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Ken Pitterle
647-8050

McGroarty/Dooley
September 26, 1990
5:00 pm
[CSCE.UN]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: C.S.C.E. MINISTERIAL
NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK
OCTOBER 1, 1990
3:00 PM

Baker intro

Exec Sec CSCE - ~~Ret~~
Amb Robt. Frowick

[Introductory acknowledgements.] It is a pleasure to welcome all of you to the United States -- and my great honor to host this, the first-ever C.S.C.E. Ministerial held on American soil. //

Welcome also to all our guests -- from more than 80 nations across the globe. Your presence here today reminds us that the concerns that bring the nations of Europe and North America together affect the future of peace and freedom not only across the Atlantic -- but around the world. ///

In this past year, we've witnessed a world of change -- and even now a new world continues to unfold before our eyes. // Moments ago -- right here in this building -- I looked on as the delegates of the Four Powers in Germany formally relinquished the rights and responsibilities they had held for 45 years. // With those final strokes of the pen ends an era of discord and division -- a dark chapter in the history of Europe, and the world. ///

Mr. Genscher and Mr. de Maiziere: No longer is your nation -- so long divided East from West -- a symbol of Cold War and conflict. // No longer is Germany one nation split between two

diff area

Instrumental

Dep Exec Sec - John Evans

Sec Baker - Chairman @ that time

John Maresca - Dep Chair @ that time

Chair of Pup Comm

~~Conte wants for CFE~~

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Interp —

worlds. /// We rejoice with you and the German people that your nation is united once more. //

Germany's long-awaited day of celebration is merely the most recent in a chain-reaction of changes this past year that transformed a continent -- and swept away forever an era of discord and division. //

This transformation is testimony to the power of the principles in the founding charter of the CSCE -- the Helsinki Final Act. // There -- in the human rights and fundamental freedoms set down in Helsinki 15 years ago -- we find the cause and catalyst of what I call the Revolution of 89. //

In the darkest days of dictatorship, those principles blazed forth -- a bright star, inspiring ordinary men to extraordinary acts. // Think of **Walesa**, the father of Solidarity. // Of **Sakharov** and **Sharansky** -- of their unflinching humanity in the face of repression. // Of **Havel** and **Mazowiecki** [Mah-zo-VYET-ski]: not so very long ago political prisoners -- now President and Prime Minister of our newest democracies. // Think of all the millions of ordinary men and women: at long last, free to speak their minds -- free to live, work and worship as they wish. ///

CSCE shares in this monumental triumph of the human spirit. /// **Our challenge now** is to keep pace with the tremendous political transformations that have changed the face of Europe -- to create a CSCE that can remain at the cutting edge of change, and consolidate these great gains for freedom. In Eastern and

Central Europe -- a CSCE capable of helping hard-won democracy take root and draw strength. // And in those nations where democracy remains a dream -- a CSCE that continues to stand fast for the principles of freedom that promise life and hope. //

The outlines of this new CSCE are already becoming clear. In July, at the London NATO summit, the leaders of the Atlantic Alliance put forward a series of proposals aimed at strengthening the CSCE -- and channeling its energies in new directions.

We urge the member nations of the CSCE:

** To create a **Center for the Prevention of Conflict** -- to build on the CSCE's success in establishing confidence and security-building measures that have done so much to reduce the **risk of war by accident or miscalculation**. //

** To establish a small **permanent secretariat** to serve the CSCE -- one that could support an accelerated schedule of CSCE consultations and review conferences. ///

** To create a CSCE **elections office** -- to foster free and fair elections: the fundamental democratic principle from which all others follow. ///

** And finally, to invite member nations to convene an **"Assembly of Europe"**: a parliament where the growing family of democracies, [old and new], can chart a common course towards this new Europe, whole and free. ///

I urge the ministers to make this meeting a milestone in the history of the CSCE -- one that shapes this institution to meet the changing needs of the new Europe. ///

And let me mention one more area where rapid progress is critical: the on-going negotiations on **Conventional Forces in Europe**. //

An agreement to reduce conventional forces remains the cornerstone of a new security architecture for Europe. For that reason, the United States believes a conventional arms accord is an essential prerequisite to a CSCE Summit. // And in spite of the very real progress our negotiators report, difficult decisions and complex arms issues remain unresolved. //

So today, I call on all the Ministers gathered here to take this message to the negotiators now working in Vienna: **We must redouble our efforts in the weeks ahead.** // We must resolve outstanding issues and reach agreement -- so that a Summit can be held this year. ///

Fifteen years ago -- in a Europe divided East from West -- the CSCE offered a vision of a Europe united -- whole and free. /// Today -- with that new Europe within reach -- the CSCE remains central to all that Europe can become. ///

Once again, welcome. // May the spirit that has carried Europe forward guide your discussions -- and may you meet with every success.

#

"Wenn ich vom Frieden in der Welt und in Europa spreche, dann ... muß ich auf die Teilung Deutschlands zurückkommen. Die Teilung Deutschlands wird eines Tages - das ist unsere feste Überzeugung - wieder verschwinden ... Diese Teilung Deutschlands ist durch Spannungen herbeigeführt worden, die zwischen den Siegermächten entstanden sind. Auch diese Spannungen werden vorübergehen. Wir hoffen, daß dann der Wiedervereinigung mit unseren Brüdern und Schwestern in der Ostzone und in Berlin nichts mehr im Wege steht."

(Regierungserklärung 20. September 1949)

"Eine Lösung der deutschen Frage ist nicht möglich allein zwischen uns und dem Gegner, der uns bedrückt; eine Lösung dieser Frage ist nur möglich mit Hilfe unserer Freunde. Und wir danken Gott, daß wir wieder Freunde in der Welt gefunden haben ... Gerade diese Freundschaft in Europa, außerhalb Europas, mit den Vereinigten Staaten, mit allen freien Völkern der Welt, gibt uns erst ein Recht, mit Sicherheit zu erwarten, daß eines Tages auch die Wiedervereinigung in Freiheit erfolgen wird."

(Ansprache 15. Oktober 1963)

80 ministers + 9 guests

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ed.

~ 800

LSCÉ time? place?

FM's?

Oct 1 - 4 powers
when? where?

on UN grounds?

Mon, Oct. 1

3:05 - 3:30 p.m.

Jacob Javits Center
34th + Hudson

~~Brad Blatzman~~

Waldorf Astoria

Doug McKenzie

Dan Durkin

Matt Smith 799-7825

To Peggy
Date 9/26 Time _____

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M ~~Patricia~~ Andrew Goodman
of State Dept.
Phone 647-2005

Area Code	Number	Extension
TELEPHONED		PLEASE CALL
CALLED TO SEE YOU		WILL CALL AGAIN
WANTS TO SEE YOU		URGENT

RETURNED YOUR CALL

Message _____

Wendy
Operator

To Peggy
Date 9/26 Time 10:30

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M Dan Durkin
of Eric Noheg ext. 7711
Phone 212-768-4400

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Message _____

Karen Grooms - 35 speakers
Linda DeWan
212/223-4375

Andrew Goodman
Mike Guest Operator opens conf.

Hurd
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Genscher
PM de Mazier (?)
booted F.M.

letter yest. to Long.
by end of Oct?
suspend's 4-power rights
for Berlin + Ger as a
whole - pending
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Treaty on Final
Settlement w/Respect
to Ger
↳ sign - 5 ratify
make Ger sovereign upon sig.

Declaration Suspending the
Op of Quadro-Partite
Rights + Resps.

the truth. That's how vital our liberty is to the oppressed. That's why America truly is a point of light for the world.

And no star in this American constellation burns brighter than the State of South Carolina. After all, historic changes are occurring around the world because of American leadership, leaders like your great Senator that stands for something, Strom Thurmond. When America needed to be protected during the Cold War years, Strom, rock-solid, standing for freedom—we'll never forget it. This country owes him a great vote of gratitude. We need his hard-won wisdom and leadership, really, as never before.

Today it's been my special honor to appear on and try to help honor someone who embodies South Carolina's determination, courage, and just plain old common sense. And of course, I'm talking again about Carroll Campbell. He's been a great Governor, and with your support, he can bring an even greater future for South Carolina.

Thank you for this magnificent turnout, this fantastic support for a great Governor. God bless the United States of America. Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 7:12 p.m. at the Governor's Mansion. In his opening remarks, he referred to Governor Campbell's wife, Iris, and sons, Carroll and Mike; Les Tindal, South Carolina Commissioner of Agriculture; Dick Greer, chairman of the Re-Elect Governor Campbell Committee; and Lee Atwater, chairman of the Republican National Committee.

Remarks at the University of South Carolina Commencement Ceremony in Columbia, South Carolina May 12, 1990

Thank you, President Holderman, distinguished officials of this wonderful university. My special respects to two great United States Senators, Senators Strom Thurmond, Fritz Hollings, over here—I'm proud to be with them today—and to Representatives Floyd Spence and Elizabeth Patterson, with

us; of course, to my dear friend, your Governor, Carroll Campbell, who's a tremendous partner in our national crusade for excellence in education. I also want to say how pleased I am to be on this stage with Archbishop Iakovos, one of the great church leaders of today.

I know, looking around, that tickets were hard to come by today. It wasn't simply parking. Barbara's here. [Laughter] Thank goodness she's getting an honorary degree there because it was the only way I could get her a seat in this big place. [Laughter] But thank you for honoring her.

And she's in great company, as am I, with today's other recipients of honorary degrees. I don't know how many of you have heard me speak before, but being on stage with Andrew Lloyd Webber is about as close as I'll ever get to a dramatic presentation. [Laughter] Congratulations to you, sir.

And to Michael Eisner: The success that he's achieved at Disney is the envy of CEO's worldwide. His secret's simple: Just surround yourself with the best and the brightest—Dopey, Dumbo, Goofy. [Laughter] But what you may not know, and you should, is I salute him, too, for his commitment to this concept of Points of Light, the best impulse of America—and Michael Eisner exemplifies it—one American willing to pitch in and help another. He's a great American.

Now to you all. I've saluted—hope I have—your faculty. I should; they're outstanding—the trustees and those who govern this great institution, and to the class who I'm here to help these others honor. You've gone to school for 4 years; the last thing you want to hear is a long lecture. But I wanted to use this great university as a forum for some serious foreign policy observations. I've chosen to make each of several commencement speeches this spring a reflection on democratic change. Last week, at Oklahoma State, I focused on the new role of our Atlantic alliance. Yesterday, down in Texas, at Texas A&I, I spoke about technology and the vast frontier of space. This morning, I want to talk about a frontier of a different sort, about the new world of freedom opening up in Eastern Europe.

Now, that's pretty serious business, but I'm going to ask you to bear with me, but telling you I do remember a graduation at Yale, where the graduation speaker got up—my alma mater—Y is for youth. That took 20 minutes. A is for altruism; young people be altruistic. Another 32 minutes. L for loyalty. Brushed that one off in about 18 minutes. E obviously for excellence. Another 32 minutes. When he left, one student left, praying. And the speaker walked down. "I see you're giving thanks to the Lord." He said, "Yes, sir, I am. I'm giving thanks that I did not go to the University of South Carolina." [Laughter]

So, bear with me, because we are living in exciting times. In the past year, one nation after another has pulled itself out from under communism, onto the threshold of democracy. Each has endured great suffering, tremendous economic damage. We've all seen the images of long lines and empty shelves. But what we can't see so easily, what's beneath the surface but no less real, is the moral damage, the deep scars on the spirit left by four decades of Communist rule.

Because in these regimes, the human spirit was subject to systematic assault. Religion, morality, right and wrong—any challenge to the rule of the state became the enemy of the state. Believers were persecuted, churches and cemeteries razed. Citizens were turned one against the other, enlisted into the ranks of the regime's informers. Nothing stood outside the reach of the regime, not even the past. History—well, it was rewritten to suit the needs of the present—yesterday's heroes airbrushed from the pages of history. Milan Kundera, the Czech author, called it organized forgetting.

Of course, these nations had laws. They had courts. They had constitutions. All in service to the state. They had, in name at least, rights and freedoms; in reality, the empty shell of liberty—not the rule of law but the perversion of law: rules made not to serve the will of the people but the whim of the party. That's how in Romania the law made it illegal for three or more people to have a conversation in the street. That's how in another country a man whose so-called crime was teaching others about religion was jailed for 6 months. The trumped-

up charge: walking on flower beds. We will never know how many dissidents were punished as common criminals and how many millions of others were frozen by fear into silence and submission.

That's the legacy, the landscape of moral destruction. The tragic consequence of four decades of Communist rule: a breakdown of trust. From ancient times, the great minds have recognized the link between the law and trust. As Aristotle wrote: "Law is a pledge that the citizens of a state will do justice to one another"—the bond that makes the collection of individuals into a community, into a nation.

Fortunately, the moral destruction in Eastern Europe, as you all know, was not complete. Individuals somehow managed to maintain an inner strength, their moral compass; to sustain the will to break through the regime's wall of lies. They did so, as Vaclav Havel [President of Czechoslovakia] put it, by the simple act of "living in truth." They created "flying universities," where lecturers taught in private homes. They formed underground publishing houses and groups to monitor human rights, an authentic civil society beyond the reach of the ruling establishment. And today the builders of those civil societies no longer live underground. They are the new leaders of Eastern Europe. And they've begun to build, on the ruins of Communist rule, democratic systems based on trust.

Today I want to focus on how America can help these nations secure their freedoms, become a part of a Europe whole and free. Early this year, in the State of the Union, I talked about America's role as a shining example, about the importance of America not as a nation but as an idea alive in the minds of men and women everywhere. And that idea was, without doubt, a guiding force in the Revolution of 1989.

Let me share a story with you about a recent American visitor to Romania who asked the people she met what they needed now, what was most important to them. This simple question produced some unexpected answers. In Timisoara, one woman pulled from her purse a worn copy of TV Guide, an issue from July 1987, containing a bicentennial copy of the United States Constitution. And she held it out to the Ameri-

can visitor. And she said, "What we need is more of these."

And there on the streets of Timisoara—in a country where food is in short supply, where homes are without heat and streets dark at night—there a woman pins her hopes on our Constitution. What that Romanian woman wanted, what all the nations of Eastern Europe aspire to, is democratic life based on justice and the rule of law.

Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary stand now, in the spring of 1990, as America stood in the summer of 1787. Who will be their Franklins, their Washingtons, their Hamiltons, their Madisons, their men and women of towering genius, the nation builders who will set in place the firm foundations of self-government? Some of them we know by name, the heroes of the Revolution of '89. But for Eastern Europe's constitution builders, the work has only now begun because the fate of freedom depends not just on the character of the people who govern but whether they themselves are governed by the rule of law.

And just as the framers of our own Constitution looked to the lessons of history, Eastern Europe's new democracies will look to their own parliamentary past, to Europe's example and, of course, to our own American Constitution. And that's why we must export our experience, our two centuries of accumulated wisdom on the workings of free government.

Already we're actively engaged with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union with an ongoing series of exchanges bringing jurists and parliamentarians, political leaders here to the United States to meet their American counterparts. And today I'm pleased to announce four new initiatives, four steps that the United States will take to support democratic development in Eastern Europe.

First, America will continue to act to advance economic freedom. In the past year, we've committed more than \$1 billion in direct economic assistance to Eastern Europe. We've extended loans and credits, opened our markets through most-favored-nation status, and promoted American investment. And today I'm pleased to announce yet another economic initiative: The Export-Import Bank will provide Poland a new line of medium-term export

credits and loan guarantees for purchasing machinery, technology, and services from American suppliers.

And second, the United States will work to help ensure free and fair elections in Eastern Europe. And next week, we'll send a Presidential delegation to observe the elections in Romania and another team to next month's elections in Bulgaria.

Third, America will work to broaden the mandate of the CSCE, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Less than a month from now, as one of the 35 nations of the CSCE, the United States will take part in a conference on human rights, including free elections, political pluralism, and the rule of law. And I've instructed Ambassador Max Kampelman, head of our delegation, to seek a new consensus on these cornerstones of freedoms, rights, and democracy. As I said last week at Oklahoma State University, we must work within the CSCE to bring Eastern Europe's new democracies into this commonwealth of free nations.

Fourth and finally, we will work to strengthen the foundations of free society in Eastern Europe. And I am pleased to announce today the creation of a Citizens Democracy Corps. Its first mission: to establish a center and a clearinghouse for American private sector assistance and volunteer activities in Eastern Europe. We know the real strength of our democracy is its citizens, the collective strength of individual Americans. We're going to focus that energy where it can do the most good.

America has much to contribute, much it can do to help these nations move forward on the path to democracy. We can help them build political systems based on respect for individual freedoms; for the right to speak our mind, to live as we wish, and to worship as our conscience tells us we must; systems based on respect for property and the sanctity of contract; laws that are necessary not to amass fortunes, not to build towers of gold and greed, but to provide for ourselves, for our families; systems that allow free associations—trade unions, professional groups, political parties—the building blocks of a free society. We've got to help the emerging democracies build legal systems that secure the procedural

rights that preserve freedom and, above all, a system that supports a strict equality of rights, one that guarantees that all men and women, whatever their race or ancestry, stand equal before the law.

In this century, we've learned a painful truth about the monumental evil that can be done in the name of humanity. We've learned how a vision of Utopia can become a hell on Earth for millions of men and women. We've learned, through hard experience, that the only alternative to tyranny of man is the rule of law. That's the essence of our vision for Europe: a Europe where not only are the dictators dethroned but where the rule of law, reflecting the will of the people, ensures the freedoms millions have fought so hard to gain.

There is still work to be done. In the Baltic States, where people struggle for the right to determine their own future, we Americans, so free to chart our own course, identify with their hopes and aspirations. For, you see, we're committed to self-determination for Lithuania and Latvia and Estonia. And ultimately, the Soviet Union itself, now committed to openness and reform, will benefit from a Europe that's whole and free. Democracy and freedom threaten absolutely no one.

We sometimes hear today that with freedom's great triumph—and, oh, what exciting times we're living in—that America's work is done. Nothing could be further from the truth. I want to close today with a story about the enduring power of the American idea and the unfinished business that awaits the generation that you proudly represent.

It's about a town called Plzen in Czechoslovakia; a town that just last week celebrated the day, 45 years ago, when it was liberated by American troops. Of course, within a few short years, Plzen's dream of freedom vanished behind the Iron Curtain, and with it, the truth about that day back in 1945. A generation grew up being taught that Plzen had been freed not by your fathers and granddads in the United States Army but by Soviet soldiers dressed in American uniforms. But the people of Plzen knew better. They never forgot. And today, finally free to speak the truth, the town invited their true liberators back. After 45 long years, those old American soldiers returned to the

streets of Plzen, to the sounds of "The Star-Spangled Banner," to a hero's welcome.

Those GI's, my generation, were your age in 1945. And now it falls upon you, the graduating class of this great university, to uphold our American ideals not in times of war, thank God, but in a time of tremendous excitement, helping these nations secure the freedom that your fathers and grandfathers fought for, the freedom millions only dreamed of until today.

Once again, it's been my honor to share this special day with you, your families, and your friends. Thank you, and may God bless this great university and the class of 1990. Thank you all very, very much. Thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 11:25 a.m. at Carolina Coliseum on the campus of the university. In his remarks, he referred to James B. Holderman, president of the university; Archbishop Demetrios A. Iakovos of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America; composer Andrew Lloyd Webber; and Michael D. Eisner, chairman and chief executive officer of the Walt Disney Co.

White House Fact Sheet on the Citizens Democracy Corps May 12, 1990

The President announced today the creation of a Citizens Democracy Corps. The objective of this major new program is to support democratic change and market-oriented economic reform in Eastern Europe by mobilizing and coordinating American private sector initiatives.

Since the President's historic visits to Poland and Hungary and the revolutions of 1989, private Americans and voluntary organizations have stepped forward with extraordinary generosity with offers to assist the process of democratic change in Eastern Europe. To make best use of the enormous energy and creativity of the American private sector, the President supports the creation of a new center to promote these volunteer initiatives and match them with requests for assistance from Eastern Europe.



* * **FAX** * *

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

To:	Peggy Dooley	
From:	PA/PRS	(647-2492)
Date:	9/25/90	

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Following this cover sheet, there will be: 8 pages.

Facsimile Transmission

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Office of the Assistant Secretary/Spokesman

For Immediate Release
PR NO. 81

June 11, 1990

ADDRESS BY
THE HONORABLE JAMES A. BAKER, III
SECRETARY OF STATE
BEFORE THE
CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE
CONFERENCE ON THE HUMAN DIMENSION
COPENHAGEN, DENMARK
JUNE 6, 1990

I want first to extend to the Danish government and to the Danish people our sincere gratitude for their very gracious welcome and for making our stay in Copenhagen very pleasant and very successful.

My friends, we are present at the creation of a new age of Europe. It is a time of discussion of new architectures, councils, committees, confederations, and common houses. These are, no doubt, very weighty matters.

But all the deliberations of statesmen and diplomats, scholars and lawmakers, will amount to nothing if they overlook or forget a very basic premise. This premise, of course, is that "all men are created equal, they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these, are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness." And it is "to secure these Rights, secure them, that Governments are instituted among them, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." And that, my friends, is why we are here.

Human rights is a modern phrase. But it recalls the words -- and the spirit -- of committed men and women throughout Europe's history. The codes of King Canute. The Magna Carta. The Bill of Rights. The Declaration on the Rights of Man. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights. And, yes, the Helsinki Final Act.

At times over the years, these words could not be heard because of yelling crowds, prison gates, and secret police. At times, these words have been burned and at times they have banned. But they kept returning on the lips of successor generations. They could not be destroyed, because they are in the soul of man.

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The very ideas that so stirred Jefferson and Montesquieu resonate today in the words of Havel and Geremek. They echo in our collective historical memory, and they illuminate our path to the future.

Time and again, we have seen how government's contempt for human dignity led to suffering on an unprecedented scale. Each generation, including our's, has learned what our forefathers discovered -- that it is to our collective peril that we close our eyes to the suffering which is inflicted by intolerance and by oppression. Thomas Jefferson put it this way 200 years ago: We must swear "upon the altar of God, eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

And so, today, we, representatives of the people of 35 nations, must rededicate ourselves to the cause of human rights; we must reaffirm the democratic values that are our legacy from the past.

We are now closer than ever, I think, to realizing CSCE's long-cherished vision of a Europe that is whole and a Europe that is free. But as we approach our work, as we consider grand designs and institutional concepts, it is useful to find our bearings by recalling another gathering 15 years ago. Then the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe still lived in an artificially divided Europe, isolated behind a wall -- a dark curtain through which the light of world concern reached but very, very dimly.

It was at that dark time that a band of intrepid men and women in a small flat in Moscow risked their freedom to form the first Helsinki monitoring group. They rejected the darkness of tyranny, and they pledged to bring the denial of human rights to light. Their leader, Yuri Orlov, who is with us now, launched the Helsinki movement with a toast that was as sardonic as it was defiant: "To the success," he said, "of our hopeless cause!"

Dr. Orlov and his colleagues paid dearly for that pledge. They all suffered. One by one, they were persecuted, arrested, exiled. Some of them died. Yet, inspired by their selfless example, one by one, others throughout the Soviet Union and Central and Eastern Europe took up the spirit of Helsinki. And one by one, these courageous men and women breathed life into the Helsinki process. They infused the words with meaning.

Before long, these words inspired acts of bravery that dictators and one-party states could never comprehend. In Katowice, in Poland, democratic activists considered the Final Act to be so important that they braved the blows of security forces to distribute copies of it to their neighbors. And it was to the Madrid meeting of Helsinki signatory states that exiled Solidarity leaders appealed in the aftermath of martial law, proclaiming that there can be no social peace without social justice.

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Time and again, Czechoslovakia's Charter '77 cited the Helsinki Final Act in defense of their unjustly persecuted countrymen. They were persecuted for "living in truth," for accepting the praiseworthy folly, as Vaclav Havel put it, of believing their words and ideals could really make a difference. Now the charter's original members -- President Havel and Foreign Minister Dienstbier to name only two -- are leading the new Czech and Slovak Federal Republic to democracy.

When Bucharest's beautiful old buildings were bulldozed and entire villages were threatened by the whim of a dictator, people turned to the CSCE human rights mechanism to spare further destruction of Romania's priceless cultural heritage.

Just before the Berlin Wall fell, scores of East German refugees sought to transit through Hungary to freedom. The reforming Hungarian government, confronted with demands from East German authorities to place old rules in the way of new freedoms, turned to a different set of rules. The Hungarians cited their CSCE obligations to justify the crucial act of safe passage.

And it was the holding in Sofia of a CSCE environmental meeting that coalesced the democratic opposition, precipitating the movement that has now brought unprecedented change in Bulgaria.

As we leave the Cold War behind us, we confront again many age-old national, religious, and ethnic conflicts that have so sorrowed our common civilization. CSCE, NATO, the EC [European Community], and other democratic institutions of Europe must now play a greater part in deepening and broadening European unity. We must ensure that these organizations continue to complement one another and to reinforce one another.

The North Atlantic Treaty Alliance will continue to serve as the indispensable guarantor of peace -- and, therefore, the ultimate guardian of democracy and prosperity. The Alliance will work to lock in stabilizing arms control agreements, to reshape its defensive strategy to meet fundamentally changed conditions, and to build bridges of political cooperation to the newly emerging democracies of the East. As President Bush stressed with President Gorbachev at last week's Washington summit, we believe NATO will remain a cornerstone to both military security and political legitimacy in the new Europe.

Working in concert, the G-24, the OECD [Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development], the European Community, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Council of Europe, the United States, and Canada can foster an inclusive European order, involving Central and East European nations and the Soviet Union in the new Europe by assisting market-based reform and the building of democratic institutions.

The prospects for the fulfillment and protection of human rights have never been greater. It is a time for CSCE to take

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on additional responsibilities -- but never at the price of forgetting its fundamental purposes. If CSCE is to help build a new Europe, a Europe different from all those empires and regimes that rose and fell, it must build from the liberty of man.

Three challenges lie before us:

First, we must ensure that the freedoms so recently won are rooted in societies governed by the rule of law and by the consent of the governed.

Second, we must ensure that all peoples of Europe may know the prosperity that comes from economic liberty and competitive markets.

Third, we must ensure that we are not drawn into either inadvertent conflict or a replay of the disputes that preceded the cold war.

CSCE is the one forum where our nations can meet on common ground to channel our political will toward meeting these challenges for the entire continent. CSCE's three baskets are uniquely suited to today's political, economic, and security challenges. Although it lacks military or economic power, CSCE can resonate with a powerful and irresistible voice. It can speak to Europe's collective concerns and interests. It can become, if you will, my friends, "the conscience of the continent."

Today, I would like to share with you our views on how a strengthened CSCE can meet the first challenge that we face: that of forging a deepened consensus on human rights, political legitimacy through free elections, and the rule of law.

We are all familiar with the Danish author Hans Christian Andersen's tale, The Emperor's New Clothes. Although written over a century ago, it is an ageless parable. In it, imperious authority cloaks itself in attractive falsehoods, deluding itself in the process. But, in the end, the naked truth is revealed by a small, insistent voice that refuses to be hushed. It grows into a popular cry.

1989 was not kind to the Stalinist dictators who cloaked themselves with false authority and ignored the insistent voice and will of the people. Now in Central and Eastern Europe, the emerging democracies are working to construct legitimate and enduring political orders. CSCE can help by deepening our consensus on the key building blocks of freedom -- the building blocks of genuine elections, political pluralism, and the rule of law.

The new social compacts between government and governed now being written in Eastern and Central Europe must be constantly

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renewed through free elections. As we all know well, democracy -- like CSCE -- is a process. Democracy evolves through give-and-take, consensus-building, and compromise. It thrives on tolerance, where the political will of the majority does not nullify the fundamental rights of the minority.

The free-elections proposal that the United Kingdom and the United States tabled last year in Paris has gathered strength from the dramatic events of last fall and from the new elections of this spring. In my recent travels to Eastern and Central Europe, democratic activists enthusiastically supported this proposal. They also emphasized the importance they attach to the presence of international observers as their countries undergo the new experience of elections. In February, in Prague, I called upon the CSCE member states to send observer delegations to the elections in Eastern and Central Europe. And I am pleased to note that many states have now joined the United States in doing so.

Our revised proposal reflects our experience observing the elections -- not only on voting day but also during the electoral campaign. We welcome the strong support that our text is receiving and we will work to see it adopted here in Copenhagen. And when the 35 consider proposals to institutionalize CSCE, I urge all to start with mechanisms to ensure that governments are freely chosen by their people.

But first, of course, all countries here should embrace the concept for free elections by conducting elections without intimidation and without pressure. I am thinking specifically of the elections to be held in Bulgaria in just a few days.

But free and fair elections alone do not ensure that the new democracies are going to succeed. The irreducible condition of successful democracy, beyond legitimate elections, is clear: Fundamental individual freedoms must be guaranteed by restraints on state power. Where these guarantees are absent, there is really no true democracy. Indeed, where they are absent, the risk of dictatorship always looms.

For this reason, the watchword of reformers everywhere is the rule of law. As the late Andrei Sakharov said, democratic change must be accomplished through democratic methods -- peacefully and through legal processes.

But what do we really mean by the rule of law? The law, after all, has been used as a tool of repression in societies where rulers make the rules to serve themselves as opposed to serving the people. As President Bush stressed last month in a speech at the University of South Carolina, the rule of law means the supremacy of laws written through democratic processes, applied in an equal fashion, and upheld by independent judiciaries.

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Therefore, we strongly support efforts at this meeting to set forth for CSCE the elements of a democratic society operating under the rule of law. In this regard, President Bush told President Gorbachev how highly we value Soviet efforts to institutionalize the rule of law, glasnost, and democratization in the Soviet Union. To this same end, we are engaging in cooperative technical efforts to strengthen democratic political cultures and institutions in Central and Eastern Europe.

A closing thought on our human rights agenda: As we turn to the ambitious task of consolidating democracy in entire societies, we must not lose sight of individual liberty, for democracy begins and democracy ends with the citizen and his or her individual rights. Despite the dramatic gains in human rights that we witness today, men and women in some participating states are still made to suffer because they want to be free, they are still targets of intolerance, still cannot emigrate, still may not exercise their full Helsinki rights. So we must continue to press until CSCE's high standards of human rights prevail throughout all of Europe, until they extend to every individual.

Before turning to ways that we might strengthen CSCE, I would like to say a word about the Baltic States. At the Washington Summit, President Bush conveyed our very deep misgivings about Soviet policy toward Baltic independence. He stressed again our view that a systematic dialogue must be initiated so that the aspirations of the Baltic peoples can be achieved.

The scope for meaningful cooperation in CSCE, mr. friends, is widening, and our consensus is deepening in CSCE's human dimension. But in order to have CSCE fulfill its potential in this important area and in CSCE's other baskets, the Helsinki process itself is going to have to be enhanced.

I recently shared with colleagues six ideas on how we can work together to improve CSCE as a process by reinforcing CSCE's organization.

First, the United States favors regular consultations among the signatory states. Ministers may wish to meet at least once a year, and their senior officials should convene at least twice a year. Such exchanges will invigorate the CSCE as a forum for high-level political dialogue.

Second, we support the holding of CSCE review conferences on a more frequent basis, perhaps every two years, and with a fixed duration of about three months.

Third, to ensure that the political commitments we make in CSCE strengthen political legitimacy, we seek adoption in Copenhagen and confirmation at the summit of the principle of free and fair elections, political pluralism, and the rule of law.

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Fourth, we seek confirmation at the summit of the Bonn Principles of Economic Cooperation. These principles make clear our mutual commitment to the supportive relationship between political liberty and economic liberty. Specifically, 35 nations will endeavor to achieve or maintain the free flow of trade and capital, market economies with prices based on supply and demand, and protection for all property, including private property and intellectual property.

Fifth, CSCE can play a major role in dispute management. We, therefore, hope that the CSCE summit will reinforce the mandate of the January 1991 Valletta Conference on Peaceful Settlement of Disputes so that that conference can achieve concrete results. We also believe CSCE can foster military openness and transparency through innovative proposals in the Vienna CSBM [confidence- and security-building measures] talks, for example, the proposal for a mechanism to request clarification of unusual military activities.

In particular, we believe that CSCE should consider a mechanism to improve communications among member states. Our approach might be similar in essence, if not in structure, to the mechanism that we have established in the human dimension area as well as to the one which we plan to establish for the conventional forces discussions [CFE]. We should find a way of constructively addressing compliance questions with regard to CSCE security obligations. This might include observations and inspection reports in accordance with the Stockholm agreement. We should provide for meetings to exchange information and to discuss the implications of military activities or other unusual occurrences having security implications.

And, sixth, I proposed that we begin preparatory work for a possible CSCE summit through a meeting of officials this summer -- so I am, of course, pleased that the 35 nations have now agreed that our officials can meet next month in Vienna.

Also, I am very happy that the 35 have agreed to the offer of the United States to host a CSCE ministerial meeting this fall in connection with the United Nations General Assembly.

Then, at the CSCE summit, we would expect to sign a CFE agreement, and President Gorbachev last week indicated that he shared this view. AT the 35-nation summit, we would also expect to review, record, and consolidate progress in all three Helsinki baskets; to strengthen CSCE as a process; and, to plan ahead for the 1992 review conference.

Our work, both before the Summit and during it, of course, also must address the subject of institutionalizing CSCE.

Until now, CSCE has shown a remarkable ability to both reflect and change with the times. I am confident that it will continue to do so, provided we preserve the flexibility that has made it effective. As we consider proposals for CSCE's

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development -- either for adoption at the summit or for referral by the summit leaders to other upcoming meetings of the CSCE -- the United States position will be guided by three principles.

One, proposals should reinforce fundamental democratic and market values.

Two, suggestions for new institutions should complement rather than duplicate roles assigned to existing institutions and fora.

Three, proposals should result in a stronger transatlantic process of dialogue and consultation regarding Europe's future.

The American delegation to this Copenhagen meeting, which is headed by Ambassador Max Kampelman, which, of course, has the complete confidence of President Bush and myself, will be guided by these criteria.

My friends, I began my remarks with a tribute to the Helsinki monitors who risked their lives and liberty to advance the cause of freedom for others. Many have lived to see the dawn of a much more hopeful day. Some of the monitors are with us in this chamber, and many of them serve as elected representatives of the newly emerging democracies of Central and Eastern Europe. One of the founding monitors of Charter '77 now honors us by leading the distinguished delegation from the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic.

Ambassador Hajek, you -- and your courageous colleagues -- are the very embodiment of CSCE's human dimension. You have given this process a heart, a mind, and a searching conscience. When many viewed CSCE with cynicism, you answered them with dynamism. You taught us to raise our sights and raise our voices.

The Danish author Isak Dinesen was another believer in the power of the human will. One of her favorite mottos was Je responderay! I will respond. She lived by that principle, and she was proud to recount how occupied Denmark lived by it during the dark days of the Second World War. The Danish people took it upon themselves to save the entire Jewish community of Denmark -- thousands men, women and children. By honoring human dignity and the ties that bind all of us, by their efforts and to the grace of God, they succeeded beyond all expectation.

Their example is proof positive that commitment of will matters, that responsibility to others matters, and that individual freedoms to act and to think and to feel can shape not only the moment but the very future of one's country.

These same strengths must shape Europe's future. Channeled through CSCE, they can truly become the conscience of the continent.

Thank you.