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(Rohrabacher/RR)

May 30, 1984

2:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GALWAY UNIVERSITY COLLEGE SPEECH  
SATURDAY, JUNE 2, 1984

A chairde gaeil [ah car-jah gale] [My Irish Friends]. Thank you. I very much appreciate the honor you have paid me today. A degree, honorary though it may be, is a recognition of a certain understanding of culture and of the truths that are at the foundation of Western civilization. A degree from an Irish university, in this respect, is of even greater significance.

I'd like to take this moment to congratulate your distinguished President of University College Galway, Dr. O'Heocha [o huck ah] for all he has done and is doing to overcome the spiral of violence which has plagued Northern Ireland. As president of the "Forum for a New Ireland," you are helping to open doors of opportunity for peace and reconciliation.

Progress will depend on other responsible leaders, in both parts of Ireland and in Great Britain, following your example. As far as the United States is concerned, we applaud all those who strive for constructive political cooperation and renounce violence. We pray that men and women of good will in all parts of this land can, through mutual consent and consultation, find a way of bringing peace and harmony to this island that means so much to us.

It was here in Ireland that monks and scholars preserved the theological and classical achievements of the Western World during a time of darkness on the Continent of Europe. With the triumph of St. Patrick and Christianity, Ireland emerged as the most learned country of Europe, attracting students from distant

lands and known for centuries as "The Island of Saints and Scholars."

This veneration of knowledge is part of our heritage I am most proud to share. While tyrants in many nations stamped their populations into conformity and submission, our ancestors enjoyed heated exchanges of ideas as far back as in the court of Good King Brian Boru. It's part of our blood. That's what I keep telling myself every time I try to iron out my differences with the Speaker of our House of Representatives, a lad by the name of Tip O'Neill.

Well, Tip is a great son of Ireland and a great American as well. I can say that, knowing we have heartfelt differences of opinion. Yet, in free societies, differences are expected, indeed encouraged. It is this freedom to disagree, to question, to state one's case even when in opposition to those in authority, that is the cornerstone of liberty and human progress.

When I arrived in Shannon yesterday, I mentioned that I was not only returning to my own roots, but also to those of my country's freedom. Historically, of course, no one can doubt Ireland's enormous contributions to American liberty. Nine of the signers of our Declaration of Independence were of Irish ancestry; four were born in Ireland. Twenty generals in our Revolutionary Army were of Irish ancestry. Generals Montgomery, Sullivan, Wayne, and others were in the thick of the battle. On Washington's personal staff were Generals Moyland and Fitzgerald. And on the high seas, Commodore John Barry, the father of the United States Navy, was born in County Wexford.

As officers, and as soldiers, sailors, and Marines, Irish immigrants added fire to the American Revolution, a fire that ignited a flame of liberty as had never before been seen. This was not a result of uncontrollable historical forces, but the accomplishment of heroic individuals whose commitment and courage shook the foundations of empires. William Butler Yeats put it well:

"Whatever flames upon the night  
Man's own resinous heart has fed."

And I imagine the British weren't surprised to see just who was fanning those flames. Sir Henry Clinton wrote home to London that, "the emigrants from Ireland are our most serious opponents."

By the time of the American Revolution, Ireland was already a nation steeped in culture and historical traditions -- a fact evidenced by your own city of Galway, which is celebrating its 500th anniversary. Permit me to congratulate all of your citizens on this august occasion.

This esteemed university, itself almost 100 years old, is only one part of the educational tradition of Galway. I'm told that as far back as 1580, Galway Mayor Dominick Lynch founded a free school here which became a well-known center of Catholic culture and nationalist activity, attracting pupils from near and far.

By 1627, so many were flocking here, many with no means of support, that the city ordered "foreign beggars and poor scholars" to be whipped out of town. Considering the degree you

have just bestowed upon me, I can only hope that rule is no longer in effect.

I'm afraid we have no communities quite so venerable as Galway in the United States. But what we lack in years we try hard to make up for in spirit. From the time of our independence until the present moment, the mainspring of our national identity has been a common dedication to the principles of human liberty. Further, we believe there is a vital link between our freedom and the dramatic progress -- the increase in our material well-being -- that we've enjoyed over these last 200 years.

Freedom motivates people of courage and creativity to strive, to improve, and to push back the boundaries of knowledge. Here, too, the Irish character has contributed so much. Galway, a city Columbus is said to have visited on his way to the New World, is on a coast which for a thousand years was the Western Edge, the frontier of the known world.

This is the 1,500th anniversary of the birth of St. Brendan, who, legend tells us, sailed west into uncharted waters and discovered new lands. This man of God, a man of learning whose monasteries were part of Ireland's Golden Age, may, indeed, have been the first tie between Ireland and America. I understand much time and effort has gone into organizing what will be an annual trans-Atlantic yacht race between Ireland and the United States commemorating Brendan's voyage. I commend those making this effort to establish what could prove to be an exciting new link between our two countries.

Whether Brendan reached the American Continent or not, there is no doubt about the Irish role in taming the wilderness of the

New World and turning America into an economic dynamo beyond imagination. The Irish came by the millions, seeking refuge from tyranny and deprivation -- from hunger of the body and of the soul. Irish-Americans worked in the factories, they built our railroads and, as with my family, settled and farmed the vast stretches of uncultivated prairie in the heartland of America. They filled the ranks in our military forces, they helped organize our labor unions, and they jumped into American politics with great vigor.

The dream of a better life brought these people to our shores, and millions of others from every corner of the world. Today, they and their descendants maintain great pride in their ancestry. And, today, I come to Ireland -- yes, to seek my roots -- but, also, to say, thank you, to your nation, and to your people for all you contributed to the spirit and well-being of the United States of America.

America in these last four decades has assumed a heavy burden of responsibility to help preserve peace, and promote economic development and human dignity throughout the world. Sometimes, as is to be expected in all human endeavors, mistakes were made. Yet, overall, I believe the United States has an admirable record.

There is something very important I want you to know: The American people still hold dear those principles of liberty and justice for which our forefathers sacrificed so much. You need only visit America to understand this; and I hope that each of you will someday be able to visit us. We are still the open and vibrant society that captured the imagination of the world. We

are still a Nation composed of good and decent people whose fundamental values of tolerance, compassion, and fair-play guide and direct the decisions of our Government. We have not forgotten our roots.

Today, the free world faces an enormously powerful adversary that has none of the democratic traditions about which we've been speaking. A visit to that country, or to its colonies, would reveal no public disagreement, no right of assembly, no independent unions. What we face is an awesome and aggressive military machine, directed by a totalitarian ideology that forbids freedom of speech, democratic elections, and that proclaims the worship of God to be an anti-social evil.

American policy is aimed at deterring aggression and helping our allies and other friends protect themselves, while, at the same time, doing everything we can to reduce the risks of war. This is a perplexing and, in so many ways, a thankless task.

If history teaches us anything it is that peace and democracy do not come easy.

One of the most important ways we are trying to reduce the risks of war is through a nuclear arms reduction agreement with the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, we are having difficulty reaching such an agreement, because right now we are at the bargaining table facing an empty chair. I will be speaking more on this during my speech to your Parliament, but let me affirm one thing for you today: Being in the position I am in, and living with the responsibility that is incumbent in this job, there is nothing I want more than to find a way to reduce these terrible weapons of war; and, indeed, we must not rest until the



day we can banish them entirely from the face of the Earth. We have proposed decreasing nuclear and conventional weapons on both sides to equal and verifiable numbers. Although Soviet intransigence has stalled progress as of late, in the long run I remain optimistic.

But even success in arms reduction, as welcome as it would be, will not solve all the world's problems.

Every generation of free men and women will face new challenges. But we can be confident that human liberty will prevail, if we have the courage to meet our responsibilities. What God has ordained is not only right; it has stood the test of time. Liberty is not just a possession of one nation, but an inalienable right of people everywhere, a great unifying force for all mankind.

Edmund Burke, a great supporter of the American Revolution, and a great son of Ireland as well, once said, "There is but one law for all, namely, that law which governs all law, the law of our Creator, the law of humanity, justice, equity -- the law of nature, and of nations."

Burke also lived in what his contemporaries thought to be confusing times. Yet he was able to see through the rhetoric and personalities to recognize that the American people were struggling not just for selfish ends, but for liberty and justice. Today, Ireland and the United States remain faithful to the law of our Creator. It is our way, because we are of the same seed. I know and respect Ireland's independent role in the world. Yet I hope in our hearts, we will always stand together. Brothers and sisters of Ireland, Dia libh golier [Dee-ah live Gah-lair][God be with you all]. Thank you.



10  
(Rohrabacher/RR)  
May 30, 1984  
2:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: BALLYPOREEN  
SUNDAY, JUNE 3, 1984

Nancy and I are most grateful to be with you today; to be with ah wing-cher nah-hair-in (the family of Ireland). It is difficult to express my appreciation to all of you. I feel like I am about to drown everyone in a bath of nostalgia.

Of all the honors and gifts afforded me as President, this visit is one I will cherish dearly. You see, I didn't know much about my family background. Not because of a lack of interest, but because my father was orphaned before he was 6 years old. Now, thanks to you and efforts of good people who have dug into the history of a poor immigrant family, I know, at last, whence I came. This has given my soul a new contentment; and it is a joyous feeling; it is like coming home after a long journey.

Robert Frost, a reknowned American poet, once said, "Home is the place where, when you have to go there, they have to take you in." Well, it's been so long since my great grandfather set out, that you don't have to take me in; so I'm certainly thankful for this wonderful homecoming today.

You know, I've been doing a little studying about Ballyporeen and County Tipperary. My . . . this doesn't look like such "small potatoes" to me.

I can't think of a place on this planet I would rather claim as my roots more than Ballyporeen, County Tipperary. My great grandfather left here, seeking to better himself and his family. From what I'm told, we were a poor family. But my ancestors took

with them a treasure, an indomitable spirit that was cultivated in the rich soil of this County.

And today I come back to you, as a descendant of people who are buried here in paupers' graves. Perhaps this is God's way of reminding us that we must always treat every individual, no matter what his or her station in life, with dignity and respect. And who knows? Someday that person's child or grandchild might grow up to become Prime Minister of Ireland, or President of the United States.

Looking around town today, I was struck by the similarity between Ballyporeen and Tampico, the small town in Illinois where I was born. Of course, there is one thing you have that we didn't have in Tampico: We didn't have a Ronald Reagan lounge in our town. But the spirit is the same, this spirit of warmth, friendliness, and openness in Tampico and Ballyporeen, and you make me feel very much at home.

What unites us is our shared heritage, and the common values of our two peoples. So many Irish men and women, from every walk of life, played a role in creating the dream of America. I'm certainly proud to be part of that great Irish-American tradition. From the time of our revolution when Irishmen filled the ranks of the Continental Army, to the building of the railroads, to the cultural contributions of individuals like the magnificent tenor John McKormak, and the athletic achievements of the great heavyweight boxing champion, John L. Sullivan . . . all of them are part of a great legacy. ,

Speaking of sports, I'd like to take this opportunity to congratulate an organization of which all Irishmen and women can be proud, an organization that this year is celebrating its 100th anniversary: The Gaelic Athletic Association. I understand it was formed 100 years ago in Tipperary to foster the dance, culture, and games of traditional Ireland. Some of you may be aware that I began my career as a sports broadcaster, so I had an early appreciation for sporting competition. Congratulations to all of you during this G.A.A. centennial celebration.

I also understand that not too far from here is the home of the great Irish journalist and songwriter, Charles Joseph Kickham, who is remembered by so many for his serial character Nellie Leahy [lah-he]. Those were back in the days when tales like that of poor Nellie and organizations like the G.A.A. were expressions of an Irish personality seeking its own identity.

This Irish identity flourished in the United States. Irish men and women, proud of their heritage, can be found in every walk of life. I even have some of them in my Cabinet. One of them almost has the same name -- Secretary of the Treasury, Don Regan. He spells it R-E-G-A-N. We're all of the same clan, all cousins. I tried to tell the Secretary one day that his branch of the family just couldn't handle as many letters as ours. Then I received a paper from Ireland that told me that in the clan to which we belong, those who said Regan and spelled it that way were the professional people and the educators, and only the common laborers called it Reagan. So meet a common laborer.

The bond between our two countries runs deep and strong, and I am proud to be here in recognition and celebration of the tie that binds. My roots in Ballyporeen, County Tipperary, are little different than millions of other Americans who find their roots in towns and counties all over the Isle of Erin. I just feel exceptionally lucky to have this chance to visit you.

Last year a member of my staff came through town and recorded some messages from you. It was quite a tape, and I was moved deeply by the sentiments you expressed. One of your townsmen sang me a bit of a tune about Shawn Tracy and a few lines stuck in my mind. They went like this: And I'll never more roam, from my own native home, in Tipperary so far away.

Well, the Reagans roamed to America, but we're back. Nancy and I thank you from the bottom of our hearts for coming out to welcome us.

And one last thing, I'm not referring to a certain Irish politician back in the States when I say this: UP TIP!! God bless you all.



15  
(Rohrabacher/RR)  
May 31, 1984  
9:00 a.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: STATE DINNER TOAST AT DUBLIN CASTLE  
SUNDAY, JUNE 3, 1984

Prime Minister and Mrs. FitzGerald, President and Mrs. Hillery, (ah car-jah gale), my Irish friends, Nancy and I are delighted to be here in the homeland of my ancestors and with you tonight.

Being from California, I'm not accustomed to the magnificent green of your hills and meadows. It was even more brilliant than I remembered. Likewise, the warmth and kindredship of your people during our visit has touched us deeply. I offer in return a heartfelt thank you from Nancy and myself.

Every American, even those unlucky enough not to be of Irish background, has much for which to be grateful to the Isle of Erin. This is of special significance to me because I currently reside in a house designed by an Irishman. We all know the Irish names and the lists of their achievements, which are too numerous for me to repeat again this evening. Lately, however, it's come to my attention that not only have Ireland's own had great impact on America, but the opposite has also been true.

The cross pollination of American and Irish liberty is truly an historic phenomenon. Benjamin Franklin, a preeminent influence on the course of American democracy, visited here during our Revolutionary period. As Prime Minister FitzGerald pointed out to me during his last visit to Washington, more than just a "couple" of American Presidents -- including this one -- descend from this land.



On the other side of the coin, individuals significant to the development of Irish liberty were much affected by what was happening in America. Daniel O'Connell, a nationalist hero and a true humanitarian, was influenced by our great pamphleteer Thomas Paine. He was an admirer of George Washington as well. The great Parliamentarian Charles Stewart Parnell journeyed to America as a youth, which could well have colored his political views of the world. Of course, Eamon de Valera, your first President, was actually born in the United States.

With our countries so close, there are some influences for which we are not so proud. I think I speak for all Americans of Irish descent who now hold elected office -- men and women of both political parties -- when I join you in condemning those few misguided Americans who support terrorists in Northern Ireland. I want to offer my thanks to Prime Minister FitzGerald for his strong stand on this issue. When he last visited Washington, he clearly articulated his message and by doing so, perhaps, he saved some lives.

Oscar Wilde had a comment on war that is also applicable to terrorism. "When it is looked upon as vulgar," Wilde said, "it will cease to be popular." I can't think of anything more vulgar than Americans providing anyone in Ireland the means of killing his fellow man.

The American people overwhelmingly support peaceful efforts to reconcile the differences between the two traditions on this island. Both Catholic and Protestants in Northern Ireland deserve to live in a peaceful and just society, free from the nightmare of intimidation and violence.

We are following, with keen interest, the efforts your government is making, and we wish you success. We especially welcome the hard work and thought that went into the New Ireland Forum's report. We hope it will strengthen Anglo-Irish cooperation in resolving the Northern Ireland problem through a peaceful reconciliation between Protestants and Catholics.

Ireland, even while deeply involved with this problem at home, has been exerting an admirable influence internationally. As peacekeepers working within the structure of the United Nations, you've taken risks for peace. Your bilateral development assistance to less fortunate countries is a tribute to your generosity and your humanitarianism, as is the personal dedication of Irish men and women engaged in voluntary service throughout the world.

Ireland has had an active and respected role in the European community, with which you yourself, Mr. President, are so closely identified. We look forward to consulting closely with your government during Ireland's forthcoming presidency of the European Community Council. Ireland has always promoted an open and meaningful dialogue between the United States and the member states of the Community. I know we can count on a continuation of that fine and very practical tradition.

We respect Ireland's independent course in international affairs, but we also respect the democratic and humanitarian values expressed by your actions. Mr. President, our people have a common love of freedom and a sense of decency that transcends political consideration. In many respects, my journey here is a

celebration of our ties of ideals, as well as family. They are ties that secure our friendship and ensure our good will.

Ladies and gentlemen, please join me in a toast to Prime Minister and Mrs. FitzGerald, President and Mrs. Hillery, and to the people of Ireland.



May 30, 1984

4:00 p.m.

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 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 92 injured after a terrorist bomb went off in Harrods of London. Just the day before, a Garda recruit, Gary Sheehan, and Private Patrick Kelly, a young Irish soldier with 4 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 should 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 constructive work of the New Ireland Forum. The Forum's recent report has been 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 support, 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 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 eight United Nations peace-keeping operations 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 35,000 and 40,000 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. 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 progress can also be moments of great testing. 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 with half-way measures; it can be met only by a determined effort to consolidate peace with all the strength America can bring to bear.

This is my deepest commitment, to achieve stable peace, not just by deterring aggression, but also by assuring that our economic strength helps lead the way to greater stability through growth and human progress; to be prepared with the strength of our commitment to pursue all possible avenues for arms reduction; and to be prepared with the greatest strength of all -- the spiritual strength and self-confidence 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 enduring steadiness, 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, 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 on all nuclear exports.

During the months the START and INF talks were underway, the United States proposed seven different initiatives. None of these were offered 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 our own, and we are prepared to negotiate tomorrow if the Soviets so choose. I am prepared to order the withdrawal of any and all of our intermediate-range missiles from Europe if a verifiable and equitable agreement is reached. But for such an outcome to be possible, 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 of 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 serious commitment of the United States to such a process.

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 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 reduction 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. Last year 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 a 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 advisors and \$474 million in aid, three-fourths of which is earmarked for economic and social development -- is give the Salvadorans the chance they want for democratic self-determination -- without outside interference.

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 Antonio 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 our traditions -- in the cause of human freedom.



(Robinson/RR)  
May 30, 1984  
2:00 p.m.

-PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEERFIELD LUNCHEON TOAST  
MONDAY, JUNE 4, 1984

President and Mrs. Hillery, Prime Minister and  
Mrs. FitzGerald, ladies and gentlemen:

Mrs. Reagan and I are delighted to welcome you here this  
afternoon. We hope to return the kind hospitality that has been  
extended to us from the moment we set foot on this Emerald Isle.  
By the way, I noticed that this house has a blue room, a coral  
room, and a gold room -- that reminds me of the White House back  
in Washington. As you may have seen when you visited Washington,  
Mr. Prime Minister, the White House is a good home for an  
Irishman. Every March 17th, I can honor St. Patrick by spending  
all day in the Green Room.

For Americans, the very mention of Ireland holds a magical  
sense of allure. It brings to mind images of green pastures  
overlooked by rugged hills; of wide lakes like Lake Conn and the  
Lake of Killarney; of busy village squares; of the graceful  
Georgian architecture here in Dublin.

Perhaps what strikes Americans most is this island's ancient  
history. More than eight centuries before Columbus discovered  
the New World, Irish monasteries were great centers of faith and  
learning. Scholars from all over Europe came to Ireland to study  
theology, philosophy, Greek, and Latin; and Irishmen created  
stunning illuminated manuscripts, including a book many consider  
the most beautiful ever made, the Book of Kells.

America, by contrast, is a young Nation. Only a few centuries have passed since the first settlers landed on our eastern shores. These hardy men and women, and those who followed them, came from virtually every nation on Earth. By 1900, nearly 4 million had come from Ireland alone. As those immigrants cleared land, built towns, and established legislatures, they created a new and distinctly American way of life -- yet they continued to cherish memories of their homelands. Today, Ireland and the United States therefore share a living bond: the many Irish people who have cousins in America, and the 40 million Americans of Irish descent who have a special place for this island in their hearts.

Our two countries share a second bond -- a bond of fundamental beliefs. Both our peoples esteem human liberty. Both cherish the blessing of peace. As Ireland works to foster international understanding in this troubled world, you have our admiration and support. We, in turn, pledge our unrelenting efforts in the name of world peace and freedom.

Permit me to close on a personal note. My own family left Ireland for the United States more than 100 years ago. This return to the land of my ancestors -- the island where for so many centuries my people lived and worked and worshipped -- has moved me more deeply than I can say. As we draw our visit to a close, I know that many Irish-Americans who can't be here today are watching at home, and I want to try to express their deep affection for the people of this Island. Permit me to quote your great poet William Butler Yeats:



Wine comes in at the mouth  
And love comes in at the eye;  
That's all we shall know for truth  
Before we grow old and die.  
I lift the glass to my mouth,  
I look at you, and I sigh.

President Hillery, Prime Minister FitzGerald, ladies and  
gentlemen: to the Republic of Ireland.