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LOJ 3/28/2007

File Folder SPEECHES [PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO EUROPEAN
PARLIAMENT IN STRASBOURG 5/8/85] (2/12)

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ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	
A	NOTES	MATLOCK COMMENTS [1-44, 45]	2	ND	<i>opened 05/14/2007</i>
B	TRANSCRIPT	DRAFT OF SPEECH [72-91]	20	4/26/1985	<i>4</i>

MATLOCK COMMENTS

- Revision still does not reflect guidance received earlier and does not have the focus needed for this speech.
- Focus should be on E-W issues and should be presented in a way that persuades West Europeans -- even those of socialist bent -- of the necessity of standing firm and united.
- Dwelling on internal economic policies, however accurately, does not contribute to this end (pp 7-9). Furthermore, some of the statements will come across as patronizing and/or hectoring. These themes are fine for a U.S. audience and also for private meetings with European leaders. They are totally counterproductive in a major speech in Europe.
- E-W policy is not presented in a coherent fashion (pp 10-12). This needs more emphasis and the ideas must be logically related.
- Direct attack on "peace movement" (pp 13-15) is not good tactics. For one thing, it legitimizes the term when we should not do so. Second, it exaggerates the significance of this force in the key European countries (almost absent in France, for example, and weak in Italy and the U.K.).
- Treatment of East Europe is shallow and entirely rhetorical. If the issue is raised (and it should be), then this must be done in a more serious and substantive fashion.

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STRASBOURG SPEECH

April 26, 1985

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. It is an honor to be with you on this day.

We mark today the anniversary of the liberation of Europe from tyrants who had seized this continent and plunged it into a terrible war. Forty years ago today, the guns were stilled and peace began -- a peace that has endured to become the longest of this century.

On this day 40 years ago, they swarmed onto the boulevards of Paris, rallied under the arc de triomphe, and sang the "Marseillaise" in the free and open air. In Rome, the sound of church bells filled St. Peter's square and echoed through the city. On this day 40 years ago, Winston Churchill walked out onto a balcony in Whitehall and said to the people of Britain, "this is your victory" -- and the crowd yelled back, "no, it is yours," in an unforgettable moment of love and gratitude. Londoners tore the blackout curtains from their windows, and put floodlights on the great symbols of English history. And for the first time in six years Big Ben, Buckingham Palace, and St. Paul's Cathedral were illuminated against the sky.

Across the ocean, a half million New Yorkers flooded Times Square and, being Americans, laughed and posed for the cameras. In Washington, our new president, Harry Truman, called reporters

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into his office and said, "the flags of freedom fly all over Europe." [he added: "and its my birthday, too!"]

On this day 40 years ago, I was in _____, and as I passed a radio I heard the words, "ladies and gentlemen, the war in Europe is over," and like so many people that day I felt a chill, as if a gust of cold wind had just swept past, and I realized: I will never forget this moment.

This day can't help but be emotional, for in it we feel the long tug of memory; we are reminded of shared joy and shared pain and the terrible poignance of life. A few weeks ago in California an old soldier touched on this. With tears in his eyes he said, "it was such a different world then. It's almost impossible to describe it to someone who wasn't there but, when they finally turned the lights on in the cities again, it was like being reborn."

If it is hard to communicate the happiness of those days, it is even harder to remember Europe's agony.

So much of it lay in ruins. Whole cities had been destroyed. children played in the rubble and begged for food. The concentration camps had been opened, and had yielded their terrible secrets, secrets that provide a painful reminder of those tragic years: A hollow-eyed woman, dazed with pain and disoriented from loss, staring out from an empty doorway.

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By this day 40 years ago, 40 million lay dead, and the survivors composed a continent of victims. And to this day, we wonder: how did this happen? How did civilization take such a terrible turn? After all the books and the documentaries, after all the histories, and studies, we still wonder: How?

Hannah Arendt spoke of "the banality of evil" -- the banality of the little men who did the terrible deeds. We know what they were: totalitarians who used the state, which they had elevated to the level of "God," to inflict war on peaceful nations and genocide on innocent peoples.

[We know of the existence of evil in the human heart, and we know that in Nazi Germany that evil was institutionalized -- given power and direction by the state, by a corrupt regime and the jack-boots who did its bidding.] And we know, we learned, that early attempts to placate the totalitarians did not save us from war. In fact, they guaranteed it. There are lessons to be learned in this and never forgotten.

But there is a lesson too in another thing we saw in those days: perhaps we can call it "the appeal of virtue." The common men and women who somehow dug greatness from within their souls -- the people who sang to the children during the blitz, who joined the resistance and said 'no' to tyranny, the people who hid the Jews and the dissidents, the people who became, for a moment, the

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repositories of all the courage of the west -- from a child named Anne Frank to a hero named Wallenberg.

These names shine. They give us inspiration forever. And the glow from their beings, the glow of their memories, lit Europe in her darkest days.

Who can forget the days after the war? They were hard days, yes, but we can't help but look back and think: life was ~~some~~ vivid then. There was the sense of purpose, the joy of shared effort, and, later, the impossible joy of our triumph. Those were the days when the West rolled up its sleeves and repaired the damage that had been done. Those were the days when Europe rose in glory from the ruins.

The people of North America and the people of Europe forged a new partnership which would ensure that the conditions which led to World War II would never again threaten the peace -- or the freedom of the continent. Our partnership is inherently strong because of our shared values and traditions, our beliefs in democracy and the sovereignty of the individual.

Together, we created and put into place the Marshall Plan to rebuild from the rubble. Together we created the Atlantic Alliance, the first alliance in the world which proceeded not from transient interests of state but from shared ideals. Together we created the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, a

defense system aimed at seeing that the kind of tyrants who had tormented Europe would never torment her again. NATO was a triumph of organization and effort, but it was also something very new, very different. For NATO derived its strength directly from the moral values of the people it represented. It was infused with their high ideals, their love of liberty, their commitment to peace. There were obstacles which we overcame which were worth overcoming, because our people shared a common vision -- to be free.

But perhaps the greatest triumph of all was not in the realm of a sound defense or material achievement. No, the greatest triumph of Europe after the war is that in spite of all the chaos, poverty, sickness, and misfortune that plagued this continent -- in spite of all that, the people of Europe resisted the call of new tyrants and the lure of their seductive philosophies. Europe did not become the breeding ground for new extremist philosophies. Europe resisted the totalitarian temptation.

Instead, the people of Europe embraced democracy, the strongest dream, the dream the fascists could not kill. They chose freedom.

Today we celebrate the leaders who led the way-- Churchill and Monnet, Adenauer and Schumann, de Gasperi and Spaak, Truman and Marshall. And we celebrate, too, the free political parties that contributed their share to greatness: the Liberals and the Christian Democrats, the Social Democrats and Labour and the

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Conservatives. Together they tugged at the same oar, and the great and mighty ship of Europe moved on.

If any doubt their success, let them look at you. In this room are the sons and daughters of soldiers who fought on opposite sides 40 years ago. Now you govern together and lead Europe democratically. You buried animosity and hatred in the rubble. There is no greater testament to reconciliation and to the peaceful unity of Europe than the men and women in this room.

In the decades after the war, Europe knew great growth and power. You enjoyed amazing vitality in every area of life, from fine arts to fashion, from manufacturing to science to the world of ideas. Europe was robust and alive, and none of this was an accident. It was the natural result of freedom, the natural fruit of the democratic ideal. We in America looked at Europe and called her what she was: an Economic Miracle.

But a miracle that should not have been a surprise to us. Too often when we Americans think about our European heritage, we think first of the extraordinary cultural influences and of the successive population waves that have provided us with such a rich ethnic heritage. We tend to forget that the extraordinary pace of economic development in the U.S. during the 19th Century and on into the 20th is also intimately connected with our European heritage. Many know that our legal system was largely inherited from Great Britian, but never know for example that

the expansion of the American railroads which accelerated the settlement of our West was largely financed in Europe and also that these same railroads were largely built with immigrant labor from Europe, as well as Asia.

The industrial revolution began in Europe and soon spread to our shores. There were many Europeans and Euroean-Americans who ushered in the modern industrial-technological age in my country; among them Alexander Graham Bell, a Scotsman. Guglielmo Marconi and Albert Einstein are names known throughout the world for their contributions to all humanity. The industrial and management processes which were developed by distinguished European-Americans were the result of individual genius, but they could not have flourished were it not for the openness and democratic nature of ~~the~~ American system, based as it is on common precepts espoused by such greater Europeans as Hume, Locke, Rousseau, and Adam Smith. I also think it would be fair to say that what Europeans have contrubuted to the deveopment of the American free enterprise system has paid rich dividends to the world as a whole and to Europe in particular for the improvement of the material condition of mankind--and this process continues today. We must continue to learn from each other so that free enterprise and social justice can be promoted in such a way as to increase opportunities for all our people.

During his recent visit to Washington, President Delors spoke to the need for more entrepreneurship and dynamism in Europe.

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I believe that we in the West --all of us, to varying degrees--have been so preoccupied with providing economic security that we have inadvertently engaged in policies that have reduced economic opportunity. We know that those policies are: massive growth in public expenditure, both in volume and as a percentage of ~~GNP~~ ^{cross national national income} and a bias against entrepreneurship. The last is the key problem, I believe, because a bias against entrepreneurship is a bias against individual freedom-- and where there is no freedom, prosperity perishes.

Have we forgotten some bracing truths? The free enterprise system, from freedom of invention to freedom of investment, is the one system designed by man that succeeds in raising up the poor. When men and women are encouraged and allowed to start their own businesses, and create wealth and jobs, they not only add to the sum total of happiness in their communities-- they add to the sum total of economic energy in their country, and sum total of economic strength in the West.

We are at a unique time in the world's history in that we both know what to do and have the means to do it. Now is the time to realize that all economic policies must be judged by their effects on economic growth. I believe that now is the time to strengthen incentives and remove the impediments to growth.

And I would like to add that all of us in the West should honor

Some concentration possible

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the entrepreneur for his--and her-- contributions to the common good, the common welfare. To invest one's time and money in an enterprise is a profoundly faithful act, for it is a declaration of faith in the future. Entrepreneurs take risks that benefit us all-- and they deserve rewards.

Europe's economic growth will require further development of European unity. Tomorrow will mark the 35th anniversary of Robert Schuman's historic proposal for establishment of a European Coal and Steel Community, the first block in the creation of a united Europe. As Schuman said then, the purpose was to tie French and German -- and European- industrial production so tightly together that war between them "becomes not merely unthinkable but materially impossible." It was the child of Robert Schuman's genius --and if he were here today I believe he would say: We have only just begun.

I am here to tell you America remains, as she was 40 years ago, dedicated to the unity of Europe. We continue to see a strong and unified Europe. We favor the expansion of the European Community; we welcome the entrance of Spain and Portugal into that Community, for their presence makes for a stronger Europe, and a stronger Europe is a stronger West.

The economic summit we have just concluded in Bonn has reaffirmed once again the importance of Western economic cooperation. And it reaffirmed the importance of the commitment we all share to liberalize trade and resist protectionist pressures. I believe a

key step to ~~ensuring~~ continued growth is to launch a new round of multilateral trade negotiations next year. And so I welcome the idea, given new ~~impetus~~ at Bonn, of a "Brussels Round."

If reality is on the side of capitalism, morality ~~issurely~~ on the side of democracy. The Western ideal has become the standard upon which the world's nations are judged and by which they judge themselves: Western values and Western democracy have proven that freedom does indeed work. But if we are to take advantage of ~~this~~ great success, we must have confidence in our ability to do so. Maintaining this confidence is an important common task. I can assure you that America will do its part.

Too often ~~when we~~ ^{Some} speak of "East-West" tensions as if the West ^{authorities in the} and the East were equally responsible for the threat to world peace today. ^{Some} ~~we~~ speak of "the Superpowers" as if they are moral equals--two huge predators composed in equal parts of virtue and of vice. ^{Some} ~~we~~ speak of the "senseless spiral of the arms race" as if the West and the East are equally consumed by the ambition to dominate the world. ^{they} ~~we~~ speak as if the world were morally neutral-- when in our hearts, most of us know it is not. *For there can be no moral equivalence between democracy and totalitarianism.*

In 1961, in Berlin, a city half free and half communist, 30,000 people a month were fleeing from one side to the other. I would ask the young people of Europe: which side were these people fleeing from, and why? And which regime had to build a

wall and imprison the people within so they would not flee?

They did not flee the democracies of the West. They fled, and continue to flee, ~~communist~~ totalitarian systems which satisfy neither the material nor spiritual needs of their people. From Indochina, from Afghanistan, from Eastern Europe 40 years after a Soviet-style system ^{was imposed,} they still flee. People have continued to vote with their feet. And their inexorable, invariable vote is to escape from Communist systems to ~~Full~~ ^{Free} societies.

It is the communist system, and especially the Soviet Union, which is the principal destabilizing influence in the world today. It is this system against which we are forced to defend ourselves. Without this knowledge we cannot maintain the strength that maintains our peace.

Over the past decade, we have witnessed a massive and sustained military build-up by the Soviet Union. ^{- a build-up} There is no ~~defense~~ ^{which far exceeded any defensive needs.} justification for this build-up -- and the Soviets know it. In 1979, the NATO countries ^{gave notice that they would be compelled} were forced to deploy a limited number of longer-range I.N.F. missiles to offset the Soviet buildup of SS-20 missiles -- a build-up that had led to an enormous and widening military imbalance which threatened the peace. It was not an easy decision and it was not made without political cost. Many of the leaders of Europe were as brave as the great leaders of World War II in resisting pressures to keep NATO from

Must be corrected factually. Could be presented in more general terms.

redressing the balance. And on this day I thank them.

Finally, we have strengthened our confidence in Western democratic ideals, in the vitality of our democratic processes, and in our commitment to human rights. This is an effort which was witnessed great transatlantic intellectual collaboration.

Thinkers like Aron, Revel, Montanelli and others have eloquently defended Western values, ~~and repudiated the sometimes fashionable theory of moral equivalence between East and West.~~ Their wisdom has helped to stimulate a renewed appreciation for the relationship between our values and our relations with the Soviet Union.

Even as we vigorously defend our values, ~~In protecting our values, we must recognize another profound truth. That is, that in this nuclear~~ we have had to face two difficult truths. In our modern age, ~~we share an interest with the Soviet Union in the prevention of nuclear war. Nonetheless, we know that they will conduct themselves in ways that violate our standards of human conduct and are repugnant to our values.~~ we must preserve the peace.

(Add re-write)

We are trying to put our relations with the Soviets on a durable footing for the long term. Our approach has been based on a realistic assessment of the Soviet challenge, renewed Western strength and solidarity and readiness to pursue negotiations designed to achieve concrete results. As we look to the future, we recognize that the Soviet Union has become and remains a global superpower. We cannot influence all the factors, internal and external, which guide Soviet behavior.

Could be worded better

Needs to be re-written up to SBI

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Together, however, we can act and negotiate to encourage the new Soviet leadership to accept the view that restraint and mutually beneficial agreements are its most attractive option in relations with the West.

The task we have set for ourselves is a difficult one. The Soviets will continue to view the world through the prism of their ideology which suggests that history is moving the "global correlation of forces" in their direction. The Soviets will be tempted, as they have in the past, to give the forces of history help by creating facts to confirm their theories. We must be able to resist these encroachments and to be alert to Soviet disinformation campaigns and in the process convince Soviet leaders that this course will gain nothing for them. At the same time we must continue to pursue the possibilities of cooperation and seek to negotiate lower levels of armaments. We must conduct our relations in such a way that the Soviet leaders understand the necessity for seeking a more constructive and reciprocal relationship.

Now new talks have begun between the United States and the Soviet Union in Geneva, and we are hopeful that they will yield fair and verifiable agreements that could lead to significant reductions in the size of their nuclear arsenal and ours.

We will meet with the Soviet Union in good faith. We pray that the Soviets, having decided to rejoin us at the negotiating

table, will adopt the same attitude. We will make it clear, as we have in the past, that the United States continues to have peaceful intentions -- and only peaceful intentions -- toward the Soviet Union.

We do not go to the bargaining table expecting the Soviets to suddenly change their system ^{of} their intentions in a magnanimous gesture of good will. But we hope to encourage the Soviets to see that it is in their own interests to stop trying to achieve a destabilizing superiority over the West.

There is one area of defense that I want to speak about today because it is misunderstood by some of our friends. Ever since the Soviet Union came into possession of the secrets of nuclear technology, we in the West have had no choice but to rely upon the so-called "balance of terror" in order to deter war. Nuclear deterrence has worked for 40 years now, and for ^{the foreseeable} long in the future, it will remain the foundation of our common security- but we ^{must} have hoped for a better way. I believe we may have found a path that could lead us to that better way. We are now exploring emerging technologies aimed at enhancing deterrence through defensive means. The United States has begun to investigate the feasibility of these new technologies in a broad-based research program we call the Strategic Defense Initiative-- or SDI.

This research program is an ambitious undertaking, and we cannot

yet say which technologies will prove feasible. But the research completed so far is promising, and is the most hopeful development of our time. With it comes the possibility that we may one day be able to rely far less on the threat of nuclear retaliation to keep the peace, and to ~~increase our dependence~~ ^{rely more} on non-nuclear ^{defensive} means which threaten no one.

Can the potential benefits of these technologies be any clearer? Certainly not to the Soviets, ^{authorities} for they are doing the same kind of research. And we do not fear this-- we welcome it.

Research to explore the feasibility of defense against weapons of mass destruction
~~SDI~~ ^a is not an attempt to achieve nuclear superiority-- it is an attempt to ^{find safer ways to} insure the strategic balance and ^{in the future} our own mutual security. It is not an attempt to abrogate existing arms control treaties-- ^{this research} ~~SDI~~ will be carried out in full compliance with such treaties. ^{this research} ~~SDI~~ is not destabilizing -- in fact, as the Soviets have long pursued such research, it would be destabilizing if the West ^{ignored it. And it} ~~did not~~. ~~SDI~~ will not "decouple" America from Europe-- ^{no system which had this effect would be} ~~SDI~~ will find a more stable way of protecting all of us. *seriously considered by the United States.*

We all want peace; we all want to protect the world. But we have a better chance of preserving the peace if we in the West see the world as it ^{is} and deal honestly with ^{its} hard realities.

It is a hidden tribute to the West that so much effort is devoted to appealing to Western governments for disarmament. Perhaps

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this is because the East seems forbidding and implacable while Western societies give a free and open hearing to such appeals. The Soviet Union consigns to the Gulag or to ~~the~~ psychiatric hospital ^s those few brave peace activists in their own society who dare speak out for true peace.

The United States welcomes serious and sincere interest in arms control by people throughout the world. We are committed to arms control. But we will not be satisfied just by signing ceremonies. And those who really care about arms control will also care about compliance. For arms control is nothing unless both sides comply.

We have much to do-- and we must do it together.

We must always remember that unilateral concessions and unilateral disarmament do not pave the road to peace. We must remain unified in the face of attempts to divide us. We must remain strong in spite of attempts to weaken us. And we must remember that our unity and our strength are not a mere impulse of like-minded allies, not a mere geopolitical calculation. Our unity is the natural result of our shared love for liberty.

Those of us who live in the West will all have to remain vigilant and ready to respond to Soviet actions. We will have to keep in mind the observation of Lord Palmerston that the policy and practice of the Russian government have always been to push

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forward its encroachments as fast and as far as the apathy or want of firmness of other governments would allow it to go, but always to stop and retire when it met with decided resistance, and then to wait for the next favorable opportunity to make another spring on its intended victim.

I am here today to reaffirm to the people of Europe the constancy of the American purpose. We were at your side through two great wars; we have been at your side through 40 years of a sometimes painful peace; and we are at your side today. It is not mere sentiment that dictates this, though sentiment we feel. We are here because, like you, we have not veered from the ideals of the West -- the ideals of freedom, liberty, and peace. Let no one -- no one -- doubt our purpose.

All of us in this room want to preserve and protect our own democratic liberties -- but don't we have a responsibility to foster and encourage democracy throughout the world? And not because democracy is "our" form of government but because we have learned that democracy is, in the last analysis, the only peaceful form of government. It is, in fact, the greatest Conflict Resolution Mechanism ever devised by man. For only in its atmosphere can man peacefully resolve his differences through the ballot, through a free press, through free speech and free political parties and the right to redress injustice.

those struggling for freedom in their own countries
Throughout the world ~~Freedom Fighters~~ cry out for our help

~~Let us not make the mistake made by a European statesman in 1938 in considering these countries~~
Ref. Chamberlain statement re 38-40 in 38?

-- in Afghanistan, in Asia, in Africa and Central America, in all the faraway places that are really so close. And the most heartening thing, the most inspiring thing about these movements is that they are dominated by the young. It is freedom that is new again, democracy that is the new idea; and we know why because their newness is eternal. All the other systems -- all the isms -- reek with feebleness and age.

We must promote and encourage freedom because it is the cornerstone of our shared values and our Alliance. It is our soul stuff. Because we value freedom, we do not erect walls and string barbed wire between ourselves and other nations. We understand the value of human contacts between our varied cultures and societies. Each year millions of private American citizens will visit Europe, while Europeans in turn visit America. And each year friendships are renewed, ideas are exchanged and as a result, the Alliance grows stronger. Our partnership is strong because of the efforts, ideas and beliefs of many not of a select few. That is why we encourage divergent views.... They make our Alliance richer, healthier and more united.

I believe that positive change between the East and West is within our grasp if we allow the people of our different countries to work together to find common ways to turn human aspirations into common realities.

We in the West make no claim to the perfect democracy although some of our ^{ius} ~~in~~stitutions are older-- and perhaps more tried and weather beaten than others- democracy is essentially an ideal.. It is fully realized nowhere. Each country struggles for it within its own culture. Yet democracy has its hallmarks. While there are new democracies and old, fragile and stable ones, those emerging and others apparant all democracies have certain common institutions. The ~~1~~ first is free elections where genuine ^{alt}alternatives are offered and people can choose by secret ballot.

Freedom of expression is another hallmark. To offer ones's opinion to express disagreement without fear of punishment is fundamental to a democratic society.

We would like to see all people everywhere able to live in dignity to which he aspires. The trend of history visibly demonstrates the growing awareness of people everywhere that only democracy can respond to their profound needs; Latin America, Asia, and elsewhere the number of democratic institutions is increasing.

All of these democratic nations share in the dedication that individual liberty and human dignity can only be achieved through democracy. But there are those nations whose democratic institutions are newly emegerged and whose faith isn the process is not yet deeply rooted. They should have an established

community of their peers, that is, other democratic countries^{es} to whom they can turn when in need, or help, or just advice. What I am purposing is that a democratic forum be established where communication and the exchange of ideas takes place in all directions and on all levels. All nations of shared values can learn from one another; nobody has a monopoly on wisdom.

We better know what this means concretely if he uses this

I would like to see a community to which a nation can look for help in strengthening its institutions. I would like to see a democratic forum in which practical training, moral encouragement, and financial support can be given to pro-democratic political, labor, business, and civic organizations. I would like to see a forum in which members could strive to improve living conditions in those countries with a high level of poverty, because all members know that poverty destabilizes democracy.

In Westminster nearly three years ago, I spoke of the need for democratic governments to get together to stabilize democracy. The work has begun. A year and a half ago the Council of Europe held a conference here in Strasbourg attended by delegates of 28 nations from four continents. I congratulate these European Members of Parliament on what is now known as the "Strasbourg Initiative."

We too in our country are engaged in a broad non-partisan effort to strengthen and promote democratic ideals and institutions.

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These efforts, yours and ours, reject the notion that democracy is only for Western and wealthy countries. In democracy are embodied the aspirations of all people. And we respect the different ways that countries in different parts of the globe met these aspirations and shape their institutions.

Whether this suggestion for a forum of democratic governments is initiated here at Stasbourg or elsewhere, let us begin, now to associate ourselves.

Let me add that this ideal does not stop short because there are arbitrary borders, some with barbed wires and control towers. Here in Western Europe, you have created a Europe for yourselves in which there is a free flow of people, of information, of goods and of culture. It is the natural bent of all Europeans to move freely in all directions, sharing and partaking of each other's ideas and culture. It is my hope, our hope, that in the 21st century-- which is only 15 years away-- all European, from Moscow to Lisbon can travel without a passport and the free flow of people and ideas will include the other half of Europe. It is my fervent wish that in the next century there will once again be one, free Europe.

And we in the West must, finally, remember those who have, for now, lost out in the long fight for freedom -- but only for now. On this 40th anniversary of the liberation of the victims of yesterday, I wish to speak to the victims of today. The people

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of the communist countries, the² people who live in [slavery] and oppression. I wish to speak to the people of the Soviet Union, the people of the nations of Eastern Europe, the people of the fallen nations of Asia. I wish to speak to those who live in the ~~slave~~ labor camps and the psychiatric hospitals, the people behind the walls, and the barbed wire, and the secret police border guards.

To them I say: We will not forsake you or forget you. We are your spiritual allies. We are with you as you suffer. We know what you have been told to confuse you, but please understand that we in the West want only peace, true peace, for you and for ourselves.

To the people of the Free World, I say: we have great challenges, great goals ahead of us, great missions inspired by great love. There are some who say the West lacks energy -- the moral and spiritual energy to carry forth these great hopes and plans. But that is not true. Remember what Churchill said: we have not come this far because we are made of sugar candy.

I do not believe the critics who say that the people of Europe are these days paralyzed and pessimistic. But if this is so, then all I can say as an objective friend who has observed you for 74 years is: Europe, beloved Europe, you are greater than you know. You are the treasury of centuries of Western thought and Western culture, you are the father of Western ideals and the

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mother of Western faith.

Europe, you have been the power and the glory of the West, and you are a moral success. In fact, in the horrors after World War II, when you rejected totalitarianism, when you rejected the lure of new "Superman," and a "New Communist Man," you proved that you were -- and are -- a moral triumph.

You are a Europe without illusions, a Europe firmly grounded in the ideals and traditions that made her greatness, a Europe unbound and unfettered by communism or fascism. You are, today, a New Europe on the brink of a new century -- a democratic continent with much to be proud of.

Throughout your hard history people have told you you're finished. Seventy years ago, at the beginning of World War I, a British diplomat looked out his window and said, "the lights are going out all over Europe." Well, I have been here many times in recent years, and let me tell you, you are incandescent still.

There is great work ahead, work that is not unlike the building of great cathedral. The work is slow, complicated, and painstaking. It is passed on with pride from generation to generation. It is the work not only of leaders but of ordinary people. The cathedral evolves as it is created, with each generation adding its own vision -- but the initial spark of vision remains constant, and the faith that drives the vision

persists. The results may be slow to see, but our children and their children will trace in the air the emerging arches and spires and know the faith and dedication and love that produced them. My friends, Europe is the Cathedral, and it is illuminated still.

And if you doubt your will, and your spirit, and your strength to stand for something, think of those people 40 years ago -- who wept in the rubble, who laughed in the streets, who paraded across Europe, who cheered Churchill with love and devotion, and who sang the "Marseillaise" down the boulevards. May I tell you: spirit like that does not disappear; it cannot perish; it will not go away. There's too much left unsung within it.

Thank you, all of you for your graciousness on this great day.
Thank you, and God bless you all.

TO MCFARLANE

FROM CHEW, D

DATE 23 APR 85

20

MATLOCK

24 APR 85

CHEW, D

26 APR 85

KEYWORDS: EUROPE WEST

NATO

BONN SUMMIT

SDI

ARMS CONTROL

DEMOCRACY PROGRAM

SUBJECT: PRES ADDRESS TO EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT IN STRASBOURG 8 MAY

ACTION: MEMO KIMMITT TO ELLIOTT / CHEW DUE: 29 APR 85 STATUS X/S FILES WH

FOR ACTION

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COMMENTS DUE BY 4:30PM 26 APRIL

URGENT

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(JF)

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
<i>Cobb</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>Add on / Recd Chew Referral (same)</i>		
<i>Cobb</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>Memo Kimmitt to Elliott</i>	<i>4/26</i>	

URGENT**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**DATE: 4/26/85 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4:30 p.m. 4/26/85SUBJECT: ADDRESS: TO EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

Strasbourg, France (4/26/85 11:00 am)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	OGLESBY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
REGAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEAVER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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BUCHANAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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FRIEDERSDORF	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>RYAN</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HICKEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>DANIELS</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HICKS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>SPRINKEL</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
KINGON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>HENKEL</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
McFARLANE →	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>ELLIOTT</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: Attached are revised remarks. They reflect NSC and other changes. Please provide any comments or edits directly to Ben Elliott, with an info copy to my office.

Thanks.

RESPONSE:

David L. Chew
Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

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(Noonan/BE)
April 26, 1985
11:00 a.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: TO EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT
STRASBOURG, FRANCE
WEDNESDAY, MAY 8, 1985

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. It is an honor to be with you on this day.

We mark today the anniversary of the liberation of Europe from tyrants who had seized this continent and plunged it into a terrible war. Forty years ago today, the guns were stilled and peace began -- a peace that has endured to become the longest of this century.

On this day 40 years ago, they swarmed onto the boulevards of Paris, rallied under the Arc de Triomphe and sang the "Marseillaise" in the free and open air. In Rome, the sound of church bells filled St. Peter's Square and echoed through the city. On this day 40 years ago, Winston Churchill walked out onto a balcony in Whitehall and said to the people of Britain, "This is your victory" -- and, the crowd yelled back, "No, it is yours," in an unforgettable moment of love and gratitude. Londoners tore the blackout curtains from their windows, and put floodlights on the great symbols of English history. And for the first time in 6 years Big Ben, Buckingham Palace, and St. Paul's Cathedral were illuminated against the sky.

Across the ocean, a half million New Yorker^s flooded Times Square and, being Americans, laughed and posed for the cameras. In Washington, our new President, Harry Truman, called reporters into his office and said, "The flags of freedom fly all over Europe." He added: "And it's my birthday too!"

On this day 40 years ago, I was in _____, and as I passed a radio I heard the words, "Ladies and gentlemen, the war in Europe is over," and like so many people that day I felt a chill, as if a gust of cold wind had just swept past, and I realized: I will never forget this moment.

This day can't help but be emotional, for in it we feel the long tug of memory; we are reminded of shared joy and shared pain and the terrible poignance of life. A few weeks ago in California an old soldier touched on this. With tears in his eyes he said, "It was such a different world then. It's almost impossible to describe it to someone who wasn't there, but when they finally turned the lights on in the cities again it was like being reborn."

If it is hard to communicate the happiness of those days, it is even harder to remember Europe's agony.

So much of it lay in ruins. Whole cities had been destroyed. Children played in the rubble and begged for food. The concentration camps had been opened, and had yielded their terrible secrets, secrets that gave us a symbol of Europe: a hollow-eyed woman, dazed with pain and disoriented from loss, staring out from an empty doorway.

By this day 40 years ago, 40 million lay dead, and the survivors composed a continent of victims. And to this day, we wonder: How did this happen? How did civilization take such a terrible turn? After all the books and the documentaries, after all the histories, and studies, we still wonder: How?

Hannah Arendt spoke of "the banality of evil" -- the banality of the little men who did the terrible deeds. We know what they were: totalitarians who used the State, which they had elevated to the level of "God," to inflict war on peaceful nations and genocide on an innocent people.

We know of the existence of evil in the human heart, and we know that in Nazi Germany that evil was institutionalized -- given power and direction by the State, by a corrupt regime and the jack-boots who did its bidding. And we know, we learned, that early attempts to placate the totalitarians did not save us from war. In fact, they guaranteed it. There are lessons to be learned in this and never forgotten.

But there is a lesson too in another thing we saw in those days; perhaps we can call it "the commonness of virtue." I am speaking of the "common" men and women who somehow dug greatness from within their souls -- the people who sang to the children during the blitz, who joined the Resistance and said 'No' to tyranny, the people who hid the Jews and the dissidents, the people who became, for a moment, the repositories of all the courage of the West -- from a child named Anne Frank to a hero named Wallenberg.

These names shine. They give us heart forever. And the glow from their beings, the glow of their memories, lit Europe in her darkest days.

Who can forget the days after the war? They were hard days, yes, but we can't help but look back and think: Life was so vivid then. There was the sense of purpose, the joy of shared

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effort, and, later, the impossible joy of our triumph. Those were the days when the West rolled up her sleeves and repaired the damage that had been done. Those were the days when Europe rose in glory from the ruins.

Together, America and Europe created and put into place the Marshall Plan to rebuild from the rubble. Together we created the Atlantic Alliance, the first alliance in the world which proceeded not from transient interests of state but from shared ideals. Together we created the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, a defense system aimed at seeing that the kind of tyrants who had tormented Europe would never torment her again. NATO was a triumph of organization and effort, but it was also something very new, very different. For NATO derived its strength directly from the moral values of the people it represented. It was infused with their high ideals, their love of liberty, their commitment to peace.

But perhaps the greatest triumph of all was not in the realm of a sound defense or material achievement. No, the greatest triumph of Europe after the war is that in spite of all the chaos, poverty, sickness, and misfortune that plagued this continent -- in spite of all that, the people of Europe resisted the call of new tyrants and the lure of their seductive philosophies. Europe did not become the breeding ground for new extremist philosophies. Europe resisted the totalitarian temptation. Instead, the people of Europe embraced democracy, the strongest dream, the dream the fascists could not kill. They chose freedom.

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Today we celebrate the leaders [?] who led the way -- Churchill and Monnet, Adenauer and Schuman, ^{di} de Gasperi and Spaak, Truman and Marshall. And we celebrate, too, the free political parties that contributed their share to greatness: the Liberals and the Christian Democrats, the Social Democrats and Labour and the Conservatives. Together they tugged at the same oar; and the great and mighty ship of Europe moved on.

If any doubt their success, let them look at you. In this room are the sons and daughters of soldiers who fought on opposite sides 40 years ago. Now you govern together and lead Europe democratically. You buried animosity and hatred in the rubble. There is no greater testament to reconciliation and to the peaceful unity of Europe than the men and women in this room.

In the decades after the war, Europe knew great growth and power. You enjoyed amazing vitality in every area of life, from fine arts to fashion, from manufacturing to science to the world of ideas. Europe was robust and alive, and none of this was an accident. It was the natural result of freedom, the natural fruit of the democratic ideal. We in America looked at Europe and called her what she was: an Economic Miracle.

And we could hardly be surprised. When we Americans think about our European heritage we tend to think of your cultural influences, and the rich ethnic heritage you gave us. But the industrial revolution that transformed the American economy came from Europe. The financing of the railroads we used to settle the West came from Europe. The guiding intellectual lights of our free enterprise system -- Locke and Rousseau ^w Hume and Adam _h

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Smith -- came from Europe. And the geniuses who ushered in the modern industrial-technological age came from -- well, I think you know, but two examples will suffice. Alexander Graham Bell, whose great invention maddened every American parent whose child insists on phoning his European pen pal rather than writing to him -- was a Scotsman. And Guglielmo Marconi, who invented the radio -- thereby providing a living for a young man from Dixon, Illinois, who later went into politics -- I guess I should explain that's me -- now you know it's Marconi's fault -- Marconi was born and bred, as you know, in Italy.

And so we owe you much. And we must continue to learn from each other, and help each other.

But when I was preparing for this visit I talked to some of your citizens and leaders, and those who had recently returned from Europe. And I read your newspapers and magazines, and I must tell you that I was struck by what you yourselves are calling "Europessimism," "Europaralysis." I am told there are those who feel that Europe these days seems to have lost her will, lost her way. Perhaps part of this lost quality, if I can call it that, is connected to the fact that some of us, in the past few years, have begun to question the ideals and philosophies that have guided the West for centuries. We have been skeptical of our partnerships. In time, some of us even questioned the moral and intellectual worth of the West.

I wish to speak, in part, to that questioning today. And there is no better place to do it than Strasbourg -- where Goethe studied, where Pasteur taught, where Hugo first new inspiration.

This has been a lucky city for questioning and finding valid answers. It is also a city for which some of us feel a very sweet affection. You know that our Statue of Liberty was a gift from France, and its sculptor, F.A. Bartholdi, was a son of France. I don't know if you have ever studied the face of the Statue, but immigrants entering New York Harbor used to strain to see it, as if looking for reassurance about their new country. It is a strong, kind face; it is the face of Bartholdi's mother; and she was a woman of Alsace. And so, among the many things we Americans thank you for, we thank you for her.

I believe that some of the doubts about the West are directly connected to the performance of the West's economies. For a quarter century after the war, Europe was the locomotive of the world economy, pulling us all along. But in the past few years, Europe's dynamism has cooled. And I believe we can agree on some reasons for this -- and some solutions.

I believe that we in the West -- all of us, to varying degrees -- have been so preoccupied with providing economic security for our people that we have inadvertently engaged in policies that have reduced economic opportunity. We know what those policies are: massive growth in public expenditure, both in volume and as a percentage of ^{national income} ~~GDP~~. -- and a bias against entrepreneurship. The last is the key problem, I believe, because a bias against entrepreneurship is a bias against individual freedom -- and where there is no freedom, prosperity perishes.

NOTE:
Too much
on econ
policy.
Priority
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be on
democracy.

Have we forgotten some bracing truths? Free enterprise -- from freedom of invention to freedom of investment -- is the one system designed by man that succeeds in raising up the poor. When men and women are encouraged and allowed to start their own businesses, and create wealth and jobs, they not only add to the sum total of happiness in their communities -- they add to the sum total of economic energy in their country, and sum total of economic strength in the West.

We are at a unique time in the world's history in that we both know what to do and have the means to do it. Now is the time to realize that all economic policies must be judged by their effects on economic growth. I believe that now is the time to strengthen incentives and remove the impediments to growth -- to lower tax rates on our people, to let them enjoy more of the fruits of their labor, to restrain government spending, eliminate regulatory burdens, and reduce tariff barriers.

*ADD! Don't
do more
of
policy!*

And I would like to note here that all of us in the West should honor the entrepreneur for his -- and her -- contributions to the common good, the common welfare. To invest one's time and money in an enterprise is a profoundly faithful act, for it is a declaration of faith in the future. Entrepreneurs take risks that benefit us all -- and they deserve rewards.

My friends, pro-growth policies in one country enhance the economic well-being of all the world's citizens, for when we increase the supply and the demand for goods and services in one country, all the markets of the world are enhanced. And I believe we must realize that if our young people feel powerless,

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part of the solution is returning to them a chance at economic power.

Europe's economic growth will require further development of European unity. Tomorrow will mark the 35th anniversary of the European Coal and Steel Community, the first block in the creation of a united Europe. The purpose was to tie French and German -- and European -- industrial production so tightly together that war between them would "become not merely unthinkable but materially impossible." Those are the words of Robert Schuman; the Coal and Steel Community was a child of his genius. And if he were here today I believe he would say: We have only just begun!

I am here to tell you America remains, as she was 40 years ago, dedicated to the unity of Europe. We continue to see a strong and unified Europe not as a rival but as an even stronger partner. We favor the expansion of the European Community; we welcome the entrance of Spain and Portugal into that Community, for their presence makes for a stronger Europe, and a stronger Europe is a stronger West.

The economic summit we have just concluded in Bonn has reaffirmed once again the importance of Western economic cooperation. And it reaffirmed the importance of the commitment we all share to liberalize trade and resist protectionist pressures. I believe a key step to ensuring continued growth is to launch a new round of multilateral trade negotiations next year. And so I welcome the idea, given new impetus at Bonn, of a "Brussels Round."

If reality is on the side of capitalism, morality is surely on the side of democracy. But I wonder, too, if all of us still have complete faith in this fact. It seems to me the dilemma is both political and perceptual. Forty years ago, the vast majority of the good people of Europe knew who their adversaries were and why. But some in the West today seem confused about what is right and what is wrong, what is a decent system and what is not, which philosophies should be resisted by man and which encouraged.

This terrible moral confusion is reflected even in our language. We speak of "East-West" tensions as if the West and the East were equally responsible for the threat to world peace today. We speak of "The Superpowers" as if they are moral equals -- two huge predators composed in equal parts of virtue and of vice. We speak of the "senseless spiral of the arms race" as if the West and the East are equally consumed by the ambition to dominate the world. We speak as if the world were morally neutral -- when in our hearts, most of us know it is not.

Let us look at the world as it is. There is a destabilizing force in the world -- and it is not the democracies of the West. There is a political entity which, through its enormous military power, means to spread its rule -- and it is not the democracies of the West.

The central cause of the tensions of our time is the conflict between totalitarianism and democracy. The evidence of this is all around us, all around you. Europe is split in two. One side is free, democratic, non-expansionist, non-threatening

and peace loving. The other side is populated by subjugated peoples who, against their will, are suffering under the dictatorship of an implacably expansionist power.

*liber
differs*

In 1961, in Berlin, a city half free and half communist, 50,000 people a week were fleeing from one side to the other. I would ask the young people of Europe: which side were these people fleeing from, and why? And which regime had to build a wall and imprison the people within so they would not flee?

In the late 1970's, in Indochina, the boat people fled communism. In Afghanistan they flee communism. In Ethiopia they are starving to death because of communism. In Central America they flee communism. In Eastern Europe, 40 years after she was subsumed by the Soviet State, they still flee from communism.

It is the communist system, and especially the Soviet Union, which is the principal destabilizing influence in the world today. And it is the acquisitive impulses of communism against which we are forced to defend ourselves. Knowing this, admitting this, is the beginning of wisdom and security for the West. For without this knowledge we cannot maintain the strength that maintains our peace.

Over the past decade, we have witnessed a massive and sustained military build-up by the Soviet Union. There is no justification for this build-up -- and the Soviets know it. In 1979, we in the NATO countries were forced to deploy a limited number of longer-range I.N.F. missiles to offset the Soviet buildup of SS-20 missiles -- a build-up that had led to an enormous and widening gap. It was not an easy decision and it

Communism

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was not made without political cost. Many of the leaders of Europe were as brave as the great leaders of the World War II in resisting pressures to stop deployment. And on this day I thank them.

Insert some other ideas.

Now new talks have begun between the United States and the Soviet Union in Geneva, and we are hopeful that they will yield fair and verifiable agreements that could lead to significant reductions in the size of their nuclear arsenal and ours.

We will meet with the Soviet Union in good faith. We pray that the Soviets, having decided to rejoin us at the negotiating table, will adopt the same attitude. We will make it clear, as we have in the past, that the United States continues to have peaceful intentions -- and only peaceful intentions -- toward the Soviet Union.

We do not go to the bargaining table expecting the Soviets to suddenly change their system or their intentions in a magnanimous gesture of good will. But we hope to encourage the Soviets to see that it is in their own interests to stop trying to achieve a destabilizing superiority over the West -- for the cost of their effort is great, and we will not allow it to succeed.

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There is one area of our common defense that I want to speak about today because it is misunderstood by some of our friends. Ever since the Soviet Union came into possession of the secrets of nuclear technology, we in the West have had no choice but to rely upon the so-called "balance of terror" in order to deter war. Deterrence has worked for 40 years now, and for ~~the~~

don't use

long in the ~~foreseeable~~ future it will remain the foundation of our common security. But we ~~have long~~ ^{must} hope for a better way. ~~I believe we~~ ^{And we must} look for it by exploring ~~may have found it in emerging~~ ^{which can} new technologies ~~aimed at enhancing~~ our safety through defensive means -- non-nuclear means. The United States has begun to investigate the feasibility of these new technologies in a research program we call the Strategic

Defense Initiative

~~The research program is ambitious, and we cannot yet say which technologies will be feasible or desirable~~
 But the research completed so far is promising; in fact, ~~it is~~ ^{I believe it is} the most hopeful development of our time. With it comes the possibility that if a nuclear weapon ~~is ever~~ ^{should ever be} launched at you or at us we ~~would not~~ ^{would not} have to launch a missile in response -- we ~~will~~ ^{would} be able to stop the incoming missile before it reaches Earth.

Can the potential benefits of these technologies be any clearer? Certainly not to the Soviets, for they are doing the same kind of research. And we do not fear this -- we welcome it.

~~This research~~ ^{This research} is not an attempt to achieve nuclear superiority -- it is an attempt to achieve greater security. It is not an attempt to abrogate existing arms control treaties -- ~~S.O.T. is~~ ^{The research will} being carried out in full compliance with such treaties. ~~is~~ ^{This research} is not destabilizing -- in fact, as the Soviets have long pursued such research, it would be destabilizing if the West did not.

~~And if it is fruitful, the results of this research~~ ^{Any system} ~~will not "decouple" America from Europe.~~ ^{defensive system which might be introduced would have to be} part of the security system that will protect all of the West.

We all want peace; we all want to protect the world. But we will preserve the peace only if we see the world as it is and deal honestly with its hard realities. The peace movements of the West call for disarmament, a thoroughly laudable and

understandable desire. But I cannot help note that it is the West, usually the United States, that they see as the chief aggressor in the so-called arms race. And it is the West, and only the West, to which they make their appeal. There is pathos in this, and a strange, hidden tribute. Pathos because their decision not to confront the creator of the arms race, ~~the chief aggressor of our time,~~ dooms their movement to failure. And a hidden tribute because they obviously feel that at least we, the reasonable people of the West, will give them a hearing.

But I wonder if this one-way communication does not contribute to the confusions of the modern age. I would ask the members of the peace movement in Europe: does it make you feel safer to know that the peace activists of the Soviet Union are in the Gulag? Does it make you feel safer to know that the Russians who truly desire peace with the West are in psychiatric hospitals?

I would ask some of the members of the peace movement: Is it really arms control you desire -- or only the signing ceremonies? I ask because if you really care about arms control you must care about compliance in arms control agreements. I think it is important that you show some interest in this matter, for arms control means nothing unless both sides comply. And I would ask if it is not reasonable to state the following: that anyone who talks arms control, but never about compliance is, wittingly or unwittingly, contributing not to peace but to the unilateral disarmament of the West. And we cannot have that, because if the West and only the West is disarmed, then we will

Why call them a peace movement? Better to deal with it directly than to concede the term to them!

wind up back in 1939 -- and the tanks of the totalitarians will roll again.

History has taught a lesson we must never forget: Totalitarians do not stop -- they must be stopped. And we can do this -- peacefully. I believe we must remember first of all that we are not powerless before history. The answer to the dilemma of the West resides within the heart of the West; it resides in the knowledge that "the history of the world begins anew with every man, and ends with him."

We have much to do -- and we must do it together. We must remember anew that the road to peace does ~~not run through Munich.~~ We must remain unified in the face of attempts to divide us. We must remain strong in spite of attempts to weaken us. And we must remember that our unity and our strength are not a mere impulse of like-minded allies, not a mere geopolitical calculation. Our unity is the natural result of our shared love for liberty.

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I am here today to reaffirm to the people of Europe the constancy of the American purpose. We were at your side through two great wars; we have been at your side through 40 years of a sometimes painful peace; and we are at your side today. It is not mere sentiment that dictates this, though sentiment we feel. We are here because, like you, we have not veered from the ideals of the West -- the ideals of freedom, liberty, and peace. Let no one -- no one -- doubt our purpose.

All of us in this room want to preserve and protect our own democratic liberties -- but don't we have a responsibility to encourage democracy throughout the world? And not because

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democracy is "our" form of government but because we have learned that democracy is, in the last analysis, the only peaceful form of government. It is, in fact, the greatest Conflict Resolution Mechanism ever devised by man.

Democracy is the institutionalization of restraint on the possibility of irresponsible behavior by governments. Democracy is the forced submission of rulers to the peaceful desires of the people. And only in an atmosphere of democracy can man peacefully resolve his differences through the ballot, through a free press, through free speech and free political parties and the right to redress injustice.

Throughout the world Freedom Fighters cry out for our help -- in Afghanistan, in Asia, in Africa and Central America, in all the faraway places that are really so close. And the most heartening thing, the most inspiring thing about these movements is that they are dominated by the young. It is freedom that is new again, democracy that is the new idea. And we know why: because their newness is eternal. All the other systems -- all the "isms" -- reek with feebleness and age.

We in the United States are attempting, as you know, to give aid and assistance to the democratic resistance of Nicaragua. And I know this has garnered some criticism from those who have labeled our policy hostile, unhelpful, and dangerous. But history provides an answer: Churchill was not being "hostile" when he tried to protect Europe from the totalitarians -- DeGaulle was not being unhelpful when he fought for freedom -- and the members of the French Underground were not encouraging

tension when they risked their lives to root out the source of Europe's tensions. We in the West must stop being ashamed of supporting the only political system ever devised by man to let the fullness of God's gift of freedom flourish.

As we seek to encourage democracy, we must remember that each country must struggle for democracy within its own culture; emerging democracies have special problems and require special help. Nearly 3 years ago in Westminster, I spoke of the need for democratic governments to come together and help spread the democratic word throughout the world. Soon after, the Council of Europe brought together delegates of 28 nations from four continents. I congratulate these European Members of Parliament for their work on what is now known as the "Strasbourg Initiative."

But I believe we need more. I believe we need a community to which nations can look for help as they try to strengthen their institutions. I believe we should begin a democratic forum in which practical training, moral encouragement, and financial support can be given to pro-democratic political, labor, business and civic organizations. I believe we must help those who strive to improve living conditions in countries with a high level of poverty. Whether this suggestion for a forum of democratic governments is begun here in Strasbourg, or elsewhere, let us begin. And let us use as our byword a simple phrase -- but one that carries within it all the best of our past and the promise of our future: "Democracies Unite." After all, those we help have nothing to lose but their chains.

And finally, we in the West must remember those who have, for now, and only for now, lost out in the long fight for freedom. On this 40th anniversary of the liberation of the victims of yesterday, I wish to speak to the victims of today. The people of the communist countries, the people who live lives of quiet desperation. I wish to speak to the people of the Soviet Union, the people of the nations of Eastern Europe, the people of the fallen nations of Asia. I wish to speak to those who live in the slave labor camps and the psychiatric hospitals, the people behind the walls, and the barbed wire, and the secret police border guards.

To them I say: We will not forget you nor forsake you. We are your spiritual allies. We are with you as you suffer. We know what you have been told to confuse you, but please understand that we in the West want only peace, true peace, for you and for ourselves.

And so, we in the West, we in this room, have great challenges, great goals ahead of us, great missions inspired by great love. There are some who say the West lacks energy -- the moral and spiritual energy to carry forth these great hopes and plans. But that is not true. As Churchill said, "We have not come this far because we are made of sugar candy."

I do not believe those who say the people of Europe are these days paralyzed and pessimistic. But if this is so, then all I can say as an objective friend who has known you for over 40 years is:

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This theme must be handled with more finesse to be effective. This is not rhetoric but empty rhetoric!

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Europe, beloved Europe, you are greater than you know. You are the treasury of centuries of Western thought and Western culture, you are the father of Western ideals and the mother of Western faith.

Europe, you have been the power and the glory of the West, and you are a moral success. In fact, in the horrors after World War II, when you rejected totalitarianism, when you rejected the lure of a new "Superman," and a "New Communist Man," you proved that you were -- and are -- a moral triumph.

You are a Europe without illusions, a Europe firmly grounded in the ideals and traditions that made her greatness, a Europe unbound and unfettered by communism or fascism. You are, today, a New Europe on the brink of a New Century -- a democratic continent with much to be proud of.

We have much to do. The work ahead is not unlike the building of a great cathedral. The work is slow, complicated, and painstaking. It is passed on with pride from generation to generation. It is the work not only of leaders but of ordinary people. The cathedral evolves as it is created, with each generation adding its own vision -- but the initial spark of vision remains constant, and the faith that drives the vision persists. The results may be slow to see, but our children and their children will trace in the air the emerging arches and spires and know the faith and dedication and love that produced them. My friends, Europe is the Cathedral -- and it is illuminated still.

And if you doubt your will, and your spirit, and your strength to stand for something, think of those people 40 years ago -- who wept in the rubble, who laughed in the streets, who paraded across Europe, who cheered Churchill with love and devotion, and who sang the "Marseillaise" down the boulevards. May I tell you: spirit like that does not disappear; it cannot perish; it will not go away. There's too much left unsung within it.

Thank you, all of you, for your graciousness on this great day. Thank you, and God bless you all.