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

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A	NOTES	RE STRASBOURG SPEECH (ORIGINAL AND COPY) [1-6]	6	ND

Open ed 05/14/2007 jtk

The Strasbourg Speech: Handling the East-West Theme

Re pp. 11-15:

This theme needs to be developed more logically, and certain key elements which are now missing should be added. The illustrations of the Soviet threat can be in vivid language, of course, but sweeping statement such as the Soviet Union being the most destabilizing influence in the world should be avoided. (This is true, but stating it in a speech in Europe will reinforce the damaging stereotype that the President sees every issue in the world solely in the U.S.-Soviet context. We must encourage Western unity and support, not divisive debates on abstract statements.

When the case has been made regarding the Soviet threat and the necessity for Western firmness and unity, it is essential to present our policy as one which combines deterrence with a search for a more stable peace. The transition can be made with a paragraph along the following lines:

We must stay united and firm in defense of our precious values, values won at such sacrifice by earlier generations and by many members of ours. But we must also remember another profound truth. That is, in this nuclear age, we can do so only if we preserve the peace. Preserving the peace and defending democracy must be integral parts of the same effort.

Then, the following points will follow logically:

- The US is making a steady, sustained effort to engage the USSR in realistic negotiations with the aim of solving problems in the relationship, reducing tension, and lowering the high levels of offensive nuclear weapons.
- Tensions can be lowered only if both sides are prepared for fair, reciprocal, verifiable agreements. U.S. is ready for such agreements and will not be deterred from effort to obtain them.
- US seeks no unilateral advantages. At same time, it can allow none on the Soviet part.
- US does not seek to undermine or change Soviet system; at same time it must resist attempts to use force against US and its Allies.
- In arms control, most important objective is lowering level of offensive nuclear weapons and creating more stable strategic environment. That is aim of Geneva negotiations.
- Pleased that Soviet Govt has accepted goal of radical reductions of nuclear weapons and eventually their complete elimination. It is now time to translate that professed intent into concrete, balanced and verifiable agreements.

-- As for the US, we will spare no effort at Geneva and elsewhere to achieve such agreements.

-- Role of SDI in this. (But I recommend avoiding the acronym and speaking instead of "defensive systems," and "our research program"; such terms evoke positive feelings. SDI is a neutral and emotion-free term (for Europeans, at least), and is usually translated "Star Wars," which we should not encourage.)

-- Importance of compliance with agreements.

-- Conclude by making point that we must show both firmness and unity in negotiations, but at the same time reasonable flexibility.

-- Stress US commitment to consult Allied Governments every step of the way, since we know that this must be an Allied effort, even when the U.S. is the negotiator.

Re Eastern Europe (p. 18):

The first two paragraphs do not convey the essence of our policy. It would be much better to use language similar to that in the President's statement of February 8, 1985, concerning the anniversary of the Yalta Declaration. The basic points are:

-- The artificial division of Europe is unnatural and destabilizing.

-- When families are divided, and people are not allowed to maintain normal human and cultural contacts, this creates international tension.

-- To point this out is not to impinge on the security interests of any country in Europe.

-- The question is not one of borders. It has to do with one country imposing its system on others by force.

-- We must not be deluded in ever accepting that one country's security gives it the right to subjugate another. Such practices undermine the security of all in the long run.

-- Only a situation in which all feel secure, and sovereign, can be lasting and secure in the long run.

-- This problem, like others, must be solved peacefully.

-- Full implementation of the Helsinki Final Act, in all its aspects, can play a key role.

It might be better to move this presentation to an earlier point in the speech, perhaps just after the discussion of U.S.-Soviet relations above. It fits in the general East-West context, and also provides a firm foundation for the excellent concluding preroration on European unity.

NOTE: The central message of the Strasbourg speech should convey our policy on East-West relations. It should, therefore, occupy more space than some of the other themes, particularly the economic ones. There will be several other speeches during the European trip where these economic themes should have a more central role. Therefore, cuts elsewhere in the Strasbourg draft should permit adequate expansion of the East-West themes to make them comprehensive and coherent.

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NSC 29
April 28, 1985
~~1700~~ hrs

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 six years Big Ben, Buckingham Palace, and St.

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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 into his office and said, "the flags of freedom fly all over Europe." ~~And, he added, "it's my birthday too."~~

this

On ^{*this*} day 40 years ago, I was at my post at the Army Air Corps installation in Culver City, California. 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-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 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."

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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 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 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.

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 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. Those were 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, an 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. 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 ideologies. 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 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 the ~~sons and daughters~~ ^{men and their} of soldiers who fought on opposite sides 40 years ago, ~~and perhaps some of the soldiers themselves~~. 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 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, 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, as you know in Italy.

Tomorrow will mark the 35th anniversary of 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 Schumann; 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 positioned this objective among the key tenets of post-war American policy, a policy which foresaw 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 John Kennedy and the European leaders who preceded him, despite the enlargement of democracy's frontiers within the European continent, I am told that a more doubting mood is upon Europe today. I hear words like "Europessimism" and "Europaralysis." I am told that Europe seems to have lost the sense of confidence that dominated that postwar era. I cannot believe this is so--but if there is something of a "lost" quality these days, I suspect it is 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. 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; and she was 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. 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. The fact of the matter is, we live in a complex, 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.

Let us not forget the human cost of the artificial division of Europe--the families split apart, the once-free individuals turned into tools of the State, the scarcity and want -- the whole litany of limits. Let us not forget the sadness that followed the end of the Prague Spring, the death of the democratic yearnings that followed the invasion of Hungary, the oppression of the Solidarity movement in Poland. Let us not forget that while those in the West dissatisfied with current policies demonstrate openly, the human rights monitors of the Helsinki Agreement languish in jails, Gulags, or psychiatric hospitals.

In 1961, in Berlin, a city half free and half communist, 30,000 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 so they would not flee.

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 build-up 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 redressing the balance. And on this day I thank them.

When the Soviets left the negotiating table it was said this would usher in a new Ice Age. But we in the West were patient and united--and in time the Soviets returned to the table. Now new talks have begun 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 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--for the cost of their effort is great, and we will not allow it to succeed.

We must stay united and firm in defense of our precious values, values won at such sacrifice by earlier generations and by members ours. But we must also remember another profound truth. That is, in this nuclear age, we can do so only if we preserve the peace. Preserving the peace and defending democracy must be integral parts of the same effort.

The United States is conducting a steady, sustained effort to engage the USSR in realistic negotiations with the aim of solving problems in the relationship, reducing tension, and lowering the high levels of offensive nuclear weapons. But tensions can be lowered only if both sides are prepared for fair, reciprocal, verifiable agreements. The United States is ready for such agreements and will not be deterred from making every feasible effort to obtain them.

The United States seeks no unilateral advantages, but at the same time it will not permit the Soviet Union to gain any. We do not seek to undermine or change the Soviet system, but we will resist attempts to use force against us or our allies.

In arms control the single most important objective we should seek today is the lowering of the unacceptable level of offensive nuclear weapons. Drastic reductions of these weapons would

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create a more stable strategic environment, and that is our primary goal in the Geneva negotiations. We are pleased that the Soviet government has accepted this objective, the reduction of nuclear weapons and their eventual elimination.

But let me pause for a moment and ask you to look beyond the often esoteric doctrines of nuclear strategy and the anti-humanist, even horrible ideas implied in such terms as Mutual Assured Destruction. Can we not imagine a future free from the catastrophic terror or warfare? Do we, the leaders of this generation, not have the awesome responsibility to provide something better, something safer for our children and our children's children? Should we not use the gifts of our technological genius to seek a world in which generations need not rely on ever greater, ever more frightening arsenals of death? That is the simple yet compelling idea behind our present strategic research, no more, and certainly no less: the practical quest for a community no longer menaced by the dark and pervasive shadow of nuclear aggression. Such a quest remains part of the unfinished business of genuine peace, the peace which began 40 years ago when the guns in Europe were finally stilled.

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

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technology, we in the west have had no choice but to rely upon the threat of nuclear retaliation in order to deter war. Deterrence on this basis has worked for 40 years now, and for the foreseeable future, it will remain the foundation of our common security. But we have hoped for a better way. I believe we may find it in emerging technologies aimed at enhancing deterrence through defensive means-- non-nuclear 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. 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 on non-nuclear means which threaten no one.

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 is not an attempt to achieve nuclear superiority-- it is an attempt to achieve greater security. This research is not an attempt to abrogate existing arms control

treaties-- it is being carried out in full compliance with such treaties. SDI is not destabilizing -- in fact, as the Soviets have long pursued such research, it would be destabilizing if the West did not. The results of the research will not "decouple" America from Europe-- if it bears fruit, it will enhance the security system that will protect all of the West.

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.

There are those in the West who call for disarmament, a thoroughly laudable and understandable desire. But I think it important to point out that some people forget it is true arms control we desire-- and not just signing ceremonies. If we really care about arms control, we must care about compliance in arms control agreements. I think it is important that all of us show interest in this manner, for arms control means nothing unless both sides comply.

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

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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.

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. ?

The United States is committed not only to the security of Europe--we are committed to the recreation 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.

I will tell you of the Parliament of Europe I hope an American President will address 40 years from now. This room will hardly be big enough to hold all the delegates from a united European family. Here, the boisterous Polish delegation, there the delegation from Hungary debating the finer points of freedom,

there the Czechs and the Bulgarians.

A Europe undivided will make for a more peaceful world; and God knows it will make for a happier one. And this is not a dream; we can make it into reality, if we work together with commitment and trust and patience.

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

[More and more of the countries of the world are turning to democracy--turning each day, turning at great price, turning with great effort. In the past 10 years alone _____ countries that did not know political freedom, for whatever reason, have become democratic. 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 th process is not yet deeply rooted need our help. They should have an established

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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 come together and spread the democratic word throughout the world. Soon after, the Council of Europe brought together delegates from four continents, and I congratulate these European Members of Parliament for what is now known as the "Strasbourg Initiative."

I would hope that this initiative could be continued, gathering not only Europe's own, but all the emerging democracies to craft a sense of common purpose to help move the world forward to social justice, human dignity, economic growth and political democracy. In the three years since my speech at Westminster, we in our country have engaged in a broad bipartisan effort to strengthen and promote democratic ideals and institutions. Following a pattern first started in democratic West Germany, two years ago, 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 can report to you that the Endowment is off to a fine start. I would encourage other European democracies to create similar organizations to foster democracy.

But I believe we need more. I believe we need a formal community to which nations can look for help as they try to strengthen their institutions. Let us establish an Association of Democracies. We should establish such a democratic forum, in which all democracies are free to participate, to strengthen and foster democracy among both the developed and the developing countries, arrange for exchanges of the democratic experience, promote free communications and media, foster human rights, combat terrorism, and examine the impact of social and economic problems on democratic systems. Such an Association, working closely with parallel efforts in the nongovernmental sector, could provide practical training, moral encouragement, and financial support to pro-democratic political, labor, business, and civic organizations. Whether this forum 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: Freedom Works!

And as we work, we will remember those who have for now, but only for now, lost out on the long fight for freedom.

The force of the democratic 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 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.



There are those who say the West lacks energy -- the moral and spiritual energy to carry forth these hopes and plans. But that it not true. As Churchill said, "we have not come this far becasue we are made of sugar candy."

I do not believe those who say the people of Europe today are paralyzed and pessimistic. *But to those who say* ~~But if this is~~ so, then all I can say as an objective friend who has observed you for over 40 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 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

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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 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 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

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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.

RECEIVED 23 APR 85 20

TO MCFARLANE

FROM CHEW, D

DOCDATE 23 APR 85

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

FOR CONCURRENCE

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COBB

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SMALL

COMMENTS COMMENTS DUE IMMEDIATELY

REF# LOG NSCIFID (JF)

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
Cobb	3 4/29	Recd at Chew Referral		Same
	5 4/29	Memo Kimmitt to Elliott		

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 4/27/85 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 8:00 a.m. MONDAY, 4/29/85

SUBJECT: ADDRESS: TO EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

Strasbourg, France (4/27/85 -- 2:00 pm)

	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"/>
STOCKMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SVAHN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BUCHANAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHEW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	VERSTANDIG	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WHITTLESEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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 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"/>
			<u>SIMS</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Attached is the Strasbourg Address. Please give it your IMMEDIATE attention, and forward any comments or edits directly to Ben Elliott by 8:00 a.m. MONDAY, 4/29/85, with an info copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

David L. Chew
Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

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(Noonan/BE)
April 27, 1985
2:00 p.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 at my post at an Army Air Corps installation in Culver City, California. 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.

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 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.

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 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, 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 manufacturing to science, from the world of ideas to fine arts and fashion. 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 Montesquie, 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, 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 now, after the Economic Miracle, after decades of prosperity, now I am told that Europe is changing somehow. I hear of "Europessimism" and "Europaralysis." I am told that Europe seems to have lost the sense of confidence that dominated that postwar era. I cannot believe this is so -- but if there is something of a "lost" quality these days, I suspect it 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. Some of us have even come to doubt 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 it would tell them something about their new world. 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. Five years ago it was fashionable to say "The U.S. economy is finished." And now they are saying it of Europe. In the past few years, Europe's dynamism has slowed somewhat. 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 G.N.P. -- 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? Freedom of economic action -- 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 the sum total of economic strength in the West.

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.

I believe that all of us are at a unique time in the world's history in that we 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, and to restrain government spending, eliminate regulatory burdens, and reduce tariff barriers. I do not pretend that we are necessarily a model for others. But I can tell you that we have seen great growth from our efforts -- growth which has given new life to investment in smaller high-tech firms, which, themselves, become vessels for change, opportunity, and progress.

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

Europe's economic growth will be accelerated by 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, we in the West knew who our adversaries were and why. But some of us 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. Some speak of "East-West" tensions as if the West and the East were equally responsible for the threat to world peace today. Some speak of "The Superpowers" as if they are moral equals -- two huge predators composed in equal parts of virtue and of vice. Some 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. Some 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 are suffering under the dictatorship of an expansionist power.

And let us not forget the human cost of that, the terrible human tragedy that has taken place on this continent -- the families split apart, the once-free individuals turned into tools of the State, the scarcity and want -- the whole litany of limits. Let us not forget the sadness that followed the end of the Prague Spring, the death of the spirit that followed the Soviet tanks into Hungary, the oppression of the Solidarity movement in Poland, the jailing of the human rights monitors of the Helsinki Agreement.

And the human tragedy is not confined to Europe.

In the late 1970's, in Indochina, a million boat people fled a dictatorship fed by Soviet expansionism. In Afghanistan they flee Soviet occupation. 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 Soviet occupation.

It is the communist system, and especially the Soviet Union, which is the principal destabilizing influence in the world today. It is the acquisitive impulses of Soviet communism against which we are forced to defend ourselves. And 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 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.

When the Soviets left the negotiating table, it was said this would usher in a new Ice Age. But we in the West were patient and united -- and in time the Soviets returned to the table. Now new talks have begun 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 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

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to achieve a destabilizing superiority over the West -- for the cost of their effort is great, and we will not allow it to succeed.

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 foreseeable future it will remain the foundation of our common security. But we have long hoped for a better way. I believe we may have found it in emerging 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 -- or S.D.I.

The research completed so far is an ambitious undertaking. 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 rely more on non-nuclear defenses, which threaten no one.

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 is not an attempt to achieve nuclear superiority -- it is an attempt to achieve greater security. This research is not an attempt to abrogate existing arms control treaties -- S.D.I. is being carried out in full compliance with

such treaties. This research is not destabilizing -- in fact, as the Soviets have long pursued such research, it would be destabilizing if the West did not. S.D.I. will not "decouple" America from Europe -- S.D.I. is 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.

There are those in the West who call for disarmament, a thoroughly laudable and understandable desire. But I think it important to point out that some people forget it is true arms control we desire -- and not just signing ceremonies. If we really care about arms control, we must care about compliance in arms control agreements. I think it is important that all of us show 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 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.

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.

We must together, and today, agree on what we want for Europe. Forty years after World War II we must declare what we want the Europe of 40 years from now to be. And I will tell you: we want it to be united and we want it to be free.

The United States is committed not only to the security of Europe -- we are committed to the recreation 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 of the division of Europe. I tell you

nothing is ~~so~~ written in the history of man on Earth as this:
Europe will be restored.

I will tell you of the Parliament of Europe I hope an American President will address 40 years from now. This room will hardly be big enough for all the delegates from all the lost countries. Here, the boisterous Polish delegation, there the delegation from Hungary debating the finer points of freedom, there the Czechs and the Bulgarians.

A Europe restored will make for a more peaceful world; and God knows it will make for a happier one. And this is not a dream; we can make it into reality, if we work together with commitment and trust and patience.

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 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.

More and more of the countries of the world are turning to democracy -- turning each day, turning at great price, turning with great effort. In the past 10 years along ___ countries that did not know political freedom, for whatever reason, have become democratic.

Throughout the world Freedom Fighters cry out for assistance -- in Afghanistan, in Asia, in Africa and Central America. 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.

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 spread the democratic word throughout the world. Soon after, the Council of Europe brought together delegates from four continents, and I congratulate these European Members of Parliament for what is now known as the "Strasbourg Initiative."

But I believe we need more. I believe we need a formal 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 forum 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: freedom works -- and so, "Democracies Unite." After all, those we help have nothing to lose but their chains.

And as we work, we will remember those who have for now, but only for now, lost out on 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 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 stand beside you still.

This is our mission, then: to push back the borders of tyranny and let freedom flood the world. We in the West, we in this room, have great challenges ahead of us, great goals inspired by great love.

There are those who say the West lacks energy -- the moral and spiritual energy to carry forth these great hopes and plans.

But that could not be 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:

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.