

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):

FOIA Number:

S

# FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential Library Staff.**

---

**Record Group/Collection:** George H.W. Bush Presidential Records  
**Collection/Office of Origin:** Speechwriting, White House Office of  
**Series:** Speech File Draft Files  
**Subseries:** Chron File, 1989-1993

---

**OA/ID Number:** 13495  
**Folder ID Number:** 13495-017

---

**Folder Title:**  
Residents of Leiden 7/17/89 [2]

---

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
<b>G</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>

---

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

89 JUN 4 P6:14

July 5, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON  
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT  
FOR COMMUNICATIONS

FROM: PATRICIA MACK BRYAN *PMB*  
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Pieterskerk, Leiden,  
the Netherlands

Pursuant to James W. Cicconi's staffing memorandum of July 5, 1989, Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced remarks. Subject to the comments noted below, Counsel's Office has no legal objection to these remarks.

Page 1, Paragraph 4, Sentence 2:

We recommend that the phrase "known as" be added before the description of Grotius as "the father of modern international law." ✓

Page 3, Paragraph 4, Sentence 3:


We understand that your office has already changed the reference to "The Treaty of Utrecht" to the correct reference which is to "the Union of Utrecht." ✓

cc: James W. Cicconi

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON


July 5, 1989

Memorandum to Chriss Winston

From: Jim Pinkerton   
Subject: Pieterskerk Draft Speech


---


A fine speech with some beautiful images. The last two pages end the draft with an eloquent, uplifting tone.

6,1,1 The President can win some friends in the audience by referring to Grotius first by the Dutch version of his name, thus: "It was here in Leiden that Huig De Groot -- the father of modern international law, known to us as Grotius..." 

6,1,1 "Debt is a ticking time bomb that threatens growth everywhere." This is too alarmist in tone. Besides, it blames a symptom of a more fundamental problem, the lack of growth, the answer to which is free markets. We suggest something like: "Debt is a symptom of restraints on economic freedom -- restraints that threaten growth everywhere, not just in the developed world."

6,2,2 "Freedom is no match for a hungry stomach -- and poverty is barren soil for the democratic idea." These are images are vivid, but contain fundamental flaws:

First, the conditions of the "New Breeze" have been created in part because of economic deprivation, viz., in Central Europe. Second, the places where statism has been least demoralized have been in those countries where the conditions of prosperity and freedom have allowed a misguided criticism of those very conditions. Third, the image of barren soil for democracy conflicts with the beginning image of the speech: the freedom-seeking pilgrims landing on the "rocky soil of New England." 

It is more accurate to say that poverty cries all the more for freedom (as in "Give me your tired, your poor..."). Thus, we suggest turning the image around to say something like: "Freedom can nourish the barren soil of poverty. The pilgrims, ~~having left behind the lushness of Leiden,~~ landed upon a desolate rock, ~~but they built a garden of liberty."~~ 

(more)

2-2-2

8,4,2 A stickler for accuracy might say that Grenada is an example of a Marxist country that moved from dictatorship to democracy. The usual formulation (from Hannah Arendt's Totalitarianism) is that no totalitarian country has ever moved peaceably to democracy. Thus, we would be on safer ground to say: "Never in the history of the communist world has a nation moved peaceably from dictatorship to democracy."

#

Just as our freedom + prosperity  
~~begin with the freedom~~  
~~rest upon the~~ Plymouth Rock.

And it's time we <sup>take the next step in solving the</sup> tackle the debt problem. Debt is the kind of ticking time bomb that threatens growth everywhere -- not just in the developing world.

↓ The Brady Plan is a good beginning + the time to move forward is now.

This is more than a matter of economic development. ~~Freedom is no match for a hungry stomach.~~  
 -- and ~~Democracy is at stake.~~ ~~Freedom is no match for a hungry stomach.~~  
 -- and poverty is barren soil for the democratic idea.

and planted the seeds

*Freedom can nourish the barren soil of poverty - just as the Pilgrims landed upon a desolate rock, + built a community*

Economic development opens the door to a new world of democratic development -- and we must open that door for millions of people around the world. The steps we've taken towards a common strategy on debt will sustain a favorable climate for growth -- and for the flourishing of democracy in the developing world. {Summit}

And finally, we made progress in a collective effort to encourage the movement towards greater freedom now underway in Eastern Europe. {Summit}]

The new world we seek is a world of free nations working in concert -- a world where more nations live within the circle of freedom.

Here in the pulpit at Pieterskerk, one year after armistice brought peace to Europe, Winston Churchill spoke to the people of



McGroarty/Dooley  
July 14, 1989  
3:00 p.m.  
[LEIDEN]  
Draft 2

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE PIETERSKERK  
LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS  
JULY 17, 1989  
3:00 PM

[Introductory acknowledgements....] Barbara and I thank Her Majesty Queen Beatrix and the people of the Netherlands for the warm welcome you have given us.

The Netherlands is an old friend and honored ally of the United States. The friendship between our nations is older than the American Constitution -- and the United Provinces were one of the models our founders looked to in creating a nation from thirteen sovereign states.

It is a pleasure to visit Leiden -- a city whose very name signifies Dutch resolve and determination. And for Americans, too, Leiden is a special city, a place where we trace our origins.

So many of the individuals who shaped the modern world walked the cobbled streets of Leiden. It was here in Leiden that Huig de Groot -- known to the world as Grotius, [GRO-shus] the father of modern international law -- studied, in the nation that is today home to the International Court of Justice. It was here that Rembrandt lived and worked -- and created a world of beauty that moves us today.

It was here to Leiden that the Pilgrims came to escape persecution -- to live, work and worship in peace. In the shadow of the Pieterskerk [PETERS-KIRK], they found the freedom to witness God -- openly and without fear. Here -- under the ancient stones of the Peiterskerk -- the body of John Robinson, the Pilgrims' spiritual leader, was laid to rest.

And it was from this place the Pilgrims set their course for a new world. In search of liberty, they took with them lessons learned here of freedom and tolerance. The Pilgrims faced a dangerous passage. But, carried on the winds of hope, they arrived. On the rocky coast of New England -- at the edge of a wild and unsettled continent -- they planted the seeds of a new world -- a world that became America.

Today, as when the Pilgrims left this city, a new world lies within our reach.

Our time is a time of great hope -- and a time of dangerous passage. The new world we seek is shaped by an idea -- an idea of universal appeal and undeniable force. That idea is democracy.

The power of the democratic idea is evident everywhere -- in the halls of government, in the hearts of people around the world. In the words of Victor Hugo: "No army can withstand the strength of an idea whose time has come." **And freedom's time has come.**

We -- the people of the United States, the people of the Netherlands -- are fortunate. The freedoms others are struggling

for are freedoms we enjoy. But freedom, as the Dutch know well, never comes without struggle -- and it can never be sustained by people who forget that freedom is our most precious gift.

Both of our nations are partners in an alliance of free nations that spans the ocean the Pilgrims crossed. Our alliance, the NATO alliance, connects two continents -- unites a hemisphere. But what connects us isn't merely a fact of geography. Ours is an alliance forged on **common values -- rooted in a shared history and heritage, a common kinship and culture.**

We are part of the commonwealth of free nations. Almost two months ago, I came to Europe to celebrate the fruits of our alliance: four decades of peace, prosperity and freedom. At the time of NATO's founding -- amid the airlift to besieged Berlin -- few would have predicted a peace so strong and lasting. Here in the Netherlands -- and not only here -- people expected war to come again within their lifetimes. Instead, the NATO era has brought the longest period of peace Europe has known in all of recorded history.

And today, the Atlantic Alliance -- formed to contain the threat of Soviet expansionism -- is creating new opportunities to ease tensions -- to build a new world, to build an enduring peace. Thanks to NATO's strength and unity, we now may have the opportunity to move **beyond containment** -- to integrate the Soviet Union into the community of nations.

Thanks to NATO's steadiness of purpose, and its commitment to maintain strong deterrent forces, the way is now open to real

reductions in the level of arms that have cast a shadow over this continent, the most heavily militarized on earth.

Seizing these opportunities -- reaching that new world -- depends on NATO's unity and strength -- not on the actions of one nation alone. The revival of the Western European Union -- in which the Netherlands played a vital role; the growing cooperation on security issues between West Germany and France; British and French resolve to modernize their own nuclear systems: each of these developments is a sign that Europe sees the wisdom of sustaining the collective strength that has kept the peace.

The lesson of our post-war experience is this: Strength has kept us safe, and has created opportunities for change. And strength will allow us to create from these opportunities a new era of enduring peace.

Let me say clearly: A stronger Europe -- a more united Europe -- is not something America must fear. It is a development we welcome -- a natural evolution within our Alliance -- the product of true partnership forty years in the making.

This trend towards closer cooperation isn't limited to collective security alone. Around the world, countries are now recognizing that no nation can prosper in economic isolation. That's the meaning of Europe 1992. That's why we look forward to the single European market and a more integrated European Community. The world's major industrial democracies must work maintain an open trading system to preserve sustained economic

growth. The key is **concerted action -- bringing the collective strength of the West to bear on our common concerns.**

We made progress at the Economic Summit in Paris. Progress in developing a common approach to issues of global concern.

Issues like the environment. Global warming, the destruction of our forests, and pollution of the world's oceans - - these are problems that know no borders, that no line on a map has the power to stop. Pollution crosses continents and oceans. **It's time for nations to join forces in common defense of our environment.**

The United States will do its part. A month ago, I announced a series of sweeping changes to our Clean Air Act -- changed meant to ensure that every American, in the space of one generation, will breathe clean air.

Shortly after I return home, we will send our Clean Air legislation to Congress. Last week in Poland and Hungary, I announced initiatives to work with those two countries to combat their pollution problems. Our European partners understand what is at stake, and you're taking action. The next step is clear: We've got to work together -- take concerted action to combat this common problem, clean up our environment for ourselves and for our children.

And the Summit underscored the fact that it's time we take the next step in solving the **debt problem -- to encourage conditions for global growth that will benefit the industrialized nations and developing world alike.**

And this is more than a matter of economic development. Democracy is at stake. Freedom can nourish the barren soil of poverty -- just as the Pilgrims landed upon a desolate rock, and laid the foundations of the freedom and prosperity we know today.

Economic development opens the door to a new world of democratic development -- and we must open that door for millions of people around the world. The steps we've taken towards a common strategy on debt will sustain a favorable climate for growth -- and for the flourishing of democracy in the developing world.

And finally, we made progress in a collective effort to encourage the movement towards greater freedom now underway in Eastern Europe.

Let me explain the approach I take towards reform in Eastern Europe. We will never compromise our principles. We will always speak out for freedom. But we understand as well how vital a carefully calibrated approach is in this time of change.

Just as we have nothing to fear from a stronger, more united Europe -- the Soviet Union has nothing to fear from the reforms now unfolding in some of the nations of Eastern Europe. We support reform -- in Eastern Europe, and in the USSR. I've said many times I want to see perestroika succeed. I want to see the Soviet Union chart a course that brings it into the community of nations.

We can play a constructive part in Eastern Europe's economic development -- and in creating an international climate in which

reform can succeed. That is why America's relations with the Soviet Union are so important. Improved relations with the USSR reduces pressure on the nations of Eastern Europe -- especially those on the cutting edge of reform.

The new world we seek is a **commonwealth of free nations working in concert** -- a world where more nations live within the circle of freedom.

Here in the pulpit at the Pieterskerk, one year after peace was restored in Europe, Winston Churchill spoke to the people of Leiden. The allies had triumphed over tyranny. The occupation was over. After six years of war and devastation, Churchill said: "The great wheel has swung full circle." Europe stood at the threshold of a new era -- an era whose hope Churchill expressed in a single, simple phrase: **"Let freedom reign."**

We all know what followed. Half of Europe entered that new era -- and half of Europe found its path blocked, walled off by barriers of brick and barbed wire.

The half of Europe that was free dug out from the rubble, recovered from the war -- and laid the foundations of free government and free enterprise that brought unparalleled prosperity, and a life in peace and freedom.

The **"other Europe"** -- the Europe behind the wall -- endured four decades of privation and hardship, persecution and fear.

Today, all that is changing. The great wheel has swung full circle once more. Our time is a time of new hope -- the hope

that all of Europe can now know the freedom the Netherlands has known, that America has known, that our allies have known.

Our hope is that the unnatural division of Europe will now come to an end -- that the Europe behind the wall will join its neighbors to the West, prosperous and free.

Last week, I visited Poland and Hungary -- two countries that have travelled far these past twelve months, farther than any of us would have thought possible. In Warsaw, I spoke to the new Polish Parliament that includes 100 freely-elected Senators - - elected to office in Eastern Europe's first truly free election in the post-war era. In Hungary, I addressed the students and faculty of Karl Marx University -- a university where the lessons of the free market are replacing the teachings of Das Kapital.

At the shipyards of Gdansk, and at the statue of the great Hungarian hero Kossuth, tens of thousands of people filled the streets --new voices, full of new hope. **A sea of faces: the faces of Pilgrims on a journey -- fixed on the horizon, on the new world coming into view.**

In Poland, in Hungary -- and of course in the Soviet Union - - we're witnessing truly remarkable events. Never in the history of the communist world has a nation moved from dictatorship to democracy.

But we're realistic. We know that the fact that these governments have begun to reform has more to do with their realization that communism is a dead-end doctrine than with any new-found love of freedom. But what matters is movement, not

motive. Democracy -- once set in motion -- takes on a momentum of its own.

And whatever the odds, ultimately, freedom will succeed.

That's a lesson the world has learned several times this century -- a lesson the Dutch know well. The Netherlands will never forget the nightmare of occupation. Some of you here today suffered through those five long years.

And even then -- freedom endured. Here in the Pieterskerk -- behind these walls, above the rafters -- resistance fighters and university students took refuge from the forces of occupation, found safe haven in this church.

Daily acts of heroism -- the church sexton who brought them food, the neighborhood grocer who collected extra ration stamps - - kept them alive -- kept the spirit of dignity and human decency alive through the Netherlands' dark night.

Why? Why would people endanger themselves to save others? They did it for the simplest, most human of reasons. In the words of Jan Campert [YAHN KAHM-PERT], poet of the Dutch resistance, they acted because "the heart . . . could not do otherwise."

Freedom can never be extinguished -- not then, not now. **Even in the Europe behind the wall, the dream of freedom for all Europe has never died.** It's alive today -- in Warsaw and Gdansk, in Budapest and across the Soviet Union, and in every corner of the closed societies of Eastern Europe.

The challenge we face is clear: we must work together toward the day when all of Europe -- East and West -- is free of discord, free of division. A day when freedom and the democratic ideals we share find a common home in every city and town across this continent.

Here in Leiden, where the Pilgrims dreamed their new world, let us pledge our effort to secure our own new world -- the new Europe, whole and free, that is now within our reach.

Once again, thank you. God bless the Netherlands, God bless the United States of America, and the friends of freedom everywhere.

# # #

McGroarty/Dooley  
July 15, 1989  
12:30 p.m.  
[LEIDEN]  
Draft 3

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE PIETERSKERK  
LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS  
JULY 17, 1989  
3:00 PM

[Introductory acknowledgements....] Barbara and I thank Her Majesty Queen Beatrix and the people of the Netherlands for the warm welcome you have given us.

The Netherlands is an old friend and honored ally of the United States. The friendship between our nations is older than the American Constitution -- and the United Provinces were one of the models our founders looked to in creating a nation from thirteen sovereign states.

It is a pleasure to visit Leiden -- a city whose very name signifies Dutch resolve and determination. And for Americans, too, Leiden is a special city, a place where we trace our origins.

So many of the individuals who shaped the modern world walked the cobbled streets of Leiden. It was here in Leiden that Hugo de Groot [U-go duh GROTE] -- known to the world as Grotius, [GRO-shus] the father of modern international law -- studied, in the nation that is today home to the International Court of Justice. It was here that Rembrandt lived and worked -- and created a world of beauty that moves us today.

It was here to Leiden that the Pilgrims came to escape persecution -- to live, work and worship in peace. In the shadow of the Pieterskerk [PETERS-KIRK], they found the freedom to witness God -- openly and without fear. Here -- under the ancient stones of the Peiterskerk -- the body of John Robinson, the Pilgrims' spiritual leader, was laid to rest.

And it was from this place the Pilgrims set their course for a new world. In their search for liberty, they took with them lessons learned here of freedom and tolerance. The Pilgrims faced a dangerous passage. But, carried on the winds of hope, they arrived. On the rocky coast of New England -- at the edge of a wild and unsettled continent -- they planted the seeds of a new world -- a world that became America.

Today, as when the Pilgrims left this city, a new world lies within our reach.

Our time is a time of great hope -- and a time of dangerous passage. The new world we seek is shaped by an idea -- an idea of universal appeal and undeniable force. That idea is democracy.

The power of the democratic idea is evident everywhere -- in the halls of government, in the hearts of people around the world. In the words of Victor Hugo: "No army can withstand the strength of an idea whose time has come." Ladies and gentlemen, freedom's time has come.

We -- the people of the United States, the people of the Netherlands -- are fortunate. The freedoms others are struggling

for are freedoms we enjoy. But freedom never comes without struggle -- and no struggle is without sacrifice. Americans and the Dutch both know the cost of freedom is high.

That's why both of our nations are partners in an alliance of free nations that spans the ocean the Pilgrims crossed. Our alliance, the NATO alliance, connects two continents -- unites a hemisphere. But what connects us isn't merely a fact of geography. Ours is an alliance forged on common values -- rooted in a shared history and heritage, a common kinship and culture.

We are part of the commonwealth of free nations. Almost two months ago, I came to Europe to celebrate the fruits of our alliance: four decades of peace, prosperity and freedom. At the time of NATO's founding -- amid the airlift to besieged Berlin -- few would have predicted a peace so strong and lasting. Here in the Netherlands -- and elsewhere -- people expected war to come again within their lifetimes. Instead, the NATO era has brought the longest period of peace Europe has known in all of recorded history.

And today, the Atlantic Alliance -- formed to contain the threat of Soviet expansionism -- is creating new opportunities to ease tensions -- to build a new world, to build an enduring peace. Thanks to NATO's strength and unity, we now have the opportunity to move beyond containment -- to integrate the Soviet Union into the community of nations.

Thanks to NATO's steadiness of purpose, and its commitment to maintain strong deterrent forces, the way is now open to real

reductions in the level of arms -- nuclear and conventional -- that have cast a shadow over this continent, the most heavily militarized on earth.

Seizing these opportunities -- reaching that new world -- depends on NATO's unity and strength -- not on the actions of one nation alone. The revival of the Western European Union -- in which the Netherlands played a vital role; the growing cooperation on security issues between West Germany and France; British and French resolve to modernize their own nuclear systems: each of these developments is a sign that Europe sees the wisdom of sustaining the collective strength that has kept the peace.

The lesson of our post-war experience is this: Strength has kept us safe, and has created opportunities for change. And from these opportunities, we can create a new era of enduring peace.

Let me say clearly: A stronger Europe -- a more united Europe -- is not something America or the Soviet Union need fear. For us, it is a development we welcome -- a natural evolution within our Alliance -- the product of true partnership forty years in the making.

This trend towards closer cooperation isn't limited to collective security alone. Around the world, countries are now recognizing that no nation can prosper in economic isolation. That's why we look forward to the single European market and a more integrated European Community. The world's major industrial

democracies must work to maintain an open trading system to preserve sustained economic growth.

Our progress at the Economic Summit in Paris brought us closer to a more coordinated and common approach across a wide spectrum of critical global issues. The key is concerted action -- bringing the collective strength of the West to bear on our common concerns.

Concerns like the environment. Global warming, the destruction of our forests, and pollution of the world's oceans -- these are problems that know no borders, that no line on a map has the power to stop. Pollution crosses continents and oceans. It's time for nations to join forces in common defense of our environment.

The United States will do its part. A month ago, I announced a series of sweeping changes to our Clean Air Act -- changes meant to ensure that every American, in the space of one generation, will breathe clean air.

Shortly after I return home, we will send our Clean Air legislation to Congress. Last week in Poland and Hungary, I announced initiatives to work with those two countries to combat their pollution problems. Our European partners understand what is at stake, and you're taking action. The next step is clear: We've got to work together -- take concerted action to combat this common problem, clean up our environment for ourselves and for our children.

And the Summit underscored the fact that it's time we take the next step in solving the debt problem -- to encourage conditions for global growth that will benefit the industrialized nations and developing world alike. We must make progress on this because it is more than a matter of economic development. Democracy is at stake. Freedom can nourish the barren soil of poverty -- just as the Pilgrims landed upon a desolate rock, and laid the foundations of the freedom and prosperity we know today.

Economic development opens the door to a new world of democratic development -- and we must open that door for millions of people around the world. The steps we've taken towards a common strategy on debt will sustain a favorable climate for growth -- and for the flourishing of democracy in the developing world.

And finally, there's Eastern Europe.

Let me explain the approach I take towards reform in Eastern Europe. We will never compromise our principles. We will always speak out for freedom. But we understand as well how vital a carefully calibrated approach is in this time of change.

Just as we have nothing to fear from a stronger, more united Europe -- the Soviet Union has nothing to fear from the reforms now unfolding in some of the nations of Eastern Europe. We support reform -- in Eastern Europe, and in the USSR. I've said many times I want to see perestroika succeed. I want to see the Soviet Union chart a course that brings it into the community of nations.

We can play a constructive role in Eastern Europe's economic development -- and in creating an international climate in which reform can succeed. That is why America's relations with the Soviet Union are so important. Improved relations with the USSR reduces pressure on the nations of Eastern Europe -- especially those on the cutting edge of reform.

The new world we seek is a **commonwealth of free nations working in concert** -- a world where more and more nations enter a widening circle of freedom.

Here in the pulpit at the Pieterskerk, one year after peace was restored in Europe, Winston Churchill spoke to the people of Leiden. The allies had triumphed over tyranny. The occupation was over. After six years of war and devastation, Churchill said: "The great wheel has swung full circle." Europe stood at the threshold of a new era -- an era whose hope Churchill expressed in a single, simple phrase: **"Let freedom reign."**

We all know what followed. Half of Europe entered that new era -- and half of Europe found its path blocked, walled off by barriers of brick and barbed wire.

The half of Europe that was free dug out from the rubble, recovered from the war -- and laid the foundations of free government and free enterprise that brought unparalleled prosperity, and a life in peace and freedom.

The **"other Europe"** -- the Europe behind the wall -- endured four decades of privation and hardship, persecution and fear.

Today, that "other Europe" is changing. The great wheel has swung full circle once more. Our time is a time of new hope -- the hope that all of Europe can now know the freedom the Netherlands has known, that America has known, that our allies have known.

Our hope is that the unnatural division of Europe will now come to an end -- that the Europe behind the wall will join its neighbors to the West, prosperous and free.

Last week, I visited Poland and Hungary -- two countries that have travelled far these past twelve months, farther than any of us would have thought possible. In Warsaw, I spoke to the new Polish Parliament that includes 100 freely-elected Senators -- elected to office in Eastern Europe's first truly free election in the post-war era. In Hungary, I addressed the students and faculty of Karl Marx University -- a university where the lessons of the free market are replacing the teachings of Das Kapital.

At the shipyards of Gdansk, and at the statue of the great Hungarian hero Kossuth, tens of thousands of people filled the streets -- new voices, full of new hope. Theirs were the faces of Pilgrims on a journey -- fixed on the horizon, on the new world coming into view.

In Poland, in Hungary -- and of course in the Soviet Union -- we're witnessing truly remarkable events. Never in the history of the communist world has a nation moved from dictatorship to democracy.

But we're realistic. We know that the fact that these governments have begun to reform has more to do with their realization that communism is a dead-end doctrine than with any new-found love of freedom. But what matters is movement, not motive. Democracy -- once set in motion -- takes on a momentum of its own.

And ultimately, whatever the odds, freedom will succeed.

That's a lesson the world has learned several times this century -- a lesson the Dutch know well. The Netherlands will never forget the nightmare of occupation. Some of you here today suffered through those five long years.

And even then -- freedom endured. Here in the Pieterskerk -- behind these walls, above the rafters -- resistance fighters and university students took refuge from the forces of occupation, found safe haven in this church.

Daily acts of heroism -- the church sexton who brought them food, the neighborhood grocer who collected extra ration stamps -- kept them alive -- kept the spirit of dignity and human decency alive through the Netherlands' dark night.

Why? Why would people endanger themselves to save others? They did it for the simplest, most human of reasons. In the words of Jan Campert [YAHN KAHM-PERT], poet of the Dutch resistance, they acted because "the heart . . . could not do otherwise."

Freedom can never be extinguished -- not then, not now. Even in the Europe behind the wall, the dream of freedom for all

Europe has never died. It's alive today -- in Warsaw and Gdansk, in Budapest and across the Soviet Union, and in every corner of the closed societies of Eastern Europe.

The challenge we face is clear: we must work together toward the day when all of Europe -- East and West -- is free of discord, free of division. A day when freedom and the democratic ideals we share find a common home in every city and town across this continent.

Here in Leiden, where the Pilgrims dreamed their new world, let us pledge our effort to discover the new world of Europe, whole and free, a new world now within our reach.

Once again, thank you. God bless the Netherlands, God bless the United States of America, and the friends of freedom everywhere.

# # #

DAN

McGroarty/Dooley  
July 5, 1989  
12:30 p.m.  
[LEIDEN]

1989 JUL - 5 11 12

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: PIETERSKERK  
LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS  
JULY 18, 1989  
3:00 PM

[Introductory acknowledgements....] Barbara and I thank Her Majesty Queen Beatrix and the people of the Netherlands for the warm welcome you have given us.

The Netherlands is an old friend and honored ally of the United States. The friendship between our nations is older than the American Constitution -- and Holland's United Provinces was one of the models our founders looked to in creating a nation from thirteen sovereign states.

It is a pleasure to visit Leiden, the city that can rightly claim to be the birthplace of the Netherlands -- a city whose very name signifies Dutch resolve and determination. And for Americans, Leiden is a special city, a place where we too trace our origins.

So many of the individuals who shaped the modern world walked the cobbled streets of Leiden. It was here in Leiden that <sup>Hug de Broot</sup> Grotius -- the father of modern international law -- studied, in the nation that is today home to the World Court. It was here

that Rembrandt lived and worked -- and created a world of beauty that moves us today.

It was here to Leiden that the Pilgrims came to escape persecution -- to live, work and worship in peace. In the shadow of the Pieterskerk, they found the freedom to witness God -- openly and without fear. Here -- under the ancient stones of Peiterskerk -- lies the body of John Robinson, the Pilgrims' spiritual leader.

And it was from this place the Pilgrims set their course for a new world. In search of liberty, they took with them lessons learned here of freedom and tolerance. The Pilgrims faced a dangerous passage. But, carried on the winds of hope, they arrived. On the rocky coast of New England -- at the edge of a wild and unsettled continent -- they planted the seeds of a new world -- a world that became America.

Today, as when the Pilgrims left this city, a new world lies within our reach.

Our time is a time of great hope -- and a time of dangerous passage. The new world we seek is shaped by an idea -- an idea of universal appeal and undeniable force. That idea is democracy.

The power of the democratic idea is evident everywhere -- in the halls of government, in the hearts of people from Beijing to Budapest who have yearned for generations to be free. In the words of Victor Hugo: An invasion of armies can be resisted, but not an idea whose time has come. **And freedom's time has come.**

We -- the people of the United States, the people of the Netherlands -- are fortunate. The freedoms others are struggling for are freedoms we enjoy. But freedom never comes without struggle -- and it can never be sustained by people who forget that freedom is our most precious gift.

Both of our nations are partners in an alliance of free nations that spans the ocean the Pilgrims crossed. Our alliance, the NATO alliance, connects two continents -- unites a hemisphere. But what connects us isn't merely a fact of geography. Ours is an alliance forged on **common values -- rooted in a shared history and heritage, a common kinship and culture.**

We speak the common language of the Declaration of Independence. The Rights of Man -- whose truths ring true today as they did two hundred years ago. The Treaty of Utrecht, and the traditions of union and liberty built over centuries here in the Netherlands.

Seven weeks ago, I came to Europe to celebrate the fruits of our alliance: four decades of peace, prosperity and freedom. At the time of NATO's founding -- amid the airlifts to besieged Berlin -- few would have predicted a peace so strong and lasting. Here in the Netherlands -- and not only here -- people expected war to come again within their lifetimes. Instead, the NATO era has brought the longest period of peace Europe has known in the modern age.

And today, the Atlantic Alliance -- formed to contain the threat of Soviet expansionism -- is creating new opportunities to ease tensions -- to build a new world, to build a more enduring peace.

Thanks to NATO's strength and unity, we now have the opportunity to move beyond containment -- to integrate the Soviet Union into the community of nations. Thanks to NATO's steadiness of purpose, the way is now open to real reductions in the level of arms -- conventional and nuclear -- that have cast a shadow over this continent, the most heavily militarized on earth.

Seizing these opportunities -- reaching that new world -- depends on NATO's unity and strength -- not on the actions of one nation alone. Close cooperation is the key. The revival of the Western European Union -- of which the Netherlands is a charter member; the growing cooperation on security issues between West

Germany and France; British and French resolve to modernize their deterrent forces: each is a sign that Europe is determined to sustain the collective strength that has kept the peace.

And let me say clearly: A stronger Europe -- a more united Europe -- is not something America must fear. It is a development we welcome -- a natural evolution within our Alliance -- the product of true partnership forty years in the making.

This trend towards closer cooperation isn't limited to collective security alone. Around the world, countries are now recognizing that no nation can prosper in economic isolation. That's the meaning of Europe 1992 -- and it's the principle reason the world's major industrial democracies must work together to maintain conditions for sustained economic growth.

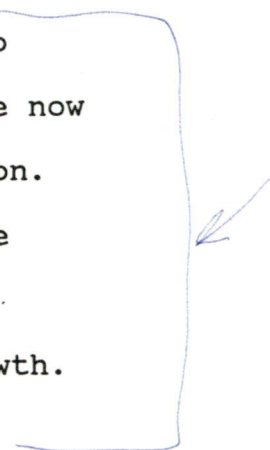
[We made progress at the Economic Summit in Paris. Progress in developing a common approach to issues of common concern -- of global concern.

Issues like the environment. Global warming, the destruction of our forests, and pollution of the world's oceans - - these are problems that know no borders, that no line on a map has the power to stop. Pollution crosses continents and oceans. **It's time for nations to join forces in common defense of our environment.** (Summit)

*problems of common concern*

*(increased strength of West being brought to bear on)*

*concrete action*



10 pp.

And it's time we tackle the debt problem. Debt is the kind of ticking time bomb that threatens growth everywhere -- not just in the developing world.

This is more than a matter of economic development. **Democracy is at stake. Freedom is no match for a hungry stomach -- and poverty is barren soil for the democratic idea.**

Economic development opens the door to a new world of democratic development -- and we must open that door for millions of people around the world. The steps we've taken towards a common strategy on debt will sustain a favorable climate for growth -- and for the flourishing of democracy in the developing world. {Summit}

~~When I go~~ When I get home, I'll be sending

And finally, we made progress in a collective effort to encourage the movement towards greater freedom now underway in Eastern Europe. {Summit}]

CA Act  
legislation

add here

The new world we seek is a world of free nations working in concert -- a world where more nations live within the circle of freedom.

Here in the pulpit at the Pieterskerk, one year after peace was restored in Europe, Winston Churchill spoke to the people of

Leiden. The allies had triumphed over tyranny. The occupation was over. After six years of war and devastation, Churchill saw a Europe on the threshold of a new era. "The great wheel," he said, "has swung full circle." Churchill chose the motto of the great University of Leiden to give voice to his hope: "Let freedom reign."

We all know what followed. Half of Europe entered that new era -- and half of Europe found its path blocked, walled off by barriers of brick and barbed wire.

The half of Europe that was free dug out from the rubble, recovered from the war -- and laid the foundations of free government and free enterprise that brought unparalleled prosperity, and a life in peace and freedom.

The "other Europe" -- the Europe behind the wall -- lived through four decades of privation and hardship, persecution and fear.

Today, all that is changing. The great wheel has swung full circle once more. Our time is a time of new hope -- the hope that all of Europe can now know the freedom the Netherlands has known, that America has known, that our allies have known.

Our hope is the hope that the unnatural division of Europe will now come to an end -- that the Europe behind the wall will join its neighbors to the West, prosperous and free.

One week ago, I visited Poland and Hungary -- two countries that have travelled far these past twelve months, farther than any of us would have thought possible. In Warsaw, I spoke to the new Polish Parliament that includes 100 freely-elected Senators -- elected to office in Eastern Europe's first truly free election since the days of Stalin. In Hungary, I addressed the students and faculty of Karl Marx University -- a university where the lessons of the free market have replaced the teachings of Das Kapital.

At the shipyards of Gdansk and at the statue of the great Hungarian hero Kossuth, hundreds of thousands of people filled the streets -- new voices, full of new hope for democracy. A sea of faces: the faces of Pilgrims on a journey -- fixed on the horizon, on the new world coming into view.

In Poland, in Hungary -- and of course in the Soviet Union -- we're witnessing truly remarkable events. Never in the history of the communist world has a nation moved from dictatorship to democracy.

But we're realistic. We know that the fact that these regimes have begun to reform has more to do with the realization that communism is a dead-end doctrine than with any new-found love of freedom. But what matters is movement, not motive. Democracy takes on a momentum of its own.

And whatever the odds, ultimately, freedom will succeed.

That's a lesson the world has learned several times this century -- a lesson the Dutch know well. The Netherlands will never forget the nightmare of occupation. Many of you here today suffered through those five long years.

And even then -- freedom endured. Here in Pieterskerk, behind the wall of this great church organ, a small group of university students -- sympathetic to the cause of resistance -- lived out the occupation in hiding.

Daily acts of heroism -- the church sexton who brought them food, the neighborhood grocer who collected extra ration stamps -- kept them alive -- kept the spirit of dignity and human decency alive through the Netherland's dark night.

Why? Why would people endanger themselves to save others? They did it for the simplest, most human of reasons. In the

words of Jan Campert, poet of the Dutch resistance, they acted because "the heart could not do otherwise."

Freedom can never be extinguished -- not then, not now. Even in the Europe behind the wall, the dream of freedom for all Europe has never died. It's alive today -- in Warsaw and Gdansk, in Budapest and across the Soviet Union, and in every corner of the closed societies of Eastern Europe.

The challenge we face is clear: we must work together toward the day when all of Europe -- East and West -- is free of discord, free of division. A day when freedom and the democratic ideals we share find a common home in every city and town across this continent.

Here in Leiden, where the Pilgrims dreamed their new world, let us pledge our effort to secure our own new world -- the new Europe, whole and free, that is now within our reach.

Once again, thank you. God bless the Netherlands, God bless the United States of America, and the friends of freedom everywhere.

# # #

Strength that got us here  
Strength will see us through ~~Get us home~~

# URGENT

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT

TIME STAMP

89 JUL 5 P 3: 34

ZELIKOW

SYSTEM LOG NUMBER: 5300

ACTION OFFICER: HUTCHINGS

DUE: 6:00 pm TODAY 7/5

- Prepare Memo For Scowcroft/Gates
- Prepare Memo For Cicconi
- Prepare Memo SCOWCROFT to WINSTON W/ CC. CICCONE
- Appropriate Action
- Prepare Memo for Hughes

CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS\*

PHONE\* to action officer at ext. 5732

- |   |  |   |
|---|--|---|
| <p><b>FYI</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Basora</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Beers</li> <li><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Blackwill</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Briggs</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Brooks</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Charles</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Coulson</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Deal</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Donley</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Dyke</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Ebner</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Grant</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Haass</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Hoffmann</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Hutchings</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Jackson</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> LaMagna</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Kanter</li> </ul> | <p><b>FYI</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Lampley</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Leach</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Levin</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Lewis</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Mahley</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Mandel</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> McCue</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Melby</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Menan</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Miller</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Miskel</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Needels</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Paal</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Pacelli</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Passage</li> <li><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Popadiuk</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Porter</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Pryce</li> </ul> | <p><b>FYI</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Rademaker</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Reiss</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Rice</li> <li><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rodman</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Rostow</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Salvetti</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Snider</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Tilley</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Tobey</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Welch</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Whitley</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Working</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Zelikow</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> _____</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> _____</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> _____</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> _____</li> </ul> |
|---|--|---|

*with.*

- INFORMATION
- Hughes
  - Scowcroft (advance)
  - Gates (advance)
  - Secretariat
  - Exec. Sec. Desk
  - SITTMANN

COMMENTS  
CRW: 8905126

Logged By WJR

# URGENT

Return to Secretariat

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

DATE: 7/5/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 7/5/89 6:00 PM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: PIETERSKERK, LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 6:00 PM, TODAY, Wednesday, July 5, with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

James W. Cicconi  
 Assistant to the President  
 and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
 Ext. 2702

1889 JUL 18 1989  
McGroarty/Dooley  
July 5, 1989  
12:30 p.m.  
[LEIDEN]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: PIETERSKERK  
LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS  
JULY 18, 1989  
3:00 PM

[Introductory acknowledgements....] Barbara and I thank Her Majesty Queen Beatrix and the people of the Netherlands for the warm welcome you have given us.

The Netherlands is an old friend and honored ally of the United States. The friendship between our nations is older than the American Constitution -- and Holland's United Provinces was one of the models our founders looked to in creating a nation from thirteen sovereign states.

It is a pleasure to visit Leiden, the city that can rightly claim to be the birthplace of the Netherlands -- a city whose very name signifies Dutch resolve and determination. And for Americans, Leiden is a special city, a place where we too trace our origins.

So many of the individuals who shaped the modern world walked the cobbled streets of Leiden. It was here in Leiden that Grotius -- the father of modern international law -- studied, in the nation that is today home to the *International Court of Justice* ~~World Court~~. It was here

that Rembrandt lived and worked -- and created a world of beauty that moves us today.

It was here to Leiden that ~~the Pilgrims~~ came to escape persecution -- to live, work and worship in peace. In the shadow of the Pieterskerk, they found the freedom to witness God -- openly and without fear. Here -- under the ancient stones of ~~Pieterskerk~~ <sup>English Puritans, who in our history are known as the Pilgrims,</sup> lies the body of John Robinson, the Pilgrims' spiritual leader.

And it was from this place the Pilgrims set their course for a new world. ~~the Americas~~ In search of liberty, they took with them lessons learned here of freedom and tolerance. The Pilgrims faced a dangerous passage. But, carried on the winds of hope, they arrived. On the rocky coast of New England -- at the edge of a wild and unsettled continent -- they planted the seeds of a new world -- a world that became America.

Today, as when the Pilgrims left this city, a new world lies within our reach.

Our time is a time of great hope -- and a time of dangerous passage. The new world we seek is shaped by an idea -- an idea of universal appeal and undeniable force. That idea is democracy.

The power of the democratic idea is evident everywhere -- in the halls of government, in the hearts of people from Beijing to Budapest who have yearned for generations to be free. In the words of Victor Hugo: An invasion of armies can be resisted, but not an idea whose time has come. And freedom's time has come.

We -- the people of the United States, the people of the Netherlands -- are fortunate. The freedoms others are struggling for are freedoms we enjoy. But, freedom never comes without struggle -- and it can never be sustained by people who forget that freedom is our most precious gift.

Both of our nations are <sup>partners in a moral and spiritual community</sup> ~~partners in an~~ <sup>of a commonwealth</sup> ~~alliance of free~~ ~~nations~~ that spans the ocean the Pilgrims crossed. Our alliance, the NATO alliance, connects two continents ~~and~~ <sup>unites a</sup> ~~hemisphere~~. But what connects us isn't merely a fact of geography. Ours is an alliance forged on common values -- rooted in a shared history and heritage, a common kinship and culture. *We are part of the commonwealth of free nations.*

We speak the common language of the Declaration of Independence. The Rights of Man -- whose truths ring true today as they did two hundred years ago. The <sup>Union</sup> ~~Treaty~~ of Utrecht, and the traditions of union and liberty built over centuries here in the Netherlands.

Seven weeks ago, I came to Europe to celebrate the fruits of our alliance: four decades of peace, prosperity and freedom. At the time of NATO's founding -- amid the airlifts to besieged Berlin -- few would have predicted a peace so strong and lasting. Here in the Netherlands -- and not only here -- people expected war to come again within their lifetimes. Instead, the NATO era has brought the longest period of peace Europe has known in ~~the~~ <sup>all of</sup> ~~modern age.~~ recorded history.

And today, the Atlantic Alliance -- formed to contain the threat of Soviet expansionism -- is creating new opportunities to ease tensions -- to build a new world, to build a ~~more~~ <sup>an</sup> enduring peace. ~~While the very foundations of Communist society are eroding in the East, this is no time for us to be complacent.~~

Thanks to NATO's strength and unity, we now have the opportunity to move **beyond containment** -- to integrate the Soviet Union into the community of nations. Thanks to NATO's steadiness of purpose, ~~and the maintenance of needed deterrent forces, and~~ the way is now open to real reductions in the level of arms ~~on this continent~~ <sup>on this continent</sup> ~~conventional and nuclear~~ that have cast a shadow ~~over this continent~~, the most heavily militarized on earth. ~~We hope finally to remove~~ the shadow which <sup>the presence of</sup> massive Soviet conventional forces have cast over Western Europe since 1945.

Seizing these opportunities -- reaching that new world -- depends on NATO's unity and strength -- not on the actions of one nation alone. Close cooperation is the key. The revival of the Western European Union -- of which the Netherlands is a charter member; the growing cooperation on security issues between West



And it's time we tackle the debt problem. Debt is the kind of ticking time bomb that threatens growth everywhere -- not just in the developing world.

This is more than a matter of economic development. Democracy is at stake. Freedom is no match for a hungry stomach -- and poverty is barren soil for the democratic idea.

Economic development opens the door to a new world of democratic development -- and we must open that door for millions of people around the world. The steps we've taken towards a common strategy on debt will sustain a favorable climate for growth -- and for the flourishing of democracy in the developing world. {Summit}

And finally, we made progress in a collective effort to encourage the movement towards greater freedom now underway in Eastern Europe. {Summit}]

The new world we seek is a <sup>Commonwealth</sup> ~~new world~~ of free nations working in concert -- a world where more nations live within the circle of freedom.

Here in the pulpit at Pieterskerk, one year after armistice brought peace to Europe, Winston Churchill spoke to the people of

Leiden. The allies had triumphed over tyranny. The occupation was over. After six years of war and devastation, Churchill saw a Europe on the threshold of a new era. "The great wheel," he said, "has swung full circle." Churchill chose the motto of the great University of Leiden to give voice to his hope: "Let freedom reign."

We all know what followed. Half of Europe entered that new era -- and half of Europe found its path blocked, walled off by barriers of brick and barbed wire.

The half of Europe that was free dug out from the rubble, recovered from the war -- and laid the foundations of free government and free enterprise that brought unparalleled prosperity, and a life in peace and freedom.

The "other Europe" -- the Europe behind the wall -- lived through four decades of privation and hardship, persecution and fear.

Today, all that is changing. The great wheel has swung full circle once more. Our time is a time of new hope -- the hope that all of Europe can now know the freedom the Netherlands has known, that America has known, that our allies have known.

Our hope is the hope that the unnatural division of Europe will now come to an end -- that the Europe behind the wall will join its neighbors to the West, prosperous and free.

One week ago, I visited Poland and Hungary -- two countries that have travelled far these past twelve months, farther than any of us would have thought possible. In Warsaw, I spoke to the new Polish Parliament that includes 100 freely-elected Senators - - elected to office in Eastern Europe's first truly free election *in more than forty years.* ~~since the days of Stalin.~~ In Hungary, I addressed the students and faculty of Karl Marx University -- a university where the lessons of the free market have replaced the teachings of Das Kapital.

At the shipyards of Gdansk and at the statue of the great Hungarian hero Kossuth, hundreds of thousands of people filled the streets -- new voices, full of new hope for democracy. A sea of faces: the faces of Pilgrims on a journey -- fixed on the horizon, on the new world coming into view.

In Poland, in Hungary -- and of course in the Soviet Union - - we're witnessing truly remarkable events. Never in the history of the communist world has a nation moved from dictatorship to democracy.

But we're realistic. We know that the fact that these regimes have begun to reform has more to do with ~~the~~<sup>their</sup> realization that communism is a dead-end doctrine than with any new-found love of freedom. But what matters is movement, not motive. Democracy takes on a momentum of its own.

And whatever the odds, ultimately, freedom will succeed.

That's a lesson the world has learned several times this century -- a lesson the Dutch know well. The Netherlands will never forget the nightmare of occupation. Many of you here today suffered through those five long years.

And even then -- freedom endured. Here in Pieterskerk, behind the wall of this great church organ, a small group of university students -- sympathetic to the cause of resistance -- lived out the occupation in hiding.

Daily acts of heroism -- the church sexton who brought them food, the neighborhood grocer who collected extra ration stamps -- kept them alive -- kept the spirit of dignity and human decency alive through the Netherland<sup>(s)</sup> dark night.

Why? Why would people endanger themselves to save others? They did it for the simplest, most human of reasons. In the

words of Jan Campert, poet of the Dutch resistance, they acted because "the heart could not do otherwise."

Freedom can never be extinguished -- not then, not now. Even in the Europe behind the wall, the dream of freedom for all Europe has never died. It's alive today -- in Warsaw and Gdansk, in Budapest and across the Soviet Union, and in every corner of the closed societies of Eastern Europe.

The challenge we face is clear: we must work together toward the day when all of Europe -- East and West -- is free of discord, free of division. A day when freedom and the democratic ideals we share find a common home in every city and town across this continent.

Here in Leiden, where the Pilgrims dreamed their new world, let us pledge our effort to secure our own new world -- the new Europe, whole and free, that is now within our reach.

Once again, thank you. God bless the Netherlands, God bless the United States of America, and the friends of freedom everywhere.

# # #

# RESEARCH

McGroarty/Dooley  
July 5, 1989  
12:30 p.m.  
[LEIDEN]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: <sup>THE</sup> PIETERSKERK  
LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS  
JULY 18, 1989  
3:00 PM

[Introductory acknowledgements....] Barbara and I thank Her Majesty Queen Beatrix and the people of the Netherlands for the warm welcome you have given us.

The Netherlands is an old friend and honored ally of the United States. The friendship between our nations is older than the American Constitution -- and ~~the Dutch, the~~ <sup>were</sup> ~~Holland's~~ United Provinces ~~was~~ one of the models our founders looked to in creating a nation from thirteen sovereign states.

It is a pleasure to visit Leiden, ~~the city that can rightly claim to be the birthplace of the Netherlands~~ -- a city whose very name signifies Dutch resolve and determination. And for Americans, Leiden is a special city, a place where we too trace our origins.

So many of the individuals who shaped the modern world walked the cobbled streets of Leiden. It was here in Leiden that Grotius -- the father of modern international law -- studied, in the ~~nation~~ <sup>stet</sup> that is today home to the World Court. It was here

that Rembrandt lived and worked -- and created a world of beauty that moves us today.

It was here to Leiden that the Pilgrims came to escape persecution -- to live, work and worship in peace. In the shadow of the Pieterskerk, <sup>[PETERS - KIRK]</sup> they found the freedom to witness God -- openly and without fear. Here -- under the ~~ancient~~ stones of <sup>the</sup> Peiterskerk -- ~~lies~~ the body of John Robinson, the Pilgrims' spiritual leader, <sup>was laid to rest.</sup>

And it was from this place the Pilgrims set their course for a new world. In search of liberty, they took with them lessons learned here of freedom and tolerance. The Pilgrims faced a dangerous passage. But, carried on the winds of hope, they arrived. On the rocky coast of New England -- at the edge of a wild and unsettled continent -- they planted the seeds of a new world -- a world that became America.

Today, as when the Pilgrims left this city, a new world lies within our reach.

Our time is a time of great hope -- and a time of dangerous passage. The new world we seek is shaped by an idea -- an idea of universal appeal and undeniable force. That idea is democracy.

The power of the democratic idea is evident everywhere -- in the halls of government, in the hearts of people from Beijing to Budapest who have yearned for generations to be free. In the words of Victor Hugo: ~~An invasion of armies can be resisted, but not an idea whose time has come.~~ *No army can withstand the strength of an idea whose time has come.* And freedom's time has come.

We -- the people of the United States, the people of the Netherlands -- are fortunate. The freedoms others are struggling for are freedoms we enjoy. But freedom never comes without struggle -- and it can never be sustained by people who forget that freedom is our most precious gift.

Both of our nations are partners in an alliance of free nations that spans the ocean the Pilgrims crossed. Our alliance, the NATO alliance, connects two continents -- unites a hemisphere. But what connects us isn't merely a fact of geography. Ours is an alliance forged on **common values** -- rooted in a **shared history and heritage, a common kinship and culture.**

We speak the common language of the Declaration of Independence. The Rights of Man -- whose truths ring true today as they did two hundred years ago. The ~~Treaty~~ *Union* of Utrecht, *[YOU - TREATY]* and the traditions of ~~union and~~ liberty built over centuries here in the Netherlands.


*Almost two months*

X ~~Seven weeks~~ ago, I came to Europe to celebrate the fruits of our alliance: four decades of peace, prosperity and freedom. At the time of NATO's founding -- amid the airlifts to besieged Berlin -- few would have predicted a peace so strong and lasting. Here in the Netherlands -- and not only here -- people expected war to come again within their lifetimes. Instead, the NATO era has brought the longest period of peace Europe has known in the modern age.

And today, the Atlantic Alliance -- formed to contain the threat of Soviet expansionism -- is creating new opportunities to ease tensions -- to build a new world, to build a more enduring peace.

Thanks to NATO's strength and unity, we now have the opportunity to move **beyond containment** -- to integrate the Soviet Union into the community of nations. Thanks to NATO's steadiness of purpose, the way is now open to real reductions in the level of arms -- conventional and nuclear -- that have cast a shadow over this continent, the most heavily militarized on earth.

Seizing these opportunities -- reaching that new world -- depends on NATO's unity and strength -- not on the actions of one nation alone. Close cooperation is the key. The revival of the Western European Union -- *in* which the Netherlands *played a vital role* ~~is a charter~~ ~~member;~~ the growing cooperation on security issues between West



Germany and France; British and French resolve to modernize their deterrent forces: each is a sign that Europe is determined to sustain the collective strength that has kept the peace.

And let me say clearly: A stronger Europe -- a more united Europe -- is not something America must fear. It is a development we welcome -- a natural evolution within our Alliance -- the product of true partnership forty years in the making.

This trend towards closer cooperation isn't limited to collective security alone. Around the world, countries are now recognizing that no nation can prosper in economic isolation. That's the meaning of Europe 1992 -- and it's the principle reason the world's major industrial democracies must work together to maintain conditions for sustained economic growth.

[We made progress at the Economic Summit in Paris. Progress in developing a common approach to issues of common concern -- of global concern.

Issues like the environment. Global warming, the destruction of our forests, and pollution of the world's oceans - - these are problems that know no borders, that no line on a map has the power to stop. Pollution crosses continents and oceans. **It's time for nations to join forces in common defense of our environment.** (Summit)

And it's time we tackle the debt problem. Debt is the kind of ticking time bomb that threatens growth everywhere -- not just in the developing world.

This is more than a matter of economic development. Democracy is at stake. Freedom is no match for a hungry stomach -- and poverty is barren soil for the democratic idea.

Economic development opens the door to a new world of democratic development -- and we must open that door for millions of people around the world. The steps we've taken towards a common strategy on debt will sustain a favorable climate for growth -- and for the flourishing of democracy in the developing world. {Summit}

And finally, we made progress in a collective effort to encourage the movement towards greater freedom now underway in Eastern Europe. {Summit}]

The new world we seek is a world of free nations working in concert -- a world where more nations live within the circle of freedom.

X  
?  
.  
Here in the pulpit at <sup>the</sup> Pieterskerk, one year after ~~armistice~~  
<sup>was restored in</sup> ~~brought~~ peace to Europe, Winston Churchill spoke to the people of

Leiden. The allies had triumphed over tyranny. The occupation was over. After six years of war and devastation, Churchill saw a Europe on the threshold of a new era. "The great wheel," he said, "has swung full circle." ~~Churchill chose the motto of the great University of Leiden to give voice to his hope:~~ "Let freedom reign." L...?

We all know what followed. Half of Europe entered that new era -- and half of Europe found its path blocked, walled off by barriers of brick and barbed wire.

The half of Europe that was free dug out from the rubble, recovered from the war -- and laid the foundations of free government and free enterprise that brought unparalleled prosperity, and a life in peace and freedom.

The "other Europe" -- the Europe behind the wall -- lived through four decades of privation and hardship, persecution and fear.

Today, all that is changing. The great wheel has swung full circle once more. Our time is a time of new hope -- the hope that all of Europe can now know the freedom the Netherlands has known, that America has known, that our allies have known.

Our hope is the hope that the unnatural division of Europe will now come to an end -- that the Europe behind the wall will join its neighbors to the West, prosperous and free.

*Last week*

*X* ~~One week ago~~, I visited Poland and Hungary -- two countries that have travelled far these past twelve months, farther than any of us would have thought possible. In Warsaw, I spoke to the new Polish Parliament that includes 100 freely-elected Senators - - elected to office in Eastern Europe's first truly free election since the days of Stalin. In Hungary, I addressed the students and faculty of Karl Marx University -- a university where the lessons of the free market have replaced the teachings of Das Kapital.

*X* At the shipyards of Gdansk and at the statue of the great Hungarian hero Kossuth, ~~hundreds of thousands~~ of people filled the streets -- new voices, full of new hope for democracy. **A sea of faces: the faces of Pilgrims on a journey -- fixed on the horizon, on the new world coming into view.**

In Poland, in Hungary -- and of course in the Soviet Union - - we're witnessing truly remarkable events. Never in the history of the communist world has a nation moved from dictatorship to democracy.

But we're realistic. We know that the fact that these regimes have begun to reform has more to do with the realization that communism is a dead-end doctrine than with any new-found love of freedom. But what matters is movement, not motive. Democracy <sup>-- once set in motion --</sup> takes on a momentum of its own.

And whatever the odds, ultimately, freedom will succeed.

That's a lesson the world has learned several times this century -- a lesson the Dutch know well. The Netherlands will never forget the nightmare of occupation. <sup>Some</sup> Many of you here today suffered through those five long years.

And even then -- freedom endured. Here in <sup>the</sup> Pieterskerk, behind the walls <sup>and above the rafters</sup> of this great church organ, ~~a small group of university students -- sympathetic to the cause of resistance -- lived out the occupation in hiding.~~ <sup>university students + Resistance fighters hid at different times during the occupation - some even for the duration</sup>

Daily acts of heroism -- the church sexton who brought them food, the neighborhood grocer who collected extra ration stamps -- kept them alive -- kept the spirit of dignity and human decency alive through the Netherland's dark night.

Why? Why would people endanger themselves to save others? They did it for the simplest, most human of reasons. In the

[YAHN <sup>E</sup>KAHM-~~PERT~~]

10

X words of Jan Campert, poet of the Dutch resistance, they acted because "the heart could not do otherwise."

Freedom can never be extinguished -- not then, not now. Even in the Europe behind the wall, the dream of freedom for all Europe has never died. It's alive today -- in Warsaw and Gdansk, in Budapest and across the Soviet Union, and in every corner of the closed societies of Eastern Europe.

The challenge we face is clear: we must work together toward the day when all of Europe -- East and West -- is free of discord, free of division. A day when freedom and the democratic ideals we share find a common home in every city and town across this continent.

Here in Leiden, where the Pilgrims dreamed their new world, let us pledge our effort to secure our own new world -- the new Europe, whole and free, that is now within our reach.

Once again, thank you. God bless the Netherlands, God bless the United States of America, and the friends of freedom everywhere.

# # #

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 7/5/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 7/5/89 6:00 PM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: PIETERSKERK, LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 6:00 PM, TODAY, Wednesday, July 5, with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE: *OK GZW 7/5*

68 JUN 4 4:39

James W. Cicconi  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 7/5/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 7/5/89 6:00 PM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: PIETERSKERK, LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 6:00 PM, TODAY, Wednesday, July 5, with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

*No comments  
7/5/89*

James W. Cicconi  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702

88 JUN 4 PM: 36

## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 7/5/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 7/5/89 6:00 PM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: PIETERSKERK, LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 6:00 PM, TODAY, Wednesday, July 5, with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE: *No comment Typo page 5*

89 JUN 4 P5: 58

James W. Cicconi  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 7, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *W*

FROM: DANIEL MCGROARTY *DMcG*

SUBJECT: REMARKS AT THE PIETERSKERK IN LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS

I. SUMMARY

On Monday, July 17, at 3:00 pm, you will speak at the Pieterskerk in Leiden, the Netherlands. The Pilgrims lived in the town of Leiden for eleven years before sailing to the New World. Although they lived near the Pieterskerk, the Pilgrims did not worship at the Pieterskerk.

This is a preliminary draft, which does not include NSC or any other comments from the staffing process.

II. DISCUSSION

The speech serves as a framework for both of your European trips. It discusses the ever-growing ideal of freedom: how it served as a basis for the common values of Western Europe and the United States. The Pieterskerk is the perfect setting to discuss the future of freedom and democracy at a time when we -- like the Pilgrims of Leiden -- stand on the threshold of a new world.

The remarks will also discuss the accomplishments of the Paris Economic Summit.

# # #

McGroarty/Dooley  
July 7, 1989  
6:00 p.m.  
[LEIDEN]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE PIETERSKERK  
LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS  
JULY 17, 1989  
3:00 PM

[Introductory acknowledgements....] Barbara and I thank Her Majesty Queen Beatrix and the people of the Netherlands for the warm welcome you have given us.

The Netherlands is an old friend and honored ally of the United States. The friendship between our nations is older than the American Constitution -- and the United Provinces were one of the models our founders looked to in creating a nation from thirteen sovereign states.

It is a pleasure to visit Leiden -- a city whose very name signifies Dutch resolve and determination. And for Americans, too, Leiden is a special city, a place where we trace our origins.

So many of the individuals who shaped the modern world walked the cobbled streets of Leiden. It was here in Leiden that Grotius -- the father of modern international law -- studied, in the nation that is today home to the World Court. It was here

that Rembrandt lived and worked -- and created a world of beauty that moves us today.

It was here to Leiden that the Pilgrims came to escape persecution -- to live, work and worship in peace. In the shadow of the Pieterskerk [PETERS-KIRK], they found the freedom to witness God -- openly and without fear. Here -- under the ancient stones of the Peiterskerk -- the body of John Robinson, the Pilgrims' spiritual leader, was laid to rest.

And it was from this place the Pilgrims set their course for a new world. In search of liberty, they took with them lessons learned here of freedom and tolerance. The Pilgrims faced a dangerous passage. But, carried on the winds of hope, they arrived. On the rocky coast of New England -- at the edge of a wild and unsettled continent -- they planted the seeds of a new world -- a world that became America.

Today, as when the Pilgrims left this city, a new world lies within our reach.

Our time is a time of great hope -- and a time of dangerous passage. The new world we seek is shaped by an idea -- an idea of universal appeal and undeniable force. That idea is democracy.

The power of the democratic idea is evident everywhere -- in the halls of government, in the hearts of people from Beijing to Budapest who have yearned for generations to be free. In the words of Victor Hugo: "No army can withstand the strength of an idea whose time has come." **And freedom's time has come.**

We -- the people of the United States, the people of the Netherlands -- are fortunate. The freedoms others are struggling for are freedoms we enjoy. But freedom never comes without struggle -- and it can never be sustained by people who forget that freedom is our most precious gift.

Both of our nations are partners in an alliance of free nations that spans the ocean the Pilgrims crossed. Our alliance, the NATO alliance, connects two continents -- unites a hemisphere. But what connects us isn't merely a fact of geography. Ours is an alliance forged on **common values -- rooted in a shared history and heritage, a common kinship and culture.**

We speak the common language of the Declaration of Independence. The Rights of Man -- whose truths ring true today as they did two hundred years ago. The Union of Utrecht [YOU-TRECT], and the tradition of liberty built over centuries here in the Netherlands.

Almost two months ago, I came to Europe to celebrate the fruits of our alliance: four decades of peace, prosperity and freedom. At the time of NATO's founding -- amid the airlifts to besieged Berlin -- few would have predicted a peace so strong and lasting. Here in the Netherlands -- and not only here -- people expected war to come again within their lifetimes. Instead, the NATO era has brought the longest period of peace Europe has known in the modern age.

And today, the Atlantic Alliance -- formed to contain the threat of Soviet expansionism -- is creating new opportunities to ease tensions -- to build a new world, to build a more enduring peace.

Thanks to NATO's strength and unity, we now have the opportunity to move **beyond containment** -- to integrate the Soviet Union into the community of nations. Thanks to NATO's steadiness of purpose, the way is now open to real reductions in the level of arms -- conventional and nuclear -- that have cast a shadow over this continent, the most heavily militarized on earth.

Seizing these opportunities -- reaching that new world -- depends on NATO's unity and strength -- not on the actions of one nation alone. Close cooperation is the key. The revival of the Western European Union -- in which the Netherlands played a vital role; the growing cooperation on security issues between West

Germany and France; British and French resolve to modernize their deterrent forces: each is a sign that Europe is determined to sustain the collective strength that has kept the peace.

And let me say clearly: A stronger Europe -- a more united Europe -- is not something America must fear. It is a development we welcome -- a natural evolution within our Alliance -- the product of true partnership forty years in the making.

This trend towards closer cooperation isn't limited to collective security alone. Around the world, countries are now recognizing that no nation can prosper in economic isolation. That's the meaning of Europe 1992 -- and it's the principle reason the world's major industrial democracies must work together to maintain conditions for sustained economic growth.

[We made progress at the Economic Summit in Paris. Progress in developing a common approach to issues of common concern -- of global concern.

Issues like the environment. Global warming, the destruction of our forests, and pollution of the world's oceans - - these are problems that know no borders, that no line on a map has the power to stop. Pollution crosses continents and oceans. It's time for nations to join forces in common defense of our environment. {Summit}



Dave

McGroarty/Dooley  
July 7, 1989  
6:00 p.m.  
[LEIDEN]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE PIETERSKERK  
LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS  
JULY 17, 1989  
3:00 PM

[Introductory acknowledgements....] Barbara and I thank Her Majesty Queen Beatrix and the people of the Netherlands for the warm welcome you have given us.

The Netherlands is an old friend and honored ally of the United States. The friendship between our nations is older than the American Constitution -- and the United Provinces were one of the models our founders looked to in creating a nation from thirteen sovereign states.

It is a pleasure to visit Leiden -- a city whose very name signifies Dutch resolve and determination. And for Americans, too, Leiden is a special city, a place where we trace our origins.

So many of the individuals who shaped the modern world walked the cobbled streets of Leiden. It was here in Leiden that Grotius -- the father of modern international law -- studied, in the nation that is today home to the World Court. It was here

that Rembrandt lived and worked -- and created a world of beauty that moves us today.

It was here to Leiden that the Pilgrims came to escape persecution -- to live, work and worship in peace. In the shadow of the Pieterskerk [PETERS-KIRK], they found the freedom to witness God -- openly and without fear. Here -- under the ancient stones of the Peiterskerk -- the body of John Robinson, the Pilgrims' spiritual leader, was laid to rest.

And it was from this place the Pilgrims set their course for a new world. In search of liberty, they took with them lessons learned here of freedom and tolerance. The Pilgrims faced a dangerous passage. But, carried on the winds of hope, they arrived. On the rocky coast of New England -- at the edge of a wild and unsettled continent -- they planted the seeds of a new world -- a world that became America.

Today, as when the Pilgrims left this city, a new world lies within our reach.

Our time is a time of great hope -- and a time of dangerous passage. The new world we seek is shaped by an idea -- an idea of universal appeal and undeniable force. That idea is democracy.

The power of the democratic idea is evident everywhere -- in the halls of government, in the hearts of people from Beijing to Budapest who have yearned for generations to be free. In the words of Victor Hugo: "No army can withstand the strength of an idea whose time has come." **And freedom's time has come.**

We -- the people of the United States, the people of the Netherlands -- are fortunate. The freedoms others are struggling for are freedoms we enjoy. But freedom never comes without struggle -- and it can never be sustained by people who forget that freedom is our most precious gift.

Both of our nations are partners in an alliance of free nations that spans the ocean the Pilgrims crossed. Our alliance, the NATO alliance, connects two continents -- unites a hemisphere. But what connects us isn't merely a fact of geography. Ours is an alliance forged on **common values -- rooted in a shared history and heritage, a common kinship and culture.**

We speak the common language of the Declaration of Independence. The Rights of Man -- whose truths ring true today as they did two hundred years ago. The Union of Utrecht [YOU-TRECT], and the tradition of liberty built over centuries here in the Netherlands.

Almost two months ago, I came to Europe to celebrate the fruits of our alliance: four decades of peace, prosperity and freedom. At the time of NATO's founding -- amid the airlifts to besieged Berlin -- few would have predicted a peace so strong and lasting. Here in the Netherlands -- and not only here -- people expected war to come again within their lifetimes. Instead, the NATO era has brought the longest period of peace Europe has known in the modern age.

And today, the Atlantic Alliance -- formed to contain the threat of Soviet expansionism -- is creating new opportunities to ease tensions -- to build a new world, to build a more enduring peace.

Thanks to NATO's strength and unity, we now have the opportunity to move **beyond containment** -- to integrate the Soviet Union into the community of nations. Thanks to NATO's steadiness of purpose, the way is now open to real reductions in the level of arms -- conventional and nuclear -- that have cast a shadow over this continent, the most heavily militarized on earth.

Seizing these opportunities -- reaching that new world -- depends on NATO's unity and strength -- not on the actions of one nation alone. Close cooperation is the key. The revival of the Western European Union -- in which the Netherlands played a vital role; the growing cooperation on security issues between West

Germany and France; British and French resolve to modernize their deterrent forces: each is a sign that Europe is determined to sustain the collective strength that has kept the peace.

And let me say clearly: A stronger Europe -- a more united Europe -- is not something America must fear. <sup>on the USSR?</sup> It is a development we welcome -- a natural evolution within our Alliance -- the product of true partnership forty years in the making.

This trend towards closer cooperation isn't limited to collective security alone. Around the world, countries are now recognizing that no nation can prosper in economic isolation. That's the meaning of Europe 1992 -- and it's the principle reason the world's major industrial democracies must work together to maintain conditions for sustained economic growth.

[We made progress at the Economic Summit in Paris. Progress in developing a common approach to issues of common concern -- of global concern.

Issues like the environment. Global warming, the destruction of our forests, and pollution of the world's oceans - - these are problems that know no borders, that no line on a map has the power to stop. Pollution crosses continents and oceans. It's time for nations to join forces in common defense of our environment. {Summit}

And it's time we tackle the debt problem. Debt is the kind of ticking time bomb that threatens growth everywhere -- not just in the developing world.

This is more than a matter of economic development. **Democracy is at stake. Freedom is no match for a hungry stomach -- and poverty is barren soil for the democratic idea.**

Economic development opens the door to a new world of democratic development -- and we must open that door for millions of people around the world. The steps we've taken towards a common strategy on debt will sustain a favorable climate for growth -- and for the flourishing of democracy in the developing world. {Summit}

And finally, we made progress in a collective effort to encourage the movement towards greater freedom now underway in Eastern Europe. {Summit}]

The new world we seek is a world of free nations working in concert -- a world where more nations live within the circle of freedom.

Here in the pulpit at the Pieterskerk, one year after peace was restored in Europe, Winston Churchill spoke to the people of

Leiden. The allies had triumphed over tyranny. The occupation was over. After six years of war and devastation, Churchill said: "The great wheel has swung full circle." Europe stood at the threshold of a new era -- an era whose hope Churchill expressed in a single, simple phrase: **"Let freedom reign."**

We all know what followed. Half of Europe entered that new era -- and half of Europe found its path blocked, walled off by barriers of brick and barbed wire.

The half of Europe that was free dug out from the rubble, recovered from the war -- and laid the foundations of free government and free enterprise that brought unparalleled prosperity, and a life in peace and freedom.

The **"other Europe"** -- the Europe behind the wall -- lived through four decades of privation and hardship, persecution and fear.

Today, all that is changing. The great wheel has swung full circle once more. Our time is a time of new hope -- the hope that **all of Europe** can now know the freedom the Netherlands has known, that America has known, that our allies have known.

Our hope <sup>is</sup> ~~is the hope~~ that the unnatural division of Europe will now come to an end -- that the Europe behind the wall will join its neighbors to the West, prosperous and free.

Last week, I visited Poland and Hungary -- two countries that have travelled far these past twelve months, farther than any of us would have thought possible. In Warsaw, I spoke to the new Polish Parliament that includes 100 freely-elected Senators - - elected to office in Eastern Europe's first truly free election since the days of Stalin. In Hungary, I addressed the students and faculty of Karl Marx University -- a university where the lessons of the free market have replaced the teachings of Das Kapital.  
*are replacing?*

At the shipyards of Gdansk and at the statue of the great Hungarian hero Kossuth, thousands of people filled the streets -- new voices, full of new hope for democracy. A sea of faces: the faces of Pilgrims on a <sup>new</sup> journey -- fixed on the horizon, on the new world coming into view.

In Poland, in Hungary -- and of course in the Soviet Union - - we're witnessing truly remarkable events. Never in the history of the communist world has a nation moved from dictatorship to democracy.

But we're realistic. We know that the fact that these regimes have begun to reform has more to do with the realization that communism is a dead-end doctrine than with any new-found love of freedom. But what matters is movement, not motive. Democracy -- once set in motion -- takes on a momentum of its own.

And whatever the odds, ultimately, freedom will succeed.

That's a lesson the world has learned several times this century -- a lesson the Dutch know well. The Netherlands will never forget the nightmare of occupation. Some of you here today suffered through those five long years.

And even then -- freedom endured. Here in the Pieterskerk -- behind these walls, above the rafters -- resistance fighters and university students took refuge from the forces of occupation, found safe haven in this church.

Daily acts of heroism -- the church sexton who brought them food, the neighborhood grocer who collected extra ration stamps -- kept them alive -- kept the spirit of dignity and human decency alive through the Netherland's dark night.

Why? Why would people endanger themselves to save others? They did it for the simplest, most human of reasons. In the

words of Jan Campert [YAHN KAHM-PERT], poet of the Dutch resistance, they acted because "the heart . . . could not do otherwise."

Freedom can never be extinguished -- not then, not now. **Even in the Europe behind the wall, the dream of freedom for all Europe has never died.** It's alive today -- in Warsaw and Gdansk, in Budapest and across the Soviet Union, and in every corner of the closed societies of Eastern Europe.

The challenge we face is clear: we must work together toward the day when all of Europe -- East and West -- is free of discord, free of division. **A day when freedom and the democratic ideals we share find a common home in every city and town across this continent.**

Here in Leiden, where the Pilgrims dreamed their new world, let us pledge our effort to secure our own new world -- the new Europe, whole and free, that is now within our reach.

Once again, thank you. God bless the Netherlands, God bless the United States of America, and the friends of freedom everywhere.

# # #

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 7/5/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 7/5/89 6:00 PM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: PIETERSKERK, LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY 703	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 6:00 PM, TODAY, Wednesday, July 5, with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

89 JUN 4 PM 07

*NCC*

RESPONSE:

*GRADY INSERT  
PINK  
PORTER suggestion (Grady Plan)*

James W. Cicconi  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702

Leiden. The allies had triumphed over tyranny. The occupation was over. After six years of war and devastation, Churchill said: "The great wheel has swung full circle." Europe stood at the threshold of a new era -- an era whose hope Churchill expressed in a single, simple phrase: "Let freedom reign."

We all know what followed. Half of Europe entered that new era -- and half of Europe found its path blocked, walled off by barriers of brick and barbed wire.

The half of Europe that was free dug out from the rubble, recovered from the war -- and laid the foundations of free government and free enterprise that brought unparalleled prosperity, and a life in peace and freedom.

The "other Europe" -- the Europe behind the wall -- lived through four decades of privation and hardship, persecution and fear.

Today, all that is changing. The great wheel has swung full circle once more. Our time is a time of new hope -- the hope that all of Europe can now know the freedom the Netherlands has known, that America has known, that our allies have known.

Our hope is the hope that the unnatural division of Europe will now come to an end -- that the Europe behind the wall will join its neighbors to the West, prosperous and free.

Last week, I visited Poland and Hungary -- two countries that have travelled far these past twelve months, farther than any of us would have thought possible. In Warsaw, I spoke to the new Polish Parliament that includes 100 freely-elected Senators - - elected to office in Eastern Europe's first truly free election since the days of Stalin. In Hungary, I addressed the students and faculty of Karl Marx University -- a university where the lessons of the free market have replaced the teachings of Das Kapital.

At the shipyards of Gdansk and at the statue of the great Hungarian hero Kossuth, thousands of people filled the streets -- new voices, full of new hope for democracy. A sea of faces: the faces of Pilgrims on a journey -- fixed on the horizon, on the new world coming into view.

In Poland, in Hungary -- and of course in the Soviet Union - - we're witnessing truly remarkable events. Never in the history of the communist world has a nation moved from dictatorship to democracy.

But we're realistic. We know that the fact that these regimes have begun to reform has more to do with the realization that communism is a dead-end doctrine than with any new-found love of freedom. But what matters is movement, not motive. Democracy -- once set in motion -- takes on a momentum of its own.

And whatever the odds, ultimately, freedom will succeed.

That's a lesson the world has learned several times this century -- a lesson the Dutch know well. The Netherlands will never forget the nightmare of occupation. Some of you here today suffered through those five long years.

And even then -- freedom endured. Here in the Pieterskerk -- behind these walls, above the rafters -- resistance fighters and university students took refuge from the forces of occupation, found safe haven in this church.

Daily acts of heroism -- the church sexton who brought them food, the neighborhood grocer who collected extra ration stamps - - kept them alive -- kept the spirit of dignity and human decency alive through the Netherland's dark night.

Why? Why would people endanger themselves to save others? They did it for the simplest, most human of reasons. In the

Why? Why would people endanger themselves to save others? They did it for the simplest, most human of reasons. In the words of Jan Campert [YAHN KAHM-PERT], poet of the Dutch resistance, they acted because "the heart . . . could not do otherwise."

Freedom can never be extinguished -- not then, not now. Even in the Europe behind the wall, the dream of freedom for all Europe has never died. It's alive today -- in Warsaw and Gdansk, in Budapest and across the Soviet Union, and in every corner of the closed societies of Eastern Europe.

The challenge we face is clear: we must work together toward the day when all of Europe -- East and West -- is free of discord, free of division. A day when freedom and the democratic ideals we share find a common home in every city and town across this continent.

Here in Leiden, where the Pilgrims dreamed their new world, let us pledge our effort to secure our own new world -- the new Europe, whole and free, that is now within our reach.

Once again, thank you. God bless the Netherlands, God bless the United States of America, and the friends of freedom everywhere.

# # #