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1-06
April 30, 1985

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

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 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, in an unforgettable moment of love and gratitude, "No, it is yours." 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 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."

On that day 40 years ago, I was at my post at the Army Air Corps installation in Culver City, California. Passing a radio I heard the words, "ladies and gentlemen, the war in Europe is over." I felt a chill, as if a gust of cold wind had just swept past, and -- even though, for America, there was still a war on the Pacific Front -- 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. A few weeks ago in California an old soldier, with tears in his eyes 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.

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 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 and those who did its bidding. And we also know 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." 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 Raoul Wallenberg.

They give us heart forever. The glow of their memories lit Europe in her darkest days.

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

Old enemies were reconciled with the European family. Together, America and Europe created and put into place the Marshall Plan to rebuild from the rubble. Together we created

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the Atlantic Alliance, 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 new, very different. For NATO derived its strength directly from the moral values of the people it represented, from 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, the people of Europe resisted the call of new tyrants and the lure of their seductive ideologies. Europe did not become the breeding ground for new extremist philosophies. Europe resisted the totalitarian temptation. The people of Europe embraced democracy, the dream the fascists could not kill. They chose freedom.

Today we celebrate the leaders who led the way-- Churchill and Monnet, Adenauer and Schuman, 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 they who fought on opposite sides 40 years ago, and their sons and daughters. 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, 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 democratic system -- Locke and Montesquieu, Hume and Adam 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,

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Illinois, who later went into politics-- I guess I should explain that's me -- so blame Marconi. Marconi, as you know, was born in Italy.

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 "becomes not merely unthinkable but materially impossible." Those are the words of Robert Schuman; the Coal and Steel Community was the 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. Indeed, John F. Kennedy, in his ringing "Declaration of Interdependence" in the freedom bell city of Philadelphia 23 years ago, explicitly made this objective a key tenet of post-war American policy; it saw the New World and the Old as twin pillars of a larger democratic community. We Americans still see European unity as a vital force in that historic process. 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.

Yet despite Europe's Economic Miracle which brought so much prosperity to so many, despite the visionary ideas of the European leaders, despite the enlargement of democracy's

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frontiers within the European community itself, I am told that a more doubting mood is upon Europe today. I hear words like "Europessimism" and "Europaralysis," that Europe seems to have lost the sense of confidence that dominated that postwar era. If there is something of a "lost" quality these days, is it connected to the fact that some, in the past few years, have begun to question the ideals and philosophies that have guided the West for centuries? That some have even come to question 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 knew 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 it would tell them something about their new world. It is a strong, kind face; it is the face of Bartholdi's mother, a woman of Alsace. And so, among the many things we Americans thank you for, we thank you for her.

The Statue of Liberty - made in Europe, erected in America - helps remind us not only of the past ties but present realities.

It is to those realities we must look in order to dispel whatever doubts may exist about the course of history and the place of free men and women within it. We live in a complex,

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dangerous, divided world, yet a world which can provide all of the good things we require, spiritual and material, if we but have the confidence and courage to face history's challenge.

We in the West have much to be thankful for -- peace, prosperity and freedom. If we are to preserve these for our children, and for theirs, today's leaders must demonstrate the same resolve and sense of vision which inspired Churchill, Adenauer, DeGasperi and Schuman. Their challenge was to rebuild a democratic Europe under the shadow of Soviet power. Our task, in some ways even more daunting, is to keep the peace with an evermore powerful Soviet Union, to introduce greater stability in our relationship with it, and to coexist in a world in which our values can prosper.

The leaders and people of postwar Europe had learned the lessons of their history from the failures of their predecessors. They learned that aggression feeds on appeasement and that weakness itself can be provocative. We, for our part, can learn from the success of our predecessors. We know that both conflict and aggression can be deterred, that democratic nations are capable of the resolve, the sacrifices and the consistency of policy needed to sustain such deterrence.

From the creation of NATO in 1949 through the early 1970's, Soviet aggression was effectively deterred. The strength of Western economies, the vitality of our societies, the wisdom of our diplomacy, all contributed to Soviet restraint; but certainly the decisive factor must have been the countervailing power --

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ultimately, ^{and above all, nuclear} military power -- which the West was capable of bringing to bear in the defense of its interests.

It was in the early 1970's that the United States lost that superiority over the Soviet Union in strategic nuclear weapons which had characterized the postwar era. In Europe, the effect of this loss was not quickly perceptible. But seen globally, Soviet conduct changed markedly and dangerously. First in Angola in 1975, then, when the West failed to respond, in Ethiopia, in South Yemen, in Kampuchea and ultimately in Afghanistan, the Soviet Union began courting more risks, and expanding its influence through the indirect and direct application of military power. Today, we see similar Soviet efforts to profit from and stimulate regional conflicts in Central America.

The ineffectual Western response to Soviet adventurism of the late 1970's had many roots, not least in the crisis of self-confidence within the American body politic wrought by the Vietnam experience. But just as Soviet decision-making in the earlier postwar era had taken place against the background of overwhelming American strategic power, so the decisions of the late 1970's were taken in Moscow, as in Washington and throughout Europe, against the background of growing Soviet and stagnating Western nuclear strength.

One might draw the conclusion from these events that the West should reassert that nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union upon which our security and our strategy rested through the postwar era. That is not my view. We cannot and should not seek

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to build our peace and freedom perpetually upon the basis of expanding nuclear arsenals.

In the short run, we have no alternative but to compete with the Soviet Union in this field, not in the pursuit of superiority, but merely of balance. It is thus essential that the United States maintain a modern and survivable nuclear capability in each leg of the strategic triad -- sea, land and air based. It is similarly important that France and Britain maintain and modernize their independent strategic capabilities.

The Soviet Union, however, has not been content to sustain, either through arms control or unilateral choice, a stable nuclear balance. It has chosen, instead, to build nuclear forces clearly designed to strike first, and thus to disarm their adversary. The Soviet Union is now moving toward deployment of new mobile MIRVed missiles which have these capabilities, plus the ability to avoid detection, monitoring, or arms control verification. In doing this, the Soviet Union is undermining stability and the basis for mutual deterrence.

One can imagine several possible responses to the continued Soviet build-up of nuclear forces. On the one hand, we can ask the Soviet Union to reduce its offensive systems and to deal, through arms control measures, with the particular problems posed by its strategic programs, including its MIRVed mobile ICBM. We shall press that case in Geneva. Thus far, however, we have heard nothing new from the other side.

A second possibility would be for the West to step up our current modernization effort to keep up with constantly

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accelerating Soviet deployments, not to regain superiority, but merely to keep up with Soviet deployments. But is this really an acceptable alternative? Even if this course could be sustained by the West, it would produce a less stable strategic balance than the one we have today. We need a better guarantee of peace than that.

Fortunately, there is a third possibility, in the long-term. That is to offset the continued Soviet offensive build-up in destabilizing weapons by developing defenses against these weapons. In 1983 I launched a new research program -- the Strategic Defense Initiative.

The state of modern technology may soon make possible for the first time the ability to use non-nuclear systems to defeat ballistic missiles. It will take time. The Soviets themselves have long recognized the value of defensive systems and have invested heavily in them. Indeed, they have spent as much on defensive systems as they have on offensive systems for more than 20 years.

As we proceed with this research program, we will remain within existing treaty constraints. We will also consult in the closest possible fashion with our Allies. And when the time for decisions on the possible production and deployment of such systems comes, we must and will discuss and negotiate these issues with the Soviet Union. ~~We, for our part, have no intention of unilateral deployment.~~

Both for the short and long term I am confident that the West can maintain effective military deterrence. But surely we

can aspire to more than maintaining a state of highly armed truce in international politics.

During the 1970's we went to great lengths to restrain unilaterally our strategic weapons programs out of the conviction that the Soviet Union would adhere to certain rules in its conduct -- rules such as neither side seeking to gain unilateral advantage at the expense of the other. Those efforts of the early 1970's resulted in some improvements in Europe, the Berlin Quadripartite Agreement being the best example. But the hopes for a broader and lasting moderation of the East-West competition foundered in Angola, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, and Nicaragua.

The question before us today is whether we have learned from those mistakes and can undertake a stable and peaceful relationship with the Soviet Union based upon effective deterrence and the reduction of tensions. I believe we can. I believe we have learned that fruitful cooperation with the Soviet Union must be accompanied by successful competition in areas -- particularly Third World areas -- where the Soviets are not yet prepared to act with restraint.

These are the reflexions which have molded our policy toward the Soviet Union. That policy embodies the following basic elements:

-- While we maintain deterrence to preserve the peace, the United States will make a steady, sustained effort to reduce tensions and solve problems in its relations with the Soviet Union.

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-- The United States is prepared to conclude fair, equitable, verifiable agreements for arms reduction, above all with regard to offensive nuclear weapons.

-- The United States seeks no unilateral advantages, and of course can accept none on the Soviet side.

-- The United States will insist upon compliance with past agreements both for their own sake and to strengthen confidence in the possibility of future accords.

-- The United States will proceed in full consultation with its allies, recognizing that our fates are intertwined and we must act in unity.

-- The United States does not seek to undermine or change the Soviet system nor to impinge upon the security of the Soviet Union. At the same time it will resist attempts by the Soviet Union to use or threaten force against others, or to impose its system on others by force.

Ultimately, I hope the leaders of the Soviet Union will come to understand that they have nothing to gain from attempts to achieve military superiority or to spread their dominance by force, but have much to gain from joining the West in mutual arms reduction and expanding cooperation.

I have directed the Secretary of State to engage with the Soviet Union on an extended agenda of problem solving.

Yet even as we embark upon new efforts to sustain a productive dialogue with the Soviet Union, we are reminded of the obstacles imposed by our so fundamentally different concepts of humanity, of human rights, of the value of a human life. The

murder of Major Nicholson by a Soviet soldier in East Germany, and the Soviet Union's refusal to accept responsibility for this act is only the latest reminder.

If we are to succeed in reducing East-West tensions, we must find means to ensure against the arbitrary use of lethal force in the future -- whether against individuals like Major Nicholson, or against groups, such as the passengers on a jumbo jet.

Therefore, I propose that the United States and the Soviet Union take three practical steps:

First, that our two countries make a regular practice of exchanging observers at military exercises and locations. We now follow this practice with many other nations, to the equal benefit of all parties.

Second, I am convinced that the military leaders of our nations could benefit from more contact. I therefore propose that we institute regular, high-level contacts between Soviet and American military leaders, to develop better understanding and to prevent potential tragedies from occurring.

Third, I urge that the Conference on Disarmament in Europe act promptly and agree on the concrete confidence-building measures proposed by the NATO countries. The United States is prepared to agree to new commitments on non-use of force in the context of Soviet agreement to concrete confidence-building measures.

These proposals are not cure-alls for our current problems, and will not compensate for the deaths which have occurred. But as terrible as past events have been, it would be more tragic if

as I believe it is desirable for the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union to meet and tackle problems,

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we were to make no attempt to prevent even larger tragedies from occurring through lack of contact and communication.

We in the West have much to do -- and we must do it together. We must remain unified in the face of attempts to divide us and strong in spite of attempts to weaken us. And we must remember that our unity and strength are not a mere impulse of like-minded allies, but the natural result of our shared love for liberty.

Surely we have no illusions that convergence of the two systems is likely. We are in for an extended period of competition of ideas. It is up to us in the West to answer whether or not we can make available the resources, ideas, examples and assistance to compete with the Soviet Union in the Third World. We have much in our favor, not least the experience of those states which have tried Marxism and are looking for an alternative.

We do not aspire to impose our system on anyone, nor do we have pat answers for all the world's ills. But our ideals of freedom and democracy and our economic systems have proven their ability to meet the needs of our people. Our adversaries reward the enforced sacrifice of their people with economic stagnation, the corrupt hand of state and party bureaucracy, which ultimately satisfy neither material nor spiritual needs.

I want 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. We are at your side today because, like you, we

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have not veered from the ideals of the West -- the ideals of freedom, liberty, and peace. Let no one -- no one -- doubt our purpose.

The United States is committed not only to the security of Europe--we are committed to the re-creation of a larger and more genuinely European Europe. The United States is committed not only to a partnership with Europe-- the United States is committed to an end to the artificial division of Europe.

We do not deny any nation's legitimate interest in security. We share the basic aspirations of all of the peoples of Europe -- freedom, prosperity and peace. But when families are divided, and people are not allowed to maintain normal human and cultural contacts, this creates international tension. Only in a system in which all feel secure, and sovereign, can there be a lasting and secure peace.

For this reason we support and will encourage movement toward the social, humanitarian, and democratic ideals shared in Europe. The issue is not one of state boundaries, but of insuring the right of all nations to conduct their affairs as their peoples desire. The problem of a divided Europe, like others, must be solved by peaceful means. Let us rededicate ourselves to the full implementation of the Helsinki Final Act in all its aspects.

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. Those nations whose democratic institutions are newly

emerged and whose confidence in the process is not yet deeply rooted need our help. They should have an established community of their peers, other democratic countries to whom they can turn for support or just advice.

In my address to the British Parliament in 1982. I spoke of the need for democratic governments to spread the message of democracy throughout the world. I expressed my support for the Council of Europe's effort to bring together delegates from 28 nations for this purpose. I am encouraged by the product of that conference, the "Strasbourg Initiative."

We in our country have launched a major effort to strengthen and promote democratic ideals and institutions. Following a pattern first started in the Federal Republic of Germany, the United States Congress approved the National Endowment for Democracy. This organization subsequently established institutes of labor, business, and political parties dedicated to programs of cooperation with democratic forces around the world. I hope other democracies will join in this effort and contribute their wisdom and talents to this cause.

Here in Western Europe, you have created a multi-national democratic community in which there is a free flow of people, of information, of goods and of culture. West Europeans 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 Europeans, 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.

I do not believe those who say the people of Europe today are paralyzed and pessimistic. And I would say to those who think this: 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 the horrors after World War II, you rejected totalitarianism, you rejected the lure of new "Superman," and a "New Communist Man." You proved that you were -- and are -- a moral triumph.

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

We have much to do. The work ahead 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 ideal 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

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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 go -- 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. 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.

MEMORANDUM

3401
ADD-ON

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

April 30, 1985

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MEMORANDUM FOR BENTLY ELLIOTT

FROM: ROBERT M. KIMMITT *Bob*
SUBJECT: Revised Presidential Remarks: Hambach Castle

Bud has asked me to forward you the attached revised version of the Hambach speech.

Attachment
Tab A Revised Hambach Draft

CC: *David Chew*

TAB A

A.



(Elliott)
April 29, 1985
5:00 p.m.

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Received SS
1985 APR 29 01 5:35

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: ADDRESS TO GERMAN STUDENTS
HAMBACH CASTLE
BONN, GERMANY
MONDAY, MAY 6, 1985

Chancellor Kohl, honored guests, and my young friends of Germany and Europe: danke shoen. Nancy and I are very happy to be with you and to see that the ideals of the first Hambacher ^Fest live on today. To join you at this site so rich in history makes this a very special day.

Already, you have given us a gift of hope and beauty from the sight of this sturdy, old castle, from the spirit of your youth -- the spirit of Germany's future -- and, yes, from the warmth we feel in German hearts. I can truly say: Veer fuelem vonz shown tzoo how-zar (We already feel at home.)

In welcoming us, you honor the 237 million Americans I am privileged to represent. I might add that more of those Americans trace their roots to this ^{land} (lahnt), to these towns, and to your families than to any other place or people in the world.

It is fitting that we meet where so much that is good and worthy of our two nations began. From here in the Rhineland-Palatinate, thousands left to cross a mighty ocean, to push back America's frontiers and to help us win a great struggle for independence. One regiment came from Zweibrucken, led by Count Christian and Count Wilhelm von Forbach. They fought by our side. They were with us that day we won the historic battle of Yorktown, the day the American Revolution triumphed.

And it was from this hill, on this good soil, that freedom was proclaimed and the dream of democracy and national unity came alive in the German soul. I am only a visitor to your country, but I am proud to stand with you today by these walls of Schloss Hambach. They are walls of time that cradle a glorious past, and reach toward the promise of a future written for eternity across this wide-open sky.

Think back to that first Festival of Freedom held here in 1832. What noble vision was it that inspired and emboldened your first patriots? Not violence, not destruction of society, and not some far-flung utopian scheme.

No, their vision and cry was revolutionary in the truest sense of that word. Those first patriots cried out for a free, democratic, and united Germany -- we do so again today. They cried out for friendship and cooperation within a free, democratic, and united Europe -- we do so again today. They cried out for solidarity with freedom fighters in Poland -- we do so again today. And they waved the colors of black, red, and gold to announce rebirth of human spirit and dignity -- and we wave those colors again today.

The dream was voiced by many who came here. But there was one student -- I am told his name was Karl Heinrich Bruggemann -- whose passion and eloquence echo with us still: "All Germanic people," Karl said, "will and must acquire greater dignity . . . the times of tyranny have passed . . . free states will flourish and patriotic nations will in the future celebrate the new Europe."

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The new Europe. One hundred fifty-two years have come and gone bringing great change and progress. But the new Europe is yet to be complete. Why is this so? We know the answer. It is not that freedom has not worked for the European people; but that too many Europeans have been forbidden to work for freedom. It is not that democracy was tried and found wanting; but that some forbid democracy to be tried for fear it would succeed.

Europe today -- divided by concrete walls, by electrified barbed wire, and by mined and manicured fields, killing fields,, is a living portrait of the most compelling truth of our time: The future belongs to the free.

Am I right to believe that freedom has many friends here today? Well, you are living in the springtime of your lives. The world ^{relies on} ~~yearns for~~ your idealism, your courage, and your good works. From one whose own life spans many years -- my critics in America would tell you, too many years -- ^{Allow me to} ~~I~~ offer you some observations about your future, about the Creative Future that can be yours if only you apply your wisdom and will to heed the lessons of history. Let me speak to you a moment about your responsibilities and your opportunities.

In many ways, the challenges of 1832 -- where here at this spot several thousand young Germans gathered to protest repression -- were remarkably similar to those facing you today. By the early 1830's, Germany was changing rapidly as it absorbed the full force of the industrial revolution. In dealing with these new problems it was, however, denied the benefits of national unity. Strong forces, both inside and outside Germany, resisted democratic changes.

As is the case today, the frustrations of a rapidly changing modern world were doubled by the apparent frozen nature of Germany's position in Europe. National unification remained a far-off dream. The outside forces seemed too strong, Germany too divided to provide any real chances for progress.

How different history would have been if the democratic ideal could have become the unifying force in Germany in the mid-19th century. Unfortunately, the hopes of 1832 and the revolution of 1848 were not to be realized. German national history took another direction and the realization of the goals of Hambach were delayed. ~~for almost 100 years.~~ (not a fortuitous reference)

But the consequences of the failure of democratic movements begun in Hambach and elsewhere did demonstrate an important truth. Ideologies based on an authoritarian national state or on Marxism-Leninism cannot integrate German aspirations into the framework of a united Europe. Germany is an integral part of the West and its philosophical heritage is the Western tradition of individual liberty.

The cause of German unity is bound irrevocably with the cause of democracy. And democracy in Europe cannot be secured until all Germans are offered the chance of free choice and democratic liberties. As Chancellor Kohl noted so eloquently in his State of the Nation Address on February 27: "Germany and Europe are divided because part of Europe is not free."

We need not look far to feel the burden of this division. There is only one reason for the ugly ribbon of barbed wire and concrete which divides Berlin, Germany and Europe -- the strong attraction of democracy.

In 1832 and 1848, the United States stood with those who wished a united, democratic Germany. Alone among the major nations of the world, we extended full diplomatic recognition of the fledgling German republic founded at the Paulskirche in 1848. Today, the American people remain dedicated to the same goal.

But even if the ultimate goal of national unity cannot be achieved immediately, you -- the youth of Germany -- can lay the foundation for a peaceful and democratic development towards that goal. By identifying yourselves with the Western democratic tradition and by committing yourselves to the cause of free self-determination throughout Europe, you demonstrate to both East and West the force of the democratic ideal.

History is not on the side of those who twist the meanings of words like freedom and peace. History is on the side of all those struggling for the true revolution of peace with freedom across the world today. I am told that some young Germans recently met here to demonstrate against our policy in Central America. May I say to them: Our policy is to give the Nicaraguan people the same freedom to demonstrate against their government, as anyone has to demonstrate against our government and yours, here in free Deutschland.

And I would ask those demonstrators today -- will they ever demonstrate for the people in Afghanistan under the boot of 115,000 Soviet troops? Will they ever demonstrate for Solidarity and the persecuted Jews and Christians in the East? And, will they ever demonstrate for people, like the young Soviet student, →

who tried to organize a peace movement and ended up in a psychiatric hospital -- will they ever demonstrate for those people?

Nothing could make our hearts more glad than to see the day when there will be no more walls, no more guns to keep loved ones apart. Nothing could bring us greater happiness than to reach an agreement that will ~~ban forever~~ ^{rid the Earth of} nuclear weapons ~~from the face of this Earth~~ ^{forever --} -- and you have our solemn pledge: we will never stop praying, never stop working, never stop one moment trying to bring that day closer.

But my young friends, I must also plead the case for realism. ~~For, unless and until there is an opening by the other side, the United States will fulfill a commitment of its own -- to the survival of liberty. The first frontier of European liberty begins in Berlin, and I assure you that we will stand by you in Europe, and we will stand by you in Berlin.~~

~~Understanding the true nature of totalitarianism will be worth as much to you as any weapons system.~~ For in realism lies the beginning of wisdom, and where there is wisdom and courage, there will be safety and security -- they will be yours.

Your future awaits you; so, take up your responsibilities and embrace your opportunities with all the passion of Germany's strength. Understand that there are no limits to how high each of you can climb. Because, unlike your cousins on the other side of the wall, your future is in your hands -- you are free to follow your dreams to the stars. You know, we have something so

Ⓟ Cherish your freedoms. Your freedom to choose your way of life; your freedom to travel and express your views. And cherish the hope that some day those same freedoms will be enjoyed by

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precious if we'll just remember -- the eternal youngness of freedom that makes it irresistible to people everywhere.

If I could make one request, it would be that you read a wonderful book, How Democracies Perish, by Jean Francois Ravel. His book is a call for courage from each of us, joined in this great cathedral of freedom. His book is a warning, but also a reminder: we can see our future shining, we can see new freedom spires rising, and, yes, we can see the times of tyranny passing, if we will just believe in our own greatest strengths -- our goodness, our worthiness, and our unlimited capacity for love.

Ask ourselves, what is the heart of freedom? In the answer lies the deepest hope for the future of mankind; and the reason there will never be walls around those who are free: each of us, each of you, is made in the most enduring, powerful image of Western civilization. ~~You are made in the image of God. And what is that image? It is the image of the Creator.~~

This is our power. This is our freedom. This is our future. And through this power, not drugs, not materialism, nor any other-"ism," we can find brotherhood; and you can create the New Europe -- a Europe democratic; a Europe reunited; a Europe, at long last, ^{completely} free.

Now, we hear it said by some that Europe may be glum, that Europe dares no more. But what is this silly talk? Tell me that you don't believe it either. It is you, Germany, and you Europe, that gave the values and vitality of judeo-christian civilization to America, and the world. It is Europe that has known more tragedy and more triumph than anyplace else in history. Each

time you suffered, you sprang back, led by giants -- Adenauer and Schumann, Churchill and ~~de Gaulle~~ ^{Monnet.}

Today, only 40 years after the most devastating war known to man, Western Europe has risen in glory from its ruins. Today, Europe stands, like Hambach Schloss, a magnificent monument to the indomitable spirit of free people.

Let's be clear on one other thing: ~~no~~ ^{no} country in the world has been more creative than Germany ~~not one~~. And, ~~no~~ other can better help create the future. Germany -- which gave music for eternity by Beethoven and Bach, great works of Goethe and Heine; scientific discoveries by pioneers like Otto Hahn, ~~the Volkswagen Beetle, and might I add, delicious bratworst, strudle and beer~~ stands today on the threshold of wondrous times.

We have already seen one miracle, your Wirtschaftswunder. Chancellor Kohl pointed out that what some have recently called the American economic miracle seems inevitable only in hindsight. He's right. Our success was inspired by your own miraculous rebirth from the rubble of World War II.

The experts said it would be 75 years before Germany's economy regained its prewar level. You did it in 10. The experts said the Federal Republic could not absorb millions of refugees, establish a democracy on the ashes of Nazism and be reconciled with your neighbors. You did all three.

America learned from you. And we learn from you still. Germany's success showed us that our future must not depend on experts or government plans, but on the deepest treasures of the

human mind and spirit -- imagination, intellect, courage and faith.

We remembered Ludwig Erhard's secret; how he blazed Germany's path with freedom by creating opportunity and lowering tax rates -- to reward every man and woman who dares to dream and to create the future -- your farmers, labor leaders, carpenters, and engineers -- every German hero who helped to put the pieces of a broken society back together.

I want to encourage you today to consider joining with your friends to become a part of a great new movement for progress -- The Age of the Entrepreneur. Human faith and skill discovered oil, where once there was only sand. Today they are discovering a new world of computers, microchips, and biotechnology -- technologies that can open up new opportunities in our lives, give us wonderful medical break-throughs, and make our world cleaner and more humane.

Technology pioneered in the Federal Republic will make your air and water more pure and preserve the environment for your children. Because you are free, you can help create ~~the~~ all these things, and because you live in a democracy, you can make your voices heard so that technology works for us not against us. My friends, you can not only control your lives, you can help invent the future.

~~New technologies may someday enable us to develop far safer defenses -- non-nuclear shields that would not kill people, but destroy weapons; non-nuclear shields that would not militarize space but demilitarize the arsenals of Earth. For now, we must~~

rely on a system called M-A-D -- Mutual Assured Destruction. But someday, your children may be protected by a system we could call D-A-M -- Defense Against Missiles; someday, technology could render nuclear weapons obsolete.

Working together in space, as we have with your fine astronaut Ulf Mehrbold, we can create the future together. We will be able to manufacture in space rare crystals and medicines in far greater quantities, medicines to treat diseases that afflict millions of us. In the zero gravity of space, we will make medicines that treat victims of heart attack and stroke. We will learn how to manufacture Factor 8, a rare and expensive medicine used to treat hemophiliacs. We can research the Beta Cell, which produces insulin and which could produce mankind's first permanent cure for diabetes.

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We are going to make the extraordinary commonplace -- this is freedom's way. And these secrets for our future belong not just to us in Europe and America, but to all people, in all places, for all time. Look at Singapore, Hong Kong, and Taiwan -- tiny specks on the globe, densely populated and with few natural resources. But, today, they are stunning success stories -- mighty, little engines of growth and progress, pulling the world forward with their dynamic policies ~~of free trade~~ that reward innovation, risk-taking, and hard work.

The future awaits your creation. Your future will be a way station further along that same journey in time begun by the great patriots here at Hambach 152 years ago -- a journey that began in a dream of the human heart, and that will not be

complete until the dream is real; until the times of tyranny have passed; until the fear of political torture is no more; until the pain of poverty has been lifted for every person in the world forevermore. This is freedom's vision; it is a good vision; and you must go out from here and work to make it come true.

My young friends, this is a wonderful time to be alive and to be free. Remember that in your hearts are the stars of your fate; remember that everything depends on you; and, remember not to let one moment slip away, for as ~~van~~ Schiller told us, "He who has done his best for his own time has lived for all time."

Thank you for welcoming me; thank you for your warmth and your kindness; thank you for this wonderful day. I will always remember it, and I will always remember you.

Zee lee-ghen oons veer-click im hair-tzen. (You have found your way into our hearts.) God bless you.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTION

April 30, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: PETER *Peter* *THU* / TYRUS W. COBB

SUBJECT: Revised Presidential Remarks: Hambach Castle

We understand your instructions to cut the middle section of the speech. But in looking over some previous material that was initially provided by State and taking cognizance of the setting and the type of positive message the President wishes to convey, we ask that you approve our revised draft which provides a new middle section plus some editorial changes.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize Kimmitt to sign the Tab I memo to Elliott.

Approve *AM*

Disapprove _____

Jack Matlock
Jack Matlock concurs.

Attachments

- Tab I Memo to Elliott
- Tab A Revised Hambach Draft