

a terrible leak, and it was sinking fast. The front end, where the United States and Western Europe were, was still afloat. The boat was sinking from the back end. And one of the figures in our end of the boat was saying, "Thank goodness, the leak's not at our end of the boat." In the end, the whole boat sank. That will happen again unless we work together. Europe's Western half clearly, as history shows, cannot long be secure if the Eastern half remains in turmoil.

The third and final imperative of this new security is to support the growth of democracy and individual freedoms that has begun throughout Europe's former Communist states. The success of these democratic reforms make us all more secure because democracies tend not to wage war on one another and they tend not to break their word to one another. Democratic governments nurture civil society, respect for human rights, and habits of simple tolerance. The democratic values at the heart of the Western community are also our best answer to the aggressive nationalism and ethnic hatreds unleashed by the end of the cold war.

We in the transatlantic community must commit ourselves to helping democracy succeed in all the former Communist states that are Western Europe's immediate neighbors, because their security matters to our security. Nowhere is democracy's success more important to us all than there, and then in Russia. I will say again: In Russia, if the nation continues to evolve as a market democracy, satisfied within her borders and at peace with her neighbors, defining her greatness in terms of the ability to enable all of the children of Russia to live to the fullest of their potential, then our road toward Europe's full integration will be wider and smoother and safer. As one Ukrainian legislator recently stated, "If Russia is democratic, Europe will be calm."

The results of the recent elections in Russia and the statements of some Russian political figures have given us all genuine cause for concern. We must consistently condemn expression of intolerance and threats of aggression. But we should also keep those concerns in some historical perspective. It was only 2 years ago, after all, that the Soviet Union dissolved. Just 2 months ago, Russia appeared to be on the brink of a civil war. But since then Russia has held a free and fair national election, its people have ratified a genuinely democratic constitution, and they have elected their first-ever post-Soviet leg-

islature. And the government continues to pursue democratic and economic reform.

The transformation Russia is undertaking is absolutely staggering. If you just think about what the country has been like since 1917, if you go back to the 18th century and imagine the history of the nation from that point to this, the idea that the nation could seriously be involved by democratic vote in undertaking these transformations is absolutely staggering. We cannot expect them to correct overnight three-quarters of a century of repressive leadership, three-quarters of a century of totalitarian policy, or a whole national history in which there was no democracy.

As in the other Communist nations, this will be the work of generations. We in the United States have been at it for 200 years now, and we're still working to try to get it right. All of us have to recognize that there will be wrong turns and even reversals, as there have been in all of our own countries throughout our histories. But as long as these states continue their progress toward democracy and respect the rights of their own and other people, they understand the rights of their minorities and their neighbors, then we should support their progress with a steady patience.

In order to support these new democracies, we are supporting grassroots efforts to build the institutions of civil society, from community organizers in the Czech Republic to election volunteers in Bulgaria. We also will take steps to encourage cooperation among the new democracies. As with Western Europe after World War II, we must get regional neighbors working together rather than looking at each other with suspicion.

The broader integration in peace we are building is not only a European concern, I say again, it is distinctly in the interests of the United States. My Nation has thrilled at the progress of freedom on this continent over the past 5 years. And we understand well the toll that European discord ultimately takes on our own people.

Only a few hours from this place lie the graves of thousands of Americans who died in Europe's two great wars. History records where they fell, at Flanders Field, on the shores of Normandy, and in the Battle of the Bulge. But let us remember as well why they came here, why they left the safety of their homes to fight in a distant land. They came because our secu-