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Collection/Record Group: Clinton Presidential Records
Subgroup/Office of Origin: Communications
Series/Staff Member: Don Baer
Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 10137
FolderID:

Folder Title:
EU Summit Trip

Stack: S
Row: 90
Section: 2
Shelf: 7
Position: 1
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Clinton Presidential Records
Communications
Don Baer
OA/Box Number: 10137

**FOLDER TITLE:**
EU Summit Trip

**RESTRICTION CODES**

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]
- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]
- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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MEMORANDUM FOR:  
Ms. Ann Lewis  
Director of Communications  
The White House  

Mr. Eric Schwartz  
Special Assistant and Senior Director  
for Democracy, Human Rights  
and Humanitarian Affairs  
National Security Council  

FROM:  
Penn Kemble  

SUBJECT:  
US-EU Summit  

May 9, 1997  

For one reason or another I have spoken to both of you about the coming US-EU Summit at The Hague. I thought I'd add a word as I speed off to South Africa.

The “Building Transatlantic Bridges” event held here last week did not really produce the kind of ideas that will be very useful for a Presidential speech commemorating something as important as the Marshall Plan. I worry that we may end up with a hodge podge of small ideas and initiatives that do not fare well in comparison. It’s not an unfamiliar problem.

What about this as a theme: Europe and North America need to forge a new cooperation in order to secure and carry forward the revolution in freedom that the Marshall Plan made possible?

There are some good initiatives (including our Shanker Fellows exchanges) in civic education that could be culled out of the Transatlantic Agenda materials that will fit this theme. Strobe Talbott gave an interesting speech at the event about why Europe itself has to try to look outward (and in responsible ways). These people are always twitting us for our supposed isolationism, when what they really mean is that they’re worried we may stop managing their own security arrangements.

How about a “trumpet summons us again” speech, for managing ethnic and religious conflict through democracy and the rule of law, spurring economic development through transparency and civil order, sustaining the independent media against gangsterism and corruption, etc.

Just my two cents worth.
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Proposed Schedule for the President's Trip to Spain, Poland, Romania and Denmark
July 5 - 11, 1997
(As of 6/27/97; 8:00 pm)

Saturday, July 5, 1997

*NOTE: SPAIN IS 6 HOURS AHEAD OF WASHINGTON, DC

9:00 am  Depart WH South Lawn via Marine One en route Andrews
          flight time: 10 minutes

9:10 am  Arrive Andrews

9:25 am  Wheels up en route Mallorca
          flight time: 7 hours, 30 minutes; +6 hours time change

11:00 pm Wheels Down Palma de Mallorca
          Greeted by King Juan Carlos I and Queen Sofía

11:15 pm  Depart airport en route Almodina Palace
          (5:15 pm est) drive time: 25 minutes

12:10 pm  Arrive Almodina Palace

RON:        Almodina Palace
           Palma de Mallorca

Sunday, July 6, 1997

*NOTE: SPAIN IS 6 HOURS AHEAD OF WASHINGTON, DC

Down for the Day and Evening

TBD        Dinner with the King and Queen

RON:        Almodina Palace
           Palma de Mallorca
Monday, July 7, 1997

*NOTE: SPAIN IS 6 HOURS AHEAD OF WASHINGTON, DC

Down for the Morning

2:15 pm    Depart Almodina Palace en route airport
            drive time: 25 minutes

2:40 pm    Arrive airport

2:55 pm    Wheels up Mallorca en route Madrid, Spain
            flight time: 1 hour; no change

3:55 pm    Arrive Torrejon Air Base, Madrid
            Open Press

4:10 pm    Depart airport en route Palace Hotel
            drive time: 40 minutes

4:50 pm    Arrive Palace Hotel

5:00 pm - 5:50 pm    Briefing for Bilateral with PM Aznar and Solana and NATO Summit
            Presidential Suite
            Palace Hotel
            Closed Press

6:00 pm - 6:50 pm    Meeting with Members of Congress and National Security Team
            Room TBD
            Palace Hotel
            Closed Press

7:00 pm - 7:30 pm    Bilateral Meeting with Secretary General Solana
            room tbd
            Palace Hotel
            Closed Press

7:40 pm    Depart hotel en route Moncloa Palace
            drive time: 20 minutes
8:00 pm    Arrive Moncloa Palace

8:10 pm - 8:45 pm    Bilateral Meeting with Prime Minister Aznar
                    Room TBD
                    Moncloa Palace
                    Pool Spray

8:50 pm    Proceed to dinner

9:00 pm - 11:15 pm    Private Dinner for NATO leaders and Spouses hosted by Prime Minister
                      Aznar and Mrs. Aznar
                      Moncloa Palace
                      business attire
                      Closed Press

RON:    The Palace Hotel
        Madrid, Spain

Tuesday, July 8, 1997

*NOTE: SPAIN IS 6 HOURS AHEAD OF WASHINGTON, DC

NOTE: The First Lady has a separate schedule and will join the POTUS for the dinner hosted by the King and Queen.

8:20 am -
8:40 am    Morning Update
            Suite
            Palace Hotel

8:50 am    Depart hotel en route King Juan Carlos I Conference Center
            drive time: 25 minutes

9:15 am    Arrive Conference Center
9:30 am -
12:45 pm  
NATO Summit Morning Plenary Session
Conference Hall
King Juan Carlos I Conference Center
Pool Spray for Opening Statements

Format: Secretary General makes opening remarks
Aznar makes remarks

Note: Senator Roth will address the session at approx. 9:50 am - 10:05 am.

12:50 pm  
Photo With Leaders
location tbd
Pool Press

1:00 pm -
2:30 pm  
Working Luncheon
TBD
King Juan Carlos I Conference Center

NOTE: There will be three other luncheons at this time, one for Foreign Ministers/Defense Ministers, one for Delegation members and one for staff.

2:30 pm -
3:30 pm  
Afternoon Plenary session
Conference Hall
King Juan Carlos I Conference Center

3:45 pm  
Depart Conference Center en route Palace Hotel
drive time: 25 minutes

4:10 pm  
Arrive Palace Hotel

4:15 pm -
5:50 pm  
Down time
Suite
Palace Hotel

6:00 pm -
7:00 pm  
Briefing for press conference
room tbd
Palace Hotel
7:05 pm  Proceed to press conference

7:15 pm -
7:45 pm  Press Conference
        (1:45 pm est)  TBD
        Palace Hotel

*NOTE: Solana will do a press conference at 4:30 pm.*

7:50 pm  Depart en route suite

8:00 pm -
8:30 pm  Hold/Clothes Change
        Suite
        Palace Hotel

*Note: the dinner at the Royal Palace is black tie.*

8:30 pm  Depart Palace Hotel accompanied by the First Lady en route the Royal Palace
         drive time: 15 minutes

8:45 pm  Arrive Royal Palace

9:00 pm -
11:00 pm  Dinner for NATO Leaders and Spouses hosted by the King and Queen
         Royal Palace
         Press TBD

     NOTE: There will be a separate dinner for Foreign Ministers, Defense Ministers and
     Permanent NATO Representatives.

11:00 pm  Depart Palace en route hotel

11:20 pm  Arrive hotel

RON:  The Palace Hotel
      Madrid, Spain

*Wednesday, July 9, 1997*

*NOTE: SPAIN IS 6 HOURS AHEAD OF WASHINGTON, DC*
8:15 am - 8:30 am Morning Update
8:30 am - 8:55 am Briefing for EAPC Meeting and Meetings with President Chirac and President Kuchma
8:35 am Depart hotel en route conference center
drive time: 25 minutes
8:50 am Arrive Conference Center
9:00 am - 9:30 am Coffee with President Jacques Chirac
room tbd
King Juan Carlos I Conference Center
Pool Spray
9:45 am - 10:10 am Bilateral Meeting with President Kuchma
tbd
King Juan Carlos I Conference Center
10:15 am Proceed to tbd
10:20 am - 11:00 am NATO/Ukraine Signing Ceremony
(5:20 am est) Tbd
King Juan Carlos I Conference Center
Press tbd
11:25 am Proceed to Auditorium
11:30 am - 1:00 pm EAPC Meeting
Auditorium
King Juan Carlos Conference Center
Press TBD
1:15 pm - 2:45 pm EAPC Luncheon
King Juan Carlos Center
2:55 pm    Depart conference center en route Ambassador’s Residence
drive time: 25 minutes

2:35 pm    Arrive Ambassador’s residence

2:45 pm - 3:45 pm    Reception with the CEE/partners
Room tbd
King Juan Carlos I Conference Center
Closed Press

3:55 pm    Depart for Torrejon Air Base
drive time: 20 minutes

4:15 pm    Arrive Torrejon Air Base

4:25 pm - 4:50 pm    Remarks to Embassy Staff
TBD
Torrejon Air Base
Closed Press

5:05 pm    Wheels up en route Granada
flight time: 1 hour; no change

6:05 pm    Wheels down Granada

6:20 pm    Depart en route Alhambra Castle
drive time: 15 minutes

6:35 pm    Arrive Alhambra Castle

6:45 pm - 8:00 pm    Tour Alhambra Castle with King and Queen
TBD    Private Dinner with the King and Queen
Alhambra Castle

NOTE: It gets dark at approximately 9:30 pm this time of year in Spain.

TBD    Return to Madrid
RON: The Palace Hotel
Madrid, Spain

Thursday, July 10, 1997

*NOTE: SPAIN IS 6 HOURS AHEAD OF WASHINGTON, DC. POLAND IS 6 HOURS AHEAD OF WASHINGTON, DC.*

9:35 am Depart hotel en route airport
drive time: 25 minutes

NOTE: The First Lady will depart separately from Madrid.

10:00 am Arrive airport

10:15 am Wheels up en route Warsaw, Poland
flight time: 2 hours 50 minutes; no change

1:05 pm Wheels down Warsaw, Poland

1:10 pm - 1:25 pm Arrival Ceremony
Open Press

1:35 pm Depart Airport en route Presidential Palace
drive time: 20 minutes

1:55 pm Arrive Palace

2:00 pm - 2:10 pm Photo Op with President Kwasnieski
Presidential Palace
Pool Press

2:15 pm - 2:55 pm Bilateral Meeting with President Kwasnieski
Presidential Palace
Closed Press

3:05 pm Depart en route hotel
drive time: 20 minutes

3:25 pm Arrive hotel
3:30 pm - 5:00 pm  
**Down time**  
Presidential Suite  
Marriott Hotel

5:00 pm  
5:15 pm  
**Speech Prep**  
Presidential Suite  
Marriott Hotel

5:20 pm  
Depart hotel en route TBD  
drive time: 15 minutes

5:35 pm  
Arrive TBD

5:45 pm - 6:40 pm  
**Remarks to the Citizens of Warsaw**  
(12:40 pm est) Location TBD  
Open Press

6:50 pm  
Depart TBD en route Presidential palace  
drive time: 15 minutes

7:05 pm  
Arrive Presidential Palace

7:10 pm - 9:10 pm  
**Dinner hosted by President Kwasnieski**  
Presidential Palace

*NOTE: This dinner would include members of the opposition party. The President will need to do a pull aside with the Prime Minister and with former president Lech Walesa. It is also recommended that he do a pull aside with members of the Jewish community.*

9:00 pm  
Depart Palace en route hotel

9:20 pm  
Arrive hotel

**RON:**  
Marriott Hotel  
Warsaw, Poland
Friday, July 11, 1997

*NOTE: POLAND IS 6 HOURS AHEAD OF WASHINGTON, DC. ROMANIA IS 7 HOURS AHEAD OF WASHINGTON, DC. DENMARK IS 6 HOURS AHEAD OF WASHINGTON, DC.*

8:30 am    Depart hotel en route airport
            drive time: 20 minutes

8:50 am    Arrive airport

9:05 am    Wheels up en route Bucharest, Romania
            flight time: 1 hour 30 minutes; +1 hour time change

11:35 pm   Wheels down Bucharest, Romania

11:50 pm - 12:05 pm    Arrival Ceremony
                        Open Press

12:10 pm   Depart airport en route Tomb of the Unknown Soldier
            drive time: 20 minutes

12:30 pm   Arrive Tomb of the Unknown Soldier

12:40 pm - 12:50 pm    Wreath Laying Ceremony
                        Pool Press

12:55 pm   Depart en route Presidential Palace

1:10 pm    Arrive Presidential Palace

1:15 pm - 1:25 pm    Photo Opportunity with President Constantinescu
                        Presidential Palace
                        Pool Press

1:30 pm - 2:10 pm    Bilateral Meeting with President Constantinescu
                        Presidential Palace
                        Closed Press
2:15 pm - 3:00 pm  Reception hosted by President Constantinescu with Opposition leaders
Presidential Palace
Press TBD

**NOTE:** This reception would include members of the opposition party. The President will need to do a pull aside with the Prime Minister

3:10 pm  Depart en route hotel
3:30 pm  Arrive hotel

3:35 pm - 4:30 pm  Down time/Speech Prep
Presidential Suite

4:35 pm  Depart hotel en route TBD
4:50 pm  Arrive TBD

4:55 pm - 5:40 pm  Remarks to the Citizens of Bucharest
(10:40 am est)Location TBD
Open Press

5:50 pm  Depart TBD en route OTR

6:00 pm - 6:45 pm  OTR

6:50 pm  Depart OTR en route Ambassador’s Residence

7:00 pm  Arrive Ambassador’s residence

7:10 pm - 7:35 pm  Remarks to the Embassy staff
Garden
Ambassador’s Residence
Closed Press

7:40 pm  Depart en route Airport

8:00 pm  Arrive airport
8:15 pm Wheels up en route Copenhagen, Denmark
   flight time: 2 hours 10 minutes; - 1 hour time change

9:25 pm Wheels down Copenhagen

9:40 pm - 9:50 pm Arrival Ceremony
   Open Press

10:05 pm Wheels Up via Marine One en route LZ
   flight time: 15 minutes

10:20 pm Wheels Down LZ

10:30 pm Depart LZ en route Fredensborg Palace
   drive time: 15 minutes (T)

10:45 pm Arrive Fredensborg Palace

RON: Fredensborg Palace
   Denmark, Copenhagen

Saturday, July 12, 1997

*NOTE: DENMARK IS 6 HOURS AHEAD OF WASHINGTON, DC.*

10:30 am -
10:45 am Morning Update

10:50 am -
11:20 am Briefing for meeting with Prime Minister Rasmussen
   Presidential Quarters
   Fredensborg Palace

11:25 am Proceed do dining room

11:30 am -
1:00 pm Luncheon Hosted by the Queen
   Fredensborg Palace
   Closed Press

1:10 pm Depart Fredensborg en route LZ
Drive time: 15 minutes (T)

1:25 pm Arrive LZ

1:40 pm Wheel up via Marine One en route Copenhagen LZ
flight time: 15 minutes (T)

1:55 pm Wheels down LZ

2:10 pm Depart en route Memorial Park
drive time: 20 minutes (T)

2:30 pm Arrive Memorial park

2:35 pm - 2:45 pm Wreath Laying Ceremony at Midelund Memorial Park
Pool Press

2:50 pm Depart en route Prime Minister’s Office
drive time: 15 minutes (T)

3:05 pm Arrive Prime Minister’s Office

3:15 pm - 3:25 pm Photo Opportunity with Prime Minster Rasmussen
Prime Minister’s Office

3:30 pm - 4:00 pm Meeting with Prime Minister Rasmussen
Prime Minister’s office
Closed Press

4:10 pm Depart Prime Minister’s Office en route tbd
drive time: 15 minutes (T)

4:25 pm Arrive tbd

4:30 pm - 5:30 pm Remarks to the Citizens of Copenhagen
(11:30 am est) Location TBD
Open Press

5:40 pm Depart tbd en route Ambassador’s residence
drive time: 15 minutes

5:55 pm       Arrive Ambassador’s residence

6:00 pm - 6:25 pm   Remarks to American Embassy staff
                      Location tbd
                      Closed Press

6:30 pm       Depart tbd en route sightseeing or airport

8:00 pm       Wheels up en route Andrews AFB (T)
                      flight time: 8 hours, 35 minutes; -6 hours time change

10:00 pm      Wheels Down Andrews AFB

10:15 pm      Depart Andrews via Marine One en route White House

10:25 pm      Wheels down White House

RON:         White House
MEMORANDUM FOR:  Mr. Don Baer  
Director of Strategic Planning  
The White House  

FROM:  Penn Kemble  
Deputy Director  

SUBJECT:  US-EU Summit  

I have talked with Eric and Ann about this. Joyce Kravitz tells me you are also thinking about the Summit. I thought I might share this with you.
MEMORANDUM FOR: Ms. Ann Lewis  
Director of Communications  
The White House

Mr. Eric Schwartz  
Special Assistant and Senior Director  
for Democracy, Human Rights  
and Humanitarian Affairs  
National Security Council

FROM: Penn Kemble

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For one reason or another I have spoken to both of you about the coming US-EU Summit at The Hague. I thought I'd add a word as I speed off to South Africa.

The “Building Transatlantic Bridges” event held here last week did not really produce the kind of ideas that will be very useful for a Presidential speech commemorating something as important as the Marshall Plan. I worry that we may end up with a hodge podge of small ideas and initiatives that do not fare well in comparison. It’s not an unfamiliar problem.

What about this as a theme: Europe and North America need to forge a new cooperation in order to secure and carry forward the revolution in freedom that the Marshall Plan made possible?

There are some good initiatives (including our Shanker Fellows exchanges) in civic education that could be culled out of the Transatlantic Agenda materials that will fit this theme. Strobe Talbott gave an interesting speech at the event about why Europe itself has to try to look outward (and in responsible ways). These people are always twitting us for our supposed isolationism, when what they really mean is that they’re worried we may stop managing their own security arrangements.

How about a “trumpet summons us again” speech, for managing ethnic and religious conflict through democracy and the rule of law, spurring economic development through transparency and civil order, sustaining the independent media against gangsterism and corruption, etc.

Just my two cents worth.
April 25, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR SANDY BERGER

THROUGH: TONY BLINKEN

FROM: DAVID LEAVY

SUBJECT: Communications Plan for POTUS European Travel May 27-29.

OBJECTIVES:

1. Carry forward the vision of European integration the President first articulated in Brussels in 1994 and is a central objective of the second term: “an undivided, democratic and peaceful continent for the first time in history”.

2. Use the intense media interest in a potential NATO-Russia signing to advance our larger message of US engagement and leadership in global affairs.

3. Highlight the role of Presidential leadership and effectiveness in achieving the goal of European peace and prosperity.

[NOTE: If there is a no Charter signing in Paris the focus of our communications plan will still include the same basic themes listed below.]

THEMES:

- America’s leadership helped secure the peace and lay the foundation for European security and prosperity after World War II. Now our leadership is essential to building the new institutions and understandings that will promote another 50 years of peace and prosperity.

- President Clinton is fulfilling the vision set forth in the Marshall Plan by extending the promise of security and prosperity to the people of Central Europe, the Baltics and the NIS.

- There is no false choice. It is possible for a new Europe, a NATO, a new Russia to grow closer based on the principles of democracy, free enterprise and mutual security.

- A peaceful and united Europe is good for America. When Europe is at peace, we are more secure. When Europe prospers, America benefits from more jobs and more exports.
RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the themes listed above.

Approve__________________  Disapprove___________________

DELIVERABLES:

Security:

• NATO-Russia Charter.
• Progress on NATO adaptation and enlargement.

Democracy:

• Civics Education: $3-5 million in redirected funds from USIA and Department of Education to improve civics education through joint teacher training, exchanges, and increased exchange of ideas through electronic communication.

• Development of NGO's: Work with American and European NGOs to create a public-private grant fund to get citizens more actively involved in their own democratic processes.

• Business Links to Civil Society: US-EU partnership to strengthen the link between new entrepreneurs and businesses to the rest of civil society through professional associations, philanthropic activities and job training/retraining for former Communist countries.

• Community Based Partnerships: Launch program to enhance the cultural exchanges between East and West through increased sister-city programs, academic exchanges, student advising centers, and press information centers.

• The Spirit of the Marshall Plan Award: A prize would be awarded to cities that demonstrate innovative community based development. Selection would be determined by prominent Americans.

Economic:

• Mutual Recognition Agreements: Unifying standards for testing and approval of products.

• Formal EU accession to Kedo: Codifying European participation in the Korean Framework Agreement.

• Science and Technology Agreement: Support for joint research and scientific
exchanges.

- **Agreement on Chemical Precursors**: Define stricter methods of tracking and enforcement of chemical agents used for the manufacturing of illegal narcotics.

- **Statement on cooperation against organized crime**: Broad guidelines for toughening fight against organized crime.

- **Joint action on drugs in Caribbean**: Collaborative efforts on assistance and interdiction programs in the fight against drugs in the Caribbean.

**PRESIDENTIAL EVENTS:**

- May 26th  Arlington Cemetery—Scene Setter.
- May 28th  Speech at the Hague.
- May 31st  Speech at West Point Academy.

**PROPOSED ADDITIONAL PRESIDENTIAL EVENTS:**

- Joint interview with Russian President Boris Yeltsin prior to Paris (60 Minutes?)
- Press conference with foreign media at the Dean Achenson Auditorium, State Depart.
- Meeting and photo-op with descendants of Marshall Family (possible award presentation).
- Dinner with Marshall/Truman/Achenson historians.

**RECOMMENDATION:**

That you approve the events listed above.

Approve_________________  Disapprove_________________

**NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR BERGER EVENTS:**

- Influentials meeting with European/Russian specialists.
- Kissinger outreach on Charter agreement.
- Columnists roundtable (May 20th)
- Pre-Trip briefing with Albright, Berger, Cohen in WH briefing room.
- Appropriate television appearances.
- Post trip “success/readout” speech.
**INTERAGENCY ACTIVITY:**

- May 31st Secretary Albright op-ed in special commemorative edition of *International Herald Tribune*.
- June 5 Secretary Albright Harvard University Commencement.

**STAFF ACTIVITY:**

- Pitch news weekly on potential cover story on future of Europe.

As always, additional television and radio amplification efforts will be undertaken.
FACT SHEET: THE MARSHALL PLAN

The Marshall Plan responded to a crisis in post-War Europe resulting from a decline in production, a shortage of capital, a serious balance of payments deficit, and food shortages. The harsh winter of 1946-47 intensified these problems, and the economic crisis brought new hardships to a region just recovering from the horrors of war. The situation threatened to cripple U.S.-European trade and to benefit the large Communist parties active in several key European countries. European stability seemed at risk.

Secretary of State George C. Marshall unveiled the U.S. remedy in a Harvard University Commencement speech on June 5, 1947. Describing the gravity of the situation in Europe, Marshall said the U.S. was prepared to "assist in the return to normal economic health to the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace." He stressed that the initiative had to come from the European nations themselves, which would be expected to join in a cooperative effort.

The Europeans reacted immediately and enthusiastically. Representatives of sixteen nations met as the Committee for European Economic Cooperation in Paris on July 12, 1947 to begin developing a recovery plan. This committee evolved into the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC), forerunner of today's Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

President Truman presented the European Recovery Program (the Marshall Plan's official title) to Congress on December 19, 1947, requesting $17 billion over four years. The Republican Party held a majority in both houses, but good-faith negotiations and a bipartisan spirit, exemplified by Senator Vandenberg (R-Mich.), Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, led to Senate approval on March 13, 1948, and House passage on March 31. President Truman signed the Economic Cooperation Act on April 3, 1948.

The U.S. administered the Marshall Plan through the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA) under Paul G. Hoffman, President of Studebaker. W. Averell Harriman served as ECA Special Representative in Paris, with ECA mission chiefs in the recipient countries. Leading academics, businessmen, farm groups, and labor unions lent their support and staffed the program, making the ECA a remarkable network of government-private cooperation.

Sixteen countries - Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and West Germany - received Marshall Plan assistance. The USSR and countries under its influence declined participation; clearly positive responses from the Polish and Czechoslovak governments were vetoed by Moscow. The Plan, reduced somewhat by Congress, totaled $13.3 billion throughout the life of the program 1948-51. This would be over $88 billion in today's dollars.
Grants made up over 90 percent of the total, providing essential commodities and services, mostly from the United States. Goods included food, animal feed, fertilizer, fuel, raw materials, and production equipment. Grant project financing upgraded manufacturing, mining, transportation, and communications industries. This aid was multiplied through "counterpart funds." Grant recipients set aside equivalent funds in local currency, which were dispensed with approval of the ECA. This system vastly increased the resources available for reconstruction, while demanding partnership between the ECA and European governments.

The Marshall Plan also provided technical assistance, financing visits by American experts to Europe and European delegations to the United States. Delegations of managers, technicians, and labor leaders visited U.S. farms and factories covering almost every type of manufacturing, as U.S. firms opened their doors even to potential competitors. Europeans thus learned about U.S. production methods.

The Marshall Plan provided a critical margin to the Europeans' own economic efforts, as per capita GNP grew 33.5 percent in Western Europe from 1948 through 1951. This recovery set the stage for Europe's remarkable economic growth in the following years.

The architects of the Marshall Plan consciously promoted European integration. The Plan stimulated new forms of European cooperation via the OEEC, intra-European trade, and the European Payments Union, forerunner of the European Monetary System. These measures helped launch the process of integration leading to the European Community - now the European Union. The enhanced European cooperation, coupled with U.S. engagement, also facilitated the establishment of NATO in 1949.

The U.S. economy also benefitted from the Marshall Plan as the U.S. preserved and improved its trading relationship with Europe. By stimulating European productivity and accepting a greater volume of imports, the U.S. saw its own exports increase several-fold in the decades that followed.

The Marshall Plan left a legacy of U.S.-European friendship, Transatlantic cooperation, U.S. engagement in Europe, and bipartisan U.S. support for that engagement. That legacy has guided U.S.-European relations ever since, and it serves as a beacon for the Euro-Atlantic Community today.
The most challenging and inspiring outcome of the end of the Cold War is the opportunity to build a truly integrated Europe composed of free, democratic, secure, and prosperous nations, and to solidify the Transatlantic partnership.

This was the original objective of the Marshall Plan when it was unveiled 50 years ago.

The Marshall Plan’s goal was to create lasting peace in Europe through broad acceptance of democratic values, the achievement of prosperity through free markets and cooperation and interdependence among nations. Our vision of a democratic, secure and integrated Europe continues the goal of finding lasting harmony on that continent.

For half of Europe, the goals of the Marshall Plan became reality as there emerged a Western Europe that was free and undivided.

The Cold War, however, prevented the Marshall Plan’s benefits from reaching all of Europe.

We are now in the position to erase the old geographical and political dividing lines, and to realize this original dream in dramatic ways.

We are doing it through the expansion of democratic institutions: the enlargement of NATO, the strengthening of the OSCE and Council of Europe, and eventually through the expansion of the EU.

We are also doing it through our grass roots programs of promoting civil societies, prosperous economies and transparent military activities.

The Marshall Plan brilliantly formulated a concept of integrated security, i.e., security based on values, freedom, and prosperity rather than solely on military arrangements. NATO’s new roles and missions, the enhanced OSCE, and a strengthened EU and Council of Europe, all exemplify this approach to stability.

In all of these ways we are working to achieve a truly integrated Europe.

Thus, those who were unable to participate in that magnificent project of fifty years ago can finally reap its rewards.

Engagement by the EU, OECD, and other organizations in central and eastern Europe demonstrates that the United States is not alone in this task. Appropriately, the EU, most of whose members were beneficiaries of the Marshall Plan, and the OECD, which is the successor organization to the Marshall Plan, are well positioned now to reach out to the countries which were denied Marshall Plan benefits as a
result of the Cold War.

- Still, as with the Marshall Plan, the young democracies themselves must take responsibility for charting their course: building free market economies and democratic institutions that will enable them to integrate fully with the West.

- The Plan did more than generate the economic reconstruction of Western Europe. It also stimulated political and economic integration, and it fostered key institutions. The European Community - now the European Union - emerged from the cooperative spirit fostered by the Marshall Plan, as did NATO.

- The OECD has extended the Marshall Plan philosophy of free markets, cooperation, and independence among nations to new regions of Europe, and has welcomed three young democracies - the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland - as new members. Ongoing membership negotiations with other countries, including Russia, and OECD outreach programs to all the corners of Europe, represent a significant effort to extend the ideals of the Marshall Plan throughout the continent.

- The EU constitutes the foremost framework of European integration. The benefits and responsibilities that the EU offers to prospective members represent the surest way to anchor those nations in the Western community. We therefore strongly support the process of EU expansion.

- NATO of course remains the bedrock of European security and of U.S. military engagement in Europe. Long the bulwark of Western defense during the Cold War, NATO too is extending the zone of security eastward, through Partnership for Peace, through the new Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council, and through deliberate, transparent enlargement of the Alliance.

- The Marshall Plan demonstrated active U.S. engagement to create a Europe that would be an effective partner for the United States. The success of the Plan serves as a beacon for U.S.-European relations today. The U.S. acts in partnership with the EU and NATO Allies to address challenges in Europe and around the globe.

- An invigorated U.S.-EU relationship, expressed in the New Transatlantic Agenda (NTA), takes the Marshall legacy to a new level of Transatlantic partnership. The U.S. and EU have committed to undertake jointly a broad range of political and economic actions, including the reconstruction and development of Europe and nations around the world.

- Under the Transatlantic Business Dialogue, the U.S. and European business communities are developing innovative ways to expand and streamline trade and investment in the U.S.-EU marketplace.

- One great aspect of Marshall's plan was that it overcame the bitterness of war to benefit all nations.

- There were no winners or losers.
And neither are there winners and losers now in the strengthening of the Euro-Atlantic community.

No country should define itself as a loser in this process. To do so is to negate important chances to prosper; to do so would create a self-fulfilling attitude of defeat.

For, in defining new relationships, and grasping new concepts and opportunities, all nations will finally achieve Marshall's objective of providing stability and economic well-being through the successful interaction among all nations. And that is a goal still worth striving for.

We will use this occasion to renew our commitment to Europe and to Transatlantic relations. We will rededicate ourselves to bring about a Europe of sovereign, equal democracies, united with each other and America by shared values and institutions.

Within the United States, the Marshall legacy calls us to reaffirm our commitment to leadership and engagement.

Secretary Marshall and his vision were symbolic of a postwar bipartisan generation that approved a major international resource commitment that paid off in unprecedented peace and prosperity.

The Marshall Plan was a bipartisan effort, established and carried out jointly by the Democratic Truman Administration and a Republican Congress. It is in this same spirit of intragovernment cooperation that we are moving beyond the static past to embrace a new vision of the future.

The Marshall Plan also displayed a partnership between the Administration and the American trade union movement. American labor leaders convinced workers to support the expenditures and goals of the Marshall Plan. In so doing, they helped rebuild the European labor force that rebuilt the industrial infrastructure of Europe.

American leadership through the Marshall Plan featured both ideas and resources. Continued U.S. leadership requires the resources necessary to the task.

Just as Marshall's initiative would not have been possible without bipartisan support, especially in Congress, we must strengthen the domestic consensus in support of U.S. engagement in Europe and elsewhere.

This is because an integrated, secure, and prosperous Europe is vital to U.S. security and economic well-being. We Americans understand that and will not forsake the leadership role that history calls upon us to fulfill.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE</th>
<th>SUBJECT/TITLE</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>RESTRICTION</th>
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<td>RE: Personal telephone numbers (partial) (1 page)</td>
<td>05/13/1997</td>
<td>P6/b(6)</td>
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**COLLECTION:**
Clinton Presidential Records
Communications
Don Baer
OA/Box Number: 10137

**FOLDER TITLE:**
EU Summit Trip

**RESTRICTION CODES**

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 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. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

**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(5) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(5) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]
Harm Takkens vividly remembers that spring day a half century ago when he sailed from his World War II-battered homeland with a shipload of immigrants heading for America.

The Dutch farmer was hurled into a new world of fresh-plowed fields and wheat harvests. On family farms in Pennsylvania and Minnesota, he worked long days learning the latest techniques.

"We were so backward here a lot was destroyed and bombed during the war. We needed a push economically," says Takkens, now 70. "It changed my world and transformed me."

What took Takkens to the United States was the Marshall Plan, the postwar reconstruction program that resuscitated Europe's war-wrecked economy with American dollars and expertise.

Winston Churchill, Britain's wartime prime minister, called the plan "the most unsordid act in history," and historians laud it as the United States' most successful foreign policy endeavor this century. President Clinton plans to visit the Netherlands on May 28 to commemorate its 50th anniversary.

With Marshall Plan money, farmers, engineers and businessmen from across Europe were sent to the United States to pick up the technological know-how needed to modernize their industries back home.

The plan channeled some $13 billion more than $65 billion in today's dollars in reconstruction aid and technical assistance to 16 European countries between 1948 and 1952.

U.S. Secretary of State George C. Marshall planted the seeds of the plan on June 5, 1947, in a graduation address at Harvard University.

Marshall, credited with masterminding the American military victory in World War II as the U.S. Army chief of staff, told the Harvard crowd: "It is logical that the United States do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace."
Although Europe had been liberated from the Nazis two years earlier, cities were still reeling economically. Food and raw materials were short, gold and dollar reserves were depleted, and factories lay in rubble.

To Europe, Marshall's words meant help was on the way.

Former British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin called the plan ''a lifeline to sinking men.''

''I felt that it was the first chance we had ever been given since the end of the war to look at (the) European economy as a whole,'' he said at the time.

Dirk Stikker, then Dutch foreign minister, summed up the mood: ''Churchill's words won the war; Marshall's words won the peace.''

The program won Marshall the 1953 Nobel Peace Prize.

Although it was an American-financed plan, it was left to the Europeans to draw up the details and implement their own recovery.

''The whole time there was a feeling it was in the air that something would come from the Americans, but no one knew the scope nor the extent of the assistance,'' recalled Ernst van der Beugel, who was a young Dutch civil servant among the European officials gathered in Paris to work on the plan.

After Marshall's speech, ''there was definitely a sense of relief,'' he said.

Veteran U.S. envoy Vernon Walters, who accompanied Marshall to Europe to discuss the plan, remembers the economic devastation.

''When they were liberated, the economy was in such an appalling condition,'' he said in a recent interview with The Associated Press. ''The overwhelming feature that brought about the Marshall Plan was the degree of human misery still prevailing in Europe years after the war.''

Despite its lofty aims, the plan had opponents in Washington. Some people worried about sinking so much money in a former battleground. Isolationist lawmakers feared it could lead to another war.

Altruism wasn't the only factor driving the plan. It also was a non-military response to counter communism. Both U.S. and European authorities were wary that widespread poverty would spawn popular discontent and allow communists to make inroads.

In Greece, communist guerrillas threatened the government in a civil war, and in Turkey, the Soviet Union pressed for territorial concessions. In France and Italy, deteriorating economies weakened government authority.

''Communism was obviously one of the great threats,'' Walters said. ''We were afraid that the continent would fall.''

Over the years, historians have wrangled over the origins of the plan, offering endless arguments on its objectives and achievements.
What is clear is that the plan helped unite national economies and markets, paving the way for the integrated European landscape that exists today.

"The United States made it quite clear that we didn't believe they could have recovered individually. They had to recover as a group," Walters said.

In Paris, nations involved in the Marshall Plan established the Organization for European Economic Cooperation in 1948 to devise recovery programs and allocate American aid.

It was just the beginning. In 1949, the NATO military alliance was established, and the French later proposed the European Coal and Steel Community, which grew into what is now the European Union.

"The Marshall Plan made everything possible," said Van der Beugel, the Dutch diplomat. "European integration, all forms of cooperation in Western Europe they are all children of the Marshall Plan."
OPTION I: This option reflects stops Paris, The Hague and London
(As of 5/9/97 2:00pm)

Monday, May 26, 1997

4:30 pm   Depart WH en route to Andrews AFB
4:45 pm   Arrive Andrews AFB
5:00 pm   Depart Washington, DC en route to Paris, France
          [Flight time: 6 hrs. 55 minutes, +6 hrs time change ]

Tuesday, May 27, 1997

6:00 am   Arrive Paris, France
          (12 am est)
6:15 am   Depart Airport en route to American Ambassador’s Residence
6:45 am   Arrive American Ambassador’s Residence
7:00 am - 8:00 am  Down time
                    Presidential Suite
                    Ambassador’s’s Residence
8:00 am - 8:30 am  Briefing Time
                    Ambassador’s Residence
8:40 am   Depart American Ambassador’s residence en route to Elysee Palace
          walking time: 5 minutes
8:50 am   Arrive Elysee Palace
9:00 am - 9:30 am  Bilateral Meeting with President Chirac
                    President’s Office
                    Elysee Palace
9:40 am -
9:50 am  Briefing/Hold
TBD
Elysee Palace

10:00 am -
10:30 am  Remarks by Chirac, Solana and Yeltsin
Salon Des Fetes
Elysee Palace

10:30 am -
12:30 pm  Signing Ceremony
Salon Des Fetes
Elysee Palace

- Leaders sign documents and then each leader makes remarks, length tbd.

NOTE: POTUS would be the first speaker at approximately 11:00 am (5:00 am est).

12:45 pm  Group Photo
TBD
Elysee Palace

1:00 pm -
2:30 pm  Luncheon hosted by President Chirac
State Dining Room
Elysee Palace

2:45 pm  Depart Palace en route to Ambassador’s Residence
walk time: 5 minutes

2:55 pm  Arrive Ambassador’s Residence

3:00 pm -
4:00 pm  Down time
Presidential Suite

4:10 pm -
4:40 pm  Briefing for Bilateral Meeting with Yeltsin

4:55 pm  Depart Ambassador’s Residence en route to tbd
drive time: 15 minutes?
5:10 pm Arrive tbd

5:20 pm -
5:50 pm **Bilateral meeting with President Yeltsin**
location tbd
(Hotel near ambassador’s residence?)

6:00 pm -
7:00 pm Briefing for Press Conference
location tbd

7:10 pm Depart tbd en route to tbd
drive time: 15 minutes

7:25 pm Arrive tbd

7:35 pm -
8:05 pm **Press Conference**
location tbd

8:15 pm Depart en route to Airport
8:45 pm Arrive Airport
drive time: 30 minutes?

9:00 pm Wheels up en route to Amsterdam
Flight time: 55 minutes, no time change

9:55 pm Wheels down Schipol Airport

10:15 pm Wheels up Schipol Airport en route to the Hague
flight time: 20 minutes

10:35 pm Wheels down LZ

10:50 pm Depart LZ en route to Noordeinde Palace
drive time: 15 minutes

11:05 pm Arrive Noordeinde Palace

RON: Noordeinde Palace
The Hague

**Wednesday, May 28, 1997**
8:30 am - briefing time
9:00 am - room tbd at Noordeinde Palace
9:10 am depart for Binnenhof
[drive time: 10 minutes]
9:20 am arrive Binnenhof
9:30 am -
12:00 pm U.S. / E.U. Summit Meetings
(6:00 am est) Treveszaal Room (Dutch Cabinet Room)
Binnenhof
Pool Spray/statements at the top of meeting
12:15 pm Depart the Binnenhof en route to Noordeinde Palace
[drive time: 10 minutes]
12:25 pm Arrive Noordeinde Palace
12:30 pm- 2:00 pm Luncheon hosted by the Queen
Ballroom
- POTUS to make toast
Pool Press
Receiving line at the beginning of the luncheon with OSCE leaders
leader +1
2:00 pm -
4:00 pm Down time
Presidential Quarters
Noordeinde Palace
4:00 pm -
4:30 pm Speech Prep
Noordeinde Palace
4:40 pm Depart Noordeinde Palace en route to the Binnenhof
drive time: 10 minutes
4:50 pm Arrive the Binnenhof
5:00 pm - 6:30 pm Commemorative event for the 50th Anniversary of the Marshall Plan
(11:30am est) Courtyard
- POTUS to make remarks
- Expanded Pool

*NOTE: The Prime Minister's Reception will begin at the end of the commemorative program. POTUS is NOT scheduled to attend.*

6:45 pm Depart the Binnenhof en route to LZ or Noordeinde Palace for down time
[drive time: 15 minutes]

7:00 pm Arrive LZ

7:15 pm Wheels up en route to Rotterdam
flight time: 15 minutes

7:30 pm Wheels down Rotterdam

*NOTE: The Prime Minister may attend the event at the Pier. We could also invite the Queen. POTUS can do OTR at this time. The Prime Minister would arrive at approximately 8:30 pm.*

7:40 pm Depart LZ en route to OTR
[drive time: 15 minutes ?]

7:55 pm Arrive OTR

8:00 pm - 8:15 pm View Church in Old City

8:15 pm Depart Church en route to Wilhelmina Pier
drive time: 10 minutes

8:25 pm - 11:00 pm Participate in Wilhelmina Pier Celebration
- possible OTR dinner, TBD invite the Queen and Prime Minister Kok

*NOTE: It gets dark at approximately 10:30 pm in The Netherlands*

*NOTE: This option allows the President to have 2 hours of down time after the morning meetings and prior to his Marshall Plan speech but would require the Queen to change the luncheon time and the Prime Minister to move his reception (which we are not scheduled nor expected to attend).*
11:30 pm  Wheels up Rotterdam en route to the Hague  
[flight time: 15 minutes]

11:45 am  Wheels down The Hague LZ

12:00 am  Depart LZ en route to Noordeinde Palace  
[drive time: 15 minutes]

12:15 am  Arrive Noordeinde Palace

RON:  Noordeinde Palace  
The Hague

Thursday, May 29, 1997

10:00 am -

10:45 am  briefing time  
Room TBD at Noordeinde Palace

10:55 am  Depart Noordeinde Palace en route to Ambassador’s Residence  
[drive time: 10 minutes]

11:05 am  Arrive Ambassador’s Residence

11:15 am -

11:35 am  Remarks to American Embassy Community

11:45 am  Depart Ambassador’s Residence en route to LZ  
drive time: 15 minutes

12:00 pm  Arrive LZ

12:15 am  Wheels up en route to Schipol Airport  
[flight time: 20 minutes ]

12:35 am  Arrive Schipol Airport

12:50 pm  Wheels up en route to London  
[flight time: 50 minutes, -1 hour time change]

12:40 pm  Wheels down London

12:55 pm  Depart airport en route to 10 Downing Street
1:25 pm Arrive 10 Downing Street

1:35 pm -

2:05 pm Meeting with PM Blair
10 Downing Street

2:15 pm -

3:15 pm Lunch with PM Blair
10 Downing Street

3:30 pm -

4:30 pm Briefing Time
10 Downing Street

4:35 pm -

5:00 pm Press Statement
(12:00 pm est) 10 Downing Street

5:10 pm Depart en route to airport or OTR or public event
(12:10 pm)

NOTE: The President could do an event with PM Blair or on his own. The First Lady will be accompanying the President on this day.

7:00 pm Wheels up en route to Washington, DC
[flight time: 6 hrs., -5hrs.]

8:00 pm Wheels down Washington, DC

8:15 pm Depart Andrews en route to White House
[flight time: 15 minutes]

8:30 pm Arrive White House
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER
     DONALD BAER
     STEPHANIE STREETT

SUBJECT: Themes and Schedule for Your Trip to Europe.

Purpose

To decide on the major themes and events to support your May 27-29th trip to Europe.

Background

Your trip to Europe comes at a unique moment in history and gives you a rare symbolic platform to project a vision of America’s leadership responsibilities for the 21st century. The possibility of cementing a new security relationship between NATO and Russia the same week as the 50th anniversary of the Marshall Plan creates an historical reference to define a vision of security and prosperity for the next 50 years.

The vision and generosity demonstrated by the American people at the end of the World War II fueled the engine of a democratic and prosperous Western Europe. Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, the American values of democracy, civil liberties and free enterprise have taken root in Central and Eastern Europe. It is now up to America to build the new institutions and understandings—including the expansion of NATO—for the next 50 years that will complete the vision of united Europe.

There are three distinct but complementary parts to this trip that weave together the theme of US leadership on the European continent and the importance of our obligations for the next generation as the indispensable nation: The historic signing of a NATO-Russia document, the commemoration of the Marshall Plan and your first meeting with Tony Blair.

We see this trip as part of a larger thematic effort to give a sense of national purpose and direction where none existed since the end of the Cold War. To take full advantage of this rare opportunity and to connect all the dots for the media and, therefore, the American people, we envision a coherent message from your Memorial Day remarks—through the European trip—concluding at the West Point Commencement.

cc: Vice President
    Chief of Staff
Monday, May 26th Arlington National Cemetery:

Theme:

Honoring the sacrifice of previous generations; calling for continued engagement for the next 50 years to secure the peace.

Events:

• The traditional wreath laying at Arlington National Cemetery.

Message:

America's past sacrifice helped to defeat tyranny and rebuild a devastated Western Europe. Today the possibility of peace gives the United States the opportunity to extend democracy and free enterprise to a new generation of Europeans. Our leadership is essential to promoting another 50 years of security and prosperity.

Tuesday, May 26th Paris, France:

Theme:

NATO and Russia sign historic security charter to usher a new era of cooperation and partnership for the 21st century.

Events:

• Signing ceremony at Elysee.

• Lunch hosted by President Chirac at Elysee.

• Press Conference.

• Other meetings (including Yeltsin and Chirac bilats) and interviews tbd.

Background:

Given the possibility the NATO-Russia document may be concluded next week when Solana and Primakov meet again in Moscow (May 13-14) it is likely that you will travel to Paris before your visit to the Hague to meet with the leaders of the Alliance and sign the document. The Summit will take place between the two rounds of the French parliamentary election (May 25 and June 1) in which Chirac is hoping that his center-right coalition will retain control of the National Assembly. Chirac will, of course, see
the Summit as evidence for the voters of his engagement and leadership in Europe.

Message:

There is no false choice. It is possible for a new Europe, a NATO, a new Russia to grow closer based on the principles of democracy, free enterprise and mutual security.

**Wednesday, May 28th The Netherlands:**

**Theme:**

President Clinton proposes another 50 years of cooperation and partnership between the United States and Europe.

**Events:**

- Meeting at US-EU meeting.
- Lunch with Queen and OSCE Leaders.
- Speech at the Hague for Marshall Plan Commemoration
- Visit to Rotterdam.

**Background:**

You will arrive in The Hague from Paris the evening of May 27, with no further formal events planned. However, since you will be staying at the Queen’s guest palace, she will probably want to welcome you and the First Lady and offer you some light refreshment.

The first event is the semiannual U.S.-EU Summit, with Dutch Prime Minister Kok and EU Commission President Santer. Cooperation with the EU, especially on global and law enforcement issues, sends a message of a partnership that works to address the issues of concern for the 21st century. There will be a number of deliverables ready for this Summit, including an agreement to stem the flow of chemical precursors for illicit drugs and a customs agreement. As you recall, at the U.S.-EU Summit in December you suggested including law enforcement officials in the Summits. The most significant deliverable, if we can manage to include the negotiations successfully, will be completion of the full package of Mutual Recognition Agreements to eliminate duplicative testing and standards on $40 billion
worth of trade. These agreements are of great interest to the business communities on both sides of the Atlantic.

The Marshall Plan speech will be your opportunity to address the people of Europe on securing the peace for the next 50 years. We are planning to broadcast the speech live all across Europe. The Dutch have invited the heads of state/government of all 52 OSCE countries to have lunch and hear your speech. The speech will take place in the Binnenhof with an audience of several thousand. The only other speaker will be the host, Dutch Prime Minister Kok. We will identify a local citizen who directly benefited from the Marshall Plan to introduce you, and if possible, one of their descendants to introduce you at the Rotterdam event.

The third event will be your visit to Rotterdam. As you know, the city of Rotterdam was destroyed during World War II and rebuilt almost entirely with Marshall Plan funds. In celebration of the Marshall anniversary, the city of Rotterdam has designated May 28th as a day to thank Americans from all over the Netherlands in the a celebration called “Thank You America”. The Navy Destroyer Spruance will be in port during the ceremony. This event will be a “crowd event” with upwards of 10,000 American and Dutch citizens and be an opportunity to see first hand the warmth and appreciation Europeans have for the vision of the Marshall plan.

In addition, you will have the opportunity to visit part of the "Old City" which includes a church where the Pilgrims are said to have prayed prior to setting sail for the new world. Time permitting you could have an OTR dinner in Rotterdam. It is particularly important to the Queen and to Ambassador Dornbush that you visit Rotterdam.

Message:

The transatlantic partnership remains the foundation of American and European security and prosperity. We have the opportunity to complete the vision of the post-World War II generation by extending to Europe’s east the hand of cooperation and partnership delivered for Europe’s West.
Thursday, May 29 London, England:

Theme:
A new generation of leaders renew special relationship to confront the common challenges of the 21st century.

Background:
After spending the night in The Hague, you will fly to London the morning of May 29. The British are thrilled that you are paying Blair the compliment of a visit; they are working to free Blair’s schedule. We expect Northern Ireland and NATO Summit preparations to be a main topics of the meeting; Blair has already shown that he wants to restore momentum to the peace process.

Events:
• Blair Bilateral.
• Lunch Hosted by Blair.
• Joint Press Conference.
• Possible Crowd Event in Trafalgar Square.

Message:
A new generation of vigorous leaders working towards restarting peace process in Northern Ireland and building a friendship that can be the bedrock for the security and prosperity of both nations into the 21st century.

Saturday, May 31st West Point Commencement:

Theme:
President Clinton makes case to the American people about the importance of NATO expansion and the leadership responsibilities for the next 50 years.

Events:
• Speech to Graduating Cadets.
Background:

Your speech at West Point (and radio address) will be a high profile book-end to the themes of your trip. You will talk directly to the American people about the importance of securing the peace of the last fifty years for a more secure and prosperous world for the next generation of Americans. The speech will also give you the opportunity to discuss the importance of the Paris signing, the warmth and appreciation the people of Europe feel towards America and the importance of continued US leadership in building on the possibilities of peace.

Message:

A peaceful and united Europe is good for America. When Europe is at peace, we are more secure. When Europe prospers, America benefits from more jobs and more exports. The expansion of the NATO alliance is vital to our national security and is central to US role in the world of the 21st century.

What is Not Included

As always, we have had to choose among number of proposals for the stops and events to include in your schedule. The main proposals that we were not able to include are:

- a stop in Luxembourg to visit a WWII cemetery and address the North Atlantic Assembly (proposed by Ambassador Constantinou and Senator Roth);

- a reception at the OECD in Paris May 27 hosted by President Chirac;

- a visit to the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (the War Crimes Tribunal); we have recommended that Secretary Albright consider doing this;

- a visit to the headquarters of the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, also in The Hague.

- a reception hosted by Prime Minister Kok for the visiting heads of state/government after your speech (you will have seen them at lunch);

- a working dinner with Prime Minister Kok and President Santer (that would have made Rotterdam event impossible); and
• a formal press conference after the U.S.-EU Summit (which would detract from the impact of your Marshall commemoration speech).

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the major events and themes of the trip as outlined above

Approve _____________

Disapprove _____________

Attachment
Tab A  Draft Notional Schedule
May 25, 1997

INFORMATION:

MEMORANDUM FOR DISTRIBUTION

FROM: ANTONY BLINKEN AND DAVID LEAVY

SUBJECT: Communications Material for President’s Trip to Europe

Please find attached several documents to help frame the message and themes for the President’s trip.

Attached are:

• A theme paper for the trip.
• An excellent USA TODAY article on trip’s objectives.
• General trip talking points.
• Talking points and fact sheet on NATO-Russia Founding Act.
Next week offers the President the opportunity to highlight the importance of sustained US leadership and engagement in the world with a particular focus on building an undivided, peaceful and democratic Europe. This will be the core message beginning with the President’s Memorial Day remarks, running through the European trip and concluding with the West Point Commencement. Our strategy will be to:

- articulate the strategic rational for NATO enlargement and the NATO-Russia partnership.

- highlight the progress toward and define the meaning of “an undivided, democratic and peaceful Europe”.

- seize this historic opportunity to give a sense of America’s direction in the world and explain to the American people the importance of US leadership and engagement in global affairs.

The President’s trip comes at a pivotal moment in history. Cementing a new security relationship between NATO and Russia the same week as the 50th anniversary of the Marshall Plan gives the President a symbolic platform to link the legacy, vision and leadership of that remarkable era to the strategy he is pursing today.

It is important to note that this trip highlights the fulfillment of the President’s vision first articulated in Brussels in 1994. In Brussels, the President defined a goal of a peaceful, democratic and undivided Europe; pursued it patiently and persistently; and achieved a tangible benefit that advanced the security and prosperity of the American people.

The main message or theme of each day’s activities are the following:

**NATO-Russia Signing (Paris, May 27):**

- NATO-Russia Founding Act opens new era of cooperation in Europe and helps bridge continent’s Cold War divide.

- Proof that European security not zero-sum game. It is possible to enlarge NATO, maintain NATO as most powerful defensive alliance in history and build new partnership with Russia.

**U.S. - E.U. Summit (The Hague, May 28):**
• Practical partnership making a difference on issues that matter most to people in daily lives.

• Law Enforcement: Agreements to stem flow of chemical precursors needed for illegal drugs and customs accord.


• President will lay out his vision of future of U.S.-European relations and goal of building continent that is undivided, democratic and at peace for first time in history, at a gathering that involves leaders from all over Europe.

Meeting with Prime Minister Blair (London, May 29)

• Two forward-looking, vigorous leaders building U.S.-U.K. partnership for 21st century.

• Will be discussing issues of mutual concern, including Bosnia, Northern Ireland, Hong Kong, Iraq, NATO and new global threats like international crime, terrorism, environment and drugs.

West Point Commencement (West Point, N.Y., May 31)

• Opportunity at end of historic week to speak directly to American people about America's leadership responsibilities in the world and the strategic importance of an enlarging NATO and a new NATO-Russia partnership.

• President will explain why engagement in Europe is vital, why NATO, including NATO enlargement, is the foundation for engagement, and state the costs and risks associated with U.S. leadership and those who will be called upon to carry it out.
The president travels to Europe to honor the World War II generation, while laying out a bold vision for NATO expansion and peace for generations to come

By Bill Nichols
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — When President Clinton travels to Europe next week, he'll continue a now-familiar practice of his presidency: presiding over 50th anniversary commemorations of the courage and will of the World War II generation.

But unlike other trips in which Clinton has paid homage to the past, this journey to Paris, the Netherlands and London is also seen by the White House as a crucial chance for Clinton to sketch his vision for Europe's future.

From a wreath-laying ceremony Monday at the Arlington National Cemetery grave of Gen. George Marshall to a commencement speech May 31 at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, aides say next week is a pivotal point for Clinton's foreign policy record.

While commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Marshall Plan, the program of U.S. economic aid that helped rebuild post-World War II Europe, Clinton begins an aggressive campaign for public acceptance of NATO expansion, at home and abroad.

The symbolism of ending one era while beginning another is irresistible to the White House, where officials say Clinton considers the trip a one-in-a-presidency platform to outline his goals for the future and what he sees as his legacy.

The trip allows Clinton "to pursue his vision for the future of the trans-Atlantic alliance against the backdrop of the legacy of a previous generation of Americans," national security adviser Sandy Berger says.

Clinton's message, Berger says, will be to show "how America's relationship with Europe in the past has been intricately intertwined in war and in peace; how it continues to be intertwined; and therefore why America's message to participate in the signing of a charter between NATO and Russia that essentially paves the way for NATO expansion.

Clinton will be joined in Paris by leaders of the other 19 NATO members as well as by Russian President Boris Yeltsin, with whom Clinton will have a brief, separate meeting.

> On Wednesday, Clinton will be in The Hague, Netherlands, with dozens of European leaders to celebrate the Marshall Plan's 50th anniversary.

Aides say Clinton's speech at this event is his opportunity to speak to the people of Europe on his security vision for the next 50 years and on the obligations of a new generation to ensure the peace.

Clinton also will participate in a rally in Rotterdam, a port city where the first Marshall Plan aid to the Netherlands arrived 50 years ago.

> Continuing a focus on the future of Europe, Clinton goes to London on Thursday for his first substantive meeting with new British Prime Minister Tony Blair.

After talks between the two, whose centrist styles and efforts to tame their parties' liberal tendencies are often compared, White House aides hope for a photogenic afternoon in which the two bounces around London.

Clinton returns to Washington late Thursday.

But White House officials say the week's focus extends to his West Point commencement speech, which is being billed as the kickoff for the administration's push for building support at home for NATO expansion.

The West Point speech is considered by Clinton aides the bookend to his speech at The Hague, as he turns from a European audience to begin convincing his own country that expanding NATO is the right course for the future.

And White House officials concede that they face a tough
The President’s trip to Europe is part of a larger effort begun in the State of the Union to give a sense of America’s direction is the world for the 21st century. By weaving together three distinct but complementary events -- the historic NATO-Russia signing, the Marshall Plan commemoration; and the meeting with Prime Minister Blair -- the President will highlight the importance of American leadership and its purpose: to set a strong foundation for free market democracy in the 21st century by shaping the forces of change to our advantage. The trip will be book-ended by the President’s Memorial Day remarks at Arlington -- just yards away from the grave of George Marshall -- and the West Point Commencement speech.

Unique Moment in History

- President will sign historic partnership between NATO and Russia fifty years to the week Marshall Plan announced. Then, in six weeks, at NATO Summit in Madrid, Alliance will invite in first new NATO members from among Europe’s new democracies.

- By recalling high point of U.S. leadership fifty years ago, President will project vision of America’s leadership responsibilities for next fifty years.

Fulfilling Marshall’s Legacy - Advancing America’s Security


- Now, opportunity to complete job by extending to Europe’s east stability and prosperity enjoyed by West -- and advancing goal President set in Brussels in 1994 of building undivided, democratic Europe at peace for first time in history.

- By fulfilling legacy of previous generation, we can strengthen this generation’s security and prosperity into the 21st century. As Marshall generation understood, Europe’s fate and America’s future closely joined. When Europe is at peace, America more secure; when Europe prospers, so will America.

American Leadership is Key

- Blocs and barriers that divided world for fifty years mostly gone. But new institutions, understandings, mindsets to lock in democracy’s gains not yet complete -- including expanded NATO, NATO-Russia partnership. Lesson of this century: job won’t get done without American leadership.

- America is at pinnacle of power, influence and success -- and so at pinnacle of responsibility. For our own benefit and because it is right, must live up to legacy of American leadership people like Marshall, Truman and Vandenberg set fifty years ago.
NATO-Russia Signing (Paris, May 27)

- Founding Act opens new era of cooperation in Europe and bridges continent’s historic divide.
- Proof that European security not zero sum game. It is possible to enlarge NATO, maintain NATO as most powerful defensive alliance in history and build partnership with Russia.
- Through Founding Act, Russia will work closely with, but not within, NATO. Russia and NATO will consult regularly, act jointly where all agree -- as they are doing in Bosnia.

U.S. - E.U. Summit (The Hague, May 28)

- Practical partnership making a difference on issues that matter most to people in daily lives.

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- In celebrating vision of remarkable generation of Americans, President will lay out his vision of future of U.S.-European relations and goal of building continent that is undivided, democratic and at peace for first time in history.
- By bringing Europe together for security around military alliances, economically around open markets and politically around democracy, we have opportunity to complete work of Marshall generation -- and set strong foundation for 21st century.

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- Two forward-looking, vigorous leaders building U.S.-U.K. partnership for 21st century.

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- President will explain why engagement in Europe vital, why NATO is foundation for engagement, and state costs and risks associated with U.S. leadership to those who will be called upon to carry it out.
THE SIX MOST IMPORTANT POINTS ABOUT TODAY’S ANNOUNCEMENT:

• **NATIONAL INTEREST:** The agreement to form a practical partnership between NATO and Russia is in the vital national interest of the American people. By making Europe more stable and secure, it will enhance our own security and prosperity for the 21st century.

• **WIN-WIN-WIN:** This agreement is good for America, good for Europe and good for Russia. It forms the basis for a constructive, stable and peaceful relationship between Russia and NATO which will not marginalize or isolate but more fully integrate Russia into the mainstream of an undivided Europe.

• **VISION:** It is a fulfillment of President Clinton’s vision of Europe first articulated in Brussels in 1994: building a peaceful, democratic and undivided continent. A vision POTUS has acted on consistently and persistently ever since, especially by taking lead in adapting NATO to new missions, enlarging it to take in new members, strengthening its ties to non-members and forging a productive relationship between NATO and Russia.

• **PROVES OTHERS POSED A FALSE CHOICE:** Despite what the critics have said, it is possible to have a new security relationship with Russia while also enlarging and strengthening NATO without compromising NATO’s integrity or closing the enlargement process.

• **ANOTHER MILESTONE:** Today’s decision is not the end of the game. This announcement is a midpoint which began at the Helsinki summit and will continue on to the NATO summit in Madrid. The goal: enlarging the NATO alliance and building the new institutions and understandings for a more secure and prosperous future.

• **INDISPENSABLE NATION:** With America at its pinnacle of power and prosperity, we are also at the pinnacle of our leadership responsibilities. As the world’s indispensable nation, we have the obligation and the interest to stay engaged and build the institutions that will help shape our future—this includes building a new partnership with Russia and expanding the NATO alliance.
Basic Talking Points -- NATO/Russia Founding Act

-- We understand NATO SYG Solana has resolved remaining differences with FM Primakov on the text of a document creating a new relationship between NATO and Russia.

-- The document now be reviewed and approved by the governments of NATO members and Russia; barring any unforeseen problems, we would expect that process to be completed within a day or two.

-- Approval by governments will clear the way for formal signing of the document by the Heads of State/Government of NATO members and Russia in Paris on May 27.

-- The document, called a Founding Act, is not compensation to Russia for NATO’s enlargement. The NATO-Russia relationship is a separate and distinct initiative from enlargement. The objective underlying its creation is to forge a closer relationship that allows to work together despite our differences over enlargement.

-- This is in America’s, and Europe’s interest. A more cooperative, constructive relationship between a new NATO and a new Russia can only improve overall security in Europe.

-- A democratic Russia that sees the West and its institutions as responsive to its legitimate concerns it more likely to be the kind of constructive partner we want than a Russia that feel scorned and isolated.

-- It is also in Russia’s interest, since it gives Russia a more effective way to establish a constructive role in Europe commensurate with its position.

-- The Founding Act promotes activities and creates mechanisms that will allow NATO and Russia to consult more closely and to build, over time, cooperation in addressing issues of common security in Europe.

-- The document is the product of four months of intensive discussions between Solana and Primakov, but its roots run much deeper. They lie in two U.S. administrations’s policies of cooperating with and engaging a new Russia, an approach shared by our NATO allies. It is rooted as well in President Clinton’s vision of a fully integrated Europe articulated at the NATO summit in January 1994.

-- The Founding Act reflects the changing security environment in Europe, an environment in which the confrontation of the cold war has been replaced by the promise of closer cooperation among former adversaries. It is also an environment in which we face more diffuse, but still troubling, challenges, including ethnic conflict, WMD proliferation and terrorism.

-- The NATO-Russia Founding Act will provide us the tools to address these challenges.
Let me walk you through how the document is structured, what it contains -- as well as what it does not contain. The Founding Act has five sections, beginning with a preamble that establishes the context for this new relationship -- the reasons why NATO and Russia believe it is in their shared interest to cooperate more broadly and intensively.

Section two details the principles on which the relationship is based. These includes such basic commitments to norms of international behavior as the UN Charter and OSCE Helsinki Final Act, as well as more explicit commitments such as respecting the sovereignty/independence of states and settling disputes peacefully.

Section three creates a new forum -- the NATO/Russia Permanent Joint Council -- in which NATO and Russia can consult closely. Over time, the Joint Council would allow NATO and Russia, when there is unanimous agreement among all its members, including the U.S., to coordinate their policies and act together, as we have in Bosnia. The Joint Council will also allow NATO to raise issues about Russia's security policies.

Section four details a broad range of topics on which NATO and Russia can consult and perhaps cooperate, including preventing/settling conflict, peacekeeping, preventing WMD proliferation, exchanging information on security/defense policies and forces.

Section five covers the military dimensions of the relationship. In this section:

- NATO has reiterated aspects of its current defense policy/strategy, including its December 1996 policy on nuclear weapons deployments ("no intention, no plan and no reason" to deploy (which includes storage) nuclear weapons on the territory of new members)

- It has also reiterated its March 14, 1997 statement indicating that in the current and foreseeable security environment, NATO does not plan to meet its security needs by permanently stationing on new members' territory substantial combat forces.

- NATO and Russia have also committed to pursue promptly adapting the treaty governing conventional forces in Europe to reduce further equipment levels. This reflects the changed security environment in Europe since the CFE treaty was negotiated in the late '80's.

- Finally, Section five provides mechanisms to foster closer military-to-military cooperation between NATO and Russian forces, including by creating military liaison missions in respective NATO and Russian military headquarters.
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- articulate the strategic rational for NATO enlargement and the NATO-Russia partnership.
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The trip allows Clinton to pursue his vision for the future of the trans-Atlantic alliance against the backdrop of the legacy of a previous generation of Americans," national security adviser Sandy Berger says.

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Clinton will be joined in Paris by leaders of the other 15 NATO members, as well as by Russian President Boris Yeltsin, with whom Clinton will have a brief, separate meeting.

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• VISION: It is a fulfillment of President Clinton's vision of Europe first articulated in Brussels in 1994: building a peaceful, democratic and undivided continent. A vision POTUS has acted on consistently and persistently ever since, especially by taking lead in adapting NATO to new missions, enlarging it to take in new members, strengthening its ties to non-members and forging a productive relationship between NATO and Russia.

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A Modern Britain, With America and in Europe

By Robin Cook

The writer is the British foreign secretary.

LONDON—The British people this month elected a new government with a decisive mandate to modernize Britain. The world in which we conduct our diplomacy is changing rapidly.

Trade between countries is accelerating much faster than growth within them. People travel more. Television and the Internet mean that our knowledge of each other is much deeper than before. Nightly we are presented with images on our television screens that we cannot mutely ignore.

Foreign policy is no esoteric game. It impacts directly on our peoples' lives, jobs, concerns. Engagement in the wider world isn't optional: it is essential. Now more than ever, isolationism or insularity would be self-defeating.

Last week I set out the goals of Britain's foreign policy.

First, Britain's security will remain founded on NATO. NATO will grow, and change, and Russia will have a voice, but not a veto. A strong alliance means greater security for all.

Second, our prosperity depends on vigorous free trade and healthy investment flows. Britain is the largest investor in America and America the largest in Britain—America invests more in my country than in all Asia. A million Americans work in the United States or British firms. We shall work to create still greater links and synergies, and more open markets elsewhere.

Third, no government can today ignore the effects of global phenomena such as climate change. Getting firm agreements to protect climate, oceans and forests won't be easy, given the differing needs of countries at different stages of development, but I am determined to try.

Fourth, I believe that we cannot check in our consciences at the conference room door. The British people have a deep sense of fairness. Like Americans, they are determined not only that their society should remain open and democratic but also that others should share the freedoms they enjoy.

British foreign policy will reflect that. Not all our goals will be easy to achieve. But Britain under New Labour turns to the United States as a natural partner in the task.

Our historic defense and security cooperation will continue. Britain has the will and the means to resist aggression and help defend the rule of international law. It is vigilance against terrorism, alive to the threat of nuclear proliferation, determined to build on the verifiable weapons treaty. And the new government is committed to achieving a worldwide ban on the use, manufacture and transfer of anti-personnel land mines, which kill or maim someone, somewhere, every 20 minutes.

I also want to work with the United States to make the United Nations the more effective force for peace and against poverty which we both want. And to increase aid flows and debt relief for the poorest countries, not least through the Washington-based World Bank and the International Development Agency. Britain pays its dues to the United Nations and the IDA; we believe that starving them of resources would fit ill with the values or interests of the developed West.

Finally, Britain under New Labour will work much more closely with our partners in the European Union. I see no contradiction between close partnership with the United States and wholehearted involvement in Europe. On the contrary, with Britain back in a leading role, we can better influence European debate, and so strengthen trans-Atlantic partnership.

For too long, Britain has stood on the sidelines in Europe. The new government's positive approach brings better prospects of achieving the European Union we want: deeper and wider, with a vibrant single market generating more jobs; a warm welcome for new members from among our neighbors to the East; and the confidence and cohesion to play a greater role across the world.

The Washington Post.
heaven
Mindszenty Denies Plot to Oust Regime
He Admits Details Of Red Accusation
Hungarian Cardinal Asks in Vain for Freedom to Seek Church-State Pact

By The United Press

BUDAPEST, Feb. 3.—Josef Cardinal Mindszenty, Primate of Hungary, denied today that he had ever participated in a plot to overthrow the government, but said, "I am guilty in principle and in detail of most of the accusations made."

The statement came after the People's Court trying Cardinal Mindszenty and six co-defendants on charges including treason rejected the Cardinal's request in a letter that he be set free for an attempt to make peace between the Roman Catholic Church and the State in Hungary.

The Hungarian government rejected requests of the New York Navy to La
72 Ships if
Budget St
To Inactivate 3
and 12 Cruisers a
Strength by 29,51

By James M. M.
WASHINGTON, Feb.
limitations of the 1950 force the Navy to mi-
ons in men, planes and
shift more of its
strength from the Pac-
Atlantic, Secretary of
John L. Sullivan announ-
In letters to the App-
and Armed Services Com-
the House and Senate.
Sullivan disclosed that
would have to lay up 32
ships including those.
Student Group

(Continued from page one)

one moment of the trip he had
looked forward to most.

To the sad-faced representative
of Turkey, Mr. Simmons said:
"Come back about 3 and I'll get
you in long enough for a hand-
shake."

Fuat Tekce skipped a luncheon
that the others went to, and was
back a half-hour ahead of time.
Mr. Simmons was as good as his
word, President Truman shook
the boy's hand, said he was glad
to see him and was sorry the boy
had missed the earlier session.

Then Mr. Simmons gave the youth
a handful of matchbooks bearing
the emblems, "Sisten from Harry
Truman." A smile of pleasure
has face and his souvenirs firmly
held, Fuat Tekce walked on air out
of the President's office and went
to a hotel to return his correspon-
dence.

Speaks of Democracy

At the group meeting, the young
people, all of whom speak and
understand English thoroughly, lis-
tened attentively in a circle that
as the President stood facing them
and gave them a brief talk in an
addition to the handshaking cere-
mony which was all, they had been
told, that he would have time for.

He spoke briefly of America's
form of government and after
streaming that the power is in the
people themselves. They demon-
strated that completely in November.

The politically-wise students burst into spontaneous
laughter and clapped hands at
the talk told them also that he hoped
that when they got to be as old as he
is twenty-four there would be a
United Nations functioning
fully and completely in the peace
of the world, which we all
want.

Afterward, as they gathered
around, he showed them the gland-
gets on his desk. They admired all
of them and laughed aloud at one,
miniature reproduction of the
election-night headline of the
Chicago Tribune, which read:
"Dewey Defeats Truman."

Test of Remarks

The complete text of the re-
marks of the President, as after
the group had been intro-
duced by Dr. Frank Monashan,
the C. A. Director of Information,
as "ambassadors without portu-
folio," follows:

You are a fine looking group,
and all are glad to have a chance
to look at the country—glad to have you take a
look at it. I think you have been
emerging too much time in New
York. New York is just the door
of the United States. It is both
the entry and the exit. You will find

that part of the country west
of the Appalachian Mountains is
most interesting, and I hope you
had the chance to get to see the
rocks and Coulumns. Then the elec-
trical installations in the Tennes-
see Valley. I also hope that you
had the opportunity to see some-
thing of the valleys of the Mis-
ouri, just how much power.

"I am glad you are now in the
capital. I hope you will spend some
time here and get a chance to in-
terview our governmental workers
and to see how the government
of the United States operates. It
is not as posed as the most efficient
government in the world, but it is
posed as one that is most just to
the people of the United States.

Division of Powers

"We have a government, as you
know, that is divided into three
sections. We have a legislative
branch, which makes the laws
of the country. We have an ex-
ecutive branch of which the President is
head, and he executes the laws.
And then we have a judicial section
of the government, which interprets
those laws. And in that way we have
what we call a check-and-balance
government, so that no one has too much power.

"The power is in the people themselves. They dem-
onstrated that completely in November.

I hope to see the time come
when, every section of the world
will have a government that is
a government of and by and for
the people. As Mr. Lincoln said
long in the 1860's.

"I hope you have enjoyed your
visit here. I sincerely hope that
you will continue your studies
of the peoples of the world, and
that eventually, when you will be as
old as I am, that the United
Nations will be functioning fully
and completely in the peace of
the world—which we all want.

"Thank you very much."

Speech of Appreciation

The young people applauded
when President Truman finished.
Dr. Monashan said: "Mr. Presi-
dent they have one spokesman
who would like to express their
thanks to you, Mr. President.
Monashan had a hard time locating the spe-
ck man in the crowd, and finally said:
"Where is he?"

Anthony Demetriades took a
half step forward and bowed
gratefully at the President, said:
"Well, I am from Greece. We
came here, thirty-four students,
and were foreign countries,
including the United States. I am
the entry and the exit. You will find

meeting each other before, and
without knowing what we would
find here.

"We are already five weeks here,
and we have had a chance to go
cross the country to see what it
looks like, and we have had a chance
to meet the American people
and to see how they think and
how they work.

"Now no one of us likes to flat-
talk, but I can say that we have
had a great time in a great coun-
try with a great people. We have
had the most wonderful time of
our lives here, and we only wish
that American students could
come over to our countries and
see our needs and our way of living
here.

"For my people and for the peo-
ple of Europe it was a very great
pleasure to have seen the great
piece of information last Novem-
ber, 1948. We were very glad to
have the news. I would say that
to all over Europe there was a
wave of enthusiasm.

"We came here to see what our
views would be, and we are very
satisfied. In this country we found
our homes, and on behalf of our
friends here, I would like to say
just one word, President Truman:
"Thank you!"

President Truman, who had
smiled at the Greek youth's
remarks about 1948, responded: "I
appreciate that very much, and I
sincerely hope that some of our
young people will pay a visit to
your countries and become as well
acquainted with them and their
peoples as you have tried to be
coming acquainted with us. Thank
you again, very much."

During the picture-taking that
followed, Helen Gravers, seven-
teen, of 108 Carroll Street,
Brooklyn, laugheringly clapped
the President on the arm for saying
that the visitors were spending too
much time in New York. She said: "Re-
 spite what you say, I still like
New York." The President laughered
with her. She and Richard Leter,
seventeen, of 41 Murray Avenue,
Fort Washington, L.I., are travel-
ing with the group.

The students have just com-
pleted an aerial tour of the United
States.
YOU ARE a fine-looking group, and we are glad to have you in this country—glad to have you take a look at it. I think you have been spending too much time in New York.

New York is just the door of the United States. It is both the entry and the exit. You will find that that part of the country west of the Appalachian Mountains is most interesting, and I hope you had the chance to get to see the Grand Coulee Dam, and the electrical installations in the Tennessee Valley. I also hope that you had the opportunity to see something of the valleys of the Mississippi River.

I am glad you are now in the Capital. I hope you will spend some time here, and get a chance to interview our governmental workers and to see how the Government of the United States operates. It is not posed as the most efficient government in the world, but it is posed as one that is most just to the people of the United States.

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I hope you have enjoyed your visit here. I sincerely hope that you will continue your studies of the peoples of the world, and that eventually when you get to be as old as I am, that the United Nations will be functioning fully and completely, in keeping the peace of the world—which we all want.

Thank you very much.

[At this point Anthony Demetriades, the spokesman for the group, told the President that they had been in the United States for 5 weeks. "We have had the most wonderful time of our lives here," he added, "and we only wish that American students could come over to our countries and see our needs and our way of living there." The President then resumed speaking.]

I appreciate that very much, and I sincerely hope that some of our people will pay a visit to your countries and become as well acquainted with them and their peoples as you have tried to become acquainted with us.

Thank you again, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:15 p.m. in his office at the White House to a group of young people representing 17 of the nations participating in the Marshall plan. The young people were in the United States as a result of having won in an essay contest sponsored by the New York Herald Tribune. The title of the essay was "The Kind of World I Would Like to Live In."
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**Gustaaf Albert Sedee** (Se-DAY)

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Toured United States for several weeks with other European essay contest winners in 1949. Met President Harry S. Truman at the White House February 3, 1949.

Graduated with law degree from the University of Leiden, 1960.


Resides with wife Sineke in Baarn, Netherlands.

Wife: Fossima Diewertje van der Sluis Sedee ("Sineke"). Retired lawyer and former Baarn Alderman.

Son: Gustaaf Albert Sedee ("Bert"). Secretary to the Board of Directors, Netherlands Investment Bank. Wife: Marietta Schuitemaker Sedee. Son: Sander, 1-1/2 years old.

Mindszenty Denies Plot to Oust Regime

He Admits Details Of Red Accusation

Hungarian Cardinal Asks in Vain for Freedom to Seek Church-State Pact

BUDAPEST, Feb. 3.—Josef Cardinal Mindszenty, Primate of Hungary, denied today that he had ever participated in a plot to overthrow the government, but said, "I am guilty in principle and in detail of most of the accusations made."

The statement came after the People’s Court trying Cardinal Mindszenty and six co-defendants on charges including treason rejected the Cardinal’s request in a letter that he be set free for an attempt to make peace between the Roman Catholic Church and the State in Hungary.

(The Hungarian government rejected requests of the New York

Truman With Held

Navy to La 72 Ships if Budget St

To Inactivate 3 and 12 Cruisers a Strength by 29,56

By James M. Mi

WASHINGTON, Feb. 3—Limitations of the 1950 law allow the Navy to man, planes and to shift more of its strength from the Pacific Atlantic, Secretary of the House and Senate, John L. Sullivan disclosed that would have to lay up se

student Visitors From Europe Meet President Truman.
Truman Greets Student Group From Europe

Student Group

(Continued from page 10)

That part of the country west of the Appalachian Mountains is most interesting, and I hope you had the chance to see the Grand Coulee Dam, and the electrical installation in the Tetons, and then you went to the Valley. I also hope that you had the opportunity to see something of the valleys of the Mississippi River.

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I am glad to be in the people themselves. They demonstrated that completely in November.

I hope you will spend some time here and see this government that is a government of and by and for the people.]

President Truman's remarks about 1948, reprinted: "I appreciated that very much, and I sincerely hope that some of our young people who will go back to your countries and become well acquainted with them and their peoples as you have tried to become acquainted with us. Thank you, again, very much."

During the picture-taking that followed, Helen Ginandes, seventeen, of 1036 Carroll Street, Brooklyn, laughingly chimed the President for saying that the visitors were spending too much time in New York. Miss Ginandes said: "Despite what you say, I still like New York." The President lauded her with her. She is Richard Leather, seventeen, of 41 Murray Avenue, Fort Washington, along with the group.

The students have just completed an aerial tour of the United States.
YOU ARE a fine-looking group, and we are glad to have you in this country—glad to have you take a look at it. I think you have been spending too much time in New York. New York is just the door of the United States. It is both the entry and the exit. You will find that that part of the country west of the Appalachian Mountains is most interesting, and I hope you had the chance to get to see the Grand Coulee Dam, and the electrical installations in the Tennessee Valley. I also hope that you had the opportunity to see something of the valleys of the Mississippi River.

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Retired lawyer and former Baarn Alderman.

Son: Gustaaf Albert Sedee (“Bert”).
Secretary to the Board of Directors, Netherlands Investment Bank.
Wife: Marietta Schuitemaker Sedee.
Son: Sander, 1-1/2 years old.

Daughter: Diewertje Sedee Naber.
Employed by Utrecht Chamber of Commerce.
Husband: Robert Naber.
Son: Roeland, 9 months old.
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From

CHRISTIAN MALARD
SENIOR INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENT
HEAD OF FOREIGN DEPT

France

Fax off 33.1.40 74 83 72
Home cell phone (0)(6)

[Signature] [004]

[Signature] [ME6]

Subject: Should we try

To the Attention of: [Name]

[Signature]

Dear Fred,

I have been disappointed to be told by our friend, Mr. Tony Benn, that the government would not grant any TV interview to the Foreign Press from the British Embassy.

I do hope to have the chance to talk to you personally during the very short period you will spend in Paris. I shall be covering the late Iranian Shah's crimes against the Cypriot people.

I do hope that I will have the chance to do this, and wish the Channel from the British G.B. to you.

As you know, I am ready to do anything;

Let's keep in touch.

[Signature]

Christian

[Signature]
TONY and Cherie Blair abandoned their official car for a "Westminster walkabout" on their way to the Opening of Parliament last week, and The London Times approvingly noted the American inspiration of such politics, especially the way Mrs. Blair’s scarf fell, like Hillary Clinton’s, "with a length hanging down from the left shoulder."

Not to be outdone by the new British Prime Minister, President Jacques Chirac last week took a leaf from the Clinton political manual by departing for China with 55 leading French industrialists on a sell-France mission that has danced lightly over human-rights issues. With a parliamentary election just a week away, Mr. Chirac was betting that the president-as-global-salesman (as opposed to exalted statesman) is now a winning image even in France.

Whether it is sartorial style or commercial substance, the impact of America’s sustained economic vibrancy, and the "whatever works" President identified with it, is now widely felt. From Canada through Europe to Japan, big government is out of fashion. The political left is lurching toward the center. And growth has assumed the status of a fully fledged political ideology, the foundation of electoral success.

The first thing Mr. Blair did was to grant control of monetary policy to the independent Bank of England, an extraordinary step for the leader of the British left, and one of the first things he made clear was that "high and stable levels of economic growth" would be a priority. The moves echoed Mr. Clinton’s message on taking office in 1993 that he would not interfere with the Federal Reserve or be a big spender.

Global Shift

A huge political shift is under way. It may be radical, as in Britain, faltering, as in France and Germany, or tinged, as in Canada, with dread of American economic Darwinism. But the sheer durability and extent of America’s economic expansion -- a soaring Wall Street, inflation at 3 percent, joblessness under 5 percent, and only a brief blip in upward growth since 1982 -- has imparted what seems to be the single strongest political message of the post-cold war decade.
That message is: the areas where the state does things better than the market are extremely limited; fiscal discipline can be combined with strong growth and high employment if the right conditions for entrepreneurship are created, and successful politics in the absence of ideological enemies or pressing security threats amounts to the pragmatism of learning these lessons combined with sharp marketing -- exemplified by the Blair's stroll and that billowing scarf.

Dissension remains. The best balance between state and market is still widely discussed, a debate that reflects the differing cultural traditions in America, Europe and Japan. American domination naturally meets resentment. Mr. Chirac, in China, pointedly embraces a "multi-polar" world, code for one not dominated by the United States. The Chinese applaud him.

But in a post-ideological and Webbed world, the insistent fact that America works seems, for now, hard to resist.

"I am struck when I travel by the way that Bill Gates of Microsoft and Andy Grove of Intel have become international heroes," said Robert Hormats, the vice chairman of Goldman Sachs International. "They are seen as representing an entrepreneurial renaissance that has, at the same time, placed Clinton's America in the vanguard of international technology and created millions of jobs."

The age of Gates-Groveism is reinforced by the fact that their medium is their message: the technology that is linking and changing the world carries its own political and economic impact, reducing politicians' room for maneuver.

In Japan, once a bastion of regulation, it is now almost universally accepted that government interference in the economy is unhelpful. Parliamentary campaigning last fall was dominated by candidates calling for a freer economy, for in Japan the perception is strong that America leads in new technologies because of its flexible capital markets and Clintonian pragmatism.

In Canada, the central policy of the Liberal government of Prime Minister Jean Chretien has been deficit reduction; next budget year, for the first time in nearly three decades, the government may not need to borrow any money at all. Now ministers focus on when to cut taxes and by how much, and debate in the campaign for June 2 elections turns on not whether to shrink government but by how much.

Apolitical Revolution

At the depressed heart of the welfare state, in France, change is less clear cut and more contested. Nonetheless, amid coded signals and continuing taboos over endorsing "Anglo-Saxon" economic models, Mr. Chirac's Gaullist party and other members of his right-of-center coalition have been making clear that they believe the age of the government "fonctionnaire" is over. Jean Arthuis, the Finance Minister, went so far last week as to declare that he was delighted that "the welfare state is finished," adding that "too much state kills the state." In a country where the state's role as guarantor of welfare, engine of industry and nexus of society has long been assumed, and where the number of functionaries has risen to 5.5 million from 4.4 million during the past 15 years, such a statement was revolutionary in its audacity. But it is no longer blasphemy.
In response, France's Socialists talk about being a modern party and providing seed capital to small and medium-sized industry. But the party's discourse is still marked by a brand of socialism that promises 350,000 new state-sector jobs to fight unemployment of 12.8 percent. So far this message seems to have left voters unconvinced, and thus Mr. Chirac's government is favored to win the election despite its deep unpopularity during the past two years.

One interesting aspect of the campaign is the desire expressed in many quarters for an apolitical but effective Prime Minister; voters often voice a preference for Christian Blanc, the blunt, hard-driving, telegenic government employee who has wrested state-owned Air France from disaster and prepared it for privatization.

Mr. Blanc was a socialist, but now says, "I don't give a damn about ideology -- all I care about is effectiveness." He says he still values socialism's emphasis on human dignity, solidarity, the general interest and the need to fight injustice. But economic socialism is bunk.

The words could have come from Mr. Blair, who has not questioned Margaret Thatcher's sweeping privatizations but has put improvements in education and health care at the heart of his program. He has also proposed a "welfare-to-work program" financed by a levy on "the excess profits of the privatized utilities." The very notion of "excess profits" seems unthinkable in America.

It is in such matters where the critical test of the American-led global political revolution may lie. Without genuine sensitivity toward those on the wrong end of the changes, the seeds of upheaval could be planted.

The end of the last century brought a similarly sweeping revolution -- the cars, trains and industries that made nations whole and brought the masses closer to political life. Few imagined then how those trends would be exploited by fascists and Communists, leading to tens of millions of deaths. The American-led shift in civilization is full of promise; but its ultimate consequences remain unclear.

GRAPHIC: Photos: American prosperity is changing politics abroad. In Britain, Tony Blair has bucked tradition . . . (Agence France-Press) . . . moving his family not to 10 Downing St. but roomier digs at No. 11. (Associated Press)
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<th>DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE</th>
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<td>005. memo</td>
<td>King to Baer; RE: Telephone numbers (partial)</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>P6/b(6)</td>
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**COLLECTION:**
Clinton Presidential Records
Communications
Don Baer
OA/Box Number: 10137

**FOLDER TITLE:**
EU Summit Trip

**RESTRICTION CODES**

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 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. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
- RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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 concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]
MEMORANDUM FOR DON BAER

FROM JOSH KING

RE: DUTCH FARMING FAMILY
GERRITT AND ANN STAARMANN
BERT STAARMANN

Between the Hague and Rotterdam, I think we have the potential for a four-generation event. These notes are from two conversations, one with Gerritt and Ann Staarmann, and other with his son, Bert. There are gaps to fill in and things to clarify, but this will give you the gist.

GERRITT AND ANN BACK STORY

Before WWII, Gerritt Staarmann, now 75, was a farmer, mostly of potatoes, but also of winter wheat, tulips and onions. His farm was about 10 kilometers from the German border. They used rudimentary farming technique, mostly horses and hand plows to harvest their crops.

Then the war came, and a few bombs dropped on the farm. The economy was wrecked. “There was nothing left after the war.”

Meanwhile, in the northern part of the country, Gerritt’s future wife, Ann, now 63, was hiding out from the Nazis with her parents, who were both professors of English. Ann’s mother, pronounced Joki-Leah, now 94 and still, according to her daughter, “Very Clever”, was Jewish and had much to fear. She was learning in school about the Marshall Plan. She remembers the two or three sentences that took hold: “America helped the Western part of Europe to recover from the war to get stronger against the Communists.”

The war ended and the Marshall Plan took hold. Gerritt took advantage of a Marshall Plan program and went on a boat to New York City and Washington “with 50 Dutch boys”, where he went to the Department of Agriculture to learn about new farming techniques. From there, he went to Maine and Allentown, Pennsylvania to observe American farming in action.

Flush with their new technique, the boys came home and began to implement their teachings. The Marshall Plan also made new machinery available to the Dutch, who in turn sold it to farmers like Gerritt. Jeeps and tractors from John Deere, International Harvester and Case replaced the horses and plows from before the war. About his experience, Gerritt says “you learn nothing when there is a war. After the war, you talk with all kinds of people.”

He married his wife, Ann, in 1957. They got a new farm in a place called “Frevorland” in an area reclaimed from the sea through the use of dykes. He calls it “the best soil in Europe.” It took several years, but thanks to the American know-how and the American equipment, the farm became very successful.

The Staarmann’s went to the States several times to visit the friends that Gerritt made and see the
farms he worked as a young student of U.S. farming technique. They are big fans of America. They have five grandchildren. They are retired now. Ann started a restaurant and sold it for a handsome profit.

Gerritt’s son, Bert, took over the family farm in 1987. He is currently 37 years old. The farm is 57 hectares and Bert hopes his sons, Yuri and Robert, ages 3 and 5, someday take over the farm after they have a chance to study and see the world.

THE THEME

The Staarmann family gives us the opportunity to highlight the Marshall Plan by highlighting how one Dutch family was able to survive and thrive by importing American know-how, American machinery, and American values. The speeches that Gerritt, Ann and Bert give can contain imagery about arriving in New York Harbor as guests of the Marshall Plan, visiting the nation’s breadbasket, and using shiny new American machinery to literally turn swords into plowshares. The Marshall Plan helped rebuild not only through steel (as it did, even for these farmers), but through ideas.

THE EVENT

In the Hague, Gerritt and Ann recount their stories and jointly introduce the President. The President, in turn, concludes his speech by tying in the Marshall Plan to the experience of Ann’s mother, the 94-year old Jewish woman who spent the war in hiding. The mother is sitting in the front row and the President calls her up to the stage as the event concludes.

After the event, we load the Starrmanns into the motorcade and take them, with the President, down to Rotterdam where (we assume), Gerritt originally left for America nearly fifty years before.

In Rotterdam, the generations link up. With Gerritt, Ann and the Mother-in-Law sitting in the front row, proudly looking on, Bert Staarmann (Gerritt’s son, who now runs the Staarmann farm) and his sons Yuri, age 5, and Robert, age 3, introduce the President for the future-looking speech with the Rotterdam bridge in the background. At the conclusion of the speech, the four generations (Great Grandmother, Grandparents, Parents and Children) join the President on the stage.