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JET 5/24/2005

File Folder SPEECH [PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO EUROPEAN
PARLIAMENT IN STRASBOURG 5/8/85] (9/12)

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F06-114/10

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ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
11549	PAPER	EUROPEAN UNITY, ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP AND EAST-WEST RELATIONS [88 - 112] R 1/2/2008 NLRRF06-114/10	25	ND	B1

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Comments on Draft Strasbourg Speech

The Department believes it will be important to bear in mind that the televised Strasbourg speech will take place before a large audience of European parliamentarians of varying views -- socialist and Labour and "Green" as well as Christian Democratic and Conservative. We believe substantial segments of the speech, as now drafted, will be received negatively and create an adverse public impact for the President. We recommend the changes indicated below.

Page 1 - Marseillaise.

Page 3 - The Jewish people do not consider themselves a "race", which was the characterization the Nazis used. We recommend that this sentence be rewritten to read "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."

Page 5 - We recommend that Jean Monnet, a firm proponent of European unity, be substituted for Charles deGaulle, whose French nationalist aspects are controversial.

We recommend that the section beginning ... But in time, in Europe and also in America..... through the first paragraph of page 7 (ending ... "philosophy that guided and galvanized the Economic Miracle of the 1950's and 1960's." be replaced by the following:

But a miracle that should not have been a surprise to us. Too often when we Americans think about our European heritage, we think first of the extraordinary cultural influences and of the successive population waves that have provided us with such a rich ethnic heritage. We tend to forget that the extraordinary pace of economic development in the United States during the 19th century and on into the 20th is also intimately connected with our European heritage. Many know that our legal system was largely inherited from Great Britain, but fewer know for example that the expansion of the American railroads which accelerated the settlement of our West was largely financed in Europe and also that these same railroads were largely built with immigrant labor from Europe, as well as Asia.

The industrial revolution began in Europe and soon spread to our shores. There were many Europeans and European-Americans who ushered in the modern industrial-technological age in my country; among them Alexander Graham Bell, a Scotsman. Guglielmo Marconi and Albert Einstein are names known throughout the world for their

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contributions to all humanity. The industrial and management processes which were developed by distinguished European-Americans were the result of individual genius, but they could not have flourished were it not for the openness and democratic nature of the American system, based as it is on common precepts espoused by such greater Europeans as Hume, Locke, Rousseau, and Adam Smith. I also think it would be fair to say that what Europeans have contributed to the development of the American free enterprise system has paid rich dividends to the world as a whole and to Europe in particular for the improvement of the material condition of mankind -- and this process continues today.

When phloxera, a plant disease, threatened to destroy completely the European wine and grape growing industry, the solution was found in grafting American vine root stock which had originally come from Europe to European vines, resulting in a hardy plant which saved the industry. This historical example shows what can be achieved by combining the good that is to be found on both sides of the Atlantic. We must continue to learn from each other so that free enterprise and social justice can be promoted in such a way as to increase opportunities for all our people.

President Delors spoke to the need for more entrepreneurship and dynamism in Europe during his recent visit to Washington. (pick up with second paragraph of page 7).

Page 7 - We recommend that the last paragraph be deleted.

Page 8 - Substitute the following for the fourth paragraph:

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

Page 10. Final paragraph and first paragraph of page 11. Substitute the following:

They did not flee the democracies of the West. They fled, and continue to flee, communist totalitarian systems which satisfy neither the material nor spiritual needs of their people. In Indochina, in Afghanistan, in Eastern Europe 40 years after a

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Soviet-style system, they still flee. People have continued to vote with their feet. And their inexorable, invariable vote is from East to West.

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

Page 11 - Insert the following after the second paragraph.

In addition, we have strengthened our own defenses, which had been neglected for so many years. Military strength is only one part of the picture. Restoring the vitality of the US economy was my first priority upon coming into office. I believe that a growing, prosperous economy is an essential element of our strength. We have also seen a reinvigorated alliance relationship. It is Western unity which provides the only realistic basis for seeking a more constructive relationship with the Soviet Union and the East. Finally, we have strengthened our confidence in Western democratic ideals, in the vitality of our democratic processes, and in the superiority of our commitment to human rights. This is an effort which has witnessed a great transatlantic intellectual collaboration. Thinkers like Aron, Revel, Montanelli and others have eloquently defended Western values and repudiated the sometimes fashionable theory of moral equivalence between East and West. Their wisdom has helped to stimulate a renewed appreciation for the relationship between our values and our relations with the Soviet Union.

We have had to face two difficult truths. In our modern age, we share an interest with the Soviet Union in the prevention of nuclear war. Nonetheless, we know that they will conduct themselves in ways that violate our standards of human conduct and are repugnant to our values.

We have tried to put our relations with the Soviets on a durable footing for the long term. Our approach has been based on a realistic assessment of the Soviet challenge, renewed Western strength, and readiness to pursue negotiations designed to achieve concrete results. As we look to the future, we recognize that the Soviet Union has become and remains a global superpower. It can and will make its own choices, and we cannot influence all the factors, internal and external, which guide Soviet behavior. Together, however, we can act and negotiate to encourage the new Soviet leadership to accept the view that restraint and mutually beneficial agreements are its most attractive option in relations with the West.

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

Page 12. Delete "For the cost of their effort is great, and it is doomed to failure because we will not allow it to succeed."

Paragraph 3, first sentence, should be altered to read: There is one area of our defense that I want to speak about today because it is misunderstood by many, including some of our friends.

Substitute following for paragraph 3, sentence 3: Nuclear 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. Substitute "deterrence" for "our safety" in the fourth sentence of paragraph 3.

Substitute the following for the final paragraph of page 12:

This research program is an ambitious undertaking, and we cannot yet say which technologies will prove feasible. But the research completed so far is promising, and is the most hopeful development of our time. With it comes the possibility that we may one day be able to rely far less on the threat of nuclear retaliation to keep the peace, and to increase our dependence on non-nuclear means which threaten no one.

Page 13 Substitute "these technologies" for "this technology" in first sentence.

In paragraph 2, second and third sentences, substitute "SDI is not destabilizing -- in fact, as the Soviets have long pursued such research, it would be destabilizing if the West did not. SDI is aimed at protecting all of the West."

For paragraph 3 and following, substitute the following for the part beginning "The peace movements of the West... through the

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PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

STRASBOURG, FRANCE

MAY 8, 1985

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997

By CR NARA, Date 8/7/02

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NLRR F06-114/10 12/15/49

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BY CL NARA DATE 1/2/08

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European Unity, Atlantic Partnership and East-West Relations:

We stand today on the anniversary of one of the great turning points of history. On May 8, 1945, the guns were stilled in Europe. An era of destruction ended, and the bells tolled the start of a new era. It was an era which began in hope for a better world, a world in which, in the words of the United Nations Charter, it was hoped that succeeding generations would be saved from the scourge of war.

There was precious little more than hope on that spring day in 1945. Europe lay in ruins. Its economic and political institutions, shattered. Those who had destroyed were themselves destroyed, but it was the people of Europe who continued to suffer.

"What is Europe now? Winston Churchill asked just after the war. "It is a rubble heap, a charnel house, a breeding-ground of pestilence and hate."

But Europe was also something more. It was the treasury of centuries of Western philosophy and culture. Despite the destruction of war, Europe was guided by an ideal -- the Western ideal of the individual and the inherent value of man.

Among the lessons we learned from that horrible conflagration was that man cannot be beaten. Churchill was only partially correct in his description of the European continent on that day in 1945.

It is true that the cities and industries of Europe lay in rubble, but the continent was not a breeding ground for pestilence and hate. Much to the contrary. Almost immediately after the shooting stopped, democratic leaders who had survived the dictatorship and destruction emerged in all of the defeated nations,

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including those of Eastern Europe which have tragically still not achieved full freedom.

These leaders joined with the democracies of Europe and North America to begin work on a new world -- a world based on the most precious traditions of Western civilization, democracy and the sovereignty of the individual.

Despite hunger, deprivation and destruction, Europe was not the breeding ground for new extremist philosophies. The imposition of communism on the Eastern half of the continent was not the result of spontaneous revolutions, as today's communist regimes wish us to believe.

No, when faced with the results of this unspeakable tragedy, the peoples of Europe reacted in the Western tradition. They dedicated themselves to forging a new partnership among democratic forces which would ensure that the conditions which led to World War II would never again threaten the peace -- or the freedom of the continent.

Today, we all benefit from the wisdom of the great leaders of that time. From the vision of Churchill, de Gaulle, Truman and Marshall, Adenauer and Schumann. From the dedication of Liberals, Christian Democrats and Social Democrats; from the unity of democratic forces in Europe and North America.

But today we also face new challenges which in their own way are very bit as intimidating as the problems which confronted the heroic figures of the immediate postwar years.

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In some ways the problems are even more difficult. We do not have the charred ruins of a continent to focus our efforts. We are instead faced with success -- with democracy, prosperity and the longest period of peace in this century.

That is a proud heritage, but our success can also be misleading. "The secret of success," as Disraeli once said, "is constancy of purpose." If we allow our successes to blind ourselves to the purpose which we are dedicated to serve, we could find our futures uncomfortable indeed.

I am here today to reaffirm to the peoples of Europe the constancy of the American purpose. We have not veered from the ideals of 1945. We remain dedicated to the defense of freedom in Europe as in North America.

To our friends and allies, I say that above all we remain committed to the vision of unity, of cooperation and solidarity across the Western ocean -- the Atlantic ocean, which for so many centuries has been the transmission belt of Western ideals.

And to the unity of Europe. A Europe of sovereign states that have put aside old enmities and joined together in a true union of peoples which can speak to the world with one voice and can again takes its rightful place among the major powers of the planet and speak with a voice equal to that of the United States.

To those who would oppose us, I warn that there should be no doubt about American determination. We seek no territory, we will not force others to accept our ideals or way of life.

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We are dedicated to the cause of peace. America will join with the Soviet Union in every reasonable effort to lower the level of military confrontation in Europe and throughout the world. But we will not for a moment neglect the cause of democracy. Our defenses will remain strong, our determination unflagging.

To those in Europe who are tragically denied the right of self-determination, who are not allowed to live in freedom, I say-- America is with you. We do not accept the cynical contention that the last word has been written about the so-called "fruits of World War II." (quote from Gromyko) We remain determined to overcome the tragic division of Europe, in particular the painful human division which separate families and divides nations against each other.

It has now been forty years since the end of the terrible conflict. Forty years, according to the Bible, is the time that Moses wandered in the wilderness. He was not wandering aimlessly. He was guided by a vision of returning his people to Israel.

So has the West been guided by its own vision for the last forty years -- a vision of freedom and unity. And this vision has found expression in the peace, prosperity, and vitality of the West, which are unique in the history of the planet. We have succeeded.

Now, fifteen years from the end of the century, we should again be prepared for the challenges of a new era. Much will change and, as ever, the United States intends to be in the forefront of those nations stimulating change -- democratic change. As we contemplate the next forty years, it is a fitting time to sketch our vision for the a decade and beyond, renewed and adapted for a changing age.

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Security in Alliance

The creation of a true Atlantic partnership has been the basic contribution to the spread of freedom during the past forty years. Our unity has made it possible for us to consolidate the accomplishments of democracy in the West and to transmit our vision outward.

In one sense, I refer of course to the security partnership of the Atlantic Alliance. But in a broader sense I am speaking of the rise of the West as a community of nations. The ties between the United States and Europe are proof that Disraeli was wrong when he said nations do not have permanent friends. They do. And we are yours.

The Atlantic Alliance was the first alliance in the world which proceeded not from transient interests of state, but from strongly-held views about how nations should relate to their own people and to other nations.

In the words of the North Atlantic Treaty's preamble, the NATO governments were "determined to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law."

These high ideals have infused NATO from its beginning. NATO has safeguarded the peace of Europe and North America for more than a generation. Because it derives its strength directly from the moral values of the people it represents, NATO will continue to serve well as the West's preeminent guardian in the future.

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The futures of the United States and Europe are inextricably bound, through shared ideals, political and security relationships, and economic ties. Our Atlantic partnership is based on equality. The voices of all need to be heard and heeded and, if common goals are to realized, each must contribute.

A major task facing us in coming years will be better to understand our respective roles in this partnership. As NATO began, Europe lay prostrate; the United States assumed most of the burdens and much of the leadership of our Alliance.

Forty years later, Europe has recovered. There is no longer a difference between our economic potential or our standard of living. Europe's ability to support Alliance interests has expanded.

In this changing world, our relationships with each other must also constantly adjust to new requirements. Our partnership will not flourish if the United States believes it is bearing too large a share of the burden. We cannot meet new challenges if our European allies do not feel sufficiently consulted on major issues.

I believe we should face these questions head on. I am deeply impressed by European contributions to the common defense and sense no unwillingness by the European allies to bear burdens.

And I can assure you that my Administration wishes the fullest possible consultation with our Allies on important issues. Our cooperation on implementation of NATO's historic dual track decision was an excellent example of our ability to carry out a common strategy on a complicated issue. We will consult with equal vigor on the bilateral negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union in Geneva.

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But we must take our cooperation beyond current levels. We must work towards a partnership among equals, where there is no so-called "super power" which surpasses other allies in influence.

Both sides must work together to achieve this goal. The United States cannot simply declare equality in our partnership. A full partner is one which has the ability to bear the full share of responsibility for Alliance concerns. And a full partner must also be willing to view Alliance interests on a broader scale than just the local problems in Europe.

My message today is that we desire this sort of partnership. The United States is not only willing to accept a larger role for its European partners; we actively seek such larger participation. We are not a cynical big power intent on maintenance of a sphere of influence. We maintain the constancy of purpose enunciated nearly forty years ago -- a true Atlantic community of like-minded nations based on democratic principles.

As so often, the key to dealing with this challenge is to have confidence in ourselves. We Americans often look too hard to find guarantees that our allies are still supporting us. We ourselves sometimes neglect our own recipe -- that diversity is the key to our strength. I can assure you that I do not lack this confidence. I hope to stimulate such diversity on the basis of our common goals.

But our European allies must also have more confidence -- in America and above all in themselves.

Let me give you a good example. We are often faced with the European fear that the United States is turning away from Europe

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toward Asia. Our partners cite the great and growing volume of US-Asian trade. This trade is a fact, as is the astounding productivity of some Asian economies which have taken off in the last few decades.

But American interest has not shifted from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Rather, Asia, or important segments of it, have joined the Western world. It is to the Western values of democratic governments, individual freedom, and free enterprise that these Asian nations are looking. Through their dynamic economies, they contribute magnificently to the strength and vitality of the Western community of nations. This is not a threat to Europe or the United States. It is a challenge and an opportunity.

I hope Europe will sense this opportunity. Why not take advantage of the wonderful fact that the Western ideal has become the standard upon which the world's nations are judged and by which they judge themselves?

Western values and Western democracy have proven that freedom does indeed work. But if we are to take advantage of this great success, we must have confidence in our ability to do so. Maintaining this confidence is an important common task. I can assure you that America will do its part.

We should also have confidence in presenting our ideal to the rest of the world. One of mankind's great unfinished tasks is to lift the level of development in many nations of the so-called Third World.

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Strasbourg itself is a symbol of our joint efforts to spread democracy. Eighteen months ago, the Council of Europe created the Strasbourg initiative to promote democracy on a worldwide scale.

We, too, in my own country are engaged in a broad, bipartisan effort to promote democratic ideals and institutions. We join you in rejecting the proposition that democracy is only for the Western and the wealthy countries of the world.

The trend of history shows just the opposite; the number of democratic nations in the world is increasing. Democracy is not the only element of social justice, but the human dignity it embodies and sense of enterprise it unleashes contribute profoundly to a country's economic growth and political stability.

So I urge the Council to continue its work, and I pledge you my active support to this end and to the Second Strasbourg Conference on Democracy.

I also urge our European friends to continue to cooperate among themselves and with the United States in helping to create both the political and material conditions for democracy in all parts of the world. Our common efforts to combat hunger in Africa are an excellent example of such work. So too are the creative programs of many European nations to help develop democratic institutions in Latin America, a region deeply tied to the Western cultural heritage.

In approaching these problems, we should be as confident of our own vision as we were in dealing with the rubble of war forty years ago. This does not mean that we impose our will on developing nations. It does not mean that we require them to accept our vision before we will aid them.

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But we are denying our own heritage and neglecting our constancy of purpose if we do not make clear to the rest of the world that we believe in our vision, that we do not approach the problems of the future from a sense of insecurity or guilt. Let us be as confident in ourselves in dealing with the problems of underdevelopment as we are in dealing with our own societies.

European Unity

A key to establishing a full Atlantic partnership will be further development of European unity. A Europe speaking with many voices cannot hope to match the cohesiveness of a single American government. And the best way to develop a single voice is to pursue the unity of the European Community.

The United States helped stimulate the European movement as early as 1947 when Secretary Marshall called for a common European approach to reconstruction as a foundation for the Marshall Plan.

President Kennedy enunciated the prevalent American view more than 20 years ago when he said: "the United States looks on this vast new enterprise with hope and admiration. We do not regard a strong and united Europe as a rival but as a partner."

Every American President since has returned to this central idea. Today I wish to use the occasion of my presence in this most European of cities and before this grand European parliament to present a solemn reconfirmation of American dedication to the unity of Europe.

From the first, we have welcomed the development of European political and economic integration. We favored, and continue to

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favor, the expansion of the European communities. We fully support efforts towards European political union and look forward to helping in any way to make it possible. The United States is especially pleased by the prospect of membership by Spain and Portugal in the European Community. Inclusion of these two traditional centers of European culture can only strengthen our joint interests.

Economic Partnership

The Bonn economic summit we have just concluded has resoundingly reaffirmed again the importance and the spirit of Western economic cooperation. The European movement has always been spurred by economic cooperation. As our economies have grown more and more interlinked, that cooperation is no longer simply desirable but essential.

Every day we see how the actions of one of us can produce effects far beyond our own borders. Because of this our efforts to develop agreed objectives and to coordinate policies in such meetings as the annual economic summits have grown in importance. And the significant role of the European Community on the world economic scene is recognized in its participation in these sessions.

The economies of the West are powerful and growing. In 1967, when the European Communities consisted of six members, two-way trade between the United States and the EC was just over \$10 billion. This trade has burgeoned since then, to over \$100 billion in 1984. At present Europeans have invested directly more than \$90 billion in the United States, and a like amount, more than \$100 billion, is direct American investment in Europe.

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After a difficult period, economic recovery is growing stronger in Western Europe, and the U.S. economy is continuing to perform well. I am confident that with sustained non-inflationary growth and a reduction of impediments to that growth, the recovery - now in its third year - will strengthen and endure, to the benefit not only of the industrialized nations, but of the global economy.

Vital to that objective, which I know all share, is our commitment to liberalizing trade and to resisting protectionist pressures. I firmly believe that the most effective step we can take to ensure our healthy economic growth into the next decade is to launch a new round of multilateral trade negotiations early next year. Impetus for such a new round came from the European Community in its declaration of March 19. The Bonn declaration just issued was a logical follow-up, and I welcome the idea of a "Brussels Round".

Trade is the life blood of the West. Its importance to the economic welfare of the United States, Western Europe and the entire free world cannot be exaggerated. Those who would restrict trade unfairly and impose unwarranted impediments to it in the hope of resolving internal problems are shortsighted. In the long term, the health of our economies depends on an open and fair trading system.

We value highly the trade relationships we have developed with Western Europe. They have not been without their strains, but if we continue to work together, with good will, I am confident that we will, in the days to come, as in the past, find solutions that are of mutual benefit.

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We continue to believe that there should be a free flow of goods and services between us. Such trade is essential to our mutual economic well-being and to maintaining the type of technological innovation that nurtures it. In today's world of technological marvels, we must at the same time be aware of the potential military application of certain of these items. We believe it essential that adequate protection be afforded to such items to ensure that they are being traded for legitimate purposes and in accordance with established national policies and regulations.

Ensuring the Common Defense

We should not forget that NATO was founded first of all because our nations faced a grave military threat from the Soviet Union in Europe. Tragically, this threat remains. The leaders of the Soviet Union have not comprehended the folly of their unbroken efforts to use military means to intimidate others. Despite the pressing economic and social needs of their own country and of the peoples of Eastern Europe, they devote the choicest of their resources to building and deploying weapons, weapons and still more weapons.

After forty years of failure, they appear still to believe that increased military power will translate automatically into the political influence and respect they crave. We know better. They should know better. They should know that this unnatural fascination with military power is irresponsible and potentially dangerous in today's world. It creates wary allies and resolute adversaries among those nations destined to share the planet with the Soviet state.

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But we take no comfort from the fossilized military fixations of the East. A stagnating empire is no less threatening than a dynamic one. Increasingly, the Soviet Union is faced with the fact that only in the field of weaponry can it maintain parity with the West.

We hope the day will come when the Soviet leadership understands the message of the West. When it recognizes that man's basic instincts rebel against the sort of total control which it seeks to impose. Until that day, the West must maintain its defenses. We will not overarm and we will not seek military superiority. But we will make clear to all who threaten us that peace is not guaranteed by one-sided disarmament. Instability is not avoided if one side becomes dangerously weak. Defense is the foundation of our partnership. We are dedicated to working with our allies to keep the West strong.

A Strategy for Security

As important as this economic partnership is, it is our security relationship which remains at the core of our transatlantic ties. Today, some 35 years after its inception, the North Atlantic Alliance is perhaps stronger than at any other time in its history. This relationship is based on a fundamental commitment to freedom, and is predicated upon a policy of both maintaining a strong deterrent against aggression while striving to improve East-West dialogue.

There is no need for me to cite the familiar history of why, in the early postwar years, the NATO Alliance was founded. NATO has always been, and remains, a defensive Alliance. We threaten no

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one. The fundamental purpose of our banding together for the mutual defense of our common interests remains to ensure the peace in Europe and America.

Over the past decade, however, we have witnessed a massive and sustained military buildup in the East -- a buildup which extends far beyond any defensive justification -- calling into question whether the Soviet Union's intentions are similarly benign. If we are to ensure that our policy of deterrence can continue to guarantee the peace, we must take action. We cannot defend our ideals and deter war from a position of weakness and military disadvantage.

It was for this fundamental reason that NATO decided, in 1979, to deploy a limited number of longer-range INF missiles to offset the alarming Soviet buildup of SS-20 missiles, thereby fostering a more stable strategic environment in the short term. It is for this same reason that the United States is committed to modernizing its strategic deterrent through development of the MX. We need to work actively within the Alliance to ensure that our conventional deterrent forces are also similarly upgraded.

But this is only half of our longer-term strategy to construct a more stable security relationship with the East. Negotiation and diplomacy are a necessary complement to the maintenance of our strength. As part of our dialogue with the East on the full array of issues between us, we must also energetically seek equitable, verifiable arms control measures.

At the new talks that have begun between the United States and the Soviet Union in Geneva, we are committed to the pursuit of

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equitable and verifiable agreements with the Soviet Union that could lead to significant reductions in the size of existing nuclear arsenals. As President, I have told my negotiators that I am going to judge the results of these talks by strict standards -- whether they would maintain the security of the United States and our Allies, enhance strategic stability, and reduce the risk of war. In doing so, however, we are prepared to be flexible as to the means used to achieve these reductions.

Today in Geneva, we are willing to meet the Soviet Union halfway in finding a mutually acceptable approach to reductions. We hope that the Soviet Union, having decided to rejoin us at the negotiating table in Geneva, will adopt the same attitude. If they are similarly prepared to bargain seriously, mutually acceptable arms control agreements to the benefit of all should be possible.

We are also ready for progress in other arms control fora:

-- in Vienna at the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction Talks, we seek the reduction of conventional forces in Europe to substantially lower, equal levels;

-- in Geneva at the Conference on Disarmament, we have tabled a draft treaty for the elimination of chemical weapons on a global basis; and

-- in Stockholm at the Conference on Disarmament in Europe, together with our NATO allies we have introduced a package of concrete proposals to reduce the risk of conflict through accident, miscalculation or surprise attack.

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Looking to the Future

I am convinced that the most important legacy any of us can leave to future generations would be to diminish and eventually to eliminate the threat of mutual destruction with which both sides have had to live for some forty years.

Since nuclear weapons were invented, we have had no other feasible option but to rely upon a mutual balance of terror in order to deter war. Clearly we must maintain a strong nuclear deterrent for many years to come. But I believe that we must also explore whether new, emerging technologies can contribute to enhancing deterrence through non-nuclear and defensive means, thus moving us away from this balance of terror.

It is for this reason that the United States has begun to investigate these new, defensive technologies in a research program which we call the Strategic Defense Initiative, or SDI. We welcome the participation of our Allies, so that our efforts toward strengthening deterrence can draw upon the brightest minds and collective energies of the West.

No one can say with any certainty that such technologies are possible -- the prospects are promising, but our research has just begun. Today we can produce a desk-top computer with much greater capabilities and at much less cost than the largest systems manufactured some twenty years ago. Who can say that recent breakthroughs in microchips, miniaturized circuitry and other technologies will not allow us to turn to increased reliance on defensive weapons, and thus toward a safer, more secure world?

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SDI is neither an attempt to achieve superiority nor a unilateral abrogation of the ABM treaty on our part. The program is being and will be carried out in full compliance with the ABM Treaty. Moreover, I have stated that any future decision to deploy defenses against ballistic missiles would, in view of our treaty obligations, be a matter of negotiation. To that end, we must seek to begin through our current discussions with the Soviets in Geneva to move forward cooperatively toward a more stable and defense-oriented relationship.

The long-term goals of SDI do not relieve us of our responsibilities to maintain a strong nuclear and conventional deterrent. Although tomorrow's technology may offer us other choices, today's technology provides us with no alternative but to continue to base our security on nuclear deterrence -- which has, after all, guaranteed peace in Europe for some 40 years. We must continue to modernize our forces, so that they are capable of meeting the challenge posed by the massive Soviet military buildup. At the same time, we must continue to press for reductions in conventional arms to reduce the threat of aggression by that means.

Unfinished Business in Europe

The United States will continue practical efforts to reduce tensions with the Soviet Union, in the field of arms control as well as in many other areas. We have a full agenda of issues that cry out for progress; issues where progress is possible.

Our European allies are pursuing similar efforts with the Soviet Union and the states of Eastern Europe. Individual small

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steps can be useful in themselves. But they are taken on a larger stage and they should have a larger purpose.

As we move towards the 21st century, it will be important to realize that tensions are not only the result of Soviet behavior on a day-to-day basis. They are inherent in a situation which deprives half a continent of its freedom and self-determination.

While there is a wall across Europe which divides freedom from repression, Europe will not be whole. The wounds of war and separation will not be healed and the danger of confrontation cannot be erased.

We will not forget the part of the European continent hidden from our view. We will not forget the terrible human cost of division. This gash cuts across the breadth of Europe, but it is particularly evident in Germany, where a nation, a culture and a people have been split apart.

It is entirely erroneous to assert that the Yalta and Potsdam accords directed that Eastern Europe should be sealed off from the West. The truth is the opposite. No agreements sanctioned a permanent division of Europe. No agreements condoned the erection of artificial barriers between East and West.

The wartime allies agreed not on spheres of influence, but on self-determination. At the Yalta conference, the three heads of government attending reaffirmed, with respect to liberated Europe, "...the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live -- the restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to those people who have been forcibly deprived of them..."

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Now the Soviet Union claims that the postwar situation in Europe is permanent. It further asserts that recognition of this claim is a prerequisite to peace.

The opposite is true. The division of Europe is a source of tension that makes peace insecure. Ultimately it serves neither Western interests nor the interests of the Soviet Union and its allies. The peace of Europe will be neither secure nor stable as long as one power claims for itself artificial rights and privileges in relations with its neighbors.

The alternative is clear: if we are to have peace, not merely an uneasy armistice, we must pursue a regime of equal rights and equal obligations. As set forth so eloquently in the Helsinki Final Act, there must be justice for all.

This is not a question of borders. The United States does not seek to change national boundaries. But I am convinced that the vision of a truly tranquil Europe must include ways to overcome the division between East and West and relieve the human tragedy that it has engendered.

Change in the East

The Helsinki Final Act already provides a framework for reaching across a divided Europe; for facilitating travel across borders; for reuniting divided families; for promoting human contacts of all kinds. Europeans and Americans together are playing a vital role in using the opportunity this agreement provides to bridge the cruel rift that cuts cruelly across the European continent.

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Such human contacts are a part of the solution. The larger part will come about only through evolution that allows our peoples to work together to find common ways to turn human aspirations into common realities.

History will judge who is best equipped to provide expression to these human aspirations. I am confident that we are -- we of the democratic West. The recent blossoming of democracy in Mediterranean Europe, in Latin America, has been heartening. The aspiration to be free is universal and irresistible. Even freedom's enemies must pay it lip service.

I am convinced that, in the end, freedom will out. Change will come. It is important that it come peacefully and constructively. And the West, while it cannot dictate, can assist in the process. It can signal contribution by setting an example for the world.

Fifteen years ago, many leaders in Europe and America proclaimed a vision of a better world. This effort, later known as detente, focussed on improving ties between governments. The hope was that as practical progress was made in many fields, the underlying causes of tension would decrease.

The United States participated fully in these efforts and we are proud of many of the accomplishments. The Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin is a prime example of the type of practical problem which can be solved if both sides work with dedication and good will.

But let's be honest with each other. Have the underlying causes of tension been lessened? Can we really describe the

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situation in Poland as a success of detente? Doesn't the recent history of Poland really reflect the limits of such pragmatic efforts? Can we honestly argue that the millions of dollars pumped by the West into Poland during the 1970's led to a reduction of tensions? I doubt it.

True progress in East-West relations also requires a new vision. We can continue efforts to reach mutually beneficial agreements with the East. I can assure you that the United States will be in the forefront of nations seeking such progress. I have already invited Chairman Gorbachev to Washington for a summit meeting at which I hope to discuss such important issues and to move our relations into a more constructive direction. I will be pleased if he accepts.

But in addition to these practical efforts, we in the West should apply another method to attacking the underlying causes of tension in Europe. We should proclaim the vision of the twenty-first century. We should strike out proudly with our own slogan for the future -- Freedom Works.

Positive change can come about in the East, too, if governments there come to realize that a bright future for the East is only possible in an environment of greater freedom and openness.

For it is the West, with its democratic traditions, its prosperity, and its stability, that is the envy of the world. It is Western values that inspire people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The sad column of refugees from oppression marches endlessly from East to West, not in the other direction.

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The new age of high technology has sprung forth from the dynamic economies of the West, drawing on the unbounded creativity and innovation of free enterprise that are their hallmark.

We are on the brink of further technological revolutions in medicine, genetic engineering, computers, and perhaps other areas we cannot yet even dream of. It is the West that sets the pace in handling the problems of the modern age such as environmental protection, advanced health care, and automation.

This chasm between East and West is large and widening. It does not derive from a gap in talent or resources; the nations of the East, including the Soviet Union, are abundantly endowed with both.

It derives from the fundamental antithesis between the free competition of ideas and rigid orthodoxy; between free enterprise and over-centralized economies; between general well-being and general privation; and between a spirit of optimism and a mood of sullen submission.

The East risks being left behind in the challenge to create a better world. This need not be so. But the East must first realize that the benefits of the West prized even in the East -- material wealth, political stability, and modernization -- are not historical accidents. They stem directly from the boundless human energies liberated by a free society.

The Greek philosopher Heraclitus said that the only constant is change. Surely, the vast transformations since the end of the Second World War are proof of this. The East fears and resists change. The West welcomes change, thrives on it, uses it to fashion a better future.

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The choice the East faces is a difficult one. It is a choice between retreating to the past and forging ahead, between atrophy and revitalization, between repression and liberalization. The decision must be made in the East. We cannot spare the East the necessity of choice. The West can only point out the essential truth, by example and by sending out its message clearly and constantly: Freedom is the path to success.

What can we do? We can look on Western tasks for the future as the building of a 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 even while it is created.

But the initial spark of vision remains constant. The abiding faith which 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 that produced them.

I believe the the outlines of this vision can already be seen. The experience of the past four years has proven the constancy of our purpose. It has proven that the progress of the postwar period was not temporary and that we have a firm foundation for continued peace, freedom and prosperity.

Above all, we have seen again, as in those bleak days following World War II, that man is able to manage his own destiny if allowed to do so. We have proven without doubt that Freedom Works. That the state cannot be elevated above its people. That our ideal of

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man and his place in the world remains the most revolutionary and the most progressive philosophy on earth.

Our task in coming decades will be to apply that vision to the enormous tasks awaiting us. We will improve our own societies to ensure that no legitimate human need is left unfilled.

We will deepen our cooperation as a means of guaranteeing the strength of the democratic ideal.

But we must also go one step further. The challenges of the 21st century are not limited to the Western world. Rapid change will unbalance nations around the globe, including those of Eastern Europe. We cannot impose our will on these nations. But we can demonstrate our example.

The West has an historic task. We are peaceful, we are prosperous and we are free. This freedom can serve as a beacon for others struggling with change. It can form the foundation for peaceful change throughout the world, including in both parts of Europe.

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MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

April 25, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR JACK MATLOCK
WALT RAYMOND
BILL MARTIN
STEVE SESTANOVICH
KARNA SMALL
BOB LINHARD
STEVE STEINER
PETER SOMMER

FROM: TY COBB *TC*
SUBJECT: Strasbourg Speech

Attached is a revised copy of the President's Strasbourg speech, reflecting State and NSC input. Please provide your comments to me no later than 3:00 p.m. today.

Attachment

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(Noonan/BE)
April 23, 1985
6:00 p.m.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But there is a lesson too in another thing we saw in those days: perhaps we can call it "the ^{appeal} ~~banality~~ 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 Wallenberg.

These names shine. They give us ^{inspiration} ~~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

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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.

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

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

Together we created the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, a defense system aimed at seeing that the kind of tyrants who had tormented Europe would never torment her again. NATO was a triumph of organization and effort, but it was also something very new, very different. For NATO derived its strength directly from the moral values of the people it represented. It was

infused with their high ideals, their love of liberty, their commitment to peace. *There were obstacles which we overcame which were worth overcoming because our people shared a common vision -- to be free.*

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

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

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

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

~~But in time, in Europe and also in America, prosperity brought a changing political climate. The West turned to a new, and understandable preoccupation: security. Economic security, which we looked for from the state. And security from war, which we looked for from varying sources. Some of us began to question the ideals and philosophies that had guided the West for~~

But a miracle that should not have been a surprise to us. Too often when we Americans think about our European heritage, we think first of the extraordinary cultural influences and of the successive population waves that have provided us with such a rich ethnic heritage. We tend to forget that the extraordinary pace of economic development in the United States during the 19th century and on into the 20th is also intimately connected with our European heritage. Many know that our legal system was largely inherited from Great Britain, but fewer know for example that the expansion of the American railroads which accelerated the settlement of our West was largely financed in Europe and also that these same railroads were largely built with immigrant labor from Europe, as well as Asia.

The industrial revolution began in Europe and soon spread to our shores. There were many Europeans and European-Americans who ushered in the modern industrial-technological age in my country; among them Alexander Graham Bell, a Scotsman. Guglielmo Marconi and Albert Einstein are names known throughout the world for their

contributions to all humanity. The industrial and management processes which were developed by distinguished European-Americans were the result of individual genius, but they could not have flourished were it not for the openness and democratic nature of the American system, based as it is on common precepts espoused by such greater Europeans as Hume, Locke, Rousseau, and Adam Smith. I also think it would be fair to say that what Europeans have contributed to the development of the American free enterprise system has paid rich dividends to the world as a whole and to Europe in particular for the improvement of the material condition of mankind -- and this process continues today.

~~When phylloxera, a plant disease, threatened to destroy completely the European wine and grape growing industry, the solution was found in grafting American vine root stock which had originally come from Europe to European vines, resulting in a hardy plant which saved the industry. This historical example shows what can be achieved by combining the good that is to be found on both sides of the Atlantic. We must continue to learn from each other so that free enterprise and social justice can be promoted in such a way as to increase opportunities for all our people.~~

President Delors spoke to the need for more entrepreneurship and dynamism in Europe during his recent visit to Washington. (pick up with second paragraph of page 7).

~~was only 5.5 percent of the civilian labor force.~~

~~But now unemployment is twice what it was 10 years ago, no new jobs have been added, and growth has virtually disappeared.~~

~~I suspect you anticipate my feelings, but I assert today that Europe's recent decline is traceable to a departure from the philosophy that guided and galvanized the Economic Miracle of the 1950's and 1960's.~~

I believe that we in the West -- all of us, to varying degrees -- have been so preoccupied with providing economic security that we have inadvertently engaged in policies that have reduced economic opportunity. We know 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? The free enterprise system, from freedom of invention to freedom of investment, is the one system designed by man that succeeds in raising up the poor. When men and women are encouraged and allowed to start their own businesses, and create wealth and jobs, they not only add to the sum total of happiness in their communities -- they add to the sum total of economic energy in their country, and sum total of economic strength in the West.

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

~~to lower tax rates on our people, restrain government spending, eliminate regulatory burdens, and reduce tariff barriers.~~

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

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

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

~~Toward peace -- one kind of European unity could succeed at. It was the child of Robert Schumann's genius -- and if he were here today I believe he would say: We have only just begun!~~

I am here to tell you America remains, as she was 40 years ago, dedicated to the unity of Europe. We continue to see a strong and unified Europe not as a rival but as an even stronger partner. We favor the expansion of the European Community; we

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~~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~~
The Western ideal has become the standard upon which the world's nations are judged and by which they judge themselves.

Western values and Western democracy have proven that freedom does indeed work. But if we are to take advantage of this great success, we must have confidence in our ability to do so. Maintaining this confidence is an important common task. I can assure you that America will do its part.

This terrible moral confusion is reflected even in our language. We speak of "East-West" tensions as if the West and the East were equally responsible for the threat to world peace today. We speak of "The Superpowers" as if they are moral equals -- two huge predators composed in equal parts of virtue and of vice. We speak of the "senseless spiral of the arms race" as if the West and the East are equally consumed by the ambition

to dominate the world. We speak as if the world were morally neutral -- when in our hearts, most of us know it is not.

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

The central cause of the tensions of our time is the conflict between totalitarianism and democracy. The evidence of this is all around us, all around you. Europe is split in two. One side is free, democratic, non-expansionist, non-threatening and peace loving. The other side is populated by subjugated peoples who, against their will, are suffering under the dictatorship of an implacably expansionist power.

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

They did not flee the democracies of the West. They fled, and continue to flee, communist totalitarian systems which satisfy neither the material nor spiritual needs of their people. In Indochina, in Afghanistan, in Eastern Europe 40 years after a

~~they flee communism. In Eastern Europe, 40 years after she was subsumed by the Soviet State, they still flee from communism.~~

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Soviet-style system, they still flee. People have continued to vote with their feet. And their inexorable, invariable vote is from East to West.

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

~~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. * INSERT PAGE ON BACK — P. 11A goes here

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

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

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In addition, we have strengthened our own defenses, which had been neglected for so many years. Military strength is only one part of the picture. Restoring the vitality of the US economy was my first priority upon coming into office. I believe that a growing, prosperous economy is an essential element of our strength. We have also seen a reinvigorated alliance relationship. It is Western unity which provides the only realistic basis for seeking a more constructive relationship with the Soviet Union and the East. Finally, we have strengthened our confidence in Western democratic ideals, in the vitality of our democratic processes, and in the superiority of our commitment to human rights. This is an effort which has witnessed a great transatlantic intellectual collaboration. Thinkers like Aron, Revel, Montanelli and others have eloquently defended Western values and repudiated the sometimes fashionable theory of moral equivalence between East and West. Their wisdom has helped to stimulate a renewed appreciation for the relationship between our values and our relations with the Soviet Union.

We have had to face two difficult truths. In our modern age, we share an interest with the Soviet Union in the prevention of nuclear war. Nonetheless, we know that they will conduct themselves in ways that violate our standards of human conduct and are repugnant to our values.

We have tried to put our relations with the Soviets on a durable footing for the long term. Our approach has been based on a realistic assessment of the Soviet challenge, renewed Western strength, and readiness to pursue negotiations designed to achieve concrete results. As we look to the future, we recognize that the Soviet Union has become and remains a global superpower. It can and will make its own choices, and we cannot influence all the factors, internal and external, which guide Soviet behavior. Together, however, we can act and negotiate to encourage the new Soviet leadership to accept the view that restraint and mutually beneficial agreements are its most attractive option in relations with the West.

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

peaceful intentions -- and only peaceful intentions -- toward the Soviet Union.

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

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

Nuclear ^d Deterrence has worked for 40 years now, ^{and for the foreseeable future, it} ~~but we have long hoped~~ ^{will remain the foundation of our common security - but we have long hoped for a better way.} ~~for a better way.~~ I believe we may have found ~~it~~ ^{deterrence} in emerging new technologies aimed at enhancing ~~our safety~~ ^{our safety} through defensive means -- non-nuclear means. The United States has begun to investigate ^{the sensitivity of} these new technologies in a research program we call ^{broader-based} the Strategic Defense Initiative -- or S.D.I.

This research program is an ambitious undertaking, and we cannot yet say which technologies will prove feasible. But the research completed so far is promising, and is the most hopeful development of our time. With it comes the possibility that we may one day be able to rely far less on the threat of nuclear retaliation to keep the peace, and to increase our dependence on non-nuclear means which threaten no one.

~~Right now we are only~~

A path that could lead us to that better way. We are now exploring

Can the potential benefits of ^{these} ~~this~~ technology 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.

~~insure the strategic balance and our mutual~~
S.D.I. is not an attempt to achieve nuclear superiority -- it is an attempt to ~~achieve~~ security. It is not an attempt to abrogate existing arms control treaties -- S.D.I. ^{will} ~~would~~ be carried out in full compliance with such treaties. S.D.I. is not destabilizing -- in fact, as the Soviets ^{have long pursued such} ~~may well soon have such~~ ^{research} ~~a system~~; it ^{would} ~~will~~ be destabilizing if the West ^{did} ~~does~~ not. S.D.I. ^{designed to} ~~is part of the~~ will not "decouple" America from Europe -- S.D.I. ^{is} ~~is~~ ^{giving a better more stable way of protecting us} ~~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.

It is a hidden tribute to the West that so much effort is devoted to appealing to Western governments for disarmament. Perhaps this is because the East seems forbidding and implacable while Western societies give a free and open hearing to such appeals. The Soviet Union consigns to the Gulag or the psychiatric hospital those few brave peace activists in their own society who dare speak out for true peace between East and West.

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

~~failure. And a hidden tribute because they obviously feel that at least we, the reasonable people of the West, will give them a hearing.~~

~~But I wonder if this one-way communication does not contribute to the confusions of the modern age. I would ask the~~

~~members of the peace movement in Europe: does it make you feel safer to know that the peace activists of the Soviet Union are in the Gulag? Does it make you feel safer to know that the Russians who truly desire peace with the West are in psychiatric hospitals?~~

~~I would ask the members of the peace movement: Is it really arms control you desire -- or only the signing ceremonies? I ask this because if you really care about arms control you must care about compliance in arms control agreements. And I do not hear about compliance from you. I think it is important that you show some interest in this matter, for arms control means nothing unless both sides comply. And I would ask if it is not reasonable to state the following: that anyone who talks arms control, but never about compliance is, wittingly or unwittingly, really working not for peace but for 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 how? What is the West to do?~~

~~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.~~

unilateral concessions and unilateral

We must always remember that ~~the road to peace does not run~~
disarmament do not pave the road to peace.
~~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.

Those of us who live in the West will all have to remain
vigilant and ready to respond to Soviet actions. We will have
to keep in mind the observation of Lord Palmerston that

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

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

~~I am here today to ask for your help and support in the greatest moral challenge of our time; I am here to ask your help in encouraging freedom movements throughout the world.~~ All of us in this room want to preserve and protect our own democratic liberties -- but don't we have a responsibility to foster and encourage democracy throughout the world? And not because democracy is "our" form of government but because we have learned that democracy is, in the last analysis, the only peaceful form of government. It is, in fact, the greatest Conflict Resolution Mechanism ever devised by man. For only in its atmosphere can man peacefully resolve his differences through the ballot,

through a free press, through free speech and free political parties and the right to redress injustice.

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

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

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

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

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

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

^{do not} I cannot believe ^{the critics who say that the people} ~~that the people~~ of Europe are these days paralyzed and pessimistic. But if this is so, then all I can say as an objective friend who has observed you for 74 years is:

Europe, beloved Europe, you are greater than you know. You are the treasury of centuries of Western thought and Western

culture, you are the father of Western ideals and the 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.

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

There is great work ahead, work that is not unlike the building of 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

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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 "Marseilles" ^{aise} 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.