

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library  
Digital Library Collections

---

This is a PDF of a folder from our textual collections.

---

**Collection:** Matlock, Jack F.: Files  
**Folder Title:** Speeches [Presidential Address (TBD)  
Madrid, Spain and Address: German Students,  
Hambach Castle-Bonn]  
**Box:** 35

---

To see more digitized collections visit:

<https://reaganlibrary.gov/archives/digital-library>

To see all Ronald Reagan Presidential Library inventories visit:

<https://reaganlibrary.gov/document-collection>

Contact a reference archivist at: [reagan.library@nara.gov](mailto:reagan.library@nara.gov)

Citation Guidelines: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/citing>

National Archives Catalogue: <https://catalog.archives.gov/>

# PENDING REVIEW IN ACCORDANCE WITH E.O. 13233

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** MATLOCK, JACK: FILES

**Withdrawer**

LOJ 3/28/2007

**File Folder** SPEECHES [PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS (TBD) MADRID, SPAIN AND ADDRESS: GERMAN STUDENTS, HAMBACH CASTLE, BONN]

**FOIA**

F01-061

**Box Number** 35

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date
A	MEMO	PETER R SOMMER TO MATLOCK [13]	1	4/26/1985

*Open 05/14/2008  
gk*

RECEIVED 26 APR 85 08

TO MCFARLANE

FROM CHEW, D

DOCDATE 25 APR 85

# URGENT

KEYWORDS: SPAIN CENTRAL AMERICA  
 EUROPE WEST ECONOMICS  
 SPEECHES CHEW REFERRAL

SUBJECT: DRAFT PRES ADDRESS (TBD) MADRID SPAIN 7 MAY

-----

ACTION: MEMO KIMMITT TO ELLIOTT / CHEW DUE: 25 APR 85 STATUS S FILES WH

-----

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

SOMMER

BURGHARDT

NORTH

COBB

MENGES

TILLMAN

FORTIER

MATLOCK

ROBINSON

CANNISTRARO

MCMINN

SMALL

MAHLEY

STEINER

COMMENTS \*\*\* COMMENTS / RECOMMENDATIONS DUE BY 3:00 P.M. TODAY \*\*\*

KIMMITT

PEARSON

RLF# LOG NSCIFID ( LF )

-----

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

-----

-----

-----

-----

-----

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

**URGENT**

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

DATE: 4/25/85 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: Fri., 4/26, 3:00 p.m.

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: TBD, MADRID

(4/25 - 7:30 pm draft)

	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 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 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"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HICKEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	DANIELS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HICKS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
KINGON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ELLIOTT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
McFARLANE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HENKEL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

SIMS  
ROSEBUSH

Please provide any comments, edits or recommendations directly to Ben Elliott and send an information copy to me. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

David L. Chew  
Staff Secretary  
Ext. 2702

(Gilder/BE)  
April 25, 1985  
7:30 p.m.

Received S S

1985 APR 25 PM 7:52

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: TBD  
MADRID, SPAIN  
TUESDAY, MAY 7, 1985

Thank you. Thank you all.

It is a great honor to be with you today. I've been wanting to visit Spain since I first became President, and I'm delighted that we were finally able to make it here this year. After all, it's already been almost five centuries since your first delegation visited our country.

We have much to celebrate as we approach the 500th anniversary of the voyage of Christopher Columbus. It is no exaggeration to say that we stand at the outset of a new Golden Age -- a Golden Age of freedom -- that is sweeping across both the Old World and the New. I am convinced that historians will look back on Iberia's peaceful and joyful embrace of democracy as a decisive turning point. They will see it as the moment when freedom ended a long retreat and began a broad new advance that has spread from Spain and Portugal to the Americas and has, in one short decade, brought over 225 million people into the family of free nations.

Freedom, we see, is contagious, and the force of your example has inspired a continent. When I first became President a little over 4 years ago, the map of our hemisphere was shadowed by dictatorships. But in country after country, the dictatorships have given way to the democratic aspirations of their people. Today, for the first time ever, the shameful exceptions to the democratic norm in Spanish-speaking America can

4

be counted on the fingers of one hand. They number four. Two, Paraguay and Chile, are authoritarian military dictatorships; the two others, Cuba and Nicaragua, are Communist tyrannies. How long, I wonder, can they continue to swim against this freedom tide?

Sometimes the courage and character of one man can shape the course of history. Throughout the last decade, King Juan Carlos I has set a moral example to this country and to the world, and in the storm of events he has been like an anchor holding fast to the principles of democracy and freedom. Your Majesty, all true democrats, all freedom loving people everywhere, salute you.

Spain's proud achievements rank among the foremost contributions to Western Civilization. But for too long, this great nation was excluded from the community of Western democracies, and we were all diminished by your absence. Now, Spain is an important partner in the free alliance of European democracies, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, that has protected our liberties and kept the peace in Europe for almost 40 years -- the longest period of peace Europe has known since the Roman Empire.

Soon Spain will take its rightful place as a full member in the European Community, an economic union that with the inclusion of Iberia will become the largest in the world -- larger, even, than that other economic union and free trade zone, the United States. Your accession into the European Economic Community will create both problems and opportunities for our country, but we

have consistently backed, and now applaud, Spanish and Portuguese membership in the EC.

Today, we have come to understand that all the nations of the Earth are part of one, global economy, our economic fates interwoven in a tapestry of a million connecting threads. We understand that we break those ties only at our peril, for if too many of them are severed, our prosperity will begin to unravel. I am old enough to remember the dark days of the Great Depression, when short-sighted national interest and beggar-thy-neighbor economic policies ended up turning us all into beggars, and plunged the world into a totalitarian nightmare from which we were only to be rescued by a bloody World War.

With that lesson fresh in their minds, the leaders of democratic Europe, the United States and other free nations met after World War II and agreed to demolish the trade barriers that had done so much evil. Their agreement, called the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, knocked trade barriers down to their lowest level in modern history and ushered in an unrivaled period of world economic expansion that rebuilt the war-ravaged European continent and gave the free nations a standard of living that would have been thought unattainable before.

Trade continues to fuel the global economy. Today, over one-quarter of the world's output is traded internationally, twice as much as in 1970. That is why the nations at the Bonn economic summit joined unanimously in calling for another round of trade negotiations. Soon we must realize that in a global

economy, all markets are common markets, and that we will advance most quickly down the road of progress when we walk together.

Like the global economy, our national economies benefit from freedom and suffer in its absence. Today, Europe faces the seemingly intractable problems of low growth and joblessness. The fifties and sixties were boom years for the West, decades of unparalleled economic achievement. But come the seventies, the secret seemed to have been lost. Growth sputtered and almost died out. Inflation raged out of control. More and more people lost their jobs. Innovation and productivity lagged. Instead of building the future, we seemed to be slipping remorselessly back into the past.

As pessimism replaced progress, voices were raised saying that our decline was inevitable. Our world, they said, was rapidly running out of resources and we must rely on government to fairly distribute our dwindling economic wealth. People began to lose faith in freedom, and it became fashionable to talk of a "convergence" between the free, democratic countries and the totalitarian dictatorships.

We rejected this pessimism. In America, we came to believe that government was more the problem than the solution, that the massive growth of the Federal bureaucracy was weighing down the private sector, and that huge increases in taxes and regulations were stifling individual initiative and destroying opportunity for our people. In our country, we have always held it as an article of faith that freedom works, and I came into office determined to give freedom a chance.



So in the United States we began by cutting taxes -- bringing the top rate down from 70 to 50 percent and giving all Americans a 25-percent tax cut across-the-board. By reducing unnecessary regulations we limited the role of government and set enterprise free -- without endangering the essential protections that a compassionate society must provide. It's true that many economists, schooled in the old policies of government control, predicted disaster. They said that by 1983 we would be suffering from a second Great Depression. Instead, we saw the strongest economic upsurge in three decades, with the U.S. economy growing at an annual rate of 6 percent in 1983 and 1984. Investment rose higher and productivity rose faster than any other postwar recovery. The inflationary balloon collapsed and interest rates fell by half.

New businesses began incorporating at the astounding rate of over 600,000 a year, and employment took off -- up over 7 million new jobs in \_\_ months -- giving the United States the highest level of employment in history.

We've decided that freedom works so well in creating jobs and opportunity for the American people, we want even more of it. When I return to the United States, I will be presenting an historic tax reform bill to our legislature that will not only cut tax rates even further, but make them less "progressive." We believe that there is nothing progressive about tax rates that discourage people from climbing up the ladder of success. We are moving toward a so-called "flat tax" because the easier it is for

people to climb up, the less likely they will grow discouraged along the way.

Some point to our budget deficits as the source of our economic expansion. But if that's true, why did a decade of deficit spending in the seventies fail to revitalize our lagging economy? The fact is that many of the Western industrialized nations have larger deficits as a percentage of their GNP than the United States, yet their recoveries have been sluggish. Deficits slow growth, they don't create it, and we are committed to a program that will cut Government overspending and bring our budget into balance by the end of the decade.

Our experience has shown us that Government alone can't stimulate economic progress, but it can set it free. In Europe, governments continued to try to spur economic development: they took over many industries and subsidized others; they subsidized exports and protected themselves against imports; they sent their immigrants home in order to relieve unemployment; and they passed strict job laws that restrict the movement of labor. But as controls tightened, prosperity vanished.

The one thing they have not done to any significant degree is the one measure that has proven time and time again to be effective -- cutting marginal personal income tax rates. The historical record is clear: tax cuts work. Germany lifted itself out of the ashes of World War II only in 195\_, when \_\_\_\_\_ slashed that country's tax rates. Starting in 1954, 20 years of tax cutting did the same for the Japanese, catapulting them out of underdevelopment and into the front ranks

of world economic powers. Between 1973 and 1975, Austria gave itself the largest tax cut in recent European history, making her economy the envy of other democratic-socialist nations.

In my own country, we have had three major rounds of tax cuts, in the twenties, sixties, and eighties, setting off three of the most prosperous periods in our history. Each time, critics said we were giving huge breaks to the wealthy at the expense of the poor; but each time, after taxes were cut, the wealthy ended up paying a larger share of the total tax burden, as lower rates attracted more money into productive investment and out of consumption, and areas of legal and illegal tax avoidance. We have also found that lower tax rates bring higher revenues to the government. In 1983, the first full year that all the elements of our tax cut were in place, revenues increased a remarkable 11 percent.

Tax cuts, a boom to the developed nations, are a necessity for the third world, where tax rates often rise faster, higher, and steeper and economic growth can be a question of survival. An economic revolution may be in the making in India today, where Rajiv Gandhi is reducing regulations, lowering tariffs, and slashing taxes. As one member of the new government put it, "We have taken away obstacles and opened opportunities" in order to liberate "the inherent vitality of the Indian entrepreneur. The parrot (of the Indian economy) has been too long in the cage," he continued. "Now we're going to let it out. I think it will fly."

In our country, a whole new generation of entrepreneurs has taken flight. They are men and women with ideas and the means to

make them happen who have sparked a renaissance of innovation in America, making new breakthroughs every day in such 21st century technologies as bio-engineering, micro-chips, and fiber optics.

It has been individuals, small businessmen and entrepreneurs, who have fueled America's economic boom. It's estimated that 85 percent (ck) of all our new jobs have come from small, new, and growing firms with 20 employees or fewer. Apple computer, one of the largest, most successful personal computer firms in the world was started by two college students in the garage behind their house.

That's why we believe special tax breaks and subsidies for existing big businesses won't do the trick. Some nations have lower corporate taxes and much more generous investment credits and tax write-offs for business than we do in America. But the most fertile and rapidly growing sector of any economy is that part that exists right now only as a dream in someone's head or an inspiration in his heart. No one can ever predict where change will come from or foresee the industries of the future; no government would ever target those two young men working through the night, making dreams come true in their garage.

If we put our trust in "experts," and rely on their knowledge to shape our destiny, then we condemn ourselves to live in the past -- for how can they be experts in what hasn't been invented yet, what does not yet exist? In 1899, the head of the U.S. Patent Bureau advised our President to abolish his office because, he said, "Everything that can be invented has been invented." At one point, Thomas Watson, the founder of IBM,

which is today one of the largest manufacturers of computers in the world, is reputed to have said, quote, "I think there is a world market for about five computers."

Five hundred years ago there lived a man who didn't believe in the accepted wisdom. His stubborn adherence to his vision made him an exile from his own land and brought him, a poor immigrant, to Spain. The Spanish philosopher, George Santayana, wrote a poem of him: "Columbus found a world, and had no chart,/Save one that faith deciphered in the skies;/ To trust the soul's invincible surmise/ Was all his science and his only art."

Christopher Columbus was one of the original entrepreneurs, a man whose bold vision was matched only by his enterprise. Like many who would come after him he didn't discover what he had set off to find, but his discovery quite literally changed the shape of the known world, turned it upside-down, and began a whole new chapter in the history of man.

In the seventies the United States found itself in an ironic predicament. Policies designed to protect our welfare were undermining the economic foundation on which our security depended. Laws passed to make jobs and shore up businesses were creating joblessness. Programs that were to bring hope and opportunity had created hopelessness and despair instead. Some told us that this was the sad but inevitable fate of a world that had reached, as they described it, "the limits to growth." But we decided they were telling us the Earth was flat when it really is round. We decided to let the "parrot fly free," let him discover a New World not subject to these pessimistic

constraints, a New World of hope and opportunity where our tomorrows are as limitless as the horizon.

A half-millennium after Columbus, wouldn't this be the best way to celebrate: for the people of the New and Old Worlds to join with each other on a new voyage of exploration and discovery, together stake our claim on the future.

Thank you, and God bless the lasting friendship between our two nations.

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

April 26, 1985



MEMORANDUM FOR JACK F. MATLOCK

FROM: PETER R. SOMMER *Peter*

SUBJECT: Hambach Speech

I understand Rick may also raise the Hambach speech at the 4:30 meeting. The draft which was just circulated was done by Ben personally and overall is not bad. Both Niles and Kornblum are concerned that the anti-communist thrust is the wrong message for this youthful audience. I tend to agree but do not feel as strongly as they do. Ben, of course, will insist that it is the President's duty to convey a message of anti-communism.

The German's worry about the President basing all his policies on his opposition to communism. Furthermore, the German youth does not feel it is about to be engulfed by communism. You may wish to urge Ben at the 4:30 meeting to change the emphasis on pages 4 to 7 to how good our system is rather than how bad communism is.

# URGENT

## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 4/26/85 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 3:30 P.M. TODAY

SUBJECT: ADDRESS: GERMAN STUDENTS, HAMBACH CASTLE - BONN  
(4/26 - 10:00 a.m. draft)

	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 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 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>ELLIOTT</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
McFARLANE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>SIMS</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
			<u>HENKEL</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
			<u>ROSEBUSH</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide any edits directly to Ben Elliott by 3:30 p.m. today, April 26th, with an information copy to my office.

Thank you.

RESPONSE:

David L. Chew  
Staff Secretary  
Ext. 2702



(Elliott)  
April 26, 1985  
10:00 a.m.

Received SS

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

1985 APR 28 11:14 AM

*Either: Vielen Dank (Feeling dank) OR Danke schön*

Chancellor Kohl, honored guests, and my young friends of Germany: Viele danke shoen. I am very happy to be with you, to see for myself and to be able to say (In German -- The spirit of Hambachfest lives!) Nancy and I are delighted and honored to join you at this magnificent site so rich in history and inspiration.

*Combination doesn't work in German*

Already, you have given us a gift of hope and beauty from the sight of this sturdy, old castle, from the faces of your youth -- the faces of Germany's future -- and, yes, from the warmth we feel in German hearts.

In welcoming us, you pay tribute to the 237 million Americans I am privileged to represent. I might add that more of those Americans trace their roots to this land, 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 Zweibrücken, 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 drew first breath, 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 Hambach Schloss. 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 red, black, and gold to announce a 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 German 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."

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, true killing fields -- is a living portrait of the most compelling truth of our time: communism is cruelty and must not chart our future. Aber freedom ist wunderbar -- the future is with the free.

Am I right to believe that freedom has many friends here today? Well, most of you are living in the springtime of your lives. The world 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 -- 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.

It will be up to you to protect, and one day pass on to your children, the peace and freedom your parents and leaders -- like Chancellor Kohl -- have so faithfully and courageously guarded for you. This is no easy task. We know the world is a dangerous place. But, perhaps the greatest danger for the West is our own

unwillingness to understand our adversary's true intentions -- to believe the tyranny we face is real.

Marxism-Leninism is a doctrine that has brought so much hurt and pain and anguish to so many millions of innocent people. Wherever it takes hold, it does not produce sufficient bread, or permit initiative, or great works of creativity or human fulfillment. It impoverishes economies and human souls. But while it may seem spent and tired and failed, it is not -- not when it comes to seizing power, holding power, expanding power.

— Let us understand, truly understand, what Lenin meant when he said that, ultimately, all governments must be dictatorships with power based upon force limited by nothing -- by no spiritual belief, by no law, by no standard of truthfulness nor any other concept of morality or human rights which we revere.

If you are to be leaders in a world where freedom and peace are secure, then I urge you -- study well this doctrine of dictatorship; study its applications today with all the rigor, in all the detail, that you study the values and intellectual foundations of your own liberty.

If you do, you'll see that aggression finds a welcome home in the heart of Leninism. For example, Lenin's definition of peace, constantly repeated, is the end of class struggle, which will come from the worldwide victory of communism. To us in the West, peaceful coexistence means live and let live. But, to others, peaceful coexistence means class struggle in any form except all-out war.

*He never said it this way!*

So you see why language, the currency of our political communication, must be corrupted to hide aggression. Key words from our western civilization -- peace, freedom, democracy, human rights -- are simply redefined to confuse us into believing communism shares our values, dreams and aspirations.

When the Soviets invade and occupy Afghanistan with brutal force, it is, we are told, because the West endangers peace in Afghanistan. When the Polish government bullies Solidarity and the Catholic Church, it is, we are told, because the West provoked anti-democratic elements. And, when the Berlin Wall is fortified again and again, it is, we are told, to protect the East from aggression.

Well, the United States has a commitment of its own -- to the survival of liberty. For us, the first frontier of European liberty begins in Berlin, and I assure you today that we will never retreat from Berlin. But shouldn't we wonder how it is that, when the other side arms, attacks, occupies, and, yes, enslaves, somehow the West is always the aggressor. I'm reminded of what your famous author Lessing once said, "It is not children only that one feeds with fairy tales."

I say these things, not in a spirit of confrontation, not at all. 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 rejoicing than to reach an agreement that will ban forever nuclear weapons from the face of this Earth -- 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, in word and deed, then we must realize that Lenin's command -- the triumph of Soviet power all over the world -- remains their command. And we must realize, too, that all the broken promises and treaties have not been mere coincidences. Lenin said, trickery and deceit to spread revolution are not only permitted, they are essential.

Only when we in the West realize that this system continues to live by and for power alone, only when we have the courage to stop that power from expanding, ~~and further advance the frontiers of freedom~~, can we hope for an evolution of communism toward true democratic reform. This is the most realistic hope for freedom and lasting peace in the world.

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, please, 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 precious if we'll just remember -- the

eternal youngness of freedom is what 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 the great French intellectual, Jean Jacques Ravel. His book is a call for courage from each of us, joined in communion in the 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 yourselves, what is the fundamental difference between so-called communist man and democratic man? In that answer rests the deepest hope for the future of mankind; for Communism denies what we so profoundly believe: 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.

He is our power. He is our freedom. He is our future. And through Him, not through drugs, not through materialism, not through any other-ism, we will find brotherhood and knowledge. It is through Him, my young friends, that the New Europe will finally be -- a Europe that is democratic, reunited in one family, and that is, once again, 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 it isn't true. Tell me you don't believe it either. It is you,

Germany, and your 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 Erhard, Churchill and de Gaulle, and now your most able Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

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 country in the world has been more creative than Germany -- not one. And, none other is better able to help create the future. Germany -- which gave the world music for eternity by Beethoven and Bach, the great works of Goethe, discoveries by pioneers like Werner von Braun, incredible feats of engineering and technology, the Volkswagen Beetle, and let's not forget 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 Germany's 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 democratic system on the ashes of Nazism



and achieve reconciliation with your neighbors. You did all three.

And so, America learned from you. And we learn from you today. 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 work, to reward the risk-taker and the entrepreneur, to reward every man and woman who dares to dream and to create the future.

Today, the same human faith and skill that discovered oil, where once there was only sand, are discovering a new world of computers, microchips, and biotechnology -- new technologies that will revolutionize our lives. Technology pioneered in the Federal Republic and the United States will make our air and water cleaner and preserve our environment for our children.

The technologies we develop may someday enable us to develop new and 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 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 homophiliacs. We can research the Beta Cell, which produces insulin, and which could provide mankind's first permanent cure for diabetes.

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. They are tiny specks on the globe. They have dense populations and 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 low tax rates 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 first students 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; and it is good; and you must work to make it come true.

My young friends, this is a wonderful time to be alive and to be free. So, remember that in your hearts are the stars of your fate; remember that everything depends on you; and, remember not to let one precious moment slip away, for as von 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.

Auf Wiedersehen lieber Deutschland. God bless you.