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# SECURITY ASSISTANCE LEGISLATION AND POLICY

## Aid to the New Independent States: A Peace We Must Not Lose

By

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Today, I want to share some serious observations with you on events around the world. Look around the world today. Think of the page one stories of the past few years and our victory in the Cold War, the collapse of imperial communism, the liberation of Kuwait. Think of the great revolutions of 1989 that brought down the Berlin Wall and broke the chains of communism and brought a new world of freedom to Eastern Europe. And think of the role this nation played in every one of these great triumphs—the sacrifices we made, the sense of mission that carried us through.

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

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

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

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

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

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

## A NEW MISSION FOR AMERICA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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## DIVIDENDS FOR AMERICA

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

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

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

We should focus not on the dangers of failure but on the dividends of success.

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

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

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

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

For example, last week I asked the Congress to repeal the Stevenson and Byrd amendments that limit (the) Exim [U.S. Export-Import] Bank's ability to help promote American exports to the former USSR. I'm pleased that Congress has acted. I'm also seeking to conclude trade, bilateral investment, and tax treaties with each of the new Commonwealth states. The first agreement between the United States and Armenia was signed last week, and we expect a lot more to follow.

Russian democracy is in America's interest. It's also in keeping with this nation's guiding ideals. Across the boundaries of language and culture, across the Cold War chasm of mistrust, we

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feel the pull of common values. In the ordeal of long-suffering peoples of the Soviet empire, we seek glimpses of this nation's past. In their hopes and dreams we see our own.

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

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

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

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

## WINNING THE PEACE

This is what we're doing right now to win this peace. Strategically we're moving with the Russians to reach historic nuclear reductions. We've urged speedy ratification of START (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty) and CFE (Conventional Armed Forces in Europe). We're working with all the new states to prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction. We are offering our help in safety—in nuclear weapons safety—and security and, yes, in the dismantlement.

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

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

Economically, working with the European Community and many other countries, we organized a global coalition to provide urgently needed emergency food and medical supplies this past winter. Now, we will send Americans to help promote improvements in food distribution, energy, defense conversion, and democratization.

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I have sent Congress the FREEDOM [Freedom for Russia and East European Democracies and Open Markets] Support Act, a comprehensive and integrated legislative package that will provide new opportunities to support freedom and repeal all Cold War legislation. In its key features, this bill asks Congress to meet my request for \$620 million to fund technical assistance projects in the former USSR. It urges Congress to increase the U.S. quota in the IMF [International Monetary Fund] by \$12 billion.

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

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

Ours is a policy of collective engagement and shared responsibility. Working with the G-7 (seven leading industrialized nations), the IMF and the World Bank, we are seeking to help promote the economic transformation so central to an enduring democratic peace.

Forty-five years after their founding, the Bretton Woods institutions we created after World War II are now serving their original purpose. By working with others, we're sharing the burden responsibly and acting in the best interests of the American taxpayer.

## **THE NEED FOR PUBLIC SUPPORT**

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

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

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

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

As a consequence, you know the answer: we fought the most costly war in the history of man, a war that claimed the lives of countless millions. At war's end, once again, we saw the prospect of a new world on the horizon. But the great victory over fascism quickly gave way to the grim reality of a new communist threat.

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

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

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

Thank you all very much for inviting me here today. May God bless the free peoples of the former Soviet empire, and may God bless the United States of America.