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Folder Title:
[Departure for Malta and Brussels] 11/30/89[OA 3540]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	25	6	6	5

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 30, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
UPON DEPARTURE TO MALTA AND BRUSSELS

The Rose Garden

1:15 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: In recent years, our relations with the Soviet Union have changed greatly, and clearly they've changed for the better. And tonight, I leave for the island nation of Malta and the historic meeting with Chairman Gorbachev. And I know many of you here have worked long and hard in preparations. We've had very thorough preparations, and I'm grateful to each and every one of you.

This meeting represents a point of departure -- the beginning of a process as full of promise as any that we've known. And given the remarkable and rapid change in Eastern Europe, our meeting will be yet another important step in this long but hopeful journey toward a Europe that is indeed whole and free.

Our dreams for this transformation began 40 years ago when the NATO Alliance was formed in the hope that one day new freedom would finally belong to the millions in Europe still yearning for it.

In 1949, the people of Berlin searched the skies for the airplanes that would bring food and supplies through the blockade. And today, the people of Berlin toast the dawn of a new Europe. Governments across Eastern Europe are undergoing extraordinary change and reform, and acknowledging at last the citizens' right to choose.

America understands the magnitude of Mr. Gorbachev's challenges. And let there be no misunderstanding: We support perestroika. We support Chairman Gorbachev's efforts to relax the grip of the centralized government, to move toward pluralism and the free expression of ideas. No one can deny that there is a new openness in the Soviet Union. The change is dramatic.

Yesterday, I was gratified to see Chairman Gorbachev's rousing reception in Italy. I believe it demonstrates how deeply the people of Europe want to see change and reform continue to move forward. And I believe the people of Europe can see that Mr. Gorbachev and I -- East and West -- are not in some kind of competition. Rather, we're both working to make the world a more peaceful one.

Last night, here at the White House, Barbara and I had dinner with Prime Minister Mulroney. And we spoke at length with him. And this morning, I had a similar chat with Prime Minister Andreotti of Italy who met just today with Chairman Gorbachev. And his comments to me -- their comments to me -- Mulroney and Andreotti -- only reinforce my confidence that Mr. Gorbachev and I see eye-to-eye on what our upcoming meeting is all about. We both want to build a sustained relationship for real achievements over the long-term. He is looking for ways to keep those reforms moving forward, and I'm looking for ways to promote democracy and freedom. And the one way is to support his efforts toward reform.

We can move beyond containment in the U.S.-Soviet relation, and we can find areas of shared concern and mutual advantage. Above all, we can work toward a level of European

MORE

security, prosperity and peace as yet unknown in our lifetime. It is in that spirit that I will be talking to Chairman Gorbachev about our hopes, our concerns, and our aspirations for the future.

Ours is a powerful and historic opportunity made possible by a continuing American commitment to the Alliance and its defense. The last decade of this century marks the beginning of a new era. The gateway to a new millennium of freedom. And yet the outcome is not predestined; it depends on our continued solidarity as an alliance and as an American people committed to providing leadership, protection and encouragement for this process of peaceful transformation. So as envoys for positive, productive change, Chairman Gorbachev and I can contribute to a new Europe born in our lifetime -- a Europe where self-determination replaces coercion; where individual freedom replaces centralized control; and a lasting peace is preserved by a common respect for the rights of man. And in that spirit, I will extend the offered hand with confidence, conviction and real hope.

And I thank you and I God bless you, and God bless freedom-loving people everywhere. This is a historic moment. And thank you all very, very much. (Applause.)

Q Mr. President, why didn't you mention El Salvador?

Q Mr. President, are you ready for any possible surprises by President Gorbachev?

THE PRESIDENT: I'm ready for this meeting. Ready and confident.

Q Why didn't you mention El Salvador, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: And it will be discussed.

END

1:23 P.M. EST

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1:23 P.M. EST

**DEPARTURE CEREMONY / THE ROSE GARDEN
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1989 / 1:15 P.M.**

**IN RECENT YEARS OUR RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION
HAVE CHANGED GREATLY -- AND FOR THE BETTER.**

**TONIGHT, I LEAVE FOR THE ISLAND NATION OF MALTA,
AND AN HISTORIC MEETING WITH CHAIRMAN GORBACHEV. I
KNOW MANY OF YOU HERE HAVE WORKED LONG AND HARD IN
PREPARATIONS -- AND I'M VERY GRATEFUL.**

- 2 -

**THIS MEETING REPRESENTS A POINT OF DEPARTURE -- THE
BEGINNING OF A PROCESS, AS FULL OF PROMISE AS ANY WE'VE
KNOWN. GIVEN THE RAPID AND REMARKABLE CHANGE IN
EASTERN EUROPE, OUR MEETING WILL BE YET ANOTHER
IMPORTANT STEP IN THE LONG BUT HOPEFUL JOURNEY, TOWARD
A EUROPE WHOLE AND FREE.**

OUR DREAMS FOR THIS TRANSFORMATION BEGAN FORTY YEARS AGO, WHEN THE NATO ALLIANCE WAS FORMED IN THE HOPE THAT ONE DAY, NEW FREEDOM WOULD FINALLY BELONG TO THE MILLIONS IN EUROPE STILL YEARNING FOR IT.

IN 1949, THE PEOPLE OF BERLIN SEARCHED THE SKIES FOR THE AIRPLANES THAT WOULD BRING FOOD AND SUPPLIES THROUGH THE BLOCKADE. TODAY THE PEOPLE OF BERLIN TOAST THE DAWN OF A NEW EUROPE.

GOVERNMENTS ACROSS EASTERN EUROPE ARE UNDERGOING EXTRAORDINARY CHANGE AND REFORM -- AND ACKNOWLEDGING, AT LAST, THE CITIZENS' RIGHT TO CHOOSE.

AMERICA UNDERSTANDS THE MAGNITUDE OF MR. GORBACHEV'S CHALLENGES. LET THERE BE NO MISUNDERSTANDING: WE SUPPORT PERESTROIKA. WE SUPPORT CHAIRMAN GORBACHEV'S EFFORTS TO RELAX THE GRIP OF CENTRALIZED GOVERNMENT -- TO MOVE TOWARD PLURALISM, AND THE FREE EXPRESSION OF IDEAS.

NO ONE CAN DENY THAT THERE IS A NEW OPENNESS IN THE SOVIET UNION. THE CHANGE IS DRAMATIC.

YESTERDAY I WAS GRATIFIED TO SEE CHAIRMAN GORBACHEV'S ROUSING RECEPTION IN ITALY. I BELIEVE IT DEMONSTRATES HOW DEEPLY THE PEOPLE OF EUROPE WANT TO SEE CHANGE AND REFORM CONTINUE TO MOVE FORWARD. I BELIEVE THE PEOPLE OF EUROPE CAN SEE THAT MR. GORBACHEV AND I -- EAST AND WEST -- ARE NOT IN COMPETITION.

RATHER WE ARE BOTH WORKING TO MAKE THE WORLD A MORE PEACEFUL ONE.

LAST NIGHT I SPOKE AT LENGTH WITH PRIME MINISTER MULRONEY. THIS MORNING, I HAD A SIMILAR CHAT WITH PRIME MINISTER ANDREOTTI OF ITALY WHO MET TODAY WITH CHAIRMAN GORBACHEV. HIS COMMENTS TO ME ONLY REINFORCE MY CONFIDENCE THAT MR. GORBACHEV AND I SEE EYE TO EYE ON WHAT OUR UPCOMING MEETING IS ALL ABOUT.

WE BOTH WANT TO BUILD A SUSTAINED RELATIONSHIP FOR REAL ACHIEVEMENTS OVER THE LONG TERM.

HE'S LOOKING FOR WAYS TO KEEP REFORM MOVING FORWARD. I'M LOOKING FOR WAYS TO PROMOTE DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM -- AND ONE WAY IS TO SUPPORT CHAIRMAN GORBACHEV'S EFFORTS TOWARD REFORM. WE CAN MOVE BEYOND CONTAINMENT IN U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS. WE CAN FIND AREAS OF SHARED CONCERN -- AND MUTUAL ADVANTAGE.

ABOVE ALL, WE CAN WORK TOWARD A LEVEL OF EUROPEAN SECURITY, PROSPERITY, AND PEACE AS YET UNKNOWN IN OUR LIFETIME.

IT IS IN THAT SPIRIT THAT I WILL BE TALKING TO CHAIRMAN GORBACHEV ABOUT OUR HOPES, OUR CONCERNS, OUR ASPIRATIONS FOR THE FUTURE.

OURS IS A POWERFUL AND HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY -- MADE POSSIBLE BY A CONTINUING AMERICAN COMMITMENT TO THE ALLIANCE AND ITS DEFENSE.

THE LAST DECADE OF THIS CENTURY MARKS THE BEGINNING OF A NEW ERA -- THE GATEWAY TO A NEW MILLENNIUM OF FREEDOM. YET THE OUTCOME IS NOT PREDESTINED. IT DEPENDS ON OUR CONTINUED SOLIDARITY AS AN ALLIANCE -- AND AS AN AMERICAN PEOPLE COMMITTED TO PROVIDING LEADERSHIP, PROTECTION, AND ENCOURAGEMENT FOR THIS PROCESS OF PEACEFUL TRANSFORMATION.

AS ENVOYS FOR POSITIVE, PRODUCTIVE CHANGE, CHAIRMAN GORBACHEV AND I CAN CONTRIBUTE TO A NEW EUROPE BORN IN OUR LIFETIME. A EUROPE WHERE SELF-DETERMINATION REPLACES COERCION. WHERE INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM REPLACES CENTRALIZED CONTROL. AND A LASTING PEACE IS PRESERVED BY A COMMON RESPECT FOR THE RIGHTS OF MAN.



- 11 -

**IN THAT SPIRIT, I WILL EXTEND THE OFFERED HAND WITH
CONFIDENCE, CONVICTION, AND HOPE.**

**THANK YOU. GOD BLESS YOU. AND GOD BLESS FREEDOM-
LOVING PEOPLE EVERYWHERE.**

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**DEPARTURE CEREMONY / THE ROSE GARDEN
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1989 / 1:15 P.M.**

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- 10 -

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THANK YOU. GOD BLESS YOU. AND GOD BLESS FREEDOM-LOVING PEOPLE EVERYWHERE.

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/27/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11/28/89 4:00 PM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE FOR MALTA

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<i>NC</i> <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	<i>NIC</i> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<i>N/C</i> <input checked="" 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 4:00 PM, Tuesday, November 28, with a copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

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

(Lange/Martin)
November 27, 1989
4:30 p.m.
[MALTDEP.DOC]

1989 NOV 27 PM 4: 38

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE CEREMONY
[ANDREWS AIR FORCE BASE]
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1989
6:20 P.M.

In recent years our relations with the Soviet Union have changed greatly -- and for the better.

Tonight, I leave for the island nation of Malta, and an historic first meeting with President Gorbachev. This meeting represents a point of departure -- the beginning of a process, as full of promise as any we've known. Given the rapid and remarkable change in Eastern Europe, our meeting will be yet another important step in the long but hopeful journey, toward a Europe whole and free.

I leave bearing with me an understanding of our past -- conveyed on the winds of two centuries of freedom -- but convinced that in the future, more nations of the world will find their course by the light of liberty.

In our conversations, we will begin as emissaries from two halves of a once-divided world, that now seeks unity. We will not be negotiating. We will be talking about our hopes, our concerns, our aspirations for the future.

America understands the magnitude of Mr. Gorbachev's challenges. We will look for ways to assist reform wherever we can. To move beyond containment in U.S.-Soviet relations. To find areas of shared concern -- and mutual advantage. Above all, to work toward a level of security, prosperity, and peace as yet unknown in our lifetime.

Ours is a powerful and historic opportunity -- standing with our allies in Europe as long as they want and need us -- to forge the beginnings of a more stable world order. The last decade of this century marks the beginning of a new era -- the gateway to a new millenium of freedom.

Freedom is a force that has moved the world. We have all felt that movement. We have seen how it brings people together. Our challenge now is to find common ground -- a place to stand, and serve, as active agents for positive, productive change.

In that spirit, we will extend the offered hand with confidence, conviction, and hope.

Thank you. God bless you. And God bless freedom-loving people everywhere.

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(Lange/Martin)
November 30, 1989
9:45 a.m.
[MALTDEP.DOC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE CEREMONY
THE ROSE GARDEN
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1989
1:15 P.M.

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I ^{was} ~~asked~~ ^{asked} recently what I thought of Chairman Gorbachev's rousing reception in Italy. ^{because} I believe it demonstrates how deeply the people of Europe want to see change and reform continue to move forward. Mr. Gorbachev and I are not in competition -- nor are we promoting competition between East and West. We are both working to make the world more peaceful.

Last night I spoke with Prime Minister Mulroney about his conversations with Chairman Gorbachev. I'm confident that on one issue, Mr. Gorbachev and I see eye to eye: we both want to build a sustained relationship for real achievements over the long term!

He's looking for ways to keep reform moving forward. I'm looking for ways to promote democracy and freedom -- and that means finding ways to support Chairman Gorbachev. To move beyond containment in U.S.-Soviet relations. To find areas of shared concern -- and mutual advantage. Above all, to work toward a level of European security, prosperity, and peace as yet unknown in our lifetime.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 11/30

TO: CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: **JOHN S. GARDNER**
Special Assistant to the President
and Assistant Staff Secretary

- Information
- Action
- Let's Discuss

Dave has verbal changes on both
this and the Forrestal remarks.

Thanks.



Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

(Lange/Martin)
November 29, 1989
1989 NOV 29 PM 5:52 5:45 p.m.
[MALTDEP.DOC]

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Chairman Gorbachev and I come together in a remarkable time, as emissaries understandably bearing different perspectives, seeking common ground. I commend and support the foresight of the Soviet leadership, in declaring that a country's governance should be shared by its people -- and in pledging to encourage self-determination by allies.

America understands the magnitude of Mr. Gorbachev's challenges. Let there be no misunderstanding: We support perestroika. We support Chairman Gorbachev's efforts to the relax the grip of centralized government -- to move toward pluralism, and the free expression of ideas.

~~We will look for ways to assist reform wherever we can.~~ To move beyond containment in U.S.-Soviet relations. To find areas of shared concern -- and mutual advantage. Above all, to work toward a level of European security, prosperity, and peace as yet unknown in our lifetime.

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- of that more looking Mr. Carleton

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/29/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: -----

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ROSE GARDEN

SUBJECT: THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1989

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

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

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

(Lange/Martin)
November 29, 1989
1989 NOV 29 PM 5:52 5:45 p.m.
[MALTDEP.DOC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE CEREMONY
THE ROSE GARDEN
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1989
1:15 P.M.

In recent years our relations with the Soviet Union have changed greatly -- and for the better.

Tonight, I leave for the island nation of Malta, and an historic meeting with Chairman Gorbachev. I know many of you here have worked long and hard in preparations -- and I'm very grateful.

This meeting represents a point of departure -- the beginning of a process, as full of promise as any we've known. Given the rapid and remarkable change in Eastern Europe, our meeting will be yet another important step in the long but hopeful journey, toward a Europe whole and free.

Our dreams for this transformation began forty years ago, when the NATO Alliance was formed in the hope that one day, new freedom would finally belong to the millions in Europe still yearning for it.

In 1949, the people of Berlin searched the skies for the airplanes that would bring food and supplies through the blockade. Today the people of Berlin toast the dawn of a new Europe. Governments across Eastern Europe are undergoing extraordinary change and reform -- and acknowledging, at last, the citizens' right to choose.

Chairman Gorbachev and I come together in a remarkable time, as emissaries understandably bearing different perspectives, seeking common ground. I commend and support the foresight of the Soviet leadership, in declaring that a country's governance should be shared by its people -- and in pledging to encourage self-determination by allies.

America understands the magnitude of Mr. Gorbachev's challenges. Let there be no misunderstanding: We support perestroika. We support Chairman Gorbachev's efforts to the relax the grip of centralized government -- to move toward pluralism, and the free expression of ideas.

We will look for ways to assist reform wherever we can. To move beyond containment in U.S.-Soviet relations. To find areas of shared concern -- and mutual advantage. Above all, to work toward a level of European security, prosperity, and peace as yet unknown in our lifetime.

It is in such a spirit that I will be talking to Chairman Gorbachev about our hopes, our concerns, our aspirations for the future.

Ours is a powerful and historic opportunity -- made possible by a continuing American commitment to the Alliance and its defense.

The last decade of this century marks the beginning of a new era -- the gateway to a new millenium of freedom. Yet the outcome is not predestined. It depends on our continued solidarity as an Alliance -- and as an American people committed

to providing leadership, protection, and encouragement for this process of peaceful transformation.

As envoys for positive, productive change, Chairman Gorbachev and I can contribute to a new Europe born in our lifetime. A Europe where self-determination replaces coercion. Where individual freedom replaces centralized control. And a lasting peace is preserved by a common respect for the rights of man.

In that spirit, I will extend the offered hand with confidence, conviction, and hope.

Thank you. God bless you. And God bless freedom-loving people everywhere.

#

(Lange/Martin)
November 29, 1989
3:30 p.m.
[MALTDEP.DOC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE CEREMONY
THE ROSE GARDEN
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1989
1:15 P.M.

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It is in such a spirit of statesmanship that President Gorbachev and I will be talking about our hopes, our concerns, our aspirations for the future.

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(Lange/Martin)
November 29, 1989
1:15 p.m.
[MALTDEP.DOC]

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THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1989
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Our dreams for this transformation began forty years ago, when ^{the NATO} an Alliance was formed ^{in the} ~~to preserve hope.~~ hope that one day, new freedom would finally belong to the millions in Europe still yearning for it.

~~That day has come.~~ In 1949, the people of Berlin searched the skies for the airplanes that would bring food and supplies through the blockade. Today the people of Berlin toast the dawn of a new Europe. Governments across Eastern Europe ^{are} undergoing ^{change and reform} extraordinary evolutions, and ^{acknowledging, at least,} ~~begin honoring~~ the citizens' right to choose.

President Gorbachev and I come together in a ^{extraordinary} time of ~~choice,~~ ^{understandably bearing perspectives} as emissaries from two ^{different} ways of thinking, now seeking common

ground. I commend and support the foresight of the Soviet leadership, in declaring that a country's governance should be shared by its people -- and in pledging to encourage self-determination by allies.

It is in such a spirit of statesmanship that President Gorbachev and I will be talking about our hopes, our concerns, our aspirations for the future.

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(Lange/Martin)
November 30, 1989
10:15 a.m.
[MALTDEP.DOC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE CEREMONY
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THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1989
1:15 P.M.

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America understands the magnitude of Mr. Gorbachev's challenges. Let there be no misunderstanding: We support perestroika. We support Chairman Gorbachev's efforts to the relax the grip of centralized government -- to move toward pluralism, and the free expression of ideas.

Yesterday I was gratified to see Chairman Gorbachev's rousing reception in Italy. I believe it demonstrates how deeply the people of Europe want to see change and reform continue to move forward. *I believe the people of Europe can see that* Mr. Gorbachev and I, are not in competition -- ~~are~~ ~~are we promoting competition between~~ East and West. *Rather* We ~~are~~ both working to make the world ^a more peaceful world.

Last night I spoke with Prime Minister Mulroney about his conversations with Chairman Gorbachev. *His comments to me only reinforce* ~~I'm~~ ^{my} confidente that ~~on one~~ ~~issue,~~ *on what our upcoming meeting is all about.* Mr. Gorbachev and I see eye to eye: we both want to build a sustained relationship for real achievements over the long term.

He's looking for ways to keep reform moving forward. I'm looking for ways to promote democracy and freedom -- and ~~that~~ *one* ~~means finding ways~~ *does not mean.* ~~to support Chairman Gorbachev.~~ *That's what we can* ~~to~~ *move beyond* ~~Chairman Gorbachev's efforts toward reform.~~ *We can* ~~to~~ *find areas of shared* concern -- and mutual advantage. Above all, *We can* ~~to~~ work toward a level of European security, prosperity, and peace as yet unknown in our lifetime.

That It is in ~~such~~ a spirit that I will be talking to Chairman Gorbachev about our hopes, our concerns, our aspirations for the future.

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In that spirit, I will extend the offered hand with confidence, conviction, and hope.

Thank you. God bless you. And God bless freedom-loving people everywhere.

#

The Declaration of Brussels on the Future of Europe

By the Heads of State and Government
Participating in the
Meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Brussels
(4th-5th December 1989)

A Time of Choice

1. When we last met in May, we described the setting as a juncture of unprecedented change and opportunities. In the succeeding months, we have witnessed events that have begun to match our hopes these forty years. Our dreams for a historical transformation of Europe from a divided continent into a continent whole and free are coming true. The Alliance was established in 1949 to provide the basis for precisely the extraordinary evolution which is occurring in Eastern Europe today. Then the people of Berlin stared anxiously at the sky for the airplanes that would bring their food through the blockade. Today the people of Berlin toast the dawn of a new Europe.

2. This year people in the East made fundamental choices about their destiny, and governments there began to honor the citizen's right to choose.

- In Poland, for the first time in the postwar history of Eastern Europe, a government, chosen by the people, has taken office with both the commitment and the formal authority to dismantle the failed, repressive political and economic structure of the country.
- In Hungary, the martyrs of the 1956 struggle for independence are now honored, as the Hungarian people deliberate on their choice of government. All of the principal contenders for office have repudiated the legacy of tyranny.
- In Czechoslovakia, the loosening of travel restrictions are the first halting steps on a journey that was brutally interrupted in August 1968.
- In Bulgaria, there are tentative hopes that people there, too, will be granted a voice in their future.
- In the German Democratic Republic and in Berlin, we have all watched the beginning of a peaceful revolution. As Germans turned out in the hundreds of thousands to call for change, the government of the German Democratic Republic made a profound choice to march with the people rather than against them. And the Wall, dark symbol since 1961 of inhumanity and repression, of the enforced division of families, a nation, a whole continent, is opening.

3. In the Soviet Union, a far-seeing leadership has promised that the people should share in the governance of the country and has endorsed sweeping social and economic renewal which holds the potential for a more humane and open society. ~~[We support this bold undertaking and wish it success.]~~ We applaud the statesmanlike pledge of the Soviet leaders to substitute friendship for coercion and encourage self-determination by their allies. *and the course of E.E.*

Great choices are truly being made, and greater opportunities beckon.

A Course for Europe's Future

4. The Alliance supports an end to the painful division of Europe, which we have never accepted. Every nation has the right to determine its own way of life in freedom.

5. The division of Germany is at the heart of the division of Europe. A Europe based on freedom and justice requires that the German people be allowed to exercise their right to peaceful self-determination and, if they so choose, reestablish their national unity on the basis of this fundamental right. The reunification of Germany must be based on the freely expressed choice of the German people.

6. An end to the unnatural division of Europe and of Germany must proceed in accordance with, and be based on, Western values, so that all the countries of Europe can become part of a global commonwealth of free nations. Many of these values are described in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. They encompass the freedom of people to choose their destiny under a rule of law with rulers who are democratically accountable, and the parallel need for States to respect the inviolability of frontiers, territorial integrity, and the sovereignty of all States in Europe.

7. The achievement of a Europe whole and free, united by common ideals and shared freedoms, lies before us. The future offers the prospect of peaceful and prosperous societies with benefits all can share. Yet we are not complacent about the challenges still ahead.

The Role of the Alliance

8. The potential for strife is inherent to any period of fundamental political transition. In seeking peaceful change, the Alliance remains a reliable guarantor of peace in Europe, as it has been for forty years. It unites the free states of the Atlantic community in sharing the risks and responsibilities for protecting and guiding the development of a new Europe.

9. We remain committed to the Alliance strategy for the prevention of war, based on our nuclear and conventional forces.

We welcome President Bush's and Prime Minister Mulroney's pledge that their countries will maintain substantial military forces in Europe as long as they are desired by their Allies as part of a common effort to counterbalance Soviet military power on the continent and provide an ultimate deterrent to aggression.

10. We welcome the progress made in the Negotiations on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe toward rapid conclusion of an agreement that would drastically reduce the size of the conventional forces on both sides of the East-West divide. Such an agreement would establish a military balance that would greatly enhance stability and security in Europe and improve the prospects for continued political change. The division of Europe would be further weakened by measures to increase openness between the forces of the alliances in Europe and the development of confidence and security-building measures.

11. Above all, the Alliance represents a means to consider common approaches among countries bound together by their values and democratic institutions as much as by their shared interests. The meeting we have just concluded embodied just such an effort to work together to meet the opportunities that lie before us.

12. We have witnessed momentous events. We stand on the threshold of a new era. We know that we are part of a process of history in which peoples determined to be free illuminate the future. Yet the outcome is not predestined. It depends on our continued strength and solidarity as an Alliance. It depends vitally on the actions we take, as governments and individuals, to offer leadership, protection, and encouragement for this process of peaceful transformation. Europe is changing, and we will be equal to the change. Our transatlantic partnership will form a foundation of a new Europe, one where self-determination everywhere replaces coercion, individual freedom everywhere replaces central tyranny, and where lasting peace is reinforced everywhere by common respect for the rights of man.

(Lange/Martin)
November 27, 1989
4:30 p.m.
[MALTDEP.DOC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE CEREMONY
[ANDREWS AIR FORCE BASE]
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1989
6:20 P.M.

In recent years our relations with the Soviet Union have changed greatly -- and for the better.

Tonight, I leave for the island nation of Malta, and an historic first meeting ^{as President} with President Gorbachev. This meeting represents a point of departure -- the beginning of a process, as full of promise as any we've known. Given the rapid and remarkable change in Eastern Europe, our meeting will be yet another important step in the long but hopeful journey, toward a Europe whole and free.

From P.Z. draft
[I leave bearing with me an understanding of our past -- conveyed on the winds of two centuries of freedom -- but convinced that in the future, more nations of the world will find their course by the light of liberty.]

we are moving together @ a time of choice
thinking
In the spirit of statesmanship, to Gorbachev
~~In our conversations, we will begin as emissaries from two~~
~~halves of a ^{still} once divided world, that now seeks unity. We will~~
~~not be negotiating. ^{we} will be talking about our hopes, our~~
concerns, our aspirations for the future.

sent from
9 3 char. Gov. Uron

America understands the magnitude of Mr. Gorbachev's challenges. *Let there be no misquoting: we support Gorbachev. We support his effort to relax grip of control, work pluralism, free* We will look for ways to assist reform wherever we can. To move beyond containment in U.S.-Soviet relations. *To pluralism, free* ~~find areas of shared concern -- and mutual advantage.~~ Above all, *exp. ideas* to work toward a level of security, prosperity, and peace as yet unknown in our lifetime.

*prompt help
support for Perestroika*

[Reaffirm commitment to allies]

we have to offer because of common interests of allies to U.S. [containment work] alliance solidarity
controversial commitment to alliance & its defense
promise of US commitment to Euro. security

Ours is a powerful and historic opportunity -- standing with our allies in Europe as long as they want and need us -- to forge the beginnings of a ~~more stable world order.~~ The last decade of this century marks the beginning of a new era -- the gateway to a ~~new millenium of freedom.~~

use language in Q12

Freedom is a force that has moved the world. We have all felt that movement. We have seen how it brings people together. Our challenge now is to find common ground -- a place to stand, and serve, as ~~(active agents)~~ for positive, productive change.

A statement of our hope for a Eur. unified by common values

In that spirit, we will extend the offered hand with confidence, conviction, and hope.

Confidence with the U.S.
Confidence

Thank you. God bless you. And God bless freedom-loving people everywhere.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/27/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11/28/89 4:00 PM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE FOR MALTA

	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"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" 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 4:00 PM, Tuesday, November 28, with a copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

(11/28/89) N/C - I called it in.

09 OCT 29 11:30 AM '89 RP

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

(Lange/Martin)
November 27, 1989
4:30 p.m.
[MALTDEP.DOC]

1989 NOV 27 PM 4: 38

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE CEREMONY
[ANDREWS AIR FORCE BASE]
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1989
6:20 P.M.

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Tonight, I leave for the island nation of Malta, and an historic first meeting with President Gorbachev. This meeting represents a point of departure -- the beginning of a process, as full of promise as any we've known. Given the rapid and remarkable change in Eastern Europe, our meeting will be yet another important step in the long but hopeful journey, toward a Europe whole and free.

I leave bearing with me an understanding of our past -- conveyed on the winds of two centuries of freedom -- but convinced that in the future, more nations of the world will find their course by the light of liberty.

In our conversations, we will begin as emissaries from two halves of a once-divided world, that now seeks unity. We will not be negotiating. We will be talking about our hopes, our concerns, our aspirations for the future.

America understands the magnitude of Mr. Gorbachev's challenges. We will look for ways to assist reform wherever we can. To move beyond containment in U.S.-Soviet relations. To find areas of shared concern -- and mutual advantage. Above all, to work toward a level of security, prosperity, and peace as yet unknown in our lifetime.

Ours is a powerful and historic opportunity -- standing with our allies in Europe as long as they want and need us -- to forge the beginnings of a more stable world order. The last decade of this century marks the beginning of a new era -- the gateway to a new millenium of freedom.

Freedom is a force that has moved the world. We have all felt that movement. We have seen how it brings people together. Our challenge now is to find common ground -- a place to stand, and serve, as active agents for positive, productive change.

In that spirit, we will extend the offered hand with confidence, conviction, and hope.

Thank you. God bless you. And God bless freedom-loving people everywhere.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 28, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Departure for Malta

We have no suggested changes from a policy standpoint and approve of the draft in its present form.

cc: James W. Cicconi

89 OCT 28 P 6: 24

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/27/89

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11/28/89 4:00 PM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE FOR MALTA

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>PINKERTON</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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RESPONSE:

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

(Lange/Martin)
November 27, 1989
4:30 p.m.
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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/27/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11/28/89 4:00 PM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE FOR MALTA

	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"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>ROGERS</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>WINSTON</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>PINKERTON</u>	<input checked="" 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 4:00 PM, Tuesday, November 28, with a copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

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

(Lange/Martin)
November 27, 1989
4:30 p.m.
[MALTDEP.DOC]

1989 NOV 27 PM 4:38

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE CEREMONY
[ANDREWS AIR FORCE BASE]
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1989
6:20 P.M.

In recent years our relations with the Soviet Union have changed greatly -- and for the better.

as President
Tonight, I leave for the island nation of Malta, and an historic first meeting with President Gorbachev. This meeting represents a point of departure -- the beginning of a process, as full of promise as any we've known. Given the rapid and remarkable change in Eastern Europe, our meeting will be yet another important step in the long but hopeful journey, toward a Europe whole and free.

I leave bearing with me an understanding of our past -- conveyed on the winds of two centuries of freedom -- but convinced that in the future, more nations of the world will find their course by the light of liberty.

In our conversations, we will begin as emissaries from two halves of a once-divided world, that now seeks ^{a common purpose} (unity). We will not be negotiating. We will be talking about our hopes, our concerns, our aspirations for the future.

our differing perspectives

America understands the magnitude of Mr. Gorbachev's challenges. We will look for ways to assist reform wherever we can. To move beyond containment in U.S.-Soviet relations. To find areas of shared concern -- and mutual advantage. Above all, to work toward a level of security, prosperity, and peace as yet unknown in our lifetime.

Ours is a powerful and historic opportunity -- standing with our allies in Europe as long as they want and need us -- to forge the beginnings of a more stable world order. The last decade of this century marks the beginning of a new era -- the gateway to a new millenium of freedom.

*Sounds
rather
anecdotal*

Freedom is a force that has moved the world. We have all felt that movement. We have seen how it brings people together. Our challenge now is to find common ground -- a place to stand, and serve, as active agents for positive, productive change.

In that spirit, we will extend the offered hand with confidence, conviction, and hope.

Thank you. God bless you. And God bless freedom-loving people everywhere.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 28, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: STEPHEN G. RADEMAKER *SR*
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Departure for Malta

Pursuant to James Cicconi's request, Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced matter and has no objection to the Presidential Remarks as drafted.

cc: James W. Cicconi

89 OCT 28 11:16

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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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"/>
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CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" 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:

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RESPONSE:

No comment

89 OCT 28 4:46

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

(Lange/Martin)
November 27, 1989
4:30 p.m.
[MALTDEP.DOC]

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