

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):
2023-1147-S

FOIA Number:
2023-1147-S

FOIA MARKER

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

Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Chief of Staff, White House Office of
Series: Card, Andrew, Files
Subseries: Subject Files

OA/ID Number: CF00554
Folder ID Number: CF00554-006

Folder Title:
Briefing Book: President's Visit to the Hague and the Netherlands - 11/8-9/91

Stack:

Row:

Section:

Shelf:

Position:

G

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. List	The President's Visit to the Hague The Netherlands (1 pp.)	11/09/91	(b)(1)	S
02. Memo	Brent Scowcroft to POTUS Setting for Your Meeting with the EC Leadership (4 pp.)	11/04/1991	(b)(1)	S
03. Memo	Lawrence Eagleburger to POTUS Your Visit to The Hague to Meet European Community Leaders, November 8-9, 1991 (4 pp.)	10/31/1991	(b)(1)	S
04. Report	Government Report (1 pp.)	10/29/1991	(b)(1)	C
05. Report	Government Report (2 pp.)	06/27/1991	(b)(1)	C
06. Report	Government Report (2 pp.)	06/28/1991	(b)(1)	S
07. Report	Government Report (2 pp.)	06/27/1991	(b)(1)	S
08. Report	Government Report (2 pp.)	08/12/1991	(b)(1)	S
09. List	Dutch EC Presidency: Under a Cloud (2 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
10. List	Common Security Policy (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

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Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of
Series: Card, Andrew A., Files
Subseries: Subject Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Briefing Book: President's Visit to the Hague and the Netherlands - 11/8-9/91

Pinksheet Number: DJC3300
OA/ID Number: CF00554-006
Date Closed: 1/28/2020
FOIA/Sys Case #: 2023-1147-S
Re-review Case #:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
11. List	The EC and Yugoslavia (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

Page 2 of 2

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of
Series: Card, Andrew A., Files
Subseries: Subject Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Briefing Book: President's Visit to the Hague and the Netherlands - 11/8-9/91

Pinksheet Number: DJC3300
OA/ID Number: CF00554-006
Date Closed: 1/28/2020
FOIA/Sys Case #: 2023-1147-S
Re-review Case #:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. List	The President's Visit to the Hague The Netherlands (1 pp.)	11/09/91	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of

Series: Card, Andrew A., Files

Subseries: Subject Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Briefing Book: President's Visit to the Hague and the Netherlands - 11/8-9/91

Date Closed:	1/28/2020	OA/ID Number:	CF00554-006
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2023-1147-S	Appeal Case #:	
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P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		Disposition Date:	
AR Case #:		MR Case #:	
AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- (b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02. Memo	Brent Scowcroft to POTUS Setting for Your Meeting with the EC Leadership (4 pp.)	11/04/1991	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of

Series: Card, Andrew A., Files

Subseries: Subject Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Briefing Book: President's Visit to the Hague and the Netherlands - 11/8-9/91

Date Closed:	1/28/2020	OA/ID Number:	CF00554-006
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(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03. Memo	Lawrence Eagleburger to POTUS Your Visit to The Hague to Meet European Community Leaders, November 8-9, 1991 (4 pp.)	10/31/1991	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of

Series: Card, Andrew A., Files

Subseries: Subject Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Briefing Book: President's Visit to the Hague and the Netherlands - 11/8-9/91

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AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	

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P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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04. Report	Government Report (1 pp.)	10/29/1991	(b)(1)	C

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of

Series: Card, Andrew A., Files

Subseries: Subject Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Briefing Book: President's Visit to the Hague and the Netherlands - 11/8-9/91

Date Closed:	1/28/2020	OA/ID Number:	CF00554-006
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2023-1147-S	Appeal Case #:	
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AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
05. Report	Government Report (2 pp.)	06/27/1991	(b)(1)	C

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of

Series: Card, Andrew A., Files

Subseries: Subject Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Briefing Book: President's Visit to the Hague and the Netherlands - 11/8-9/91

Date Closed:	1/28/2020	OA/ID Number:	CF00554-006
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RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
06. Report	Government Report (2 pp.)	06/28/1991	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of

Series: Card, Andrew A., Files

Subseries: Subject Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Briefing Book: President's Visit to the Hague and the Netherlands - 11/8-9/91

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
07. Report	Government Report (2 pp.)	06/27/1991	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of

Series: Card, Andrew A., Files

Subseries: Subject Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Briefing Book: President's Visit to the Hague and the Netherlands - 11/8-9/91

Date Closed:	1/28/2020	OA/ID Number:	CF00554-006
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RESTRICTION CODES

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
08. Report	Government Report (2 pp.)	08/12/1991	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of

Series: Card, Andrew A., Files

Subseries: Subject Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Briefing Book: President's Visit to the Hague and the Netherlands - 11/8-9/91

Date Closed:	1/28/2020	OA/ID Number:	CF00554-006
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
09. List	Dutch EC Presidency: Under a Cloud (2 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of

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WHORM Cat.:

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
10. List	Common Security Policy (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

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Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of

Series: Card, Andrew A., Files

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File Location: Briefing Book: President's Visit to the Hague and the Netherlands - 11/8-9/91

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
11. List	The EC and Yugoslavia (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

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Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of

Series: Card, Andrew A., Files

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WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Briefing Book: President's Visit to the Hague and the Netherlands - 11/8-9/91

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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Chief of Staff, White House Office of
Series: Card, Andrew, Files
Subseries: Subject Files

OA/ID Number: CF00554
Folder ID Number: CF00554-006

Folder Title:
Briefing Book: President's Visit to the Hague and the Netherlands - 11/8-9/91

Stack:

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G

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. List	The President's Visit to the Hague The Netherlands (1 pp.)	11/09/91	(b)(1)	S
02. Memo	Brent Scowcroft to POTUS Setting for Your Meeting with the EC Leadership (4 pp.)	11/04/1991	(b)(1)	S
03. Memo	Lawrence Eagleburger to POTUS Your Visit to The Hague to Meet European Community Leaders, November 8-9, 1991 (4 pp.)	10/31/1991	(b)(1)	S
04. Report	Government Report (1 pp.)	10/29/1991	(b)(1)	C
05. Report	Government Report (2 pp.)	06/27/1991	(b)(1)	C
06. Report	Government Report (2 pp.)	06/28/1991	(b)(1)	S
07. Report	Government Report (2 pp.)	06/27/1991	(b)(1)	S
08. Report	Government Report (2 pp.)	08/12/1991	(b)(1)	S
09. List	Dutch EC Presidency: Under a Cloud (2 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
10. List	Common Security Policy (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

Page 1 of 2

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of

Series: Card, Andrew A., Files

Subseries: Subject Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Briefing Book: President's Visit to the Hague and the Netherlands - 11/8-9/91

Pinksheet Number: DJC3300

OA/ID Number: CF00554-006

Date Closed: 1/28/2020

FOIA/Sys Case #: 5555-5555-DC

Re-review Case #:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
11. List	The EC and Yugoslavia (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

Page 2 of 2

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of
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P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

SECRET



The President's Visit
to
The Hague, The Netherlands
November 8 - 9, 1991

UNCLASSIFIED UPON
REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED
ATTACHMENTS
MB 5/22/17

Andy Card

~~**SECRET**~~

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. List	The President's Visit to the Hague The Netherlands (1 pp.)	11/09/91	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of

Series: Card, Andrew A., Files

Subseries: Subject Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Briefing Book: President's Visit to the Hague and the Netherlands - 11/8-9/91

Date Closed: 1/28/2020

OA/ID Number: CF00554-006

FOIA/SYS Case #: 5555-5555-DC

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

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AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

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Deed of Gift Restrictions

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02. Memo	Brent Scowcroft to POTUS Setting for Your Meeting with the EC Leadership (4 pp.)	11/04/1991	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of

Series: Card, Andrew A., Files

Subseries: Subject Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Briefing Book: President's Visit to the Hague and the Netherlands - 11/8-9/91

Date Closed: 1/28/2020 **OA/ID Number:** CF00554-006

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03. Memo	Lawrence Eagleburger to POTUS Your Visit to The Hague to Meet European Community Leaders, November 8-9, 1991 (4 pp.)	10/31/1991	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of

Series: Card, Andrew A., Files

Subseries: Subject Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Briefing Book: President's Visit to the Hague and the Netherlands - 11/8-9/91

Date Closed: 1/28/2020

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FOIA/SYS Case #: 5555-5555-DC

Appeal Case #:

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Appeal Disposition:

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QUEEN'S DINNER ON THE OCCASION OF THE US-EC SUMMIT

SCENESETTER

PURPOSE

You want to set a cordial and cooperative atmosphere for the formal US-EC talks the following day and to underscore the importance we attach to our deepening relationship with the EC and our bilateral relationship with the Netherlands.

BACKGROUND

Queen Beatrix is hosting this small dinner for the President at the Noordeinde Palace on November 9. A tentative guest list is attached. The Queen's husband, Prince Claus, is unlikely to participate due to a prolonged recuperation from illness. As the royal family and Dutch media play his condition low-key, a brief expression of sympathy and hope for his improvement would be appropriate.

DECLASSIFIED

PER DOS WAIVER, November 6, 2015

By PM NARA, Date 04/22/2025

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PRELIMINARY GUEST LIST FOR QUEEN'S DINNER

Queen Beatrix, Host

The Netherlands

Ruud Lubbers, Prime Minister, and Mrs. Lubbers
Wim Kok, Deputy Prime Minister
Hans van den Broek, Foreign Minister, and Mrs. van den Broek
J.H. Meesman, Ambassador to the United States

EC Commission

Jacques Delors, President, and Mrs. Delors
Frans Andriessen, Vice President
Enrique Baron Crespo, President of the European Parliament and
additional EC guests

U.S.

President and Mrs. Bush
James Baker, Secretary of State, and Mrs. Baker
C. Howard Wilkins, Ambassador to the Netherlands
Carla Hills, US Trade Representative
John Sununu, Chief of Staff
Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National
Security Matters
Robert Zoellick, Under Secretary of State for Economic
Affairs and Counselor
David Gompert, Senior Director for European and Soviet Affairs,
NSC Staff
Thomas Niles, Assistant Secretary of State for European
and Canadian Affairs
Olin Wethington, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for
International Affairs

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
04. Report	Government Report (1 pp.)	10/29/1991	(b)(1)	C

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of

Series: Card, Andrew A., Files

Subseries: Subject Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Briefing Book: President's Visit to the Hague and the Netherlands - 11/8-9/91

Date Closed:	1/28/2020	OA/ID Number:	CF00554-006
FOIA/SYS Case #:	5555-5555-DC	Appeal Case #:	
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MEETING WITH EUROPEAN COMMUNITY COUNCIL PRESIDENT LUBBERS AND
EUROPEAN COMMISSION PRESIDENT DELORS

SCENESETTER

DECLASSIFIED

PER DOS WAIVER, November 6, 2015

By RM NARA, Date 04/21/25

PURPOSE AND AGENDA

This is the principal working meeting with Lubbers and Delors. The agenda is ambitious, reflecting the fact that we are more fully engaging the EC in a global cooperation.

We would like the meeting to:

- obtain a joint endorsement of basic parameters for a final Uruguay Round agreement;
- further develop a pattern of international responsibility sharing with the EC, focussing on the USSR, Eastern and Central Europe, and the Middle East.

After introductory statements on US-EC relations and European developments, discussion will move to the substantive agenda -- Uruguay Round, UNCED/Climate change (at EC-Dutch insistence), the USSR, Eastern and Central Europe, the Middle East and other areas. In connection with these discussions, we are working to prepare in advance a joint statement on our approach to ethnic and nationalist strife in the East and one which signals support for the EC's proposal for a conventional arms transfer registry at the UN.

You will also suggest two new steps -- consultations among U.S. and EC ambassadors in selected capitals and regular US-EC discussions of immigration/migration topics. The consultations in capitals will enhance our ability to coordinate effectively where the EC is an important player. Immigration is topical in Europe with fears of massive emigration from the East and nasty signs of racist sentiment. The Community is also taking on new responsibilities in immigration and asylum.

BACKGROUND

Introductory Remarks. You will want to share our perspectives on US-EC ties and the broader transatlantic relationship. The EC side will do the same, discussing the prospects for signing the Monetary and Political Union treaties at the December Maastricht summit. You should underline our support for European integration, and deliver the same basic points as in Rome -- the NATO Alliance is not transitory, it is of lasting benefit to both sides of the Atlantic, and this security partnership should continue and deepen as Europe integrates. We hope the December EC summit will acknowledge the Alliance's essential role. US-EC consultations and cooperation have increased significantly since the US-EC declaration last November. The Dutch have been

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very forthcoming. We expect the Portuguese (who take over in January) and then the British to continue this pattern. The EC is now an important partner is providing aid to the East and in our Middle East Peace efforts while we lean on them to take the lead in Yugoslavia. We want this pattern of responsibility sharing to continue. But on the economic side, we must also handle effectively frictions that arise.

Uruguay Round and Other Trade Issues. Commission President Delors reacted positively to your letter suggesting intensive efforts to narrow our differences on the Uruguay Round. U.S. and EC negotiators will try to bridge as many differences as possible and then produce a joint paper before the summit on areas where the gaps remain. As of Monday, some progress had been made in non-agricultural areas, but no movement was evident in agriculture (see background paper on areas of contention).

Carla Hills will brief you Friday on the state of negotiations and the substantive strategy for discussing the Round. In the best of all worlds, you and your hosts will be able to announce that the U.S. and the EC have reached agreement in principle on the major items dividing them. Any progress made will be factored into the efforts of GATT Director General Arthur Dunkel to produce a widely acceptable draft agreement by mid-November.

There are three serious, longstanding disputes on the US-EC bilateral trade agenda which are not on the agenda but which could come up. The EC enlargement dispute stems from when Spain and Portugal joined the EC in 1986, which adversely affected approximately \$420 million in U.S. trade, principally corn and sorghum. We believe we are entitled to permanent compensation; the EC believes it has compensated us through an agreement which expired last year. The agreement has been extended once, and we hope to extend it for another year while trying to work out a permanent solution. To put pressure on the EC Commission, we plan to publish a retaliation list after your meeting.

On oilseeds, GATT has ruled that EC payments to oilseeds processors violate GATT rules. The EC reaction to the GATT ruling has been unsatisfactory and adversely affects up to \$1 billion in U.S. trade. We intend to raise the issue again in the GATT soon and to consider retaliatory action if the EC is not forthcoming. The other major issue is Airbus, which is heavily subsidized by Germany, France, the UK and Spain. We have filed two GATT complaints after bilateral negotiations failed. The EC has proposed re-opening negotiations. We are consulting with U.S. industry before responding.

UNCED/Climate Change. Despite our objections, the Dutch urged that this item be kept on the agenda arguing that the environment is important on Holland's domestic political agenda. The Dutch are active supporters of limits on greenhouse gas emissions. The EC will press us to join them in supporting a fixed level of CO2 emissions by the year 2000 and committing to this goal at the UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio next June. The EC Commission will probably brief on its strategy for

achieving this objective which includes a new energy tax, an R&D program, and energy efficiency programs. We are resisting the EC's proposals, arguing that the goals are not scientifically justified and would have severe economic impact. Rather than setting top-down directives, we are calling for a long-term process to reduce greenhouse gases by allowing countries to develop and apply measures that fit their economies and available technologies. The EC will also urge you to attend the UNCED next June and to commit there to providing the LDCs with new resources. We are saying it would be premature to discuss your attendance until the agenda is in order.

Soviet Union and Central and Eastern Europe. The EC countries are holding back on further aid commitments to the Soviets. They share our skepticism about recent Soviet aid requests, but agree on the necessity for Western action to meet food and medical shortages. They want us and Japan to provide more assistance. The EC has lagged behind us on both food and medical deliveries. The 500 million ECU in aid approved last December, for example, has yet to be delivered to the Soviets. The EC hopes now to release that and up to \$1 billion in additional credit guarantees for this winter. On debt, Germany and France opposed our initial proposals for rescheduling saying that they would carry most of the cost. But there is now wide EC recognition that the problem is much worse than originally thought and must be addressed. Delors is taking a cautious approach, urging thorough G-7 analysis of Soviet needs and close coordination. The November 6 G-7 Deputies Meeting in Paris will allow us to gauge European views and their willingness to act to forestall a default.

Lubbers will raise the European Energy Charter, which is his brain child. We support the idea as long as it relies on the market place and private enterprise to develop Eastern energy markets. However, we oppose European proposals that would turn it into a permanent bureaucracy.

You will want to signal the need to ensure that the republic authorities use our humanitarian assistance to address underlying causes of the food problem and seek a US-EC consensus on common signals to send the republics and the center. You will want to stress the importance of developing a common attitude toward handling ethnic strife, nascent nationalism and irredentism by stressing the need for commitment to CSCE principles. The combined weight of the EC and the U.S. can have a moderating effect on at least some of the ethnic and nationalist forces in the USSR and Eastern Europe.

You will want to praise the EC's role in coordinating aid for Central and Eastern Europe through the G-24 process. The Community and its members have pledged approximately \$28 billion over the last two years. Most of that consists of relatively costly loans or trade credits, while most U.S. aid is in grant form. The EC wants us to increase our share of balance of payments assistance for FY 1992, but our budget problems do not allow that. Many in the EC are starting to complain that we are not carrying our fair share of the burden. We may be pressed to

do more at the November 6 G-7 debt meeting and at the November 11 G-24 Ministerial.

You should praise EC steps to grant market access to Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia (though the access given is less than it appears on the surface) and urge early signature of the association accords granting as much market access as possible.

Yugoslavia. You will want to reiterate our strong U.S. support for the EC's peace efforts and offer cooperation in next steps. (The French and others are using our relative inactivity to argue that the U.S. will opt out of similar crises in the future and that Europe thus needs its own capabilities.) However, if we are to continue our full support we need to know where the EC is headed and to make sure that we can agree on next steps. The EC is considering sanctions and may impose a first set of five economic sanctions Friday in Rome via a meeting of Foreign Ministers on the margin of the NATO Summit. They may also suspend the EC-sponsored peace conference. The EC hopes that we will follow suit. They will seek our backing in the CSCE and UN. Current Dutch thinking is that these critical sanctions will not carry much economic bite but that they will send a signal to Serbian leader Milosevic that he is on his own. The Dutch say the EC would next consider steps to assure Serbia's political isolation and eventually consider recognition of other republics. In the meantime, the EC would offer to drop sanctions selectively for republics which cooperate. If the situation warrants, we should consider a joint US-EC press statement.

Middle East. Despite our initial concerns, the EC has been supportive of our efforts. Previously, they pressed to be included in the bilateral negotiations. We have discouraged this idea and are urging them to play an important role in the multilateral talks. The EC's "common policy" on the Middle East, by virtue of the need to find consensus, is less problematic than those of individual members and keeps France, the UK and others in check. The EC's largest asset is its ability to pool members' financial resources, to shift aid monies relatively easily, and to build upon important trade and aid agreements with the Middle Eastern participants.

Delors says the Commission is prepared to help in discussions on economic development, water and irrigation, agricultural exports and the development of economic and energy infrastructure. We have suggested that members state representatives could contribute to discussions on arms control and regional security.

Other Areas. You will want to applaud US-EC cooperation in Central America and Mongolia as examples of how our collaboration can extend beyond Europe and its periphery. You should suggest that over the year ahead we expand our cooperation in Africa and elsewhere. You should note our full support for the EC's UN initiative to create a conventional arms sales registry. This complements our efforts to promote transparency in conventional arms transfers. The EC may raise LDC Debt and South Africa. Contingency points are included.

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POINTS TO BE MADE
MEETING WITH EC LEADERS

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

- US-EC Relations. The fact of today's meeting -- our first regular bi-annual meeting in Europe -- underlines the growing significance of our relationship. Our meaty agenda makes that even more clear.
- I am struck by how much our global cooperation has grown over the past year. We are sharing responsibility for solving problems from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union to the Middle East and as far as Mongolia and Central America.
- Our cooperation has never been broader or more important. It will be essential in assuring the successful transformations in the East. That task is as daunting as any we faced during the Cold War and just as important.
- The U.S. and the EC are not only partners, but global economic leaders. As such, we must demonstrate that we can successfully manage the trade and economic differences which naturally arise. If we can't, the rest of our cooperation will be affected by the problems between us.
- Our ability to lead and to manage is being tested as we try to conclude the Uruguay Round this year. I cannot overemphasize the importance of liberalizing the trading system, not only for the health of the world economy, but also as a demonstration of the vitality of Western leadership.

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DECLASSIFIED
PER DOS WAIVER, November 6, 2015
By RM NARA, Date 04/22/25

- European Integration. The Community faces some crucial decisions over the next month on political and monetary union. I look forward to hearing your thoughts.
- Let me take a minute to share our view of the American role in Europe and its relationship to the dramatic changes which you are undertaking.
- With the end of the Cold War, there are some pressures in the U.S. to turn inward. These are manageable, in large part because the American people have learned one of the basic lessons of this century -- the U.S. cannot abandon its responsibilities or ties to Europe without inviting disastrous results.
- The fading of the Soviet threat does not change that calculation. There was no threat in 1918, and we made the mistake of pulling back. In 1946, we started to turn inward only to be forced to reverse that trend.
- In our vision, America has a role in Europe which is valuable to both sides of the Atlantic even as Europe integrates. We do not think the Alliance, our commitment or our presence are transitory.
- We fully support political and economic union. We see a more cohesive and effective partner resulting from this process. We do not see our role in Europe or the Alliance as obstacles to union, nor do we see political union lessening the value of an American role.
- I want to be very supportive of what you are doing. My administration will endorse your undertakings at Maastricht. But at the same time, you need to make clear that this

commitment to political union does not reduce the need for us or the Alliance.

- Thus as you prepare for this historic summit, we hope you will ensure that the statement you make about the enduring value of the Alliance will be as strong as the statements we have made in Rome and elsewhere supporting European integration and political union.
- Initiatives. I also want to suggest some concrete initiatives which are important in their own right and symbolic of our responsibility sharing.
- We suggest a joint statement on ethnic strife in the East. Speaking with one voice on this issue, we can have a positive impact. We have to make clear what we expect from others and the standards we will use to judge behavior.
- I propose that we regularize our consultations on migration and immigration. We share some similar problems and our experiences may be of value to you.
- I want to applaud the EC initiative for a conventional arms transfer registry at the UN and signal our support with a joint statement.
- I suggest that we deepen our cooperation by organizing regular consultations in selected capitals between our Ambassador and the EC Troika Ambassadors and the Commission Representative. Secretary Baker can develop this idea with you.
- Finally, I want to recognize that ties between the U.S. and the EC are growing. We've expanded our Fulbright and our

International Visitor Programs. The Rand Corporation is planning a European-American Center for Policy Analysis. The American European Community Chamber of Commerce is assuming an important role on trade and investment issues. A number of universities in the United States are setting up EC Studies departments. This should continue.

URUGUAY ROUND (To be updated to reflect ongoing US-EC talks)

- The Uruguay Round has reached a critical juncture. I am pleased that Germany has indicated flexibility on agriculture.
- It will take courageous leadership by all of us to take full advantage of this situation.
- The U.S. is ready to be flexible in each of the core areas we identified at the London summit: Agriculture, Market Access, Intellectual Property and Services, around which we can strike a bargain. You should be flexible, too.
- A successful conclusion of the Round has tremendous economic advantages for all of us as well as for the newly developing democracies in the East and the LDC's. If we can make the hard choices and lead the way toward a successful overall conclusion of the Round, it will also demonstrate the strength of our relationship.

OTHER TRADE ISSUES (IF RAISED ONLY)

- US-EC Enlargement Agreement. A one-year mutual extension should give our negotiators time to conclude a permanent settlement to this issue.
- Oilseeds. The EC response to the GATT decision does not adequately protect our interests. We will continue to work

through GATT, and I am pleased that you are prepared to do likewise. But we are prepared to take specific action to protect this important market.

- Airbus. We are examining the EC Commission's latest proposal. We are not opposed to Airbus' existence but firmly believe that it should operate on the same basis as other commercial aircraft manufacturers.

UNCED/ENVIRONMENT

- We agree on the need to limit greenhouse gas emissions, and we hope that a framework convention on climate change can be signed during UNCED in June 1992.
- But we cannot agree to the suggestion for a fixed limit on CO2 emissions by the year 2000. We just do not think that target is justified scientifically and believe that it could have serious economic effects on our economy and others.
- We would like to engage as many countries as possible in a process which will reduce greenhouse gas emissions with measures that fit their economies, societies, and available technology.

IF ASKED ABOUT BRAZILIAN RAIN FOREST PROJECT

- We are committed to fulfilling the undertaking contained in the London G-7 statement. We are examining closely the latest proposal developed by the World Bank and Brazil.

SOVIET UNION (Must be Updated)

- Our close coordination will be essential in helping the Soviet Union establish democracy and a market economy.
- The immediate priority is coordination on effective humanitarian aid and technical assistance to key sectors.

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- We must ensure that union and republic authorities use our assistance to address underlying causes of the food problem.
- We must also agree on common signals to send as the republics seek to define their future relationship and handle rekindled ethnic passions. This was part of our thinking in suggesting a joint statement on ethnic issues.
- Working together, we will multiply the impact of our policies.

ASSISTANCE FOR THE SOVIET UNION (Must be Updated)

- We will help the Soviet people make it through the winter.
- We have made available a total \$2.5 billion in credit guarantees to the USSR for the purchase of U.S. agricultural products in 1991.
 - This includes shipment of over 15 million metric tons of grain and approximately 3 million metric tons of soybean and soybean meal.
- We have provided over \$18 million worth of pharmaceuticals and medical supplies to targeted areas in the Soviet Union and the Baltics since February 1991.
- We are expanding our technical assistance program and will concentrate on food distribution, energy, defense conversion, and democratic institution building.
- Creditors need to agree on steps to be taken to help the Soviets avoid a default that would interfere with the extension of new credit.
- We strongly support IMF efforts to help the Soviets come up with a credible market reform plan.

THE ENERGY CHARTER (If raised)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- We are pleased that negotiations to draft a European Energy Charter are proceeding well.
- The Charter can provide a critical road map for reform of energy sectors in Eastern and Central Europe and the USSR.
- Private foreign investment should be the main element in integrating the East's energy sectors with the global market. We should avoid creating a new bureaucracy or trying to regulate individual energy sectors.
- We are concerned about the lack of full participation by the Soviet Union and the Republics. They will need to clarify their lines of authority and responsibility before they can participate fully in the Charter.

IF ASKED WHETHER THE U.S. WILL SIGN THE CHARTER AT THE
MINISTERIAL PLANNED FOR DECEMBER 1991 IN THE HAGUE

- If the Charter negotiations continue their positive market-oriented approach, and the Soviet Union and Eastern and Central European states show a firm commitment to the Charter process, I look forward to the U.S. being able to sign an agreed European Energy Charter. However, we will need to examine closely any proposed follow-on activities.

ASSISTANCE TO CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE/G-24

- Our support of Soviet reforms should not come at the expense of the new democracies of central and eastern Europe.
- We commend the EC commission for its fine work managing G-24 coordination efforts.
- Continued G-24 assistance is essential as these countries enter the next stage of reform, which will entail closing inefficient enterprises and laying off workers.

CONFIDENTIAL

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- President Havel, during his recent State Visit, described the challenges ahead. I met with Prime Ministers Bielecki of Poland and Antall of Hungary earlier this fall.
- They need all the help they can get. Trade and investment are key. Under our Trade Enhancement Initiative, we have opened the U.S. market to central and east European goods. We have already negotiated increased quotas for textiles and steel.
- We hope you will move vigorously toward granting the fullest market access possible to new central European democracies.
- I have seen a number of signs of hesitation in the EC on market access. The East Europeans tell me that the EC was more responsive to their needs during the Soviet coup than before or after. What can you tell me on this?

G-24 BURDEN-SHARING -- IF RAISED

- The EC and its members are in the lead, as you should be.
- We are also involved, and will remain involved, with substantial and sustained assistance.
- The U.S. is second only to Germany in providing grant aid.
- We have stressed that kind of assistance because high-interest loans or tied credits don't make much sense for countries already staggering under a huge debt burden.
- We will continue to support balance of payments programs where appropriate. Our contributions will be small, but ours will be grant aid.

YUGOSLAVIA

CONFIDENTIAL

- We felt it important for the EC to take the lead, and we have tried to support your efforts in any way we could. We are not indifferent and not uninvolved.
- We have established an excellent pattern of US-EC cooperation. We are prepared to follow your lead, but we need to know where you are going. If we don't, gaps could develop between us and we might not be able to provide the needed assistance.
- Consultations will be especially important as you consider sanctions, peacekeeping, or recognition.
- Are there any additional steps you would like the U.S. to take in support of your efforts?

(SANCTIONS -- IF RAISED)

- We are prepared to support sanctions if that becomes necessary, but we must coordinate closely and discuss options ahead of time.
- Responsibility for the tragedy unfolding in Yugoslavia is widely -- though not equally -- shared. It may be hard as a practical matter to impose sanctions selectively.

(PEACEKEEPING -- IF RAISED)

- We support this idea in principle and recognize that it is a tough decision for you. If EC members are considering dispatch of a sizeable peacekeeping force, we should consult closely including on ways the U.S. might assist.

(RECOGNITION -- IF RAISED)

- Recognition should come only through agreement. To recognize Slovenia or Croatia now would only lead to an

escalation of violence. Instead, we should increase the pressure on the parties to come to the bargaining table.

- If you are considering recognizing all six republics, where will that take us except to more chaos?

MIDDLE EAST

- We were pleased to have Foreign Minister van den Broek representing the EC at Madrid. It was an historic beginning of a long, arduous process.
- We are encouraged by the first bilateral talks. The primary responsibility now falls on the parties: to work out the venue and to negotiate substance.
- We should encourage the parties to work out understandings directly. We should give them some time to do so.
- In the absence of an agreement, we are prepared to work with them and make proposals if necessary, but we do not want to pre-empt the efforts of the parties themselves.
- The bilateral talks are not designed to promote third-party participation -- European or otherwise. The parties must determine if they want even the co-sponsors to attend.
- On the other hand, we foresee broad international participation -- including a major EC role -- in the multilateral negotiations. This would include discussions both on arms control and regional security topics and on human and resource issues. The latter could deal with refugee questions, water and economic development.
- We want to work with you on the initial meeting to structure these negotiations and on subsequent expert-level activity.

COOPERATION IN OTHER AREAS

- I am particularly pleased that our cooperation is extending as far as Central America and Mongolia.
- We appreciate the leadership the Netherlands in favor of EC support for the Partnership for Democracy and Development in Central America (PDD). I am equally pleased that a number of EC countries offered support for aid to Mongolia.
- We also want the EC's active participation in resolving conflicts and helping consolidate democracy. Africa is likely to be a major test of our commitment to global responsibility sharing. I hope we can deepen our cooperation here.

CONTINGENCY POINTS ON SUBJECTS WHICH THE EC MAY RAISE
LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRY DEBT

- We agreed in London on the need to improve current Toronto Terms for the poorest, most heavily indebted countries on a case-by-case basis, and referred this to the Paris Club.
 - We are still working to resolve related budget and legislative issues.
- The United States was the largest single aid donor in 1990. However, the U.S. has long stressed that the quality of aid should be more important than quantity.
- The U.S. provided debt relief of about \$2.3 billion in the past year for some of the poorest countries. We will do our best in the replenishment of the International Development Association (IDA X).
- We are also sponsoring or participating in number of regional initiatives which boost LDC economic growth -- the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI), the Asia Pacific/Economic

Cooperation (APEC), the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative (EAI).

- Of course, a successful Uruguay Round will be a major boost to LDC exports.

SOUTH AFRICA

- Although the recent violence concerns us, we are still optimistic about the political transition in South Africa. We hope an all-party-conference will get under way, and the parties can begin to hammer out constitutional principles.
- South Africa's economy will be critical in determining the country's political future. Foreign investment will contribute to South Africa's economic growth.
- (If raised). Our position on the IMF is shaped by the Gramm Amendment of 1983 which sketches out certain criteria which must be satisfied before we can support a South African facility request. It seems that the criteria the South Africans are having the greatest difficulty with is a balance of payments deficit.

PARTICIPANTS FOR US-EC WORKING MEETING

U.S.

The President

James Baker, Secretary of State

C. Howard Wilkins, Ambassador to the Netherlands

Carla Hills, US Trade Representative

John Sununu, Chief of Staff

Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National
Security Matters

Robert Zoellick, Under Secretary of State for Economic
Affairs and Counselor

James Dobbins, Ambassador to the European Community

David Gompert, Senior Director for European and Soviet Affairs,
NSC Staff

Thomas Niles, Assistant Secretary of State for European
and Canadian Affairs

John Robson, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury

EC

Ruud Lubbers, Prime Minister of the Netherlands

Jacques Delors, President of EC Commission

Frans Andriessen, Vice President of the EC Commission

Hans van den Broek, Foreign Minister of the Netherlands

(additional participants to be determined)

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
05. Report	Government Report (2 pp.)	06/27/1991	(b)(1)	C

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of

Series: Card, Andrew A., Files

Subseries: Subject Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Briefing Book: President's Visit to the Hague and the Netherlands - 11/8-9/91

Date Closed:	1/28/2020	OA/ID Number:	CF00554-006
FOIA/SYS Case #:	5555-5555-DC	Appeal Case #:	
Re-review Case #:		Appeal Disposition:	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		Disposition Date:	
AR Case #:		MR Case #:	
AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	

RESTRICTION CODES

Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- (b)(1) National security classified information
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- PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
06. Report	Government Report (2 pp.)	06/28/1991	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of

Series: Card, Andrew A., Files

Subseries: Subject Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Briefing Book: President's Visit to the Hague and the Netherlands - 11/8-9/91

Date Closed: 1/28/2020 **OA/ID Number:** CF00554-006

FOIA/SYS Case #: 5555-5555-DC

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

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07. Report	Government Report (2 pp.)	06/27/1991	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of

Series: Card, Andrew A., Files

Subseries: Subject Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Briefing Book: President's Visit to the Hague and the Netherlands - 11/8-9/91

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
08. Report	Government Report (2 pp.)	08/12/1991	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of

Series: Card, Andrew A., Files

Subseries: Subject Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Briefing Book: President's Visit to the Hague and the Netherlands - 11/8-9/91

Date Closed:	1/28/2020	OA/ID Number:	CF00554-006
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AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	

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SPEECH AND LUNCHEON AT THE HAGUE

SCENESETTER

You will attend a luncheon hosted by Prime Minister Lubbers. You will also give a speech. The lunch is largely a social event, with some 200 invited guests. There is no plan to broach new topics during this event, although we expect discussion from the morning working sessions may well continue during lunch.

Your speech will be the main opportunity during your visit to Europe for the Rome and Hague summits to place U.S. views on developments in Europe before the European public.

Many of the 200 or so guests will be Dutch government officials, including parliamentarians and the military. Representatives of the American business community and Dutch-American organizations also will be invited, along with Dutch civic and cultural figures.

The lunch and speech will take place in the Ridderzaal, or the Hall of Knights. This magnificent thirteenth century hall lies in the center of the Binnenhof, the historic and present day center of Dutch political life and home to the Dutch parliament. In the 1400s, the hall fell into disrepair reaching its nadir in 1878 when it came to house the archives of the Ministry of Home Affairs. The whole complex of buildings was restored at the turn of the century. Since then the hall has been used to receive prominent guests of the Royal House and the Government and to hold the ceremony opening parliament and other conferences.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
09. List	Dutch EC Presidency: Under a Cloud (2 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

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Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of

Series: Card, Andrew A., Files

Subseries: Subject Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Briefing Book: President's Visit to the Hague and the Netherlands - 11/8-9/91

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EUROPEAN POLITICAL UNION

The December 9-10 Maastricht summit is the EC-imposed deadline for the EC Inter-Governmental Conferences (IGC) on European Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) and European Political Union (EPU).

The final outcome at the summit has implications both for the future of Europe and U.S. relations with Europe. Given such high stakes, debate over EPU has been difficult and progress slow.

New challenges from developments in the USSR, Eastern Europe and Yugoslavia, as well as difficult negotiations on a European Economic Space and on Association Agreements with its neighbors in Northern and Eastern Europe, have also complicated the EC's work toward EPU.

Dutch efforts to move EPU forward faltered on September 30 when 10 of 12 member states rejected their draft treaty. This created a vacuum that other EC member states have not been shy about filling.

- On October 3, the British and the Italians drew up a joint paper on European security which stressed the importance of the transatlantic link and development of a European defense organization after full consultation within the Alliance. The French were unhappy with this proposal and on October 14 released, along with Germany, a paper which contained strong Euro-centric language including development of French-German military cooperation as a nucleus for a possible European defense force outside NATO.
- The Germans have told us German forces assigned to this corps would be double-hatted NATO forces.

The U.S. is particularly concerned about those sections of EPU that deal with a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), and want to ensure that issues relating to the eventual creation of a European defense force and its relation to the Western European Union (WEU) be resolved in a manner that does not undermine the centrality of NATO.

Other key issues of contention within the EC have been whether the role of the European Parliament should be strengthened, and whether the EC should assume a federal structure or remain more loosely organized.

We expect debate on the security aspects of EPU to be partially shaped by the outcome of the November 8 Rome NATO summit. In this connection, the UK/Italian and German/French papers will be key texts when the hard bargaining begins, probably at a special EC Foreign Ministers meeting November 12-13.

DECLASSIFIED

PER DOS WAIVER, November 6, 2015

By RM NARA, Date 04/22/2025

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Declassify on: OADR

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EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION

The EC is currently engaged in negotiations, in the framework of Intergovernmental Conferences (IGC), to achieve Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). The year-long process involves negotiating changes in the Treaty of Rome.

- Some tough issues remain to be settled, but progress achieved under the Dutch presidency is such that prospects are reasonably good that draft Treaty amendments will be ready for signature at the EC summit at Maastricht on December 9-10.
- The Germans insist they will accept EMU only if it is accompanied by an EPU (European Political Union) Treaty that enhances the role of the European Parliament. Given the slower pace on EPU, Bonn may withhold signature on EMU until EPU negotiations catch up.

True economic and monetary union, characterized by a single currency and single monetary authority, would be the culmination of decades of European integration efforts. EMU would eliminate exchange rate risk for intra-EC transactions, promote economic efficiency, facilitate capital market integration, stimulate intra-EC trade, and promote greater harmonization and coordination of macroeconomic policy within the EC.

Present strong momentum for EMU may result in an EMU treaty before the end of 1991. However, actual implementation of key treaty features, i.e., a single currency and monetary authority, with implicit reduction in national economic sovereignty will be more difficult to achieve.

EMU is consistent with U.S. support for European integration. We have told the Europeans that the EC must adopt policies promoting sustained global economic growth, low inflation, adjustment of external imbalances and open trade and investment regimes.

As currently envisaged, EMU is unlikely to affect adversely short-term U.S. interests. The possible disinflationary bias of moving to EMU could make it somewhat harder for the United States to export to Europe and reduce the trade deficit. In the long run, EMU could weaken the U.S. leadership role in international economic policy-making, and may undercut the reserve currency role of the dollar.

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PER DOS WAIVER, November 6, 2015

By PM NARA, Date 04/22/25

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
10. List	Common Security Policy (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

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Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of

Series: Card, Andrew A., Files

Subseries: Subject Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Briefing Book: President's Visit to the Hague and the Netherlands - 11/8-9/91

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ASSISTANCE TO EASTERN EUROPE AND THE G-24

About \$5 billion in grants and loans has been disbursed to the Central and Eastern European countries by members of the G-24. Total G-24 pledges of assistance exceed \$26 billion, but the majority is export credits and other types of loans which may never be used.

- During fiscal years 1990 and 1991, the U.S. provided \$944 million in grants and over \$1 billion in other assistance. In addition to our Enterprise Funds (for Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria), our aid focusses on technical assistance services to support democratic institutions and free market reform.
- Our FY92 request totals \$470 million, excluding food aid. The EC has pledged \$1.3 billion in grant assistance for FY92.
- Germany and the U.S. are the largest bilateral donors of grant assistance.
- Unlike the West Europeans, the U.S. excludes trade credits, debt forgiveness, and loan guarantees from our assistance figures.

We see assistance as only part of the solution, necessary to ensure that economic reforms succeed. In the long-run, private investment and foreign trade will drive economic growth in the region.

Through the Trade Enhancement Initiative, we have reduced barriers to CEE trade with the U.S. Textile quotas have been greatly liberalized for Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland, and steel quotas have been relaxed.

The IMF is disbursing \$5 billion in the region in 1991; the World Bank will commit \$9 billion over the next three years. We are the largest contributor to both institutions.

In 1991 over \$3 billion in balance of payments financing will be offered by Western governments to Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Bulgaria.

- The token U.S. contribution consists of \$35 million in grants. Other donors' contributions are mainly loan guarantees.

Poland and Hungary were the first countries to receive G-24 -- and U.S. -- assistance. Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia were declared eligible at the July 1990 G-24 Ministerial. Romania, Albania and the Baltic states have since been included.

At the G-7 Summit in July 1991, the EC's role as coordinator of the G-24 was reaffirmed.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE EC AND EASTERN EUROPE

The EC, recognizing that historical ties and the prospect of eventually expanding the Community to include Eastern Europe dictate taking an active role in the region, has taken the lead in providing assistance to help new East European democracies make the transition to market economies.

- The Community and its countries have pledged about two-thirds of the approximately \$28 billion promised to Eastern Europe by G-24 members over the last two years. Most of this aid consists of loans or trade credits.

The EC Council's approval in late September of greater agricultural market access for Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland has improved prospects for completion of association agreements before the end of the year.

- The EC, however, has granted less access than meets the eye. Larger EC meat quotas will include the amount of meat that these three East European countries export to the Soviet Union with EC financing. This "triangular trade" reflects a compromise to overcome strong French resistance on the access issue.
- Other details still need to be worked out as well, and last-minute hitches are possible, especially in the case of Poland, which has been the most demanding negotiator.

Relations with the Balkan countries have not progressed as far because of the slower pace of their reforms.

- The Commission is worried about the deteriorating situations in Romania and Albania, and some EC members probably feel the West should do more for them.

At the same time, the EC is finding it difficult to reconcile Eastern European countries' growing aid needs with both its own budget problems and the pressures from various constituencies and poorer member countries concerned about protecting their share of EC resources. Some EC members, particularly Germany, have become increasingly critical of the level of U.S. support.

- The EC may seek to defuse the burdensharing debate by encouraging the U.S. to assume a larger share of Soviet aid.

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PER DOS WAIVER, November 6, 2015

By PM NARA, Date 04/22/2025

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U.S. ASSISTANCE TO THE SOVIET UNION

The Administration is seeking authorization from Congress to spend a limited sum of foreign assistance monies for technical assistance to the Soviet Union and the republics to help build democracy and a market-oriented economy.

-- Currently, the U.S. government is using existing agency resources for these purposes, where permissible, under the Technical Cooperation Program.

We have made available \$2.5 billion in Commodity Credit Corporation credit guarantees to the USSR for the purchase of U.S. agricultural products in 1991.

In responding to Soviet requests for food assistance, we are seeking to get more information quickly and examine what further we might be able to do, building on the efforts the President initiated in December to provide humanitarian medical aid and food assistance in support of reform.

Agriculture Secretary Madigan and Under Secretary Crowder have each led high-level delegations to the Soviet Union since the failed coup attempt. On these trips, they examined the food distribution system and assessed food needs.

As part of the Presidential Initiative announced in December 1990, Project Hope has shipped over \$18 million (retail) of privately donated pharmaceutical and medical supplies to the Soviet Union and the Baltic States. These shipments have gone to:

-- Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Ukraine, the Aral Sea region of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, the Russian Republic, the city of Moscow, and Sakhalin Island.

The President has announced that we will extend and expand this program to help deal with emergency shortages of pharmaceutical and basic medical supplies. (He also announced that we will establish a separate program for the Baltics.)

At President Bush's initiative, the Soviets have concluded an agreement on Special Association with the IMF. This will give the Soviets access to technical expertise that will help them define their reform programs and clear the way for eventual membership.

The President submitted to Congress on August 2, 1991 the Trade Agreement, which conveys Most Favored Nation status.

The Administration is working with Congress to lift the legal restrictions on official credit and credit guarantee programs for the Soviet Union contained in the Stevenson and Byrd Amendments.

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EC ASSISTANCE FOR THE USSR

The EC countries are resisting substantial further aid commitments to the Soviet economy at this time. Feeling overwhelmed by aid requests from the former East bloc, they probably will hold the Soviets to tough preconditions for aid and will more stridently press the United States to do more.

- Senior EC officials doubt the Soviet Union will experience widespread famine this winter and fear additional food aid could hinder reforms. Most of the \$2.5 billion in humanitarian aid pledged by the EC is contingent on demonstrated need.
- All EC countries share the U.S. view that aid will be ineffectual until the Soviets work out the relationship between the center and the republics and adopt a satisfactory economic reform program.
- Commission President Delors believes the G-7 assistance effort requires a more thorough analysis of Soviet problems.

The handling of looming Soviet debt service difficulties -- which the EC countries increasingly fear may not be just a liquidity problem -- is the most sensitive aid issue particularly to Germany and France, the Soviet Union's largest creditors.

- Germany and France viewed Washington's debt deferral proposal at the G-7 meeting in Bangkok as an attempt to display leadership at their expense and as potentially damaging to the Soviet Union's creditworthiness.
- EC countries are more receptive to bridge loans, especially if secured with Soviet gold reserves.

Community members may eventually acquiesce in a temporary suspension of principal repayments or other debt relief, but only as part of a multinational assistance effort that diminishes EC concerns about the share of the aid burden members are shouldering.

- Preliminary CIA estimates show that the EC and its member countries account for about 85 percent of Western financing committed to the Soviet Union for 1990-95, while the U.S. accounts for less than 5 percent.
- The EC Council this month called for burdensharing on Soviet aid based on one-third shares for the EC, the U.S., and Japan and Canada together. The EC earlier offered to fund 50 percent of any balance-of-payments assistance for Eastern Europe.

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By Phu NARA, Date 04/22/2025

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US-EC ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

OVERALL US-EC ENVIRONMENTAL COOPERATION

U.S. and EC consultations on environmental issues which take place annually, were held the first week of October in Washington.

They provided an extremely useful forum for an exchange of views on both global environmental issues, such as global climate change, and the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development, as well as better mutual understanding of approaches to air, water, and chemical pollution issues.

- The October discussions underlined the fundamental differences in approach to an international climate change agreement and several important UNCED issues, particularly the need for new funding mechanisms.

CLIMATE CHANGE/ENERGY TAX

It seems that the U.S. and the EC agree on the need to limit net greenhouse emissions from human activities in view of the potential adverse consequences of climate change, but disagree about the best way to reach this goal.

- The U.S. wants a framework convention on climate change ready for signing at the UNCED in June 1992.

In climate change negotiations, the EC wants the U.S. to join it in support of CO2 stabilization by the year 2000, a commitment we oppose.

- The EC Commission has also proposed an implementation strategy for stabilization that includes a new energy/CO2 tax, an R&D program, and sectoral efficiency measures. Most expect the Community to support the energy/CO2 tax, which is to be revenue neutral and will exempt emission intensive industries until other countries adopt similar measures.

UNCED

The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, scheduled for June 1-12, 1992 in Rio de Janeiro, will shape international cooperation on the environment and development for decades to come.

Major U.S. objectives include:

- a statement of principles on forests that would serve as a basis for negotiations on a global framework convention;

- agreement on principles for conserving oceans and marine resources;
- agreement on technology cooperation in a free-market context;
- strengthening institutions and cooperation among UN agencies on environment and development;
- signing a satisfactory agreement on climate change (negotiations are being conducted in another forum);
- endorsement of a restructured Global Environment Facility of the IBRD as the funding mechanism for international environmental treaties.

The EC, under the Dutch presidency, is concerned that success of UNCED will depend on greater U.S. flexibility on providing LDCs with "new and additional" financial resources, which will be the first issue considered at the final preparatory meeting next March.

LARGE SCALE DRIFTNET FISHING

The United States has introduced a draft UNGA resolution to end the use of the destructive large-scale high seas driftnet fishing method by June 30, 1992, and expects the support of Community member states for this resolution in the United Nations.

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EC SANCTIONS AGAINST STATE SPONSORS OF TERRORISM

WHERE EC SANCTIONS STAND

EC terrorism sanctions consist of bans on arms sales and high-level visits. Leaving aside the special case of Iraq, against which the EC has leveled and enforced a range of sanctions, serious, long-range measures remain in place only for Libya. Those against Iran and Syria are crumbling, and Libya too would probably now be the beneficiary of eased EC sanctions had it not supported the Soviet coup plotters. Libyan FM Bishari visited Paris, Madrid and Rome in recent months, notwithstanding the EC ban on high-level visits.

SYRIA

On July 10 the UK withdrew its longstanding objection to lifting EC sanctions on military sales to Syria. The UK was the last remaining holdout among the Twelve.

The Dutch EC presidency, while it supports lifting the ban in principle, is against doing so at this time, because of the delicate juncture in the Middle East peace process.

IRAN

As with Damascus, the Twelve have long exchanged high-level bilateral visits with Tehran. No restrictions on arms sales by EC states to Iran are in force. Even the UK was surprised and angry earlier this year when the U.S. refused export authorization to British Aerospace to sell planes containing U.S. components to Iran.

The EC Commission is ready to begin official talks with Iran which could lead to an EC-Iran cooperation agreement next year. This idea, which originated with German FM Genscher, was tabled for a time because of Iran's egregious terrorism and human rights violations, particularly the Salman Rushdie case.

However, during the Luxembourg presidency the EC Troika visited Tehran and Iranian FM Velayati visited Luxembourg. The Commission has assured the U.S. that human rights, terrorism and hostages remain on the agenda during all discussions with Iran.

THE U.S. VIEW

We continue to emphasize with our EC allies that the peace process, our efforts to engage Syria in a dialogue on terrorism, and ongoing hostage negotiations have had no impact on our own tough sanctions against the Middle East state sponsors of terrorism. In our view only concrete steps to stop terrorism should lead to relaxed sanctions.

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US-EC ENERGY ISSUES

As Europe '92 approaches, the EC Commission is becoming more aggressive on energy matters; Energy Commissioner Antonio Cardoso e Cunha believes the EC must go beyond mere coordination of national policies.

With advanced, energy intensive economies, the U.S. and the EC share most energy related goals. The "Declaration on US-EC Relations" (November 23, 1990) cited energy as an area for mutual cooperation. We hold annual consultations on energy matters.

We coordinate closely on energy issues involving the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

We agree that mutual energy security can be enhanced by increasing our strategic petroleum reserves (but the EC has no control over national stockpiles).

In general, EC countries are more inclined to intervene in the market to advance energy security or environmental goals.

We believe government intervention through regulation or tax policy will damage our economy, without advancing energy security or environmental goals.

Thus, we are skeptical about a recent Commission proposal for a carbon energy tax equivalent to \$10/barrel to reduce emissions of carbon dioxide and slow down climate change.

The Administration's National Energy Strategy considered a carbon energy tax, but rejected it as crippling economic growth with only a small reduction in carbon dioxide emissions.

US-EC TRADE AND INVESTMENT FLOWS

US-EC TRADE

For the third year in a row, the U.S. is running an increasing trade surplus with the EC. The EC is our largest trading partner, followed by Canada.

- The U.S. trade surplus with the EC in the first seven months of 1991 was \$11 billion from exports of \$61.5 billion and imports of \$50.5 billion. In 1990 the surplus was \$6 billion and in 1989 it was \$1.04 billion.
- U.S. exports to the European Community reached \$98 billion in 1990, representing 25% of total U.S. exports of \$394 billion.
 - o Our major industrial exports were: aircraft (\$11.6 billion), ADP equipment (\$6.4 billion), office machines (\$5 billion) and engines/motors (\$4 billion). Agricultural products accounted for \$6.82 billion or about 7.5% of total U.S. exports to the EC and 17.3% of total U.S. agricultural exports.
- U.S. imports from the EC in 1990 totalled \$92 billion or 18.6% of total U.S. imports of \$495 billion.
 - o Our major industrial imports were: automobiles (\$7.5 billion), engines/motors (\$3.7 billion), aircraft (\$3.2 billion) and petroleum products (\$2.7 billion). Agricultural products accounted for \$4.5 billion or about 5.1% of U.S. imports from the EC and 19.7% of total U.S. agricultural imports.

US-EC INVESTMENT FLOWS

About \$173 billion, or 40%, of all U.S. direct investment abroad is in the twelve EC countries. The three largest EC recipients of U.S. direct investment are the UK (15% of total U.S. direct investment), Germany (7%), and the Netherlands (5%).

The EC countries account for about \$230 billion, or 56%, of total foreign direct investment in the U.S. The United Kingdom (27% of total foreign investment), the Netherlands (15%), and Germany (6%) are the three largest EC investors in the U.S.

Investments have grown rapidly in the past four years. The United Kingdom receives more U.S. direct investment, and invests more in the U.S., than any other country. U.S. direct investment in the Netherlands almost doubled since 1986, and in Spain almost tripled. French direct investment in the U.S. has doubled since 1987.

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RECENT US-EC TRADE DISPUTES

The United States and EC have numerous trade disputes outside the Uruguay Round, chief among them is a debate over Airbus subsidies that has grown more tense with Airbus's commercial success.

- The EC argues that such subsidies are needed to offset indirect subsidies U.S. manufacturers get through military contracts.
- Nonetheless, U.S. challenges to Airbus in the GATT, which the EC Commission believes the U.S. can win, are encouraging the EC to propose that supports be capped at 30-40 percent of development costs. The EC probably will tie concessions to the conclusion of an agreement binding on all aircraft manufacturers.

GATT talks on opening public procurement to foreigners are at an impasse over EC demands that new multilateral rules apply to local, regional, and national governments, and to private as well as state-owned utilities.

Without such broad coverage, the EC fears that it would make most of the concessions, because most EC utility firms, unlike their U.S. counterparts, are publicly-owned.

Tenacious Community protection of domestic markets has generated bilateral agricultural disputes.

Oilseeds. The Commission's proposed remedy for dealing with a 1989 GATT panel ruling against its system of subsidizing EC oilseed processors is structured in such a way that an increase in U.S. oilseeds exports to the Community is unlikely.

Beef and Pork Ban. The EC, which has accumulated a mountain of surplus meat, is blocking most imports of U.S. beef and pork products by claiming that only 10 U.S. slaughterhouses meet Community hygiene standards.

Whiskey. The EC is willing to recognize U.S. bourbon and Tennessee whiskey as distinctive products, but, under pressure from Irish and Scottish whiskey producers, is unlikely to allow U.S. blended whiskey to be marketed as whiskey in the Community.

As the Community expands its membership and extends preferential trading relationships to the East Europeans and Soviets in years ahead, the number and frequency of trade disputes will probably rise.

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PER DOS WAIVER, November 6, 2015
By DM NARA, Date 04/21/2025

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THE EC AND THE MIDDLE EAST

The EC is determined to play an active role in the Madrid peace negotiations, working with the U.S. to provide incentives for the participants to sustain the process. The Europeans do not expect quick breakthroughs and probably will not try to organize their own forum for peace talks if negotiations stall.

The West Europeans oppose expansion of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories and support an exchange of land for peace but are trying to develop better relations with Tel Aviv to enhance their credibility as honest brokers.

- The EC is considering a closer economic association with Israel and may offer increased assistance for the occupied territories and resettlement of Soviet immigrants.
- The EC also is urging the Arabs to end their boycott of companies dealing with Israel.

The EC hopes that by supporting the U.S.-led effort it can promote its economic links with the region and prevent anti-Western terrorism.

- In the wake of Iran's and Syria's support for the anti-Iraq coalition, EC members have normalized relations with Tehran and Damascus, and European firms have won millions of dollars of contracts in the region.
- The West Europeans welcome indications that some Mideast radicals are turning away from terrorism and are expediting the release of Western hostages.

The West Europeans are prepared for lengthy negotiations and will consider the conference a success if all parties remain engaged. Some EC countries may pursue their national interests with Mideast partners if the talks collapse, but the EC is unlikely to revive earlier plans for its own peace initiative. The EC sees no better alternative than the U.S. strategy, recognizes its limited influence with the Mideast belligerents, and is occupied with its peace effort in Yugoslavia.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
11. List	The EC and Yugoslavia (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of

Series: Card, Andrew A., Files

Subseries: Subject Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Briefing Book: President's Visit to the Hague and the Netherlands - 11/8-9/91

Date Closed: 1/28/2020

OA/ID Number: CF00554-006

FOIA/SYS Case #: 5555-5555-DC

Appeal Case #:

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Appeal Disposition:

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- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]

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US-DUTCH RELATIONS

BACKGROUND

US-Dutch diplomatic relations date back to 1782, making them one of the oldest continuous relationships we have had with any other country. They are extremely close and warm.

President Bush paid a state visit to the Netherlands in July 1989, becoming the first incumbent U.S. president to visit there.

The Dutch warmly remember the contribution of the United States to the liberation of their country in World War II and look upon the United States as a dependable ally and counterweight to the larger continental powers.

EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

The Dutch strongly support the transatlantic partnership and our continued military role in Europe.

In such issues as the future of NATO, the development of the European Community, and the Uruguay Round, the Netherlands has taken positions very close to those of the United States.

Because of these positions, the Dutch are sometimes seen as the stalking horse for the United States in Europe.

DELFT INSTRUMENTS

The Delft export diversion case is a bilateral irritant in an otherwise excellent and trouble-free relationship.

The Dutch firm Delft Instruments, and its Belgian subsidiary, in violation of the U.S. Arms Export Control Act, shipped night vision devices containing U.S. components to Jordan, where they were diverted to Iraq.

The U.S. investigation continues, but the Dutch dropped theirs.

The Dutch have made no serious attempt to cooperate with us.

The Dutch parliament has strongly criticized the Dutch government's handling of the case.

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PER DOS WAIVER, November 6, 2015

By PLM NARA, Date 04/22/2025

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DUTCH BID FOR THE SEAT OF THE CWC ORGANIZATION

- In August 1990, the Netherlands formally proposed The Hague as the seat of the future Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) Organization.
- Last summer, they invited all Conference on Disarmament (CD) Ambassadors to the Hague to campaign for their bid. The Dutch put forward the following arguments:
 - o they have been actively involved in negotiations for more than 20 years;
 - o a major scientific laboratory for conducting chemical research is situated nearby and could potentially provide support services to the CWC Organization; and
 - o they are prepared to make a sizable contribution to the Organization and bear the cost of furnishing and equipping its accommodations.
- As Austrian Chancellor Vranitzky told you in October, Austria has put forward Vienna as the only other official candidate for the seat of the CWC Organization; many Europeans support Vienna's candidacy.
- The U.S., however, remains neutral at this time, promising to give serious consideration to all contenders, including The Hague.

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SURINAME

- Continued visible support from the U.S., the Netherlands and other democracies for the elected government in Suriname is important to keep in check a politically ambitious military involved in drug trafficking.
- We want to work closely with the Dutch in an effort to preserve democracy and end drug trafficking in Suriname.
- The Dutch will begin talks with the Surinamese later this month on establishing a closer relationship.
- We strongly support Dutch efforts to establish a new and closer relationship with Suriname and to press for economic reforms required to get Dutch aid flowing again. We are looking to the Dutch to take the lead in economic aid to its former colony. Our contribution will be modest in comparison.
- Strong international support for the democratic government of President Venetiaan (veh NEHT see anh) is especially important in the wake of the coup in Haiti. We don't want Army commander Bouterse (BAU ter suh) to think he can get away with overthrowing another civilian government.
- Repayment of arrears -- now estimated at \$2.6 million -- remains a barrier to our resuming our GSM (food assistance) program to Suriname.

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By Pur NARA, Date 04/22/2025

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DELFT EXPORT CONTROL PROBLEM

- Our Justice Department is conducting a criminal investigation of Delft Instruments for shipping night vision equipment containing U.S.-controlled technology to Iraq in violation of U.S. law.
- The violation is all the more serious because of public reports that Iraq used this technology against coalition forces during the Gulf conflict.
- We urge Dutch cooperation to help prepare the U.S. case for prosecution, in particular assistance as requested by our Justice Department under our bilateral Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty.
- However, the Dutch have dropped their prosecution of the case. The GON apparently believes that Delft has suffered enough from U.S. export license suspensions.
- The U.S. is prepared to help the Dutch Government obtain the night vision technology it needs for its own armed forces from sources other than Delft.
- Relaxing U.S. restrictions against Delft will depend, at least in part, on the results of our criminal investigation and on the company's establishment of an effective mechanism to prevent future diversions.

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U.S.-NETHERLANDS CIVIL AVIATION RELATIONSHIP

- The Dutch have made a request for an "open skies" aviation relationship with us. We have agreed to meet with Dutch negotiators a few days after your session with Lubbers. Lubbers may well raise this issue with you during the visit.
- An "open skies" aviation agreement would allow Dutch carriers to fly essentially unrestricted to any city in the United States.
- We have been unable to agree to the Dutch request because the Federal Aviation Act requires a balance of economic opportunities between the United States and an aviation partner. The Netherlands alone cannot offer us such a balance because of its small market size.
- USG agencies are reviewing our policy with regard to open skies arrangements with smaller aviation partners. We have told the Dutch that a regional approach with other small countries might meet the balance of opportunities requirement in U.S. legislation.
- The Dutch airline, KLM, carries the lion's share of passengers between our two countries -- over 70% in 1990.

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By PLM NARA, Date 04/22/2025

THE URUGUAY ROUND

Background

The U.S. strategy in the Uruguay Round in 1991 has focused primarily on ensuring that if and when the European Community was prepared to negotiate agricultural reform, the other issues in the round -- intellectual property, market access (tariff reductions), subsidies, services, investment, etc. -- were poised to be concluded.

Thus, we have been working intensively with both developed and developing countries to negotiate market-opening commitments in services and reductions in tariff and non-tariff barriers to goods. We have also urged key LDCs, such as Argentina, Mexico and India, to translate their domestic trade and investment reforms into more constructive positions in Geneva. Finally, we have spoken directly to European industry to ensure that French hi-tech firms, German pharmaceutical companies, U.K. telecommunications providers and myriad other firms understand the benefits they (and we) stand to reap from a successful Uruguay Round.

The Dunkel Process and Timetable

Since September, intensive negotiations have been underway in Geneva in all areas of the round under the direction of GATT Director General Dunkel. Taking his cue from the G-7 London summit's call to aim to conclude the round by year-end, Dunkel is pushing governments to meet such a deadline in terms of a political package that will conclude the round.

Dunkel's original plan to produce a composite chairman's text by early November has now slipped to the end of November, at the earliest. The chairman's text is to incorporate all agreements reached. Dunkel has stated that if agreements are not reached, "there will be no Uruguay Round."

Dunkel's text would comprise the full Uruguay Round accord on all areas of the negotiations -- agriculture, textiles, intellectual property, services, improved GATT rules (including investment) and dispute settlement. All that would remain would be the detailed negotiations on market access (tariffs and services), which require further bilateral negotiations and should be completed by February. Dunkel has said that the outside timeframe for initialing agreements, including the market access commitments, should be no later than the end of February 1992. That works well for our purposes.

Progress in agriculture has lagged behind the other areas, due to the EC's inability to move ahead of its internal effort to reform

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the Common Agricultural Policy. This has slowed negotiations in other areas.

Recent US-EC Bilateral Negotiations

As a result of your exchange of letters with Prime Minister Lubbers and President Delors last month, we intensified our bilateral negotiations with the European Commission to resolve or narrow our differences in the round by the time of your summit meeting in the Hague. We plan to feed any positive results into Dunkel's process.

Our negotiations have focused primarily on the issues identified by you and the other Heads of State at the London Economic Summit: market access, agriculture, services, and intellectual property. We have made significant progress in narrowing our respective differences. Ambassador Hills' forthcoming memorandum to you will describe this progress in detail.

Looking Ahead

It is important to note that on many of the key issues in the round, US-EC agreement is a necessary but not sufficient condition for success. Once we have closed the gap with the Community, we still have the task of obtaining wider agreement in Geneva from the key LDCs and especially from Japan, which has recently taken obstructionist positions on agriculture, intellectual property, and several other issues. Thus, we will want to leave the Hague with an agreed gameplan to (a) resolve remaining US-EC differences within a given timeframe, and (b) collaborate in pressing our other trading partners to match our liberalization efforts.

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U.S. VIEWS ON UN CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFER REGISTRY

- You have publicly supported the creation of a UN Conventional Arms Transfer Registry as a first step towards the openness and transparency we seek in arms transfers.
- The EC, UK, and Japanese resolutions for the 46th United Nations General Assembly and First Committee have been melded into a joint resolution creating a voluntary and universal arms transfer registry.
- The EC draft now before the UN First Committee has been expanded to include a two-phase approach: agreement in principle for a conventional arms transfer registry and agreement to consider additional reporting on a number of other elements -- notably procurement, production and stockpiles.
- The resolution incorporates many unwelcome neutral and non-aligned hobby-horses. These tend to diffuse, but do not defeat, the U.S. objective -- creation of a UN registry.
- We are reviewing the draft to determine if the U.S. can support it: we believe we will ultimately vote for the resolution and may well co-sponsor.
- We will continue to pursue the goal of restraint and openness in other fora as well, such as your Arms Control in the Middle East initiative.
- The U.S. will continue to pursue even further steps to enhance transparency and stability in appropriate fora.

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PER DOS WAIVER, November 6, 2015

By PWC NARA, Date 04/22/2025

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DRAFT JOINT STATEMENT ON ARMS REGISTER PROPOSAL

We agree to work closely together to establish an arms transfer register under UN auspices as proposed in the EC-Japan initiative. Greater transparency in the transfer of arms can help to build international confidence and stability and reduce regional tensions. We urge worldwide support for the current resolution and for other efforts that seek to enhance the transparency of conventional arms transfer.

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Department of State Guidelines
E.O. 13526, SEC 3.4 (b), July 21, 1997
By PM NARA, Date 04/22/2025

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Department of State Guidelines
E.O. 13526, SEC 3.4 (b), July 21, 1997
By RM NARA, Date 04/22/25

DRAFT JOINT US-EC STATEMENT ON ETHNIC ISSUES

The United States and the European Community and its member states support the citizens of the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe and the USSR in their struggle to rebuild their societies and their economies on a democratic basis after decades of dictatorship and decay. We reaffirm our willingness to assist them as they confront the challenges they must overcome on the path to democracy and free-market economies.

One of the greatest of those challenges is dealing with ethnic diversity and the rights of persons belonging to national minorities. Ethnic diversity has enriched immensely the United States and the member states of the European Community. In Central and Eastern Europe and the USSR, however, communism suppressed the legitimate concerns of those who sought to express and exercise their human rights and fundamental freedoms. The new democracies of the region now face the re-emergence of inter-ethnic tensions, which can lead to ethnic intolerance and aggressive nationalism and other dangers. The problem is currently most acute, and most dangerous, in Yugoslavia. It also exists elsewhere and threatens to undermine progress toward democracy and prosperity in all the countries of the region.

The United States and the European Community and its member states believe that the potential for inter-ethnic tensions and aggressive nationalism to destabilize the emerging democracies of the region can best be addressed through adherence to the principles and commitments enunciated through the CSCE process, including as reaffirmed at the recent Geneva meeting of experts on national minorities. Failure to observe these can, as we have seen in Yugoslavia, lead only to tragedy and human suffering.

We specifically want to underline our firm conviction that political freedom is not the cause of such problems. Rather, the full application of such freedom in a democratic system can provide solutions.

We call on the governments and citizens of the region to join us in openly and publicly confirming their support for CSCE norms, including, specifically:

-- The resolution of disputes consistent with democratic values, principles and practices of the CSCE.

-- Reliance on dialogue and negotiation rather than the use of force to settle political differences. The use of force in such matters is absolutely unacceptable and will result in the international isolation of those who resort to it.

-- Respect for all existing borders, both internal and external, and agreement to change them only through peaceful means and by the agreement of the parties concerned, consistent with CSCE principles and norms.

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-- Rebuilding their societies based on democracy and the rule of law, including in particular democratic practices such as free and fair elections. Democracy is based not only on the principle of majority rule, but also on the protection of the fundamental human rights of those in the minority.

-- Safeguarding of human rights, with full respect for the individual, including non-discriminating treatment of members of national minorities.

-- Respect for international law and obligations, as well as the values, principles and commitments enunciated through the CSCE process, especially those contained in the Helsinki Final Act, the Charter of Paris, and the Copenhagen, Geneva and Moscow documents.

We note that respect for the norms outlined above by the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe and the USSR is essential to the development of close, cooperative and mutually beneficial relations. They are also central to the question of membership in regional and international political and economic institutions. We will apply these criteria equally and fairly to all.

As the CSCE proclaimed categorically and irrevocably in Moscow, respect for fundamental human rights in any CSCE state is a legitimate concern of the CSCE community. Moreover, respect for the principles outlined above is essential to the development of close, cooperative and mutually beneficial relations. Indeed they are among the primary obligations of responsible government.

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DRAFT JOINT STATEMENT ON ARMS REGISTER PROPOSAL

We agree to work closely together to establish an arms transfer register under UN auspices as proposed in the EC-Japan initiative. Greater transparency in the transfer of arms can help to build international confidence and stability and reduce regional tensions. We urge worldwide support for the current resolution and for other efforts that seek to enhance the transparency of conventional arms transfer.

DECLASSIFIED

Department of State Guidelines
E.O. 13526, SEC 3.4 (b), July 21, 1997
By PM NARA, Date 04/22/25

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Department of State Guidelines
E.O. 13526, SEC 3.4 (b), July 21, 1997
By PA NARA, Date 04/22/25

DRAFT JOINT US-EC STATEMENT ON ETHNIC ISSUES

The United States and the European Community and its member states support the citizens of the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe and the USSR in their struggle to rebuild their societies and their economies on a democratic basis after decades of dictatorship and decay. We reaffirm our willingness to assist them as they confront the challenges they must overcome on the path to democracy and free-market economies.

One of the greatest of those challenges is dealing with ethnic diversity and the rights of persons belonging to national minorities. Ethnic diversity has enriched immensely the United States and the member states of the European Community. In Central and Eastern Europe and the USSR, however, communism suppressed the legitimate concerns of those who sought to express and exercise their human rights and fundamental freedoms. The new democracies of the region now face the re-emergence of inter-ethnic tensions, which can lead to ethnic intolerance and aggressive nationalism and other dangers. The problem is currently most acute, and most dangerous, in Yugoslavia. It also exists elsewhere and threatens to undermine progress toward democracy and prosperity in all the countries of the region.

The United States and the European Community and its member states believe that the potential for inter-ethnic tensions and aggressive nationalism to destabilize the emerging democracies of the region can best be addressed through adherence to the principles and commitments enunciated through the CSCE process, including as reaffirmed at the recent Geneva meeting of experts on national minorities. Failure to observe these can, as we have seen in Yugoslavia, lead only to tragedy and human suffering.

We specifically want to underline our firm conviction that political freedom is not the cause of such problems. Rather, the full application of such freedom in a democratic system can provide solutions.

We call on the governments and citizens of the region to join us in openly and publicly confirming their support for CSCE norms, including, specifically:

-- The resolution of disputes consistent with democratic values, principles and practices of the CSCE.

-- Reliance on dialogue and negotiation rather than the use of force to settle political differences. The use of force in such matters is absolutely unacceptable and will result in the international isolation of those who resort to it.

-- Respect for all existing borders, both internal and external, and agreement to change them only through peaceful means and by the agreement of the parties concerned, consistent with CSCE principles and norms.

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-- Rebuilding their societies based on democracy and the rule of law, including in particular democratic practices such as free and fair elections. Democracy is based not only on the principle of majority rule, but also on the protection of the fundamental human rights of those in the minority.

-- Safeguarding of human rights, with full respect for the individual, including non-discriminating treatment of members of national minorities.

-- Respect for international law and obligations, as well as the values, principles and commitments enunciated through the CSCE process, especially those contained in the Helsinki Final Act, the Charter of Paris, and the Copenhagen, Geneva and Moscow documents.

We note that respect for the norms outlined above by the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe and the USSR is essential to the development of close, cooperative and mutually beneficial relations. They are also central to the question of membership in regional and international political and economic institutions. We will apply these criteria equally and fairly to all.

As the CSCE proclaimed categorically and irrevocably in Moscow, respect for fundamental human rights in any CSCE state is a legitimate concern of the CSCE community. Moreover, respect for the principles outlined above is essential to the development of close, cooperative and mutually beneficial relations. Indeed they are among the primary obligations of responsible government.