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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 22, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT,  
PORTUGUESE PRIME MINISTER CAVACO SILVA  
UPON DEPARTURE

The South Lawn

1:33 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Prime Minister, this year my country celebrates the Iberian spirit of discovery. Half a millennium ago, Portugal and Spain helped chart a course towards a new world. Five hundred years later, European unity guides the way towards a new world order. Those early pioneers believed their mission was to probe the secrets of the world. Now we must explore the frontiers of common interest and common ground.

The next horizon: a strengthened partnership between the United States and the European Community. Prime Minister Cavaco Silva, EC President Delors and I and our top officials have discussed areas where we may deepen cooperation: Peace efforts in the Middle East, coordination of aid to Central and Eastern Europe, the struggle of the emergent CIS and international assistance -- the agenda of next month's EC conference in Lisbon.

We also talked about Yugoslavia, where, tragically, old hatreds are opening new wounds. The U.S.-EC partnership is working tirelessly to create conditions for a lasting democratic peace.

No topic on our agenda is more crucial than the Uruguay Round of trade negotiations. We are committed to achieving an early agreement -- one that will spur economic growth, not just in America, but in Europe and all around the world. It will create jobs -- not just for our generation, but for generations to come. For Americans, agreement will mean more than free trade abroad; it will mean for Americans good jobs here at home and a better standard of living at home.

We had an extensive exchange of views on the outstanding issues and some new ideas on how to conclude this Uruguay Round were advanced by both sides. We are convinced, absolutely convinced that the EC leaders are committed to an early agreement. And I hope they know that I am committed to such an early conclusion. We agreed to continue this process. We had some serious discussions, and the process will go on.

Forty-one years ago almost to the day, the countries of Europe began their quest for unity. Over the ruins of war they laid a blueprint for peace and began building the foundations for economic and political cooperation. They sought unity not out of convenience, but out of conviction: a vision of economic interdependence that would inflate the costs of war and expand the dividends of peace. The wisdom of their actions has brought us today to a new Europe -- where peace has paid off.

Now, this new Europe has now joined its strength with the United States to support the spread of political and economic freedom in the lands only recently liberated from Soviet communism. Those who helped four decades ago are now able to shoulder -- those

MORE

that we helped four decades ago are now able to shoulder a larger part of these new challenges.

Jean Monnet, the grandfather of European unity, once asked: "If you are in a dark tunnel and see a small light at the end, should you turn your back on that light and go back into darkness, or should you continue walking toward it even though you know it's far away?"

Five hundred years ago, a European mariner followed the light of his imagination to illuminate a new world. For almost 50 years, the West carried freedom's torch to protect the free world. Today, we stand at the shores of a new world order -- where diverse nations are drawn together in common cause to achieve the universal aspirations of mankind: peace and security, freedom and prosperity. A strong and united Europe offers the best hope for this united purpose, and the best alliance for the United States.

I salute our two distinguished guests today, and now would like to ask Prime Minister Cavaco Silva to say a word.

PRIME MINISTER SILVA: Thank you, Mr. President.

It was extremely gratifying for President Delors and myself to have the opportunity to meet with President Bush. It was a meeting among friends that we found very constructive and fruitful. In November '90 in the declaration on the United States and the European Community relations, we defined the guidelines on which our future cooperation should be based. We are glad to conclude today that our cooperation has been both substantial and effective. We very much value our partnership with the United States. We believe that the continued presence and involvement of the United States in Europe is fundamental to maintain peace and stability in our continent.

Human rights, democratic values and free market economy are the foundations of our Euro-Atlantic partnership. In the past, we have come together to defend them. Now we see these ideals gaining ground everywhere. It's of the most fundamental importance that we join our efforts to ensure that these gains will be durable.

Our cooperation and leadership are also crucial to ensure sustained economic goals worldwide. We have reaffirmed our commitment to the multilateral trade system. We are determined to bring the Uruguay Round to a positive conclusion.

We discussed also the situation in the Commonwealth of Independent States and the preparation of the coming Lisbon conference on coordination of aid to the region. We believe it is fundamental that we continue working together to bring stability to the region, thus creating conditions for the consolidation of democracy and the market economy.

We talked about the present situation in Yugoslavia and the prospects for peace there. Coordination between Europe and the United States has been, and will be, of the utmost importance to help reach a negotiated settlement.

We reviewed the situation in the Middle East and the prospects for the region within the framework of the current peace process. The Community is deeply committed to the peace process. The European Community and the United States share the same outlook on this issue, and we are well aware of the fact that there is no viable alternative to the present peace talks.

We also reviewed the situation in the Magreb. The threat posed by the spread of fundamentalism in that region is a matter of concern for us. We believe that promotion of economic

development and free markets and a respect of human rights are the best means to deal with this problem.

We agreed that respect for international law and the rejection of terrorism are also essential, particularly where it concerns Libya.

This was the first meeting between the European Community and the United States since the decisions of last week, which are now in the process of ratification in the 12 EC member states. We are convinced that the establishment of a new European union will create possibilities for further enlargement of the scope of fellow cooperation.

We discussed new ideas where we could work together. We will be exploring these opportunities in the months ahead.

Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Glad to have you here.

END

1:42 P.M. EDT

SILVNOT

Color

--a mention of Columbus quincentennial

Themes

- Trade *(avoid the dangers of protectionism)* *Big enough/Strong enough to trade for & gain -- gain + square.*
- CIS
- Middle East
- Political cooperation, working together. *the shattered world of protectionism*
- Maybe some note on the resurgence of ultra-nationalist movements, xenophobia -- that the new freedom and peace must not be smothered/suffocated by old hatreds. "suspended history" etc.

--EC will be holding a follow-up meeting to the December meeting this May is Lisbon

Language

- "turning old enemies into new friends"
- professor-turned-politician: *→ traded teaching for teaching trade*  
~~leading...helped lead your students to the truth, you now lead your people to....you taught how economies work, now you show how economies thrive~~
- Portugal joined the EC in 1986, economic progress since them has helped spur the movement away from socialism.
- the people of Portugal are known for their <sup>generous</sup> hospitality, and their desire to help others in their community. Just as the Portuguese look to help their neighbors at home, so now Portugal seeks to help neighbors abroad. *- your countryman help their neighbors - your country helps its neighbors*
- uniting Europe not out of convenience -- but out of conviction.
- (Yale commencement): "We want to promote positive change in the world through the force of our example...You do not reform a world by ignoring it."
- However \_\_\_ our \_\_\_ -- America will not \_\_\_. America cannot forget itself.
- "Americans Go Home" has been replaced by "America Come Home."
- a struggle far from easy and farther from \_\_\_.

*The xenophobes who prefer narrow civility, bigotry to small world & isolationism to community*

'91 SOU on NWO: "...a new world order, where diverse nations are drawn together in common cause to achieve the universal aspirations of mankind -- peace and security, freedom, and the rule of law. Such is a world worthy of our struggle and worthy of our children's future."

--E.C.: established 41 years ago -- almost to the day \*\*\* maybe talk about the world of 1951 (e.g. Cold War heating up) and the world of today)

--purpose of establishing E.C.: "to build foundations for peace though economic and political cooperation and to make possible an eventual federation of Europe." ...41 years ago, almost to the day, the quest for a community of Europe began. On top of the ruins of war, they built the foundations of peace, and laid a blueprint for economic and political cooperation.

--founding idea: to weave an economic interdependence..reinforcing a common interest in peace

*mapped a blueprint for peace & built the foundations*

--Prime Minister of Portugal, President of the European Council

--This year Americans celebrate the Portuguese Age of Discovery. 500 years ago, Columbus stepped on these shore -- the first step in the long march that brought us here today. But the age of discovery is not over. Today, Portuguese leadership again stands at the helm. The Cold War has melted and the European Community must help chart the waters....the newly freed countries of eastern Europe are looking to the EC for guidance and stability.

*coop we see things today*

--Columbus believed that the mariner must, as he put it, probe "the secrets of the world."

--Jean Monnet:

"The world is divided into those who want to become someone and those who want to accomplish something."

\* [ "If you are in a dark tunnel and see a small light at the end, should you turn your back on that light and go back into darkness, or should you continue walking toward it even though you know [it is far away]?"

--Time, March 26, 1979

--Queen Isabella's birthday (1451)

NOTE: EC Rep to the US: Ambassador Andreas Van Agt, 2100 M St., NW Suite 707 TEL: 862-9500.

--??quote by Jean Monnet, considered father of a united Europe - maybe see how quickly we can get his Memoirs, trans. Richard Mayne. New York: Doubleday, 1978.

## Silva quotes

✓ [ "For me, politics has only one meaning: practical action, the possibility of doing things which serve the country."

"Portugal has been unswerving in its support for democracy, for peace and human rights.."

## Proverbs

✓ [ "Falar ao caracao" ....To speak to the heart.

✓ [ "Cada um e filho dos seus feitos" ...Each person is the son of his deeds.

"Uma casa as ordens" ...My house is at your service.

*Plato on community, on its origins?*

*- these are the building blocks in the great \_\_\_\_\_ to come.*

*- Weave an economic interdependence -- to fortify ~~the~~ the bonds of common interest. To fashion a web of ec relations that would help to deter aggression -- a common marketplace where to \_\_\_\_\_ would be, quite literally, to bite the hand that feeds you, or that clothes you, or that supplies you \_\_\_\_\_.*

*- Not ~~some~~ as a kind of sentimental gesture of ideology, but as a pragmatic \_\_\_\_\_ to better the lives of the people of Europe. → Silva "practical action quote."*

*- Today we ~~have~~ <sup>strive</sup> as your country may say, to "Falar ao caracao" or "speak for the heart."*

*expand  
- increase  
- augment  
- inflat*

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--professor-turned-politician: traded teaching for leading...helped lead your students to the truth, you now lead your people to....you taught how economies work, now you show how economies thrive

--Portugal joined the EC in 1986, economic progress since them has helped spur the movement away from socialism.

--the people of Portugal are known for their hospitality, and their desire to help others in their community. Just as the Portuguese look to help their neighbors at home, so now Portugal seeks to help neighbors abroad.

--uniting Europe not out of convenience -- but out of conviction.

--(Yale commencement): "We want to promote positive change in the world through the force of our example...You do not reform a world by ignoring it."

--However \_\_\_ our \_\_\_ -- America will not \_\_\_. America cannot forget itself.

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*Monnet  
Tunal  
facts*

*IIA-B*

*III*

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"Uma casa as ordens" ...My house is at your service.

(Grossman)  
April 15, 1992  
Draft One  
EURO

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE STATEMENT FOR PRESIDENT  
OF THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL SILVA  
SOUTH LAWN  
WEDNESDAY, APRIL 22, 1992

Mr. President, half a century ago, a Portuguese envoy left Europe in search of a new world. Today, another Portuguese pioneer leads Europe, recharting the map of a new world order. Columbus believed that his mission was, as he put it, to probe "the secrets of the world." So now must we explore the frontiers of common interest and common ground.

Today we strove to follow the Portuguese wisdom, and "falar ao caracao," or "speak from the heart." The United States is dedicated to reinforcing our relationship with the European Community, and we've discussed areas where we may deepen that cooperation. Peace efforts in the Middle East \ coordination of aid to Central and Western Europe \ the struggle of the emergent C.I.S. and international assistance -- particularly the agenda of next month's EC conference in Lisbon towards that end.

We also talked about Yugoslavia -- where tragically, old hatreds are opening new wounds. The EC has spared no effort to quell hostilities and negotiate peace. Together we are working to help shepherd the region's newly independent republics toward the promise of democracy and peace.

And as a professor of economics, Mr. President, you know that the preachings of free peoples must be joined with the practice of free trade. That's why conclusive agreement on the

Uruguay Round is so crucial. Agreement will spur economic growth -- not just in America, but in Europe and the world. It will create jobs -- not just for our generation, but for the <sup>generations to come?</sup> generations to come.

Today, we've talked long and hard about the Uruguay Round. I think we agree that its failure would be disastrous -- dousing the economic revival we see rekindling worldwide. [Announcement on results of negotiations].

Forty-one years ago, almost to the day, the countries of Europe began their quest for unity. Over the ruins of war they laid a blueprint for peace, and began building the foundations for economic and political cooperation. They sought unity not out of convenience -- but out of conviction: an ambition to weave a web of economic interdependence that would inflate the costs of war, and expand the dividends of peace. <sup>enlarge?</sup>

Europe -- indeed, much of the world -- has traveled far toward this founding vision. Today, the world is smaller, faster, freer. More and more, aggression serves only to bite the hand that feeds, or clothes, or carries goods. Yes, there are the voices, at home and abroad, who urge a retreat to the shuttered world of protectionism. There have always been such voices, perhaps there will always be. But we cannot return to an past that never was, and fear will not lead us to the future.

Jean Monnet, the grandfather of European unity, once asked: "If you are in a dark tunnel and see a small light at the end, should you turn you back on that light and go back into darkness,

or should you continue walking toward it even though you know [it is far away]?"

Five hundred years ago, a Portuguese mariner followed the light of his imagination to illuminate a New World. For almost 50 years, the West carried freedom's torch to protect the Free World. Today, we stand at the shores of a new world order -- where diverse nations are drawn together in common cause to achieve the universal aspirations of mankind: peace and security, freedom and prosperity. A strong and united Europe offers the best hope for this united purpose, and the best alliance for the United States.

In <sup>the</sup> ~~for~~ this ~~united purpose~~ <sup>purpose</sup>, a strong & united Europe offers the best hope; and for the United States, it offers the best & most enduring alliance.

16 September 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN  
INTERNS

SUBJECT: EXCERPTS FROM PAST PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESSES TO THE  
UNITED NATIONS

- 1) EISENHOWER, 9/22/60: "This is, indeed, a moment for honest appraisal and historic decision. We can strive to master these problems for narrow national advantage or we can begin at once to undertake a period of constructive action which will subordinate selfish interest to the general well-being of the international community. The choice is truly a momentous one. Today, I come before you because our human commonwealth is once again in a state of anxiety and turmoil. Urgent issues confront us."

"Any nation, seduced by glittering promises into becoming a catspaw for an imperialistic power, thereby undermines the United Nations and places in jeopardy the independence of itself and all others."

"It is not enough that loud speakers in the public square exhort people to freedom. It is also essential that the people should be furnished with the mental tools to preserve and develop their freedom."

"The basic fact today of all change in the domain of international affairs is the need to forge the bonds and build the structure of a true world community. The United Nations is available to mankind to help it create just such a community. It has accomplished what no nation singly, or any limited group of nations, could have accomplished. It has become the forum of all peoples, and the structure about which they can center their joint endeavors to create a better future for our world."

"We must guard jealously against those who in alternating moods look upon the United Nations as an instrument for use or abuse. The United Nations was not conceived as an Olympian organ to amplify the propaganda tunes of individual nations."

"In urging progress toward a world community, I cite the American concept of the destiny of a progressive society. Here in this land, in what was once a wilderness we have generated a society and a civilization drawn from many sources. Yet out of the mixture of many peoples and faiths

we have developed unity in freedom--a unity designed to protect the rights of each individual while enhancing the freedom and well-being of all."

"The concept of unity in freedom, drawn from the diversity of many racial strains and cultures, we would like to see made a reality for all mankind. This concept should apply within every nation as it does among nations. We believe that the right of every man to participate through his or her vote in self-government is as precious as the right of each nation here represented to vote its own convictions in this Assembly. I should like to see a universal plebiscite in which every individual in the world would be given the opportunity freely and secretly to answer this question: Do you want this right? Opposed to the idea of two hostile, embittered worlds in perpetual conflict, we envisage a single world community, as yet unrealized but advancing steadily toward fulfillment through our plans, our efforts, and our collective ideas. Thus we see as our goal, not a super-state above nations, but a world community embracing them all, rooted in law and justice and enhancing the potentialities and common purposes of all peoples."

"As we take up this task, let us not delude ourselves that the absence of war alone is a sufficient basis for a peaceful world. I repeat, we must also build a world of justice under law, and we must overcome poverty, illiteracy, and disease."

- 2) JFK, 9/25/61: "The problem is not the death of one man (Dag Hammarskjold) -- the problem is the life of this organization. It will either grow to meet the challenges of our age, or it will be gone with the wind, without influence, without force, without respect. Were we to let it die, to enfeeble its vigor, to cripple its powers, we would condemn our future."

"For in the development of this organization rests the only true alternative to war--and war appeals no longer as a rational alternative. Unconditional war can no longer lead to unconditional victory. It can no longer serve to settle disputes. It can no longer concern the great powers alone. For a nuclear disaster, spread by wind and water and fear, could well engulf the great and the small, the rich and the poor, the committed and the uncommitted alike. Mankind must put an end to war--or war will put an end to mankind."

"For disarmament without checks is but a shadow--and a community without law is but a shell."

"But the great question which confronted this body in 1945 is still before us: whether man's cherished hopes for progress and peace are to be destroyed by terror and disruption, whether the "foul winds of war" can be tamed in time to free the cooling winds of reason, and whether the pledges of our Charter are to be fulfilled or defied--pledges to secure

peace, progress, human rights and world law."

"However difficult it may be to fill Mr. Hammarskjold's place, it can better be filled by one man rather than by three. Even the three horses of the Troika did not have three drivers, all going in different directions. They had only one--and so must the United Nations executive. To install a triumvirate, or any panel, or any rotating authority, in the United Nations administrative offices would replace order with anarchy, action with paralysis, confidence with confusion."

"But to give this organization three drivers--to permit each great power to decide its own case, would entrench the Cold War in the headquarters of peace."

"For we far prefer world law, in the age of self-determination, to world war, in the age of mass extermination."

"Every man, woman and child lives under a nuclear sword of Damocles, hanging by the slenderest of threads, capable of being cut at any moment by accident or miscalculation or by madness. The weapons of war must be abolished before they abolish us."

"It is therefore our intention to challenge the Soviet Union, not to an arms race, but to a peace race. . . ."

"The cold reaches of the universe must not become the new arena of an even colder war."

"Political sovereignty is but a mockery without the means of meeting poverty and illiteracy and disease. Self-determination is but a slogan if the future holds no hope."

"One recalls the order of the Czar in Pushkin's "Boris Godunov": "Take steps at this very hour that our frontiers be fenced in by barriers. . . . That not a single could pass o'er the border, that not a hare be able to run or a crow to fly."

"This generation learned from bitter experience that either brandishing or yielding to threats can only lead to war. But firmness and reason can lead to the kind of peaceful solution in which my country profoundly believes."

"The events and decisions of the next ten months may well decide the fate of man for the next ten thousand years. There will be no avoiding those events. There will be no appeal from these decisions. And we in this hall shall be remembered either as part of the generation that turned this planet into a flaming funeral pyre or the generation that met its vow "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war." (UN Charter)

"Terror is not a new weapon. Throughout history it has been used by those who could not prevail, either by persuasion or example. But inevitably they fail, either because men are not afraid to die for a life worth living, or because the terrorists themselves came to realize that free men cannot be frightened by threats, and that aggression would meet its own response."

"Together we shall save our planet, or together we shall perish in its flames. Save it we can--and save it we must--and then shall we earn the eternal thanks for mankind and, as peacemakers, the eternal blessing of God."

- 3) JFK, 9/20/63: "..the shadow of fear lay darkly across the world."

"Peace is a daily, a weekly, a monthly process, gradually changing opinions, slowly eroding old barriers, quietly building new structures. And however undramatic the pursuit of peace, that pursuit must go on."

"It is never too early to try; and it's never too late to talk; and it's high time that many disputes on the agenda of this Assembly were taken off the debating schedule and placed on the negotiating table."

"...we believe that truth is stronger than error--and that freedom is more enduring than coercion."

"..plague and pestilence, and plunder and pollution.."

"..absolute sovereignty no longer assures us of absolute security. The conventions of peace must pull abreast and then ahead of the inventions of war."

"But peace does not rest in charters and covenants alone. It lies in the hearts and minds of all people. And if it is cast out there, then no act, no pact, no treaty, no organization can hope to preserve it without the support and the wholehearted commitment of all people. So let us not rest all our hopes on parchment and on paper; let us strive to build peace, a desire for peace, a willingness to work for peace, in the hearts and minds of all of our people." (Echoes "Learned Hand" May 21, 1944)

- 3) REAGAN, 9/26/83: "The United Nations was founded in the aftermath of World WAR II to protect future generations from the scourge of war, to promote political self-determination and global prosperity, and to strengthen the bonds of civility among nations. The founders sought to replace a world at war with a world of civilized order. They hoped that a world of relentless conflict would give way to a new era, one where

freedom from violence prevailed."

"The answer is clear: Governments got in the way of the dreams for the people. Dreams became issues of East versus West. Hopes became political rhetoric. Progress became a search for power and domination. Somewhere the truth was lost that people don't make wars, governments do." (There are lots of quotes arguing this point, if you wanted to elaborate)

"From the days when Theodore Roosevelt mediated the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, we have a long and honorable tradition of mediating or damping conflicts and promoting peaceful solutions."

"The confidence that allows a mother or a scholar to travel to Asia or Africa or Europe or anywhere else on this planet may be only a small victory in humanity's struggle for peace. Yet what is peace if not the sum of such small victories?"

- 4) REAGAN, 9/24/84: "...there's an increasing realization that economic freedom is a prelude to economic progress and growth and is intricately and inseparably linked to political freedom."

"We can never look at anyone's freedom as a bargaining chip in world politics."

"...the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It states: "The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections." The Declaration also includes these rights: "To form and to join trade unions," "to own property alone as well as in association with others," "to leave any country including his own and return to his country," and to enjoy "freedom of opinion and expression."

"Since 1946 the United States has provided over \$115 billion in economic aid to developing countries, and today provides about one-third of the nearly \$90 billion in financial resources, public and private, that flows to the developing world. And the U.S. imports about one-third of the manufactured exports of the developing world."

"In a glass display case across the hall from the Oval Office at the White House there is a gold medal, the Nobel Peace Prize won by Theodore Roosevelt for his contribution in mediating the Russo-Japanese War in 1905. It was the first such prize won by an American, and it's part of tradition of which the American people are very proud--a tradition that is being continued today in many regions of the globe."

"When I appeared before you last year, I noted that we cannot count on the instinct for survival alone to protect us against war. Deterrence is necessary but not sufficient. America has

repaired its strength."

"There have been tyrants and murderers, and for a time they can seem invincible. But in the end, they always fail [fall]. Think on it . . . always. All through history, the way of truth and love has always won.' That was the belief and the vision of Mahatma Gandhi."

"All is gift,' is said to have been the favorite expression of another great spiritualist, a Spanish soldier who gave up the ways of war for that of love and peace." (Ignatius Loyola)

"I leave you with a reflection from Mahatma Gandhi, spoken with those in mind who said that the disputes and conflicts of the modern world are too great to overcome. It was spoken shortly after Gandhi's quest for independence had taken him to Britain.,

'I am not conscious of a single experience throughout my 3 months' stay in England and Europe," he said, "that made me that after all East is East and West is West. On the contrary, I have been convinced more than ever that human nature is much the same, no matter under what climate it flourishes, and that if you approached people with trust and affection, you would have ten-fold trust and thousand-fold affection returned to you.'

5) REAGAN, 10/24/85: (many echoes of JFK's '61 and '63 addresses to the UN)

"Forty years ago, the world woke daring to believe hatred's unyielding grip had finally been broken, daring to believe the torch of peace would be protected in liberty's firm grasp. Forty years ago, the world yearned to dream again innocent dreams, to believe in ideals with innocent trust. Dreams of trust are worthy, but in these 40 years too many lives have been lost. The painful truth is that the use of violence to take, to exercise, and to preserve power remains a persistent reality in much of the world."

"The vision of the U.N. Charter--to spare succeeding generations this scourge of war--remains real. It still stirs our soul and warms our hearts, but it also demands of us a realism that is rockhard, clear-eyed, steady, and sure--a realism that understands the nations of the United Nations are not united. I come before you this morning preoccupied with peace.."

"Nor must we close our eyes to this organization's disappointments: its failure to deal with real security issues, the total inversion of morality in the infamous Zionism-is-racism resolution, the politicization of too many agencies, the misuse of too many resources."

"What kind of people will we be 40 years from today? May we answer: free people, worthy of freedom and form in the conviction that freedom is not the sole prerogative of a chosen few, but the universal declaration of human rights set forth in 1948, and this is the affirming flame the United States has held high to a watching world. We champion freedom not only because it is practical and beneficial but because it is morally right and just. Free people whose governments rest upon the consent of the governed do not wage war on their neighbors. Free people blessed by economic opportunity and protected by laws that respect the dignity of the individual are not driven toward the domination of others."

"Let us begin with candor, with words that rest on plain and simple facts. The differences between America and the Soviet Union are deep and abiding. The United States is a democratic nation. Here the people rule. We build no walls to keep them in, nor organize any system of police to keep them mute. We occupy no country. The only land abroad we occupy is beneath the graves where our heroes rest."

"What is called the West is a voluntary association of free nations, all of whom fiercely value their independence and their sovereignty. And as deeply as we cherish our beliefs, we do no seek to compel others to share them.

When we enjoy these vast freedoms as we do, it's difficult for us to understand the restrictions of dictatorships which seek to control each institution and every facet of people's lives--the expression of their beliefs, their movements, and their contacts with the outside world. It's difficult for us to understand the ideological premise that force is an acceptable way to expand a political system. We American do not accept that any government has the right to command and order the lives of its people, that any nation has an historic right to use force to export its ideology. This belief, regarding the nature of man and the limitations of government, is at the core of our deep and abiding differences with the Soviet Union, differences that put us into natural conflict and competition with one another."

"How is Moscow threatened if the capitals of other nations are protected? We do not ask that the Soviet leaders, whose country has suffered so much from war, to leave their people defenseless against foreign attack. Why then do they insist that we remain undefended? Who is threatened if Western research and Soviet research, that is itself well-advanced, should develop a nonnuclear system which would threaten not human beings but only ballistic missiles? Surely, the world will sleep more secure when these missiles have been rendered useless, militarily and politically; when the sword of Damocles that has hung over our planet for too many decades is lifted by Western and Russian scientists working to shield their citizens and one day shut down space as an avenue of

weapons of mass destruction. If we're destined by history to compete, militarily, to keep the peace, then let us compete in systems that defend our societies rather than weapons which can destroy us both and much of God's creation along with us. (Kennedy)

"And in each case, Marxism-Leninism's war with the people becomes war with their neighbors. These wars are exacting a staggering human toll and threaten to spill across national boundaries and trigger dangerous confrontations."

"Only when the human spirit can worship, create, and build, only when people are given a personal stake in determining their own destiny and benefiting from their own risks, do societies become prosperous, progressive, dynamic, and free."

"Let us all heed the simple eloquence in Andrei Sakharov's Nobel Peace Prize message: 'International trust, mutual understanding, disarmament and international security are inconceivable without an open society with freedom of information, freedom of conscience, the right to publish and the right to travel and choose the country in which one wishes to live.' At the core, this is an eternal truth; freedom works." (Bush has used this tag)

"America is committed to the world because so much of the world is inside America. After all, only a few miles from this very room is our Statue of Liberty past which life began anew for millions, where the people from nearly every country in this hall joined to build these United States. The blood of each nation courses through the American vein and feeds the spirit that compels us to involve ourselves in the fate of this good Earth."

- 6) REAGAN, 9/22/86: "...a short walk from this chamber is the delegates Meditation Room, a refuge from a world deafened by the noise of strife and violence. 'We want to bring back the idea of worship,' Dag Hammarskjold once said about this room, 'devotion to something which is greater and higher than we are ourselves.' Well, it's just such devotion that gave birth to the United Nations--devotion to the dream of world peace and freedom, of human rights and democratic self-determination, of a time when, in those ancient words, '. . . and they shall beat their swords into plowshares. . . nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore.'"

"We came to realize again the truth of the statement: Nations do not mistrust each other because they are armed; they are armed because they mistrust each other."

"In addition to regional disputes, the grave threat of terrorism also jeopardizes the hopes for peace. No cause, no grievance, can justify it. Terrorism is heinous and

intolerable. It is the crime of cowards--cowards who prey on the innocent, the defenseless, and the helpless."

"But the United States believes the greatest contribution we can make to world prosperity is the continued advocacy of the magic of the marketplace--the truth, the simple and proven truth, that economic development is an outgrowth of economic freedom just as economic freedom is the inseparable twin of political freedom and democratic government."

"Countries based on the consent of the governed, countries that recognize the unalienable rights of the individual, do not make war on each other. Peace is more than just an absence of war. True peace is justice, true peace is freedom, and true peace dictates the recognition of human rights."

"A Nobel laureate in literature, a great figure of the American South, William Faulkner, once said that the last sound heard on Earth would be that of the two remaining humans arguing over where to go in the spaceship they had built. In his speech to the Nobel committee in 1950, Faulkner spoke of the nuclear age, of the general and universal physical fear it had engendered, a fear of destruction that had become almost unbearable. But he said, 'I decline to accept the end of man. I believe that man will not merely endure, he will prevail. He is immortal . . . because he has a soul, a spirit capable of compassion and sacrifice and endurance.' Faulkner spoke of 'the old verities and truths of the heart' . . ."

- 7) REAGAN, 9/21/87: "Now, diplomacy, of course, is a subtle and nuanced craft, so much so that it's said that when one of the most wily diplomats of the 19th century passed away other diplomats asked, on reports of his death, 'What do you suppose the old fox meant by that?'"

"All over the world today, the yearnings of the human heart are redirecting the course of international affairs, putting the lie to the myth of materialism and historical determinism."

"Some despair when these new, young democracies face conflicts or challenges, but growing pains are normal in democracies. The United States had them, as has every other democracy on Earth."

"Here in the United States, entrepreneurial energy--reinvigorated when we cut taxes and regulations--has fueled the current economic expansion. According to scholars at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, three-quarters of the more than 13 1/2 million new jobs that we have created in this country since the beginning of our expansion came from businesses with fewer than 100 employees, businesses started by ordinary people who dared to take a chance."

"There has been much talk in the halls of this building about

the right to development. But more and more the evidence is clear that development is not itself a right. It is the product of rights: the right to own property; the right to buy and sell freely; the right to contract; the right to be free of excessive taxation and regulation, or burdensome government. There have been studies that determined that countries with low tax rates have greater growth than those with high rates."

"Some time ago the Czech dissident writer Vaclav Havel warned the world that 'respect for human rights is the fundamental condition and the sole genuine guarantee of true peace.' And Andrei Sakharov in his Nobel lecture said: 'I am convinced that international confidence, mutual understanding, disarmament, and international security are inconceivable without an open society with freedom of information, freedom of conscience, the right to publish, and the right to travel and choose the country in which one wishes to live.' Freedom serves peace; the quest for peace must serve the cause of freedom." (RR used same exact quote in 1985 UN address)

"This is why we must protect the Universal Declaration of Human Rights from being debased as it was through the infamous 'Zionism is Racism' resolution."

I have spoken today of a vision and the obstacles to its realization. More than a century ago a young Frenchman, Alexis de Tocqueville, visited America. After that visit he predicted that the two great powers of the future world would be, on one hand, the United States, which would be built, as he said, 'by the plowshare,' and, on the other, Russia, which would go forward, again, as he said, 'by the sword.' Yet need it be so? Cannot swords be turned to plowshares? Can we and all nations not live in peace?"

"Two centuries ago, in a hall much smaller than this one, in Philadelphia, Americans met to draft a Constitution. In the course of their debates, one of them said that the new government, if it was to rise high, must be built on the broadest base: the will and consent of the people. And so it was, and so it has been."

"If we diplomatic pilgrims are to achieve equal altitudes, we must build all we do on the full breadth of humanity's will and consent and the full expanse of the human heart."

- 8) REAGAN, 9/26/88: ". . .do we continue the work of the founders of this institution and see to it that, at last, freedom is enshrined and humanity knows war no longer and that this place, this floor, shall be truly 'the world's last battlefield?'"

"Let peace come."

"With such systems [SDI], for the first time, in case of

accidental launch or the act of a madman somewhere, major powers will not be faced with the single option of massive retaliation but will instead have the chance of a saner choice: to shield against an attack instead for avenging it."

". . . even at this moment another ominous terror is loose once again in the world, a terror we thought the world had put behind, a terror that looms at us now from the long-buried past, from ghostly, scarring trenches and the haunting, wan faces of millions dead in one of the most inhumane conflicts of all time: poison gas, chemical warfare."

". . . I said history demonstrates that, time and again, in place after place, economic growth and human progress make their greatest strides in countries that encourage economic freedom; that individual farmers, laborers, owners, traders, and managers are the heart and soul of development. Trust them, because where they're allowed to create and build, where they're given a personal stake in deciding economic policies and benefiting from their success, then societies become more dynamic, prosperous, progressive, and free. We believe in freedom. We know it works.

And this, Mr. Secretary-General and distinguished delegates, is the immutable lesson of the postwar era: that freedom works—even more, that freedom and peace work together." (again, Bush used this in his acceptance speech)

". . . values such as family, the first and most important unit of society, where all values and learning begin—an institution to be cherished and protected; values, too, such as work, community, freedom, and faith. For it's here we find the deeper rationale for the cause of human rights and world peace."

". . . a truth embodied in our Declaration of Independence: that the case for inalienable rights, that the idea of human dignity, that the notion of conscience above compulsion can be made only in the context of higher law, only in the context of what one of the founders of this organization, Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold, has called devotion to something which is greater and higher than we are ourselves. This is the endless cycle, the final truth to which humankind seems always to return: that religion and morality, that faith in something higher, are prerequisites for freedom and that justice and peace within ourselves is the first step toward justice and peace in the world and for the ages."

". . . that when we grow weary of the world and its troubles, when our faith in humanity falters, it is then that we must seek comfort and refreshment of spirit in a deeper source of wisdom, one greater than ourselves."

- 9) UNSG's Report on the Work of the Organization, 9/91:  
"The causes of the transformation of the global scene, under

way since 1985, are beyond the compass of this report. One of its direct effects, however, has been the end of the long season of stagnation for the United Nations."

"The adoption of a plan for the termination of the war between Iran and Iraq, the conclusion of the Geneva Accords followed by the withdrawal of the forces of the Soviet Union from Afghanistan and the bringing to independence of Namibia were among the major fruits of this rejuvenation of the United Nations. Steady progress was also maintained with regard to the situations in Western Sahara, Cambodia, Central America and elsewhere."

"As against 13 operations launched all through 43 years, 5 were mounted in 1988 and 1989, and 4 during the period under review."

"...some discordant notes, however, are still audible. One is the persistence of the trend, even if now in lesser degree, not to avail of the machinery of the United Nations to resolve certain important issues, including some relating to areas of incipient or potential conflict. The other is the pronounced contrast between the tasks imposed on the Organization and the resources provided to it. The dynamism and liberality of vision hardly accords with the indigence to which the Organization has been financially reduced."

"The extinction of the bipolarity associated with the cold war has no doubt removed the factor that virtually immobilized international relations over four decades. It has cured the Security Council's paralysis and helped immensely in resolving some regional conflicts. By itself, however, it does not guarantee a just and lasting peace for the world's peoples."

"A new factor in the international situation has been introduced by the manifold difficulties of transition in a good part of the northern Eurasian landmass. The way in which this transition is handled by leadership both inside and outside that vast region is certain to have far-reaching implications for the emerging international order as a whole."

"Once the [Iraq] invasion occurred, the response of the Security Council was not only swift but systematic; in adopting 14 resolutions regarding the situation, the Council followed a step-by-step and considered approach to the use of its powers under Chapter VII of the Charter. Far from acting in haste, the Council afforded ample time - from 2 August 1990 to 15 January 1991 - for the Government of Iraq to comply with the Council's demand."

"The hostilities in the Gulf have made it agonizingly clear that the devastation of two States, with untold loss of innocent lives, appalling dangers to public health, damage to the environment and immense suffering of millions, represented

a startling failure of collective diplomacy. In the aftermath of these hostilities, therefore, a renewed emphasis is rightly being placed on the need for preventive diplomacy."

"I must stress here that, for itself, the United Nations is not designed to monopolize the peace process. The role of regional arrangements or agencies in pacific settlement of disputes is explicitly recognized in Articles 33 (1) and 52 (2) of the Charter. As long as a credible peace process is in motion as envisaged in these two Articles, there can be no cause for complaint that the United Nations is being bypassed."

"Another deficiency in the working of the system of collective security is the insufficient use of the principal judicial organ of the United Nations, the International Court of Justice. Many international disputes are justiciable; even those which seem entirely political (as the Iraq-Kuwait dispute prior to invasion) have a clearly legal component."

"I believe that the protection of human rights has now become one of the keystones in the arch of peace. I am also convinced that it now involves more a concerted exertion of international influence and pressure through timely appeal, admonition, remonstrance or condemnation and, in the last resort, an appropriate United Nations presence, than what was regarded as permissible under traditional international law."

"With the heightened international interest in universalizing a regime of human rights, there is a marked and most welcome shift in public attitudes. To try to resist it would be politically as unwise as it is morally indefensible."

"Another principal source of chronic instability is the militarization of human society represented by the level of armaments and military outlays in the world today."

"The obsession has been as ruinous in political, cultural and psychological terms as it has been financially costly. Over the years, however, the cold war overshadowed the whole field of arms limitation and disarmament. The perspectives that have now been opened should enable us to weave collective approaches in this field more tightly into the fabric of peace-making and conflict control. The opportunities now presented to us are not likely to remain open indefinitely."

"Dismantling the military edifice of the cold war should mean designing a credible architecture for regional security. In this connection, one cannot disregard the existing imbalances and asymmetries within regions that cause recurrent tensions and insecurity."

"The mist of unreality that has hung over discussions of limiting and reducing the level of arms needs to be blown

away. That, I believe, is a most impelling call of the present moment in history."

"Next year the United Nations will face a very important test of its capacity to meet global challenges in the Conference on Environment and Development - the first world summit conference formally mandated by the General Assembly."

"The upsurge and transnationalization of crime endangers the internal security of States, erodes the individual's basic freedom from fear and can also disrupt international relations."

"Beyond addressing these two menacing problems, the global social strategy would be sadly deficient if it did not include constructive action to revive basic social institutions and to end social discrimination against the weaker members of society. The intended observance of the International Year of the Family in 1994, the development of standard rules for the equalization of opportunities for the disabled, the collaboration with non-governmental organizations in establishing principles for the treatment of older persons, the commitment to attain equality in law and managerial practice between men and women as a basic human right - all reflect a continuity of concern with social health and justice. On the question of gender equality, which is a concern second to none, it is discouraging to observe that progress slackened during the 1980s, in large measure as a result of distracting economic and political factors. I believe that the pace can be quickened through the preparations for the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995."

"Vast changes in human society and human needs have occurred since 1945. The Organization's membership has itself more than tripled. It is only natural, therefore, that the structures of the Organization and the system now need to be overhauled in the light of current and foreseeable challenges."

"The Charter of the United Nations furnishes guidance that remains timely even in conditions its framers could not have anticipated."

"The facilitation of peaceful and constructive change not the perpetuation of the status quo, will remain the United Nations principal concern."

## A Letter from the Publisher

Tacked to the wall of Associate Editor Burton Pines' office is an oversized map of the world, with each nation a distinct and striking hue. "Looking at a map like this one," says Pines, who occasionally glanced at it while writing his second straight cover story on the Israeli-Egyptian negotiations, "helps you take account of geopolitical realities when discussing U.S. foreign policy."

Pines first appreciated the significance of the Middle East in 1956 when, at 16, he avidly followed the Suez Crisis. Eleven years later, after earning his B.A. and master's degrees in history at the University of Wisconsin, he found himself reporting on European reaction to the 1967 Arab-Israeli war as a newly hired TIME correspondent stationed in Bonn. "By now, the Middle East has attracted more attention than any other international story since World War II," he says. "That is what makes the success of Carter's diplomacy so astounding. For the first time, a major part of the region's troubles are close to being resolved."

Pines is also an expert on one other vital aspect of the en-

tire Arab-Israeli confrontation: U.S. capabilities and what role they might play in the area. "In terms of U.S. defense priorities, no other region in the world, save for Western Europe, is as important," contends Pines. "It is now almost impossible for a journalist without a defense perspective to analyze events in the Middle East, especially after this settlement."



Associate Editor Burt Pines and his office view

Assisting Pines in his labors was White House Correspondent Chris Ogden, who accompanied the President on his six-day diplomatic tour. "By the end of the trip, Carter seemed absolutely drained," reports Ogden, who knows the feeling himself. Carter boarded Air Force One and headed home for a well-earned rest. But Ogden, already on a second full day without sleep, returned to Washington a half day after the President and headed for the office, where he spent the rest of the week working on the story that appears in this issue. When

either Ogden or Carter is rested enough for another trip to the Middle East, he can count on Burt Pines' plotting his movements on the multicolored map.

*John C. Meyer*

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Cover: Illustration by Eugene Mihaesco.



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EUROPE

# Father of a Larger Community

Jean Monnet: 1888-1979

RAND DAILY MAIL



Former Information Secretary Eschel Rhodie  
Is he armed with "caps in a toy gun?"

as Pretoria's influence peddler, trying to gain some kind of immunity from prosecution? He is currently wanted in the Transvaal, Prime Minister Botha announced last week, on grounds of "fraud and possibly theft." Furthermore, if Van den Bergh was a former superspook, why did he clumsily allow the press to discover the details of the Paris meeting? If he and Van Zyl were acting in their government's behalf, why did South African officials seize their passports soon after they had returned from Paris? And if Van Zyl is as successful a businessman as he is supposed to be, why are several of his companies in the process of liquidation, and why does he have a recent record of passing a bad check and not paying his bills?

Whatever Rhodie said to his compatriots in Paris, it seems clear that the South African press already has enough information to proceed with its own investigations of Pretoria's Watergate. One night last week, the *Rand Daily Mail* went to press with a story containing Rhodie's charges about the role allegedly played in the scandal by Justice Minister James Kruger. At 2:30 in the morning, the Cape Supreme Court ordered the *Mail* to delete several paragraphs from the story. The paper's editors complied, printing a final edition with 6 in. of blank space on the front page.

By using its muscle, the Botha government may have the power to suppress some of the most distressing details of the emerging scandal. But it can hardly make them disappear. Whether or not Eschel Rhodie is armed only with "harmless caps in a toy gun," as one National Party M.P. prefers to believe, many white South Africans are looking more cynically than ever before at their ruling party. ■

**"T**he sovereign nations of the past can no longer solve the problems of the present. They cannot ensure their own progress or control their own future. And the European Community itself is only a stage on the way to the organized world of tomorrow."

So wrote Jean Monnet, the "Father of the European Community" and the universally respected model of today's supranational civil servant. When Monnet died at the age of 90 last week, in his modest country home near Paris, his dream of a United States of Europe, linked both politically and economically, remained unfinished. But Monnet was a patient man. "I'm not an optimist," he once said, "I am simply persistent," and thus he may have been pleased by the progress that had been made toward his overriding vision. Last week, at a summit meeting in Paris, leaders of the Community officially launched the long-awaited European Monetary System. Next June there will be direct elections for the European Parliament, and the Common Market is slowly negotiating expansion to include Greece, Portugal and Spain.

**T**he grandson of brandy makers from the town of Cognac, Monnet learned as a youth that masterworks are not accomplished by shortcuts. He deftly summed up this truth: "The great thing about making cognac is that it teaches you above everything else to wait—man proposes, but time and God and the seasons have got to be on your side." He began his career as a globetrotting salesman for the family's distillery. Witnessing the chaos and waste of World War I convinced him of the need for international cooperation. By 1916 Monnet had become France's representative in London on the executive committees that coordinated supplies and production. A four-year stint as Deputy Secretary-General of the League of Nations further broadened his perspectives. After spending a decade in international banking, Monnet during World War II once again became involved in organizing production and supplies for the Allies—this time in Washington. He recognized the leadership qualities of Charles de Gaulle, and he joined the provisional Free French government that De Gaulle formed in Algiers in 1944.

Monnet never abandoned his dream of achieving, step by careful step, a united Europe freed at last from the confrontations of past centuries. In 1950 he sold French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman on the idea of the European Coal and Steel Community, as a way to defuse ancient Franco-German rivalries. Two years later, the Community was in

operation, with Monnet as its president. That successful effort paved the way for the creation of the Common Market, established by the Treaty of Rome in 1957.

Monnet resigned as head of the Coal and Steel Community in 1955 and founded the Action Committee for the United States of Europe. Although high office was his for the asking, he preferred to be a backstage lobbyist for his dream of a united Europe, whispering into the ears of Presidents and Premiers, nudging them toward his vision. "The world is divided into those who want to become someone and those who want to accomplish something," he liked to say. He would add that "there is less competition" in the second category, to which he so clearly belonged.

In recent years, doubts have grown about the validity of Monnet's approach to unity through institutions. The people of the Continent are still French, Germans, Dutch and Italians, not Europeans. The Community itself has yet to move beyond narrowly defined economic policies in which one national interest is carefully balanced against another. But Monnet himself never gave up hope. He liked to pose a question that in its fashion summarized his life: "If you are in a dark tunnel and see a small light at the end, should you turn your back on that light and go back into darkness, or should you continue walking toward it even though you know how far away it is?" Monnet chose to keep walking. ■



Jean Monnet on his farm, 1963  
Not an optimist, just persistent.

PIERRE BOULAT

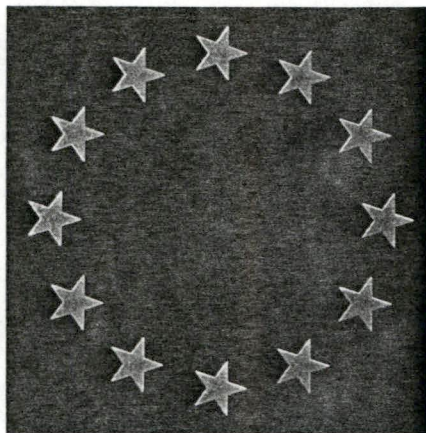
# background notes

# European Community



United States Department of State  
Bureau of Public Affairs

April 1990



**Official Name:**  
**European Community (EC)**  
Also referred to as the  
European Communities

## PROFILE

### Background

**Headquarters:** Brussels, Belgium.

**Established:** On April 18, 1951, when the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) Treaty was signed in Paris, and on March 25, 1957, when the treaties for the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) were signed in Rome.

**Purposes:** To build foundations for peace through economic and political cooperation and to make possible an eventual federation of Europe.

**Members:** The Six—Belgium, Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands. The Nine—in 1973, Denmark, Ireland, and the United Kingdom joined the Six. The Ten—on January 1, 1981, Greece joined. The Twelve—Spain and Portugal joined the Ten on January 1, 1986.

**Official Languages:** Danish, Dutch, English, French, German, Greek, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish.

**Population (1988):** 325 million.

**Gross National Product (GNP) (1988):** \$4.71 trillion.

**Average Per Capita GNP (1988):** \$14,500.

### Organization

**Principal Organs:** Council, Commission, Parliament, Court of Justice.

#### Principal Areas of Community

**Competence:** Internal and external trade, common industrial and commercial policies, agriculture, monetary coordination, fisheries, assistance, science and research, the environment, common social and regional policies.

**Budget (1990):** \$56 billion, financed by a customs duty, a 1.4% value-added tax collected on the goods and services consumed in member countries, and a percentage donation based on member countries' gross domestic product.

### Trade

**Imports (1988):** *Worldwide*—\$458.6 billion. *From US*—\$79.6 billion (23.7% of US exports).

**Exports (1988):** *Worldwide*—\$430.8 billion. *To US*—\$84.4 billion (19.6% of EC exports).

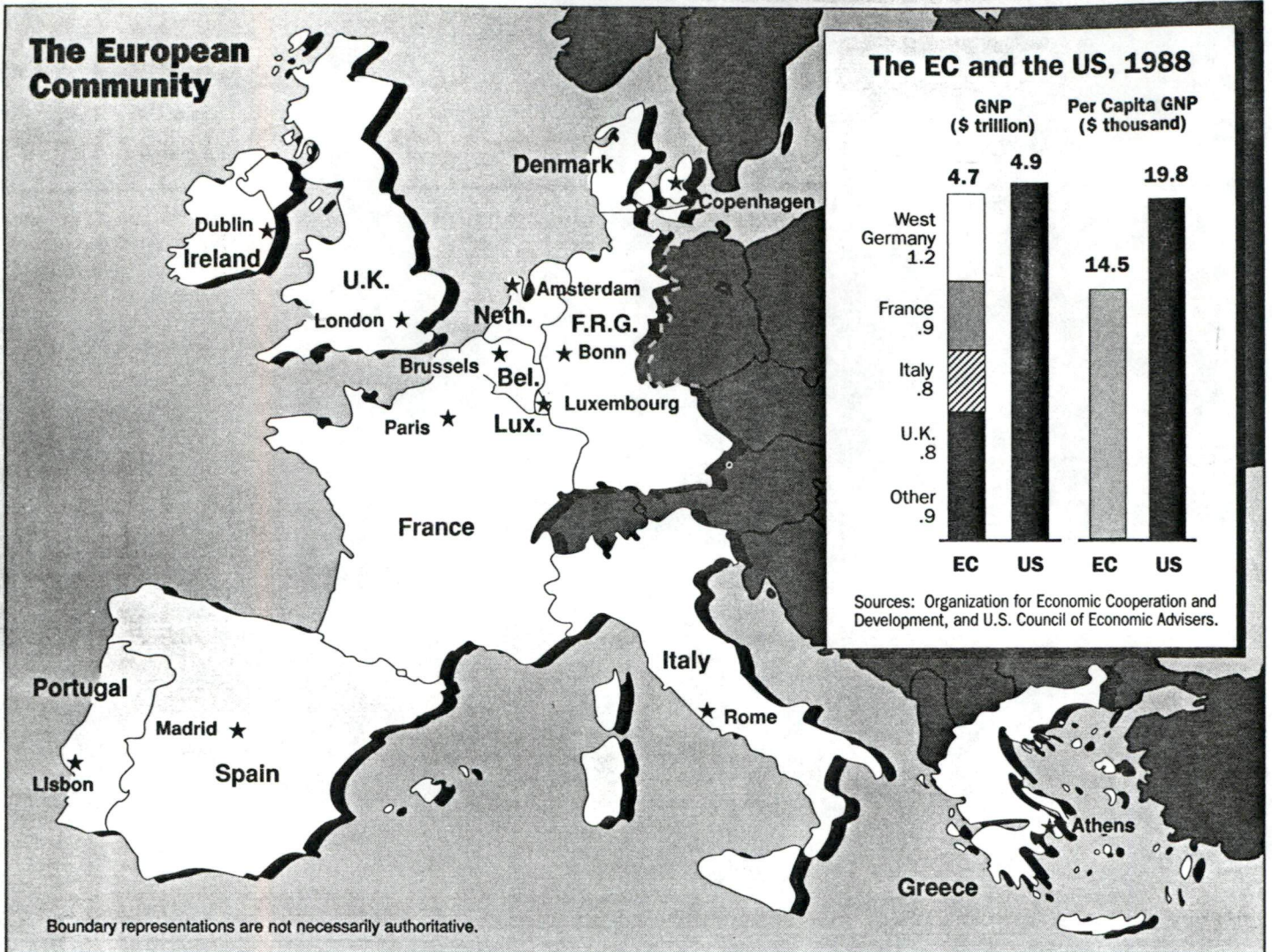
### EC and US Officials

**Commission President:** Jacques Delors, France

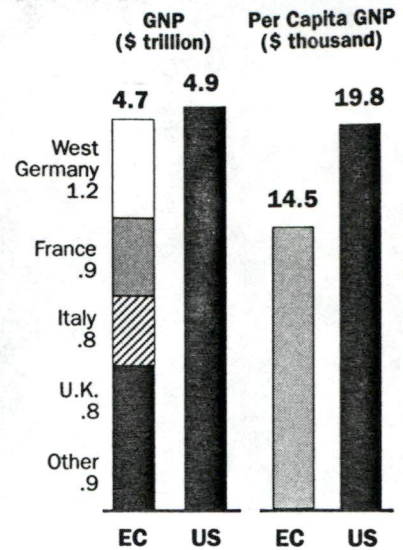
**US Representative to the EC:**  
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Boulevard du Regent, B-1000, Brussels,  
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**EC Representative to the US:**  
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NW, Suite 707, Washington, D.C. 20037; Tel.  
202-862-9500.

## The European Community



## The EC and the US, 1988



Sources: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, and U.S. Council of Economic Advisers.

Boundary representations are not necessarily authoritative.

## HISTORY

Peaceful union of European countries had been a dream for centuries, but not until the devastation of World War II was unity perceived as a necessity. Postwar economic chaos and the descent of what he called the "Iron Curtain" led Winston Churchill to declare in 1946: "We must create a sort of United States of Europe." Although they thought that unity was necessary for the reconstruction of the continent, national governments remained reluctant to cede any authority to a supranational body.

The primary aim of the Paris and Rome treaties establishing the European Communities (EC) was to remove the economic barriers that divided the member countries as the first steps toward political unity. To accomplish this, the treaties call for members to establish a common market, a common customs tariff, and common economic, agricultural,

transport, and nuclear policies. The institutions and policies established by the treaties provide a framework within which the 12 EC members have agreed to integrate their economies and eventually consider forming a political union.

The Brussels Pact of 1948 created the first postwar European intergovernmental organization. Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg agreed to mutual military support and political cooperation. The military aspects of the pact were quickly overshadowed when the five signatories joined others in the NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) alliance with the United States.

In the political sphere, the Council of Europe was organized by the pact members along with Ireland, Denmark, Norway, Italy, and Sweden. The Council was designed to be more than a simple forum for discussion, but the British and the Scandinavian Governments thwarted

federalist attempts to give the Council any supranational powers. All decisions were to be made by unanimous agreement of the ministers of each member state, effectively weakening the Council.

The establishment of an administrative framework for European economic cooperation was stimulated by US Secretary of State George Marshall's offer of vast aid in a joint recovery program. Federalists, led by French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman and Jean Monnet (now considered the "father" of a united Europe), thought that Europe would never regain its status in world affairs, effectively solve its domestic problems, or be able to protect itself unless national governments were integrated. They proposed a supranational authority to make decisions in the interest of the whole continent. The British and the Scandinavians, again preferring international cooperation

rather than formal integration, prevented the incorporation of a federal element in this new body, the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC). The OEEC, established in 1948 and transformed in 1961 into the worldwide Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), was very effective in channeling US aid throughout the continent, but it had no supranational authority of its own.

Continuing their effort to develop a federal European authority, Schuman and Monnet proposed establishing the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1950 "to place the entire Franco-German production of coal and steel under a common High Authority, in an organization open to other European countries." The French and German heavy industries urgently needed rebuilding, and the ECSC would facilitate growth as well as make war between the two countries "not merely inconceivable but physically impossible." Ratified by the Governments of France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg (the Six), the ECSC began functioning in 1952 and was the world's first international organization with an integrated federal governing body. The High Authority was empowered to act independently in the narrow but important economic fields of coal and steel production. The ECSC had limited financial independence, raising funds through levies on the coal and steel industries and the sale of bonds.

With Europe's immediate defense problem solved by NATO, efforts were concentrated on political and economic questions. Under the direction of Belgian Foreign Minister Paul Henri Spaak, the foreign ministers of the Six met to discuss proposals for an integrated economic system and a common structure for the development of nuclear energy. In 1957, the Six agreed to establish the European Economic Community (the EEC or Common Market) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM). The two treaties formally establishing the new communities to work with the ECSC were signed by the Six in Rome on March 25, 1957. The EEC and EURATOM began operating in January 1958. The wide-reaching EEC was given less supranational authority than the ECSC, although the economic union was viewed as a prerequisite for eventual political integration.

British ties to its Commonwealth and its desire to create a larger free trade area, as opposed to a customs union consisting only of the Six, resulted in the United Kingdom rejecting EEC and EURATOM membership. Britain, Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, and Switzerland later formed the European Free Trade Association (EFTA). EFTA was designed to boost nonagricultural trade among its members and to provide a united platform for relations with the EEC.

In the 1960s, Commonwealth ties were becoming less important for Britain, and UK economic growth was slower than the impressive growth rate of the Six. The British, therefore, decided to join the Community, even though membership would result in a substantial increase in British food prices. A French veto temporarily blocked British membership, but in 1973, the United Kingdom, Denmark, and Ireland were admitted, creating the EC Nine. The Government of Norway also had agreed to accession, but membership was rejected in a referendum. A further enlargement took place on January 1, 1981, when Greece joined the Community, making it the EC Ten. The most recent expansion occurred with the addition of Spain and Portugal on January 1, 1986, creating the current EC Twelve.

## INSTITUTIONS

The three communities—the ECSC, EEC, and EURATOM—had separate executive commissions and councils of ministers until their 1967 merger into the European Communities; a joint commission and a joint council of ministers were then established. The other major EC institutions are the European Parliament, the Court of Justice, and the Economic and Social Committee.

### The Commission

The Commission, headquartered in Brussels, is made up of 17 commissioners appointed by common agreement of the 12 governments. Each country is represented, with the largest five—France, West Germany, Italy, Spain, and the United Kingdom—supplying two commissioners. According to the treaties,

members of the Commission act independently of their governments and of the Council; they represent the interests of the Community as a whole.

The Commission's major responsibility is to oversee the implementation of the EC treaties. It initiates EC policy by making proposals and steers its proposals through the legislative process. The commissioners also conduct the EC's negotiations with nonmember states on behalf of the Community. The collection and disbursement of EC funds is another important Commission responsibility. The Commission's independence and its "right of initiation" of policy account for much of its supranational authority. To balance that independence, the Commission is subject to censure by the Parliament, which can force the entire Commission to resign as a body by a two-thirds majority vote.<sup>1</sup> A European civil service divided into 23 Directorates-General plus Commission services assists the Commission. The Commission president is appointed to a renewable 2-year term by the Council.

### The Council

The Council, which has its secretariat in Brussels, represents the national governments of the 12 member states and is the primary decisionmaking body of the Community. The foreign ministers of the member states deal with the most important and wide-reaching topics, while more specific decisions are made by the respective councils of the ministers of agriculture, finance, industry, energy, social affairs, and others. The 1987 Single European Act created a less restrictive decisionmaking process by allowing most voting in the Council by qualified majority, rather than unanimity.<sup>2</sup> Exceptions include certain health and safety proposals that individual states can veto. At the same time, the act mandated an increased role for the European Parliament in the decisionmaking process.

The various ministerial groups meet monthly. Formal biannual European Council meetings discuss intra-Community and foreign policy issues. Each country assumes the Council presidency for a 6-month term. The Committee of Permanent Representatives, consisting of member country ambassadors to the Community in Brussels, assists the Council.

## The European Parliament

The European Parliament (EP), the only EC institution that directly represents European citizens, has gained a greater role in EC decisionmaking in recent years. The Parliament has significant power over budgetary matters (except agricultural spending) because it can amend or reject the budget and approve its adoption. The Parliament also considers the Commission's proposals on their way to the Council of Ministers. Since 1987, the Parliament also has had the right to amend or reject certain legislation approved by the Council, which can overrule the Parliament only by a unanimous vote. The Parliament also has gained the right to approve or disapprove applications of nonmember countries to join the Community, as well as new association agreements.

The 518 deputies are elected to 5-year terms. The first direct elections were held in 1979. The Parliament was enlarged to its present size in January 1986, when 60 members from Spain and 24 members from Portugal took their seats. The members sit in transnational political groupings ranging across the political spectrum, including Socialists, Christian Democrats, Liberals, Conservatives, Communists, and Greens.

Many of the Parliament's specialized committees have emphasized development of truly "European" policies in areas such as the internal market, energy, industrial restructuring, and regional development funding. Direct elections ensure full public representation in the Community, and important tasks for the deputies include promoting the Community's work within their constituencies and increasing public support for an integrated Europe.

The Parliament meets monthly in week-long sessions in Strasbourg. The EP's Secretariat is located in Luxembourg; most Committee and Political Group meetings are held in Brussels.

## The Court of Justice

The role of the EC Court of Justice is very similar to that of the US Supreme Court. The EC Court is the final authority for the interpretation of EC laws, as embodied in the treaties, regulations, and directives. Complaints about member-state treaty violations may be lodged by other members or by the Commission. Member governments, EC

institutions, and individuals also can contest Commission and Council actions and member state implementation of EC legislation in the Court. The Court resolves conflicts between Community and national laws, and the Justices have played a major role in the process of removing barriers to the movement of goods, services, capital, and people among members. The Court's decisions are binding on all parties. Court decisions generally have tended to strengthen EC institutions and promote integrated EC policies.

The 13 Justices are appointed by the EC member governments and serve renewable 6-year terms. Court decisions are reached by a simple majority. All decisions are announced unanimously, but votes never are announced. The Court sits in Luxembourg.

The 1987 Single European Act introduced a new Court of First Instance, which essentially serves as a lower court. In addition, member state courts are obligated to directly enforce the Community treaties, thus creating a multi-layered judicial system.

## The Economic and Social Committee

This consultative body of 156 members represents employers and unions as well as special interest groups such as consumers and farmers. The Committee enables a broad spectrum of interested producer and consumer groups to be actively involved in EC decisionmaking. Through a mandatory consultation process, the Committee submits its opinions to both the Councils of Ministers and the Commission.

## BUDGET

Initially, the EC budget was funded by member-state contributions based on varying percentages of their gross domestic product (GDP). In 1977, those contributions were supplemented by revenue from agricultural levies and customs duties on EC imports. The GDP-based contributions were eliminated in 1979, as each state began paying 1% of the value-added tax (VAT) it collected on manufactured goods. Starting in 1986, the VAT contribution increased to 1.4%.

The Commission prepares the preliminary draft of each year's EC budget. The Council discusses the preliminary

report and then issues a draft budget for EP approval. The Parliament can amend or reject the budget and is responsible for its final adoption.

The preliminary EC budget for 1990 is about \$56 billion. The largest budget item, accounting for about two-thirds of the total, is agricultural expenditures. Other major budget items are energy and industrial programs, research, and development assistance to poorer regions of the Community, central and Eastern Europe, and Third World nations.

## TRADE

### The Customs Union

The authors of the EC treaties recognized that the economic keystone of unity would be a customs union permitting the free movement of goods, services, capital, and people within Western Europe. In 1958, the Community began the difficult process of eliminating all trade barriers among its members. Ten years later, all member-to-member duties were abolished, and a common external tariff of the Six was established. By 1977, this union was extended to include the new EC members—the United Kingdom, Denmark, and Ireland. Spain and Portugal, which joined in 1986, must dismantle their customs duties with other EC members before 1992 and must abolish their quantitative restrictions on intra-EC trade according to a timetable laid down for each.

The common external tariff is a key element in the customs union. Each EC member charges the same duty on a given import from a nonmember country. Agricultural imports are subject to the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). The CAP places variable levies on agricultural imports to raise their prices to those of EC-produced commodities.

Although tariffs have been eliminated within the Community, several kinds of nontariff barriers still exist. Some member states maintain protectionist measures that the Community has not yet been able to eliminate entirely, such as limiting public works contracts and adopting unilateral technical or safety standards that restrict trade. Numerous health and safety barriers to agricultural trade still exist. Individual firms and governments can register trade restriction complaints with the Commission, which attempts to eliminate the barriers through binding judicial action.

## SINGLE MARKET PROGRAM

Recently, the EC has made remarkable progress toward achieving a goal it set for itself more than 30 years ago—a unified West European market without national barriers to the movement of goods, services, capital, and people. The 12 EC member states have committed themselves to the historically important policy initiative of creating a single market by the end of 1992. The EC is expected to have adopted most of its single market proposals by that time and to have made significant progress on related efforts toward more complete economic integration.

The EC is, to a great extent, still a set of 12 separate markets, with different regulations for banks, insurance companies, medicinal products, lawnmowers, and cheese, to name just a few areas. The single market program will create a single set of rules for doing business in Europe. Where EC-wide rules are not practical, the single market will ensure mutual recognition of other members' regulations so that technical standards and procedures no longer pose barriers to trade across national borders. This creates potentially vast economies of scale and should expand the size and wealth of the EC market.

The renewed effort to create a single market began in 1985, when member countries approved an ambitious plan outlining almost 300 legislative proposals. The 1987 Single European Act committed government leaders to adhere to the timetable and made passage of legislation easier. Since then, the EC Commission has finished its work in proposing more than 90% of the proposals (now 279), and the EC Council has adopted more than half of them into Community law. Member states must pass legislation to implement the directives, usually within 2 years of final agreement at the EC level.

Difficult areas remain in the single market program, notably in attempting to allow the free movement of people across national borders and in harmonizing policy on indirect taxation. However, momentum has been sustained, largely because most of the European public and businesses strongly support the program. When the major proposals are fully implemented, the Commission will have authority to control large mergers and acquisitions; will make a European company statute available throughout the Community; will enforce open procure-



President Bush supports European efforts, led by EC Commission President Jacques Delors, to achieve economic and political integration. (White House photo)

### External Trade

In 1988, trade among Community members was \$1.24 trillion, while external trade was \$890 billion, accounting for about 16% of world commerce, and making the EC the world's largest trading unit. Its total imports from third countries in 1988 were \$459 billion, roughly the same amount as that of the United States. Most EC imports are raw materials and unprocessed goods. EC exports, most of which are processed goods such as machinery and vehicles, totaled \$431 billion in 1988, compared with total US exports of \$320 billion.

As provided for in Article 113 of the Treaty of Rome, the Community operates a common commercial policy adhered to by all member states. The Community's trade policy is based on the principles and obligations of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) to which all Community members are contracting parties. EC countries are active participants in the current Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations, which are scheduled to be completed with a concluding conference in Brussels in December 1990.

In 1972-73, the Community concluded free trade agreements with the member states of EFTA—Austria, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland. These agreements provide for the elimination of barriers to trade on almost all industrial products between the

member countries of the two trading blocs. Only products originating within the free-trade area receive preferential treatment. EFTA members maintain quotas and tariffs on agricultural products.

The Community has reached preferential trade agreements with Turkey, Yugoslavia, and Mediterranean countries and separately with 68 African, Caribbean, and Pacific countries. Non-preferential agreements have been signed with Canada, India, Romania, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Bangladesh, China, and major Latin American countries. Most recently, the EC has concluded trade and commercial agreements with Poland, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia.

The Community is the United States' largest trading partner. In 1989, total US-EC trade was \$171.7 billion. The 1989 trade balance with the EC was in the US favor for the first time since 1982. In 1988, almost 24% of all US exports were purchased by the EC, which, in turn, provided almost 24% of US imports.

The United States and the EC are each other's most significant source of direct investment. By the end of 1988, the EC had \$194 billion invested in the United States (the British are the largest foreign investors in America), and the United States had about \$127 billion in the EC.

ment, allowing foreign participation (with some limitations) in all sectors except defense; and will provide a host of product and regulatory standards ranging from containers to automobiles to biotechnology. Many, but not all, of these standards will be based on existing international standards.

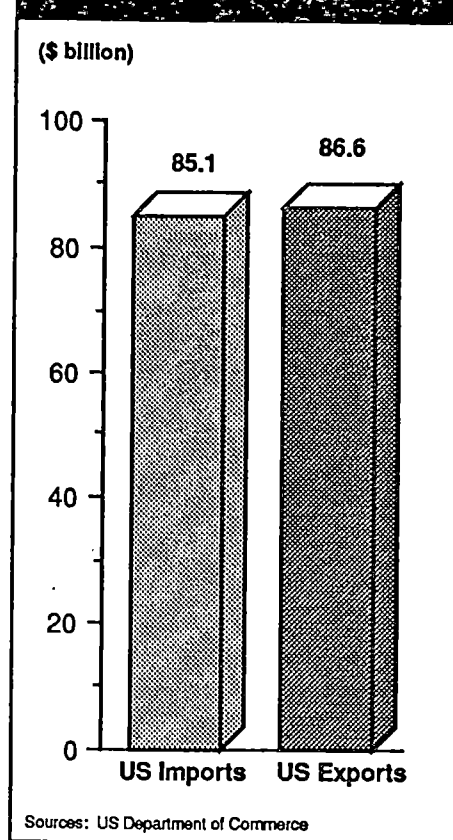
Further economic integration beyond trade and investment issues is under consideration. The Community already has sought or will pursue common policies on environmental protection, immigration, labor law, monetary and fiscal issues, and law enforcement against narcotics and terrorism. Questions of national sovereignty have exacerbated tension among some members and EC institutions. The debate indicates the difficult course ahead, and it is clear that many of these issues will be decided well after 1992.

## AGRICULTURAL POLICY

Instituted in 1962, the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) has allowed the EC to become more than self-sufficient in many agricultural commodities and has provided stable incomes to the European farming population. The CAP, however, consumes about two-thirds of the EC budget and—through its complicated network of protection, price supports, and subsidies—has created large surpluses of many agricultural products. EC export subsidies, traditionally used to dispose of some of these surpluses, have helped to create a distorted and unstable market in agricultural commodities. Over the years, EC products benefiting from the CAP have displaced some US farm exports, particularly grains.

Since the EC already has a single agricultural market in many respects, the 1992 program will not have as great an effect as in other areas. The single market program aims to harmonize agricultural health rules for animals and plants, thereby reducing barriers that have kept the EC's agricultural markets somewhat segmented. As the Community eliminates border controls, it must act on the taxes or subsidies currently levied on agricultural trade at national borders. Further monetary harmonization is likely to result in the elimination of the special agricultural exchange rates which also have served to protect markets from intra-EC competition.

## US Trade With EC, 1989



An EC budget package adopted in February 1988, aimed at balancing the budget and reducing growth in agricultural expenditures over a 4-year period, to a great extent has removed agriculture as a contentious internal EC issue. The agreement resolved short-term budgetary problems by basically resorting to supply management techniques. Although the package is reducing somewhat agricultural oversupply within the EC and is helping to limit new pressures on international agricultural markets, it does little to increase the market orientation of EC agriculture. The global reform of agricultural policies remains an important US objective and a major task of the current round of multilateral trade negotiations.

## ENERGY

The European Community is sensitive to the need for reducing foreign energy dependence, particularly on oil imports, through conservation and other measures. In September 1986, the Council set

EC targets for 1995 which would limit oil consumption to 40% of total energy consumption and maintain net oil imports at less than one-third of total energy consumption. The Community has an active program of research into alternate energy sources, including biomass, synthetic fuel, solar, and geothermal development. Nuclear energy also is widely used in certain EC member states, but there is intense and growing public concern about nuclear safety issues, particularly following the Chernobyl accident in the Soviet Union.

EURATOM, established following the first European energy crisis in 1956, is responsible for the procurement and distribution of nuclear fuels in the Community. It also undertakes research in nuclear development, provides financing for nuclear energy projects, and exercises safety and security responsibilities over member-country facilities.

## THE EUROPEAN MONETARY SYSTEM

In 1979, the Community inaugurated the European Monetary System (EMS). The EMS replaced the "snake" in an effort to reduce exchange fluctuations.<sup>3</sup> The EMS provides for frequent discussions among central bankers and for intervention in foreign exchange markets to maintain the value of each EC currency within a narrow range vis-a-vis the European Currency Unit (ECU) and each other currency. All Community members belong to the EMS. However, the United Kingdom, Greece, and Portugal do not participate in the system's exchange rate mechanism, which represents a commitment by the participants to maintain their exchange rates within a very narrow band. The founders of the EMS maintained that exchange rate stability was essential to increase trade and also would provide impetus for better coordination of monetary and fiscal policies. In addition to currency swap arrangements for defense of currency parities, the EMS includes a reserve fund. The ECU, a combination of 12 member currencies, is the Community's budget and accounting unit.<sup>4</sup>

Jacques Delors, the Commission President, has drawn up a three-phase plan for broadening the EMS into an economic and monetary union (EMU).

Under Phase I, all EC governments are committed to join the exchange rate mechanism, and finance ministers and central bank governors would cooperate more closely on policy decisions. Later phases of the Delors Plan envisage a central bank and a common currency, but several EC members, particularly the United Kingdom, have opposed aspects of the plan. In 1989, Community leaders decided that on July 1, 1990, the EC will begin implementing Phase I of the Delors Plan. An intergovernmental conference will convene in late 1990 to consider what changes to the EC treaties would be required for EMU. Treaty changes must be approved by all 12 of the member countries.

## POLITICAL COOPERATION

Coordination of the foreign policies of the EC members was not included in the three treaties but was undertaken voluntarily in 1970. In 1987, European political cooperation was formalized in the Single European Act. Recently, this cooperation has increased to a wider range of foreign policy issues. Topics included under the act are such key areas as Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Central America, nuclear and conventional disarmament, and nuclear nonproliferation. A secretariat to administer the act has been established in Brussels.

The 12 foreign ministers meet at least quarterly to discuss political coordination. The foreign ministers attempt at these meetings to coordinate the broad lines of the members' international policies and to issue joint statements of policy. In addition to these formal meetings, the foreign ministers gather informally twice a year, unaccompanied by staff. The ministers also discuss political cooperation during the twice-yearly meetings of the European Council, at which the 12 EC heads of government meet.

The meetings of the foreign ministers are prepared for by the EC Political Committee, comprising senior officials from the 12 foreign ministries, who meet monthly to prepare specific issues for ministerial discussion. The Political Committee also meets in New York in September at the opening of the UN General Assembly.

## Further Information

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## RELATIONS WITH EUROPE

The success of the European Community has encouraged other countries to seek membership. Turkey and Austria have applied, but the EC has indicated that it will put off consideration of new applications until after the completion of the single market. In addition, the EC has association agreements with Yugoslavia, Turkey, and Cyprus. EC leaders expect to negotiate association agreements with a number of East European countries in response to recent developments there.

Recently, the EC has developed closer ties with the EFTA countries, which already have many of the same

industrial and technical standards that apply in the Community. The two groups have agreed to negotiate a closer relationship, to be known as the European Economic Space. This may involve EFTA agreement to implement many EC directives while the EC would give EFTA a role in the development of future rules.

Although EC countries have long-standing political and economic ties with the countries of Eastern Europe, the EC itself only recently has established diplomatic relations with most states of central and Eastern Europe. In 1988, the EC and the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CEMA), an economic organ-

Janet Price  
Economic and Business  
Affairs

647-3150

See me if there are  
problems. There is  
no "Economic Bureau"

--your successes are demonstrating to the Peruvian people, to Latin America, to the world, that the Shining Path leads nowhere -- only to the dark abyss of violence and disorder. The false seductions of the Sendero Luminoso -- promising light where there is only darkness, promising a path where there is only a dead end.

--the integrity of human life, the dignity of the individual

--the next century, a world changing at a dizzying pace

--we stand committed that Peru will not be left behind

--steering your country with a steady hand toward a solid and welcome standing in the community of nations

--Your slogan of "Honesty, Technology, and Work."

--your democratization reforms...knowing, as did one of the forefathers of my county, that the people "are the only sure reliance for the preservation of our liberty."

--that stability and prosperity are not a matter of chance, they are a matter of choice; that Peru cannot wait for its future to happen, but rather Peru's future waits to be realized

--joke on Commies in Peruvian parliament? By the way, I'm aware that Peru still has some Communists in its parliament, it's nice to know there's still some real old-fashioned folks in the world. Of course people have a right to march to the beat of a dead/deceased drummer.

--Narcotics: not a question of fault or of fealty, it is a question of Peru's future.

--drugs, driving insurgency, draining resources, and drowning Peru's hopes for a better future.

--Fujimori: a man of pride, pragmatism, and purpose

--policies resolute and resourceful

--human rights, light at the end of the tunnel, pressing the passage towards a better day for all Peruvians..factors complicating progress...those who see only a glass half empty, we see rather a struggle half won...Peru needs our aid, we cannot help Peru by ignoring her..we keep our hands fastidiously clean while we fail to extend them to a country in need of help. (Yale commencement: "We want to promote positive change in the world through the force of our example, not simply professorial purity. We want to advance the cause of freedom, not just snub nations that aren't yet wholly free...Some argue that a nation as moral and as

just as ours should not taint itself by dealing with nations less moral, less just. But this counsel offers up self-righteousness draped in a false morality. You do not reform a world by ignoring it."

--NWO from SOU: "..a new world order, where diverse nations are drawn together in common cause to achieve the universal aspirations of mankind -- peace and security, freedom, and the rule of law. Such is a world worthy of our struggle and worthy of our children's future."

--Shakespeare's Henry V on St. Crispin's day: "All things are ready if our minds be so." Paraphrase?

--the struggle (against \_\_\_) has been/proven far from easy, and farther from over.

--unscrupulous marauders

--narcotics: traffickers in death and destruction

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# Political Quotations

A Collection of Notable Sayings on Politics from Antiquity through 1989

**Daniel B. Baker, Editor**

Marnet  
quote



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2191. People tend to want to follow the beaten path. The difficulty is that the beaten path doesn't seem to be leading anywhere. —Charles M. Mathias Jr., *Time*, Dec 8, 1975
2192. If I have anything special that makes me "influential" I simply don't know how to define it. If I knew the ingredients I would bottle them, package them and sell them, because I want everyone to be able to work together in a spirit of cooperation and compromise and accommodation without, you know, any caving in or anyone being woefully violated personally or in terms of his principles. —Barbara Jordan, quoted in "Barbara Jordan" by Charles L. Sanders, *Ebony*, Feb, 1975
2193. The most important thing is to be strong. With strength, one can conquer others, and to conquer others gives one virtue. —Mao Tse-tung, quoted, *Time*, Sep 20, 1976
2194. A statesman who too far outruns the experience of his people will fail in achieving a domestic consensus, however wise his policies. (On the other hand), a statesman who limits his policies to the experience of his people is doomed to sterility. —Henry A. Kissinger, *Time*, Nov 8, 1976
2195. I am alone with the masses. —Mao Tse-tung, quoted, *Time*, Sep 20, 1976
2196. Charismatic leadership is hungered for, but at the same time we fear it. —Kevin White, *Time*, Feb 9, 1976
2197. We lost the American colonies because we lacked the statesmanship to know the right time and the manner of yielding what is impossible to keep. —Elizabeth II, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, during American bicentennial celebrations, *Newsweek*, Jul 17, 1976
2198. I don't know the key to success, but the key to failure is trying to please everybody. —Bill Cosby, *Ebony*, Jun, 1977
2199. If an individual wants to be a leader and isn't controversial, that means he never stood for anything. —Richard M. Nixon, *Dallas Times-Herald*, Dec 10, 1978
2200. If you don't stand for something, you will stand for anything. —Ginger Rogers, *Parade*, Jun 18, 1978
2201. It's the orders you disobey that make you famous. —Douglas MacArthur, *Time*, Sep 11, 1978
2202. Too bad that all the people who know how to run the country are busy driving taxicabs and cutting hair. —George Burns, *Life*, Dec, 1979
2203. One had the sense that if (Charles De Gaulle) moved to a window, the center of gravity might shift, and the whole room might tilt everybody into the garden. —Henry A. Kissinger, *Time*, Oct 15, 1979
2204. Competing pressures tempt one to believe that an issue deferred is a problem avoided: more often it is a crisis invited. —Henry A. Kissinger, *Time*, Oct 15, 1979
2205. High office teaches decision making, not substance. It consumes intellectual capital; it does not create it. —Henry A. Kissinger, *Time*, Oct 15, 1979
2206. The world is divided into those who want to become someone and those who want to accomplish something. —Jean Monnet, *Time*, Mar 26, 1979
2207. A leader should not get too far in front of his troops or he will be shot in the ass. —Joseph Clark, *Washingtonian*, Nov, 1979
2208. Men of power have no time to read; yet the men who do not read are unfit for power. —Michael Foot, *Debts of Honour*, 1980

the atomic bomb without seeking WEU agreement, and Britain threatened to withdraw troops from West Germany, with or without WEU permission. The WEU Assembly, composed of the representatives sent by the seven member countries to the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe, actively debated defense policy, but its recommendations were rarely accepted by the national governments.

**The Founding of the European Economic Community (EEC) and Euratom.** Faced with the failure of both EDC and EPC, the governments of the Benelux countries determined to capitalize on the success of the European Coal and Steel Community. When the ECSC foreign ministers met at Messina in June 1955, the Benelux representatives proposed that economic integration be expanded to include other sectors, such as atomic energy and transport, and that a common market be formed in which both industrial and agricultural goods could circulate freely. The ministers approved these goals and assigned the proposal for study by an intergovernmental committee of experts, presided over by the foreign minister of Belgium, Paul-Henri Spaak.

The Spaak committee's report, presented on April 20, 1956, argued that to achieve an economic base of a size adequate to modern technology the six ECSC members should form an economic union, or common market, in which all obstacles to internal trade would be abolished within 12 years, and labor and capital would circulate freely. A special program for the integration of agriculture should be drawn up and funds created for large-scale investment and for readaptation of industries hurt by competition. Development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes should be administered in a separate organization.

The foreign ministers accepted most of the Spaak report's proposals and authorized Spaak again to preside over a committee of experts in drawing up two treaties, one creating a European Economic Community (EEC), or Common Market, the other a European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom). During the negotiations, safeguards were demanded by all the participants. France, for example, insisted on association of French and Belgian overseas territories. The treaties were signed in Rome on March 25, 1957, and ratified without difficulty. EEC and Euratom began to function on Jan. 1, 1958.

**Organization and Goals of EEC.** The institutions of EEC were similar to those of ECSC. It was administered by a nine-member commission. Most policy decisions were referred to a council of ministers, representing the national governments, in which the voting procedure was to be modified to reduce the veto power of any one country. An economic and social committee of 101 members representing different economic categories, including employers and labor unions, was to advise the commission. The ECSC court of justice was to act as a single court for all three communities. The Common Assembly of ECSC, increased in size from 78 to 142 members, and later renamed the European Parliament, was also to supervise the functioning of the three communities. (Membership subsequently grew to 198, and, in the election of June 1979, to 410.)

The first task of the EEC was to abolish customs duties and quota restrictions, on a timetable laid down in the treaty, in three four-year stages. Tariff reduction proved so successful in

stimulating trade that the program was accelerated and all customs duties and quotas on industrial goods were abolished by 1968. At the same time a common external tariff was adopted so that all six members imposed uniform duties on imports from countries outside the community. EEC also provided for freedom of movement of labor and equality of access to public housing, social security benefits, and membership in labor unions within the community.

Free circulation of capital was hindered by complex differences in national banking systems and fiscal regulation. However, a start was made in planning the establishment of European companies, with a community rather than national legal status. Large numbers of mergers increased the size of national companies, and association agreements with companies in member countries increased specialization and the penetration of foreign markets. The first decade of EEC's operation stimulated a vast productive boom in western Europe. The gross national product increased by over 5% annually. Trade among member countries of EEC rose even faster, quadrupling in 1958-1968.

The organization of a common market in agricultural products proved very difficult. Many European farms were inefficiently run by individual families lacking sufficient capital or land. West Germany helped balance its trade by importing agricultural goods from nonmembers in exchange for its industrial goods. France, the most efficient agricultural country, sought markets for its beef and cereals within EEC. Negotiations dragged on for 10 years. French President de Gaulle several times forced decisions on his unwilling partners by threatening to veto progress in other spheres and, in 1965-1966, by boycotting EEC for seven months.

The common aim was to permit agricultural goods to circulate freely at community-wide prices by 1969, to establish preference for EEC farmers by imposing levies on imports from nonmembers, and to set up an agricultural fund for improving European farming methods and for subsidizing the sale of EEC farm products on the world market. A complicated system of pricing was established for different groups of agricultural products, such as cereals and dairy products. Although the system was beneficial to certain products, such as rice and beef, it encouraged the production of unneeded surpluses in cereals and dairy products, and the cost of subsidizing exports and maintaining community prices imposed a heavy financial burden on EEC as a whole. Moreover, it failed to decrease the gap in income between industrial workers and farmers, who expressed their discontent on occasion in violent demonstrations.

The community was successful in moderating the disruptive effects of increased competition. During 1958-1968 the European Social Fund spent \$80 million in retraining and relocating industrial workers. The European Investment Bank made supplementary loans to aid the national development programs in southern Italy and southwestern France. Community regulations on cartels and mergers were carefully interpreted to increase the competitive powers of EEC companies. The major task envisaged for the 1970's was to complete the economic union by adopting common commercial policy, creating a common currency, and developing more active social and regional policies.

EEC's original supporters, however, were disappointed that more progress was not made toward political integration. In 1961-1962 a study commission presided over by Christian Fouchet drew up a plan for a political union with consultative powers only, but this was vetoed by Belgium and the Netherlands. In 1965 the EEC commission proposed that it be given a large income from receipts on the common external tariff and agricultural levies and that supervision of its use be given to the European Parliament. This plan, which would have made the commission an independent political authority, was vetoed by President de Gaulle. Finally, the fusion of the high authority of ECSC and the commissions of EEC and Euratom in 1968, while promoting efficiency, brought no greater political powers to the unified commission.

In 1961, British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan requested membership in EEC for Britain. Fifteen months of negotiations followed, but in January 1963, de Gaulle vetoed Britain's application on the grounds that Britain was not prepared to accept the conditions of membership. Britain opened new negotiations in 1970, and Ireland and Denmark requested admission at the same time. After another period of negotiations, agreement with EEC representatives was reached and was ratified in principle by Parliament in October 1971. In January 1973, Britain, Denmark, and Ireland formally joined the EEC.

Greece was admitted to associate membership in the EEC in 1961 (effective in 1962) and to full membership in 1979 (effective in 1981). Turkey also was admitted to associate membership in 1964, and both Spain and Portugal became full members in 1986.

**The European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom).** Euratom was founded to provide coordinated programs of research and development of atomic energy in Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and West Germany. It was administered by a five-member commission. Policy decisions were made by a council of ministers representing the national governments. The court of justice, the economic and social committee, and the European Parliament were common to Euratom, ECSC, and EEC. Technical advice was given by the scientific and technical committee and the consultative committee for nuclear research. The majority of the Euratom employees were workers in the four research centers set up in Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and West Germany, although Euratom also sponsored many projects by private companies and universities. Three atomic power stations were constructed, health codes for nuclear workers were drawn up, and a method of controlling the sale of fissionable materials through a supply agency was enforced. From 1961, however, several governments began doubting the value of the community. The expected shortage of conventional energy had not occurred. A glut in fissionable materials made the supply agency unnecessary. The programs instituted had produced energy at excessive cost. Above all, Euratom's funds were being used to sponsor national programs rather than a community-wide program. The main value of the European Atomic Energy Commission by the early 1970's was as a disseminator of new scientific knowledge.

**Other Technical Agencies: CERN, ESRO, and ELDO.** Euratom was able to build upon the research of the European Organization for Nuclear Research

### THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES

The three European communities—the European Coal and Steel Community, the European Economic Community, and the European Atomic Energy Community—are legally separate, but they have a common membership and share a common European parliament, court of justice, council of ministers, and commission. Members: Belgium, Denmark, France, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, the United Kingdom, and West Germany.

#### The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) (established in 1952)

Aim: "... to contribute to the economy, the development of employment and the improvement of the standard of living in the participating countries through the creation, in harmony with the general economy of the member states, of a common market" in coal and steel.

#### The European Economic Community (EEC) (established in 1958)

Aim: "... by establishing a Common Market and progressively approximating the economic policies of the member states, to promote throughout the Community a harmonious development of economic activities, a continuous and balanced expansion, an increased stability, an accelerated raising of the standard of living and closer relations between its member states."

#### The European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) (established in 1958)

Aim: "... to contribute to the raising of the standard of living in member states and to the development of commercial exchanges with other countries by the creation of conditions necessary for the speedy establishment and growth of nuclear industries."

(Conseil Européen pour la Recherche Nucléaire, or CERN), founded in 1953 for research in high-energy nuclear physics. It had 12 members—Austria, Belgium, Britain, Denmark, France, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and West Germany, while Poland, Turkey, and Yugoslavia had observer status. Its budget, supplied by the participating national governments, was used principally in support of research laboratories in Geneva, where scientists could do nonmilitary research.

Technical collaboration was extended to space research in 1962, with the foundation of the European Space Research Organization (ESRO) by Belgium, Britain, Denmark, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and West Germany with Austria as an observer. ESRO set up several research centers, such as the European Space Technology Center in Delft and the European Space Data Center in Darmstadt. Its scientists concentrated on construction of satellites that could be launched into space on U. S. rockets.

The European Space Vehicle Launcher Development Organization (ELDO) was founded in 1964, on British initiative, to construct a European rocket for launching space vehicles. Original members were Belgium, Britain, France, Italy, the Netherlands, West Germany, and Australia. High costs, technical problems, and the lack of a long-term program seriously delayed progress, however.

**The European Free Trade Association (EFTA).** The creation of EEC made the other countries of western Europe fearful of a loss in their exports to the six EEC members. Britain, which had refused to accept the supranational controls of

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# Simpson's Contemporary Quotations

Compiled by  
**James B Simpson**

Foreword by  
**Daniel J Boorstin**

random quotes  
on EC

(humorous but  
probably not  
usable)



Houghton Mifflin Company  
Boston 1988



1 We didn't have to do the minuets of diplomacy. We got down to business.

On Mikhail S Gorbachev, CBS TV 11 Mar 85

2 I have made it quite clear that a unified Ireland was one solution that is out. A second solution was a confederation of two states. That is out. A third solution was joint authority. That is out—that is a derogation of sovereignty.

After meeting with Irish Prime Minister Garret Fitzgerald to discuss ways of ending conflict in Northern Ireland, NY Times 20 Nov 85

3 I always cheer up immensely if an attack is particularly wounding because I think, well, if they attack me personally, it means they have not a single political argument left.

On criticism, London Daily Telegraph 21 Mar 86

4 If you lead a country like Britain, a strong country, a country which has taken a lead in world affairs in good times and in bad, a country that is always reliable, then you have to have a touch of iron about you.

On references to her as the Iron Lady, *ib*

5 I do not know anyone who has got to the top without hard work. That is the recipe. It will not always get you to the top, but should get you pretty near.

*ib*

6 If you want to cut your own throat, don't come to me for a bandage.

To Robert Mugabe, prime minister of Zimbabwe, who called for sanctions against South Africa, quoted in Time 7 Jul 86

7 What is success? I think it is a mixture of having a flair for the thing that you are doing; knowing that it is not enough, that you have got to have hard work and a certain sense of purpose.

Parade 13 Jul 86

8 To wear your heart on your sleeve isn't a very good plan; you should wear it inside, where it functions best.

On governing, interview with Barbara Walters 20/20 ABC TV 18 Mar 87

9 A world without nuclear weapons would be less stable and more dangerous for all of us.

To Soviet Premier Mikhail S Gorbachev, Time 27 Apr 87

OMAR TORRIJOS HERRERA, President of Panama

10 I don't like Communism because it hands out wealth through rationing books.

NY Times 7 Sep 77

PIERRE ELLIOTT TRUDEAU, Prime Minister of Canada

11 Canada will be a strong country when Canadians of all provinces feel at home in all parts of the country, and when they feel that all Canada belongs to them.

To Liberal Convention, Ottawa, 5 Apr 68

12 We wish nothing more, but we will accept nothing less. Masters in our own house we must be, but our house is the whole of Canada.

*ib*

13 The state has no business in the bedrooms of the nation.

Appeal for revised divorce laws, NY Times 16 Jun 68

14 Living next to you is in some ways like sleeping with an elephant. No matter how friendly and even-tempered is the beast, if I can call it that, one is affected by every twitch and grunt.

On relations with the US, *ib* 26 Mar 69

15 My life is one long curve, full of turning points.

New Yorker 5 Jul 69

16 I bear solemn witness to the fact that NATO heads of state and of government meet only to go through the tedious motions of reading speeches, drafted by others, with the principal objective of not rocking the boat.

First major address after leaving office, accepting Albert Einstein International Peace Prize, quoted in NY Times 14 Nov 84

HARRY S TRUMAN, 33rd US President

17 If I'd known how much packing I'd have to do, I'd have run again.

On leaving the White House, Time 26 Jan 53

18 Any man who has had the job I've had and didn't have a sense of humor wouldn't still be here.

News summaries 19 Apr 55

RICHARD VON WEIZSÄCKER, President of West Germany

19 There were many ways of not burdening one's conscience, of shunning responsibility, looking away, keeping mum. When the unspeakable truth of the Holocaust then became known at the end of the war, all too many of us claimed that they had not known anything about it or even suspected anything.

On 40th anniversary of end of World War II, quoted in NY Times 12 May 85

20 All of us, whether guilty or not, whether old or young, must accept the past. . . . It is not a case of coming to terms with the past. That is not possible. It cannot be subsequently modified or undone.

*ib*

21 Whoever refuses to remember the inhumanity is prone to new risks of infection.

*ib*

22 Seeking to forget makes exile all the longer; the secret of redemption lies in remembrance.

*ib*

HAROLD WILSON, Prime Minister of Great Britain

23 Given a fair wind, we will negotiate our way into the Common Market, head held high, not crawling in. Negotiations? Yes. Unconditional acceptance of whatever terms are offered us? No.

Address in Bristol 20 Mar 67

24 The main essentials of a successful prime minister [are] sleep and a sense of history.

The Governance of Britain Harper & Row 77

ZHOU ENLAI, Chinese Premier

25 All diplomacy is a continuation of war by other means.

Saturday Evening Post 27 Mar 54

26 China and North Vietnam are closely united to each other, like the lips and the teeth.

In Hanoi 5 Mar 71

## HUMOR & WIT

- ANDRÉ GIDE
- 1 It is unthinkable for a Frenchman to arrive at middle age without having syphilis and the Cross of the Legion of Honor.  
Recalled on his death 19 Feb 51
- FRANK L GILL, State Senator, Colorado
- 2 Last week we passed a birth-control bill. Now we are trying to pass a law to put the people to bed an hour earlier.  
On daylight-saving time legislation. *Quote* 18 Apr 65
- SAMUEL GOLDWYN
- 3 Any man who goes to a psychiatrist ought to have his head examined.  
One of many Goldwynisms attributed to him. recalled on his death 31 Jan 74
- MIKHAIL S GORBACHEV
- 4 If people don't like Marxism, they should blame the British Museum.  
On visit to British Museum Reading Room used by Karl Marx. *NY Times* 16 Dec 84
- SONDRA GOTLIEB, wife of Canadian ambassador to US
- 5 For some reason, a glaze passes over people's faces when you say Canada.  
*NY Times* 8 Jul 82
- BARRY GRAY
- 6 I get my exercise running to the funerals of my friends who exercise.  
*New York* 19 May 80
- VARTAN GREGORIAN, President, NY Public Library
- 7 Everybody is somebody, so you don't have to introduce anybody.  
At dinner honoring authors. *NY Times* 13 Nov 84
- EMMET GRIBBIN JR
- 8 The horse bit the pastor.  
How came this to pass?  
He heard the good pastor say,  
"All flesh is grass."  
Letter to *Living Church* 12 Aug 84
- ALAN HAMILTON
- 9 Some commoners are less common than others.  
On engagement of Prince Andrew to Sarah Ferguson, the niece of the Duchess of Gloucester. *London Times* 18 Mar 86
- GRACE HANSEN
- 10 A wedding is just like a funeral except that you get to smell your own flowers.  
Recalled on her death. Eugene OR *Register-Guard* 14 Jan 85
- AMANDA HILLIER, Administrator, Fauna and Flora Society of Britain
- 11 Driving round a bend and skidding on a mat of dead toads is very unpleasant for all concerned.  
On 20 tons of toads killed before opening of tunnels under roads to save them during mating season. quoted in *NY Times* 14 Mar 87
- HERBERT HOOVER, 31st US President
- 12 The thing I enjoyed most were visits from children. They did not want public office.  
On his White House years. *On Growing Up Morrow* 62
- 13 About the time we can make the ends meet, somebody moves the ends.  
Recalled on his death 20 Oct 64
- BOB HOPE
- 14 When she started to play, Steinway came down personally and rubbed his name off the piano.  
On comedian Phyllis Diller. *WNEW TV* 7 May 85
- 15 I have a wonderful make-up crew. They're the same people restoring the Statue of Liberty.  
At celebration of his 50 years in show business. *NY Times* 30 Apr 86
- ROBERT HUGHES
- 16 One gets tired of the role critics are supposed to have in this culture: It's like being the piano player in a warehouse; you don't have any control over the action going on upstairs.  
*Publishers Weekly* 12 Dec 86
- CAROLINE HUNTER
- 17 Hostesses will usually divide their guest list between those who shoot the birds and those who shoot the breeze.  
"English Country Weekends" *M* Sep 84
- BARBARA HUTTON
- 18 I've never seen a Brink's truck follow a hearse to the cemetery.  
On being told that she was being exploited. quoted by C David Heymann *Poor Little Rich Girl* Lyle Stuart 84
- ANTONY JAY
- 19 From now on you can keep the lot.  
Take every single thing you've got,  
Your land, your wealth, your men, your dames,  
Your dream of independent power,  
And dear old Konrad Adenauer,  
And stick them up your Eiffel Tower.  
On France's rejection of Great Britain as a member of the Common Market. *Time* 8 Feb 63
- POPE JOHN XXIII
- 20 Here I am at the end of the road and at the top of the heap.  
On succeeding Pius XII. *Time* 24 Nov 58
- 21 It often happens that I wake at night and begin to think about a serious problem and decide I must tell the pope about it. Then I wake up completely and remember that I am the pope!  
*ib* 1 Feb 60
- CARRIE JOHNSON
- 22 I for one appreciate a good form letter, having worked on Capitol Hill and learned several dozen cordial ways to say nothing.  
"Judging American Business by Its Writing Habits" *NY Times* 14 Jul 84

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# The Modern Dictionary of Quotations

A collection of familiar quotations and proverbs  
from early times to the present day  
compiled by

Robin Hyman  
"

general quote  
on  
European  
Community  
by William Gladstone



Evans Brothers Limited : London

IN CORCORAN *H.M.S. Pinafore*,  
Act 2

*Ib*

*Ib*

neral,  
eral,  
he fights historical,  
orical.  
*The Pirates of Penzance*, Act 1

ERGEANT *Ib*, Act 2

ERGEANT *Ib*

ing—

—

ERGEANT *Ib*

*Princess Ida*, Act 1

AND *Ib*

CHE *Ib*, Act 2

ed,

LADY PSYCHE *Ib*

*Ib*

3,

AMA *Ib*, Act 3

g—like 'Basingstoke'.

LAD MARGARET *Ruddigore*, Act 2

JUDGE *Trial by Jury*

1,

DAME CARRUTHERS

*The Yeomen of the Guard*, Act 1

AIRFAX *Ib*

1 POINT: I have a song to sing, O!

ELSIE: Sing me your song, O!

POINT: It is sung to the moon

By a love-lorn loon.

*The Yeomen of the Guard*, Act 1

2 It's a song of a merryman, moping mum,  
Whose soul was sad, and whose glance was glum,  
Who sipped no sup, and who craved no crumb,  
As he sighed for the love of a ladye.

POINT

*Ib*

3 For he who'd make his fellow-creatures wise  
Should always gild the philosophic pill!

POINT

*Ib*

4 Were I thy bride,  
Then all the world beside  
Were not too wide  
To hold my wealth of love—  
Were I thy bride!

PHOEBE

*Ib*

5 Oh! a private buffoon is a light-hearted loon,  
If you listen to popular rumour.

POINT

*Ib*, Act 2

6 It is purely a matter of skill,  
Which all may attain if they will:  
But every Jack,  
He must study the knack  
If he wants to make sure of his Jill!

ELSIE, PHOEBE AND FAIRFAX

*Ib*

**GLADSTONE, William Ewart, 1809-1898**

7 You cannot fight against the future. Time is on our side.

*Speech on  
Reform Bill, 1866*

8 [*The Turks*] one and all, bag and baggage, shall, I hope, clear out from the  
province they have desolated and profaned.

*Speech, House of Commons,  
7 May 1877*

9 All the world over, I will back the masses against the classes.

*Speech,  
Liverpool, 28 June 1886*

10 We are part of the community of Europe, and we must do our duty as such.

*Speech, Carnarvon, 10 April 1888*

**GLASSE, Hannah, 18th century**

11 Take your hare when it is cased.

*Art of Cookery (Often misquoted as  
'First catch your hare' and wrongly attributed to Mrs. Beeton)*

**GLENN, Colonel John Herschel, 1921—**

12 It was hot in there.

*Remark after return from orbit, 20 Feb. 1962*

**GLOUCESTER, William Henry, Duke of, 1743-1805**

13 Another damned, thick, square book! Always scribble, scribble, scribble!  
Eh! Mr. Gibbon?

*Attributed*

**GLOVER-KIND, John A., ?-1918**

14 I do Like to be Beside the Seaside.

*Title of Song*

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# Simpson's Contemporary Quotations

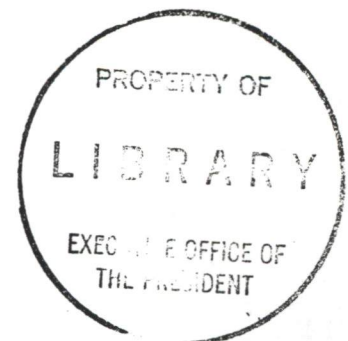
Compiled by  
**James B Simpson**

Foreword by  
**Daniel J Boorstin**

Monnet  
quote



Houghton Mifflin Company  
Boston 1988



DAVID GLICKMAN, President, Amer Kefir Co

1 More people think it's a new Israeli jet fighter than something to eat.

On kefir, a low-calorie product originally fermented from mare's milk by Tartars wandering in Asia and now marketed under various trade names, quoted by Jonathan Prober "Yogurt's 'Cousin'" *NY Times* 25 Sep 86

ROBERTO C GOIZUETA, Chairman, Coca-Cola

2 Smoother, rounder, yet bolder.

On the new formula that replaced the 99-year-old still-secret concoction originally called "Brain Tonic and Intellectual Beverage." *People* 13 May 85

SYLVAN N GOLDMAN

3 [The customers] had a tendency to stop shopping when the baskets became too full or too heavy.

On why he designed the first grocery carts in the 1930s, recalled on his death. *NY Times* 27 Nov 84

JOHN JAY HOOKER

4 A Federal Express of fast food.

Objective for Hooker's Hamburgers. *NY Times* 14 Apr 85

E THOMAS HUGHES, founder, Potato Museum, Washington DC

5 We're serious but not solemn about potatoes here. The potato has lots of eyes, but no mouth. That's where I come in.

*Christian Science Monitor* 7 Jul 86

MACY'S DEPARTMENT STORE

6 Values like these only reach shallow waters twice a year.

On salmon sales timed to coincide with Jewish holy days, advertisement in *NY Times* 1 Oct 86

JEAN MONNET, cognac distiller and statesman

7 The great thing about making cognac is that it teaches you above everything else to wait—man proposes, but time and God and the seasons have got to be on your side.

Recalled on his death. *Time* 26 Mar 79

PETER MORRELL, vintner

8 I edit out the bad stuff and deliver the good stuff. Seventy-five percent of all wine is awful.

Quoted in "Wine Wars" *Manhattan Inc* Jul 85

PAUL NEWMAN

9 For those of you who like to scarf your popcorn in the sack, the good news is that Newman's Own contains an aphrodisiac.

On adding popcorn to his special line of products developed for a multimillion-dollar corporation run as a philanthropy. *Newsweek* 13 Aug 84

10 The star of oil and vinegar and the oil and vinegar of the stars.

Label for his salad dressing. *NY Times* 25 Jan 85

NORTH CAROLINA TRAVEL DEPARTMENT

11 If you are what you eat, a visit to North Carolina could make you a very interesting person.

Advertisement picturing grits soufflé, squab pie, wild persimmon pudding, green tomato pie and "pig-pickin' cake" to show that "a visit to North Carolina is more than food for the appetite. It's also food for the soul." *Sports Illustrated* 31 Mar 86

PHILIPPE DE ROTHSCHILD

12 Excellent wine generates enthusiasm. And whatever you do with enthusiasm is generally successful.

*W* 9 May 80

HERSHEL SHAPIRO, co-owner, Brooklyn Bagel Co, Tulsa OK

13 We have cowboys coming in who have heard about bagels through word of mouth. They'll ask for a "bangle" or a "bockle," but after their first bite they love it. They come back.

On spreading popularity of the bagel. *NY Times* 17 May 86

WILLIAM SOKOLIN, vintner

14 What is the definition of a good wine? It should start and end with a smile.

Advertisement in *NY Times* 15 Dec 84

LEO STEINER

15 They didn't even have enough brains to take a couple of good pastrami sandwiches.

On being robbed at the delicatessen he operated next to Carnegie Hall for 50 years. *NY Times* 7 Feb 86

ROY STOUT, Director of Market Research, Coca-Cola

16 They fell in love with the memory of old Coke.

On the public's rejection of a new formula for the company's 99-year-old soft drink. *NY Times* 12 Jul 85

M TAITTINGER, French champagne vintner

17 You put your left index finger on your eye and your right index finger on the cheese . . . if they sort of feel the same, the cheese is ready.

On how to test the ripeness of a Camembert cheese. *This Week* 10 Jul 66

ALAIN DE VOGUE, French vintner

18 Can you imagine opening a bottle of champagne with a bottle opener. I can't. It would eliminate half the fun.

On movement to substitute bottle caps for corks. *National Observer* 1 Jul 63

JOSHUA WESSON, wine consultant

19 I didn't know which way I was going to die—run through, conked or poisoned.

On approach of a man with a sword, a gnarled stick and a silver goblet during ceremony in which he became a knight in the prestigious wine society La Commanderies des Côtes du Rhône. *NY Times* 1 Feb 87

## Observers & Critics

JONATHAN AITKEN

20 If you find an Australian indoors, it's a fair bet that he will have a glass in his hand.

*Land of Fortune* Secker & Warburg 71

21 Breaking a glass in the northwest is rather like belching in Arabia, for it appears to be done as a mark of appreciation or elation.

*ib*

22 In Port Headland, happiness comes smithereen-shaped.

*ib*

9 April 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR CURT

FROM: JAG  
SUBJECT: COLUMBUS COLOR

- 1) Columbus Day is October 12 -- officially kicking off the Columbus quinentennial.
- 2) Adjectives for Columbus: "this enigmatic Genoan," "humbly born, the son of a Genovese weaver," "deeply devout, charged with messianic zeal," "if there was a single key to his character, it was his intense religiosity. Columbus had a fundamental belief in the Bible and a sense of destiny that was clearly messianic."
- 3) Columbus, Ohio is the largest city in the world bearing the expolorer's name. The replica of the Santa Maria in the Scioto River was christened October. 11.
- 4) Washington Irving in 1828 called Columbus "a man of great and inventive genius."
- 5) "No man has done more to change the course of human history than Christopher Columbus."  
--Edward Channing, History of the United States, 1905.
- 6) Columbus believed that the mariner must, as he put it, probe "the secrets of this world."

EXCERPTS

- 1) "...Columbus' journey was the first step in a long process that eventually produced the United States of America, a daring experiment in democracy that in turn became a symbol and a haven of individual liberty for people throughout the world. But the revolution that began with his voyages was far greater than that. It altered science, geography, philosophy, agriculture, law, religion, ethics, government - the sum, in other words, of what passed at the time as Western Culture."  
--Time, October 7, 1991

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**THE ALMANAC  
OF DATES**

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**EVENTS OF THE PAST FOR  
EVERY DAY OF THE YEAR**

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**LINDA MILLGATE**

---

Harcourt Brace Jovanovich      New York and London

AC OF DATES  
Events  
the Past  
Every Day  
the Year  
]

- 1930 Queen Elizabeth II of England born  
Robert Bridges, England's Poet Laureate, died
- 1952 Fire struck the penitentiary at Columbus, Ohio  
Granville Fortescue, soldier-playwright, died
- 1955 U.S. cruiser St. Paul damaged off Korea  
U.S. ratified the treaty giving sovereignty to  
West Germany
- 1956 Charles MacArthur, playwright, died
- 1960 Brasilia declared the new capital city of  
Brazil
- 1962 Century 21 Exposition opened at Seattle,  
Washington
- 1965 Paul Jung, clown, died  
New York City's World's Fair opened for the  
second season
- 1967 Kastraki hydroelectric project begun on the  
Acheloos River, Greece
- 1968 Molniya 1-H, Russian communications satellite,  
launched
- 1969 Bruce Tulloh of England left Los Angeles to  
break the transcontinental run  
record
- 1971 Independence Day celebration at Riobamba,  
Ecuador  
"Papa Doc" Duvalier, Haiti's president for life,  
died
- 1905, 1916, 2000, 2079 Good Friday  
1935, 1946, 1957, 2019, 2030, 2041, 2052 Easter  
1963, 1968, 1974, 2047, 2058, 2069 Quasimodo or Low  
Sunday

April 22nd

- Arbor Day in Nebraska  
Feast of St. Conrad of Parzham  
Feast of St. Theodore of Sykeon
- 536 AD St. Agapetus, Pope, died
- 960 Basil II crowned Emperor of the Eastern Roman  
Empire
- 1370 Construction of the Bastille, Paris fortress  
and prison, begun
- 1418 Council of Constance, reuniting the Roman  
Catholic Church after the Great  
Schism, ended
- 1451 Queen Isabella of Spain, backer of Columbus,  
Born
- 1500 Pedro Alvarez de Cabral landed in Brazil and  
claimed it for Portugal
- 1541 St. Ignatius of Loyala, founder of the Society  
of Jesus (Jesuits), elected its  
first general
- 1707 Henry Fielding, English novelist, born

land born  
Poet Laureate, died  
ary at Columbus, Ohio  
er-playwright, died  
ged off Korea  
iving sovereignty to

ght, died  
capital city of  
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Portugal  
der of the Society  
ts), elected its

list, born

- 1711 Eleazar Wheelock, founder of Moor's Indian  
Charity School (now Dartmouth  
College), born
- 1774 New York Tea Party
- 1793 U.S. declared neutrality in the war between  
Britain and France
- 1796 French-Austrian battle at Mondovi, Italy
- 1827 Thomas Rowlandson, English artist, died
- 1832 Julius S. Morton, originator of Arbor Day, born
- 1834 St. Helena Island became English crown property
- 1861 Robert E. Lee left home to take charge of  
Virginia's troops
- 1864 "In God We Trust" became the U.S. motto
- 1870 Lenin, Russian revolutionary, born (national  
holiday)
- 1879 Assassination attempt failed on King Umberto of  
Italy  
The Forward, world's largest Jewish daily  
newspaper, first published
- 1884 Colchester, England, rocked by an earthquake
- 1886 Abram Joseph Ryan, "Poet of the Confederacy,"  
died
- 1889 Oklahoma Territory land rush for homesteaders  
(state holiday)
- 1891 Blanco Encalada exploded in Caldera Bay
- 1892 First U.S. anatomy school, Wistar Institute,  
incorporated
- 1904 Robert J. Oppenheimer, physicist, born
- 1908 Eddie Albert, actor, born
- 1915 Second battle of Ypres began and gas was first  
used as a weapon
- 1916 Yehudi Menuhin, violinist, born
- 1928 Keech, in a White-Triplex car, set a land  
speed record of 207.552 mph
- 1929 Japan's Toyo Kuni Maru wrecked on Rocky Cape  
Erino
- 1930 Naval reduction treaty of London signed by U.S.,  
Britain, France, Italy, and Japan
- 1964 New York World's Fair opened for the first  
season
- 1969 Bermuda Peppercorn Ceremony in St. George held
- 1970 Intelstat III F7, communications satellite,  
launched
- 1971 Start of Summer (Holiday in Iceland)  
Soyuz 10, Russian manned space orbiter, launched
- 2011, 2095 Good Friday
- 1962, 1973, 1984, 2057, 2068 Easter'
- 1906, 1979, 1990, 2001, 2063, 2074, 2085, 2096 Quasimodo  
or Low Sunday

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April 23rd  
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Beginning of a two-day fair at Dover, England

Ref.  
D11  
D85  
WH

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# *A Dictionary of Days*

Leslie Dunkling



**Facts On File Publications**  
New York, New York • Oxford, England

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22

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23

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25

Lady Day · Annunciation · Maryland Day · Greek Independence Day

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26

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27

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28

Dismal Day

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30

Seward's Day

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31

NOTE

*Also in March: Commonwealth Day · Friday in Lide · International Women's Day ·  
Lifeboat Day*

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## April

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1

All Fools' Day · April Fools' Day

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2

Taily Day

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10

Dismal Day · Tenth of April

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11

Calendar

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12

Halifax Day

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13

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14

Pan-American Day

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15

Swallow Day

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16

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17

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18

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19

Primrose Day

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20

Dismal Day

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21

San Jacinto Day

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22

Arbor Day

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23

St George's Day · Shakespeare's Birthday

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24

Secretaries' Day

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25

Anzac Day · St Mark's Day

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26

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27

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28

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29

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30

Walpurgis Night

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NOTE

*Also in April: Geranium Day · Patriots' Day*

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DATE: 4/09/92

TO: Jennifer Grossman  
The White House

FROM: Iêda Siqueira Wiarda  
Luso-Brazilian Specialist

MESSAGE: Regarding Prime Minister Cavaco Silva

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

TO : Jennifer Grossman  
The White House  
Fax: (202) 456-7750

FROM : Iêda Siqueira Wiarda *JW*  
Luso-Brazilian Specialist  
Fax: (202) 707-2005; phone (202) 707-2776

SUBJECT : Prime Minister Cavaco Silva

DATE: 4/09/92

*Professor of economics  
for  
Algarve*

Prime Minister Aníbal Cavaco Silva is described by some as "austere" and by others as a "technocrat". However, this professor-turned-politician's popularity and landslide re-election last October 6 demonstrate an exciting revitalization of the Portuguese nation. A recent (March 28th) poll by the major newspaper Expresso showed that, were Cavaco to run for the presidency, he would decisively beat other well known candidates. For example, against former president Ramalho Eanes, people would vote 47.9% to 28.8% in favor of Cavaco, with 23.3% undecided.

Cavaco [the way in which Portuguese usually refer to their Prime Minister] is a member of the center-right Social Democrats (PSD), which control the Parliament. 135 of the Parliament's 230 seats are occupied by the PSD. Their closest competitor, the Socialist Party (PS), controls only 72. Communists (PCP) and the Christian Democrats (CDS) which together control 22 seats, have seen a severe erosion of party support in recent years.

These changes are seen by many as a shift in the priorities of Portuguese citizens. In the words of one journalist, "they now want to make and spend money and enjoy life rather than be caught up in the political soap opera". The move away from socialism is indicative of Portugal's economic progress since joining the EC in 1986. Since then prolonged political stability and favorable world economic conditions have resulted in unforeseen domestic progress.

This financial windfall has allowed some Portuguese companies to internationalize in preparation for the unified market. For example, Banco Comercial Português (BCP), Portugal's fastest growing private bank, has recently entered a joint venture with Spain's Banco Popular Español to open a Banco Popular Comercial in France. Their goal is to attract French clients interested in the Iberian market. BCP also plans to establish a new housing finance bank in conjunction with Cariplo, Italy's state-run savings bank.

Will this economic upswing continue? Cavaco hopes so. The Prime Minister says, "The worst thing is to be indecisive, fearing to make a mistake. I received a country in a state of backwardness, where politicians made lots of speeches about all the things that needed to be done but were never done. I introduced a new style to Portuguese politics. I resolved to move to practical action... For

me, politics has only one meaning: practical action, the possibility of doing things which serve the country." [Quoted in The Portuguese American, Feb. 12, 1992.]

During a press conference that was held on the 31st of January, 1992 Cavaco stated: "This is a moment of particular significance for our country; for the first time we have a determining role in the process and the goals of the Council of Europe. I am particularly pleased with our role in bringing about a unified and reasonable position in relation of Yugoslavia.... We were also asked to coordinate the participation of the Community in the Washington Conference on the humanitarian aid to the republics of the former Soviet Union. For us, the stability of that area of the world is of the greatest importance, and thus we have joined with others in fostering appropriate help to the former Soviet Union.

We are also very interested in helping foment a positive role for the EC in the peace process in the Middle East. We are equally involved in helping strengthen the ties between the European Community and the Southern Hemisphere. Here, Portugal's traditional and historical interest in Brazil, in Angola and elsewhere has helped in the building of a bridge between the Community and these countries."

In Maastricht, the Netherlands, February 1992, Cavaco opened the EC Conference by declaring that "This is a process without parallel in contemporary history.... Given its historical traditions, Portugal is willing and prepared to serve as a bridge between the twelve countries and those of Africa and South America, particularly those that were its former colonies.... We look forward to bringing about results in the area of real citizenship rights because Portugal believes that Europeans will support political union as long as it reflects their desire for economic progress and social justice."

During Cavaco's Press Conference, March 2, 1992, commemorating the 2nd month of Portugal's presidency of the EC Council, he stated: "Portugal has been unwavering in its support for democracy, for peace and human rights, which we consider as the basic conditions for development and for the widening of cooperation. With this in mind, Portugal has actively promoted the involvement of the European Community in the peaceful process for democratization of Angola. It facilitated the visit of foreign relations ministers from the EC to India in order to assess the relations between the community and that country with the goal of fostering greater economic collaboration and a more open political dialogue."

Press Conference, April 6, 1992

"In relation to Yugoslavia and the former Soviet Union, we were able to help avoid the predictions of sheer catastrophe that prevailed in December of 1991. Utilizing diplomatic and economic

means, the EC, with the collaboration of international organizations such as the UN, and ensuring the close coordination with our North American allies, we helped the Community under our leadership to provide essential support in bringing about the indispensable conditions for stability in Central and East Europe.

As President of the EC, we have accompanied the developments and we have consistently encouraged the opening to democracy in South Africa. We have offered our good offices to help ensure the flowering of democracy in that country as well as the refashioning of new links between South Africa and the European Community."

#### Portuguese Proverbs:

Many Portuguese proverbs highlight the country's proverbial hospitality and the people's natural tendency to help others in their community. Among the most used are:

"Uma casa às ordens" = My house is at your disposal

"Uma casa portuguesa com certeza, pão e vinho na mesa" = It is certainly a Portuguese house with bread and wine on the table

"O que se levanta cedo, prepara o seu, e mais o alheio" = He who gets up early, does his own work and that of his neighbors

Since April and May are beautiful months in the country, certain proverbs might be appropriate to use, for example "Abril e maio são a chave do ano" = April and May are the key to the year

Other proverbs illustrate friendliness and/or sagacity:

"Amigo um, inimigo nenhum" = With one friend, no enemies

"Cada um é filho dos seus feitos" = Each person is the son of his deeds

"Saber vender o peixe" = (literally) to know how to sell a fish = (true meaning) to obtain what one wants with ability

"Quem fala assim não é gago" = He who speaks the truth is not mute

"Viver em boa paz" = (literally) to live in good peace = (true meaning) to get along with others is to live in peace

"Vir às boas" = (literally) to come to goodness = (true meaning) to end peacefully some dispute that looked as though it might explode

into violence; to bring along peaceful and harmonious purposes

"Falar ao coração" = To speak to the heart



LEVEL 1 - 1 OF 14 STORIES

Copyright 1992 Reuters  
The Reuter Library Report

April 6, 1992, Monday, BC cycle

LENGTH: 555 words

HEADLINE: PORTUGUESE PRIME MINISTER SEES INTEREST RATES FALLING

BYLINE: By Stephen Brown

DATELINE: LISBON, April 6

KEYWORD:  
PORTUGAL-RATES

BODY:

Portuguese interest rates should fall several percentage points this year as a result of the escudo entering the European Community's exchange rate mechanism (ERM), Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva said on Monday.

The Reuter Library Report, April 6, 1992

'Interest rates should fall today...according to information given to us from the Bank of Portugal which has been confirmed by other major banks,' he said, adding: 'I would not be surprised if rates fell a good few percentage points this year.'

Shortly before he spoke at a news conference, the Bank of Portugal reduced its rates for intervening in the money markets and state-owned Caixa Geral de Depositos, Portugal's largest bank, cut its prime rate to 18 per cent from 18.5 per cent.

Caixa said the move was 'justified, fundamentally, by the escudo's entry to the European Monetary System's exchange rate mechanism.' After Caixa's lead, Banco Espirito Santo e Comercial de Lisboa SA cut its prime rate by 0.525 percentage points to 18.125 per cent. Other banks were expected to follow.

Cavaco Silva said he was surprised by the strength of the escudo's rise against the pound sterling on Monday, which forced the Bank of Portugal to intervene to help the pound by buying at 241.80, 241.90 and 242.00 escudos.

'We were expecting the escudo to rise today, but not so strongly against the pound,' he said. The central bank also bought marks at 85.35 escudos to dampen the escudo's rise.



## The Reuter Library Report, April 6, 1992

Britain's fears that the escudo's entry would further weaken sterling were one of the reasons why the EC's monetary committee rejected Portugal's proposal for a central ERM rate of 180 escudo to the European currency unit.

The committee decided on 178.735 escudos per Ecu, devaluing the Portuguese currency by 1.6 per cent. Cavaco Silva pointed out that this smaller devaluation was better for interest rates.

'The fact that the escudo entered in a stronger position than the government wanted will cause a quicker fall in interest rates,' he said.

Asked why he could not wait until after the British general election on April 9 -- market nervousness ahead of the poll is already putting extra pressure on the pound -- to bring Portugal into the EC's currency grid, Cavaco replied: 'Why should we pay the bill for a devalued pound?'

The prime minister's announcement on Friday that he had requested ERM membership surprised financial markets and his EC partners, who expected him to wait until Portugal's high inflation approached the Community average.

Cavaco Silva's most recent statement on ERM entry said it would come 'some Friday before 1994.'

## The Reuter Library Report, April 6, 1992

'Inflation has been falling constantly for some months and after analysing the movement of different currencies in relation to the escudo, we thought it was the right Friday,' he said on Monday.

Portugal's average annual inflation rate stood at 10.2 per cent in February while year-on-year inflation was eight per cent compared to a 4.7 per cent EC average.

Cavaco Silva hopes the ERM will help his centre-right government reach its 1992 target of eight per cent average annual inflation and put Portugal on the path to qualify for monetary union in 1997.

EC finance ministers agreed last December on a tough economic programme under which Lisbon pledged to bring down its inflation rate and reduce budget deficit within three years.

TYPE:  
Financial



LEVEL 1 - 2 OF 14 STORIES

Copyright 1992 Reuters

April 5, 1992, Sunday, BC cycle

SECTION: Money Report.

LENGTH: 197 words

HEADLINE: ECU CHOSEN AS ESCUDO ERM REFERENCE CURRENCY

DATELINE: BRUSSELS, APRIL 5, REUTER

BODY:

The Ecu scored a small victory in the fight to be taken seriously as a currency when it, not the deutschemark, was used as the benchmark in negotiations to set the central rate of the escudo in joining the exchange rate mechanism of the EMS.

When the peseta and sterling joined the ERM, a central rate was first agreed against the mark, then all the other bilateral central rates were calculated based on the mark rate.

Reuters, April 5, 1992

But Portugal for the first time requested that the benchmark central rate for the escudo be against the Ecu.

Once this parity of 178.735 to the Ecu was agreed on Saturday, all the other rates including that of the mark were calculated from it.

"The decision of this government to choose the European Currency Unit as the reference for the escudo entry... nderlines the growing importance of the Ecu," Portuguese Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva said Friday in announcing the decision to put the escudo in the mechanism.

Some supporters of an EC Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) want the Ecu to one day be the single currency of Europe. But Germany has been cool to the idea, saying of late that a future EC currency might be called the Euromark.



LEVEL 1 - 3 OF 14 STORIES

Copyright 1992 The Financial Times Limited;  
Financial Times

April 4, 1992, Saturday

SECTION: Pg. 24

LENGTH: 436 words

HEADLINE: Portugal applies to join ERM

BYLINE: By PATRICK BLUM and PETER MARSH

DATELINE: LISBON, LONDON

BODY:

PORTUGAL made a surprise application to join the European Monetary System's exchange rate mechanism yesterday, underscoring its commitment to controlling inflation.

The escudo will join the ERM on Monday at a central rate against the D-Mark of Esc87.6, assuming Portugal's application is accepted by a meeting today of

Financial Times, April 4, 1992

Community officials.

The move, which is unlikely to have any impact on sterling, will mean that all 12 EC members, except Greece, have their currencies pegged to the D-Mark within the ERM. The Portuguese currency, like those of Spain and Britain, will be allowed to fluctuate in a wide, 6 per cent band. All other units have a narrow, 2.25 per cent band.

The ERM is seen as a system for bringing down inflation by restricting opportunities for currencies to lose value. Portugal intends to join the mechanism at a relatively high central rate, signalling a desire to follow tough monetary policies.

The decision was announced yesterday by Mr Anibal Cavaco Silva, the prime minister, after a special cabinet meeting.

The escudo's central rate will be Esc180 against the European Currency Unit (Ecu). A meeting today of the EC's monetary committee will review the procedures for entry and set limits for the escudo's links with the other currencies in the system.



Financial Times, April 4, 1992

The move was not expected until later this year or early in 1993 when inflation - 10.2 per cent at the end of February on an annualised basis - was expected to be substantially reduced.

Currencies, Page 13

LEVEL 1 - 4 OF 14 STORIES

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April 3, 1992, Friday, BC cycle

SECTION: Money Report.

LENGTH: 456 words

HEADLINE: ESCUDO IN ERM SEEN HELPING PORTUGUESE INFLATION

BYLINE: By Stephen Brown

DATELINE: LISBON, APRIL 3, REUTER

BODY:

Portugal's surprise request for entry to the EC's exchange rate mechanism (ERM) should help it reach its ambitious 1992 inflation target, but some analysts say such a prediction could be premature.

"With the escudo's entry to the ERM, the fall in inflation gains more credibility," said a government statement which followed Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva's announcement.



Reuters, April 3, 1992

"Joining (ERM) will have positive effects even for reducing inflation," agreed Jose Figueira, vice-president of the Portuguese subsidiary of Renault.

The government has set a 1992 inflation target of eight to nine pct on an average annual basis, but this stood at 10.2 pct in February.

Portugal requested entry to the ERM's six-pct narrow band at 180 escudos against the Ecu, equivalent to 87.60 escudos to the mark -- a devaluation since the escudo had already closed on Friday at 86.35/40 to the mark.

In unofficial trading following the announcement, the Portuguese currency weakened to 86.50/87.00 to the mark and settled at 85.30/86.30.

Portuguese industry has long complained that the rise of the escudo since it was freed from its crawling peg three-pct yearly devaluation in October 1990 -- precisely to prepare for ERM entry -- has hurt exports.

Jose Araujo Silva, financial manager of Portugal's largest private industrial holding, Sonae Investimentos SA, said ERM entry was bound to be a boost for Portuguese investments.

Reuters, April 3, 1992

"It was the right decision," he told Reuters. "The (escudo's ERM entry) rate will give Portuguese exports back some of the competitiveness they had lost."

The government's decision to join ERM took the markets unawares, since the Bank of Portugal had said it should be delayed until inflation neared the EC average, and certainly should not take place before end-1992 or 1993.

But bankers had suspected that Finance Minister Jorge Braga de Macedo might go for the politically attractive option of joining ERM during Portugal's six-month presidency of the EC, which ends in June.

Fernando Ulrich, vice-president of the Banco Portugues de Investimento (BPI), said he was not surprised the government had taken this option.

But economist Alfredo de Sousa said it was premature. He accused Cavaco Silva of taking a decision motivated by "personal vanity and political success."

The escudo's entry at 180 per Ecu has to be approved on Saturday afternoon by the EC's monetary committee in Brussels, but EC monetary officials said they did not expect problems.

ERM members Britain and Italy both said the escudo's arrival



Reuters, April 3, 1992

would not make a realignment of the ERM necessary. A Spanish finance ministry official said the escudo's entrance would not speed the promotion of the peseta to the ERM's narrow band.

LEVEL 1 - 5 OF 14 STORIES

Copyright (c) The Bureau of National Affairs, Inc., 1991  
BNA International Environment Daily

March 13, 1991

LENGTH: 883 words

EC/Agriculture  
EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT APPROVES PLANS FOR  
"ENVIRONMENTALLY FRIENDLY" AGRICULTURE

STRASBOURG, FRANCE (BNA) -- The European Parliament approved March 12 the agricultural committee's recommendations on a European Community Commission proposal to encourage agricultural production methods compatible with environmental protection needs.

A revision of the European Community's common agricultural policy is a necessary step in balancing farm production with growing environmental concerns, the European Parliament's agricultural committee declared late March 11.



BNA International Environment Daily (c) BNA, Inc. March 13, 1991

The Parliament March 12 also approved, with amendments, a Commission proposal to facilitate the free movement of plants within the EC after 1992.

Reviewing the proposal to encourage environmentally friendly agricultural production methods, committee spokesman Joaquim Miranda da Silva told Parliament that CAP has resulted in overproduction of EC farmland and a breakdown in the balance of nature. An overall plan for agriculture was lacking, which the Commission needed to address immediately, he added.

The Commission has proposed to revise a number of aid programs, which either expired at the end of 1990 or were found to be ineffective. Among the programs are compensation payments to farmers in environmentally sensitive areas (ESA) to encourage a reduction in the use of fertilizers and the setting aside of 20 percent or more of arable land to fallow. The Commission expressed its disappointment in the small number of farmers taking up the set-aside incentives and the fact that only four EC countries (Britain, Denmark, Germany and the Netherlands) have established ESA programs.

Specific Commission proposals include the introduction of obligation programs in member states to reduce the use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides coupled with optional programs to encourage environmentally friendly farming practices, with aid set at 180 European Currency Units per

BNA International Environment Daily (c) BNA, Inc. March 13, 1991

hectare to compensate for production losses. Farmers who set aside land for conservation will also be compensated at 100 ECU per hectare for lost production up to a maximum of 20 years.

While generally welcoming the Commission proposal, Miranda da Silva complained that the Commission was simply continuing to adopt piecemeal policies instead of formulating a general agricultural policy. On specific points the committee spokesman proposed a number of amendments, including an increase in the compensation payment made to farmers and the extension of the set-aside program for a maximum of 30 years.

Replying on behalf of the Commission, Ray MacSharry told Parliament that while he could support most of the proposed amendments, measures to increase the maximum set-aside period and extend benefits to farmers already using extensive farming methods were unacceptable. He also declined to support, for the moment, Parliament's call for compensation increases.

The Parliament also amended two Commission proposals setting up a single EC standard for plant health measure, which will allow plants to be shipped freely throughout the Community. Under the present system member states have separate rules governing the movement of plants, but the Commission has proposed to introduce a "plant passport," which will indicate compliance with



BNA International Environment Daily (c) BNA, Inc. March 13, 1991

new EC standards.

Under the first proposal all plant producers will have to be officially registered at the EC level and health checks will be increased either at the point of production or at external EC borders in the case of non-EC imports. The EC will also be divided into zones defined in terms of plant geography and the presence of diseases, with special protection for areas free of disease.

The second proposal will arrange financial assistance for member states to offset the cost of controlling plant diseases. Member states will also be liable for compensation claims from other EC states if inadequate plant checks lead to the spread of diseases across national boundaries.

Reporting for the Parliament's agricultural committee, Jose Vazquez Fouz supported the Commission proposal but declared that number of deficiencies needed to be addressed. The plant passport, he argued, should not be granted by the producer as envisaged under the Commission proposal even though they are to be supervised by official bodies. The establishment of zones should be avoided to insure free movement of plants, and more details are needed to define the minimum duties of phytosanitary inspectors. In addition, tighter checks were needed on the import of non-EC produce such as lemons and

BNA International Environment Daily (c) BNA, Inc. March 13, 1991

tropical and subtropical fruits.

Commissioner Ray MacSharry told Parliament that he was ready to accept most of its amendments but defended the Commission decision to establish zones, which he argued was necessary to effectively combat the spread of plant diseases.

Although the Commission has agreed to incorporate many of Parliament's amendments in the proposal texts, it is under no legal obligation to accept them. The proposals will now go to the Council of Ministers for final approval.



LEVEL 1 - 1 OF 296 DOCUMENTS  
Public Papers of the Presidents  
Declaration of San Antonio  
28 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 354  
February 27, 1992

LENGTH: 7202 words

SAN ANTONIO DRUG SUMMIT 1992

We, the Presidents of Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Peru, and the United States of America, and the Minister of Foreign Relations of Venezuela, met in San Antonio, Texas, on the 26th and 27th of February, one thousand nine hundred and ninety-two and issued the following.

DECLARATION OF SAN ANTONIO

We recognize that the Cartagena Declaration, issued on February 15, 1990, by the Presidents of Bolivia, Colombia, Peru, and the United States of America, laid the foundation for the development of a comprehensive and multilateral

28 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 138

As we come together during these 2 days and then certainly in the months ahead, let us do so constructively, in the spirit of partnership, avoiding sterile debates over which one of us has done the most or the least and which should lead our response to this historic challenge.

All of us have a role and obligation to fulfill. And many of us have already undertaken concrete actions to help. The European Community has shouldered a major and generous share of the burden. Its prompt actions over several years to provide humanitarian support were vitally important, and its commitment to a vigorous technical assistance program is far-reaching and most welcomed.

Germany alone has assumed enormous responsibility in providing military housing and in channeling credits to the former U.S.S.R. and now to the Federation, to the Russian Federation. Other EC governments have made important contributions. The Atlantic alliance stands ready to help with the knowledge that the peoples of the former U.S.S.R. are moving toward the same values that have sustained NATO since its birth.

It is especially satisfying to see here today our friends from Central and Eastern Europe as the pioneers in discarding communism and embracing democracy. You are here as symbols of success. And though you still face problems yourselves, the world applauds your willingness to help freedom elsewhere.



## 28 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 138

The challenges before us require efforts not just from Europe but from other regions and countries as well. Japan has made important contributions, commitments, and will be critical to this effort. And now other nations in the Far East and the Middle East and Latin America should commit their expertise, their resources to assure the success of reform.

And I can assure you today that the United States, which for so long has led the struggle to contain communism, is also contributing its share so that democracy is its permanent replacement. For over 40 years, we have led in the reconstruction and defense of the free world. And now that the torch of liberty has sparked freedom among our former adversaries, the greatest good of our long labor is at last visible.

The U.S. cannot and will not falter at the moment that these new States are struggling to embrace the very ideals that America was founded to foster and preserve. Accordingly, as a further U.S. contribution to this urgent worldwide effort, I am proposing that the Congress approve over \$ 600 million for new technical assistance and humanitarian efforts. In addition to the assistance already announced, this will bring to over \$ 5 billion the level of various forms of U.S. assistance to these people in their time of need.

## 28 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 81

Today, the trade practices of the European Community hurt American farmers. Our agricultural Export Enhancement Program, the EEP, is specifically designed to counter the EC's massive export subsidies. Without this effort, which is less than one-tenth the size, I might say, of the EC subsidy, American farmers would lose even greater market shares to the EC.

Yes, we want to end export subsidies; we must do that. But we will not do it until other nations do the same thing. I am not going to put our farmers at an unfair disadvantage. Sooner or later, the EC must stop hiding behind its own iron curtain of protectionism. Meanwhile, we will remain leaner, tougher, and more competitive.

The world's future progress and prosperity really depend upon free trade. I am working to conclude the Uruguay round of the GATT negotiations successfully. I especially appreciate, and I've told Dean Kleckner this, the Farm Bureau's steadfast support for free and fair trade. GATT will help the world move toward broader economic integration, not trading blocs.

Our administration will settle for nothing less than a GATT agreement that expands markets and increases opportunities for our exporters. We want free trade. And we want fair trade. And we want abundant trade. And GATT, believe me, really holds the key. I know the EC's behavior threatens progress, but I



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am optimistic there will be an agreement. And I will not be a part of an agreement unless it's a good agreement for America.

While my administration supports American business abroad, we're also doing our best to help at home. In that spirit, I recall something written about people who grow up close to the soil. "There's something about getting up at 5 o'clock, 5 a.m., feeding the stock and chickens and milking a couple of cows before breakfast that gives you a respect for the price of butter and eggs." That writer knew that when it comes to farming, Washington does not know best. American farmers do.

In 1990, I worked hard with the legislative leaders, two of whom are here today, in the Senate and one of whom is in the House, here today with us, to get congressional approval of a farm bill that is even-handed and level-headed. That bill helped reduce interest rates, slash inflation, and increase flexibility for farmers to decide what to grow.

I've promoted firsthand thinking in farm policy from day one. We set out to reduce farm debt and increase farmers' independence, and there have been good results. Farmers' equity has grown \$ 45 billion in 3 years. Meanwhile, agricultural sales, gross cash receipts, have risen \$ 17 billion since I took office, to \$ 168 billion. Again, real results.

George Bush, 1992

fight for South Carolina families. I'm sure many of you have seen the movie based on the book "The Tides," where I'm sure many of you have seen the way of the spirit, to me, it is con- And you never don't believe in I think you'd want to talk about America, and

about the brave men and women in America and reservists, sailors, and airmen who served in Desert Storm and women and men. Their service to our world never will be forgotten. And

are those who here are those But not you. the line, those I laid it all on Carolina never to thank South Carolina at its best in victory. And can-do spirit, I'd this country into a we never would

change America, I am absolutely one. And yes, But I guarantee on, each and a big election like to see this without men- here's another want to come I'm going in the election ing to win the

And I ask for your support to help keep our Party strong and united. I want to be your President for 4 more years. I will try my level best to continue to lead this country with honor, with decency, with respect for the principles that all of us hold dear.

Barbara and I are very, very privileged, and we know it. Every single day we live in that White House we know that we are amongst the most privileged in the world to be able to serve in this way. I'm going to continue to try my hardest. I'm going to continue to do my level best for the people of this country. I ask for your support.

Thank you, and may God bless the greatest country on the face of the Earth. Thank you very much.

[At this point, Richard Sandler presented the President with an oversize hammer.]

Thank you all very, very much. I'll take this and flee and bring it to bear next week on the Congress. Thanks a lot.

*Note: The President spoke at 10:37 a.m. at South Carolina State Fair Grounds. In his remarks, he referred to Richard Sandler, president of the South Carolina Home Builders Association; Charles Newman, first vice president of the Home Builders Association of Greater Columbia; Mike McMichael, president of the Home Builders Association of South Carolina; and Dottie Lafitte-Woolston, BUILD-PAC trustee.*

### Remarks Upon Departure From Columbia, South Carolina

March 5, 1992

Hey, listen, let me just ask you now to go out and be sure to vote on Saturday and send the rest of the Super Tuesday States a strong message: I want to be your President for 4 more years. So give me that vote. And thanks for your fantastic support, and don't let all the doomsayers get you down. I love this South Carolina optimism, the South Carolina pride, the South Carolina patriotism.

So thanks for this warm welcome. Now we're off to Tennessee, Oklahoma, Mississippi, Louisiana, and then we're going to

get back for a great big Super Tuesday. But show them what we can do on Saturday. And thank you for this great Governor at my side. Thank you all.

*Note: The President spoke at 1:10 p.m. at Columbia Metropolitan Airport. In his remarks, he referred to Governor Carroll Campbell. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

### Remarks to Federal Express Employees in Memphis, Tennessee

March 5, 1992

Thank you so very much. Thank you very much for that enthusiastic welcome. Thank you to my friend, Howard Baker, one of the great leaders in the United States. Thank you for your leadership in all of its history. Thank you for the introduction, Howard. And may I salute Congressman Don Sundquist, who has been at my side in the political wars, a good friend, a great Congressman. And I'm delighted to be here at Federal Express, 1990 Malcolm Baldrige Quality Award winner, a national winner.

My staff told me they weren't sure they could fit this stop in our schedule. But when I said it was a "Fred said," I knew we had to do it and fast. Fred, thank you. You know, Fred Smith has always been very, very generous. And Fred, it's good to know that if Air Force One ever has a problem, I can always ride in the jump seat. And I hope I don't forget the cookies. And you know what that means.

The people of Memphis, indeed, all Americans, face a momentous decision this year. And I would never presume to tell you how to vote; it must be between you and your conscience: Which Elvis should be on the postage stamp? I noticed the sign.

And, really, it is a delight to be in this State because the people of Tennessee believe in big things, and we agree on the values that are closest to our hearts. And I'm talking about job security. I'm talking about family. I'm talking about world peace for us and our children and for our families for generations to come.

**Q.** What is happening in East Europe itself. And I can tell him that we plan to stay engaged. And no domestic politics is going to dissuade us from that.

**Q.** What specific roles do you see Sweden—

**The President.** Listen guys, this isn't a press conference. This is what we call a photo op. But I just really wanted to say, with the Swedish journalists here, a warm welcome to this very able Prime Minister. We're just so pleased he's here.

Thank you all very much.

**Q.** Thank you.

*Note: The exchange began at 11:03 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House.*

### Remarks at the Departure Ceremony for Prime Minister Carl Bildt of Sweden

February 20, 1992

Mr. Prime Minister, I am delighted to have welcomed you on your first official visit to Washington and to have shared very profitable, congenial talks.

Prime Minister Bildt comes here at a time when Europe is being transformed and when Sweden itself is beginning a new chapter in its history. As the Prime Minister remarked on his election night last September, the winds of political change blowing through Europe have finally reached Sweden.

Well, he understands well his nation's past. Just more than 100 years ago, his great-great-grandfather was Prime Minister. But even more, Prime Minister Bildt represents a rising generation of leadership for a people seeking a new role in Europe and a new birth of freedom and initiative in Swedish domestic policy.

We welcome Sweden's desire to play a more active part in the emerging global community. The Prime Minister is committed to democracy, to free markets. And I know that as active partners in the common endeavor to create a free, open, and prosperous world,

the United States and Sweden will make a real difference.

Sweden and the U.S. share a deep and unswerving commitment to peace, and Sweden is a vital partner in our global non-proliferation efforts. A model peacekeeper, Sweden has shown its commitment to this function of collective security many times, with distinction, in the United Nations system. Sweden has taken a firm stand against terrorism, supporting our efforts to bring to justice those who sabotaged Pan Am Flight 103. And during the Gulf war, Sweden provided humanitarian and economic assistance.

Our partnership in the service of freedom and democracy is not a new one. Americans and Swedes share more than 350 years of friendship, dating back to 1638 when the Kingdom of Sweden established a colony along the Christina River in Delaware. American patriots of Swedish origin fought in our Revolutionary War and signed the Declaration of Independence. Sweden was one of the first nations to sign a treaty of friendship and commerce with a newly independent United States.

That legacy of partnership continues today on contemporary issues, for example, through the new investor visa arrangements our Government agreed upon today. And after today's talks I am confident that this friendship will continue to flourish.

Mr. Prime Minister, let me explain to you our sincere thanks for this new spirit of cooperation and friendship. It strengthens our relations. And your visit has clearly helped build the basis for a solid partnership as we face together the challenges that lie ahead.

Thank you for coming our way. And the best of luck to you, sir.

*Note: The President spoke at 1:19 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House.*

### Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on Senate Action on the National Energy Security Act

February 20, 1992

Last night the Senate passed S. 2166, the National Energy Security Act of 1992, which

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## Week Ending Friday, January 3, 1992

### Remarks Upon Departure for Asian/ Pacific Nations December 30, 1991

Today I leave on a 12-day journey to a region of critical importance to the interests of this Nation. We'll be visiting four Asian/Pacific nations, home to some of the world's most dynamic economies. On my visits to Australia and Singapore, to Korea and Japan, I will get a firsthand glimpse of America's economic future, a world in which we will conduct more and more business and trade with partners in Asia, Europe, and Latin America.

In this new world, old notions no longer apply. The sharp lines that once separated foreign and domestic policy have been overtaken by a new reality. If we want to put people to work here at home, we've got to expand trade and to open markets. These new economic realities have not eclipsed the security concerns that continue to demand our attention throughout East Asia. I'll make very clear to each country I visit that America remains committed to the cause of freedom and democracy, that America will remain engaged in the Pacific area economically, politically, and militarily. After all, we are a Pacific nation, and we should care about what our allies in that region have to say. Our Asian/Pacific friends will play a crucial role in helping us build a post-cold war world defined by prosperity and trade, not poverty and isolationism.

But let me make very clear the focus of this trip. My highest priority is jobs, and I want us to build a foundation for sustained economic growth and an ever-increasing supply of good jobs for American workers. Here at home, all of us are concerned about our sluggish economy. One way to get this economy growing again is to open up markets abroad for American goods and services. The goods we make here in America, the services we provide, are second to none. More ex-

ports mean new jobs. Each billion dollars in new manufactured exports supports 20,000 new American jobs.

The markets of East Asia offer great opportunity. Last year we conducted more than \$300 billion worth of two-way trade with the nations of the Pacific Rim. That is more than with the nations of Europe. And yet we know that for many industries and sectors of our economy, the potential of our Pacific markets remains largely untapped.

My message in each country I visit will be this: "Free trade is a two-way street." Certainly American companies ought to show greater commitment to these markets. And while nations such as Singapore have taken great strides to build a tradition of free and open trade, there are still too many countries where markets are closed to quality American goods and services. There are still too many countries whose consumers want but cannot buy American products. We seek no special benefits, no rules stacked in our favor, just open markets, trade that is free and fair.

I'll have help driving this message home. Executives from 21 of America's leading companies and business organizations will travel with me. Some of them now do business in Asia; all of them are ready to work hard in these markets to blaze a trail other American companies, large and small, can follow. They are also realistic about what we cannot expect from this trip. We cannot expect to achieve complete accord. This trip won't solve all the trade issues that now concern us or produce a new export boom overnight. But we will do all we can to make progress, to drive down the barriers abroad that inhibit the creation of jobs and opportunity at home. Actions such as that taken yesterday by the Central Bank of Japan to lower the discount rate .5 percent certainly do help.

America can meet the challenges of the new world taking shape around us. Some nations fear the future. They see chaos in

change. But America is a nation drawn forward by what is new. I am certain, I am absolutely confident that America can continue to lead and that in the new world Americans will prosper.

Thank you, and may God bless our great country. And now we'll head off to Australia. Thank you very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 6:35 a.m. at Andrews Air Force Base in Camp Springs, MD. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

### Exchange With Reporters at Scots College in Sydney, Australia

January 1, 1992

*The President.* I want to wish you a very happy New Year.

#### Trade Issues

*Q.* Mr. President, do you think you will be able to get some kind of concession on wheat? The Australians are upset about that.

*The President.* I don't think it's a question of concession. What we do is tell them our problems, and they are very frank with us. That's how you can tell a good friend; lay it right out on the table. We've had some difficulties with what we call the EEP. I understand those. I hope they understand that legislation is not aimed at Australia. But if they don't, they will by the time I get through.

#### U.S.-Australia Relations

*The President.* What we're going to do is talk to them openly, as friends do with each other, and move this relationship forward although they're pretty far forward now. It's strong.

You all are too young, except for one or two gray heads around here, but I remember the battle of the Coral Sea. Wasn't quite in it. I was almost 18, and the following month I went into the service. But the emotion that Americans with the memory have is the same as Australians have.

There's a guy who had an American flag up, out up on the point, and there's a neat story about him in today's paper. So, I called

him up this morning, I did not suspect a hangover from New Year's Eve—[laughter]—being the doctor he is. And I asked him to come over to the hotel, which he'll do, Dr. Marsden. I don't know the man. I'll tell you, I think I speak for all Americans when I say how wonderful it was to see the Stars and Stripes flying along the shore since we were here to celebrate New Year's.

And I say that, I cite it, only as one manifestation of the friendship that I know exists. People out along the street—I see these guys tearing out of the pubs, offering up a Foster's, and wishing you well—you know it's real. So, that's what I'm going to concentrate on today.

#### Trade Issues

*Q.* Mr. President, will there be no concessions then, sir, on foreign subsidies?

*The President.* We're not talking concessions, we're talking about eliminating differences where possible.

*Q.* Can't the Japanese tell you the same things then, if you tell the Australians, though, it's not possible?

*The President.* We're in—wait until we get to Japan, and we'll talk about that.

*Q.* Isn't there a little irony in that, sir?

#### New Year's Resolutions

*Q.* —New Year's resolutions?

*The President.* New Year's resolution? Always for peace; certainly this year, with Americans hurting, our economy sluggish, for prosperity at home. I think of the people that don't have it so good back there. But I'm also confident that they will. I believe that with what we're going to be proposing, plus what this economy will do, it's going to be all right. But while people are hurting like that, I mean my first resolution has to be for the well-being of the American people.

*Q.* Any personal New Year's resolutions?

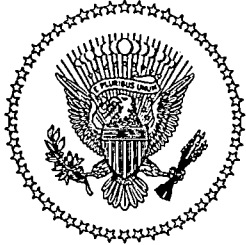
*The President.* Oh, yes.

*Q.* More jogging, more—

*The President.* Well, a little speedier. I'm not going to increase it. Two miles; I want to do it a little faster so the secret branch, the Secret Service here in Australia, will report into their bosses a little more proficiency. I'd like to catch a few more fish, and I don't get a chance to do it here although this is a sportsman's paradise. Keep

Weekly Compilation of


# Presidential Documents



Monday, December 16, 1991  
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**Message on the Observance of  
Christmas**  
*December 11, 1991*

At Christmas, we celebrate the promise of salvation that God gave to mankind almost 2,000 years ago. The birth of Christ changed the course of history, and His life changed the soul of man. Christ taught that giving is the greatest of all aspirations and that the redemptive power of love and sacrifice is stronger than any force of arms. It is testimony to the wisdom and the truth of these teachings that they have not only endured but also flourished over two millennia.



Blessed with an unparalleled degree of freedom and security, generations of Americans have been able to celebrate Christmas with open joy. Tragically, that has not always been the case in other nations, but we look to the future with optimism, and we celebrate the holidays with special gladness as courageous peoples around the world continue to claim the civil and religious liberty to which all people are heirs. The triumph of democratic ideals and the lessening of global tensions give us added reason for celebration this Christmas season, and as the world community draws closer together, the wisdom of Christ's counsel to "love thy neighbor as thyself" grows clearer.

By His words and by His example, Christ has called us to share our many blessings with others. As individuals and as a Nation, in our homes and in our communities, there are countless ways that we can extend to others the same love and mercy that God showed humankind when He gave us His only Son. During this holy season and throughout the year, let us look to the selfless spirit of giving that Jesus embodied as inspiration in our own lives—giving thanks for what God has done for us and abiding by Christ's teaching to do for others as we would do for ourselves.



Barbara joins me in wishing all of our fellow Americans a Merry Christmas. God bless you.

George Bush

**Statement on the European  
Community Summit**  
*December 11, 1991*

We welcome the historic steps toward economic and political union agreed to by the leaders of the European Community in The Netherlands. Four and a half decades after the destruction of World War II, Western Europe stands prosperous and free: a model of what cooperation, democracy, and the free market can yield, and a beacon to those in the East struggling to secure their liberty and well-being.

The results of the EC summit in Maastricht represent a milestone which we celebrate along with our European partners. The United States has long supported European unity because of our strong conviction that it was good for Europe, good for the Atlantic partnership, and good for the world. I have made clear from the outset of this administration my view that a strong, united Europe is very much in America's interest. A more united Europe offers the United States a more effective partner, prepared for larger responsibilities.

Europe's steps toward unity will strengthen our renewed Atlantic Alliance. NATO's endorsement at the Rome summit of a "European pillar" underscores the additional responsibility which the European allies are assuming in the protection of shared vital interests and values. At Maastricht, the EC requested the Western European Union, whose members are in both NATO and the EC, to serve as the vehicle for increased European responsibility on defense matters. We are pleased that our allies in the Western European Union in turn decided to strengthen that institution as both NATO's European pillar and the defense component of the European Union. NATO will remain the essential forum for consultation among its members and the venue for agreement on policies bearing on the security and defense commitments of the Allies under the Washington Treaty.

A strengthened EC has a vital role to play in assuring a stable and prosperous Europe and a humane world order. Already today, the European Community and its member states are taking a major role, working with us, to help the citizens of Central and East-

*Dec. 11 / Administration of George Bush, 1991*

ern Europe transform their societies. Our Atlantic partnership is equally essential in supporting the movement toward freedom and democracy in what we have known as the Soviet Union. But our cooperation with the new Europe goes farther. The European Community stands with us as a partner in the search for peace in the Middle East, and against difficult odds, it continues to labor with our support for a peaceful solution to the war in Yugoslavia.

The evolving monetary unity and single market of the EC promises new economic vitality for Europe. With this comes new investment possibilities and markets for American business as well as new competition. We welcome these developments, but we also expect that the new Europe will assume new responsibilities for maintaining and strengthening the world economic system. This means working with us to bridge our bilateral differences, to expand an open global trading system by successfully concluding the Uruguay round, and to avoid the dangers of protectionism.

America can take pride in its contributions to Europe's success. The U.S. engagement on that continent has yielded many benefits for the Europeans and for us. Those benefits remind us that our interests do not stop at our shores. We are intimately connected to what happens in Europe and beyond. Now, we are getting an even stronger European partner. I therefore speak for all of America when I send best wishes to the members of the European Community for their new steps toward integration.

**Memorandum on the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act**  
*December 11, 1991*

*Memorandum for the Secretary of Transportation*

I have just received, and will soon sign, H.R. 2950, the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act. I direct you to mobilize immediately the Department to expedite release of highway, highway safety, and mass transit funds. Further, you should assist State and local transportation officials

in the expeditious implementation of this Act. Timely action is essential to provide construction industry jobs and to stimulate our overall economy as well as to begin renewing our investment in the soundness and safety of the Nation's surface transportation system.

George Bush

**Exchange With Reporters Prior to a Meeting With Prime Minister Constantinos Mitsotakis of Greece**  
*December 12, 1991*

*The President.* We've got a few things, odds and ends to talk about. But Greek-U.S., as far as we're concerned, is strong as they can be, Greek-U.S. relations, and we're very pleased about that.

*The Prime Minister.* I am also very pleased. And we made progress.

**Soviet Union**

*Q.* Mr. President, do you think Gorbachev—

*The President.* I have nothing really to add to the discussion on that right now. We're following it very carefully, as you know, and in touch. So we'll just leave it right there.

**Cyprus**

*Q.* Are you hopeful that the Cyprus talks will start early next year?

*The President.* Well, we want to talk about that. That's one of the issues where I have great respect for Prime Minister Mitsotakis' judgment. We've gone into it at length on several occasions. And I would just want to assure him that if the U.S. can help move things forward, we are determined to try. We thought we'd moved a little bit before the process had moved. And now we want to, out of this visit, see what he has to suggest and maybe we can be more helpful. I'd like to think so. I think he knows we've tried.

And, of course, the Secretary-General will be down here this afternoon, so we can talk with him about it. So, this subject will be very much on our minds.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 22, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT,  
PORTUGUESE PRIME MINISTER CAVACO SILVA  
UPON DEPARTURE

The South Lawn

1:33 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Prime Minister, this year my country celebrates the Iberian spirit of discovery. Half a millennium ago, Portugal and Spain helped chart a course towards a new world. Five hundred years later, European unity guides the way towards a new world order. Those early pioneers believed their mission was to probe the secrets of the world. Now we must explore the frontiers of common interest and common ground.

The next horizon: a strengthened partnership between the United States and the European Community. Prime Minister Cavaco Silva, EC President Delors and I and our top officials have discussed areas where we may deepen cooperation: Peace efforts in the Middle East, coordination of aid to Central and Eastern Europe, the struggle of the emergent CIS and international assistance -- the agenda of next month's EC conference in Lisbon.

We also talked about Yugoslavia, where, tragically, old hatreds are opening new wounds. The U.S.-EC partnership is working tirelessly to create conditions for a lasting democratic peace.

No topic on our agenda is more crucial than the Uruguay Round of trade negotiations. We are committed to achieving an early agreement -- one that will spur economic growth, not just in America, but in Europe and all around the world. It will create jobs -- not just for our generation, but for generations to come. For Americans, agreement will mean more than free trade abroad; it will mean for Americans good jobs here at home and a better standard of living at home.

We had an extensive exchange of views on the outstanding issues and some new ideas on how to conclude this Uruguay Round were advanced by both sides. We are convinced, absolutely convinced that the EC leaders are committed to an early agreement. And I hope they know that I am committed to such an early conclusion. We agreed to continue this process. We had some serious discussions, and the process will go on.

Forty-one years ago almost to the day, the countries of Europe began their quest for unity. Over the ruins of war they laid a blueprint for peace and began building the foundations for economic and political cooperation. They sought unity not out of convenience, but out of conviction: a vision of economic interdependence that would inflate the costs of war and expand the dividends of peace. The wisdom of their actions has brought us today to a new Europe -- where peace has paid off.

Now, this new Europe has now joined its strength with the United States to support the spread of political and economic freedom in the lands only recently liberated from Soviet communism. Those who helped four decades ago are now able to shoulder -- those

MORE

that we helped four decades ago are now able to shoulder a larger part of these new challenges.

Jean Monnet, the grandfather of European unity, once asked: "If you are in a dark tunnel and see a small light at the end, should you turn your back on that light and go back into darkness, or should you continue walking toward it even though you know it's far away?"

Five hundred years ago, a European mariner followed the light of his imagination to illuminate a new world. For almost 50 years, the West carried freedom's torch to protect the free world. Today, we stand at the shores of a new world order -- where diverse nations are drawn together in common cause to achieve the universal aspirations of mankind: peace and security, freedom and prosperity. A strong and united Europe offers the best hope for this united purpose, and the best alliance for the United States.

I salute our two distinguished guests today, and now would like to ask Prime Minister Cavaco Silva to say a word.

PRIME MINISTER SILVA: Thank you, Mr. President.

It was extremely gratifying for President Delors and myself to have the opportunity to meet with President Bush. It was a meeting among friends that we found very constructive and fruitful. In November '90 in the declaration on the United States and the European Community relations, we defined the guidelines on which our future cooperation should be based. We are glad to conclude today that our cooperation has been both substantial and effective. We very much value our partnership with the United States. We believe that the continued presence and involvement of the United States in Europe is fundamental to maintain peace and stability in our continent.

Human rights, democratic values and free market economy are the foundations of our Euro-Atlantic partnership. In the past, we have come together to defend them. Now we see these ideals gaining ground everywhere. It's of the most fundamental importance that we join our efforts to ensure that these gains will be durable.

Our cooperation and leadership are also crucial to ensure sustained economic goals worldwide. We have reaffirmed our commitment to the multilateral trade system. We are determined to bring the Uruguay Round to a positive conclusion.

We discussed also the situation in the Commonwealth of Independent States and the preparation of the coming Lisbon conference on coordination of aid to the region. We believe it is fundamental that we continue working together to bring stability to the region, thus creating conditions for the consolidation of democracy and the market economy.

We talked about the present situation in Yugoslavia and the prospects for peace there. Coordination between Europe and the United States has been, and will be, of the utmost importance to help reach a negotiated settlement.

We reviewed the situation in the Middle East and the prospects for the region within the framework of the current peace process. The Community is deeply committed to the peace process. The European Community and the United States share the same outlook on this issue, and we are well aware of the fact that there is no viable alternative to the present peace talks.

We also reviewed the situation in the Magreb. The threat posed by the spread of fundamentalism in that region is a matter of concern for us. We believe that promotion of economic

development and free markets and a respect of human rights are the best means to deal with this problem.

We agreed that respect for international law and the rejection of terrorism are also essential, particularly where it concerns Libya.

This was the first meeting between the European Community and the United States since the decisions of last week, which are now in the process of ratification in the 12 EC member states. We are convinced that the establishment of a new European union will create possibilities for further enlargement of the scope of fellow cooperation.

We discussed new ideas where we could work together. We will be exploring these opportunities in the months ahead.

Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Glad to have you here.

END

1:42 P.M. EDT

(Grossman)  
April 20, 1992  
Draft Two  
EURO

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE STATEMENT FOR PRIME  
MINISTER CAVACO SILVA  
SOUTH LAWN  
WEDNESDAY, APRIL 22, 1992  
1:15 p.m.

Mr. Prime Minister, this year my country celebrates the Iberian spirit of discovery. Half a millennium ago, Portugal and Spain helped chart a course towards a new world. Five hundred years later, European unity guides the way towards a new world order. Those early pioneers believed their mission was to probe "the secrets of the world." So now must we explore the frontiers of common interest and common ground.

Today, we followed the Portuguese wisdom, of "falar ao coracao" [fa LAR - ow - coo rah SOW], or "speak from the heart." The United States is dedicated to reinforcing our relationship with the European Community. Prime Minister Cavaco Silva, EC President Delors, and I have discussed areas where we may deepen that cooperation. Peace efforts in the Middle East \ coordination of aid to Central and Eastern Europe \ the struggle of the emergent C.I.S. and international assistance -- particularly the agenda of next month's EC conference in Lisbon towards that end.

We also talked about Yugoslavia -- where tragically, old hatreds are opening new wounds. The EC has spared no effort to quell hostilities and negotiate peace. Together we are working

to help shepherd the region's newly independent republics toward the promise of democracy and peace.

And as a professor of economics, Mr. Prime Minister, you know that the preachings of free peoples must be joined with the practice of free and open trade. That's why conclusive agreement on the Uruguay Round is so crucial. Agreement will spur economic growth -- not just in America, but in Europe and the world. It will create jobs -- not just for our generation, but for generations to come. For Americans, agreement will mean more than free trade abroad; it will mean good jobs and a better standard of living at home.

Today, Prime Minister Cavaco Silva, President Delors and I have talked long and hard about the Uruguay Round. I think we agree that its failure would be disastrous -- dousing any hope of worldwide economic revival. [Announcement on results of negotiations]. I want to make it very clear that this administration is committed to bringing that trade round to a successful conclusion -- the sooner the better. I want an agreement that's good for our workers, our economy, our country. I can accept nothing less, and we're going to stay vigorously engaged to make it happen.

Forty-one years ago, almost to the day, the countries of Europe began their quest for unity. Over the ruins of war they laid a blueprint for peace, and began building the foundations for economic and political cooperation. They sought unity not out of convenience -- but out of conviction: a vision of economic

interdependence that would inflate the costs of war, and expand the dividends of peace. The wisdom of their actions has brought us today to a new Europe, whole and free.

Europe -- indeed, much of the world -- has traveled far toward this founding vision. Today, the world is smaller, faster, freer. More and more, aggression serves only to bite the hand that feeds, or clothes, or carries goods. Yes, there are the voices, at home and abroad, who urge a retreat to the shuttered world of protectionism. There have always been such voices, perhaps there will always be. But fear will never lead free people to a prosperous future.

Jean Monnet, the grandfather of European unity, once asked: "If you are in a dark tunnel and see a small light at the end, should you turn you back on that light and go back into darkness, or should you continue walking toward it even though you know [it is far away]?"

Five hundred years ago, a European mariner followed the light of his imagination to illuminate a New World. For almost 50 years, the West carried freedom's torch to protect the Free World. Today, we stand at the shores of a new world order -- where diverse nations are drawn together in common cause to achieve the universal aspirations of mankind: peace and security, freedom and prosperity. A strong and united Europe offers the best hope for this united purpose, and the best alliance for the United States.

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