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Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13587
Folder ID Number: 13587-014

Folder Title:
The Ridderzaal-The Hague 11/9/91 [OA 6038][1]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	17	4	2

91 OCT 5 P4:38 WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/4/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11:00AM, TUES., NOV. 5

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE RIDDERZAAL
THE HAGUE, THE NETHERLANDS
NOVEMBER 9, 1991

SUBJECT: _____

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	McBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER ROSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide comments on the attached directly to Tony Snow Rm. 122, x2930, with a copy to this office, NO LATER THAN 11:00AM TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 5. Thank you.

RESPONSE:



PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

McGroarty/Bunton
November 4, 1991
1:00 pm
[HAGUE]

31 NOV 4 P1:19

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE RIDDERZAAL
THE HAGUE, THE NETHERLANDS
NOVEMBER 9, 1991
12:30 P.M.

Prime Minister Lubbers, [distinguished representatives of the Dutch Government and the E.C.]: it is my pleasure to meet with you at the conclusion of this, the first U.S.-EC summit on European soil. //

I made my first visit to the Hague more than two years ago - - on the eve of the Revolution of '89. At that moment, East and West stood locked in conflict -- the armed and uneasy peace we called the Cold War. And yet, even then, in the captive nations of Eastern Europe, the world felt the first stirrings of change.

In the stone church at Leiden, I spoke of the new spirit alive on this continent -- of the new world within our reach. Today, as we meet in this historic Hall of Knights, Europe stands transformed: East and West united. A new world stretches out before us -- a world alive with the promise of freedom. //

Just two years ago today, the Revolution swept away that stark and searing symbol of Europe's division -- and the Wall came crashing down. / But history allows little time for celebration. With change comes new challenges: new challenges for old allies -- to make certain history's most successful alliance does not become the final casualty of the Cold War. / New challenges for old adversaries: here in Europe, the nations

of the East look to their Western neighbors for help in securing their hard-won freedoms.

In coping with a changing future, we must not repeat the errors of the past. / On my side of the Atlantic, some greeted the end of the Cold War with a chorus of "Come Home, America." For them, the collapse of communism stripped NATO of its mission. NATO's work was done -- save for the handshakes and ticker-tape parades. // Nothing could be more dangerous -- for Europe, for America, and for the world. Especially now, at this moment of hope, we must guard against false euphoria.

We must heed the hard-won lessons of two world wars. We should give future historians no reason to see in 1991 a repeat of 1919: an age of naive isolationism -- with the world's great democracies divided and distracted, rivals in a headlong rush to disarm, oblivious to unexpected dangers. This first age of naivete made possible the horrors of Hitler -- and the protracted terror of the Cold War. For one brief dalliance with delusion, the world paid dearly: Millions died in horrible wars. Innocent generations lost the dream of freedom.

The question we face today is not so different than the one our ancestors faced in 1919: we knew how to wage the Cold War. But do we know how to wage the peace? / Those who argue that the collapse of communism makes NATO obsolete misunderstand our alliance. NATO's mission was never simply military. NATO was from the first and remains today an alliance of free nations --

of fellow democracies -- of countries with a common kinship and culture, a shared heritage and history. //

The easing of the Soviet threat does nothing to weaken the bonds that connect my country to this continent. Today, Europe and America are partners in peace -- and partners in prosperity, with strong trade ties that enrich our peoples, create new economic opportunities and fuel growth. // NATO must remain an expression of our common commitment to a free and prosperous future.

There is no question that NATO will change. {In Rome, we ratified a new strategic doctrine -- one that responds to the sweeping changes in our world. We agreed to seek a new degree of cooperation between NATO and the nine nations of the East -- the six former members of the Warsaw Pact and the newly-independent Baltic states.} / On both sides of the Atlantic, we can and will reduce troop levels -- eliminate entire categories of nuclear weapons -- redefine our roles and responsibilities in response to the new conditions that now prevail. //

We should not need an enemy at the door to teach us the wisdom of strength and vigilance. Even in the new Europe, NATO remains the cornerstone of collective security. //

Just as NATO adapts to new realities, so must my country and the nations of this continent forge a new partnership. / Think back four decades ago, to the days of the Berlin Blockade and the Marshall Plan. Nearly all of Europe stood in ruins -- half its people locked in chains. / The new Europe stands strong and

proud: Nearly 400 million people, a full [one-fifth] of the world's economic output, nations that rank among the world's most advanced and best educated. Few continents can rival the collective economic strength of a united Europe. //

A generation of post-war prosperity has prepared Europe for larger responsibilities. / We witnessed the new Europe in action in the Gulf War, as the EC -- and individual nations including even the fragile new democracies of Eastern Europe -- stood with us against aggression. / We see the new Europe now, in Madrid, where the European Community stands with us as a partner in the quest for peace. We see the new Europe at work closer to home, working to end war in Yugoslavia.

Let me say without equivocation: the United States sees no threat in European unity. It was never the aim of the U.S. to see the nations of Europe set one against the other. We've seen too often in the past that balance of power politics ends in bloodshed. The U.S. made European independence a pillar of our post-war policy.

We welcome the emergence of the new Europe, in the European Community's march toward a single market, in the revival of the Western European Union, in the EC's new accord with the European Free Trade Association -- in the Summit that brings us together today. // We see the growing unity of Europe as a natural evolution toward our common aim: a commonwealth of free nations, working in concert; a new world where more and more nations enter a widening circle of freedom. //

In the months and years ahead, this commonwealth will be called upon to meet new challenges. I want to focus on three of those challenges today: helping the new democracies of the East, encouraging democratic change in the Soviet Union -- and finally, ensuring that old Cold War allies do not become trade war adversaries. //

First, we must write the final chapter of the Cold War conflict: We must help the nations of the East secure the freedoms they have won. In the East, the euphoria of 1989 has worn away. While the urgent work of democracy-building and market reform moves forward, some see in our triumph a bitter harvest. In this view, the collapse of communism has thrown open a Pandora's Box of ancient ethnic hatreds, resentment and revenge. Some fear democracy's new freedoms will be used not to build new trust, but to settle old scores.

All of Europe has awakened to the dangers of an old enemy: a nationalism animated by hatred and unmoved by nobler ends. / No one need fear healthy national pride: the distinctive and defining traditions -- the living history that gives peoples and nations a sense of identity, principle and purpose. But we must resist nationalism of a more sinister sort: one that feeds on stale prejudices, that pits nation against nation and fellow citizens against themselves, one that teaches people to regard their neighbors as implacable threats to all they hold dear.

We see in Yugoslavia how the proud name of nationalism can splinter a country into bloody civil war. America supports the

efforts of the European Community to bring that conflict to an end. Today I call on all parties to stop the violence -- to seek through peaceful means a solution, a system, that preserves minority rights against the unchecked authority of the state.

The answer lies not in suppressing the dark impulses that destroy nations but in surmounting them -- cultivating a spirit of democratic tolerance. There can be no place for these old animosities in the new Europe. //

Farther east, we face a second : Supporting democratic reform in the Soviet Union and its Republics. // The failed August coup stiffened the resolve of reformers to institute democratic change and introduce true free market reforms. We in the West must answer by opening our markets to Soviet goods, encouraging investment, offering economic advice and expertise. //

I believe the Soviet peoples -- the reformers in the central government and the republics -- want change. But no shortcut can spare the Soviet people serious hardship as they dig out from under seventy years of misrule. A harsh winter, hard times, lie ahead -- and desperate times breed demagogues. / America and Europe share an interest in the success of Soviet reform. Together, we must act together to support the forces of liberty, democracy and free enterprise in that troubled region. //

Finally, our third : the danger that old Cold War allies will become new economic adversaries. There are signs on both sides of the Atlantic that this could happen. Voices on both

sides proclaim mistakenly that nations can achieve prosperity through protectionism. /

That way lies economic ruin -- catastrophe rivalling the worst the world has seen this century. // As President, part of my responsibility to the American people is ensuring economic growth. In a global economy, that means fighting for free trade.

In North America, as in Europe, great progress has been made driving down trade barriers. But that progress will mean little if the world aligns itself into warring trade blocs. // The principle of free trade faces a critical test in the Uruguay Round. A positive outcome -- one that reaffirms and extends the GATT system -- will prove that the U.S. and the European Community can resolve their differences in favor of free trade -
- in favor of freedom. //

Each challenge we face constitutes a test. Each holds open an opportunity to give real meaning to strengthen the bonds that link us across the Atlantic -- to open our commonwealth of free nations to all who love liberty and seek peace. //

Thank you. / May God bless The Netherlands and all the free peoples of Europe.

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91 OCT 6 49:33
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 SUBJECT: NOVEMBER 9, 1991

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Thank you. / May God bless The Netherlands and all the free peoples of Europe.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 5, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH:

DAVE DEMAREST *AD*
TONY SNOW *TS*

FROM:

DAN MCGROARTY *DMG*

SUBJECT:

PROPOSED REMARKS TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AT THE
RIDDERZALL, THE HAGUE

I. SUMMARY

On Saturday, November 9 at 12:30 p.m. you will deliver remarks in an address to the European Community in the Ridderzaal at the Hague.

II. DISCUSSION

Your remarks (approximately 15 minutes/ cards) stress the importance of European unity and the continuing role of NATO. Your remarks set out three challenges facing America and Europe: assisting new democracies of emerging Europe, encouraging democratic reform in the Soviet Union, and working for freer world trade in the Uruguay Round.

McGroarty/Bunton
November 5, 1991
6:30 pm
[HAGUE]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE RIDDERZAAL
THE HAGUE, THE NETHERLANDS
NOVEMBER 9, 1991
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Prime Minister Lubbers, [distinguished representatives of the Dutch Government and the E.C.]: it is my pleasure to meet with you at the conclusion of this, the first U.S.-EC summit on European soil. //

I made my first visit to the Hague more than two years ago - - on the eve of the Revolution of '89. At that moment, East and West stood locked in conflict -- the armed and uneasy peace we called the Cold War. And yet, even then, in the captive nations of Eastern Europe, the world felt the first stirrings of change.

In the stone church at Leiden, I spoke of the new spirit alive on this continent -- of the new world within our reach. Today, as we meet in this historic Hall of Knights, Europe stands transformed. A new world stretches out before us -- a world alive with the promise of freedom. //

Just two years ago today, the Revolution swept away that stark and searing symbol of Europe's division -- and the Wall came crashing down. / But history allows little time for celebration. With change comes new challenges: new challenges for old allies -- who must chart a common course in the peace that follows the Cold War. New challenges for old adversaries: here in Europe, making certain the nations of the East can look

to their Western neighbors for help in securing their hard-won freedoms.

In coping with a changing future, we must not repeat the errors of the past. / On my side of the Atlantic, some greeted the end of the Cold War with a chorus of "Come Home, America." For them, the collapse of communism meant America's work in Europe was done. Nothing could be more short-sighted -- for Europe, for America, and for the world. //

We must heed the hard-won lessons of this century if we are to seize new opportunities in the next. We should give future historians no reason to see in 1991 a repeat of 1919: an age of naive isolationism -- with the world's great democracies divided and distracted, rivals in a headlong rush to disarm, oblivious to unexpected dangers. This first age of naivete made possible the horrors of Hitler -- and the protracted terror of the Cold War. For one brief dalliance with delusion, the world paid dearly: Millions died in horrible wars. Innocent generations lost the dream of freedom.

The question we face today is not so different than the one our ancestors faced in 1919: we knew how to wage the Cold War. But do we know how to wage the peace? / Those who argue that the collapse of communism makes NATO obsolete are mistaken. NATO's mission is more than simply military. NATO was from the first and remains today an alliance of free nations -- of fellow democracies -- of countries bound by the long sweep of history and shared heritage. //

Today, as we have been for half a century, Europe and America are partners in peace. Today, we are also partners in prosperity -- with strong trade ties that enrich our peoples, create new economic opportunities and fuel growth. // NATO is and must remain an expression of our common commitment to a free and prosperous future.

There is no question that NATO will change. In Rome, we ratified changes in the way the Alliance will provide for the common defense, the way we will deal with our former adversaries -- and even the way we will deal with each other. Our new strategic doctrine will ensure that every ally is secure from any threat -- security made credible by highly mobile, multi-national forces, greatly reduced in size but unmatched in human and technological quality. / Our new liaison program for Europe's youngest democracies -- Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and others -- will help them transform their military apparatus from a weapon of the state to the guardian of free people. / Finally, the Alliances' endorsement of a European defense identity -- the long-sought "European Pillar" -- will give the new Europe more responsibility in the protection of our vital interests, our cherished ideals and the rule of law. //

Just as NATO adapts to new realities, so must my country and the nations of this continent forge a new partnership. //

Think back four decades ago, to the days of the Berlin Blockade and the Marshall Plan. Nearly all of Europe stood in ruins -- half its people locked in chains. / Today Western

Europe stands as a model for what democracy, the free market and cooperation can deliver. Nearly 400 million people, a full [one-fifth] of the world's economic output, nations that rank among the world's most advanced and best educated. //

A generation of post-war prosperity has prepared Europe for larger responsibilities. / We are now witnessing the new Europe in action: working with us to help the citizens of Central and Eastern Europe transform their systems, their societies and their lives; in Madrid, where the European Community -- under strong Dutch leadership -- stands with us as a partner in the quest for peace in the Middle East. We see the new Europe at work closer to home, striving against strong odds to end war in Yugoslavia.

We welcome the emergence of the new Europe, in the European Community's march toward a single market and political union, in the revival of the Western European Union, in the EC's new accord with the European Free Trade Association -- in the Summit that brings us together today. // We see the growing unity of Europe as a natural evolution toward our common aim: a commonwealth of free nations, working in concert; a new world where more and more nations enter a widening circle of freedom. //

In the months and years ahead, this commonwealth will be called upon to be patient and steady -- at once, resolute and ready to act. //

First, we must write the final chapter of the Cold War conflict: We must help the nations of the East secure the freedoms they have won. In Central and Eastern Europe, the

euphoria of 1989 has worn away. Each country struggles to build a functioning free market on the ruins of the socialist system - - to rekindle a saving sense of trust essential to democratic society. These nations need our help -- access to Western markets, financial and technical assistance to ease their transition. For forty long years, the captive nations of the East looked West for a sign of hope. It is time now to say to these new democracies -- we will help you. You will succeed. //

Yet, while the urgent work of democracy-building and market reform moves forward, some see in freedom's triumph a bitter harvest. In this view, the collapse of communism has thrown open a Pandora's Box of ancient ethnic hatreds, resentment and revenge. Some fear democracy's new freedoms will be used not to build new trust, but to settle old scores.

All of Europe has awakened to the dangers of an old enemy: a nationalism animated by hatred and unmoved by nobler ends. / No one need fear healthy national pride: the distinctive and defining traditions -- the living history that gives peoples and nations a sense of identity, principle and purpose. But we must guard against nationalism of a more sinister sort: one that feeds on stale prejudices, that pits nation against nation and citizens against citizen -- one that teaches people to regard their neighbors as implacable threats to all they hold dear. There can be no place for these old animosities in the new Europe. //

The answer lies not in suppressing the dark impulses that destroy nations but in surmounting them -- cultivating a spirit of democratic tolerance and peaceful change, a concept of majority rule that respects minority rights. / Democracy and freedom are not the causes of strife in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Western Europe stands as proof that in the space of little more than one generation, the spirit of democracy can transcend centuries of rivalry, war and nationalist strife. //

We see in Yugoslavia how the proud name of nationalism can splinter a country into bloody civil war. America supports the efforts of the European Community to bring that conflict to an end. We urge all parties to stop the violence -- to seek through peaceful means an immediate end to the anguish. //

Second, we must seize the opportunities farther East -- to support democratic reform in the Soviet Union and its Republics. // The failed August coup stiffened the resolve of reformers to institute democratic change and introduce true free market reforms. We in the West must answer by offering humanitarian aid, opening our markets to goods from every Republic, encouraging investment, offering economic advice and expertise. //

I believe the peoples everywhere in that vast land want change. But no shortcut can spare them suffering and hardship as they dig out from under seventy years of misrule. A harsh winter, hard times, lie ahead -- and desperate times breed demagogues. / America and Europe share an interest in the

success of Soviet reform. Together, we must act together to support the forces of liberty, democracy and free enterprise in that troubled region. //

Finally, we must guard against the danger that old Cold War allies will become new economic adversaries. There are signs on both sides of the Atlantic that this could happen. Voices on both sides peddle protectionism as the path to prosperity.

That way lies economic ruin -- a prescription for international economic disaster. // As President, part of my responsibility to the American people is ensuring economic growth and opportunity. In a global economy, that means fighting for free and fair trade.

In North America, as in Europe, great progress has been made driving down trade barriers. But that progress will mean little if the world aligns itself into warring trade blocs. // The principle of free trade faces a critical test in the Uruguay Round. A positive outcome -- one that reaffirms and extends the GATT system -- will prove that the U.S. and the European Community can resolve their differences in favor of free and open trade. //

Helping the emerging democracies of Eastern Europe; supporting democratic reform in the Soviet Union and its Republics; pushing forward for freer world trade -- each challenge we face constitutes a test. Each holds open an opportunity to give real meaning to strengthen the bonds that

link us across the Atlantic -- to open our commonwealth of free nations to all who love liberty and seek peace. //

Thank you. / May God bless The Netherlands and all the free peoples of Europe.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 5, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH:

DAVE DEMAREST *DD*
TONY SNOW *TS*

FROM:

DAN MCGROARTY *DMG*

SUBJECT:

PROPOSED REMARKS TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AT THE
RIDDERZALL, THE HAGUE

I. SUMMARY

On Saturday, November 9 at 12:30 p.m. you will deliver remarks in an address to the European Community in the Ridderzaal at the Hague.

II. DISCUSSION

Your remarks (approximately 15 minutes/ cards) stress the importance of European unity and the continuing role of NATO. Your remarks set out three challenges facing America and Europe: assisting new democracies of emerging Europe, encouraging democratic reform in the Soviet Union, and working for freer world trade in the Uruguay Round.

McGroarty/Bunton
November 5, 1991
6:30 pm
[HAGUE]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE RIDDERZAAL
THE HAGUE, THE NETHERLANDS
NOVEMBER 9, 1991
12:30 P.M.

Prime Minister Lubbers, [distinguished representatives of the Dutch Government and the E.C.]: it is my pleasure to meet with you at the conclusion of this, the first U.S.-EC summit on European soil. //

I made my first visit to the Hague more than two years ago - - on the eve of the Revolution of '89. At that moment, East and West stood locked in conflict -- the armed and uneasy peace we called the Cold War. And yet, even then, in the captive nations of Eastern Europe, the world felt the first stirrings of change.

In the stone church at Leiden, I spoke of the new spirit alive on this continent -- of the new world within our reach. Today, as we meet in this historic Hall of Knights, Europe stands transformed. A new world stretches out before us -- a world alive with the promise of freedom. //

Just two years ago today, the Revolution swept away that stark and searing symbol of Europe's division -- and the Wall came crashing down. / But history allows little time for celebration. With change comes new challenges: new challenges for old allies -- who must chart a common course in the peace that follows the Cold War. New challenges for old adversaries: here in Europe, making certain the nations of the East can look

to their Western neighbors for help in securing their hard-won freedoms.

In coping with a changing future, we must not repeat the errors of the past. / On my side of the Atlantic, some greeted the end of the Cold War with a chorus of "Come Home, America." For them, the collapse of communism meant America's work in Europe was done. Nothing could be more short-sighted -- for Europe, for America, and for the world. //

We must heed the hard-won lessons of this century if we are to seize new opportunities in the next. We should give future historians no reason to see in 1991 a repeat of 1919: an age of naive isolationism -- with the world's great democracies divided and distracted, rivals in a headlong rush to disarm, oblivious to unexpected dangers. This first age of naivete made possible the horrors of Hitler -- and the protracted terror of the Cold War. For one brief dalliance with delusion, the world paid dearly: Millions died in horrible wars. Innocent generations lost the dream of freedom.

The question we face today is not so different than the one our ancestors faced in 1919: we knew how to wage the Cold War. But do we know how to wage the peace? / Those who argue that the collapse of communism makes NATO obsolete are mistaken. NATO's mission is more than simply military. NATO was from the first and remains today an alliance of free nations -- of fellow democracies -- of countries bound by the long sweep of history and shared heritage. //

Today, as we have been for half a century, Europe and America are partners in peace. Today, we are also partners in prosperity -- with strong trade ties that enrich our peoples, create new economic opportunities and fuel growth. // NATO is and must remain an expression of our common commitment to a free and prosperous future.

There is no question that NATO will change. In Rome, we ratified changes in the way the Alliance will provide for the common defense, the way we will deal with our former adversaries -- and even the way we will deal with each other. Our new strategic doctrine will ensure that every ally is secure from any threat -- security made credible by highly mobile, multi-national forces, greatly reduced in size but unmatched in human and technological quality. / Our new liaison program for Europe's youngest democracies -- Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and others -- will help them transform their military apparatus from a weapon of the state to the guardian of free people. / Finally, the Alliances' endorsement of a European defense identity -- the long-sought "European Pillar" -- will give the new Europe more responsibility in the protection of our vital interests, our cherished ideals and the rule of law. //

Just as NATO adapts to new realities, so must my country and the nations of this continent forge a new partnership. //

Think back four decades ago, to the days of the Berlin Blockade and the Marshall Plan. Nearly all of Europe stood in ruins -- half its people locked in chains. / Today Western

Europe stands as a model for what democracy, the free market and cooperation can deliver. Nearly 400 million people, a full [one-fifth] of the world's economic output, nations that rank among the world's most advanced and best educated. //

A generation of post-war prosperity has prepared Europe for larger responsibilities. / We are now witnessing the new Europe in action: working with us to help the citizens of Central and Eastern Europe transform their systems, their societies and their lives; in Madrid, where the European Community -- under strong Dutch leadership -- stands with us as a partner in the quest for peace in the Middle East. We see the new Europe at work closer to home, striving against strong odds to end war in Yugoslavia.

We welcome the emergence of the new Europe, in the European Community's march toward a single market and political union, in the revival of the Western European Union, in the EC's new accord with the European Free Trade Association -- in the Summit that brings us together today. // We see the growing unity of Europe as a natural evolution toward our common aim: a commonwealth of free nations, working in concert; a new world where more and more nations enter a widening circle of freedom. //

In the months and years ahead, this commonwealth will be called upon to be patient and steady -- at once, resolute and ready to act. //

First, we must write the final chapter of the Cold War conflict: We must help the nations of the East secure the freedoms they have won. In Central and Eastern Europe, the

euphoria of 1989 has worn away. Each country struggles to build a functioning free market on the ruins of the socialist system - - to rekindle a saving sense of trust essential to democratic society. These nations need our help -- access to Western markets, financial and technical assistance to ease their transition. For forty long years, the captive nations of the East looked West for a sign of hope. It is time now to say to these new democracies -- we will help you. You will succeed. //

Yet, while the urgent work of democracy-building and market reform moves forward, some see in freedom's triumph a bitter harvest. In this view, the collapse of communism has thrown open a Pandora's Box of ancient ethnic hatreds, resentment and revenge. Some fear democracy's new freedoms will be used not to build new trust, but to settle old scores.

All of Europe has awakened to the dangers of an old enemy: a nationalism animated by hatred and unmoved by nobler ends. / No one need fear healthy national pride: the distinctive and defining traditions -- the living history that gives peoples and nations a sense of identity, principle and purpose. But we must guard against nationalism of a more sinister sort: one that feeds on stale prejudices, that pits nation against nation and citizens against citizen -- one that teaches people to regard their neighbors as implacable threats to all they hold dear. There can be no place for these old animosities in the new Europe. //

The answer lies not in suppressing the dark impulses that destroy nations but in surmounting them -- cultivating a spirit of democratic tolerance and peaceful change, a concept of majority rule that respects minority rights. / Democracy and freedom are not the causes of strife in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Western Europe stands as proof that in the space of little more than one generation, the spirit of democracy can transcend centuries of rivalry, war and nationalist strife. //

We see in Yugoslavia how the proud name of nationalism can splinter a country into bloody civil war. America supports the efforts of the European Community to bring that conflict to an end. We urge all parties to stop the violence -- to seek through peaceful means an immediate end to the anguish. //

Second, we must seize the opportunities farther East -- to support democratic reform in the Soviet Union and its Republics. // The failed August coup stiffened the resolve of reformers to institute democratic change and introduce true free market reforms. We in the West must answer by offering humanitarian aid, opening our markets to goods from every Republic, encouraging investment, offering economic advice and expertise. //

I believe the peoples everywhere in that vast land want change. But no shortcut can spare them suffering and hardship as they dig out from under seventy years of misrule. A harsh winter, hard times, lie ahead -- and desperate times breed demagogues. / America and Europe share an interest in the

success of Soviet reform. Together, we must act together to support the forces of liberty, democracy and free enterprise in that troubled region. //

Finally, we must guard against the danger that old Cold War allies will become new economic adversaries. There are signs on both sides of the Atlantic that this could happen. Voices on both sides peddle protectionism as the path to prosperity.

That way lies economic ruin -- a prescription for international economic disaster. // As President, part of my responsibility to the American people is ensuring economic growth and opportunity. In a global economy, that means fighting for free and fair trade.

In North America, as in Europe, great progress has been made driving down trade barriers. But that progress will mean little if the world aligns itself into warring trade blocs. // The principle of free trade faces a critical test in the Uruguay Round. A positive outcome -- one that reaffirms and extends the GATT system -- will prove that the U.S. and the European Community can resolve their differences in favor of free and open trade. //

Helping the emerging democracies of Eastern Europe; supporting democratic reform in the Soviet Union and its Republics; pushing forward for freer world trade -- each challenge we face constitutes a test. Each holds open an opportunity to give real meaning to strengthen the bonds that

link us across the Atlantic -- to open our commonwealth of free nations to all who love liberty and seek peace. //

Thank you. / May God bless The Netherlands and all the free peoples of Europe.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 5, 1991

91 OCT 5 P4:10

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: The Ridderzaal

We have reviewed the attached draft and have no suggested changes from a policy standpoint. We approve of the draft remarks in their current form.

cc: Phillip D. Brady

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/4/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11:00AM, TUES., NOV. 5

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE RIDDERZAAL
THE HAGUE, THE NETHERLANDS
NOVEMBER 9, 1991

SUBJECT: _____

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	McBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER ROSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide comments on the attached directly to Tony Snow Rm. 122, x2930, with a copy to this office, NO LATER THAN 11:00AM TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 5. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

McGroarty/Bunton
November 4, 1991
1:00 pm
[HAGUE]

31 NOV 4 P1:19

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE RIDDERZAAL
THE HAGUE, THE NETHERLANDS
NOVEMBER 9, 1991
12:30 P.M.

Prime Minister Lubbers, [distinguished representatives of the Dutch Government and the E.C.]: it is my pleasure to meet with you at the conclusion of this, the first U.S.-EC summit on European soil. //

I made my first visit to the Hague more than two years ago - - on the eve of the Revolution of '89. At that moment, East and West stood locked in conflict -- the armed and uneasy peace we called the Cold War. And yet, even then, in the captive nations of Eastern Europe, the world felt the first stirrings of change.

In the stone church at Leiden, I spoke of the new spirit alive on this continent -- of the new world within our reach. Today, as we meet in this historic Hall of Knights, Europe stands transformed: East and West united. A new world stretches out before us -- a world alive with the promise of freedom. //

Just two years ago today, the Revolution swept away that stark and searing symbol of Europe's division -- and the Wall came crashing down. / But history allows little time for celebration. With change comes new challenges: new challenges for old allies -- to make certain history's most successful alliance does not become the final casualty of the Cold War. / New challenges for old adversaries: here in Europe, the nations

of the East look to their Western neighbors for help in securing their hard-won freedoms.

In coping with a changing future, we must not repeat the errors of the past. / On my side of the Atlantic, some greeted the end of the Cold War with a chorus of "Come Home, America." For them, the collapse of communism stripped NATO of its mission. NATO's work was done -- save for the handshakes and ticker-tape parades. // Nothing could be more dangerous -- for Europe, for America, and for the world. Especially now, at this moment of hope, we must guard against false euphoria.

We must heed the hard-won lessons of two world wars. We should give future historians no reason to see in 1991 a repeat of 1919: an age of naive isolationism -- with the world's great democracies divided and distracted, rivals in a headlong rush to disarm, oblivious to unexpected dangers. This first age of naivete made possible the horrors of Hitler -- and the protracted terror of the Cold War. For one brief dalliance with delusion, the world paid dearly: Millions died in horrible wars. Innocent generations lost the dream of freedom.

The question we face today is not so different than the one our ancestors faced in 1919: we knew how to wage the Cold War. But do we know how to wage the peace? / Those who argue that the collapse of communism makes NATO obsolete misunderstand our alliance. NATO's mission was never simply military. NATO was from the first and remains today an alliance of free nations --

of fellow democracies -- of countries with a common kinship and culture, a shared heritage and history. //

The easing of the Soviet threat does nothing to weaken the bonds that connect my country to this continent. Today, Europe and America are partners in peace -- and partners in prosperity, with strong trade ties that enrich our peoples, create new economic opportunities and fuel growth. // NATO must remain an expression of our common commitment to a free and prosperous future.

There is no question that NATO will change. {In Rome, we ratified a new strategic doctrine -- one that responds to the sweeping changes in our world. We agreed to seek a new degree of cooperation between NATO and the nine nations of the East -- the six former members of the Warsaw Pact and the newly-independent Baltic states.} / On both sides of the Atlantic, we can and will reduce troop levels -- eliminate entire categories of nuclear weapons -- redefine our roles and responsibilities in response to the new conditions that now prevail. //

We should not need an enemy at the door to teach us the wisdom of strength and vigilance. Even in the new Europe, NATO remains the cornerstone of collective security. //

Just as NATO adapts to new realities, so must my country and the nations of this continent forge a new partnership. / Think back four decades ago, to the days of the Berlin Blockade and the Marshall Plan. Nearly all of Europe stood in ruins -- half its people locked in chains. / The new Europe stands strong and

proud: Nearly 400 million people, a full [one-fifth] of the world's economic output, nations that rank among the world's most advanced and best educated. Few continents can rival the collective economic strength of a united Europe. //

A generation of post-war prosperity has prepared Europe for larger responsibilities. / We witnessed the new Europe in action in the Gulf War, as the EC -- and individual nations including even the fragile new democracies of Eastern Europe -- stood with us against aggression. / We see the new Europe now, in Madrid, where the European Community stands with us as a partner in the quest for peace. We see the new Europe at work closer to home, working to end war in Yugoslavia.

Let me say without equivocation: the United States sees no threat in European unity. It was never the aim of the U.S. to see the nations of Europe set one against the other. We've seen too often in the past that balance of power politics ends in bloodshed. The U.S. made European independence a pillar of our post-war policy.

We welcome the emergence of the new Europe, in the European Community's march toward a single market, in the revival of the Western European Union, in the EC's new accord with the European Free Trade Association -- in the Summit that brings us together today. // We see the growing unity of Europe as a natural evolution toward our common aim: a commonwealth of free nations, working in concert; a new world where more and more nations enter a widening circle of freedom. //

In the months and years ahead, this commonwealth will be called upon to meet new challenges. I want to focus on three of those challenges today: helping the new democracies of the East, encouraging democratic change in the Soviet Union -- and finally, ensuring that old Cold War allies do not become trade war adversaries. //

First, we must write the final chapter of the Cold War conflict: We must help the nations of the East secure the freedoms they have won. In the East, the euphoria of 1989 has worn away. While the urgent work of democracy-building and market reform moves forward, some see in our triumph a bitter harvest. In this view, the collapse of communism has thrown open a Pandora's Box of ancient ethnic hatreds, resentment and revenge. Some fear democracy's new freedoms will be used not to build new trust, but to settle old scores.

All of Europe has awakened to the dangers of an old enemy: a nationalism animated by hatred and unmoved by nobler ends. / No one need fear healthy national pride: the distinctive and defining traditions -- the living history that gives peoples and nations a sense of identity, principle and purpose. But we must resist nationalism of a more sinister sort: one that feeds on stale prejudices, that pits nation against nation and fellow citizens against themselves, one that teaches people to regard their neighbors as implacable threats to all they hold dear.

We see in Yugoslavia how the proud name of nationalism can splinter a country into bloody civil war. America supports the

efforts of the European Community to bring that conflict to an end. Today I call on all parties to stop the violence -- to seek through peaceful means a solution, a system, that preserves minority rights against the unchecked authority of the state.

The answer lies not in suppressing the dark impulses that destroy nations but in surmounting them -- cultivating a spirit of democratic tolerance. There can be no place for these old animosities in the new Europe. //

Farther east, we face a second : Supporting democratic reform in the Soviet Union and its Republics. // The failed August coup stiffened the resolve of reformers to institute democratic change and introduce true free market reforms. We in the West must answer by opening our markets to Soviet goods, encouraging investment, offering economic advice and expertise. //

I believe the Soviet peoples -- the reformers in the central government and the republics -- want change. But no shortcut can spare the Soviet people serious hardship as they dig out from under seventy years of misrule. A harsh winter, hard times, lie ahead -- and desperate times breed demagogues. / America and Europe share an interest in the success of Soviet reform. Together, we must act together to support the forces of liberty, democracy and free enterprise in that troubled region. //

Finally, our third : the danger that old Cold War allies will become new economic adversaries. There are signs on both sides of the Atlantic that this could happen. Voices on both

sides proclaim mistakenly that nations can achieve prosperity through protectionism. /

That way lies economic ruin -- catastrophe rivalling the worst the world has seen this century. // As President, part of my responsibility to the American people is ensuring economic growth. In a global economy, that means fighting for free trade.

In North America, as in Europe, great progress has been made driving down trade barriers. But that progress will mean little if the world aligns itself into warring trade blocs. // The principle of free trade faces a critical test in the Uruguay Round. A positive outcome -- one that reaffirms and extends the GATT system -- will prove that the U.S. and the European Community can resolve their differences in favor of free trade -
- in favor of freedom. //

Each challenge we face constitutes a test. Each holds open an opportunity to give real meaning to strengthen the bonds that link us across the Atlantic -- to open our commonwealth of free nations to all who love liberty and seek peace. //

Thank you. / May God bless The Netherlands and all the free peoples of Europe.

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

91 OCT 7 9:04

DATE: 11/7/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ---

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AT THE RIDDERZALL, THE HAGUE
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1991 - 12:30 p.m.

SUBJECT: _____

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	BOSKIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER ROSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

31 NOV 5 P6:47

November 5, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH:

DAVE DEMAREST *DD*
TONY SNOW *TS*

FROM:

DAN MCGROARTY *DMG*

SUBJECT:

PROPOSED REMARKS TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AT THE
RIDDERZALL, THE HAGUE

I. SUMMARY

On Saturday, November 9 at 12:30 p.m. you will deliver remarks in an address to the European Community in the Ridderzaal at the Hague.

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McGroarty/Bunton
November 5, 1991
6:30 pm
[HAGUE]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE RIDDERZAAL
THE HAGUE, THE NETHERLANDS
NOVEMBER 9, 1991
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In the stone church at Leiden, I spoke of the new spirit alive on this continent -- of the new world within our reach. Today, as we meet in this historic Hall of Knights, Europe stands transformed. A new world stretches out before us -- a world alive with the promise of freedom. //

Just two years ago today, the Revolution swept away that stark and searing symbol of Europe's division -- and the Wall came crashing down. / But history allows little time for celebration. With change comes new challenges: new challenges for old allies -- who must chart a common course in the peace that follows the Cold War. New challenges for old adversaries: here in Europe, making certain the nations of the East can look

to their Western neighbors for help in securing their hard-won freedoms.

In coping with a changing future, we must not repeat the errors of the past. / On my side of the Atlantic, some greeted the end of the Cold War with a chorus of "Come Home, America." For them, the collapse of communism meant America's work in Europe was done. Nothing could be more short-sighted -- for Europe, for America, and for the world. //

We must heed the hard-won lessons of this century if we are to seize new opportunities in the next. We should give future historians no reason to see in 1991 a repeat of 1919: an age of naive isolationism -- with the world's great democracies divided and distracted, rivals in a headlong rush to disarm, oblivious to unexpected dangers. This first age of naivete made possible the horrors of Hitler -- and the protracted terror of the Cold War. For one brief dalliance with delusion, the world paid dearly: Millions died in horrible wars. Innocent generations lost the dream of freedom.

The question we face today is not so different than the one our ancestors faced in 1919: we knew how to wage the Cold War. But do we know how to wage the peace? / Those who argue that the collapse of communism makes NATO obsolete are mistaken. NATO's mission is more than simply military. NATO was from the first and remains today an alliance of free nations -- of fellow democracies -- of countries bound by the long sweep of history and shared heritage. //

Today, as we have been for half a century, Europe and America are partners in peace. Today, we are also partners in prosperity -- with strong trade ties that enrich our peoples, create new economic opportunities and fuel growth. // NATO is and must remain an expression of our common commitment to a free and prosperous future.

There is no question that NATO will change. In Rome, we ratified changes in the way the Alliance will provide for the common defense, the way we will deal with our former adversaries -- and even the way we will deal with each other. Our new strategic doctrine will ensure that every ally is secure from any threat -- security made credible by highly mobile, multi-national forces, greatly reduced in size but unmatched in human and technological quality. / Our new liaison program for Europe's youngest democracies -- Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and others -- will help them transform their military apparatus from a weapon of the state to the guardian of free people. / Finally, the Alliances' endorsement of a European defense identity -- the long-sought "European Pillar" -- will give the new Europe more responsibility in the protection of our vital interests, our cherished ideals and the rule of law. //

Just as NATO adapts to new realities, so must my country and the nations of this continent forge a new partnership. //

Think back four decades ago, to the days of the Berlin Blockade and the Marshall Plan. Nearly all of Europe stood in ruins -- half its people locked in chains. / Today Western

Europe stands as a model for what democracy, the free market and cooperation can deliver. Nearly 400 million people, a full [one-fifth] of the world's economic output, nations that rank among the world's most advanced and best educated. //

A generation of post-war prosperity has prepared Europe for larger responsibilities. / We are now witnessing the new Europe in action: working with us to help the citizens of Central and Eastern Europe transform their systems, their societies and their lives; in Madrid, where the European Community -- under strong Dutch leadership -- stands with us as a partner in the quest for peace in the Middle East. We see the new Europe at work closer to home, striving against strong odds to end war in Yugoslavia.

We welcome the emergence of the new Europe, in the European Community's march toward a single market and political union, in the revival of the Western European Union, in the EC's new accord with the European Free Trade Association -- in the Summit that brings us together today. // We see the growing unity of Europe as a natural evolution toward our common aim: a commonwealth of free nations, working in concert; a new world where more and more nations enter a widening circle of freedom. //

In the months and years ahead, this commonwealth will be called upon to be patient and steady -- at once, resolute and ready to act. //

First, we must write the final chapter of the Cold War conflict: We must help the nations of the East secure the freedoms they have won. In Central and Eastern Europe, the

euphoria of 1989 has worn away. Each country struggles to build a functioning free market on the ruins of the socialist system - - to rekindle a saving sense of trust essential to democratic society. These nations need our help -- access to Western markets, financial and technical assistance to ease their transition. For forty long years, the captive nations of the East looked West for a sign of hope. It is time now to say to these new democracies -- we will help you. You will succeed. //

Yet, while the urgent work of democracy-building and market reform moves forward, some see in freedom's triumph a bitter harvest. In this view, the collapse of communism has thrown open a Pandora's Box of ancient ethnic hatreds, resentment and revenge. Some fear democracy's new freedoms will be used not to build new trust, but to settle old scores.

All of Europe has awakened to the dangers of an old enemy: a nationalism animated by hatred and unmoved by nobler ends. / No one need fear healthy national pride: the distinctive and defining traditions -- the living history that gives peoples and nations a sense of identity, principle and purpose. But we must guard against nationalism of a more sinister sort: one that feeds on stale prejudices, that pits nation against nation and citizens against citizen -- one that teaches people to regard their neighbors as implacable threats to all they hold dear. There can be no place for these old animosities in the new Europe. //

The answer lies not in suppressing the dark impulses that destroy nations but in surmounting them -- cultivating a spirit of democratic tolerance and peaceful change, a concept of majority rule that respects minority rights. / Democracy and freedom are not the causes of strife in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Western Europe stands as proof that in the space of little more than one generation, the spirit of democracy can transcend centuries of rivalry, war and nationalist strife. //

We see in Yugoslavia how the proud name of nationalism can splinter a country into bloody civil war. America supports the efforts of the European Community to bring that conflict to an end. We urge all parties to stop the violence -- to seek through peaceful means an immediate end to the anguish. //

Second, we must seize the opportunities farther East -- to support democratic reform in the Soviet Union and its Republics. // The failed August coup stiffened the resolve of reformers to institute democratic change and introduce true free market reforms. We in the West must answer by offering humanitarian aid, opening our markets to goods from every Republic, encouraging investment, offering economic advice and expertise. //

I believe the peoples everywhere in that vast land want change. But no shortcut can spare them suffering and hardship as they dig out from under seventy years of misrule. A harsh winter, hard times, lie ahead -- and desperate times breed demagogues. / America and Europe share an interest in the

success of Soviet reform. Together, we must act together to support the forces of liberty, democracy and free enterprise in that troubled region. //

Finally, we must guard against the danger that old Cold War allies will become new economic adversaries. There are signs on both sides of the Atlantic that this could happen. Voices on both sides peddle protectionism as the path to prosperity.

That way lies economic ruin -- a prescription for international economic disaster. // As President, part of my responsibility to the American people is ensuring economic growth and opportunity. In a global economy, that means fighting for free and fair trade.

In North America, as in Europe, great progress has been made driving down trade barriers. But that progress will mean little if the world aligns itself into warring trade blocs. // The principle of free trade faces a critical test in the Uruguay Round. A positive outcome -- one that reaffirms and extends the GATT system -- will prove that the U.S. and the European Community can resolve their differences in favor of free and open trade. //

Helping the emerging democracies of Eastern Europe; supporting democratic reform in the Soviet Union and its Republics; pushing forward for freer world trade -- each challenge we face constitutes a test. Each holds open an opportunity to give real meaning to strengthen the bonds that

link us across the Atlantic -- to open our commonwealth of free nations to all who love liberty and seek peace. //

Thank you. / May God bless The Netherlands and all the free peoples of Europe.

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THE RIDDERZAAL \ THE HAGUE, THE NETHERLANDS
NOVEMBER 9, 1991 \ 12:45 P.M.

PRIME MINISTER LUBBERS, *President Delors,*
~~EDISTINGUISHED~~ *guest!*

~~REPRESENTATIVES OF THE DUTCH GOVERNMENT AND THE E.C.]:~~

IT IS MY PLEASURE TO MEET WITH YOU AT THE CONCLUSION OF
THIS, THE FIRST MEETING OF U.S. AND EC LEADERS ON
EUROPEAN SOIL. THAT THIS IS DUTCH SOIL MAKES THIS
MOMENT ALL THE MORE SPECIAL, FOR NOWHERE IS THE MORAL
FIBER OF OUR ATLANTIC COMMUNITY STRONGER. //

- 2 -

I MADE MY FIRST VISIT TO THE HAGUE AS PRESIDENT
MORE THAN TWO YEARS AGO -- ON THE EVE OF THE REVOLUTION
OF '89. AT THAT MOMENT, EAST AND WEST STOOD LOCKED IN
CONFLICT -- THE ARMED AND UNEASY PEACE WE CALLED THE
COLD WAR. AND YET, EVEN THEN, IN THE CAPTIVE NATIONS
OF EASTERN EUROPE, THE WORLD FELT THE FIRST STIRRINGS
OF CHANGE.

IN THE STONE CHURCH AT LEIDEN, I SPOKE OF THE NEW
SPIRIT ALIVE ON THIS CONTINENT -- OF THE NEW WORLD
WITHIN OUR REACH.

TODAY, AS WE MEET IN THIS HISTORIC HALL OF KNIGHTS, EUROPE STANDS TRANSFORMED. A NEW WORLD STRETCHES OUT BEFORE US -- A WORLD ALIVE WITH THE PROMISE OF FREEDOM. //

JUST TWO YEARS AGO TODAY, THE REVOLUTION SWEEPED AWAY THAT STARK AND SEARING SYMBOL OF EUROPE'S DIVISION -- AND THE WALL CAME CRASHING DOWN. / BUT HISTORY ALLOWS LITTLE TIME FOR CELEBRATION.

WITH CHANGE COMES NEW CHALLENGES: NEW CHALLENGES FOR OLD ALLIES -- WHO MUST CHART A COMMON COURSE IN THE PEACE THAT FOLLOWS THE COLD WAR. NEW CHALLENGES FOR OLD ADVERSARIES: HERE IN EUROPE, MAKING CERTAIN THE NATIONS OF THE EAST CAN LOOK TO THEIR WESTERN NEIGHBORS FOR HELP IN SECURING THEIR HARD-WON FREEDOMS.

AS WE CONFRONT THE FUTURE, WE MUST NOT REPEAT THE ERRORS OF THE PAST. / ON MY SIDE OF THE ATLANTIC, SOME GREETED THE END OF THE COLD WAR WITH A CHORUS OF "COME HOME, AMERICA."

FOR THEM, THE COLLAPSE OF COMMUNISM MEANT AMERICA'S ENGAGEMENT IN EUROPE WAS FINISHED. NOTHING COULD BE MORE SHORT-SIGHTED -- FOR EUROPE, FOR AMERICA, AND FOR THE WORLD. //

WE MUST HEED THE HARD-WON LESSONS OF THIS CENTURY IF WE ARE TO SEIZE NEW OPPORTUNITIES IN THE NEXT.

WE SHOULD GIVE FUTURE HISTORIANS NO REASON TO SEE IN 1991 A REPEAT OF 1919: AN AGE OF NAIVE ISOLATIONISM -- WITH THE WORLD'S GREAT DEMOCRACIES DIVIDED AND DISTRACTED, A EUROPE DIVIDED BETWEEN VICTORS AND VANQUISHED, OBLIVIOUS TO UNEXPECTED DANGERS. THIS FIRST AGE OF NAIVETE MADE POSSIBLE THE HORRORS OF HITLER -- FOLLOWED BY THE PROTRACTED TERROR OF THE COLD WAR. FOR THAT EARLIER DALLIANCE WITH DELUSION, THE WORLD PAID DEARLY: WAR COST THE LIVES OF MILLIONS.

INNOCENT GENERATIONS LOST THE DREAM OF FREEDOM.

THE QUESTION WE FACE TODAY IS NOT SO DIFFERENT THAN THE ONE OUR ANCESTORS FACED IN 1919: FOR OUR PART, WE KNEW HOW TO WAGE THE COLD WAR. BUT DO WE KNOW HOW TO WAGE THE PEACE? / WE MUST START FROM THE UNDERSTANDING THAT NATO IS NOT SIMPLY A MILITARY PACT JOINED ONLY TO FACE A COMMON THREAT. WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT OUR ATLANTIC ALLIANCE IS AS VITAL IN TODAY'S VOLATILE WORLD AS IT WAS YEARS AGO WHEN EUROPE WAS MENACED BY STALIN'S ARMY.

OUR ALLIANCE WAS FROM THE FIRST AND REMAINS TODAY AN ALLIANCE OF FREE NATIONS -- OF FELLOW DEMOCRACIES -- OF COUNTRIES BOUND BY THE LONG SWEEP OF HISTORY AND SHARED HERITAGE. TODAY, AS WE HAVE BEEN FOR HALF A CENTURY, EUROPE AND AMERICA ARE PARTNERS IN PEACE. TODAY, WE ARE ALSO PARTNERS IN PROSPERITY -- WITH STRONG TRADE TIES THAT ENRICH OUR PEOPLES, CREATE NEW ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES AND FUEL GROWTH. //

THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT NATO WILL CHANGE. IN ROME, WE APPROVED CHANGES IN THE WAY THE ALLIANCE WILL PROVIDE FOR THE COMMON DEFENSE, THE WAY WE WILL DEAL WITH OUR FORMER ADVERSARIES -- AND EVEN THE WAY WE WILL DEAL WITH EACH OTHER. OUR NEW DEFENSE DOCTRINE WILL ENSURE THAT EVERY ALLY IS SECURE FROM ANY THREAT -- SECURITY MADE CREDIBLE BY HIGHLY MOBILE, MULTI-NATIONAL FORCES, GREATLY REDUCED IN SIZE BUT UNMATCHED IN HUMAN AND TECHNOLOGICAL QUALITY. /

OUR NEW NATO LIAISON PROGRAM FOR EUROPE'S YOUNGEST DEMOCRACIES -- POLAND, HUNGARY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND OTHERS -- WILL HELP THEM TRANSFORM THEIR MILITARY APPARATUS FROM A WEAPON OF THE STATE TO THE GUARDIAN OF FREE PEOPLE. / FINALLY, THE ALLIANCE'S ENDORSEMENT OF A EUROPEAN DEFENSE IDENTITY -- THE LONG-SOUGHT "EUROPEAN PILLAR" -- WILL GIVE OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES MORE RESPONSIBILITY IN THE PROTECTION OF SHARED VITAL INTERESTS, CHERISHED IDEALS AND THE RULE OF LAW. //

- 11 -

MY COUNTRY AND THE NATIONS OF THIS CONTINENT ARE FORGING A NEW ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP. // THINK BACK FOUR DECADES AGO, TO THE DAYS OF THE BERLIN BLOCKADE AND THE MARSHALL PLAN. NEARLY ALL OF EUROPE STOOD IN RUINS -- HALF ITS PEOPLE LOCKED IN CHAINS. / TODAY WESTERN EUROPE STANDS AS A MODEL FOR WHAT DEMOCRACY, THE FREE MARKET AND COOPERATION CAN DELIVER.

- 12 -

MORE THAN 300 MILLION PEOPLE -- GENERATING FULLY ONE FIFTH OF THE WORLD'S ECONOMIC OUTPUT -- NATIONS THAT RANK AMONG THE WORLD'S MOST ADVANCED AND BEST EDUCATED. //

THIS ERA OF POST-WAR PROSPERITY HAS PREPARED EUROPE FOR LARGER RESPONSIBILITIES.

WE ARE NOW WITNESSING THE NEW EUROPE IN ACTION:
WORKING WITH US TO HELP THE CITIZENS OF CENTRAL AND
EASTERN EUROPE TRANSFORM THEIR SYSTEMS, THEIR SOCIETIES
AND THEIR LIVES; ~~IN MADRID,~~ WHERE THE EUROPEAN
COMMUNITY STANDS WITH US AS A PARTNER IN THE QUEST FOR
PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. WE SEE THE NEW EUROPE AT
WORK CLOSER TO HOME, STRIVING AGAINST DIFFICULT ODDS TO
END WAR IN YUGOSLAVIA.

WE WELCOME THE EMERGENCE OF THE NEW EUROPE, IN THE
EUROPEAN COMMUNITY'S MARCH TOWARD A SINGLE MARKET AND
POLITICAL UNION, IN THE REVIVAL OF THE WESTERN EUROPEAN
UNION, IN THE EC'S NEW ACCORD WITH THE EUROPEAN FREE
TRADE ASSOCIATION. REVITALIZING THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE
AND BUILDING A EUROPEAN UNION GO HAND-IN-HAND. BOTH
CAN CONTRIBUTE TO A SAFE PROSPEROUS EUROPE AND A HUMANE
WORLD ORDER. A CONTINUING AMERICAN ROLE IN EUROPE CAN
FACILITATE INTEGRATION BY FOSTERING STABILITY.

AND A MORE CONFIDENT AND COHESIVE EUROPE WILL, WE BELIEVE, WANT THE UNITED STATES TO REMAIN ENGAGED.

WE THEREFORE HOPE FOR CONTINUED PROGRESS AT THE UPCOMING EC SUMMIT IN MAASTRICHT BECAUSE AMERICA RECOGNIZES THE ACCELERATING UNITY OF EUROPE AS A NATURAL EVOLUTION TOWARD OUR COMMON AIM: A COMMONWEALTH OF FREE NATIONS, WORKING IN CONCERT; A NEW WORLD WHERE MORE AND MORE NATIONS ENTER A WIDENING CIRCLE OF FREEDOM.

IN THE MONTHS AND YEARS AHEAD, THIS COMMONWEALTH WILL BE CALLED UPON TO BE PATIENT AND STEADY -- AT ONCE, RESOLUTE AND READY TO ACT.

FIRST, WE MUST WRITE THE FINAL CHAPTER OF THE COLD WAR CONFLICT: WE MUST HELP THE NATIONS OF THE EAST SECURE THE FREEDOMS THEY HAVE WON.

IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE, THE EUPHORIA OF 1989 HAS WORN AWAY. EACH COUNTRY STRUGGLES TO BUILD A FUNCTIONING FREE MARKET ON THE RUINS OF THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM -- TO REKINDLE A SAVING SENSE OF TRUST ESSENTIAL TO DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY. THESE NATIONS NEED OUR HELP -- ACCESS TO WESTERN MARKETS, FINANCIAL AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO EASE THEIR TRANSITION. FOR FORTY LONG YEARS, THE CAPTIVE NATIONS OF THE EAST LOOKED WEST FOR A SIGN OF HOPE.

IT IS TIME NOW TO SAY TO THESE NEW DEMOCRACIES -- WE WILL HELP YOU. MORE THAN THAT, AFTER SUCH A COLD AND PROTRACTED ISOLATION, IT IS TIME US TO EXTEND TO THEM A WARM WELCOME INTO THIS COMMONWEALTH OF FREEDOM. //

YET, WHILE THE URGENT WORK OF DEMOCRACY-BUILDING AND MARKET REFORM MOVES FORWARD, SOME SEE IN FREEDOM'S TRIUMPH A BITTER HARVEST. IN THIS VIEW, THE COLLAPSE OF COMMUNISM HAS THROWN OPEN A PANDORA'S BOX OF ANCIENT ETHNIC HATREDS, RESENTMENT AND REVENGE.

SOME FEAR DEMOCRACY'S NEW FREEDOMS WILL BE USED NOT TO BUILD NEW TRUST, BUT TO SETTLE OLD SCORES.

ALL OF EUROPE HAS AWAKENED TO THE DANGERS OF AN OLD ENEMY: A NATIONALISM ANIMATED BY HATRED AND UNMOVED BY NOBLER ENDS. NO ONE NEED FEAR HEALTHY NATIONAL PRIDE: THE DISTINCTIVE AND DEFINING TRADITIONS -- THE LIVING HISTORY THAT GIVES PEOPLES AND NATIONS A SENSE OF IDENTITY, PRINCIPLE AND PURPOSE.

BUT WE MUST GUARD AGAINST NATIONALISM OF A MORE SINISTER SORT: ONE THAT FEEDS ON STALE PREJUDICES -- TEACHES PEOPLE INTOLERANCE, SUSPICION, AND EVEN RACISM AND ANTI-SEMITICISM. ONE THAT PITS NATION AGAINST NATION AND CITIZEN AGAINST CITIZEN. THERE CAN BE NO PLACE FOR THESE OLD ANIMOSITIES IN THE NEW EUROPE.

THE ANSWER LIES NOT IN SUPPRESSING THE DARK IMPULSES THAT DESTROY NATIONS BUT IN SURMOUNTING THEM -- CULTIVATING A SPIRIT OF DEMOCRATIC TOLERANCE AND PEACEFUL CHANGE, A CONCEPT OF MAJORITY RULE THAT RESPECTS MINORITY RIGHTS. DEMOCRACY IS NOT THE CAUSE OF STRIFE IN EASTERN EUROPE AND THE SOVIET UNION, BUT RATHER THE SOLUTION. WESTERN EUROPE STANDS AS PROOF THAT IN THE SPACE OF LITTLE MORE THAN ONE GENERATION, THE SPIRIT OF DEMOCRACY CAN TRANSCEND CENTURIES OF RIVALRY, WAR AND NATIONALIST STRIFE.

WE SEE IN YUGOSLAVIA HOW THE PROUD NAME OF NATIONALISM CAN SPLINTER A COUNTRY INTO BLOODY CIVIL WAR. AMERICA SUPPORTS THE EFFORTS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY TO BRING THAT CONFLICT TO AN END. WE SALUTE LORD CARRINGTON FOR HIS INDEFATIGABLE EFFORTS. WE URGE ALL PARTIES TO STOP THE VIOLENCE -- TO SEEK THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS AN IMMEDIATE END TO THE SUFFERING. WE ARE READY TO JOIN THE EC IN HOLDING ACCOUNTABLE THOSE IN YUGOSLAVIA WHOSE PAROCHIAL AMBITIONS ARE PERPETRATING THIS AGONY.

SECOND, WE MUST SEIZE THE OPPORTUNITIES FARTHER EAST -- TO SUPPORT THE DEMOCRATIC TRANSFORMATION OF THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS REPUBLICS. THE FAILED AUGUST COUP STIFFENED THE RESOLVE OF REFORMERS TO INSTITUTE DEMOCRATIC CHANGE AND INTRODUCE TRUE FREE MARKET REFORMS. WE IN THE WEST MUST ANSWER BY OFFERING HUMANITARIAN AID, OPENING OUR MARKETS TO GOODS FROM EVERY REPUBLIC, ENCOURAGING INVESTMENT, OFFERING ECONOMIC ADVICE AND EXPERTISE.

I BELIEVE THE PEOPLES EVERYWHERE IN THAT VAST LAND WANT CHANGE. BUT NO SHORTCUT CAN SPARE THEM SUFFERING AND HARDSHIP AS THEY DIG OUT FROM UNDER SEVENTY YEARS OF MISRULE. A HARSH WINTER, HARD TIMES, LIE AHEAD -- AND DESPERATE TIMES BREED DEMAGOGUES. AMERICA AND EUROPE SHARE AN INTEREST IN THE SUCCESS OF SOVIET REFORM. TOGETHER, WE MUST ACT TO SUPPORT THE FORCES OF LIBERTY, DEMOCRACY AND FREE ENTERPRISE IN THAT TROUBLED REGION.

FINALLY, WE MUST GUARD AGAINST THE DANGER THAT OLD COLD WAR ALLIES WILL BECOME NEW ECONOMIC ADVERSARIES -- COLD WARRIORS TURNED TRADE WARRIORS. THERE ARE SIGNS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC THAT THIS COULD HAPPEN. SHRILL VOICES ON BOTH SIDES PEDDLE PROTECTIONISM AS THE PATH TO PROSPERITY.

THAT WAY LIES ECONOMIC RUIN -- A PRESCRIPTION FOR PLUNGING US INTO THE KIND OF IMPOVERISHING RIVALRY THAT RAVAGED OUR ECONOMIES DURING THE GREAT DEPRESSION.

AS PRESIDENT, PART OF MY RESPONSIBILITY TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IS ENSURING ECONOMIC GROWTH AND OPPORTUNITY. IN A GLOBAL ECONOMY, THAT MEANS INSISTING ON FREE AND FAIR TRADE.

IN NORTH AMERICA, AS IN EUROPE, GREAT PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE DRIVING DOWN TRADE BARRIERS. BUT THAT PROGRESS WILL MEAN LITTLE IF THE WORLD ALIGNS ITSELF INTO WARRING TRADE BLOCS. // THE PRINCIPLE OF FREE TRADE FACES A CRITICAL TEST IN THE URUGUAY ROUND.

A POSITIVE OUTCOME -- ONE THAT REAFFIRMS AND EXTENDS THE GATT SYSTEM -- WILL PROVE THAT THE U.S. AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, AS WORLD ECONOMIC LEADERS, HAVE THE CONFIDENCE TO MOVE DECISIVELY INTO A NEW ERA OF FREE AND OPEN TRADE -- GENERATING JOBS AND OPPORTUNITY ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC.

[THAT'S WHY I AM ESPECIALLY PLEASED TODAY TO REPORT THAT THE U.S. AND THE EC HAVE MADE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS IN THE PAST FEW DAYS, AND HAVE PLEDGED TO SPARE NO EFFORT TO RESOLVE THE EQUALLY SIGNIFICANT ISSUES STILL OUTSTANDING.]

HELPING THE EMERGING DEMOCRACIES OF EASTERN EUROPE;
SUPPORTING DEMOCRATIC REFORM IN THE SOVIET UNION AND
ITS REPUBLICS; PUSHING FORWARD FOR FREER WORLD
TRADE -- EACH CHALLENGE WE FACE CONSTITUTES A TEST.
EACH HOLDS OPEN AN OPPORTUNITY TO GIVE REAL MEANING TO
STRENGTHEN THE BONDS THAT LINK US ACROSS THE
ATLANTIC -- TO OPEN OUR COMMONWEALTH OF FREE NATIONS TO
ALL WHO LOVE LIBERTY AND SEEK PEACE.

THANK YOU. MAY GOD BLESS THE NETHERLANDS AND ALL
THE FREE PEOPLES OF EUROPE.

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PM Lubbers, President Selous,
distinguished guests:

Phil says we will call
back when we get in —

Sobriety check

McGroarty/Bunton
November 7, 1991
9:30 a.m.
[HAGUE]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE RIDDERZAAL
THE HAGUE, THE NETHERLANDS
NOVEMBER 9, 1991
12:30 P.M.

Prime Minister Lubbers, [distinguished representatives of the Dutch Government and the E.C.]: it is my pleasure to meet with you at the conclusion of this, the first meeting of U.S. and EC leaders on European soil. That this is Dutch soil makes this moment all the more special, for nowhere is the moral fiber of our ^{Atlantic community} Alliance stronger. //

Syntax } I made my first visit (as President to the Hague) more than two years ago -- on the eve of the Revolution of '89. At that moment, East and West stood locked in conflict -- the armed and uneasy peace we called the Cold War. And yet, even then, in the captive nations of Eastern Europe, the world felt the first stirrings of change.

In the stone church at Leiden, I spoke of the new spirit alive on this continent -- of the new world within our reach. Today, as we meet in this historic Hall of Knights, Europe stands transformed. A new world stretches out before us -- a world alive with the promise of freedom. //

Just two years ago today, the Revolution swept away that stark and searing symbol of Europe's division -- and the Wall came crashing down. / But history allows little time for celebration. With change comes new challenges: new challenges for old allies -- who must chart a common course in the peace

This speech is not about NATO and the larger Atlantic Community

that follows the Cold War. New challenges for old adversaries: here in Europe, making certain the nations of the East can look to their Western neighbors for help in securing their hard-won freedoms.

As we confront the future, we must not repeat the errors of the past. / On my side of the Atlantic, some greeted the end of the Cold War with a chorus of "Come Home, America." For them, the collapse of communism meant America's engagement in Europe was finished. Nothing could be more short-sighted -- for Europe, for America, and for the world. //

We must heed the hard-won lessons of this century if we are to seize new opportunities in the next. We should give future historians no reason to see in 1991 a repeat of 1919: an age of naive isolationism -- with the world's great democracies divided and distracted, a Europe divided between victors and vanquished, oblivious to unexpected dangers. This first age of naivete made possible the horrors of Hitler -- followed by the protracted terror of the Cold War. For that earlier dalliance with delusion, the world paid dearly: War cost the lives of millions. Innocent generations lost the dream of freedom.

The question we face today is not so different than the one our ancestors faced in 1919: for our part, we knew how to wage the Cold War. But do we know how to wage the peace? / We must start from the understanding that NATO is not simply a military pact joined only to face a common threat. We must recognize that

our Atlantic Alliance is as vital in today's volatile world as it was years ago when Europe was menaced by Stalin's army.

Our Alliance was from the first and remains today an alliance of free nations -- of fellow democracies -- of countries bound by the long sweep of history and shared heritage. Today, as we have been for half a century, Europe and America are partners in peace. Today, we are also partners in prosperity -- with strong trade ties that enrich our peoples, create new economic opportunities and fuel growth. // ~~NATO is and must remain an expression of our common commitment to a free and prosperous future.~~ } *repetition*

There is no question that ~~NATO~~ will change. In Rome, we approved changes in the way the Alliance will provide for the common defense, the way we will deal with our former adversaries -- and even the way we will deal with each other. Our new defense doctrine will ensure that every ally is secure from any threat -- security made credible by highly mobile, multi-national forces, greatly reduced in size but unmatched in human and technological quality. / Our new NATO liaison program for Europe's youngest democracies -- Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and others -- will help them transform their military apparatus from a weapon of the state to the guardian of free people. / Finally, the Alliance's endorsement of a European defense identity -- the long-sought "European Pillar" -- will give our European allies more responsibility in the protection of shared vital interests, cherished ideals and the rule of law. //

~~Just as NATO adapts to new realities, so must~~ ⁹ ~~my~~ ^M country and the nations of this continent ^{are forging} ~~forge~~ a new Atlantic partnership.//

(no A) Think back four decades ago, to the days of the Berlin Blockade and the Marshall Plan. Nearly all of Europe stood in ruins -- half its people locked in chains. / Today Western Europe stands as a model for what democracy, the free market and cooperation can deliver. More than 300 million people -- generating fully one fifth of the world's economic output -- nations that rank among the world's most advanced and best educated. //

This era of post-war prosperity has prepared Europe for larger responsibilities. We are now witnessing the new Europe in action: working with us to help the citizens of Central and Eastern Europe transform their systems, their societies and their lives; in Madrid, where the European Community stands with us as a partner in the quest for peace in the Middle East. We see the new Europe at work closer to home, striving against difficult odds to end war in Yugoslavia.

We welcome the emergence of the new Europe, in the European Community's march toward a single market and political union, in the revival of the Western European Union, in the EC's new accord with the European Free Trade Association. Revitalizing the Atlantic Alliance and building a European Union go hand-in-hand. Both can contribute to a safe prosperous Europe and a humane world order. A continuing American role in Europe can facilitate integration by fostering stability. And a more confident and

cohesive Europe will, we believe, want the United States to remain engaged.

We therefore hope for continued progress at the upcoming EC Summit in Maastricht because America recognizes the accelerating unity of Europe as a natural evolution toward our common aim: a commonwealth of free nations, working in concert; a new world where more and more nations enter a widening circle of freedom.

In the months and years ahead, this commonwealth will be called upon to be patient and steady -- at once, resolute and ready to act.

First, we must write the final chapter of the Cold War conflict: We must help the nations of the East secure the freedoms they have won. In Central and Eastern Europe, the euphoria of 1989 has worn away. Each country struggles to build a functioning free market on the ruins of the socialist system - - to rekindle a saving sense of trust essential to democratic society. These nations need our help -- access to Western markets, financial and technical assistance to ease their transition. For forty long years, the captive nations of the East looked West for a sign of hope. It is time now to say to these new democracies -- we will help you. More than that, after such a cold and protracted isolation, it is time us to extend to them a warm welcome into this commonwealth of freedom. //

Yet, while the urgent work of democracy-building and market reform moves forward, some see in freedom's triumph a bitter harvest. In this view, the collapse of communism has thrown open

a Pandora's Box of ancient ethnic hatreds, resentment and revenge. Some fear democracy's new freedoms will be used not to build new trust, but to settle old scores.

All of Europe has awakened to the dangers of an old enemy: a nationalism animated by hatred and unmoved by nobler ends. No one need fear healthy national pride: the distinctive and defining traditions -- the living history that gives peoples and nations a sense of identity, principle and purpose. But we must guard against nationalism of a more sinister sort: one that feeds on stale prejudices -- teaches people intolerance, suspicion, and even racism and anti-semiticism. One that pits nation against nation and citizen against citizen. There can be no place for these old animosities in the new Europe.

The answer lies not in suppressing the dark impulses that destroy nations but in surmounting them -- cultivating a spirit of democratic tolerance and peaceful change, a concept of majority rule that respects minority rights. Democracy is not the cause of strife in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, but rather the solution. Western Europe stands as proof that in the space of little more than one generation, the spirit of democracy can transcend centuries of rivalry, war and nationalist strife.

We see in Yugoslavia how the proud name of nationalism can splinter a country into bloody civil war. America supports the efforts of the European Community to bring that conflict to an end. We salute Lord Carrington for his indefatigable efforts. We urge all parties to stop the violence -- to seek through

peaceful means an immediate end to the suffering. We are ready to join the EC in holding accountable those in Yugoslavia whose parochial ambitions are perpetrating this agony.

Second, we must seize the opportunities farther East -- to support the democratic transformation of the Soviet Union and its Republics. The failed August coup stiffened the resolve of reformers to institute democratic change and introduce true free market reforms. We in the West must answer by offering humanitarian aid, opening our markets to goods from every Republic, encouraging investment, offering economic advice and expertise.

I believe the peoples everywhere in that vast land want change. But no shortcut can spare them suffering and hardship as they dig out from under seventy years of misrule. A harsh winter, hard times, lie ahead -- and desperate times breed demagogues. America and Europe share an interest in the success of Soviet reform. Together, we must act to support the forces of liberty, democracy and free enterprise in that troubled region.

Finally, we must guard against the danger that old Cold War allies will become new economic adversaries -- Cold Warriors turned trade warriors. There are signs on both sides of the Atlantic that this could happen. Shrill voices on both sides peddle protectionism as the path to prosperity.

That way lies economic ruin -- a prescription for plunging us into the kind of impoverishing rivalry that ravaged our economies during the Great Depression. As President, part of my

responsibility to the American people is ensuring economic growth and opportunity. In a global economy, that means insisting on free and fair trade.

In North America, as in Europe, great progress has been made driving down trade barriers. But that progress will mean little if the world aligns itself into warring trade blocs. // The principle of free trade faces a critical test in the Uruguay Round. A positive outcome -- one that reaffirms and extends the GATT system -- will prove that the U.S. and the European Community, as world economic leaders, have the confidence to move decisively into a new era of free and open trade -- generating jobs and opportunity on both sides of the Atlantic.

[That's why I am especially pleased today to report that the U.S. and the EC have made significant progress in the past few days, and have pledged to spare no effort to resolve the equally significant issues still outstanding.]

Helping the emerging democracies of Eastern Europe; supporting democratic reform in the Soviet Union and its Republics; pushing forward for freer world trade -- each challenge we face constitutes a test. Each holds open an opportunity to give real meaning to strengthen the bonds that link us across the Atlantic -- to open our commonwealth of free nations to all who love liberty and seek peace.

Thank you. May God bless The Netherlands and all the free peoples of Europe.

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