's hard to be humble. But nevertheless -- (laughter) -- the point is the guy's telling the truth, and we are grateful to him every day for his leadership up there in Washington as we are -- (applause) -- as we are for Joe Barton as well. (Applause.) So we've got a good combination -- Phil Gramm in the Senate, and today Joe Barton in the United States Congress -- a wonderful combination, with these Aggie values in the forefront.

I was brought here today by an Aggie, and I brought him here to this marvelous ceremony with me. He was mentioned by Congressman Barton, but I would like to ask the pilot of Air Force One, Lieutenant Colonel Dan Barr, to stand up so you can see another Aggie all suited up, up there. (Applause.)

And you met my day-to-day inside Aggie, Fred McClure. We work every minute of the day on matters affecting the legislative interests of this country. But I won't reintroduce Fred.

But I am delighted to be back among my fellow Texans and friends. And for those of you who are Democrats, there is no truth to the rumor that Phil Gramm and I are ready to take our elephant walk. (Applause.)

My sincerest congratulations go to every graduate, and to your parents. In this ceremony, we celebrate nothing less than the commencement of the rest, and the best, of your life.

And when you look back at your days at Texas A & M, you will have a lot to be proud of -- a university that is first in baseball -- (applause) -- and first in service to our nation. Many are the heroes whose names are called at muster. Many are those you remember in Silver Taps.

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. And students -- your parents and grandparents have lived through a world war, and helped America to rebuild the world. They witnessed the drama of postwar nations divided by Soviet subversion and force, but sustained

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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. It is fitting that these remarks be made here at Texas A&M University.

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.

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 simply be 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 that 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. And 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. And 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

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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.

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 Europe and Central Europe. And 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. (Applause.)

And third, work with the West in positive, practical -- not merely rhetorical -- steps toward diplomatic solution 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.

And 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. (Applause.)

And 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.

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 Baker to propose to the Soviets that we resume negotiations on strategic forces in June. And, as you know, the Soviet Union has agreed.

Our basic approach is clear. In the Strategic Arms Reductions Talks, we wish to reduce the risk of nuclear war. And 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. And we're going to continue to seek a verifiable global ban on chemical weapons. (Applause.) 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.

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. And 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.

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. (Applause.) After that last weighty point, I can just imagine what you were thinking. It had to happen. Your last day in college had to end with yet another political science lecture. (Laughter.)

In all seriousness, the policy I have just described has everything to do with you. Today you graduate. You're going to start careers and families. And you will become the leaders of America in the next century. And what kind of world will you know? Perhaps the world order of the future will truly be a family of nations.

It's 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, warlike devastation without war.

Our son took our 12-year-old grandson to Yerevan. At the end of the 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, the class of 1945 at Texas A&M, was the first American soldier to shake hands with the Soviets at the bank of the Elbe River. Once again, we are ready to extend our hand. Once again, we are ready for a hand in return. And once again, it is a time for peace.

Thank you for inviting me to Texas A&M. I wish you the very best in years to come. God bless you all. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

3:28 P.M. CDT

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

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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.

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