

shall, who understood that modern nations can enrich their futures more through cooperation than conquest. My administration supports European union and Europe's development of stronger institutions of common purpose and common action. We recognize we will benefit more from a strong and equal partner than from a weak one.

The fall of the Soviet empire and Western Europe's integration are the two greatest advances for peace in the last half of the 20th century. All of us are reaping their blessings. In particular, with the cold war over and in spite of the present global recession which clouds your future, all our nations now have the opportunity to take long, deferred steps toward economic and social renewal. My own Nation has made a beginning in putting our economic house in order, reducing our deficits, investing in our people, creating jobs, and sparking an economic recovery that we hope will help not only the United States but also will lift all nations. We're also facing up to some of the social problems in our country we have ignored for too long, from the challenge to provide universal health care to reducing crime in our streets to dealing with the needs of our poor children. We have a truly multicultural society. In one of our counties there are people from over 150 different national and ethnic groups. But we are working to build an American community for the 21st century.

And with the European Union, we have recently led the world to a new GATT agreement that will create millions of new jobs in all our countries. In many ways, it would be easy to offer you only a message of simple celebration, to trumpet our common heritage, to rejoice that our labors for peace have been rewarded, to cheer on the economic progress that is occurring. But this is not a time for self-congratulation. And certainly we have enough challenges that we should act as true partners. That is, we should share one another's burdens rather than only talking of triumphs. And we should speak honestly about what we feel about where we are and where we should go.

This is the truth as I see it. We served history well during the cold war, but now history calls on us again to help consolidate freedom's new gains into a larger and a more lasting peace. We must build a new security for Europe. The old security was based on the defense of our bloc against another bloc. The new security must

be found in Europe's integration, an integration of security forces, of market economies, of national democracies. The purpose of my trip to Europe is to help lead the movement to that integration and to assure you that America will be a strong partner in it.

For the peoples who broke communism's chains, we now see a race between rejuvenation and despair. And the outcome will—bound to shape the security of every nation in the transatlantic alliance. Today that race is being played out from the Balkans to central Asia. In one lane are the heirs of the enlightenment who seek to consolidate freedom's gains by building free economies, open democracies, and tolerant civic cultures. Pitted against them are the grim pretenders to tyranny's dark throne, the militant nationalists and demagogues who fan suspicions that are ancient and parade the pain of renewal in order to obscure the promise of reform.

We, none of us, can afford to be bystanders of that race. Too much is at stake. Consider this: The coming months and years may decide whether the Russian people continue to develop a peaceful market democracy or whether, in frustration, they elect leaders who incline back toward authoritarianism and empire. This period may determine whether the nations neighboring Russia thrive in freedom and join the ranks of nonnuclear states or founder under the strain of reform and cling to weapons that increase the risk of nuclear accident or diversion. This period may decide whether the states of the former Soviet bloc are woven into the fabric of transatlantic prosperity and security or are simply left hanging in isolation as they face the same daunting changes gripping so many others in Europe.

These pivotal decisions ultimately rest with the people who threw off communism's yoke. They must make their own decisions about their own future. But we in the West can clearly help to shape their choices, and we must summon the political will to do so.

The task requires a steady and patient effort, guided by a strategic star that points us toward the integration of a broader Europe. It also requires a fair amount of humility, understanding that we cannot control every event in every country on every day. But if we are willing to assume the central challenge, we can revitalize not only the nations of the East but also our own transatlantic relationship.