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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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Collection Name MARTIN, WILLIAM: FILES

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File Folder

JUNE TRIP: IRELAND, UNITED KINDGOM AND

NORMANDY (05/23/1984-05/24/1984)

FOIA

F02-071/2

Box Number

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COLLINS

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ID Doc Type	Doc	ument Description	on	No of Pages		Restrictions
30454 CABLE	ECON	DRAFT CABLE, NO NUMBER, RE: LONDON ECONOMIC SUMMIT AND NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE			5/23/1984	B1
	R	6/12/2008	NLRRF02-071/2			

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]

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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DRAFT

tarer -

all Here is The memo

P. Sommer prepared for

Mr. Mc Forlane, signature sel get you a copy of it once it to signed cath

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL K. DEAVER

FROM:

ROBERT C. McFARLANE

SUBJECT:

Request for British MP's to Present Letter of Appreciation to the President

You will have seen the request forwarded by our Embassy in London from a group of young Tory MP's to present a letter of appreciation to the President during his London stop (Tab A). I note that Geoffrey Howe has strongly endorsed this request. I would also like to add my endorsement. This looks like a good event that would only require a minimal of the President's time.

Attachment

Tab A - Incoming Correspondence

CONFIDENTIAL WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE Ø1 OF Ø2 LONDON 1758

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TOR: 144/1744Z

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OP IMMED DE RUEHLD #1758 1441741 0 231741Z MAY 84 FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7596 WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

CONFIDENTIAL LONDON 11758

DEPT FOR EUR/NE AND A/EX WHITE HOUSE FOR MR. HENKEL E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: OVIP (REAGAN, RONALD), UK, KSUM SUBJ: REQUEST FOR BRITISH MPS TO PRESENT LETTER OF WELCOME TO PRESIDENT REAGAN

- 1. SUMMARY: FCO TELLS US THAT GEOFFREY HOWE STRONGLY SUPPORTS AN INITIATIVE FROM YOUNG TORY MPS TO MEET WITH THE PRESIDENT TO PRESENT A LETTER OF WELCOME AND APPRECIA-TION FOR THE PRESIDENT'S STRONG SUPPORT OF NATO. WE THINK IT COULD BE FIT IN ON D DAY JUNE 6 TO GOOD EFFECT. THIS IDEA HAS BEEN DISCUSSED WITH JIM HOOLEY.
- 2. CONSERVATIVE MP PETER VIGGERS HAS CONTACTED US TO PROPOSE THAT HE AND "25 TO 30" OTHER CONSERVATIVE MPS MEET WITH THE PRESIDENT DURING HIS VISIT TO PRESENT A LETTER OF WELCOME AND OF APPRECIATION FOR THE PRESIDENT'S STRONG SUPPORT OF NATO. HE SUGGESTS THAT A GROUP OF MPS COULD BE ASSEMBLED FOR THIS PURPOSE FROM LATE ON MONDAY. JUNE 4 TO LATE THURSDAY, JUNE 7. THEY WOULD COME TO THE

CONFIDENTIAL WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE Ø2 OF Ø2 LONDON 1758

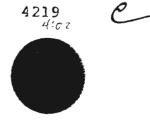
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PRESIDENT, FOR EXAMPLE TO WINFIELD HOUSE, AT A TIME OF OUR CHOOSING.

- 3. VIGGERS HAS JUST TAKEN OVER FROM WINSTON CHURCHILL AS HEAD OF THE TORY "CAMPAIGN FOR DEFENSE AND MULTILATERAL DISARMAMENT." HE ALSO COORDINATES BACK BENCH PUBLIC AFFAIRS EFFORTS TO COMBAT THE CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT. HE TELLS US THAT HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES BELIEVE THAT PRESIDENTIAL MEETING WITH MPS WOULD EVOKE CONSIDERABLE MEDIA COVERAGE IN BRITAIN AND HELP OFFSET THE EFFECT OF ANTI-NUCLEAR DEMONSTRATIONS PLANNED DURING THE PRESIDENT'S STAY.
- 4. THE FCO HAS CONTACTED US SEPARATELY TO SAY THAT FOREIGN MINISTER HOWE STRONGLY SUPPORTS THE VIGGERS' INITIATIVE AND HAS ASKED THAT WE GIVE VIGGERS' IDEA EVERY CONSIDERATION.
- 5. PLEASE ADVISE.
 PRICE
 BT

CONFIDENTIAL

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL



ACTION

May 24, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. McFARLANE

FROM:

PETER R. SOMMER

SUBJECT:

Request for British MP's to Present Letter

of Appreciation to President

A group of of young Tory MP's have asked to present a letter of appreciation to the President during the London stop. Geoffrey Howe has strongly endorsed this request (Tab A). I understand that Deaver is inclined to agree. Of the various add-on proposals to the President's schedule that I have seen, this one makes the most sense. State is also favorably disposed.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the Tab I memo to Deaver endorsing the subject request.

Approve	 Disapprove	

Jim Rentschler and Bill Martin concur.

Attachment

Tab I - Memo to Deaver

dh

11/2/06

-CONFIDENTIAL

BULMAL'
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

May 23

Bill,

Do ym see any

problem with their

group having a photo op

with the President's matg.

with Nohame? I would

we did this last year

here in Worlight - year

The following members of Parliament are to accompany Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone to the meeting with the President for the photo session only on June 7 at 11:30 AM in London:

1.	The Hon. Toshio Yamaguchi	Secretary General of the New Liberal Club Member, House of Represen- tatives
2.	The Hon. Ihei Ochi (Nakasone)	Deputy Secretary General of the LDP Member, House of Represen- tatives
3.	The Hon. Fukujiro Kikuchi (Suzuki-Miyazawa)	Member, House of Representatives
4.	The Hon. Yoichi Tani (Nakasone)	Member, House of Representatives
5.	The Hon. Iwao Kudo (Komoto)	Member, House of Representatives
6.	The Hon. Kiyoshi Mori (Fukuda-Abe)	Member, House of Representatives
7.	The Hon. Keisuke Nakanishi (Tanaka)	Member, House of Representatives
8.	The Hon. Shinichiro Shimojo (Suzuki-Miyazawa)	Member, House of Councillors
9.	The Hon. Junzo Iwasaki (Komoto)	Member, House of Councillors

MEANING: JAHLODGETT: LHE

PONCHUBY SXT. 20701

NEARINS: UNHEODGETT: EHE DARBA EXT - 20701 NEA: HESCHAFFER

NSC:WHARTIN 10/E:GSTREEB EB/ODF:MWALL EUR/RPE:JWHOLMES

E:GALDONAS TREASURY:ADRESS {INFO} S/S:BMCKINLEY 30454

IMMEDIATE BONN, LONDON IMMEDIATE, OTTAWA IMMEDIATE

PRIORITY NEW DELHI, PARIS PRIORITY, ROME PRIORITY, TOKYO PRIORITY, USUN PRIORITY

OF CD

E.G. LOBSE: DECL: OADR

TAGS: EFIN. EAID, KNSD. OECD, IN. US

TUBUECT: LONDON ECONOMIC SUMMIT AND NORTH-SOUTH

L. HOT ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: AN EMISSARY OF INDIAN PRIME MINISTER GANDHI, VISITING LONDON, WASHINGTON, OTTAWA, AND BONN, HAS ASKED THE LONDON ECONOMIC SUMMIT TO CONSIDER A PROPOSAL LEADING TO AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON MONEY AND FINANCE. END SUMMARY.

3. AMBASSADOR L. K. JHA AND INDIAN MFA ADDITIONAL SECRETARY I. S. CHADHA HAD A MEETING AT THE NSC MAY 22 WITH WILLIAM MARTIN (SPECIAL ASST FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS), ROGER ROBINSON (DIRECTOR, INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AFFAIRS), AND JAMES RENTSCHLER (COORDINATOR FOR PUBLIC DIPLOMACY) TO DISCUSS AN INDIAN PROPOSAL FOR MEVIVING THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE LONDON ECONOMIC SUMMIT. ONE OF PRIME MINISTER SANDHIJE PRINCIPAL ECONOMIC ADVISORS, JHA IS TRAVELLING AS HER PERSONAL EMISSARY TO LONDON, WASHINGTON, AND BONN FOR THIS PURPOSE, AND HAS PRESENTED A LETTER FROM MRS. GANDHI TO THE PRESIDENT (SEPTEL).

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- 4. ESSENCE OF THE INDIAN PROPOSAL IS THAT THE LONDON ECONOMIC SUMMIT WOULD BEGIN A PROCESS LEADING TO AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON MONEY AND FINANCE. GIVEN U.S. AND OTHER OPPOSITION TO THE IDEA OF GLOBAL NEGOTIATIONS, SAID JHA, THE 1983 NAM SUMMIT IN EFFECT PUT IT ON THE BACK BURNER, BUT FIRST EXTRACTED FROM IT THE PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON MONEY AND FINANCE, WHICH NAM MEMBERS FELT COULD BE PURSUED AS A SHOKTER TERM GOAL.
- 5. AS CHAIRMAN OF THE NAM, SAID JHA, INDIA HAS DEVOTED A GREAT DEAL OF THOUGHT AS TO HOW TO INITIATE A PROCESS LEADING TO SUCH A CONFERENCE. ITS SPECIFIC PROPOSAL IS TO SET UP A STEERING COMMITTEE OF LO-2D NATIONS, WHICH WOULD SIFT THROUGH THE MASS OF IDEAS AND INFORMATION ON DEALING WITH NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES, AND PREPARE AN AGENDA FOR A CONFERENCE WHICH COULD TAKE PLACE ONE, TWO, OR THMEE YEARS DOWN THE ROAD. ONE WAY OF SELECTING THE COMMITTEE WOULD BE TO FOLLOW THE CANCUN MODEL AND HAVE MRS. GANDHI, AS NAM CHAIRMAN, SELECT HALF OF THE MEMBERS FROM THE SOUTH AND MRS. THATCHER, AS CHAIRMAN OF THE LONDON SUMMIT, SELECT HALF FROM THE NORTH. INDIAN SUGGESTION IS THAT THE LONDON SUMMIT CONSIDER AND GIVE ITS BLESSING TO THE IDEA OF SETTING UP A STEERING COMMITTEE.
- L. A KEY ELEMENT OF THE INDIAN PROPOSAL, AS DESCRIBED BY JHA, IS THAT THE CONFERENCE ITSELF SHOULD BE OPEN TO UNIVERSAL PARTICIPATION, INCLUDING THE SOVIET BLOC. AMONG OTHER THINGS THIS WOULD HAVE THE EFFECT OF APPLYING PRESSURE TO BRING THE BLOC MORE FULLY INTO THE WORLD ECONOMIC SYSTEM.
- PROCESS LEADING TO CONSTRUCTIVE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE.

 DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ARE BECOMING DISCOURAGED AND FRUSTRATED AT THE LACK OF FORWARD MOVEMENT, AND THE MOMENTUM GENERATED BY CANCUN IS IN DANGER OF DISAPPEARING. EXTREMIST ELEMENTS WITHIN THE NAM ARE ANGRY WITH INDIA FOR PUTTING GLOBAL NEGOTIATIONS ON THE BACK BURNER AND PLACING GREATER EMPHASIS ON A MORE "PRACTICAL" STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH. IF THE INDIAN EFFORT FAILS, THE EXTREMISTS WILL INTERPRET THIS FAILURE AS VINDICATION OF THEIR VIEWPOINT, AND PUSH FOR A RETURN TO CONFRANTATIONALISM, POINTING HOWEVER UNJUSTLY TO THE U.S. AS THE CHIEF VILLAIN. THERE IS NO SOUND POLITICAL OR ECONOMIC REASON, REMARKED JHA, WHY THE SOVIETS SHOULD GET MORE MILEAGE IN THE THIRD WORLD WHILE DOING LESS THAN THE

CONFIDENTIAL

US IS ALREADY DOING.

B. JHA SAID HE HAD PLACED THESE IDEAS BEFORE PRIME MINISTER THATCHER IN A MEETING ON MAY 18. HER INITIAL REACTION WAS CAUTIOUS, HE SHAW, SHE WOULD NOT BE ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT ANOTHER MAIRY FAIRY CONFERENCE. LATER ON ACCORDING TO JHA, SHE SEEMED MORE WARM TO THE IDEA AND SUGGESTED THE POSSIBILITY OF SENDING AN EMISSARY TO EXPLORE IT FURTHER WITH MRS. GANDHI AFTER THE LONDON SUMMIT.

HARTIN AND ROBINSON THANKED JHA FOR HIS PRESENTATION ANT PROMISED TO CONVEY HIS PROPOSAL TO THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT. WHILE THERE IS NO RIGID AGENDA FOR THE SUMMIT - ISSUES OF NORTH-SOUTH CONCERN WOULD OBVIOUSLY BE COVERED PARTICULARLY IN DISCUSSIONS OF THE WORLD DEBT CRISIS. ROBINSON REMARKED UPON THE VITAL AND GROWING ROLE PLAYED BY THE INF AND IBRD IN MEETING NEW CHALLENGES IN THE PAST FEW YEARS. WITH REGARD TO THE PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON MONEY AND FINANCE, MARTIN AND ROBINSON PROMISED TO CONVEY JHA'S PRESENTATION TO THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT, WHICH WOULD PLAY A LEADING ROLE IN DEVELOPING A U.S. POSITION. THEY EMPHASIZED THAT IT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT AND STATE TO ADVISE THE WHITE HOUSE OF THE MERITS OF THE PROPOSAL AND THAT THE NSC HAD NO POSITION ON THIS SPECIFIC PROPOSAL.

ID. FROM THE NSC PERSPECTIVE, THEY SAID, INDIA'S IDEA OF "IDENTIFYING A PROCESS" OF MORE CONSTRUCTIVE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE WAS INTERESTING, BUT AS WITH ANY PROPOSAL WOULD HAVE TO BE FOUNDED ON OUR CONCEPT OF THE "MAGIC OF THE MARKET PLACE". DURING PRESIDENT REAGAN'S FIRST TERM OF OFFICE, OUR PRE-OCCUPATION WITH PUTTING THE DOMESTIC ECONOMY IN ORDER GAVE SOME THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES THE WRONG IMPRESSION THAT THE W.S. IS INDIFFERENT TO THEIR PROBLEMS. DURING HIS TRIP TO CHINA THE PRESIDENT'S INTEREST WAS SPARKED BY THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS THERE.

IL. IN DEVELOPING SUCH A PROCESS, MARTIN AND ROBINSON ADVISED THAT ANY PROPOSALS SHOULD BE SOLIDLY GROUNDED IN SUBSTANTIVE, ECONOMIC ANALYSIS AND MUST MAKE ECONOMIC SENSE IN ORDER TO BE ATTRACTIVE TO THE UNITED STATES. IN SEALING WITH CONGRESS ON DEVELOPING COUNTRY ISSUES THE PRESIDENT CAN BE VERY PERSUASIVE IF HE IS CONVINCED OF THE MERIT OF ECONOMIC PROPOSALS BASED ON FREE MARKET PRINCIPLES AND THE EXPECTATIONS THAT THEY WILL LEAD TO STRONGER DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

12. COMMENT: THIS WAS JHA'S FIRST MEETING IN USG. HE 13 SCHEDULED TO MEET THE DEPUTY SECRETARY AND UNDERSECRETARY WALLIS ON MAY 26. ACCOUNTS OF THOSE

CONTIDENTIAL

CONVERSATIONS WILL FOLLOW.

13. FOR LONDON, OTTAWA AND BONN: WOULD APPRECIATE A.Z.A.P. YOUR READOUT OF JHAY'S CONVERSATIONS WITH PRIME MINISTER THATCHER (MAY 16), OTTAWA (MAY 24-25), AND FRG CLEEK OF MAY 29), PYY

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

May 23, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR KAREN GROOMS

FROM:

WILLIAM F. MARTINCOTHY to

SUBJECT:

Irish Ballad Welcoming the President

Attached is a cable from our Embassy in Dublin noting pros and cons of Brendan Grace singing for the President the ballad he composed welcoming him to BallyPoreen.

NSC has no objection from a foreign policy standpoint -- and leaves it in your good hands for decision.

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

5/21 cc: Karen Drooms

PAGE Ø1 OF Ø2 DUBLIN 1787 E OB 3 2 9

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DTG: 181444Z MAY 84 P5N: 049375 TOR: 139/1530Z C5N: CRI091

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ROUTINE DE RUFHDBA #1787 1391457 R 181444Z MAY 84 FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO WHITEHOUSE WASHDC

INFO USIA WASHDC Ø846 SECSTATE WASHDC 2025 SECDEF WASHDC

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 01787

WHITEHOUSE FOR MICHAEL MCMANUS. BILL HENKEL AND CHARLES BAKALY WHITEHOUSE/NSC FOR RENTSCHLER STATE FOR A EX (JEANNIE BULL) USIA FOR EU (ZAVIS) SECDEF FOR OUSD P (JORDAN) F 0 12356: N/A SUBJECT: IRISH BALLAD WELCOMING PRESIDENT REAGAN

- BRENDAN GRACE, AN ACCOMPLISHED, WELL-KNOWN IRISH ENTERTAINER/SINGER, HAS WRITTEN LYRICS TO A FAMOUS TRADITIONAL IRISH AIR WELCOMING PRESIDENT AND MRS. REAGAN TO IRELAND. POST ASKED SEVERAL PEOPLE, IRISH AND AMERICAN, TO JUDGE THE MERITS OF THE BALLAD. THEY FOUND IT TO BE IN GOOD TASTE, NOT SOPPY OR OVERLY SENTIMENTAL. AND THUS SHOULD BE EASILY ACCEPTED BY, AND PLEASING TO, AUDIENCES ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC. GOI PROTOCOL OFFICER BRIAN _ NASON, HOWEVER, DISAGREES COMPLETELY WITH ABOVE VIEWPOINT, STATING THAT RECORD "SMACKS OF SHAMROCKERY" AND THUS DOES NOT HAVE GOI ENDORSEMENT FOR INCLUSION IN OFFICIAL PROGRAM. WITH ALL DUE RESPECT, POST BELIEVES. NEVERTHELESS, THAT BRENDAN GRACE'S PROPOSITION, DESCRIBED BELOW, IS INDEED WORTHY OF STUDY FOR INCLUSION AS A "NON-OFFICIAL" PART OF THE PRESIDENT'S PROGRAM. NASON SAID GOI WOULD HAVE NO PROBLEM WHATSOEVER WITH EMBASSY ARRANGING UNOFFICIALLY FOR A MEETING BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND BRENDAN GRACE. GRACE, BY THE WAY, HAS PERFORMED NOT ONLY IN IRELAND BUT ALSO IN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES. HE RECENTLY HAD FIVE TOP-SELLING ALBUMS IN A ROW.
- GRACE PROPOSES PREMIERING THE RECORD'S RELEASE BY SINGING THE BALLAD TO PRESIDENT AND MRS. REAGAN SOMETIME DURING THEIR IRISH VISIT. WHAT MAKES GRACE'S REQUEST NOTEWORTHY IS HIS WILLINGNESS TO DONATE ALL ROYALTIES FROM THE RECORD'S SALE TO CHARITY. (THE DISC WITH A NICE RENDITION OF "I'LL TAKE YOU HOME AGAIN, KATHLEEN" ON THE FLIPSIDE WILL BE SOLD INTERNATIONALLY.) REVENUE FROM IRISH SALES WOULD GO TO IRELAND'S PRESTIGIOUS CENTRAL REMEDIAL CLINIC, WIDELY AND FAVORABLY RECOGNIZED FOR ITS WORK WITH THE HANDICAPPED. PROFITS FROM SALES IN THE U.S. WOULD BE

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

PAGE 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 1787

DTG: 181444Z MAY 84 PSN: 049379

GIVEN TO A CHARITY OF MRS. REAGAN'S CHOICE, OR COULD ALSO BE DEDICATED TO THE IRISH CLINIC. (SHOULD THE RECORD "TAKE OFF," PROCEEDS COULD INDEED BE SIZABLE.)

- 3. GRACE INFORMED THE EMBASSY THAT THROUGH AMERICAN CONTACTS IN THE U.S. A CASSETTE OF THE RECORDING HAS BEEN SENT TO DAVID LOWENFELD. INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS FELLOW, NEW YORK COUNCIL OF FOREIGN RELATIONS WHO REPORTEDLY IS BRINGING THE MATTER TO THE ATTENTION OF "OFFICIALS IN WASHINGTON."
- 4. IF REQUEST IS APPROVED, MOST SUITABLE LOCATION FOR PRESENTATION OF SONG MIGHT BE EITHER AT ASHFORD CASTLE OR DEERFIELD PARK DURING "NON-PROGRAM" TIME.
- 5. GIVEN GRACE'S OUTSTANDING REPUTATION AS A PROFESSIONAL, YOUNG, TALENTED PERFORMER OF WHOLESOME. FAMILY-TYPE SHOWS AND GIVEN FACT THAT WORTHWHILE CHARITIES STAND TO BENEFIT. PERHAPS HANDSOMELY, FROM PROJECT, POST STRONGLY RECOMMENDS BRENDAN GRACE'S REQUEST BE GIVEN EVERY CONSIDERATION. AS GRACE PUT IT IN TALKING WITH EMBASSY OFFICER, "THROUGH MY SINGING I'D LIKE TO EXPRESS TO PRESIDENT REAGAN THE HEARTY WELCOME MOST IRISH FERVENTLY WANT HIM TO HAVE." WITH CHARITIES BENEFITTING FROM THIS PROJECT FOR SOME TIME TO COME, THAT WELCOME WOULDN'T END WHEN PRESIDENT REAGAN'S VISIT IS OVER.
- 6. THE WORDS OF THE SONG ARE AS FOLLOWS:
 QUOTE OH THE GARDENS OF IRELAND ARE BLOOMING TODAY
 WITH THE SCENT OF THE FRESH MORNIN DEW.
 TIPPERARY'S IN BLOSSOM LIKE THE FLOWERS IN MAY
 FOR TO WELCOME OUR SON GOOD AND TRUE.
 THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER WILL FLY EVERYWHERE
 AND THE PEOPLE WILL SING OER THE LAND.
 OH COME BACK. RONALD REAGAN TO BALLYPOREEN
 YOU'RE SO WELCOME TO OLD IRELAND.
 OH THE DAY WE ALL HEARD OF THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN
 FOR TO VISIT THE EMERALD ISLE,
 BT

UNCLASSIFIED

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

PAGE Ø1

DUBLIN 1787 ANØØ4317

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UNCLAS SECTION Ø2 OF Ø2 DUBLIN Ø1787

WHITEHOUSE FOR MICHAEL MCMANUS, BILL HENKEL AND CHARLES BAKALY WHITEHOUSE/NSC FOR RENTSCHLER STATE FOR A/EX (JEANNIE BULL) USIA FOR EU (ZAVIS) SECDEF FOR OUSD/P (JORDAN) E. O. 12356: N/A SUBJECT: IRISH BALLAD WELCOMING PRESIDENT REAGAN OUR HEARTS FILLED WITH JOY EVERY WOMAN AND MAN FOR TO WELCOME HIM HOME WITH A SMILE. A CEAD MILE FAILTE IS WAITING FOR YOU AND YOUR FIRST LADY SURE TWIL BE GRAND. SO COME BACK RONALD REAGAN TO BALLYPOREEN YOU'RE SO WELCOME TO OLD IRELAND. FROM HERE IN THE LAND OF THE GREEN, WHITE AND GOLD TO THE FAR OFF AMERICAN SHORE, (1) AND FROM HOLLYWOOD'S GLORY TO THE WHITE HOUSE SO BOLD AND BACK TO THE HOMELAND ONCE MORE. TIPPERARY'S A LONG WAY FROM WASHINGTON, D.C. BUT TODAY THEY'LL BE JOINED HAND AND HAND. WELCOME HOME MR. PRESIDENT TO BALLYPOREEN. YOU'RE SO WELCOME TO OLD IRELAND. (2) OUR WORLD IS MUCH BETTER WITH A LEADER LIKE YOU, AND BEHIND YOU WE IRISH WILL STAND. WELCOME HOME RONALD REAGAN TO BALLYPOREEN WE LOVE YOU IN OLD IRELAND. (1) OPTION 1 THEN FROM CALIFORNIA TO THE WHITE HOUSE SO BOLD (2) OPTION 2 THE SHAMROCK OF IRELAND WILL BLOSSOM SO GREEN ON THE DAY THAT YOU VISIT OUR LAND. SO COME BACK RONALD REAGAN TO BALLYPOREEN WE'RE WAITING IN OLD IRELAND. UNQUOTE. DENNIS вТ

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 23, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT KIMMITT

WILLIAM MARTIN

FROM

WILLIAM HENKEL

SUBJECT

MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER FITZGERALD

The Irish Government has requested that the President's meeting with Prime Minister FitzGerald be extended from 30 minutes to 50 minutes in order to accomplish a format similar to our State Visit meetings -- a small meeting followed by an expanded session.

This would necessitate a 20 minute earlier departure from Deerfield. However, at this time, the President has no scheduled activites prior to departure that morning.

Following is a revised schedule illustrating how this request would change the schedule. I would appreciate your recommendations on this request as soon as possible so I can submit a memo to Mike Deaver for his approval.

MONDAY, JUNE 4, 1984

Morning	Working	breakfast.
---------	---------	------------

NOTE: 9:45 a.m. Mrs. Reagan departs en route Royal College of Surgeons.

10:35 a.m. Depart en route Leinster House.

10:50 a.m. Arrive Leinster House.

11:00 a.m. (L) Meeting with Prime Minister FitzGerald. 6:00 a.m. EDT

NOTE: Mrs. Reagan arrives Leinster House.

11:50 am Meeting concludes.

12:00 noon (L) Address Joint Session of Parliament.
7:00 a.m. EDT

12:35 a.m. Depart en route Deerfield.

12:50 p.m. Arrive Deerfield.

PRIVATE TIME: 20 mins.

MONDAY, JUNE 4, 1984

1:15 p.m.	Proceed to Coral Sitting Room.
1:20 p.m.	Arrive Coral Sitting Room and form receiving line.
1:30 p.m.	Proceed to Ballroom.
1:35 p.m. (L) 8:35 a.m. EDT	Arrive Ballroom for Luncheon in honor of President and Mrs. Hillery.
	Toasts (beginning of lunch).
2:45 p.m.	Luncheon concludes.
2:55 p.m.	Depart en route Dublin Airport.
3:10 p.m.	Arrive Dublin Airport.
	Departure ceremony with brief remarks.
3:30 p.m. (L) 10:30 a.m. EDT	Air Force One departs en route London, England.
4:30 p.m. (L) 11:30 a.m. EDT	Air Force One arrives London, England.
4:35 p.m.	Marine One departs en route Winfield House.
4:50 p.m.	Marine One arrives Winfield House.
	WASHINGTON WORK: 45 mins.
5:35 p.m.	Depart en route Kensington Palace.
5:45 p.m. (L) 12:45 p.m. EDT	Arrive Kensington Palace.
	Official Welcoming Ceremony.
6:00 p.m.	Proceed to Orangery for tea hosted by Prime Minister Thatcher.
6:15 p.m.	Depart en route Winfield House.
6:25 p.m. (L) 1:25 p.m. EDT	Arrive Winfield House.
Evening	Private dinner.

RON - WINFIELD HOUSE

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

May 23, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL K. DEAVER

FROM

WILLIAM HENKEL

SUBJECT

FREEDOM OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN PRESENTATION

The President will not be presented with the "Freedom of the City of Dublin". The Lord Mayor of Dublin and the Prime Minister feel that calling for a consensus by the local government on this resolution would add "fuel to the fire" for those government officials opposing the President's trip to Ireland, in turn generating more negative media stories. Instead, the Lord Mayor will greet the President upon arrival at Deerfield in Dublin and make a presentation of some sort that does not need the consensus of the Dublin city government.

Birty Lour

cc: Speakes
Kimmitt
Rentschler

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL



INFORMATION

May 24, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT WILLIAM F. MARTIN

FROM:

PETER R. SOMMER PLEE

SUBJECT:

President's Meeting with Prime Minister

Fitzgerald

I do not have strong views on the Irish request to extend the meeting by 20 minutes (Tab A). Based on those meetings with foreign leaders that I have the privilege to sit in on, I detect no burning desire on the President's part to make them longer. Should, however, you believe that Deaver is inclined to accept the Irish request to lengthen the meeting, I recommend we go along. In short, I see no reason for us to be out in front pushing for a longer meeting, but defer to your good judgments.

Bell Martin:

Please tell Henhel we have no objection to a 50 minute meeting, unless you have a consern that we should discuss.

Box 5/24/84

250

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 23, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT KIMMITT

WILLIAM MARTIN

FROM

WILLIAM HENKEL

SUBJECT

MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER FITZGERALD

The Irish Government has requested that the President's meeting with Prime Minister FitzGerald be extended from 30 minutes to 50 minutes in order to accomplish a format similar to our State Visit meetings -- a small meeting followed by an expanded session.

This would necessitate a 20 minute earlier departure from Deerfield. However, at this time, the President has no scheduled activites prior to departure that morning.

Following is a revised schedule illustrating how this request would change the schedule. I would appreciate your recommendations on this request as soon as possible so I can submit a memo to Mike Deaver for his approval.

MONDAY, JUNE 4, 1984

Morning	Working	breakfast.
MOLHING	MOTVING	DIEGNIGE .

NOTE: 9:45 a.m. Mrs. Reagan departs en route Royal College of Surgeons.

10:35 a.m. Depart en route Leinster House.

10:50 a.m. Arrive Leinster House.

11:00 a.m. (L) Meeting with Prime Minister FitzGerald. 6:00 a.m. EDT

NOTE: Mrs. Reagan arrives Leinster House.

11:50 am Meeting concludes.

12:00 noon (L) Address Joint Session of Parliament.
7:00 a.m. EDT

12:35 a.m. Depart en route Deerfield.

12:50 p.m. Arrive Deerfield.

PRIVATE TIME: 20 mins.

MONDAY, JUNE 4, 1984

1:15 p.m.	Proceed to Coral Sitting Room.
1:20 p.m.	Arrive Coral Sitting Room and form receiving line.
1:30 p.m.	Proceed to Ballroom.
1:35 p.m. (L) 8:35 a.m. EDT	Arrive Ballroom for Luncheon in honor of President and Mrs. Hillery.
	Toasts (beginning of lunch).
2:45 p.m.	Luncheon concludes.
2:55 p.m.	Depart en route Dublin Airport.
3:10 p.m.	Arrive Dublin Airport.
	Departure ceremony with brief remarks.
3:30 p.m. (L) 10:30 a.m. EDT	Air Force One departs en route London, England.
4:30 p.m. (L) 11:30 a.m. EDT	Air Force One arrives London, England.
4:35 p.m.	Marine One departs en route Winfield House.
4:50 p.m.	Marine One arrives Winfield House.
	WASHINGTON WORK: 45 mins.
5:35 p.m.	Depart en route Kensington Palace.
5:45 p.m. (L) 12:45 p.m. EDT	Arrive Kensington Palace.
	Official Welcoming Ceremony.
6:00 p.m.	Proceed to Orangery for tea hosted by Prime Minister Thatcher.
6:15 p.m.	Depart en route Winfield House.
6:25 p.m. (L) 1:25 p.m. EDT	Arrive Winfield House.
Evening	Private dinner.
	RON - WINFIELD HOUSE

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL



ACTION

May 24, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. McFARLANE

FROM:

PETER R. SOMMER

SUBJECT:

Request for British MP's to Present Letter

of Appreciation to President

A group of of young Tory MP's have asked to present a letter of appreciation to the President during the London stop. Geoffrey Howe has strongly endorsed this request (Tab A). I understand that Deaver is inclined to agree. Of the various add-on proposals to the President's schedule that I have seen, this one makes the most sense. State is also favorably disposed.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the Tab I memo to Deaver endorsing the subject request.

Approve		Disapprove	
APPLOVE	·	DISappiove	

Jim Rentschler and Bill Martin concur.

Attachment

Tab I - Memo to Deaver

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL K. DEAVER

FROM:

ROBERT C. McFARLANE

SUBJECT:

Request for British MP's to Present

Letter of Appreciation to the President

You will have seen the request forwarded by our Embassy in London from a group of young Tory MP's to present a letter of appreciation to the President during his London stop (Tab A). I note that Geoffrey Howe has strongly endorsed this request. I would also like to add my endorsement. This looks like a good event that would only require a minimal of the President's time.

Attachment

Tab A - Incoming Correspondence

CONFIDENTIAL WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM



PAGE Ø1 OF Ø2 LONDON 1758

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CONFIDENTLAL LONDON 11758

DEPT FOR EUR/NE AND A/EX WHITE HOUSE FOR MR. HENKEL E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: OVIP (REAGAN, RONALD), UK, KSUM SUBJ: REQUEST FOR BRITISH MPS TO PRESENT LETTER OF WELCOME TO PRESIDENT REAGAN

- SUMMARY: FCO TELLS US THAT GEOFFREY HOWE STRONGLY SUPPORTS AN INITIATIVE FROM YOUNG TORY MPS TO MEET WITH THE PRESIDENT TO PRESENT A LETTER OF WELCOME AND APPRECIA-TION FOR THE PRESIDENT'S STRONG SUPPORT OF NATO. WE THINK IT COULD BE FIT IN ON D DAY JUNE 6 TO GOOD EFFECT. THIS IDEA HAS BEEN DISCUSSED WITH JIM HOOLEY.
- 2. CONSERVATIVE MP PETER VIGGERS HAS CONTACTED US TO PROPOSE THAT HE AND "25 TO 30" OTHER CONSERVATIVE MPS MEET WITH THE PRESIDENT DURING HIS VISIT TO PRESENT A LETTER OF WELCOME AND OF APPRECIATION FOR THE PRESIDENT'S STRONG SUPPORT OF NATO. HE SUGGESTS THAT A GROUP OF MPS COULD BE ASSEMBLED FOR THIS PURPOSE FROM LATE ON MONDAY, JUNE 4 TO LATE THURSDAY, JUNE 7. THEY WOULD COME TO THE

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE Ø2 OF Ø2 LONDON 1758

DTG: 231741Z MAY 84 PSN: Ø6324Ø

PRESIDENT, FOR EXAMPLE TO WINFIELD HOUSE, AT A TIME OF OUR CHOOSING.

- 3. VIGGERS HAS JUST TAKEN OVER FROM WINSTON CHURCHILL
 AS HEAD OF THE TORY "CAMPAIGN FOR DEFENSE AND MULTILATERAL
 DISARMAMENT." HE ALSO COORDINATES BACK BENCH PUBLIC
 AFFAIRS EFFORTS TO COMBAT THE CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR
 DISARMAMENT. HE TELLS US THAT HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES
 BELIEVE THAT PRESIDENTIAL MEETING WITH MPS WOULD EVOKE
 CONSIDERABLE MEDIA COVERAGE IN BRITAIN AND HELP OFFSET
 THE EFFECT OF ANTI-NUCLEAR DEMONSTRATIONS PLANNED DURING
 THE PRESIDENT'S STAY.
- 4. THE FCO HAS CONTACTED US SEPARATELY TO SAY THAT FOREIGN MINISTER HOWE STRONGLY SUPPORTS THE VIGGERS' INITIATIVE AND HAS ASKED THAT WE GIVE VIGGERS' IDEA EVERY CONSIDERATION.
- 5. PLEASE ADVISE. PRICE BT

RECEIVED 24 MAY 84 18

TO

REF#

MCFARLANE FROM DARMAN, R DOCDATE 24 MAY 84

KEYWORDS, IRELAND

SPEECHES

DARMAN REFERRAL



SUBJECT IRISH PARLIAMENT SPEECH / 2 ALTERNATIVES

ACTION:	MEMO KIMMITT TO	DA RMAN	DUE: 25 MAY 84 STATUS	S S FILES WH
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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Dick Darman

Attached in Bud's mading of your 5/29 draft.
We will await the next version.

Bob Kummitt

Budi changes are in int. Don Fortier has also made some suggestions. They are in penul.

CC Don Forther Jack Mattock Peter Sommer

Document No.	

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORAND OF

DATE:	ACTION/CONCURR	ENCE/C	OMMENT DUE BY: _	FYI		
SUBJECT: REVISED PRES	IDENTIAL ADDRESS	: JOI	NT SESSION OF THE	IRISH PARLIZ	MENT	
		MON	DAY, JUNE 4, 1984	(5/29/84; 8	3:00 p)	
	ACTION	FYI			ACTION	1 FYI
VICE PRESIDENT			McMANUS			
MEESE			MURPHY			
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FULLER			FORTIER			
HERRINGTON						
HICKEY			, 			
McFARLANE						
REMARKS:						

RESPONSE:

1804 MAY 29 PM 8-59

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: JOINT SESSION OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT MONDAY, JUNE 4, 1984

When I stepped off Air Force One at Shannon a few days ago, and saw Ireland, beautiful and green, and felt again the warmth of her people, something deep inside began to stir.

Who knows but that scientists will someday explain the complex genetic process by which generations seem to transfer across time and even oceans their fondest memories. Until they do, I will have to rely on President Lincoln's words about the "mystic chords of memory" and say to you that during the past few days -- at every stop here in your country -- those chords have been gently and movingly struck. So I hope you will not think it too bold of me to say that my feelings here this morning can best be summarized by the words: "home; home again."

Now I know some of us Irish-Americans tend to get carried away with our ancestral past and want very much to impress our relatives here with how well we've done in the New World. Many of us aren't back in Ireland five minutes before, as the American song has it, we're looking to shake the hand of Uncle Mike and kiss the girl we used to swing down by the garden gate. Even if we never had an Uncle Mike.

I do want you to know that for Nancy and me these last few days will remain in our hearts forever. From Galway to Tipperary to Dublin, you have truly made us feel as welcome as the flowers in May, and for this we always will be grateful to you and the Irish people.

Now of course I didn't exactly expect a chilly reception. As I look around this chamber, I know I can't claim to be a better Irishman than anyone here, but I can perhaps claim to be an Irishman longer than anyone here. I also have some other credentials: I am the

-

great-grandson of a Tipperary man; I am the President of a country with the closest possible ties to Ireland; and I was a friend of Barry Fitzgerald. One Irishman told me he thought I would fit in:

"Mr. President," he said, "you love a good story, you love horses, you love politics -- the accent we can work on."

But I also came to the land of my forebears to acknowledge two debts: to express gratitude for a light heart and a strong constitution; and to acknowledge that well-spring of so much American political success: the blarney stone. I don't have to tell you how the blarney stone works: many times, for example, I have congratulated Italians on Christopher Columbus' discovery of America; but that's not going to stop me from congratulating all of you on Brendan the navigator.

I think you know, though, that Ireland has been much in our thoughts since the first days in office. I'm proud to say the first embassy I visited as President was Ireland's, and I'm proud that our Administration is blessed by more Cabinet members and other office holders of Irish extraction than any other in our history. And that is not to mention the number of Irish-Americans who hold extremely important leadership posts today in the United States Congress.

I can assure you that Irish-Americans speak with one voice about the importance of the friendship of our two nations and the bonds of affection between us. The American people know how profoundly Ireland has affected our national heritage and our growth into a world power; I know they want me to assure you today that your interests and concerns are ours; and that, in the United States, you have true and fast friends.

Our visit is a joyous moment and it will remain so; but this should not keep us from serious work or serious words. This morning, I want to speak directly on a few points.

I know many of you recall with sadness the tragic events of last Christmas: the 5 people killed and 91 maimed after a terrorist bomb went off in Harrods of London. At almost the same time, a Garda recruit, Gary Sheehan, and Private Patrick Kelly, a young soldier of the Irish Republic with 4 small children, were slain by terrorist bullets. These two events, occurring 350 miles apart — one in Ireland, one in Britain — demonstrated the pitiless, indiscriminate nature of terrorist violence, a violence evil to its core and contemptible in all its forms. And it showed that the problems of Northern Ireland are taking a toll on the people of both Britain and Ireland, North and South.

Yet the trouble in the North affects more than just these two great isles. When he was in America in March, your Prime Minister courageously denounced the support a tiny number of misguided Americans give to these terrorist groups. I joined him in that denunciation, as did the vast majority of Irish-Americans.

I repeat today: There is no place for the crude, cowardly violence of terrorism -- not in Britain, not in Ireland, not in Northern Ireland. All sides have one goal before them; let us state it simply and directly: to end the violence, to end it completely, to end it now.

The terrorism, the sense of crisis that has existed in Northern Ireland has been costly to all. But, let us not overlook legitimate cause for hope in the events of the last few months. As you know, the dialogue is again underway between the governments here in Dublin and

in London. There is also the inspiring work of the New Ireland Forum. The Forum's recent report has been widely praised; it has also been criticized; but the important thing is that men of peace are being heard and their message of reconciliation discussed.

The position of the United States in all of this is clear: We must not and will not interfere in Irish matters, nor prescribe to you solutions or formulas. But I want you to know we pledge to you our good will and suggest good offices, and we are with you as you work toward peace.

I am not being overly optimistic when I say today I believe you will work out a peaceful and democratic reconciliation of Ireland's two different traditions and communities. Besides being a land whose concern for freedom and self-determination is legendary, Ireland is also a land synonymous with hope. It is this sense of hope that saw you through famine and war; that sent so many Irish men and women abroad to seek new lives and build new nations; that gave the world the saints and scholars who preserved Western culture, the missionaries and soldiers who spoke of human dignity and freedom and put much of the spark to my own country's quest for independence, and that of other nations.

You are still that land of hope. It is nowhere more obvious than in the economic changes being wrought here. I know Ireland faces a serious challenge to create jobs for your population, but you have made some striking gains, attracting the most advanced technology and industries in the world, and improving the standard of living of your people. And you have done all this while maintaining your traditional values and religious heritage, renewing your culture and language, and continuing to play a key role in the world community. Based on Ireland's traditional neutrality in international affairs, you can be

proud of your contribution to the search for peace. Irish soldiers have been part of nearly every United Nations peace-keeping operation since you joined that organization.

In the economic sphere, we Americans, too, are proud that our businesses have been permitted to prosper in Ireland's new economic environment. As you know, there are about 300 American businesses here providing between 30,000 and 35,000 jobs, and we are continuing to encourage this investment.

I think part of the explanation for the economic progress you are making here in Ireland can be found in your nation's historic regard for personal freedom. Too often the link between prosperity and freedom is overlooked. In fact, it is as tight as ever, and it provides a firm basis for increasing cooperation not only between our two countries, but among all countries of the globe that recognize it.

Men and women everywhere in our shrinking world are having the same experience. For most of mankind the oceans are no longer the fearful distances they were when my great-grandfather Michael Reagan took weeks to reach America from Ballyporeen. Some men and women still set out with their children in small boats fleeing tyranny and deprivation. For most of us, though, the oceans and airways are now peaceful avenues thronged with ideas, people and goods going in every direction. They draw us together. Slowly, but surely, more and more people share the values of peace, prosperity and freedom which unite Ireland and America.

This year I have made two visits to America's neighbors across the Pacific, in Asia. This century has brought the Pacific nations many hardships, and many difficulties and differences remain. But what I found everywhere was energy, optimism and excitement. Some nations in

Asia have produced astounding economic growth rates by providing incentives that reward initiative, by unleashing freedom. More and more, there is a sense of common destiny and possibility for all the peoples of this great region. The vast Pacific has become smaller, but the future of those who live around it is larger than ever before.

Coming to Ireland, I sense the same stirring, the same optimism toward a better future.

I believe that great opportunities do lie ahead to overcome the age-old menaces of disease and hunger and want. But moments of great great teshag progress can be moments of danger as well. President Kennedy noted when he was here that we live in a "most climactic period" but also "in the most difficult and dangerous struggle in the history of the world."

He was talking about our century's struggle between the forces of freedom and totalitarianism — a struggle overshadowed, we all know too well, by weapons of awful destruction on both sides.

Believe me, to hold the office I now hold is to understand, each waking moment of the day, the awesome responsibility of protecting peace and preserving human life. That responsibility cannot be met a defermined effort to consolidate with half-way measures; it can only be met by being prepared for peace with all the strength America can bring to bear.

This is my deepest commitment, to be prepared for peace -- not

just with military strength to deter aggression -- but also, to be

that cur

prepared with economic strength, so we can help lead the way to greater

stability through growth and human progress; and to be prepared with

the strength of our commitment to pursue all possible prospects for

reduction

arms control, and mutual and verifiable arms reductions; and finally,

to be prepared for peace with the greatest strength of all at the

and self confidence

spiritual strength of an inner peace that enables us to reach out to

our adversaries and to tell them, "The United States of America is ready to be your friend." To all of you, who have always been our dear and trusted friends, I tell you today from my heart, America is prepared for peace.

what we are doing now in American foreign policy, is bringing an endurable steadings, particularly in the area of arms reduction.

Too often in the past, we sought to achieve grandiose objectives and sweeping agreements overnight; at other times, we set our sights so low that the agreements, when they were made, permitted the numbers and categories of weapons to soar. The result was certainly not arms reduction; it was not even arms control. Through all of this, I'm afraid, the differing proposals and shifting policies have sometimes left both friends and adversaries confused or disconcerted.

That is why we have put forward, methodically, one of the most extensive arms control programs in history. In five areas, we have proposed substantive initiatives. In Vienna less than 2 months ago, the Western side put forward new proposals on reducing the levels of conventional military forces in Europe; in the same week in Geneva, Vice President Bush put forward a draft agreement for a worldwide ban on chemical weapons; in Stockholm, we are pursuing at the Conference on Disarmament in Europe a series of proposals that will help reduce the possibility of conflict. And in Geneva — as most of you are aware — we have been participating, until recently, in arms reduction talks on two fronts: the START talks on reducing intercontinental nuclear weapons, and the INF talks which deal with the issue of intermediate—range missiles.

In addition, we are working to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, and to require comprehensive safeguards.

During the ____ months the START and INF talks were underway, the United States made ____ different proposals. None of these were done on a take-it or leave-it basis. Indeed, we made a number of adjustments to respond to the stated concerns of the Soviet side. While Soviet flexibility did not match our own, we were encouraged to see at least some steps of the kind required in any serious negotiations.

But then, after the recent deployment of intermediate missiles here in Europe, the Soviets quit the bargaining table. Now this deployment was not something we welcomed; it had been my hope, and that of the European leaders, that negotiations would make the deployments unnecessary. Unfortunately, the Soviet stance in those talks left us no alternative. Since 1977, while we were deploying no weapons and urging the Soviets to negotiate, they were deploying some 370 SS-20 missiles, capable of reaching every city in every country in Europe, including Ireland. We and our allies could not ignore this threat forever.

But I believe today it is still possible to reach an agreement.

Let me assure you that in both the START and INF talks we want to hear Soviet proposals, we want them to hear some of our own, and we are repeated to return to the table tomorrow if the Soviets so choose. I am prepared to order the withdrawal of any and all U.S. missiles from Europe if a verifiable and equitable agreement is reached. But for such an outcome to be realized, we need to have the Soviets return to the bargaining table. I call on them before this body and the people of Europe to do so.

In addition to the arms control negotiations, I want to stress today that the United States seeks cooperation in two other critical

areas of East-West relations. Just as we seek to reduce the burden or armaments, we want also to find ways to limit their use in troublesome or potentially difficult regional situations. So we want to seek serious discussions with the Soviets in guarding against miscalculation or misunderstanding in troubled or strategically sensitive areas of the world. I want to stress again today the interest of the United States to such a process in such negotiations.

We seek to build confidence and trust with the Soviets in areas of mutual interest by moving forward in our bilateral relations on a broad front. In the economic field, we have proposed a number of steps to increase exchanges in non-strategic goods. In other areas we have, for example, extended our very useful Incidents-at-Sea agreement for another term and we have initiated discussions for specific steps to expand and multiply contacts of benefit to our people. I might add here that the democracies have a strong mutual obligation to work for progress in the area of human rights, and positive Soviet steps in this area would be considered by the United States a significant signal.

In summary then, we are seeking increased discussion and negotiation to reduce armaments, solve regional problems and improve bilateral negotiations. Progress on these fronts would enhance peace and security for people everywhere.

I am afraid the Soviet response has been disappointing. Rather than join us in our efforts to calm tensions and achieve agreements, the Soviets appear to have chosen to withdraw, and to try to achieve their objective through propaganda, rather than negotiations.

The Soviets seek to place the blame on the Americans for this self-imposed isolation, but they have not taken these steps by our choice. We, however, remain ready for them to join with us and the

rest of the world community to build a more peaceful world. In solidarity with our Allies, confident of our strength, we threaten no nation. Peace and prosperity are in the Soviet interest as well as ours. Let us move forward.

Steadiness in pursuing our arms control initiatives and bettering East-West relations will eventually bear fruit. But steadiness is also needed in sustaining the cause of human freedom.

When I was last in Europe I spoke about a crusade for freedom, about the ways the democracies could inaugurate a program promoting the growth of democratic institutions throughout the world. Now it is underway. In December we held a conference in Washington involving representatives from _____ countries, and the Congress has provided more than \$____ in funding for this project. I wish there were time to list the many ways and many places of the world where this work is already having an impact.

Some, of course, focusing on the nations that have lost their freedom in the post-war era, argue that a crusade for democratic values is impractical or unachievable. But we must take the long view. At the start of this century there were but few democracies; today there are more than fifty, comprising more than one-third of the world's population; and it is no coincidence -- showing once again the link between political-economic freedom and material progress -- that these nations enjoy the highest standards of living.

History is the work of free men and women, not unalterable laws; it is never inevitable. But it does have directions and trends, and one trend is clear. Democracies are not only increasing in number, they are growing in strength. Today they are strong enough to give the cause of freedom growing room and breathing space -- and that is all

that freedom ever really needs. "The mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs," Thomas Jefferson once said. Freedom is the flashfire of the future; its spark ignites the deepest and noblest aspirations of the human soul. Those who think the Western democracies are trying to roll back history are missing the point: History is moving in the direction of self-government and the human dignity it institutionalizes; the tide of the future is a freedom tide.

On this point of democratic development, I think it is vital to appreciate what has been happening in the Western Hemisphere, particularly Latin America. Great strides have been made in recent years. In fact, 26 of 33 Latin American countries today are democracies, or are striving to become democracies. I think it also is vital to understand that the United States' current program of assistance to several Central American countries is designed precisely to assist this spread of democratic self-rule.

Now I know that some see the United States -- a large and powerful Nation -- involved in the affairs of smaller nations to the South, and conclude that our mission there must be self-seeking or interventionist. Well, the Irish people, of all people, know Americans well; we strive to avoid violence or conflict. History is our witness on this point. For a number of years at the end of the last war, the United States had a monopoly on nuclear weapons; but far from exploiting this monopoly for territorial or imperial gain, the U.S. sought to do all in our power to encourage prosperity and peace and democracy in Europe. In a few days, in France, I will stand near the only land in Europe ever occupied by the United States: those mounds of earth marked with crosses and stars of David, the graves of

Americans who never came home, who gave their lives that others might live in freedom and peace.

It is freedom and peace that the people of Central America seek today. Three times in the past 2 years, the people of El Salvador have voted in free elections. Each time, they had to brave the threats of guerrillas controlled by the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua and aided by Cuba and the Soviet Union. These guerrillas use violence to back their threats: "Vote today, die tonight." Yet the people of El Salvador, 1.4 million of them, have braved ambush and gunfire and trudged for miles to vote for freedom.

All the United States is attempting to do -- with only 55 military drep reartis) advisors and \$___ million in aid -- two-thirds of which is going to social and political development -- is give the Salvadorans the chance they want for democratic self-determination -- without the bullying interference of Nicaragua, Cuba and the Soviet Union.

But this the government of Nicaragua is determined not to permit.

By their own admission they are supplying and training the Salvadoran guerrillas; in their own country they have not held elections in

4 years; they have all but crushed freedom of the press and moved against labor unions, outlawed political freedoms, and even sponsored mob action against Nicaragua's independent human rights commission and imprisoned its director.

Despite this repression, only a month ago 100,000 Nicaraguan Catholics attended a rally protesting the attempts of the Sandinistas to impose on them a communist dictatorship. In a homily to 4,000 Nicaraguans packed into Don Bosco Church several weeks ago, the head of the Nicaraguan Bishops Conference, Bishop Pablo Antonia Vega, said,

"The tragedy of the Nicaraguan people is that we are living with a totalitarian ideology that no one wants in this country."

You may not have heard about this courageous act of defiance or the brave words of Nicaraguan Archbishop Obando y Bravo. "To those who say that the only course for Central American countries is Marxism-Leninism," he recently told his people, "we Christians must show another way. That is to follow Christ, whose path is that of truth and liberty."

The vast majority of those now struggling for freedom in Nicaragua -- contrary to what the Sandinista junta would have the world believe -- are good and worthy people who did not like the Somoza dictatorship, and who do not want the communist dictatorship. Their tragedy is that they have never had a chance to choose.

The people of Nicaragua and El Salvador have a right to resist the nightmare outside powers want to impose on them; just as they have a right to resist extremist violence from within, whether from the left or the right. The United States must not turn its back on the democratic aspirations of the people of Central America.

I think the war of the Sandinista government on the peoples of El Salvador and Nicaragua, however, has a larger meaning. It is one more piece of evidence that totalitarian ideologies like communism are, at their core, not about people or poverty, but about brute force and power. And it is this totalitarian ideology, responsible for the greatest part of the human suffering we have seen in this century, that democracies are called upon to resist.

The Irish orator James Philpot Curran, once said, "The condition upon which God hath given liberty to man is eternal vigilance." And yes, military strength is indispensable to freedom; I have seen four

wars in my lifetime, none of them because the forces of freedom were too strong.

The struggle between freedom and totalitarianism today is not ultimately a test of arms or missiles, but a test of faith and spirit. And in this spiritual struggle, the Western mind and will is the crucial battleground. We must not hesitate to express our dream of freedom; we must not be reluctant to enunciate the crucial distinctions between right and wrong -- between a political system based on freedom and one based on a dreadful denial of the human spirit.

Consider for a moment outrages we have seen since the close of World War II: the crushing of freedom in Eastern Europe, the use of chemical and biological warfare in southwest Asia, the invasion of Afghanistan and the shooting down of an unarmed airliner. Do our adversaries believe we will diminish our own self-respect by keeping silent or remaining acquiescent in the face of successive crimes against humanity?

If so, they are wrong. What we see, throughout the world is an uprising of intellect and will. As Lech Walesa said: "Our souls contain exactly the contrary of what they wanted. They wanted us not to believe in God, and our churches are full. They wanted us to be materialistic and incapable of sacrifices; we are anti-materialistic, capable of sacrifice. They wanted us to be afraid of the tanks, of the guns, and instead we don't fear them at all."

Let us not take the counsel of our fears. Let us instead offer the world a politics of hope, a forward strategy for freedom. The words of William Faulkner, at a Nobel prize ceremony more than 3 decades ago, are an eloquent answer to those who predict nuclear doomsday or the eventual triumph of the superstate: "Man will not

merely endure," he said, "he will prevail because he will return to the old verities and truths of the heart. He is immortal because he alone among creatures has a soul, a spirit capable of compassion and sacrifice and endurance."

Those old verities, those truths of the heart -- human freedom under God -- are on the march everywhere in the world. Here is a dream not only close to Irish hearts, but one that Ireland has had a special role in bringing to the world. I think here of a song and story you have heard since your youngest days, but one whose words and melody can, I suspect, still stir and uplift you. The hero's death is a tragic one in the ballad of Roddy McCorley, but it also speaks in hope of those who came after him "from farmsteads and fishers' cot" to make a stand for freedom.

All across the world today -- in the shipyards of Gdansk, the hills of Nicaragua, the rice paddies of Kampuchea, the mountains of Afghanistan -- the cry again is liberty. And the cause is the same as that spoken of in this chamber more than 2 decades ago by a young American President: "A lasting peace with freedom."

It was toward the end of his visit here that John Fitzgerald

Kennedy said: "I am going to come back and see old Shannon's face

again." And on his last day in Ireland, he promised, "I certainly will

come back in the springtime."

It was a promise left unkept, for a spring that never came. But surely in our hearts there is the memory of a young leader who spoke stirring words about a brighter age for mankind, about a new generation that would hold high the torch of liberty and truly light the world.

This is the task before us. To plead the case of humanity, to move the conscience of the world, to march together -- Ireland and America, united by the best of lour traditions -- in the cause of human