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Boston University Address, 5/21/89 [1]

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#655

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Boston, Massachusetts)

For Immediate Release

May 21, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT BOSTON UNIVERSITY COMMENCEMENT CEREMONY

Boston University
Boston, Massachusetts

12:33 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, President Silber. And President and Madame Mitterrand, it's a great honor to have you here today. And to Governor Dukakis, my respects -- the Chief Executive of this great state and my friend as well. To Mayor Flynn, His Eminence Cardinal Law, and Dr. Metcalf, Dr. Wiesel, and yes, Kimberly, to you for that wonderful speech earlier on. And to Nancy Joaquim, who rendered both The Marseillaise and The Star-Spangled Banner in such fine way.

It's a pleasure to be back in Boston, back in one of my home states -- (laughter) -- and I am delighted and honored to receive a Doctor of Laws from Boston University along with President Mitterrand. (Applause.) Doctor of Laws -- does this now make us a couple of Boston lawyers, my friend, Mr. Mitterrand? (Laughter.) Who knows?

I also would like to salute another most distinguished visitor -- Prime Minister Mahathir of Malaysia -- a friend to the United States, whose son is graduating today. We're honored to have him here. (Applause.)

And I want to congratulate Barbara on a B.U. degree of her very own. (Laughter and applause.) And now that you're an alumna, take note -- this kinder and gentler America that I'm speaking of does not always include the Terriers. (Laughter.)

My sincerest congratulations go to every Boston University graduate, and to all you proud parents cooking out along the 50-yard line there. (Laughter and applause.) And as Boston University graduates, you take with you a degree from a great institution, and something more -- (applause) -- something more -- knowledge of the past and responsibility for the future. And take a look at our world today. Nations are undergoing changes so radical that the international system you know and will know in the future will be as different from today's, as today's world is from the time of Woodrow Wilson. How will America prepare, then, for the challenges ahead?

It's with your future in mind that, after deliberation and a review, we are adapting our foreign policies to meet this challenge.

1981 to celebrate the bicentennial of that first Franco-American fight for freedom. And soon, I will join you in Paris, sir, to observe the 200th anniversary of the French struggle for liberty and equality. (Applause.)

And this is just one example of the special bond between two continents. But consider this city. From the Old North Church to Paul Revere's home nestled in the warm heart of the Italian North End, to your famous song-filled Irish pubs -- the Old and New Worlds are inseparable in this city. But as we look back to Old World tradition, we must look ahead to a new Europe. Historic changes will shape your careers and your very lives.

The changes that are occurring in Western Europe are less dramatic than those taking place in the East, but they are no less fundamental. The postwar order that began in 1945 is transforming into something very different. And yet certain essentials remain, because our Alliance with Western Europe is utterly unlike the cynical power alliances of the past. It is based on far more than the perception of a common enemy. It is a tie of culture and kinship and shared values. And as we look toward the 21st century, Americans and Europeans alike should remember the words of Raymond Aron, who called the Alliance a "moral and spiritual community." Our ideals are those of the American Bill of Rights and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man. And it is precisely because the ideals of this community are universal that the world is in ferment today.

Now a new century holds the promise of a united Europe. And as you know, the nations of Western Europe are already moving toward greater economic integration, with the ambitious goal of a single European market in 1992. The United States has often declared it seeks a healing of old enmities, an integration of Europe. And at the same time, there has been an historical ambivalence on the part of some Americans towards a more united Europe. To this ambivalence has been added apprehension at the prospect of 1992. But whatever others may think, this administration is of one mind. We believe a strong, united Europe means a strong America. (Applause.)

Western Europe has a gross domestic product that is roughly equal to our own and a population that exceeds ours. European science leads the world in many fields, and European workers are highly educated and highly skilled. We are ready to develop, with the European Community and its member states, new mechanisms of consultation and cooperation on political and global issues from strengthening the forces of democracy in the Third World to managing regional tensions, to putting an end to the division of Europe. A resurgent Western Europe is an economic magnet, drawing Eastern Europe closer toward the commonwealth of free nations. A more mature partnership with Western Europe will pose new challenges. There are certain to be clashes and controversies over economic issues. America will, of course, defend its interests. But it is important to distinguish adversaries from allies and allies from adversaries. What a tragedy; what an absurdity it would be if future historians attribute the demise of the Western Alliance to disputes over beef hormones and wars over pasta. We must all work hard to ensure that the Europe of 1992 will adopt the lower barriers of the modern international economy, not the high walls and the moats of medieval commerce.

of peace the continent has ever known. (Applause.) Behind this shield, the nations of Western Europe have risen from privation to prosperity -- all because of the strength and resolve of free peoples.

With a Western Europe that is now coming together, we recognize that new forms of cooperation must be developed. We applaud the defense cooperation developing in the revitalized Western European Union, whose members worked with us to keep open the sea-lanes of the Persian Gulf. And we applaud the growing military cooperation between West Germany and France. And we welcome British and French programs to modernize their deterrent capability and their moves toward cooperation in this area. It is perfectly right and proper that Europeans increasingly see their defense cooperation as an investment in a secure future. But we do have a major concern of a different order -- a growing complacency throughout the West.

And, of course, your generation can hardly be expected to share the grip of past anxieties. With such a long peace, it is hard to imagine how it could be otherwise. But our expectations in this rapidly changing world cannot race so far ahead that we forget what is at stake. There's a great irony here. While an ideological earthquake is shaking asunder the very communist foundation, the West is being tested by complacency.

We must never forget that twice in this century, American blood has been shed over conflicts that began in Europe. And we share the fervent desire of Europeans to relegate war forever to the province of distant memory. (Applause.) But that is why the Atlantic Alliance is so central to our foreign policy. And that's why America remains committed to the Alliance and the strategy which has preserved freedom in Europe. We must never forget that to keep the peace in Europe is to keep the peace for America.

NATO's policy of flexible response keeps the United States linked to Europe and lets any would-be aggressors know that they will be met with any level of force needed to repel their attack and frustrate their designs. And our short-range deterrent forces based in Europe, and kept up-to-date, demonstrate that America's vital interests are bound inextricably to Western Europe, and that an attacker can never gamble on a test of strength with just our conventional forces. Though hope is now running high for a more peaceful continent, the history of this century teaches Americans and Europeans to remain prepared.

As we search for a peace that is enduring, I'm grateful for the steps that Mr. Gorbachev is taking. If the Soviets advance solid and constructive plans for peace, then we should give credit where credit is due. And we're seeing sweeping changes in the Soviet Union that show promise of enduring, of becoming ingrained. At the same time, in an era of extraordinary change, we have an obligation to temper optimism -- and I am optimistic -- with prudence.

For example, the Soviet Foreign Minister informed the world last week that his nation's commitment to destroy SS-23 missiles under the recently enacted INF Treaty may be reversible. And the Soviets must surely know the results of failure to comply with this solemn agreement. Perhaps their purpose was to divide the

my administration will place a high and continuing priority on negotiating a less militarized Europe, one with a secure conventional force balance at lower levels of forces. Our aspiration is a real peace -- a peace of shared optimism, not a peace of armed camps. (Applause.)

Nineteen-ninety-two is the 500th anniversary of the discovery of the New World. So we have five centuries to celebrate, nothing less than our very civilization -- the American Bill of Rights and the French Rights of Man, the ancient and unwritten Constitution of Great Britain, and the democratic visions of Konrad Adenauer and Alcide de Gasperi.

And in all our celebrations, we observe one fact: this truly is a moral and spiritual community. It is our inheritance and so let us protect it. Let us promote it. Let us treasure it for our children, for Americans and Europeans yet unborn. We stand with France as part of a solid Alliance. And once again, let me say how proud I am to have received this degree from this noble institution and to have shared this platform with the President of the French Republic Francois Mitterrand.

Thank you very, very much. Viva la France and long live the United States of America. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

12:50 P.M. EDT

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/19/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: -----

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: BOSTON UNIVERSITY/NICKERSON FIELD

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>ROGERS</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>WINSTON</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>PINKERTON</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>Rose</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

Davis/Zelikow/Martin
May 19, 1989/noon
Draft: Eight
Title: B: Buspch

1000 MAY 19 1989

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: BOSTON UNIVERSITY/Nickerson Field
May 21, 1989/11 a.m.

Thank you, John. President and Madame Mitterrand, Mayor Flynn, Cardinal Law, Dr. Metcalf and Dr. Wiesel . . . It's a pleasure to be back in Boston. ((And it's a pleasure to be back in one of my home states . . . I am delighted and honored to receive a Doctor of Laws from Boston University, along with President Mitterrand. I have just one question: Does this now make us a couple of Boston lawyers?))

((Congratulations, Barbara, on a B.U. degree of your very own. And now that you're an alumna, take note -- this kinder and gentler America I'm always speaking of doesn't include the Terriers . . .))

My sincerest congratulations go to every Boston University graduate, and to every proud parent. As B.U. grads, you take with you a degree from a great institution, and something more -- knowledge of the past, and responsibility for the future. Look at the world. Nations are undergoing change so radical, that the international system you will know in the next century will be as different from today's, as today's world is from the time of Woodrow Wilson. How will America prepare for the challenges ahead?

It is with your future in mind that, after deliberation and review, that we are adopting new foreign policies to meet this time of extraordinary change and opportunity. On April 17, I went to Michigan to outline how my Administration will promote reform in Eastern Europe. And last Wednesday, I was pleased that Poland legalized the Roman Catholic Church for the first time under Communist rule . . . On May 2, I addressed the Council of the Americas on my policies toward Latin America. A few days ago, in Texas, I spoke to another group of graduates about our new approach to the Soviet Union, one of moving **beyond containment**, to seek to integrate the Soviet Union into the community of nations, to help them share the rewards of international cooperation.

But today, I want to discuss the future of Europe, that mother of nations and ideas that is so much a part of America. It is fitting that I share this forum with a special friend of America . . . President Mitterrand, you have the warm affection and high regard of the American people. I well remember when I joined you in Yorktown in 1981, to celebrate the bicentennial of that first Franco-American fight for freedom. Soon, I will join you in Paris to observe the 200th anniversary of the French struggle for liberty and equality.

This is just one example of a special bond between two

continents. But consider this city. From the Old North Church, to Paul Revere's home nestled in the warm heart of the Italian North End, to your famous song-filled Irish pubs . . . the Old and New Worlds are inseparable in Boston. But as we look back to Old World tradition, we must look ahead to a new Europe. Historic changes will shape your careers and your very lives. Can America keep up with the brisk pace of change around the world? More importantly, can we help shape those changes? Absolutely.

Let me share my vision of how the West, and all nations, can join together. It is not limited by the accidents of mere geography. It is, instead, a kinship rooted in common values, in shared ideals for the way people should live. It is a vision without boundaries, of an Alliance that Raymond Aron (a-ROHN) called a "moral and spiritual community." I see our community as the founding members of a global commonwealth of free nations -- open to all who share the principles of democracy, openness, and respect for human rights and private endeavor.

The new century holds the promise of a united Europe. As you know, the nations of Western Europe are already moving toward greater economic integration, with the ambitious goal of a single European market in 1992. The United States has often declared it seeks a healing of old enmities, an integration of Europe. Now that the day is almost upon us, some express ambivalence about

the prospect of a stronger Europe with economic power near equal to our own. Perhaps it is a fear that Europe could become an economic fortress, shutting out others. Perhaps it is a simple fear of change. But I am here today to tell you that **this debate is over. This government is of one mind -- We believe a strong Europe means a strong America.**

We may be witnessing nothing less than the awakening of a giant in world affairs. Western Europe has a gross domestic product that is roughly equal to our own; and a population that exceeds ours by about fifty million. European science still leads the world in many fields, and European workers are highly educated and highly skilled. Western Europe **is** the nascent superpower of the 21st century.

How should we approach an emerging center of world leadership? Without hesitation, the United States welcomes a more mature relationship with Europe. We certainly welcome the growing political role of the European Community, as it has become more active in coordinating the policies of its member states. We are ready to develop -- in partnership with the EC and its member states -- new mechanisms of consultation and cooperation on political and global issues, from strengthening the forces of democracy in the Third World, to managing regional tensions, to putting an end to the division of Europe. **A resurgent West is an economic magnet, drawing Eastern Europe**

closer, toward the commonwealth of free nations.

We will also step up our dialogue with the European Community to find new ways to cooperate in the economic transition to 1992. I ask the leaders of the Community to work with us to develop regular, high-level meetings -- meetings to anticipate problems and to take advantage of opportunities.

Of course, a more mature partnership with Western Europe will pose new challenges. There are certain to be clashes and controversies over trade. But it is important to distinguish adversaries from allies, and allies from adversaries. What a tragedy -- what an absurdity -- it would be if future historians attribute the demise of the Western Alliance to disputes over beef hormones, and wars over pasta.

We must all work hard to insure that the Europe of 1992 will adopt the lower barriers of the modern international economy, not the high walls and moats of medieval commerce. We hope to see what President Kennedy referred to as an "outward-looking" Europe, a vision I know is shared by President Mitterrand.

But our hopes for the future rest on preserving a Europe at peace. Forty-two years ago, just across the Charles River, Secretary of State George Marshall gave a commencement address that outlined a plan to help Europe recover. Western Europe

responded heroically, and later joined with us in a partnership for the common defense -- a shield we call NATO. Of course, partners occasionally disagree -- as befits our charter and democratic character. Some say the Alliance is in crisis, and it may be true that like democracy itself, it has always been driven by the spirit of crisis. But the deeper truth is that the Alliance has achieved a historic peace because it is united by a fundamental purpose. Behind the NATO shield, Europe has now enjoyed forty years of peace, the longest period of peace the continent has ever known. Behind this shield, the nations of Western Europe have risen from privation to prosperity -- all because of the strength and resolve of free peoples.

Western European defense cooperation is part of this maturing partnership. We applaud the work of the revitalized Western European Union, which worked with us to keep open the sealanes of the Persian Gulf. We applaud the growing military cooperation between West Germany and France. We will continue to support British and French programs to modernize their deterrent capability, and their continuing dialogue toward cooperation in this area. Some worry our allies may seek more strategic independence. But it is perfectly right and proper that Europeans increasingly see their defense as their province. Rather, we have a different concern -- a growing complacency throughout the West.

Of course, your generation can hardly be expected to share the grip of past anxieties. I understand that with a long peace, it is hard to remember how it could be otherwise. But our expectations cannot race so far ahead of reality that we lose a sense of what we have to lose. There is a great irony here. While an ideological earthquake is shaking asunder the very foundation of Communist societies, the West is being tested by complacency.

We must remember that twice in this century, American blood has been shed over conflicts that began in Europe. We must never forget that to keep the peace in Europe is to keep the peace for America. We share the fervent desire of Europeans to relegate war forever to the province of distant memory. That is why the trans-Atlantic relationship is so central to our foreign policy. That is why America remains committed to the agreed Alliance strategy for preserving freedom in Europe called flexible response. I know President Mitterrand agrees.

Our policy of flexible response keeps the United States linked to Europe and lets any would-be aggressors know that they will be met with any level of force needed to repel their attack and frustrate their designs. Our deterrent forces based in Europe, and kept up-to-date, symbolize that America's vital interests are bound inextricably to Western Europe, and that an attacker can never gamble on a test of strength with just our

conventional forces. Faced with such choices, there is only one option for all -- peace.

In our search for a peace that is lasting, I am grateful that Mr. Gorbachev has shown an eagerness to respond. If the Soviets advance a bold, solid and constructive plan for peace, then I say give credit where credit is due. But understand one thing -- we welcome Soviet commitments, but we welcome Soviet implementation of their commitments even more. A lasting peace must be built on deeds that are concrete, not cosmetic, deeds that are remembered after today's news. **Our goal is to make headway, not headlines.**

In Texas, I said that promises are never enough. And as if to prove my point, the Soviet Foreign Minister informed the world last week that his nation's commitment to remove intermediate-range nuclear missiles from Europe is now conditional. In other words, the Soviets are threatening to violate a solemn vow, a treaty to eliminate thousands of nuclear weapons in Europe. Is this an example of "new thinking"? Or is it the same old party line? Whatever it is, it is not helpful.

Yes, I am deliberate. Yes, I am careful. I am guarded because the Warsaw Pact retains, and will retain, a massive nuclear and conventional advantage over the Alliance. For that reason, we will also maintain, in cooperation with our allies,

ground and air forces in Europe as long as they are wanted and needed to preserve the peace in Europe. And I will reject legislative attempts to unilaterally withdraw U.S. troops from Europe. At the same time, my Administration will place a high and continuing priority on negotiating a less militarized Europe, with a secure conventional balance at lower levels of forces. Our highest aspiration is a peace by choice over a peace by compulsion.

Nineteen-ninety-two is the five hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the New World. So we have five centuries to celebrate, nothing less than our very civilization -- the American Bill of Rights and the French Rights of Man, the ancient and unwritten Constitution of Great Britain, and the democratic visions of Konrad Adenauer and Alcide de Gasperi (Dah Gas-Pari).

And in all our celebrations, we observe one fact -- this truly is a moral and spiritual community. It is our inheritance. Let us protect it. Let us promote it. Let us treasure it for our children, for Americans and Europeans yet unborn.

Thank you. Good luck in all that is ahead, and God bless America.

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 05/16/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: Noon 05/17/89

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: BOSTON UNIVERSITY
(05/16 6:00 p.m.-draft 3)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE <i>N/C phone</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston (Rm. 122, x2930) by Noon on Wednesday, 05/17, with an info copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

James W. Cicconi
 Assistant to the President
 and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
 Ext. 2702

Davis/Zelikow/Martin
May 16, 1989/6 p.m.
Draft: ~~Three~~

MAY 16 PM 7:20

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: BOSTON UNIVERSITY/Nickerson Field
MAY 21, 1989/11 a.m.

Thank you, John. It's a pleasure to be back in Boston.
((And it's a pleasure to be back in one of my home states . . .
Congratulations, Barbara, on a B.U. degree of your very own. And
now that you're an alumnus, take note -- this kinder and gentler
America I'm always speaking of doesn't include the Terriers . .
.))

I am pleased to share this opportunity with a special friend
of America . . . President Mitterand, you have the warm affection
and high regard of the American people. ((Anecdote to come.))

My sincerest congratulations go to every Boston University
graduate, and to every proud parent. As B.U. grads, you take
with you a degree from a great institution, and something more --
knowledge of the past, and responsibility for the future.

It is with your future in mind that I have undertaken a
series of foreign policy reviews, the basis for bold new
policies. On April 17, I went to Michigan to outline how my
Administration will meet welcome changes in Eastern Europe. I
announced that the United States will actively encourage and

assist reform in Eastern Europe, and I backed up this commitment with measures to deepen economic relations as those governments allow for greater freedom. A few days ago in Texas, I spoke to another group of graduates about our changing relationship with the Soviet Union. I declared our intention to move beyond containment, to integrate the Soviet Union into the community of nations. I said the United States will work **with** the leaders of the Soviet Union, not **against** them, as they institutionalize changes that encourage freedom and peaceful cooperation.

But today, I want to discuss the future of Europe, that mother of nations and ideas that are so much a part of America. Just consider this city. From the Old North Church, to Paul Revere's home now nestled in the warm heart of the Italian North End, to the song-filled Irish pubs of Southy . . . the Old and New Worlds are inseparable in Boston.

But as we look back to Old World tradition, we must look ahead to changes in Europe. From foreign policy to economics -- these changes will shape your careers and your very lives. Can America keep up with the brisk pace of change around the world? More importantly, can we stay ahead of those changes? Absolutely.

Forty-two years ago, just across the Charles River, Secretary of State George Marshall gave a commencement address

that outlined a plan to revive Europe. Western Europe responded heroically, and then joined with us to protect this fragile reconstruction. Behind this shield, Europe has now enjoyed forty years of peace, the longest period of peace Europeans have ever known. Behind this shield, the nations of Western Europe have risen from privation to prosperity -- all because freedom works.

Of course, the generations coming of age in America and Western Europe today can hardly be expected to feel the grip of past anxieties -- the fears of those who fought in a wars that began at Sarajevo (Sarah-HAY-vo) and Danzig. But the history you learned in this university is the only past you will inherit. Any student of history will remember that democracies reach the moment of maximum danger when they reach maximum complacency. I understand that when people have been at peace for a long time, it is easy to forget that it could be otherwise. I can understand the frustration of those who rush to embrace the new millennia. But our expectations cannot race so far ahead of reality that we lose sight of what's at stake.

There is a great irony here. At the very moment the Alliance is tested by complacency, an ideological earthquake in the societies of the East is shaking asunder the very premise of Communism. In Eastern Europe, a powerful yearning for self-determination is asserting itself, a yearning which will not be satisfied by a mere easing of the grip of illegitimate regimes.

In the Soviet Union, the extent of reform itself is a dramatic confession of failure. Yet they cling to the enforced division of Europe. As the Soviets continue to talk about a united Europe, we will remind them that it is **their** Berlin Wall, **their** Brezhnev Doctrine, **their** guard towers, **their** barbed wire, which divide Europe. **Mr. Gorbachev says he has a vision of a common European home. But Mr. Gorbachev, your vision of this home will not inspire us until you first unlock doors and open windows to the world . . .**

My vision goes far beyond the boundaries of mere geography. My vision is one of a **global Commonwealth of Free Nations** united by eternal values of democracy, openness and respect for human rights -- with the nations of the Alliance as its founding members.

The Alliance is also the means through which West will deal with East. ((Quote to come from Raymond Aron on partnership)) Our allies should know that we will consult with them constantly, and remain sensitive to their vital interests. **They should also know this: There will be no surprises from the United States.**

As democracies, we will have disagreements. But the West must ultimately stand solid and united in the face of the Soviet threat. The United States remains committed to the belief that

the defense of Europe and the deterrence of war requires nuclear weapons, including short-range nuclear weapons. These weapons have made the prevention of war an absolute and fearsome necessity. The destructive power of these weapons is so terrible as to banish forever the delusions of a would-be aggressor. And it is this very destructive power which serves a constructive purpose -- to bring the ancient dream of ending war within our reach.

Common sense tells us that we must maintain the means to convince an aggressor that he would be met in Western Europe with any level of force needed to repel his attack and frustrate his designs. This is the essence of our strategy of "flexible response." We will keep and maintain the nuclear forces we base in Europe as proof of our commitment. We will hold these weapons at the lowest possible level. Mr. Gorbachev's latest promise to withdraw 500 warheads means we should withdraw a proportionate equivalent. Fine. ((**That's four warheads.**)) So much for public relations. Now let's get back to substance.

The fact is, we have unilaterally withdrawn thousands of weapons in the last decade, more than a third of our stockpile. Still, as my friend President Mitterand recognizes in word and deed, nuclear forces still remain the ultimate deterrent. There is no substitute.

Our policy approach springs from seventy years of Soviet international behavior. We welcome Soviet reforms, but we will continue to scrupulously evaluate Soviet intentions.

Last week, I gave concrete proposals to seek more openness between the United States and the Soviet Union on military and trade issues. But, I also warned of the Soviet season, where every summer of friendship is followed by a winter of suspicion. A look at last week's headlines proves this point. The Soviet Foreign Minister has threatened to violate the INF treaty if we take actions fully allowed by the treaty, and fully foreseeable at the time the treaty was signed. Are we now to understand that the Soviet implementation of the INF Treaty is conditional? Is this an example of what we can expect from "new thinking?" Or is it the same old party line? Whatever it is, it does not bring us closer together.

We also remain committed to the conventional defense of Europe. Of course, we want a more secure balance, at lower levels. But I will reject legislative attempts to unilaterally withdraw U.S. troops from Europe. We are disturbed by the way in which the Soviet Union deploys its forces in a forward posture, taking full advantage of its superior geographic position. We will maintain, in cooperation with our allies, U.S. ground and air forces in Europe so long as the Soviet Union remains the dominant military power in Eurasia.

We welcome European defense coordination as a new stage in trans-Atlantic relations. The Alliance needs a strong European "pillar." And we see such a pillar of strength arising in the revitalized Western European Union, and in its coordinated effort with the United States in the Persian Gulf. We applaud the growing defense cooperation of West Germany and France, and support the modernization of the British and French independent nuclear deterrent.

In these ways, the Western Alliance can maintain a common strategic policy. But in a time of peace, economic and political cooperation can be almost as critical to the Alliance as a united strategic approach. Some in the United States are ambivalent about the integration of Europe in 1992. They look to the past. My mission is to look to the future. The United States welcomes a larger European role in the world. **We believe that European unity and the NATO partnership are not in conflict. We believe they reinforce each other.**

We will seek new ways to manage the transition to 1992. And the United States also welcomes the political role of the European Community. If the EC agrees, we are eager to develop and intensify new avenues of consultation and cooperation on global issues -- whether it is strengthening the economies of the

Third World, encouraging the spread of democracy, or protecting the environment.

We must especially avoid prolonged and bitter disputes over trade. Just as we must not mistake adversaries for allies, so we must not mistake our allies for adversaries. What a tragedy -- what an absurdity -- it would be if future historians attribute the demise of the Western Alliance to disputes over produce, and wars over pasta.

We want the Europe of 1992 to adopt the lower barriers of the modern world economy, not the high walls and moats of medieval commerce. We want to see what President Kennedy referred to as an "outward-looking" Europe. And we are hopeful that a resurgent Western Europe will be a magnet drawing the nations of Eastern Europe into the Twenty-First Century.

Twice in this century, American blood has been shed over conflicts that began in Europe. So Americans share the fervent desire of Europeans to relegate war forever to the province of distant memories.

Nineteen-ninety-two is the five hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the New World. So we have five centuries to celebrate, not just four decades. We will celebrate the American Bill of Rights and the French Rights of Man, the ancient and

unwritten Constitution of Great Britain, and the democratic vision of Konrad Adenauer and Alcide de Gasperi.

((Quote to come from Jean Monnet))

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: BOSTON UNIVERSITY
NICKERSON FIELD
MAY 21, 1989/11 A.M.

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NOW A NEW CENTURY HOLDS THE PROMISE OF A UNITED EUROPE. AS YOU KNOW, THE NATIONS OF WESTERN EUROPE ARE ALREADY MOVING TOWARD GREATER ECONOMIC INTEGRATION, WITH THE AMBITIOUS GOAL OF A SINGLE EUROPEAN MARKET IN 1992. THE UNITED STATES HAS OFTEN DECLARED IT SEEKS A HEALING OF OLD ENMITIES, AN INTEGRATION OF EUROPE. AT THE SAME TIME, THERE HAS BEEN AN HISTORICAL AMBIVALENCE ON THE PART OF SOME AMERICANS TOWARD A MORE UNITED EUROPE. TO THIS AMBIVALENCE HAS BEEN ADDED APPREHENSION AT THE PROSPECT OF 1992. BUT WHATEVER OTHERS MAY THINK, THIS ADMINISTRATION IS OF ONE MIND. WE BELIEVE A STRONG, UNITED EUROPE MEANS A STRONG AMERICA.

WESTERN EUROPE HAS A GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT THAT IS ROUGHLY EQUAL TO OUR OWN AND A POPULATION THAT EXCEEDS OURS. EUROPEAN SCIENCE LEADS THE WORLD IN MANY FIELDS, AND EUROPEAN WORKERS ARE HIGHLY EDUCATED AND HIGHLY SKILLED.

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WE MUST NEVER FORGET THAT TWICE IN THIS CENTURY, AMERICAN BLOOD HAS BEEN SHED OVER CONFLICTS THAT BEGAN IN EUROPE. WE SHARE THE FERVENT DESIRE OF EUROPEANS TO RELEGATE WAR FOREVER TO THE PROVINCE OF DISTANT MEMORY. BUT THAT IS WHY THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE IS SO CENTRAL TO OUR FOREIGN POLICY. THAT IS WHY AMERICA REMAINS COMMITTED TO THE ALLIANCE AND THE STRATEGY WHICH HAS PRESERVED FREEDOM IN EUROPE. WE MUST NEVER FORGET THAT TO KEEP THE PEACE IN EUROPE IS TO KEEP THE PEACE FOR AMERICA.

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NINETEEN-NINETY-TWO IS THE FIVE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE NEW WORLD. SO WE HAVE FIVE CENTURIES TO CELEBRATE, NOTHING LESS THAN OUR VERY CIVILIZATION -- THE AMERICAN BILL OF RIGHTS AND THE FRENCH RIGHTS OF MAN, THE ANCIENT AND UNWRITTEN CONSTITUTION OF GREAT BRITAIN, AND THE DEMOCRATIC VISIONS OF KONRAD ADENAUER AND ALCIDE DE GASPERI [DAH GAS-PARI].

AND IN ALL OUR CELEBRATIONS, WE OBSERVE ONE FACT -- THIS TRULY IS A MORAL AND SPIRITUAL COMMUNITY. IT IS OUR INHERITANCE. LET US PROTECT IT. LET US PROMOTE IT. LET US TREASURE IT FOR OUR CHILDREN, FOR AMERICANS AND EUROPEANS YET UNBORN.

THANK YOU. GOOD LUCK IN ALL THAT IS AHEAD, AND GOD BLESS AMERICA.

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I BELIEVE IN A DELIBERATE, STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH TO EAST-WEST RELATIONS, BECAUSE RECURRING SIGNS SHOW THAT WHILE CHANGE IN THE SOVIET UNION IS DRAMATIC, IT IS NOT YET COMPLETE.

THE WARSAW PACT RETAINS A NEARLY 12-TO-ONE ADVANTAGE OVER THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE IN SHORT-RANGE MISSILE AND ROCKET LAUNCHERS CAPABLE OF DELIVERING NUCLEAR WEAPONS; AND MORE THAN A TWO-TO-ONE ADVANTAGE IN MAIN BATTLE TANKS.

FOR THAT REASON, WE WILL ALSO MAINTAIN, IN COOPERATION WITH OUR ALLIES, GROUND AND AIR FORCES IN EUROPE AS LONG AS THEY ARE WANTED AND NEEDED TO PRESERVE THE PEACE IN EUROPE. AT THE SAME TIME, MY ADMINISTRATION WILL PLACE A HIGH AND CONTINUING PRIORITY ON NEGOTIATING A LESS MILITARIZED EUROPE, ONE WITH A SECURE CONVENTIONAL BALANCE AT LOWER LEVELS OF FORCES.

- 37 -

**OUR HIGHEST ASPIRATION IS A PEACE OF SHARED OPTIMISM,
NOT OF ARMED CAMPS.**

**NINETEEN-NINETY-TWO IS THE FIVE HUNDREDTH
ANNIVERSARY OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE NEW WORLD.**

- 38 -

**SO WE HAVE FIVE CENTURIES TO CELEBRATE, NOTHING LESS
THAN OUR VERY CIVILIZATION -- THE AMERICAN BILL OF
RIGHTS AND THE FRENCH RIGHTS OF MAN, THE ANCIENT AND
UNWRITTEN CONSTITUTION OF GREAT BRITAIN, AND THE
DEMOCRATIC VISIONS OF KONRAD ADENAUER AND ALCIDE DE
GASPERI [DAH GAS-PARI].**

- 39 -

AND IN ALL OUR CELEBRATIONS, WE OBSERVE ONE FACT -- THIS TRULY IS A MORAL AND SPIRITUAL COMMUNITY. IT IS OUR INHERITANCE. LET US PROTECT IT. LET US PROMOTE IT. LET US TREASURE IT FOR OUR CHILDREN, FOR AMERICANS AND EUROPEANS YET UNBORN.

THANK YOU. GOOD LUCK IN ALL THAT IS AHEAD, AND GOD BLESS AMERICA.

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April 12, 1989

Dear Dr. Silber:

On behalf of the President, I wish to acknowledge and thank you for your kind invitation to address the commencement ceremony. He also asked that I extend his gratitude for being awarded an honorary degree from your fine institution.

The President is pleased to accept. This has been entered on his schedule for May 21st, and nearer the date Mr. John G. Keller, Jr., Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of Advance will contact you about the President's acceptance of your invitation.

The President's acceptance of this invitation should not be announced to anyone until official notification is given by the White House Press Office, and any public announcement of this event must be coordinated with that office.

You should be aware that certain physical facility requirements exist for any Presidential appearance. The costs associated with these requirements are generally the responsibility of the host and are summarized on the attached list.

If you wish to alter the current plans for this event in any way, such as changing any part of the format, the location, or the participants, please direct your request for the proposed change to the Office of Presidential Appointments and Scheduling.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

JOSEPH W. HAGIN II
Deputy Assistant to the President
for Appointments and Scheduling

Dr. John Silber
President
Boston University
147 Bay State Road
Boston, Massachusetts 02215

cc to Helen Donaldson 182, OEOB
cc and Incoming to Speechwriting Office

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*Tony, the
Here's the
letter write
the President
to
BU
Commence*

file

February 13, 1989

Dear Dr. Silber:

Thank you for your invitation for the President to deliver the Commencement address, as well as receive a Doctor of Laws honoris causa degree, at Boston University on May 21, 1989.

We appreciate your extending this opportunity to the President. Although we are unable to make a commitment at this time, we are making a special note of this date. Your invitation will be carefully reviewed as the President's schedule develops, and we will be back in touch with you closer to the time about the possibility of his acceptance.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

JOSEPH W. HAGIN II
Deputy Assistant to the President
for Appointments and Scheduling

COPY
from ORM

Dr. John Silber
President
Boston University
147 Bay State Road
Boston, Massachusetts 02215

✓ cc and incoming to *Mary R. Sullivan*

JWH:JAJ:jfcf3
JWH-13



Office of the President

Boston University
147 Bay State Road
Boston, Massachusetts 02215

January 23, 1989

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20501

Dear Mr. President:

This year marks the Sesquicentennial of Boston University, during which we shall be celebrating 150 years of service to the American ideal of self-betterment and social progress through education.

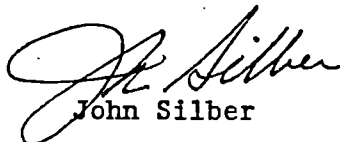
On this occasion we would be honored to confer upon you our degree, Doctor of Laws honoris causa, and to have you deliver the principal commencement address. At the University Commencement, which will be held on Sunday, May 21, 1989, at 11:00 a.m., we anticipate an attendance of 20,000 to 25,000 people, including the graduating class, their parents and other family members, our faculty and staff.

By separate letter I have invited Mrs. Bush to attend the Commencement, where we should like to award her Boston University's honorary degree in recognition of her leadership in the struggle to eradicate adult illiteracy.

In light of your own commitment to the importance of education in promoting the general welfare, keeping us strong in defense and enhancing our competitiveness in the world market, we hope that you will consider using the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the founding of one of America's great independent universities to re-emphasize our national dedication to educational opportunity.

In allowing us to honor you and Mrs. Bush, you would confer an exceptional honor on our university. The Trustees join with me in hoping you will accept this invitation.

Yours sincerely,


John Silber



Office of the President

Boston University
147 Bay State Road
Boston, Massachusetts 02215

January 23, 1989

Mrs. Bush
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mrs. Bush:

On behalf of the Trustees of Boston University, I should like to invite you to deliver the Baccalaureate Address and to attend the University Commencement on Sunday, May 21, 1989. On that occasion, we wish to confer on you our degree, Doctor of Humane Letters honoris causa.

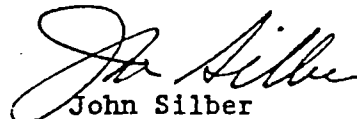
The degree will be awarded in recognition of your dedication to the cause of adult literacy, and your leadership in the effort to give every American an opportunity to learn to read and write. We are especially grateful for the support you have given to Boston University's programs in adult literacy.

I have also written to the President to invite him to attend these ceremonies, to receive our honorary degree, and to deliver the Commencement Address.

This year marks the 150th anniversary of the founding of Boston University, and the Commencement exercises in May will be the highlight of our Sesquicentennial. Throughout 1989, the University will celebrate and reaffirm its commitment to the American ideal of self-betterment and social progress through education. I hope you will make the Baccalaureate Address to our graduating class on this occasion. Your sense of civic responsibility and social concern, I am confident, will be an enduring example for them in their careers and lives.

It would be an extraordinary honor for us to be able to honor you and the President at our Sesquicentennial Commencement. The Trustees join with me in hoping you will accept.

Yours sincerely,


John Silber

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DOCDATE 890213
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MEDIA L
NAME DR. JOHN SILBER
TITLE PRESIDENT
ORG BOSTON UNIVERSITY
STREET 147 BAY STATE ROAD
ADDR BOSTON MA 02215
SUBJECT THANKS FOR YOUR INVITATION FOR THE PRESIDENT
TO DELIVER THE COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS AS WELL
AS RECEIVE A DOCTOR OF LAWS HONORIS CAUSA
DEGREE, AT BOSTON UNIVERSITY ON MAY 21 89
THANKS FOR YOUR INVITATION FOR MRS. BUSH TO
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ATTEND THE UNIVERSITY COMMENCEMENT ON
MAY 21 89 AND CONFER ON HER YOUR DEGREE,
DOCTOR OF HUMANE LETTERS HONORIS CAUSA
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Reg. # 253

Office of the President

Boston University
147 Bay State Road
Boston, Massachusetts 02215

January 23, 1989

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20501

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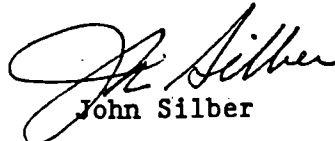
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Yours sincerely,


John Silber

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FROM/LOCATION

1. MARK DAVIS / SPEECHWRITERS

TO/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

1. CHRISTINA MARTIN / R'PORT (254N) DRDP-340

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SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS:

UNCLAS SENSITIVE

CLASSIFICATION

Davis/Zelikow/Martin
May 19, 1989/noon
Draft: Eight
Title: B: Buspch

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: BOSTON UNIVERSITY/Nickerson Field
May 21, 1989/11 a.m.

Thank you, John. President and Madame Mitterrand, Mayor Flynn, Cardinal Law, Dr. Metcalf and Dr. Wiesel . . . It's a pleasure to be back in Boston. ((And it's a pleasure to be back in one of my home states . . . I am delighted and honored to receive a Doctor of Laws from Boston University, along with President Mitterrand. I have just one question: Does this now make us a couple of Boston lawyers?))

((Congratulations, Barbara, on a B.U. degree of your very own. And now that you're an alumna, take note -- this kinder and gentler America I'm always speaking of doesn't include the Terriers . . .))

My sincerest congratulations go to every Boston University graduate, and to every proud parent. As B.U. grads, you take with you a degree from a great institution, and something more -- knowledge of the past, and responsibility for the future. Look at the world. Nations are undergoing change so radical, that the international system you will know in the next century will be as different from today's, as today's world is from the time of Woodrow Wilson. How will America prepare for the challenges ahead?

It is with your future in mind that, after deliberation and review, that we are adopting new foreign policies to meet this time of extraordinary change and opportunity. On April 17, I went to Michigan to outline how my Administration will promote reform in Eastern Europe. And last Wednesday, I was pleased that Poland legalized the Roman Catholic Church for the first time under Communist rule . . . On May 2, I addressed the Council of the Americas on my policies toward Latin America. A few days ago, in Texas, I spoke to another group of graduates about our new approach to the Soviet Union, one of moving beyond containment, to seek to integrate the Soviet Union into the community of nations, to help them share the rewards of international cooperation.

But today, I want to discuss the future of Europe, that mother of nations and ideas that is so much a part of America. It is fitting that I share this forum with a special friend of America . . . President Mitterrand, you have the warm affection and high regard of the American people. I well remember when I joined you in Yorktown in 1981, to celebrate the bicentennial of that first Franco-American fight for freedom. Soon, I will join you in Paris to observe the 200th anniversary of the French struggle for liberty and equality.

This is just one example of a special bond between two

continents. But consider this city. From the Old North Church, to Paul Revere's home nestled in the warm heart of the Italian North End, to your famous song-filled Irish pubs . . . the Old and New Worlds are inseparable in Boston. But as we look back to Old World tradition, we must look ahead to a new Europe. Historic changes will shape your careers and your very lives. Can America keep up with the brisk pace of change around the world? More importantly, can we help shape those changes? Absolutely.

Let me share my vision of how the West, and all nations, can join together. It is not limited by the accidents of mere geography. It is, instead, a kinship rooted in common values, in shared ideals for the way people should live. It is a vision without boundaries, of an Alliance that Raymond Aron (a-ROHN) called a "moral and spiritual community." I see our community as the founding members of a global commonwealth of free nations -- open to all who share the principles of democracy, openness, and respect for human rights and private endeavor.

The new century holds the promise of a united Europe. As you know, the nations of Western Europe are already moving toward greater economic integration, with the ambitious goal of a single European market in 1992. The United States has often declared it seeks a healing of old enmities, an integration of Europe. Now that the day is almost upon us, some express ambivalence about

the prospect of a stronger Europe with economic power near equal to our own. Perhaps it is a fear that Europe could become an economic fortress, shutting out others. Perhaps it is a simple fear of change. But I am here today to tell you that this debate is over. This government is of one mind -- **We believe a strong Europe means a strong America.**

We may be witnessing nothing less than the awakening of a giant in world affairs. Western Europe has a gross domestic product that is roughly equal to our own; and a population that exceeds ours by about fifty million. European science still leads the world in many fields, and European workers are highly educated and highly skilled. Western Europe is the nascent superpower of the 21st century.

How should we approach an emerging center of world leadership? Without hesitation, the United States welcomes a more mature relationship with Europe. We certainly welcome the growing political role of the European Community, as it has become more active in coordinating the policies of its member states. We are ready to develop -- in partnership with the EC and its member states -- new mechanisms of consultation and cooperation on political and global issues, from strengthening the forces of democracy in the Third World, to managing regional tensions, to putting an end to the division of Europe. **A resurgent West is an economic magnet, drawing Eastern Europe**

closer, toward the commonwealth of free nations.

We will also step up our dialogue with the European Community to find new ways to cooperate in the economic transition to 1992. I ask the leaders of the Community to work with us to develop regular, high-level meetings -- meetings to anticipate problems and to take advantage of opportunities.

Of course, a more mature partnership with Western Europe will pose new challenges. There are certain to be clashes and controversies over trade. But it is important to distinguish adversaries from allies, and allies from adversaries. What a tragedy -- what an absurdity -- it would be if future historians attribute the demise of the Western Alliance to disputes over beef hormones, and wars over pasta.

We must all work hard to insure that the Europe of 1992 will adopt the lower barriers of the modern international economy, not the high walls and moats of medieval commerce. We hope to see what President Kennedy referred to as an "outward-looking" Europe, a vision I know is shared by President Mitterrand.

But our hopes for the future rest on preserving a Europe at peace. Forty-two years ago, just across the Charles River, Secretary of State George Marshall gave a commencement address that outlined a plan to help Europe recover. Western Europe

responded heroically, and later joined with us in a partnership for the common defense -- a shield we call NATO. Of course, partners occasionally disagree -- as befits our charter and democratic character. Some say the Alliance is in crisis, and it may be true that like democracy itself, it has always been driven by the spirit of crisis. But the deeper truth is that the Alliance has achieved a historic peace because it is united by a fundamental purpose. Behind the NATO shield, Europe has now enjoyed forty years of peace, the longest period of peace the continent has ever known. Behind this shield, the nations of Western Europe have risen from privation to prosperity -- all because of the strength and resolve of free peoples.

Western European defense cooperation is part of this maturing partnership. We applaud the work of the revitalized Western European Union, which worked with us to keep open the sealanes of the Persian Gulf. We applaud the growing military cooperation between West Germany and France. We will continue to support British and French programs to modernize their deterrent capability, and their continuing dialogue toward cooperation in this area. Some worry our allies may seek more strategic independence. But it is perfectly right and proper that Europeans increasingly see their defense as their province. Rather, we have a different concern -- a growing complacency throughout the West.

Of course, your generation can hardly be expected to share the grip of past anxieties. I understand that with a long peace, it is hard to remember how it could be otherwise. But our expectations cannot race so far ahead of reality that we lose a sense of what we have to lose. There is a great irony here. While an ideological earthquake is shaking asunder the very foundation of Communist societies, the West is being tested by complacency.

We must remember that twice in this century, American blood has been shed over conflicts that began in Europe. We must never forget that to keep the peace in Europe is to keep the peace for America. We share the fervent desire of Europeans to relegate war forever to the province of distant memory. That is why the trans-Atlantic relationship is so central to our foreign policy. That is why America remains committed to the agreed Alliance strategy for preserving freedom in Europe called flexible response. I know President Mitterrand agrees.

Our policy of flexible response keeps the United States linked to Europe and lets any would-be aggressors know that they will be met with any level of force needed to repel their attack and frustrate their designs. Our deterrent forces based in Europe, and kept up-to-date, symbolize that America's vital interests are bound inextricably to Western Europe, and that an attacker can never gamble on a test of strength with just our

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conventional forces. Faced with such choices, there is only one option for all -- peace.

In our search for a peace that is lasting, I am grateful that Mr. Gorbachev has shown an eagerness to respond. If the Soviets advance a bold, solid and constructive plan for peace, then I say give credit where credit is due. But understand one thing -- we welcome Soviet commitments, but we welcome Soviet implementation of their commitments even more. A lasting peace must be built on deeds that are concrete, not cosmetic, deeds that are remembered after today's news. **Our goal is to make headway, not headlines.**

In Texas, I said that promises are never enough. And as if to prove my point, the Soviet Foreign Minister informed the world last week that his nation's commitment to remove intermediate-range nuclear missiles from Europe is now conditional. In other words, the Soviets are threatening to violate a solemn vow, a treaty to eliminate thousands of nuclear weapons in Europe. Is this an example of "new thinking"? Or is it the same old party line? Whatever it is, it is not helpful.

Yes, I am deliberate. Yes, I am careful. I am guarded because the Warsaw Pact retains, and will retain, a massive nuclear and conventional advantage over the Alliance. For that reason, we will also maintain, in cooperation with our allies,

ground and air forces in Europe as long as they are wanted and needed to preserve the peace in Europe. And I will reject legislative attempts to unilaterally withdraw U.S. troops from Europe. At the same time, my Administration will place a high and continuing priority on negotiating a less militarized Europe, with a secure conventional balance at lower levels of forces. Our highest aspiration is a peace by choice over a peace by compulsion.

Nineteen-ninety-two is the five hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the New World. So we have five centuries to celebrate, nothing less than our very civilization -- the American Bill of Rights and the French Rights of Man, the ancient and unwritten Constitution of Great Britain, and the democratic visions of Konrad Adenauer and Alcide de Gasperi (Dah Gas-Pari).

And in all our celebrations, we observe one fact -- this truly is a moral and spiritual community. It is our inheritance. Let us protect it. Let us promote it. Let us treasure it for our children, for Americans and Europeans yet unborn.

Thank you. Good luck in all that is ahead, and God bless America.

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