NSC

(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.

(NSC/State/Dolan/BE)
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 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 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 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 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 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 unremitting 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.

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

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE FROM IRELAND
DUBLIN
MONDAY, JUNE 4, 1984

President and Mrs. Hillery, Prime Minister and Mrs. FitzGerald, all my new friends: What a wonderful visit this has been for us, what a wonderful homecoming. Your country has given us a whole world of memories and images, from the gentle beauty of Galway to the busy hum of Dublin, from the peacefulness of Ballyporeen to the loveliness of sweet Shannon. You gave us "a hundred thousand welcomes." I won't try to say that in Gaelic, but I've mastered at least a bit of your native tongue. I now call Nancy "mavourneen." (muh-VOR-nyeen -- Irish for "my darling".)

Your warmth has touched our hearts. You have made this traveller feel like one of the family. But now it is time to say goodbye. And as I leave I feel such a tug, and I want to stay with you and laugh and talk some more. There is something in your country that makes the American Irish feel like exiles when they leave, as if they're leaving a part of themselves behind.

This is my third visit to your country. I remember my first, 35 years ago. I walked the streets of Dublin, and I went by the Abbey Theatre and the Gresham Hotel, and I strolled down O'Connell Street and saw the bullet marks on the old Post Office. And that night, I followed the sound of music to the entrance of a ballroom and peered in at a university dance. I saw the young men dressed in white tie and tails, and the young women in flowing gowns, and I watched them do a graceful waltz and I

wished the world would just slow down a little and make more room for such graciousness.

That's how Nancy and I feel today. We wish the world would just slow down so we could have more time with you.

When I came back to Ireland a few years ago, I went out to the West and saw the ruins of the chapel where St. Patrick raised the first cross on Irish soil. And nearby there was a well fed by underground springs from a hill far away -- and they told me it was a wishing well, so Nancy and I threw in some coins and made a wish -- and a few days ago, when we landed in Shannon again, our wish came true.

I want you to know Nancy and I made another wish this morning. We want to come back when my work is done in Washington. By my calculations that will be in January of 1989, though I understand there is some disagreement on that. But when I come back I'll be able to stay longer, and I hope I can see you all again . . .

[Now I know that some of you have expressed concern at some of the events of the past few days, some of the demonstrations and such. But please understand: I don't mind. It's in the nature of politics that sometimes we'll have profound disagreements on things -- and if you mean to play a part in the affairs of the world you've got to get used to the smack and flow of contending opinions. And it's a paradox, but it's because our two countries are so close that we can express our feelings with such passion and vigor. And that's as it should be. It's an expression of closeness.] We will never be far apart, Ireland

and America. We're tied by ties of blood, ties of history -- and by a natural affinity and affection.

America loves the Irish. I hope the Irish always love America. You are in our hearts forever, and as I leave this place I think of the words of a poem by one of your exiled sons.

> Pearly are the skies in the country of my fathers,
> Purple are thy mountains, home of my heart.
> Mother of my yearning, love of all my longings,
> Keep me in remembrance, long leagues apart.

I will keep you in my remembrance, long leagues apart -- and I will remember your warmth and your kindness forever.

Thank you and God bless you.

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

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: POINTE DU HOC
WEDNESDAY, JUNE 6, 1984

We are here to mark that day in history when the Allied armies joined in battle to reclaim this continent to liberty. For 4 long years, much of Europe had been under a terrible shadow. Free nations had fallen, Jews cried out in the camps, millions cried out for liberation. Europe was enslaved, and the world prayed for its rescue. Here, in Normandy, the rescue began. Here the West stood, and fought against tyranny in a giant undertaking unparalleled in human history.

We stand on a lonely, windswept point on the northern shore of France. As I speak, the air is soft and full of sunlight. But 40 years ago at this moment, the air was dense with smoke and the cries of men, the air was filled with the crack of rifle fire and the roar of cannon. At dawn on the morning of the 6th of June, 1944, 225 American Rangers jumped off a British landing craft and ran to the bottom of these cliffs. Their mission was one of the most difficult and daring of the Invasion: to climb these sheer and desolate cliffs and take out the enemy guns. The Allies had been told that the mightiest of those guns were here, and they would be trained on the beaches to stop the Allied advance.

The Rangers looked up and saw the enemy soldiers at the edge of the cliffs shooting down at them with machine guns and throwing grenades. And the American Rangers began to climb. They shot rope ladders over the face of these cliffs and they began to pull themselves up. And when one Ranger would fall another would take his place, and when one rope was cut a Ranger

would grab another and begin his climb again. They climbed and shot back and held their footing; and in time the enemy pulled back; in time the Rangers held the cliffs; and soon, one by one, the Rangers pulled themselves over the top -- and in seizing the firm land at the top of these cliffs they began to seize back the continent of Europe.

Forty years ago as I speak they were fighting to hold these cliffs. They had radioed back and asked for reinforcements. They were told: There aren't any. But they did not give up. It was not in them to give up. They would not be turned back; they held the cliffs.

Two hundred twenty-five came here. After a day of fighting only 90 could still bear arms.

I stand here today before the survivors of that battle. These are the boys of Pointe du Hoc. These are the men who took the cliffs. These are the champions who helped free a continent; these are the heroes who helped end a war.

Gentlemen, I look at you and I think of the words of Stephen Spender's poem. You are men who in your "lives fought for life . . . and left the vivid air signed with (your) honor."

And I think I know what you're thinking right now. You're thinking, "But we were just part of a bigger effort, and everyone was brave that day."

Everyone was. The heroism of all the Allies of D-Day was boundless, but there was another quality to it, not only of size but of spirit.

Do you remember Bill Millin of the 51st Scottish Highlanders? Forty years ago today, British troops were pinned

down near a bridge outside Caen. They were waiting desperately for reinforcements, when suddenly they heard the sound of bagpipes wafting through the air. Some of them thought it was a dream. But they looked up, and there was Bill Millin with his bagpipes, marching at the head of the reinforcements, ignoring the smack of the bullets into the sand around him. Lord Lovat was with him -- Lord Lovat of England, leading his commandos. When he got to the bridge Lord Lovat calmly announced, "Sorry I'm a few minutes late." As if he'd been delayed by bad weather or a traffic jam. When in truth he'd just come from the bloody fighting on Sword Beach, which he and his men had just taken.

There was the young Frenchman, Michel de Vallavielle, who had been confined by the Germans in his home. When the Invasion began he defied the enemy patrols, broke the curfew, and ran to the beach to tell the Allied troops where the enemy guns were hidden.

There was Lieutenant Colonel Benjamin Vandervoort of the All American 82nd Airborne, who broke his leg when he parachuted on to French soil. So he commandeered a small farm cart and ordered his men to wheel him on to the battlefield.

There was the impossible valor of the Poles, who threw themselves between the enemy and the rest of Europe as the Invasion took hold. And the unsurpassed courage of the Canadians, the only troops who knew exactly what they would face when they hit the beaches. Two years before, their countrymen had been slaughtered at Dieppe. They knew what awaited them here, but they would not be deterred, and once they hit Juno Beach they never looked back.

The men of Normandy were part of a roll call of honor, with names that spoke of a pride as bright as the colors they bore: the Royal Winnipeg Rifles, Poland's 24th Lancers, the Royal Scots Fusiliers, the 2nd Ranger Battalion, the Yeomen of England's armoured divisions, the forces of Free France, the Regiment de Chars de Combat, the Screaming Eagles . . .

What inspired the men of the armies that met here? What impelled them to put all thought of self-preservation behind, and risk their lives to take these beaches and hold these cliffs?

It was faith and belief; it was loyalty and love. It was faith that what they were doing was right, faith that they fought for all humanity, faith that a just God would grant them mercy on this beachhead -- or the next. It was the deep knowledge (and pray God we have not lost it) that there is a profound moral difference between the use of force for liberation and the use of force for conquest. They were here to liberate, not to conquer, and so they did not doubt their cause. And they were right not to doubt.

They knew that some things are worth dying for -- that one's country is worth dying for and that democracy is worth dying for, because it is the most deeply honorable form of Government ever devised by man. They loved liberty and they were happy to fight tyranny. And they knew the people of their countries were behind them.

The Americans who fought here that morning knew that word of the Invasion was spreading through the darkness back home. And they knew in their hearts, though they could not know in fact, that in Georgia they were filling the churches at 4 a.m., and in

Kansas they were kneeling on their porches and praying, and in Philadelphia they were ringing the Liberty Bell.

Something else helped the men of D-Day. It was the rockhard belief that Providence would have a great hand in the events that would unfold here; that God was an ally in this great cause. And, so, the night before the Invasion, when Colonel Wolverton asked his parachute troops to kneel with him in prayer he told them: Do not bow your heads but look up so you can see God and ask His blessing in what we are about to do. And in another part of England that night General Mathew Ridgeway tossed on his cot and talked to his God and listened for the promise made to Joshua: "I will not fail thee nor forsake thee."

These are the things that impelled them; these are the things that shaped the unity of the West. And with that unity the West could not be stopped.

When the war was over there were lives to be rebuilt and governments to be returned to the people -- there were nations to be reborn and above all, there was a new peace to be assured. These were huge and daunting tasks. But the Allies summoned strength from the faith and belief and loyalty and love of those who fell here. And they rebuilt a new Europe together.

There was first a great reconciliation, not only of those who had been enemies in the war, but also of those nations which had been torn for centuries by rivalries of territory and religion and power. Those rivalries were interred on these beaches.

Inspired by the gallantry of the men who fought the war, the United States created the Marshall Plan to help rebuild our

allies and our former enemies. The Marshall Plan led to the Atlantic Alliance -- a great alliance that functions to this day as a shield for democracy and for prosperity.

In spite of our great efforts and our great successes, not all of what followed the end of the war was happy, or planned. Some of the countries that had been liberated were lost. The great sadness of that fact echoes down to our own time in the streets of Warsaw, Prague, and East Berlin. The Soviet troops that came to the center of this continent did not leave when peace came. They are there to this day, uninvited, unwanted, and unyielding almost 40 years after the war.

Because of this, Allied forces still stand on this continent. But our armies are here only to protect and defend democracy -- and never to take land that is not ours. The only land we hold is the graveyards where our heroes rest.

We in America have learned the bitter lessons of two world wars: that it is better to be here and ready to preserve and protect the peace, than to take blind shelter in our homes across the sea, rushing to respond only after freedom has been lost. We have learned that isolationism never was and never will be an acceptable response to tyrannical governments with expansionist intent.

But we try always to prepare for peace. That is why we maintain our defenses and that is why we have tried to negotiate the reduction of arms.

In truth there is no reconciliation we would welcome more than a reconciliation with the Soviet Union, so that together we can lessen the chance of conflict, now and forever.

I tell you from my heart that we in the United States do not want war. We want to wipe from the face of the Earth the terrible weapons man now has in his hands. I tell you we are ready to seize that beachhead -- but there must be some sign from the Soviet Union that they are willing to move forward, that they share our desire and love for peace, that they will give up the ways of conquest. There must be a changing there that will allow us to turn our hope into action.

We will pray forever that some day that changing will come. But for now -- and particularly today -- it is good and fitting for us to renew our commitment to each other, to our freedom, and to the alliance that protects it.

We are bound still by what bound us 40 years ago, bound by the same loyalties, traditions and beliefs. We are bound by reality: The strength of America's allies is still vital to the future of the United States. And the American security guarantee is still essential to the continued freedom of Europe's democracies. The Allies of 40 years ago are allies still. Your destiny is our destiny, and your hopes are our hopes.

Here, in this place where the West stood together, let us make a vow to our dead. Let us show them by our actions that we understand what they died for; let our actions say to them the words for which Mathew Ridgeway listened: "I will not fail thee nor forsake thee."

Strengthened by their courage, heartened by their valor and borne by their memory, let us continue to stand for the ideals for which they lived and died.

Thank you all very much.

(Dolan/RR)
May 30, 1984
4:00 p.m.

-PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: OMAHA BEACH MEMORIAL REMARKS
WEDNESDAY, JUNE 6, 1984

We stand today at a place of battle, one that 40 years ago saw the worst of war. Men bled and died here for a few feet or inches of sand as bullets and shellfire cut through their ranks. About them, General Omar Bradley later said: "Every man who set foot on Omaha Beach that day was a hero."

Words do not do them justice. Speeches cannot portray their suffering, their sacrifice, their heroism. President Lincoln once reminded us that -- through their deeds -- the dead of battle have spoken more eloquently for themselves than any of the living ever could, that we can only honor them by rededicating ourselves to the cause for which they gave a last full measure of devotion.

Today, we do rededicate ourselves to that cause. And in this place of honor, we are humbled by the realization of how much many have given to the cause of freedom and to their fellow man.

Some who survived the battle on June 6, 1944 are here today. Others who hoped to return never did so.

"Someday, Lis, I'll go back," said Private First Class Peter Robert Zanatta of the 37th Engineer Combat Battalion of the first assault wave to hit Omaha Beach. "I'll go back and I'll see it all again. I'll see the beach, the barricades, and the graves. I'll put a flower on the graves of the guys I knew and on the grave of the unknown soldier -- all the guys I fought with."

Those words of Private Zanatta come to us from his daughter, Lisa Zanatta Henn, in an essay written about an event her father spoke of often: "the Normandy Invasion would change his life forever," she said.

She tells some of his stories of World War II, but says for her father "the story to end all stories was D-Day."

"He made me feel the fear of being on that boat waiting to land. I can smell the ocean and feel the seasickness. I can see the looks on his fellow soldiers' faces, the fear, the anguish, the uncertainty of what lay ahead. And when they landed, I can feel the strength and courage of the men who took those first steps through the tide to what must have surely looked like instant death."

Private Zanatta's daughter says: "I don't know how or why I can feel this emptiness, this fear, or this determination, but I do. Maybe its the bond I had with my father. (I was really lucky -- we never got tired of talking to each other.) All I know is that it brings tears to my eyes to think about my father as a 20 year old boy having to face that beach."

She went on to say how the anniversary of D-Day for her and her family was always special; and like all the families of those who went to war, she describes how she came to realize her own father's survival was a miracle.

"So many men died. I know that my father watched many of his friends be killed. I know that he must have died inside a little each time. But his explanation to me was 'You did what you had to do and you kept on going.'"

"My dad won his share of medals. He was a good soldier and fought hard for his country. He was just an ordinary guy, with immigrant Italian parents who never really had enough money. But he was a proud man. Proud of his heritage, proud of his country, proud that he fought in World War II and proud that he lived through D-Day."

When men like Private Zanatta and all our allied forces stormed the beaches of Normandy 40 years ago, they came not as conquerors, but as liberators. When these troops swept across the French countryside and into the forests of Belgium and Luxembourg, they came not to take, but to restore what had been wrongly taken. When our forces marched into a ruined Germany, they came not to prey on a brave and defeated people, but to nurture the seeds of democracy among those who yearned again to be free.

We salute them today; we also salute those who were already engaging the enemy inside this country -- the French Resistance -- whose valiant service for France did so much to cripple the enemy in their midst and assist in the advance of the invading armies of liberation. These French Forces of the Interior will forever offer us an image of courage and national spirit, and will be a permanent inspiration to those who are free and all those who would be free.

This day, we celebrate the triumph of democracy. This day, we reaffirm the unity of democratic peoples who fought a war and then joined with the vanquished in a firm resolve to keep the peace from that time on.

From a terrible war, we learned that unity made us invincible; now, in peace, that same unity can make us secure. We sought the inclusion of all freedom-loving nations in a community dedicated to the defense and preservation of our sacred values. Our alliance, forged in the crucible of war, tempered and shaped by the realities of the post-war world, has succeeded in this end. In Europe, the threat has been contained. The peace has been kept.

Today, the living here assembled -- officials, veterans, citizens -- are a tribute to what was achieved here 40 years ago. This land is secure. We are free. These things were worth fighting -- and dying -- for.

Lisa Zanatta Henn began her essay with a quote from her father, who frequently promised he would return to Normandy. She ended her essay with a quote from herself, promising her father, who died eight years ago of cancer, that she would go in his place and see the graves and the flowers and the ceremonies honoring the veterans of D-Day. She promised him, " . . . I'll feel all the things you made me feel through your stories and your eyes."

"I will never forget what you went through, Dad, nor will I let anyone else forget -- and Dad, I'll always be proud."

Through the words a loving daughter -- who is here with us today -- a D-Day veteran has given us the meaning of this day far better than any President can. It is enough for us to say about Private Zanatta and all the men of honor and courage who fought beside him four decades ago: We will always remember. We will always be proud.

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

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: U.S. EMBASSY PERSONNEL IN LONDON
SUNDAY, JUNE 10, 1984

Mr. Secretary and Mrs. Shultz, Mr. Ambassador and Mrs. Price, and members of the Embassy: Nancy and I are grateful that so many of you could be here today. We want to express our heartfelt thanks for your warm welcome and for all you have done to make our visit a success. It has been a truly outstanding visit, and one which I know has required much work from all of you. Thank you for a tough job extremely well done.

I know that the number of official visits to London is almost overwhelming, but this Embassy always rises to the challenge. Your good work and cheerful hospitality are well-known to Washingtonians, and I'm sure that helps explain why you see so many of us so frequently.

Great Britain and the United States are kindred nations of like-minded people. We defend the same causes, face the same dangers, and value the same friendships. These bonds between trusted friends are very special and must never be broken.

You play a vital role in all of this, and I'm delighted that Anglo-American cooperation and consultation have never been closer. We are grateful for your many efforts.

This has been a particularly busy year for the Atlantic Alliance -- and a successful one. Despite unprecedented Soviet propaganda and attempts at political intimidation, the Alliance has remained steadfast in its determination to defend

Europe and preserve peace. There is no doubt that NATO will continue to meet its responsibilities.

The Summit we just concluded exemplified the unity of the Western industrialized nations and of our resolve to advance our common interests. Today, I am more convinced than ever of the importance of an open international trading system, and confident of the prospects for full Western economic recovery.

If I may, I'd like to speak for a moment on a subject that concerns me greatly. With tragic frequency, your colleagues have given their lives in the service of our Nation. The lists of names on the memorial plaques in the State Department and other agencies grow longer. The bombing of our Embassy in Beirut remains a vivid memory. Last month, two American officers in southern Africa, working for peace and freedom, paid the ultimate sacrifice. And more recently, you witnessed terrorism right here in London.

Your jobs are not easy. And more than ever, we look to the men and women of the Foreign Service, and the many other agencies that serve us abroad. The hard work of diplomacy is the work of peacemakers -- work that often takes place in difficult and dangerous settings. I want to assure you that we are doing everything possible to provide for your safety. And I want to tell you that the American people deeply appreciate your dedication and selfless service.

Finally, I would like to thank our Foreign Service nationals who serve us so well. Your important contributions to the Anglo-American partnership are sincerely appreciated.

Ambassadors and other American officials come and go, and it's your continuity that keeps everything running smoothly. And nobody knows that better than Miss Joan Auten. Miss Auten, would you please join me up here.

During Miss Auten's distinguished career spanning nearly 44 years, she has served 14 American Ambassadors to the Court of Saint James. During World War II, Miss Auten was instrumental in arranging the evacuation of children to the United States for safekeeping. Since those early days of service, she has played a leading role in promoting friendship and dialogue between our two democracies. As Senator Howard Baker once remarked on the floor of the United States Senate, "(You have) probably done more to foster the friendship between Great Britain and the United States in the past 40 years than all the diplomats of either country put together."

Miss Auten, I believe that I speak for everyone here today -- and all those who have served or passed through the Court of Saint James during the past 44 years -- in expressing my deep appreciation for your faithful and devoted service. And now, it is an honor to present you one of the highest civilian awards that can be conferred by the United States: The President's Special Award for Exceptional Service.