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**Collection:** Executive Secretariat, NSC: Country  
File

**Folder Title:** Europe-General  
(08/08/1984-01/31/1985)

**Box:** 13

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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: COUNTRY FILE

**Withdrawer**

LOJ 8/28/2007

**File Folder** EUROPE-GENERAL (08/08/1984-01/31/1985)

**FOIA**

F05-062

**Box Number** 13

SNYDER

11

| ID    | Doc Type | Document Description                           | No of Pages | Doc Date   | Restrictions |
|-------|----------|--|-------------|------------|--------------|
| 41321 | MEMO     | GENERAL CABRIEL TO MCFARLANE, RE EUROPEAN TRIP | 2           | 8/1/1984   | B1           |
| 41322 | MEMO     | FORTIER TO MCFARLANE, RE PRESIDENT TRIP        | 2           | 12/12/1984 | B1           |
| 41323 | E-MAIL   | FROM POINDEXTER, RE TRIP TO EUROPE             | 1           | 12/24/1984 | B1           |
| 41324 | CABLE    | 080045Z JAN 85                                 | 6           | 1/8/1985   | B1           |
| 41325 | MEMO     | PLATT TO MCFARLANE                             | 1           | 1/24/1985  | B1           |
| 41327 | MEMO     | SAME AS 41325                                  | 1           | 1/24/1985  | B1           |

**The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing**

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]
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- B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED

RECEIVED 08 AUG 84 16

TO MCFARLANE

FROM AFFOURTIT, R

DOC DATE 08 AUG 84 /

RE(S)  
105  
8/28/84

KEYWORDS SWEDEN

GREAT BRITAIN

MOROCCO

SUBJECT TRIP RPT BY GEN GABRIEL ON RECENT TRIP

ACTION. FOR RECORD PURPOSES

DUE.

STATUS C

FILES PA

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

SOMMER

FORTIER

COBB

MATLOCK

KEMP

WETTERING

DUR

COMMENTS

REF# X31816

LOG 8404525

NSCIFID

( LF LF )

ACTION OFFICER (S)

ASSIGNED

ACTION REQUIRED

DUE

COPIES TO

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH FILE WHT (C)

~~SECRET~~

6030

2



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON, THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

AUG 8 P 2: 39

8 AUG 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR  
NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: Trip Report (U)

Attached for your information is a report by General Charles A. Gabriel, Chief of Staff, USAF, on his recent trip to Sweden, the United Kingdom, and Morocco.

R. J. Affourtit  
Executive Secretary

Attachment

Upon Removal of Attachments  
This Document Becomes  
Unclassified

AS  
8/28/07

~~SECRET~~

SEC DEF CONTR No. X31816

# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

*Collection Name*

EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: COUNTRY FILE

*Withdrawer*

LOJ 8/28/2007

*File Folder*

EUROPE-GENERAL (08/08/1984-01/31/1985)

*FOIA*

F05-062  
SNYDER

*Box Number*

13

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| <i>ID</i> | <i>Document Type</i><br><i>Document Description</i>           | <i>No of</i><br><i>pages</i> | <i>Doc Date</i> | <i>Restric-</i><br><i>tions</i> |
|-----------|---|------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| 41321     | MEMO<br><br>GENERAL CABRIEL TO MCFARLANE, RE<br>EUROPEAN TRIP | 2                            | 8/1/1984        | B1                              |

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B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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

SYSTEM II PROFILE

UPON REMOVAL  
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)  
CONFIDENTIAL

*4/10/85  
3/28/87*

ID 8491286

RECEIVED 13 DEC 84 19

*5*

TO MCFARLANE FROM FORTIER

DOCDATE 12 DEC 84

KEYWORDS: EUROPE EAST TURKEY  
VISIT

SUBJECT: PRES TRIP - EASTERN EUROPE & TURKEY

ACTION: FOR INFORMATION DUE: STATUS C FILES SII



FOR ACTION  
MCFARLANE

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

COMMENTS

REF# LOG NSCIFID ( C / B )

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

*C 2/15 Ponderly noted DF*

DISPATCH \_\_\_\_\_ W/ATTCH FILE \_\_\_\_\_ (C)

National Security Council  
The White House

1478

System #

II

Package #

91286

|                 | SEQUENCE TO | HAS SEEN           | DISPOSITION |
|-----------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------|
| Paul Thompson   |             |                    |             |
| Bob Kimmitt     | 1           | K                  |             |
| John Poindexter | 2           | <i>[Signature]</i> |             |
| Tom Shull       |             |                    |             |
| Wilma Hall      | 3           | /                  |             |
| Bud McFarlane   | 4           | /                  | I           |
| Bob Kimmitt     |             | <i>[Signature]</i> |             |
| NSC Secretariat | 5           | <i>[Signature]</i> | N           |
| Situation Room  |             |                    |             |

|                 |            |            |              |                       |
|-----------------|------------|------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| I = Information | A = Action | R = Retain | D = Dispatch | N = No further Action |
|-----------------|------------|------------|--------------|-----------------------|

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other \_\_\_\_\_

COMMENTS Should be seen by: \_\_\_\_\_

(Date/Time)

I have asked other staff to offer their comments.  
Since this is info only, recommend we let it proceed.

# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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*Withdrawer*

LOJ 8/28/2007

*File Folder*

EUROPE-GENERAL (08/08/1984-01/31/1985)

*FOIA*

F05-062

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*Box Number*

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| <i>ID</i> | <i>Document Type</i>                    | <i>No of</i> | <i>Doc Date</i> | <i>Restric-</i> |
|-----------|---|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|
|           | <i>Document Description</i>             | <i>pages</i> |                 | <i>tions</i>    |
| 41322     | MEMO                                    | 2            | 12/12/1984      | B1              |
|           | FORTIER TO MCFARLANE, RE PRESIDENT TRIP |              |                 |                 |

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OVAL  
to  
8/28/07

SYSTEM II PROFILE

~~SECRET~~

ID 8491340

RECEIVED 26 DEC 84 14

TO KIMMITT

FROM POINDEXTER

DOCDATE 24 DEC 84 9

KEYWORDS: EUROPE

FOREIGN TRAVEL

SUBJECT: POSSIBLE MCFARLANE TRIP TO EUROPE

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR MCFARLANE DUE: 30 DEC 84 STATUS S FILES SII

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

~~LEHMAN, R~~

MATLOCK

*Peter Sommer*

COMMENTS TO WSE/S - Brian Merchant

*This was answered by System II log 8000 Add-on # dated Dec 26, 1984*

REF# LOG NSCIFID ( B / BT )

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

*C JAN 09 1985 Completed by log 8000*

DISPATCH \_\_\_\_\_ W/ATTCH FILE \_\_\_\_\_ (C)

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| <i>ID</i> | <i>Document Type</i>               | <i>No of</i> | <i>Doc Date</i> | <i>Restric-</i> |
|-----------|------------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|
|           | <i>Document Description</i>        | <i>pages</i> |                 | <i>tions</i>    |
| 41323     | E-MAIL                             | 1            | 12/24/1984      | B1              |
|           | FROM POINDEXTER, RE TRIP TO EUROPE |              |                 |                 |

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National Security Council  
The White House

System # II  
Package # 91340

85 JUN 8 P5:05

11

|                 | SEQUENCE TO | HAS SEEN  | DISPOSITION        |
|-----------------|-------------|-----------|--------------------|
| Paul Thompson   | _____       | _____     | _____              |
| Bob Kimmitt     | <u>1</u>    | <u>IC</u> | _____              |
| John Poindexter | _____       | _____     | _____              |
| Tom Shull       | _____       | _____     | _____              |
| Wilma Hall      | _____       | _____     | _____              |
| Bud McFarlane   | _____       | _____     | _____              |
| Bob Kimmitt     | _____       | _____     | _____              |
| NSC Secretariat | <u>2</u>    | _____     | <u>Add to file</u> |
| Situation Room  | _____       | _____     | _____              |

I = Information    A = Action    R = Retain    D = Dispatch    N = No further Action

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other \_\_\_\_\_

COMMENTS                      Should be seen by: \_\_\_\_\_  
(Date/Time)

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LOJ 8/28/2007

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| <i>ID</i> | <i>Document Type</i><br><i>Document Description</i> | <i>No of</i><br><i>pages</i> | <i>Doc Date</i> | <i>Restric-</i><br><i>tions</i> |
|-----------|---|------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| 41324     | CABLE<br><br>080045Z JAN 85                         | 6                            | 1/8/1985        | B1                              |

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NSC/S PROFILE

~~SECRET~~

ID 85003 72

JNCL/  
OF CLASSIFIED ... <sup>REMOVAL</sup> ... (S)

RECEIVED 16 JAN 85 09

TO KIMMITT

FROM SESTANOVICH

*AS 8/28/07*

DOCDATE 15 JAN 85

KIMMITT

17 JAN 85

PLATT, N

24 JAN 85

KEYWORDS: EUROPE WEST

USSR

POLAND

PUBLIC STATEMENTS

SUBJECT: PRES STATEMENT ON YALTA ANNIVERSARY

ACTION: FOR SIGNATURE

DUE: 04 FEB 85 STATUS C FILES PA

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

KIMMITT

COMMENTS

REF# LOG 8500068 8500222 NSCIFID ( CL HW )

| ACTION OFFICER (S) | ASSIGNED     | ACTION REQUIRED              | DUE | COPIES TO                      |
|--------------------|--------------|------------------------------|-----|--------------------------------|
|                    | <i>C 2/4</i> | <i>Pearson &amp; Blumemo</i> |     | <i>SC, IF, JAA, WR, PS, DO</i> |
|                    |              |                              |     |                                |
|                    |              |                              |     |                                |
|                    |              |                              |     |                                |

DISPATCH *HW. 2/4* W/ATTCH FILE (C)

NSC/S PROFILE

105  
879107

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

I

ID 8500372

RECEIVED 16 JAN 85 09

TO KIMMITT

FROM STEINER

DOC DATE 15 JAN 85

KEYWORDS: EUROPE WEST

USSR

POL ? POLAND

SUBJECT: YALTA ANNIVERSARY

URGENT

ACTION: FOR SIGNATURE

DUE: 16 JAN 85 STATUS X

FILES WH PA

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

KIMMITT

URGENT

COMMENTS

REF# LOG NSCIFID ( CL )

| ACTION OFFICER (S) | ASSIGNED      | ACTION REQUIRED            | DUE | COPIES TO                         |
|--------------------|---------------|----------------------------|-----|-----------------------------------|
|                    | D 17 JAN 1985 | Kimmitt sgd memo           |     | Index SE DF PS DO RIK             |
| Sestanovich        | - 1/24        | Rec'd State Memo           |     |                                   |
| Sestanovich        | s 1/24        | Prepare Memo for McFarlane |     | DF, PS, DO, RIK                   |
| McFarlane          | X 2/1         | For Decision               | 2/4 |                                   |
|                    | 2/01          | Kimmitt sgd noted to PLAT  |     |                                   |
| DISPATCH           | 27. 1/17 2/2  | Rarson sgd                 |     | W/ATTCH FILE <del>WH</del> (C) 52 |

RECEIVED

5 JAN 1 P 7: 56

MAIL ROOM

# WASHFAX RECEIPT

THE WHITE HOUSE

# C

MESSAGE NO. 384 CLASSIFICATION UNCLAS PAGES 2

FROM ROBERT KIMMITT 456-2224 Gf1/WW  
(NAME) (EXTENSION) (ROOM NUMBER)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION Presidential Statement on Yalta  
NSC LOG # 0372

| TO (AGENCY)  | DELIVER TO:       | DEPT/ROOM NO. | EXTENSION |
|--------------|-------------------|---------------|-----------|
| <u>STATE</u> | <u>NICK PLATT</u> |               |           |
|              |                   |               |           |
|              |                   |               |           |
|              |                   |               |           |
|              |                   |               |           |
|              |                   |               |           |
|              |                   |               |           |
|              |                   |               |           |

REMARKS \_\_\_\_\_

21

# WASHFAX RECEIPT

THE WHITE HOUSE

# C

05 JAN 2 P 3: 50

WHITE HOUSE  
SITUATION ROOM

UPON REMOVAL  
ENCLOSURE

1/5  
8/25/07

MESSAGE NO. 387 CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL PAGES 2  
 FROM Robert M. Kimmitt 456-2224 Gdflww  
 (NAME) (EXTENSION) (ROOM NUMBER)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION Commemoration of Yalta Anniversary. (U)  
(NSC Log # 0372)

| <u>TO (AGENCY)</u> | <u>DELIVER TO:</u>    | <u>DEPT/ROOM NO.</u> | <u>EXTENSION</u> |
|--------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| <u>B STATE</u>     | <u>Nicholas Platt</u> | <u>Exec Sec</u>      |                  |
|                    |                       |                      |                  |
|                    |                       |                      |                  |
|                    |                       |                      |                  |
|                    |                       |                      |                  |
|                    |                       |                      |                  |
|                    |                       |                      |                  |
|                    |                       |                      |                  |

REMARKS \_\_\_\_\_



# NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL DISTRIBUTION RECORD

Log Number 750 20  
Date 29 JAN 1985

Subject: Pres Monge Ltr

JNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL

DOCUMENT CLASSIFICATION:  TOP SECRET  SECRET  CONFIDENTIAL  UNCLASSIFIED

## INTERNAL DISTRIBUTION

|                          |                     |                     |                    |                       |
|--------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| _____ Amb. McFarlane     | _____ Ms. Dornan    | _____ Mr. R. Lehman | _____ Mr. Pollock  | _____ Mr. Teicher     |
| _____ Adm. Poindexter    | _____ Cmdr. Dur     | _____ Mr. Levine    | _____ Mr. Raymond  | _____ Cmdr. Thompson  |
| _____                    | _____ Mr. Fontaine  | _____ Col. Lilac    | _____ Ms. Reger    | _____ Mr. Tyson       |
| _____ Sit. Room          | _____ Mr. Fortier   | _____ Ltc. Linhard  | _____ Mr. Robinson | _____ Mr. Wettering   |
| _____ Mr. Beal           | _____ Mr. Helm      | _____ Mr. Martin    | _____ Gen. Russell | _____ Exec. Secretary |
| _____ Ltc. Childress     | _____ Mr. Kemp      | _____ Mr. Matlock   | _____ Col. Rye     | _____ NSC Secretariat |
| _____ Ltc. Cox           | _____ Mr. Kraemer   | _____ Mr. Menges    | _____ Cpt. Shull   | _____ NSC Registry    |
| _____ Mr. De Graffenreid | _____ Mr. Laux      | _____ Mr. McMinn    | _____ Mr. Sigur    | _____ NSC Admin.      |
| _____ Ms. Dobriansky     | _____ Mr. C. Lehman | _____ Ltc. North    | _____ Mr. Sommer   | _____ NSC MSG Center  |

## EXTERNAL DISTRIBUTION:

|   | # CYS | Date    | Time | Received/Signed For By: |
|---|-------|---------|------|-------------------------|
| THE VICE PRESIDENT  |       |         |      |                         |
| THE SECRETARY OF STATE<br>Exec sec/Room 7241                            | ORIG  | 1/29/85 | 2354 | <i>M. S. Parker</i>     |
| THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY<br>Main Bldg/Room 3422                    |       |         |      |                         |
| THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE<br>The Pentagon                                |       |         |      |                         |
| DIRECTOR, ACDA<br>Room 5933/Dept. of State                              |       |         |      |                         |
| CHAIRMAN US START DELEGATION<br>C/o ACDA, 5933 State                    |       |         |      |                         |
| CHAIRMAN US INF DELEGATION<br>C/o ACDA, 5933 State                      |       |         |      |                         |
| DIRECTOR, CIA<br>Langley, Va/or Pickup                                  |       |         |      |                         |
| CHAIRMAN, JCS<br>The Pentagon   |       |         |      |                         |
| DIRECTOR, OMB<br>Room 252 OEOB  |       |         |      |                         |
| U.S. REPRESENTATIVE TO UNITED NATIONS<br>Room 6333, State Dept.         |       |         |      |                         |
| THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE<br>14th & Const. Ave. NW, Room 5851           |       |         |      |                         |
| THE SECRETARY OF ENERGY<br>GA257, Forrestal Bldg                        |       |         |      |                         |
| DIRECTOR, AID<br>Room 5942, Dept. of State                              |       |         |      |                         |
| THE ATTORNEY GENERAL<br>Dept. of Justice, Room 5119                     |       |         |      |                         |
| DIRECTOR, OSTP<br>Room 360, OEOB  |       |         |      |                         |
| DIRECTOR, USIA<br>400 C Street, S.W.                                    |       |         |      |                         |
| THE SECRETARY OF INTERIOR<br>18th & E. Street NW                        |       |         |      |                         |
| THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE<br>Independence & 14th SW                  |       |         |      |                         |
| UNITED STATES TRADE REPRESENTATIVE<br>Room 209 Winder Bldg 17 & F St NW |       |         |      |                         |
| THE DIRECTOR, FEMA<br>500 C Street,                                     |       |         |      |                         |
| DIRECTOR, DMSPA<br>Room 3E813, Pentagon                                 |       |         |      |                         |

DATE, TIME & SIGN THIS RECEIPT & RETURN TO: BT MERCHANT, SITUATION ROOM, WHITE HOUSE

National Security Council  
The White House

23

System # I  
Package # 0372  
1557

F 1 P 6: 11

|                 | SEQUENCE TO | HAS SEEN                           | DISPOSITION  |
|-----------------|-------------|------------------------------------|--|
| Bob Pearson     | <u>1</u>    | <u>P</u>                           |  |
| Bob Kimmitt     | <u>2</u>    | <u>K</u>                           |  |
| John Poindexter | <u>3</u>    | <u>J</u>                           |  |
| Paul Thompson   |             |                                    |  |
| Wilma Hall      | <u>4</u>    |                                    |  |
| Bud McFarlane   | <u>5</u>    | <u>RCM HAS SEEN</u>                | <u>A</u>   |
| Bob Kimmitt     | <u>6</u>    | <u>✓</u>                           |  |
| NSC Secretariat | <u>3a/7</u> | <u>BTM</u>                         | <u>D/ Cox may</u>  |
| Situation Room  |             | <u>MEZ/01</u><br><u>2 FEB 1985</u> | <u>note and I</u><br><u>I to Platt,</u><br><u>then send to</u><br><u>Bud</u> |

I = Information    A = Action    R = Retain    D = Dispatch    N = No further Action

cc: VP    Meese    Baker    Deaver    Other \_\_\_\_\_

COMMENTS                      Should be seen by: \_\_\_\_\_  
(Date/Time)

Bud: We are awaiting Shultz clearance.  
Bud: State clears 2/2 1130 per Brenson McCinley (BoL)  
2/2 - Pearson sig'd for RMC  
sent via Cox  
Elise

National Security Council  
The White House

cd  
24

System # I

Package # 0372

1522

15 P4-18

|                    | SEQUENCE TO | HAS SEEN           | DISPOSITION  |
|--------------------|-------------|--------------------|--------------|
| Bob Pearson        | <u>1</u>    | <u>P</u>           |              |
| Bob Kimmitt        | <u>2</u>    | <u>K</u>           |              |
| John Poindexter    |             |                    |              |
| Paul Thompson      |             |                    |              |
| Wilma Hall         |             |                    |              |
| Bud McFarlane      |             |                    |              |
| Bob Kimmitt        | <u>4</u>    | <u>K</u>           |              |
| NSC Secretariat    | <u>5</u>    |                    | <u>D/CDX</u> |
| Situation Room     | <u>SA</u>   | <u>17 JAN 1985</u> | <u>CDX</u>   |
| <u>Rosie/Jenne</u> | <u>3</u>    | <u>Done</u>        | <u>Redo</u>  |

I = Information    A = Action    R = Retain    D = Dispatch    N = No further Action

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other \_\_\_\_\_

COMMENTS                      Should be seen by: \_\_\_\_\_  
(Date/Time)

0372

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

2/1/85

NICK PLATT:

We would appreciate receiving the Secretary's clearance on the attached Presidential statement, which would be issued next week. Would appreciate by noon 2/2.

Bob Kinnitt

# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

*Collection Name*

EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: COUNTRY FILE

*Withdrawer*

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*FOIA*

F05-062

SNYDER

*Box Number*

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11

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| <i>ID</i> | <i>Document Type</i><br><i>Document Description</i> | <i>No of</i><br><i>pages</i> | <i>Doc Date</i> | <i>Restric-</i><br><i>tions</i> |
|-----------|---|------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| 41325     | MEMO<br><br>PLATT TO MCFARLANE                      | 1                            | 1/24/1985       | B1                              |

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The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing  
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]
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- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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

DRAFT STATEMENT

Forty years ago, the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union signed the historic Yalta Agreement. Under this agreement, the signatories pledged to restore full independence and to allow free and democratic elections in all countries liberated from the Nazis after World War II. From the beginning the Soviet Union has failed to honor its own pledges at Yalta, but the passage of forty years has not diminished the commitment of the United States to the objectives of the Yalta Agreement, nor weakened its resolve to work toward the goal of a free and harmonious Europe.

It is therefore appropriate for the United States to reaffirm on this occasion its forty-year old pledge to the goal of a larger European community, composed of free nations exercising their right to self-determination and free to choose their own preferred social and political systems. The United States believes that such a larger European community, based on shared values derived from a common European civilization, would serve well the cause of peace and would be in keeping with the aspirations of all Europeans. Accordingly, it shall remain a major objective of American policy in Europe to work for the fulfillment of the pledges made at Yalta and thus also for greater East-West understanding and cooperation.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

28

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

0372

February 2, 1985

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. NICHOLAS PLATT  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State


SUBJECT: Commemoration of Yalta Anniversary (U)

We have received the Department's memorandum of January 24, and agree that a public statement is necessary to mark the Yalta anniversary. (U)

As your memorandum notes, an Alliance-wide declaration would present many difficulties. Given the attention that this year's anniversaries are receiving, we believe a Presidential statement is appropriate and have discussed this informally with EUR. (U)

A draft prepared by the NSC staff is attached. We expect the White House to release it on Monday, February 4. (U)

The NSC supports the Department's proposal to issue an updated review of Yalta by the Historian's office. (U)

  
Robert M. Kimmitt  
Executive Secretary

Attachment

Draft Presidential statement

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Declassify OADR

DECLASSIFIED  
White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997  
By 125 NARA, Date 8/28/07

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Presidential Statement on Yalta

Forty years ago today, the leaders of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union met at Yalta, to confer on the approaching end of World War II and on the outlines of the postwar world. The agreements they reached, including the Declaration on Liberated Europe, committed all three governments to the reconstruction of a democratic continent.

Since that time Yalta has had a double meaning. It recalls an episode of cooperation between the Soviet Union and free nations, in a great common cause. But it also recalls the reasons that this cooperation could not continue -- the Soviet promises that were not kept, the elections that were not held, the two halves of Europe that have remained apart.

Why is Yalta important today? Not because we in the West want to re-open old disputes over boundaries. Far from it. The reason Yalta remains important is that the freedom of Europe is unfinished business. Those who claim the issue is boundaries or territory are hoping that the real issues, democracy and independence, will somehow go away. They will not.

There is one boundary which Yalta symbolizes that can never be made legitimate, and that is the dividing line between freedom and repression. I do not hesitate to say that we wish to undo this boundary. In so doing, we seek no military advantage for ourselves or for the Western alliance. We do not deny any nation's legitimate interest in security. But protecting the security of one nation by robbing another of its national independence, and national traditions, is not legitimate. In the long run, it is not even secure.

Long after Yalta, this much remains clear: the most significant way of making all Europe more secure is to make it more free. Our forty-year pledge is to the goal of a restored community of free European nations. To this work we recommit ourselves today.



MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

UNCLASSIFIED  
w/SECRET Attachment

1 February 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: STEVE SESTANOVICH *SR*

SUBJECT: Presidential Statement on Yalta

Last month we asked State to comment on suggestions for observing the 40th anniversary of Yalta, including Zbig Brzezinski's idea of an alliance-wide declaration. The Department responded (Tab II) that this would be too hard to coordinate and proposed a statement to be issued by the Department spokesman.

State is probably right about Brzezinski's idea, but given the attention that the anniversaries are getting, we think a Presidential statement is appropriate. The meaning of Yalta has more to do with postwar history than with the celebration of the World War II victory. As such, it's an occasion to show the FRG that this year's observances won't be directed simply against them.

The Yalta dates are February 4-11. If the President reads the statement, any day is fine. If he does not read it, we should shoot for the 4th. (Another possibility would be to have the Vice President read the statement for the President.)

The draft statement is at Tab I. Speechwriters have cleared the text. A memo to the Department is at Tab III. EUR has had an informal look at the draft and endorses it.

*Don* Don Fortier, Jack Matlock, *ACM* Walt Raymond, *W* Peter Sommer and *PD* Paula Dobriansky concur.

Recommendation

That you approve the attached draft statement on Yalta.

Approve  Disapprove

That you authorize Bob Kimmitt to sign the attached memo to State.

Approve  Disapprove

Attachments:

- Tab I Draft Presidential statement
- Tab II Platt-McFarlane memo with State draft
- Tab III Kimmitt-Platt memo

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OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

UNCLASSIFIED  
w/SECRET Attachment

*Speech statement President should read himself if possible I agree - President should read the text (with TV) - 12-1 on Tue, 5 Feb - Th best day! Walt Raymond*

*105 7/26/07*

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

January 17, 1985

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~MEMORANDUM FOR MR. NICHOLAS PLATT  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: Commemoration of Yalta Anniversary

By separate memo we are asking the Department to take the lead in communicating inter-agency views on observance of this year's World War II (and related) anniversaries. Because of the early date of the Yalta anniversary, however, we will need to settle more quickly on the proper approach to this event and would like the Department's recommendations by January 22.

Zbigniew Brzezinski has aired a proposal for a joint statement by Western heads of government. Although time for coordinating such a statement is short, this suggestion should be considered along with others. We are working on inclusion of references to Yalta in appropriate Presidential remarks.

We would also appreciate information on how the anniversary is likely to be observed by the Congress, by private groups and others.

*Robert M. Kimmitt*  
Robert M. Kimmitt  
Executive Secretary

cc: Col. Affourtit, DOD  
C. William LaSalle, USIA~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~101  
9/28/07

# Office of the Historian

Historical Issues No. 1

United States Department of State  
Bureau of Public Affairs

May 21, 1982

## THE YALTA CONFERENCE

### Summary

The imposition of martial law in Poland has precipitated the most recent crisis in Eastern Europe to evoke the legend and legacy of the Yalta Conference. Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill met at Yalta in February 1945 and forged a complex set of agreements and understandings concerning the prosecution of the war and postwar arrangements in both Europe and East Asia. Some of the longstanding arrangements reached at Yalta still govern aspects of present-day European relationships. Policies and perceptions also continue to be influenced by tenaciously-held myths about the conference and its consequences. The controversy and misunderstanding that surrounded the Yalta Conference from the beginning have scarcely diminished over 37 years. The current Polish tragedy underlines one lasting historical ambiguity of Yalta. The Big Three established enduring borders in Eastern Europe which did not prevent the peoples living within them from coming under repressive, non-democratic regimes.

### The Conference

President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and Generalissimo Joseph Stalin and their principal military and diplomatic advisers met at the old Tsarist resort of Yalta from February 4 to 11, 1945. The conference was held in Yalta, despite Roosevelt's failing health, because Stalin declined to leave Russian soil during the winter battles in Europe.

### The Issues

At the Yalta Conference the leaders formulated the strategy to bring the war against Germany to a victorious conclusion and decided on main aspects of the postwar settlement. Although the Big Three had met at Tehran in 1943 and had corresponded regularly, the United States had sought to postpone decisions on postwar issues, particularly territorial settlements, until the war's end. The U.S.S.R. had, however, asserted its war aims resolutely. At the Yalta Conference the Soviet territorial claims from as early as 1941 were merged with the mechanisms for postwar cooperation. Five main topics were discussed: Soviet entry into the Far East war and



Soviet eastern territorial claims; Soviet territorial and control expectations in Poland; the pattern of postwar government in Eastern Europe; the occupation, control, and extraction of economic reparations from Germany; and the structure of the new United Nations organization.

### The Far East

In exchange for the Soviet Union's promise to enter the war against Japan, all Russian territory lost to Japan in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 was to be regained, Soviet control over Outer Mongolia was to be recognized, and the Kurile Islands would be yielded by Japan to the U.S.S.R. For its part the Soviet Union agreed to conclude a treaty of friendship and alliance with Nationalist China. The undertakings were between the United States and the U.S.S.R. and effectively excluded Great Britain from any significant role in the final defeat of Japan or the territorial settlement in the Far East. The "Agreement Regarding Entry of the Soviet Union into the war against Japan" was secret as befitted the wartime situation. It was made public by the Department of State only in February 1946.

### Germany

Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin reaffirmed the principle of unconditional surrender for Germany, and concluded terms for postwar control (including zones of occupation), and the punishment of the Nazi leadership. The principle of reparations from Germany was agreed to, but a mechanism remained to be developed. Tentative agreement was also reached on dismembering Germany and assigning major segments of its territory (Prussia and Silesia) to the U.S.S.R. and Poland.

### Poland

Poland was to be reestablished in accordance with three major principles:

- 1) Its prewar boundaries would be drastically changed with the loss of its eastern provinces to the U.S.S.R. which would be compensated for by the assignment of a comparable slice of eastern Germany.
- 2) The new Polish Government would be friendly and cooperative with the Soviet Union.
- 3) Finally, the new Polish Government was to be democratic; the three allies agreed to a mechanism to assure the organization of a democratic regime. The key stipulation of the Declaration on Poland specified that the existing pro-Soviet Government installed by the Red Army would be reorganized to include Polish leaders from within Poland and from the western-supported Polish Government in exile in London.

### Eastern Europe

Roosevelt and Churchill tacitly accepted the existing boundaries and occupation regimes of the other Eastern European nations from which the Germans had been driven, thus conceding an upper hand to the occupying Russians. However, the Declaration on Liberated Europe, developed by the United States, pledged the three powers to joint action in enabling the liberated peoples to create democratic institutions of their own choice and to determine the form of government under which they would live. The powers would assist the Eastern European peoples "to form interim governmental authorities broadly representative of all democratic elements...pledged to the earliest possible establishment through free elections of governments responsive to the will of the people." The implementation of the declaration was left to a Council of Foreign Ministers of the Big Three which was to meet periodically.

### The United Nations

Yalta resolved the outstanding issue on the organization of the United Nations. The veto principle in the Security Council was agreed upon together with an American voting formula under which the veto could not prevent the Council from at least considering an issue. An arrangement was arrived at to allow the U.S.S.R. two extra votes (White Russia and the Ukraine) in the General Assembly of the new United Nations.

### France and Yalta

France was not represented at Yalta. General De Gaulle, the head of government, was outraged by the exclusion. Efforts were made at the conference by Roosevelt and Churchill to incorporate a revived France into the new European system. Stalin finally agreed that France was to have a role in the occupation and control of Germany and would join the Council of Foreign Ministers. A French occupation zone was eventually whittled out of the U.S. and British zones in western Germany. De Gaulle and France nevertheless never felt bound by the Yalta Agreements.

### After Yalta

The Big Three were not able to reach a complete settlement of all postwar issues at Yalta. Western and Soviet diplomats met in the spring of 1945 to agree on a new Polish provisional government, and Presidential adviser Harry Hopkins haggled with Stalin on the makeup of a government agreeable to the Big Three. Heads of government met again at Potsdam in

late July 1945 to work out details of the occupation of Germany and the defeat of Japan. Truman succeeded Roosevelt, who died in April, and Attlee succeeded Churchill, whose party lost the election in July. The Polish frontier was also finally settled, and Stalin raised the new issues of the Dardanelles and the disposition of the Italian colonies. The Allied Foreign Ministers met frequently through 1945, 1946, and 1947 to work out the Italian and Eastern European peace settlements.

The Soviet Union gained essential hegemony over Eastern Europe by virtue of its military presence resulting from the war, rather than from agreements reached at Yalta. The establishment of democratic governments remained a Western objective and a source of acrimony with the Soviet Union until the matter was settled by full Communist takeovers between 1946 and 1948. France under De Gaulle accepted the U.S.-British offer of partnership in Europe and kept open its lines to the Soviet Union by virtue of a treaty in Moscow in 1945. The Communists in China surprised Stalin by carrying out a successful revolution that upset the basic premises of the Yalta Far Eastern settlement.

#### Fate of the Yalta Agreements

Important territorial agreements reached at Yalta have endured to this day. The frontiers in Eastern Europe agreed upon at Yalta were essentially confirmed in the 1947 Paris Peace Treaties. The Japanese-Soviet settlement was confirmed by the Japanese Peace Treaty concluded in 1951 in San Francisco. The effort by the U.S.S.R. in 1948 to force the Western Allies out of West Berlin and absorb that enclave into East Germany failed in the face of the Berlin airlift. The German territorial arrangements and all other Yalta boundaries were confirmed and their integrity pledged by the 1975 Helsinki Agreements.

The political settlements negotiated at Yalta proved far less lasting--all except those defining the United Nations organization which remain in force. The Soviet undertakings with Nationalist China failed by 1946, and the later alliance with the People's Republic of China also came undone by 1960. No formal, comprehensive German peace settlement was ever agreed upon by the Allies, and the four-power occupation was transformed, after the Berlin crises, into the German Democratic Republic and a Federal Republic of Germany which assumed authority for governing from the Western Allies in 1955. The Soviet Union assiduously pursued reparations from Germany in the early postwar years and also took important industrial equipment from Eastern Europe as alleged German war booty.

The Declaration on Liberated Europe could not prevent the obliteration in 1946 of Bulgarian democratic opposition or the suppression by the Communists of the Rumanian opposition the same year, the Hungarian anti-Soviet center in 1947, and the Czechoslovak democratic parties in 1948. A Soviet sponsored

takeover of power failed in Yugoslavia in 1948 and gave rise to nationalist communism. The elaborate Allied arrangements to provide Poland with a democratic government also quickly failed and a final Communist takeover occurred in 1947.

The efforts by the wartime Allies to coordinate postwar policies by meetings of a Council of Foreign Ministers carried through the negotiation of the Paris Peace Treaties of 1947 but did not survive the Berlin airlift crisis.

### The Yalta Controversy

Franklin Roosevelt said that "the Conference in the Crimea was a turning point -- I hope in our history and therefore in the history of the world." The disillusionment over the Yalta Agreements began to grow soon after his death. The President's critics argued that the agreements appeased Stalin, betrayed the people of Eastern Europe, and opened the door to Soviet expansion in the Far East. To those who defend the diplomacy at Yalta, the United States and Roosevelt gave away nothing in Eastern Europe or Asia that the Communist forces would not have held or seized in any circumstance short of a new major American war against the U.S.S.R. Yalta reflected the great strength of the Soviet Union in Europe and Asia and foreshadowed a new balance of power in the world.

Some of the secret portions of the Yalta Agreements were first made known by the U.S. Government in 1946. Questions about Yalta and the other wartime heads of government conferences became involved in partisan politics. Following the election of President Eisenhower, Secretary Dulles directed the publication of the full records of all these conferences, starting with Yalta. The full 1500-page printed record was released by the Department in 1955 as a volume of the official Foreign Relations series -- after a premature release of the text to the New York Times. The Soviet Government published the carefully sanitized text of its own stenographic record of the Yalta meetings in 1965.

### Yalta Viewed Today

The political controversy in the United States did not lead to a repudiation of the Yalta Agreements, but it did cause successive generations of policy makers to avoid citing those agreements as the fundamental basis for postwar settlements. The U.S.S.R. has for its part unwaveringly sought to justify its position on postwar issues on the basis of Yalta. The decline of British power came into dramatic view at the conference and was confirmed in subsequent years. In the small nations of Europe, numerous political, territorial, and economic problems are sweepingly attributed to Yalta.

At the heart of Europe, France still blames the conference from which it was excluded for Europe's postwar weakness. East and West Germans continue to accept its logic with stern discipline.

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THIS STUDY WAS PREPARED FOR THE INTERNAL USE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE. IT IS NOT AN OFFICIAL EXPRESSION OF U.S. POLICY.

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Center for Strategic & International Studies  
Georgetown University • Washington DC

January 8, 1985

Mr. Charles Z. Wick  
Director  
U. S. Information Agency  
Washington, D. C. 20547

Dear Charles:

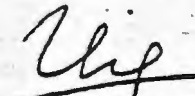
I am writing to alert you that on February 5, 1985, will occur the 40th anniversary of the Yalta agreement -- and that is bound to generate a great deal of public comment here and in Europe. Moreover, most Europeans associate that anniversary with the division of Europe, which they increasingly resent. That resentment is the underlying cause of the growing attraction of the "eastern option" for some West Europeans, and it is also the root cause of the continued instability in Eastern Europe.

In light of the foregoing, the anniversary provides the West with a special opportunity to reaffirm its dedication to the larger good of the restoration of Europe as a broader community, bound by the same historical and cultural experience. Indeed, I believe that the anniversary should be marked by the issuance of a joint European-American statement, rededicating our countries to the objective of the peaceful undoing of that division, in keeping with the legitimate aspirations of all the European peoples.

Such a joint statement would also help to consolidate Atlantic ties, and would provide a worthy framework for the promotion of a stable East-West accommodation. The enclosed article is designed to help develop such an approach, and it contains some specific recommendations on pages 294-302. Please note especially the recommendation that the occasion also be used to reaffirm the West's commitment to the Helsinki Final Act, and thereby repudiate not the Yalta agreement as such, but its legacy -- the division of Europe.

I hope you will give this matter your serious attention, because much of the current drift in Atlantic relations, as well as the continued stalemate in the East-West relationship, is related to Yalta's historical legacy.

Sincerely,



Zbigniew Brzezinski

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

January 17, 1985

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~MEMORANDUM FOR MR. NICHOLAS PLATT  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: Commemoration of Yalta Anniversary

By separate memo we are asking the Department to take the lead in communicating inter-agency views on observance of this year's World War II (and related) anniversaries. Because of the early date of the Yalta anniversary, however, we will need to settle more quickly on the proper approach to this event and would like the Department's recommendations by January 22.

Zbigniew Brzezinski has aired a proposal for a joint statement by Western heads of government. Although time for coordinating such a statement is short, this suggestion should be considered along with others. We are working on inclusion of references to Yalta in appropriate Presidential remarks.

We would also appreciate information on how the anniversary is likely to be observed by the Congress, by private groups and others.

*Robert M. Kimmitt*  
Robert M. Kimmitt  
Executive Secretary

cc: Col. Affourtit, DOD  
C. William LaSalle, USIA

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

105  
8/27/87

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

January 15, 1985

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT

FROM: STEVE SESTANOVICH *SRS*

SIGNED

SUBJECT: Yalta Anniversary

The first of the World War II anniversaries -- that of Yalta -- occurs early next month. Bud has received a letter from Zbig Brzezinski on the subject, and today Al Mazewski (head of the Polish-American Congress) called to ask how the President intends to mark the occasion.

As you know, we have proposed references to Yalta in the State of the Union address, which will fall within the anniversary (the Yalta conference lasted about a week). Within the staff we have also discussed a White House statement.

To get additional thinking and to assure coordination on the subject, a tasker to State is attached. It follows up on yesterday's broader tasker, which asked for an approach to the entire series of anniversaries. (NSC Log 0291)

*Don* Don Fortier, *Peter* Peter Sommer, and *Paula* Paula Dobriansky concur.

Recommendation

That you sign the attached Kimmitt-Platt memorandum.

Approve *RMK* Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachment

Tab I Kimmitt/Platt

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
Declassify OADR~~

DECLASSIFIED  
White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997  
By *HOJ* NARA, Date *8/28/07*

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# WASHFAX RECEIPT

THE WHITE HOUSE

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17 JAN 1995

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41: 52

MESSAGE NO. 297 CLASSIFICATION limited-official use PAGES 1

FROM ROBERT KIMMITT 456-2224 GFI/WH

(NAME) (EXTENSION) (ROOM NUMBER)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION COMMEMORATION OF YALTA ANNIVERSARY

NSC LOG # 0372

| <u>TO (AGENCY)</u> | <u>DELIVER TO:</u>        | <u>DEPT/ROOM NO.</u> | <u>EXTENSION</u> |
|--------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| <u>STATE</u>       | <u>MR. NICHOLAS PLATT</u> |                      |                  |
| <u>DOD</u>         | <u>COL AFFOURTIT</u>      |                      |                  |
|                    |                           |                      |                  |
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REMARKS

# WASHFAX RECEIPT

THE WHITE HOUSE

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MESSAGE NO. 297 CLASSIFICATION Limited official use <sup>105/12807</sup> PAGE 1

FROM ROBERT KIMMITT 456-2224 311/MW  
(NAME) (EXTENSION) (ROOM NUMBER)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION COMMEMORATION OF YALTA ANNIVERSARY

NSC LOG # 1112

| TO (AGENCY) | DELIVER TO:        | DEPT/ROOM NO. | EXTENSION |
|-------------|--------------------|---------------|-----------|
| STATE       | MR. NICHOLAS PLATT | S/S           |           |
| DOD         | COL AFFOURTIT      |               |           |
|             |                    | S/S           |           |
|             |                    | S/S-1         |           |
|             |                    | EUR           |           |

REMARKS

2-8

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

January 17, 1985

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

43

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. NICHOLAS PLATT  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: Commemoration of Yalta Anniversary

By separate memo we are asking the Department to take the lead in communicating inter-agency views on observance of this year's World War II (and related) anniversaries. Because of the early date of the Yalta anniversary, however, we will need to settle more quickly on the proper approach to this event and would like the Department's recommendations by January 22.

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*Robert M. Kimmitt*  
Robert M. Kimmitt  
Executive Secretary

cc: Col. Affourtit, DOD  
C. William LaSalle, USIALIMITED OFFICIAL USE401  
8/23/07

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RECEIVED 01 FEB 85 14

TO MCFARLANE

FROM RAYMOND

105  
8/28/07

DOCDATE 31 JAN 85

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KEYWORDS: EUROPE WEST

PUBLIC STATEMENTS

SUBJECT: YALTA STATEMENT

ACTION: NOTED BY MCFARLANE

DUE:

STATUS C

FILES PA

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

RAYMOND

COMMENTS

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MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

RCM HAS SEEN

January 31, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: WALTER RAYMOND, JR. *WR*

SUBJECT: Yalta Statement

On 30 January I saw Zbig Brzezinski privately to discuss his support for our Friends of Afghanistan Committee initiative. He has been very helpful in this area. He raised the question of the Yalta Agreement, expressing appreciation for your note on that subject. He asked me how things were going and I said I had seen a proposed draft statement from State which seemed to be close to the general direction that he had suggested. He asked how it would be publicized and I said that there was some thinking at State about having the statement issued by the Departmental Spokesman. He made a strong pitch to me to have the President personally read the statement with the TV/press in attendance against the backdrop of the map of Europe. He urged that the statement be made at the beginning of the Yalta time (5 February). He speculated that French President Mitterrand might try to get out front on this one but a Presidential statement on 5 February should preempt that.

Attachments (2)



Dictate note  
to Paul

0222

46

Raymond

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

January 25, 1985

Dear Zbig:

Many thanks for sharing your interesting thoughts on the upcoming 40th anniversary of the Yalta Agreement. Your suggestion that the anniversary should be marked by the issuance of a joint U.S.-European statement is a good one and will be given careful consideration. We are currently reviewing our plans for commemorating Yalta and will let you know what we decide.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Robert C. McFarlane

P.S.: I enjoyed reading your excellent article in Foreign Affairs.

The Honorable Zbigniew Brzezinski  
Center for Strategic and International  
Studies, Georgetown University  
1800 K Street, N.W., Suite 400  
Washington, D.C. 20006

# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

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|-----------|---|------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| 41327     | MEMO<br><br>SAME AS 41325                           | 1                            | 1/24/1985       | B1                              |

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DRAFT STATEMENT

Forty years ago, the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union signed the historic Yalta Agreement. Under this agreement, the signatories pledged to restore full independence and to allow free and democratic elections in all countries liberated from the Nazis after World War II. From the beginning the Soviet Union has failed to honor its own pledges at Yalta, but the passage of forty years has not diminished the commitment of the United States to the objectives of the Yalta Agreement, nor weakened its resolve to work toward the goal of a free and harmonious Europe.

It is therefore appropriate for the United States to reaffirm on this occasion its forty-year old pledge to the goal of a larger European community, composed of free nations exercising their right to self-determination and free to choose their own preferred social and political systems. The United States believes that such a larger European community, based on shared values derived from a common European civilization, would serve well the cause of peace and would be in keeping with the aspirations of all Europeans. Accordingly, it shall remain a major objective of American policy in Europe to work for the fulfillment of the pledges made at Yalta and thus also for greater East-West understanding and cooperation.