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Series: Speech File Draft Files
Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13588
Folder ID Number: 13588-002

Folder Title:
The Ridderzaal-The Hague 11/9/91 [OA 6038] [3]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	17	4	3

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

91 OCT 4 P2:37

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 <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT <i>W/Me 5/2/16</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH <i>N/C</i>	<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 <i>N/C</i>	<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 <i>N/C Rodman over 5/2/16</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BOSKIN <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY <i>N/C</i>	<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.

#

DF, Here's the 1st draft.

TW

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

31 NOV 4 P1:19

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE RIDDERZAAL
THE HAGUE, THE NETHERLANDS
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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. //

No

That it is Dutch soil makes the moment more special still, for no where is the ~~real~~ fiber of our Atlantic Community of

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~~ *remained* 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.

NO

values stronger than

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.~~ /

Revised

New challenges for old adversaries: here in Europe, the nations

who are now whose leadership ~~must now~~ and partnerships must now be ^{wisely} extended far beyond the horizons of the Cold War.

of the East look to their Western neighbors for help in ^{building} securing ~~their hard-won freedoms.~~ *free and promising futures on the rubble of a system devoid of human value.*

In coping with ^{an uncertain} 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} ~~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,~~ ^{is a} ~~we must guard against false euphoria.~~ *not a moment for illusion.*

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 -- ^{followed by} ~~and~~ the protracted terror of the Cold War. For ^{that earlier} ~~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~~ ^{on the wake of war -- focus} faced in 1919: we knew how to wage the Cold War.

^{how} ~~But~~ do we know how to wage the ^{build a stable} ~~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 --~~

Let us not forget that our Atlantic alliance is not (is not -- and never has been -- merely some military pact) whose sole with nothing to unite its members but an external common enemy. No, ours is an alliance

NO

✓

deleted

NO

NO

NO
See DO's 4

(*)

ROME
NATO
INSEF

In Rome, we renewed the Alliance by deciding to change the way we will provide for our 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~~ any threat, with ~~forces~~ ~~greatly~~ ~~reduced~~ ~~but~~ highly mobile, multinational 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 ~~these~~ them transform their military apparatus from a weapon of the state to the guardian of a free people. And the Alliance's endorsement of a European defense identity -- the long-sought "European pillar" -- will give a more cohesive Europe more responsibility in the protection of our ~~most~~ vital interests, our ~~most~~ cherished values, and the rule of law.

negative-
backward
looking

What brought us together and holds us together is as compelling in our triumph as it was when we were threatened. The Atlantic idea is as vital in the new world, with its daunting challenges, as it was when we were menaced by Stalin's army.

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

deliberate

forward
looking

~~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.~~

If we fail to see this, we will repeat this Century's ~~same~~ tragic folly.

America does not want European followers, it wants partners

the Alliance

~~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. //~~

insert

✓ see NBC Rome insert

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the Alliance

~~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~~

beyond its narrow self-interest.

patronizing →

America does not want followers, it wants partners. In Europe -- the new, vital, unifying Europe -- America stands to gain a world partner, one with shared principles, shared dreams, and a shared sense of responsibility

Blessed with such assets and committed to freedom.

work with us to help the citizens of Central and Eastern Europe transform their systems, their enterprises, their lives.

Today, ^{Western Europe} the ~~European Community and its member states~~ stand as a model of what democracy, the free market and cooperation can do:

~~provides~~ 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.

~~These nations have prepared by transcending legions of centuries of rivalry and animosity, ~~but by doing so~~ on ~~the Atlantic~~ collective economic strength of a united Europe.~~ // ~~the Atlantic Alliance and the European Community,~~ *are beginning to*

A generation of post-war prosperity has prepared Europe for larger responsibilities. / We ~~witnessed~~ *are beginning to* 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~~ *in the Middle East; striving against heavy odds* ~~war in Yugoslavia.~~ *an ugly conflict*

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,~~ *economic and political unity* 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. //

~~Today~~ We see this process, producing a more effective and cohesive partner for us here in Europe and beyond. We hope the EC summit in Maastricht is a success for us, because that means

what Americans have come to learn: leadership has a price.

Some say Europe did not get to nothing in the Gulf Under Dutch Presidency, the EC has made great strides in forming policies that are not only common but wise and responsible. If such policies require being burdens, duties, and sacrifice Europe's citizens will understand

Don't depress

insert

NO

Resembling the Atlantic Alliance and
 linking a more unified Europe are mutually
important commitments. Because ~~it~~ ^{it} binds
 European and American security, the Alliance
 cannot be replaced as the guarantor of
 allied security and the keystone of European
 stability. The Alliance ~~makes~~ ^{creates} the
 is the foundation of ~~security~~ ^{security} indivisible
 security ~~which~~ ^{on} which Europeans can
 confidently build their common economic and
 political structures. ~~As~~ ^{As} Europeans
 build ~~create~~ ^{create} this structure, including in the
 defense field, ~~it~~ ^{their efforts} will strengthen the Alliance.
~~without diminishing one, but without meeting~~
~~the need for~~ ^{just as the removal of}
~~NAATO does not~~ ^{The case for America to}
~~remain in Europe is neither~~ ^{The need}
 for America to maintain its responsibilities
 in Europe does not ~~mean~~ ^{reduce} the
 need for European integration any more
 than integration permits us to abandon
 those responsibilities.

Democracy and Freedom are not
the cause of this strife in Eastern Europe

or is the Soviet Union. But they are part of the solution. We have the war

efforts of the European Community to bring that conflict to an end. Today we 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 and peaceful change. There can be no place for these old animosities in the new Europe. //

Farther east, we face a second: Supporting the transformation of 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 peoples 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

We have the war
have thousands
of military
I recall
much progress
of transcending
our own
history
of nationalistic
strife.
As NATO +
the C
are clear symbols
of our success. Now we
must
help ensure
that the
East can
also...

everywhere in that vast land

assist the union and republics meet a looming humanitarian crisis with food and medical aid. we must...

Mick #3
America?

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

into the kind of rivalry and impoverishing rivalry experienced before in
That way lies economic ruin -- ~~catastrophe~~ *plunging our interdependent economies* 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.

KU
The partnership between Europe and the United States has secured the peace and our prosperity. Now we must do the same for the rest of Europe. But our horizons cannot stop there. We must deepen our global cooperation. # # #

ND
Success will also demonstrate that we old allies -- and new partners -- can and will lead on the global stage. (While a great deal of hard many difficult issues and tough negotiations remain, I am pleased to report that the U.S. and the EC have made important progress in settling the questions between us in the Uruguay Round.)

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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

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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:

major comments
DA

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

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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: 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 ^{will} ~~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. /
With change will come *to make certain that*
New challenges for old adversaries: here in Europe, the nations

of fellow democracies -- of countries ^{bound by the sweep of history and} with a common kinship and ^{and} culture, ~~a shared heritage and history.~~ // ^{heritage.}

~~The easing of the Soviet threat does nothing to weaken the~~ ^{as we have been} bonds that connect my country to this continent. Today, Europe ^{for} and America are partners in peace, -- ^{And today we are also} ~~and~~ partners in prosperity, ^{fifty years,} 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 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. //

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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.~~ ^{In fact} The U.S. made European independence ^{has stood as} a pillar of our post-war policy ^{since World War II.}

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. //

*no one
has
accused
us of
this*

*be patient and steady -
resolute and whole.*

In the months and years ahead, this commonwealth will be called upon to meet new challenges. I want to focus on three of these 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 ^{21st century} trade war ~~adversaries~~ ^{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 ^{freedom's} ~~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. // *Second, Farther east, we must seize the opportunity further East - To* 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, *we must guard against* 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. *Shortsighted polemics* Voices on both

peddle protectionism as the path to
sides proclaim mistakenly that nations can achieve prosperity
through protectionism. /

That way ^{route is the} lies economic ruin -- ^{a prescription for international} catastrophe rivalling the
^{of economic disaster} worst the world has seen this century. // 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 trade ^{and open}
- in favor of freedom. // That is a goal worthy of our efforts.

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.

do another graph
that sums up
the ~~three~~ challenges by
name

helping Europe
preserve freedom
supporting democracy
in Soviet Union
building a free trading system
international econ system
21st century trade warriors

FOR DAVID O
LEIDEN

July 16 / Administration of George Bush, 1989

might have had 10 years ago talking about the very same themes I talked about in Poland and Hungary.

I went to—some of you were on this trip—went to Vienna several years ago and gave a speech, and a man in—the speech was on differentiation. And I will spare him identification. But a Hungarian official told me that he personally—he befriended us, and we talked carefully—had gotten a lot of grief over the fact that we had singled out Hungary as a country that was moving. Even then, even those short years ago, moving in a way that their changes could be accommodated by closer relationships with the West. And that conversation I had on this trip showed me how dynamic the change.

So, I don't think there's a risk of—if we're right in our assessment that change is going forward—I don't think there is this risk.

Soviet Participation in Future Economic Summits

Q. Is Mr. Mitterrand free to reply to the Gorbachev letter himself, or will it be circulated, or would you like to see the letter? How would you like that to go?

The President. No, I think that he should reply to it himself. He has a good relationship with Mr. Gorbachev. Gorbachev was here. They've had some followup, I believe, and the letter was addressed to him, albeit as the President of the summit. And so, I think it's fitting that he simply use his good judgment and reply to it in any way he wants. And that's exactly what he's going to do, incidentally. That was discussed.

Q. And if next year's summit is in Texas, can it be very early? [Laughter]

The President. Parting—walking shot.

Accomplishments of the Economic Summit

Q. Mr. President, in this summit, you achieved all your goals. Do you have the feeling of being the winner number one of this summit?

The President. Well, I pointed out before we came over here that something of this nature ought not to be judged in terms of winners and losers. Your question sounds very much like some that we engage in at home of who's up, who's down, who's ahead, who's winning, who's more popular, who's ahead in the poll—Bush or Gorbachev—in Eastern Europe or Connecticut.

[Laughter] And it doesn't really have much to do with that. What—

Q. Are you satisfied—

The President. I am very satisfied. I am very satisfied that the summit achieved its goals. Every other summit leader tells me that it was the best summit they have attended, and I again would salute the President of the French Republic for the way in which he conducted the meetings. But, yes, I am very, very satisfied, and there aren't any winners or losers or who is up or who is down. We're together is how we approached the East. We're together is how we approached the environmental questions. I didn't take a question here on Third World debt, but there was a strong endorsement for the Brady plan. And there was no dissension on that approach. So, it came together very, very well.

And if the Brady—and I shouldn't say this. I know this is going to get me in real trouble. But if the Brady plan looks like it's going to be successful, we may call it the Bush plan. [Laughter]

Thank you all very, very much.

Note: The President's 18th news conference began at 6:01 p.m. at the U.S. Ambassador's residence. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this interview.

Remarks to Residents of Leiden, The Netherlands

July 17, 1989

Thank you, Mr. Mayor. Your Majesty and Your Royal Highness, Barbara and I thank you and the people of The Netherlands for the warm welcome that has been given to us. I'm not sure about some of those signs I saw coming in. It reminded me of my own university, however.

I'm glad to be back with my cousins, because we fondly remember Aunt Abigail back there those many years ago. [Laughter] And I want to first thank Mr. DeWolff and that magnificent orchestra and the choir from here, with that superb solo by Ms. Zedelius—an outstanding performance. And Mayor Goekoop, thank you so much

for that medallion forever.

The Netherlands, our ally of the friendship between the American United Provinces that our founders nation from 13 sov

And it's a pleasure whose very name turies Dutch determine for freedom agnation. And for Amsterdam, a special city, a place of origins. So many shaped the modern world, the streets of Leiden, Hugo de Groot, kn tius, the father of n studied in the N home of the Inter And it was here th worked and create moves us still tod Leiden that the F persecution—to liv peace. In the shad found the freedom and without fear. I cient stones of the John Robinson, leader, was laid to r

And it was from set their course fo search for liberty, t sons learned here o And the Pilgrims sage. But carried or arrived. And on t England, at the ed tled continent, the new world, a worl

And today, as wh city, a new world li time is a time of g enormous challeng seek is shaped by a sal appeal and unc idea is democracy. cratic idea is evid halls of government around the world. Hugo: "No army ca of an idea whose

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news conference
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available for veri-
of this interview.

Leiden, The

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for that medallion, which we will treasure forever.

The Netherlands is an old friend, an honored ally of the United States. And the friendship between our nations is older than the American Constitution, and the United Provinces were one of the models that our founders looked to in creating a nation from 13 sovereign States.

And it's a pleasure to visit Leiden, a city whose very name has symbolized for centuries Dutch determination and the struggle for freedom against the forces of occupation. And for Americans, too, Leiden is a special city, a place where we trace our origins. So many of the individuals who shaped the modern world walked the cobbled streets of Leiden. And it was here that Hugo de Groot, known to the world as Grotius, the father of modern international law, studied in the Nation that is today the home of the International Court of Justice. And it was here that Rembrandt lived and worked and created a world of beauty that moves us still today. And it was here to Leiden that the Pilgrims came to escape persecution—to live, work, and worship in peace. In the shadow of Pieterskerk, they found the freedom to witness God openly and without fear. And here, under the ancient stones of the Pieterskerk, the body of John Robinson, the Pilgrims' spiritual leader, was laid to rest.

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

And today, as when the Pilgrims left this city, a new world lies within our reach. Our time is a time of great hope and a time of enormous challenges. The new world we seek is shaped by an idea, an idea of universal appeal and undeniable force, and that idea is democracy. The power of the democratic idea is evident everywhere—in the halls of government, in the hearts of people around the world. In the words of Victor Hugo: "No army can withstand the strength of an idea whose time has come." And,

ladies and gentlemen, freedom's time has come.

We, the people of the United States and the people of The Netherlands, are fortunate. The freedoms that others are struggling for are freedoms that we enjoy. But freedom never comes without struggle, and no struggle is without sacrifice. Americans and the Dutch both know that the cost of freedom is high. And that's why both of our nations are partners in an alliance of free nations that spans the ocean that the Pilgrims crossed. Our alliance, the NATO alliance, connects two continents, unites a hemisphere. But what connects us isn't merely a fact of geography. Ours is a alliance forged on common values, rooted in a shared history and heritage. It's a common kinship and culture, as well.

Alliance

We are part of the commonwealth of free nations. Almost 2 months ago, I came to Europe to celebrate the fruits of our alliance: four decades of peace, prosperity, and freedom. At the time of NATO's founding, amid the airlift to besieged Berlin, few would have predicted a peace so strong and lasting. Here in The Netherlands and elsewhere, some people expected war to come again within their lifetimes. Instead, the NATO era has brought the longest period of peace that Europe has known in the modern age. And let me assure you, Americans know that to keep the peace in Europe is to keep the peace for America.

H

And today the Atlantic alliance, formed to contain the threat of Soviet expansionism, is creating new opportunities to ease tensions, to build a new world, to build an enduring peace. And thanks to NATO's strength and unity, we now have the opportunity to move beyond containment: to integrate the Soviet Union into the community of nations. Thanks to NATO's steadiness of purpose and its commitment to maintain strong deterrent forces, the way is now open to real reductions in the level of arms that has long cast a shadow over this continent, the most heavily militarized on Earth.

And seizing these opportunities, reaching that new world, depends on the unity and strength of the entire alliance, not on the actions of one nation alone. The revival of the Western European Union, in which The Netherlands played a vital role; the growing

cooperation on security issues between West Germany and France; British and French resolve to modernize their own nuclear forces—each of these developments is a sign that Europe sees the wisdom of sustaining the collective strength that has kept the peace.

The lesson of our postwar experience is this: Strength has kept us safe and has created opportunities for change. And from these opportunities, we can create a new era of enduring peace. Let me say clearly: A stronger Europe, a more united Europe is good for my country; it's good for the United States of America. And it's a development we welcome, a natural evolution within our alliance, the product of true partnership 40 years in the making.

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

And our progress at this recently concluded economic summit in Paris brought us closer to a more coordinated and common approach across a wide spectrum of critical global issues. The key is concerted action: bringing the collective strength of the West to bear on our common concerns.

Concerns like the environment. Global warming, acid rain, and pollution of the world's oceans—these are problems that know no borders, that no line on a map has the power to stop. And pollution crosses continents and oceans. And it's time for nations to join forces in common defense of our environment. The United States of America will do its part. A little over a month ago, in the United States, I announced a series of sweeping changes to our Clean Air Act, changes meant to ensure that every American, in the space of one generation, will breathe clean air. And shortly after I get back to the United States, after I return home, we will send our clean air legislation to Congress. And last week in Poland and Hungary, I announced initiatives to work with those two countries to

combat their pollution problems. And the next step is clear: We must work together, take concerted action to combat this common problem: clean up our environment for ourselves and for our children.

And the summit underscored the fact that it's time we take the next step in solving the debt problem to encourage conditions for global growth that will benefit the industrialized nations and the developing world alike. We must make progress on this because it's more than a matter of economic development. Democracy is at stake. Freedom can nourish the barren soil of poverty, just as the Pilgrims landed upon a desolate rock and laid the foundations of the freedom and prosperity that we know today. Economic and democratic development go hand in hand. And the steps we've taken towards a common strategy on debt will sustain a favorable climate for growth and for the flourishing of democracy in the developing world.

And there's Eastern Europe. Let me explain the approach that I take towards reform in Eastern Europe. We will never compromise our principles. We will always speak out for freedom. But we understand as well how vital a carefully calibrated approach is in this time of dynamic change. The Soviet Union has nothing, nothing, to fear from the reforms that are now unfolding in some of the nations of Eastern Europe. We support reform in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union. And we're seeing dramatic changes. General Secretary Gorbachev's recent letter 2 days ago to the economic summit is only the latest example of the Soviets moving in our direction, coming our way. I've said it many times—that I want to see *perestroika* succeed. I want to see the Soviet Union chart a course that brings itself into the community of nations.

And my visits these last 2 months demonstrate how closely the United States is linked to Europe. For half a century, America has been deeply involved in the future of this continent. And U.S. involvement will be a strategic fact the next century, as it has been for this one. We will play a constructive role in Eastern Europe's economic development, in the development of political pluralism, and in creating an international

climate in which that is why America and the Union are so involved with the U.S.S.R. nations of Eastern Europe on the cutting edge

The new world of free market wealth of free market world where market a widening circle here at the Piet wheel was restored in spoke to the pe had triumphed tion was over. devastation, Ch wheel has swung then stood at the era whose hope single, simple ph

And we all know Europe entered Europe found it by barriers of br half of Europe t the rubble, reco laid the foundati free enterprise prosperity and a And the other E the wall, endured and hardship and

And today that The great wheel our time, the ex live, is a time of n of Europe can no The Netherlands has known, and t Our hope is that Europe will now Europe behind th bers to the West,

Poland and Hu edge; they're on reform. And they 12 months, farth would have thou spoke to the ne includes 100 new elected to office truly free electio in Hungary, I ad faculty of Karl Ma where the lesson:

climate in which reform can succeed. And that is why America's relations with Soviet Union are so important. Improved relations with the U.S.S.R. reduce pressure on the nations of Eastern Europe, especially those on the cutting edge of reform.

The new world we seek is a commonwealth of free nations working in concert, a world where more and more nations enter a widening circle of freedom. In the pulpit here at the Pieterskerk, 1 year after peace was restored in Europe, Winston Churchill spoke to the people of Leiden. The Allies had triumphed over tyranny. The occupation was over. After 6 years of war and devastation, Churchill said: "The great wheel has swung full circle." And Europe then stood at the threshold of a new era, an era whose hope Churchill expressed in a single, simple phrase: "Let freedom reign."

And we all know what followed. Half of Europe entered that new era, and half of Europe found its path blocked, walled off by barriers of brick and barbed wire. The half of Europe that was free dug out from the rubble, recovered from the war, and laid the foundations of free government and free enterprise that brought unparalleled prosperity and a life in peace and freedom. And the other Europe, the Europe behind the wall, endured four decades of privation and hardship and persecution and fear.

And today that other Europe is changing. The great wheel is moving once more. And our time, the exciting time in which we live, is a time of new hope: the hope that all of Europe can now know the freedom—that The Netherlands has known, that America has known, and that the West has known. Our hope is that the unnatural division of Europe will now come to an end, that the Europe behind the wall will join its neighbors to the West, prosperous and free.

Poland and Hungary are on the cutting edge; they're on the forefront of this reform. And they've traveled far these past 12 months, farther than any of us once would have thought possible. In Warsaw, I spoke to the new Polish Parliament that includes 100 new freely elected Senators, elected to office in Eastern Europe's first truly free election in the postwar era. And in Hungary, I addressed the students and faculty of Karl Marx University, a university where the lessons of the free market are

replacing the old teachings of "Das Kapital." At the shipyards of Gdansk and at the statue of the great Hungarian hero Kossuth, tens of thousands of people—literally tens of thousands filled the streets—new voices, full of new hope. And they were the faces of pilgrims on a journey, fixed on the horizon, on the new world coming into view.

And they know, as we do, that ultimately, whatever the odds, freedom will succeed. It's a lesson the world has learned several times this century, a lesson that you know so well, that the Dutch know so well. The Netherlands will never—I was talking at this lunch today with your able Prime Minister [Ruud Lubbers]—The Netherlands will never forget the nightmare of occupation. Some of you here today suffered through those long years.

And even then freedom endured. Pieterskerk—behind these walls, above the rafters—resistance fighters, university students took refuge from the forces of occupation and found safe haven in this church. Daily acts of heroism—the church sexton who brought them food, the neighborhood grocer who collected extra ration stamps—kept them alive, kept the spirit of dignity and human decency alive throughout The Netherlands' dark night.

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

Freedom can never be extinguished—not then, not now. Even in the Europe behind the Wall, the dream of freedom for all Europe has never died. It's alive today in Warsaw and Gdansk, in Budapest and, yes, across the Soviet Union.

So, the challenge that we face is a very clear one. We must work together toward the day when all of Europe, East and West, is free of discord, free of division, a day when people in every city and every town across this continent know the freedoms that we enjoy. And here in Leiden, where the pilgrims dreamed their new world, let us pledge our effort to create a new world in Europe, whole and free, a new world now within our reach.

July 17 / Administration of George Bush, 1989

Once again, thank you, God bless The Netherlands, God bless the United States of America and the friends of freedom everywhere in the world. Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 3:46 p.m. at the Pieterskerk. He was introduced by Cornelis H. Goekoop, mayor of Leiden. In his remarks, the President referred to Her Majesty Queen Beatrix; His Highness Prince Claus; Abigail Jenney, an ancestor of the President who was born in Leiden; Charles DeWolff, conductor of Amsterdam's Kamer Orkest; and Maria Zedelius, soloist of the choir.

Nomination of John A. Betti To Be an Under Secretary of Defense July 17, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate John A. Betti to be Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition. He would succeed Robert B. Costello.

Mr. Betti is currently the executive vice president of the Ford Motor Co. for technical affairs and operating staffs and a director of the company. Since 1962, he has served in a variety of increasingly responsible positions with the Ford Motor Co. in the United States and abroad. From 1952 to 1962, he was student engineer for the assistant chief engineer of the Chrysler Corp.

Mr. Betti received a bachelor's degree from the Illinois Institute for Technology in 1952 and a master's degree from the Chrysler Institute for Engineering in 1954. He completed postgraduate work at the University of Detroit in 1963. Mr. Betti is married, has four children, and resides in Bloomfield Hills, MI.

Nomination of Howard K. Walker To Be United States Ambassador to Madagascar and Comoros July 17, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Howard K. Walker to be

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Democratic Republic of Madagascar and to the Federal Islamic Republic of Comoros. He would succeed Patricia Gates Lynch.

Dr. Walker is a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor. Since 1987 he has served as a senior inspector in the Office of the Inspector General at the Department of State, and as the Director of the Office of West African Affairs in the Bureau of African Affairs in 1985. Dr. Walker was a foreign affairs fellow at the Foreign Service Institute of Washington in 1984, and in 1982 he was appointed Ambassador to the Republic of Togo. From 1970 to 1985, Dr. Walker held several assignments dealing with African and Middle East Affairs, including principal officer and consul at the U.S. Consulate, in Kaduna, Nigeria; Deputy Director of the Office of West African Affairs and political officer, Amman, Jordan; and Deputy Chief of Mission, Dar-es-Salaam. From 1968 to 1969, he served as a United Nations adviser for the Bureau of African Affairs. Dr. Walker served as a research analyst, followed by an assignment as international relations officer in the Office of Inter-American Affairs, 1965-1968. In 1965 he joined the Department of State. Dr. Walker also served as an assistant professor at George Washington University, 1966-1968.

Dr. Walker graduated from the University of Michigan (A.B., 1957; M.A., 1958) and Boston University (Ph.D., 1968). He served in the U.S. Air Force from 1962 to 1965. Dr. Walker was born December 3, 1935, in Newport News, VA. He is married, has two children, and resides in New Jersey.

Nomination of Glen A. Holden To Be United States Ambassador to Jamaica July 17, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Glen A. Holden to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Jamaica. He would succeed Michael Sotirhos.

Since 1973 Mr. Holden has been the chairman, chief executive officer, and presi-

dent of the HO CA. From 1968 and director of Insurance Co. general agent v in Portland, OF agent and agen Merrifield and

Mr. Holden g ty of Oregon (E discharged from Mr. Holden wa ID. He is marr resides in Los A

Remarks at th Ceremony at July 18, 1989

Well, thank home. Barbara back, and we t come back. An of what we e; but let me just the memorable that will certa open arms of t can flags wavin Shipyards in Gd who lined the joy; the thous downpour in Hungary; the s hope of Hung won't forget. felt is a reflecti of Poland and and for our i Paris, celebrat revolution that man. And how the unity of pu summit, rangir the environme lands and that home of the P ideals.

But of all th to share one w its message. I woman at a lu

91 OCT 5 A 8:21

OFFICE OF THE
UNITED STATES TRADE REPRESENTATIVEFACSIMILENovember 4, 1991
Page 1 of 1

<u>Location</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Phone</u>	<u>Fax #</u>
Dan McGroarty		456-6128	

FROM: Michael Brownrigg (ph 395-6850, fax: 395-3390)
Executive Assistant to the USTR

SUBJECT: President's Hague Speech

Insert for Dan McGroarty

Note the insert in bold in your existing paragraph. The rest of the para's would fit just before the end. Thanks for the draft, hope you can use this.

"The principle of free trade faces a critical test in the Uruguay Round. A positive outcome -- a **comprehensive, market-opening package** -- will prove that the U.S. and the European Community can resolve their differences in favor of free trade -- in favor of freedom.

My discussions on the Uruguay Round this morning with Prime Minister Lubbers and President Delors were productive. Our teams of negotiators have **made significant progress on narrowing the differences between the U.S. and the EC.**

I strongly believe that the broad package of reforms that is taking shape in the GATT will benefit businessmen, workers, taxpayers, and consumers around the world. **Over 80% of U.S. economic growth last year was accounted for by exports -- and I believe that the Uruguay Round will be a boon to exporters.**

The challenge to the U.S. and EC, and one we extend to the rest of the world, is to come to closure and put this historic achievement in place as soon as possible. We saw what international cooperation could achieve in Iraq -- now we must bring that same decisive and cooperative spirit to our common efforts in Geneva.

Each challenge we face etc etc.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

91 OCT 5 A10:25

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

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE RIDDERZAAL
THE HAGUE, THE NETHERLANDS

SUBJECT: NOVEMBER 9, 1991

	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 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:

minor comment DS

*Pg 2 +
Pg 3*

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~~ ^{ENCOUNTER} 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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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

91 OCT 5

A10: 08

November 5, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM:

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

SUBJECT:

Presidential Remarks: The Ridderzaal, The Hague,
The Netherlands

Pursuant to Phil Brady's request, Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced matter and has no objection to the proposed presidential remarks.

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: No comment.

11/5/91 11:28 AM

Thanks,
EL
Elizabeth Luttig

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

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

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