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PRESIDENTIAL TOAST
AMBASSADOR GALBRAITH DINNER
PARIS - JUNE 3, 1982

MR. PRESIDENT, MADAME MITTERRAND,
PRIME MINISTER & MADAME MAUROY,
MINISTERS, HONORED GUESTS, DEAR FRIENDS:

NANCY & I ARE VERY PLEASED TO BE
WITH YOU TONIGHT IN THIS LOVELY HOME OF
AMBASSADOR & MRS. GALBRAITH, OUR
GRACIOUS HOSTS. *

~~MR. PRESIDENT~~, I SPEAK NOT JUST FOR
NANCY & MYSELF, BUT FOR SO MANY OF OUR
COUNTRYMEN, WHEN I EXPRESS THE JOY WE
AMERICANS FEEL IN RETURNING TO FRANCE, &
SEEING AGAIN HER SPECIAL JEWEL--PARIS.

MR. PRESIDENT, I AM GRATEFUL TO HAVE
THIS OPPORTUNITY TO CONTINUE OUR
DIALOGUE & TO MEET WITH MADAME
MITTERRAND, MEMBERS OF YOUR GOVERNMENT &
SO MANY OF YOUR FINE CITIZENS. *

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I HAVE ENJOYED GETTING TO KNOW YOU THIS
PAST YEAR, & HAVE BENEFITTED FROM YOUR
WISE COUNSEL DURING OUR SEVERAL
DISCUSSIONS.

THIS WILL BE OUR SECOND ECONOMIC
SUMMIT TOGETHER. YOU MAY BE SURE I WILL
WORK WITH YOU TO HELP MAKE IT A
SUCCESS. I COME TO EUROPE & THIS SUMMIT
WITH A SPIRIT OF CONFIDENCE. *

OUR ADMINISTRATION HAS EMBARKED UPON
A BOLD PROGRAM TO BRING INFLATIONARY
GOVERNMENT SPENDING UNDER CONTROL, ~~AND~~
RESTORE PERSONAL INCENTIVES TO REVIVE
ECONOMIC GROWTH, & REBUILD OUR DEFENSES
TO ENSURE PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH. THIS
HAS MEANT A FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN
POLICIES, & UNDERSTANDABLY, THE
TRANSITION HAS NOT BEEN WITHOUT
DIFFICULTIES. *

HOWEVER, I AM PLEASED TO REPORT THAT THESE POLICIES ARE BEGINNING TO BEAR FRUIT.

INFLATION IS DOWN, INTEREST RATES ARE FALLING & BOTH PERSONAL SAVINGS & SPENDING ARE IMPROVING.

WE BELIEVE ECONOMIC RECOVERY IS IMMINENT. *

WE ALSO ARE MOVING FORWARD TO RESTORE AMERICA'S DEFENSIVE STRENGTH AFTER A

DECADE OF NEGLECT. OUR REASON FOR BOTH

ACTIONS IS SIMPLE — A STRONG AMERICA &

A VITAL, UNIFIED ALLIANCE ARE

INDISPENSABLE TO KEEPING THE PEACE NOW &

IN THE FUTURE, JUST AS THEY HAVE BEEN

IN THE PAST. *

AT THE SAME TIME, WE HAVE INVITED THE SOVIET UNION TO MEET WITH US & TO NEGOTIATE, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN HISTORY, SUBSTANTIAL & VERIFIABLE REDUCTIONS IN THE WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION. THIS WE ARE COMMITTED

TO DO. *

YOU IN YOUR COUNTRY HAVE ALSO BEEN WORKING TO SET A NEW COURSE. WHILE THE POLICIES YOU HAVE CHOSEN TO DEAL WITH ECONOMIC PROBLEMS ARE NOT THE SAME AS OURS, WE RECOGNIZE THEY ARE DIRECTED AT A COMMON GOAL — A PEACEFUL & MORE PROSPEROUS WORLD. *

WE UNDERSTAND THAT OTHER NATIONS MAY PURSUE DIFFERENT ROADS TOWARD OUR COMMON GOALS. BUT WE CAN STILL COME TOGETHER & WORK TOGETHER FOR A GREATER GOOD. THE CHALLENGE OF OUR DEMOCRACIES IS TO FORGE A UNITY OF PURPOSE & MISSION, WITHOUT SACRIFICING THE BASIC RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION. AT VERSAILLES, I BELIEVE WE CAN DO THIS. I BELIEVE WE WILL.



YES, WE IN THE WEST HAVE BIG PROBLEMS,
& WE MUST NOT PRETEND WE CAN SOLVE THEM
OVERNIGHT. BUT WE CAN SOLVE THEM.

IT IS WE, NOT THE FOES OF FREEDOM, WHO
ENJOY THE BLESSINGS OF CONSTITUTIONAL
GOVERNMENT, RULE OF LAW, POLITICAL &
ECONOMIC LIBERTIES, & THE RIGHT TO
WORSHIP GOD. IT IS WE WHO TRUST OUR OWN
PEOPLE, RATHER THAN FEAR THEM. *

THESE VALUES LIE AT THE HEART OF
HUMAN FREEDOM & SOCIAL PROGRESS. WE
NEED ONLY THE SPIRIT, WISDOM & WILL TO
MAKE THEM WORK.

MR. PRESIDENT, JUST AS OUR COUNTRIES
HAVE PRESERVED OUR DEMOCRATIC
INSTITUTIONS, SO HAVE WE MAINTAINED THE
WORLD'S OLDEST ALLIANCE. *

LIKE TRUE FRIENDS WHO MAY DISAGREE FROM
TIME TO TIME, WE KNOW WE CAN COUNT ON
EACH OTHER WHEN IT REALLY MATTERS.

I THINK THERE IS NO MORE FITTING WAY TO
UNDERScore THIS RELATIONSHIP THAN TO
RECALL THAT THERE ARE MORE THAN 60,000 *young*
AMERICAN SOLDIERS, SAILORS & MARINES WHO
REST BENEATH THE SOIL OF FRANCE. *

AS THE ANNIVERSARY OF D-DAY
APPROACHES, LET US PAY HOMAGE TO ALL THE
BRAVE MEN & WOMEN, FRENCH & AMERICAN,
WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES SO WE, & FUTURE
GENERATIONS, COULD LIVE IN FREEDOM.

IN THEIR MEMORY, LET US REMAIN VIGILANT TO
THE CHALLENGES WE FACE, STANDING TALL &
FIRM TOGETHER. *

IF YOU WILL ALLOW ME--THERE WAS A YOUNG AMERICAN, HIS NAME WAS MARTIN TREPTOW, WHO LEFT HIS JOB IN A SMALL TOWN BARBER SHOP IN 1917 TO COME TO FRANCE WITH THE FAMED RAINBOW DIVISION. WWI. HERE, ON THE WESTERN FRONT, HE WAS KILLED TRYING TO CARRY A MESSAGE BETWEEN BATTALIONS UNDER HEAVY ARTILLERY FIRE. *

WE ARE TOLD THAT ON HIS BODY WAS FOUND A DIARY. ON THE FLYLEAF UNDER THE HEADING, "MY PLEDGE," HE HAD WRITTEN THAT WE MUST WIN THIS WAR, "THEREFORE, I WILL WORK, I WILL SAVE, I WILL SACRIFICE, I WILL ENDURE, I WILL FIGHT CHEERFULLY & DO MY UTMOST, AS IF THE ISSUE OF THE WHOLE STRUGGLE DEPENDED UPON ME ALONE." *

THE CHALLENGES WE FACE TODAY DO NOT REQUIRE THE SAME SACRIFICES THAT MARTIN TREPTOW & SO MANY THOUSANDS OF OTHERS WERE CALLED UPON TO MAKE. BUT THEY DO REQUIRE OUR BEST EFFORT, OUR WILLINGNESS TO BELIEVE IN EACH OTHER, & TO BELIEVE THAT, TOGETHER WITH GOD'S HELP, WE CAN & WILL RESOLVE THE PROBLEMS CONFRONTING US. *

I PLEDGE TO YOU MY BEST EFFORT. LET US CONTINUE WORKING TOGETHER FOR THE VALUES & PRINCIPLES THAT PERMIT LITTLE PEOPLE TO DREAM GREAT DREAMS, TO GROW TALL, TO LIVE IN PEACE, AND ONE DAY, TO LEAVE BEHIND A BETTER LIFE FOR THEIR CHILDREN. *

SAINT-EXUPERY WROTE THAT A ROCK PILE CEASES TO BE A ROCK PILE THE MOMENT A SINGLE MAN CONTEMPLATES IT, BEARING WITHIN HIM THE IMAGE OF A CATHEDRAL.

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MR. PRESIDENT, LET US RAISE OUR
GLASSES TO ALL THE CATHEDRALS YET TO BE
BUILT. WITH OUR FRIENDSHIP, COURAGE &
DETERMINATION, THEY WILL BE BUILT. ✱

VIVE LA FRANCE ET VIVE L'AMERIQUE--
DES AMIS CE SOIR, DEMAIN ET TOUJOURS.*

(*LONG LIVE FRANCE & AMERICA: FRIENDS
THIS EVENING, TOMORROW & ALWAYS.)

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RADIO ADDRESS FROM VERSAILLES, JUNE 5, 1982

Good day to you all in America. Maybe I should say Bon Jour. I am speaking to you from the Palace of Versailles, right outside Paris, France. And, I'm not over here on vacation. Along with the leaders of the other democratic industrial nations, I'm attending an economic summit -- the eighth one in as many years.

Versailles holds significance for the American people beyond its art treasures and architecture. This imposing structure has strong links to our own history. Within these walls, Louis XVI and Benjamin Franklin ~~planned~~ ^{CONCLUDED} an alliance without which our revolution's outcome might have been very different. And in 1783, the Treaty of Versailles, which ^{LED TO THE} formal ~~recognition of~~ ^{RECOGNITION OF} America's independence from England, was signed here.

I don't want to give you a history lesson, but the Versailles Peace Conference, which settled World War I, also greatly affected us as a Nation. That conference marked America's emergence as a leader and a world power. All these historical links between the U.S. and Versailles involve alliance and friendship, and, really, that is what we're doing here again.

This time we are discussing economic cooperation. I can assure you our partners are as determined as we are to overcome economic ills and create incentives for employment, investment, and productivity. And they also realize that economic growth is essential to the long-term well-being of the industrial

countries. In our meetings, we're trying to work out ways we can reach those goals together and without stepping on each other's toes.

Yes, the countries attending the summit do have economic problems. But look how far we've come. Out of the ruins of the last great war, we have built thriving democracies, solid friendships and fundamentally sound economies.

We have a right to be proud of our contributions to the economic strength of these industrial democracies.

Today is the 35th anniversary of the Marshall Plan -- a program that shines as an example of how we've worked for the betterment of our sister democracies. I think it's appropriate that this anniversary occurs here among our friends. Our presence demonstrates America's continuing commitment to the democracies of Europe, Japan, and Canada.

After we leave France, we go to the Vatican to call upon His Holiness the Pope and to Rome to visit the government and people of Italy. Italy is a firm and warm friend of the U.S., and we couldn't be in the area without stopping by. Then back on the plane, and we're off to England--a nation whose American ties are as thick as its fog.

The next summit we attend is the NATO gathering in Bonn, West Germany. As you know, NATO's origins go back to the North Atlantic Treaty of 1949, which provided for a defensive military alliance of Western Europe and North America, as well as political and economic cooperation. It is this alliance and its deterrent strength that has kept the peace for the past 33 years.

At the NATO Summit we will work to preserve that peace by strengthening our defenses and demonstrating the Alliance's firm resolve. The happiest event at the meeting will be Spain's addition to the list of NATO members. A democratic country has freely chosen to join other nations in an alliance for their common defense. That has real significance. Did any nation in Eastern Europe freely choose to join the Warsaw Pact? Not one.

Just as it's fitting that the anniversary of the Marshall Plan occurs during the economic summit, it's also meaningful that NATO meets the week of the D-Day anniversary. One lesson of D-Day is as clear now as it was 38 years ago: only strength can deter tyranny and aggression.

The dawn that rose on the English Channel that June morning revealed a horizon alive with thousands of ships, the largest armada in history. From England, the long awaited message went around the world: "Under the command of General Eisenhower, Allied naval forces, supported by strong air forces, began landing Allied armies on the northern coast of France." It was a simple statement but the operation had been years in the planning.

In the United States the news came in the middle of the night, but here and there in sleepy towns lights nonetheless came on. President Roosevelt called the people to prayer, "Almighty God -- our sons, the pride of our nation, this day have set upon a mighty endeavor . . ."

It was a mighty endeavor, an endeavor of liberty, sacrifice, and valor. As we honor these men, I pledge to do my utmost to carry out what must have been their wish: that no other generation of young men would ever have to repeat their sacrifice in order to preserve freedom.

This is the last of this series of radio broadcasts. But I'll be back before too long. Until then, thanks for listening, and God bless you all.

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JUNE 6, 1982
VERSAILLES

PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT TO THE
JOINT PRESS CONFERENCE

THIS IS A SPECIAL DAY FOR THE UNITED STATES & ITS CLOSEST PARTNERS. 38 YEARS AGO TODAY, AMERICAN & ALLIED FORCES LANDED ON THE BEACHES OF NORMANDY IN ONE OF THE MOST SPECTACULAR MILITARY FEATS IN HISTORY. THE NORMANDY INVASION MARKED MORE THAN THE BEGINNING OF THE END OF A TRAGIC & DEVASTATING CONFLICT. IT ALSO MARKED THE BEGINNING OF A NEW SPIRIT OF DEEP & POSITIVE PARTNERSHIP AMONG WESTERN DEMOCRACIES, A SPIRIT THAT WAS MANIFEST IN OUR EFFORTS IN THE POSTWAR PERIOD TO HELP REBUILD SHATTERED SOCIETIES.

WORKING TOGETHER -- EUROPE, CANADA, JAPAN, & THE UNITED STATES -- WE LAID THE FOUNDATION FOR GLOBAL PROSPERITY.

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TOGETHER, WE BUILT THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS WHICH HAVE SEEN US THROUGH THE GREATEST ECONOMIC EXPANSION IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD. THIS WEEKEND AT VERSAILLES, THAT SPIRIT OF PARTNERSHIP WAS VERY MUCH ALIVE.

IN THE FORMAL SESSIONS & INFORMAL EXCHANGES, THE LEADERS OF THE MAJOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES WORKED ON STRENGTHENING AND SOLIDIFYING WESTERN ECONOMIC COOPERATION.

WE DID NOT IGNORE THE SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES FACING OUR ECONOMIES. THESE PROBLEMS WILL NOT GO AWAY OVERNIGHT, BUT THEY WILL BE OVERCOME. BEATING INFLATION, CONVINCINGLY & ENDURINGLY, IS THE KEY TO A STRONG RECOVERY OF GROWTH & EMPLOYMENT. THIS WAS AGREED.

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AND, I WAS PLEASED TO REPORT TO MY COLLEAGUES THAT IN THE U.S. WE ARE CONQUERING INFLATION & ARE CONVINCING OUR PEOPLE THAT WE WILL NOT RETURN TO THE INFLATIONARY POLICIES OF THE PAST.

IN TIMES OF ECONOMIC STRESS, IT IS ALWAYS TEMPTING TO SEEK SIMPLE SOLUTIONS AT THE EXPENSE OF OTHERS. AT VERSAILLES, WE RESISTED THIS TEMPTATION. INSTEAD, WE CONCENTRATED ON WAYS & MEANS TO STRENGTHEN OUR ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE INDIVIDUALLY & COLLECTIVELY. WE HAVE AGREED TO REINFORCE THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS WHICH ASSURE COOPERATION & COORDINATION. IN DOING SO, WE ARE LOOKING TO A FUTURE WITH LOW INFLATION, GREATER EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES, RISING STANDARDS OF LIVING THROUGH ADVANCING TECHNOLOGY, AND SMOOTHLY FUNCTIONING INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS.

PAGE 4

JUST TO NAME A FEW SPECIFIC AREAS:

-- WE WILL WORK WITH THE I.M.F. TO ACHIEVE MEANINGFUL COORDINATION OF MEDIUM-TERM POLICIES, BASED ON FISCAL & MONETARY DISCIPLINE & GREATER RELIANCE ON MARKET FORCES.

-- WE HAVE DEDICATED OUR EFFORTS TO A PRODUCTIVE MINISTERIAL MEETING OF THE "GATT," WHICH WILL ADDRESS THE TRADE PROBLEMS OF THE 1980's.

-- WE HAVE REAFFIRMED OUR COMMITMENT, MADE LAST YEAR AT OTTAWA, TO INSURE THAT OUR ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION ARE FULLY CONSISTENT WITH OUR POLITICAL & SECURITY OBJECTIVES. SPECIFICALLY, WE HAVE AGREED TO EXERCISE PRUDENCE IN FINANCIAL RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, INCLUDING LIMITING EXPORT CREDITS.

PAGE 5

-- WE ALSO AGREED TO WORK TOGETHER TO DEVELOP THE CONSIDERABLE ENERGY POTENTIAL IN THE WEST, AS ANOTHER STEP IN ASSURING A STRONG, SUSTAINED ECONOMIC RECOVERY, LESS VULNERABLE TO ENERGY DISRUPTIONS.

IN OUR INFORMAL POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS, WE ADDRESSED THE MAJOR CRITICAL ISSUES BEFORE THE WEST. WE KNOW THAT THE ECONOMIC GROWTH WE SEEK WOULD BE HOLLOW WITHOUT THE COLLECTIVE CAPACITY TO DEFEND OUR DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES AND OUR FREEDOM.

WE ADDRESSED OUR SHARED CONCERNS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS. THE CONTINUING BUILDUP OF SOVIET MILITARY POWER IS A MAJOR CHALLENGE, HEIGHTENED BY SOVIET ACTIONS IN POLAND, AFGHANISTAN, AND SOUTHEAST ASIA -- ISSUES I LOOK FORWARD TO DISCUSSING IN GREATER DEPTH AT THE BONN SUMMIT.

PAGE 6

AT THE SAME TIME, WE AGREED THAT THE SERIOUS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS & IMPENDING SUCCESSION IN THE SOVIET UNION PROVIDE US WITH MAJOR OPPORTUNITIES TO WORK OUT A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE EAST-WEST DIALOGUE.

WE MUST MAINTAIN DIALOGUE WITH THE SOVIET UNION, BASED ON RECIPROCITY AND RESTRAINT. IN THAT SPIRIT, MY COLLEAGUES HAVE ENDORSED U.S. INITIATIVES FOR ARMS CONTROL, PARTICULARLY THE NEGOTIATIONS ON REDUCING STRATEGIC ARMS WHICH WILL BEGIN ON JUNE 29.

THE TRAGEDY IN THE FALKLAND ISLANDS HAS BEEN A SERIOUS CONCERN TO US ALL. THROUGHOUT THE CRISIS, WE HAVE ALL BEEN IMPRESSED BY THE BRITISH RESOLVE AND, IN VARIOUS WAYS, WE HAVE DEMONSTRATED OUR SUPPORT FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM. THE UNITED STATES CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT WE MUST END THE FIGHTING IN THE SOUTH ATLANTIC & ACHIEVE A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT.

ON OTHER MATTERS, WE URGED RESTRAINT ON ALL PARTIES IN LEBANON. INCREASING BLOODSHED IN THAT REGION IS SOMETHING WE ALL ABHOR. WE HAVE ALSO CALLED FOR A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IN THE IRAN-IRAQ CONFLICT WHICH WOULD PRESERVE THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF BOTH NATIONS. AND, WE AGREED TO IMPROVE OUR COORDINATED FIGHT AGAINST INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM.

(OUR POLITICAL TALKS CONCLUDED WITH A RESOLVE TO REACH OUT TO NEW GENERATIONS. WE WILL INVEST IN THE FUTURE WITH EXPANDED EXCHANGES AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE FROM NORTH AMERICA, JAPAN, & EUROPE.)

A YEAR AGO IN OTTAWA, WE ENDED THE FIRST SERIES OF ECONOMIC SUMMITS THAT BEGAN IN FRANCE. WITH THIS SUMMIT AT VERSAILLES, WE HAVE BEGUN A NEW CYCLE.

WE THUS REAFFIRM OUR STRONG COMMITMENT TO ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL COOPERATION. IN THE SPIRIT OF PARTNERSHIP WITH OUR FELLOW DEMOCRACIES, I WANT TO SAY TO ALL OF YOU THAT I VERY MUCH LOOK FORWARD TO WELCOMING YOU NEXT YEAR TO THE UNITED STATES.

THANK YOU.

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(BAKSHIAN/RR)

ROME, ITALY

PRESIDENT'S REMARKS AT THE VATICAN
MONDAY, JUNE 7, 1982

YOUR HOLINESS, YOUR EMINENCES,
YOUR EXCELLENCIES, MEMBERS OF THE CLERGY,
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.

ON BEHALF OF MYSELF, AND FOR ALL
AMERICANS, I WANT TO EXPRESS PROFOUND
APPRECIATION TO YOU, YOUR HOLINESS,
AND TO ALL OF THOSE FROM THE HOLY SEE WHO
MADE IT POSSIBLE FOR US TO MEET IN
VATICAN CITY.

THIS IS TRULY A CITY OF PEACE, LOVE &
CHARITY WHERE THE HIGHEST & THE HUMBLEST
AMONG US SEEK TO FOLLOW IN THE FOOTSTEPS
OF THE FISHERMAN.

AS YOU KNOW, YOUR HOLINESS, THIS IS
MY FIRST VISIT TO EUROPE AS PRESIDENT.

PAGE 2 - THE VATICAN, JUNE 7, 1982

I WOULD LIKE TO THINK OF IT AS A PILGRIMAGE,
FOR PEACE -- A JOURNEY AIMED AT STRENGTHENING
THE FORCES FOR PEACE IN THE FREE WEST WHILE
OFFERING NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR REALISTIC
NEGOTIATIONS WITH THOSE WHO MAY NOT SHARE
THE VALUES OF FREEDOM & THE SPIRIT WHICH
WE CHERISH.

THIS IS NO EASY TASK, BUT I LEAVE
THIS AUDIENCE WITH A RENEWED SENSE OF
HOPE & DEDICATION. -- HOPE, BECAUSE ONE
CANNOT MEET A MAN LIKE YOUR HOLINESS WITHOUT
FEELING THAT A WORLD THAT CAN PRODUCE
SUCH COURAGE & VISION OUT OF ADVERSITY &
OPPRESSION IS CAPABLE -- WITH GOD'S HELP --
OF BUILDING A BETTER FUTURE. -- DEDICATION,
BECAUSE ONE CANNOT ENTER THIS CITADEL OF
FAITH, THE FOUNTAINHEAD OF SO MANY OF THE
VALUES WE IN THE FREE WEST HOLD DEAR,
WITHOUT COMING AWAY RESOLVED TO DO ALL IN
ONE'S POWER TO LIVE UP TO THEM.

PAGE 3 - THE VATICAN, JUNE 7, 1982

CERTAIN COMMON EXPERIENCES WE HAVE SHARED IN OUR DIFFERENT WALKS OF LIFE, YOUR HOLINESS, AND THE WARM CORRESPONDENCE WE HAVE CARRIED ON, ALSO GAVE OUR MEETING A SPECIAL MEANING FOR ME. I HOPE THAT OTHERS WILL FOLLOW.

LET ME ADD THAT ALL AMERICANS REMEMBER WITH GREAT WARMTH YOUR HISTORIC VISIT TO OUR SHORES IN 1979. WE ALL HOPE THAT YOU WILL BE BACK AGAIN WITH YOUR TIMELESS MESSAGE. OURS IS A NATION GROUNDED ON FAITH — FAITH IN MAN'S ABILITY, THROUGH GOD-GIVEN FREEDOM, TO LIVE IN TOLERANCE & PEACE — AND FAITH THAT A SUPREME BEING GUIDES OUR DAILY STRIVING IN THIS WORLD. OUR NATIONAL MOTTO, "IN GOD WE TRUST," REFLECTS THAT FAITH.

PAGE 4 - THE VATICAN, JUNE 7, 1982

MANY OF OUR EARLIEST SETTLERS CAME TO AMERICA SEEKING A REFUGE WHERE THEY COULD WORSHIP GOD UNHINDERED. SO OUR DEDICATION TO POLITICAL & INDIVIDUAL FREEDOMS IS WEDDED TO RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AS WELL. LIBERTY HAS NEVER MEANT LICENSE TO AMERICANS. WE TREASURE IT PRECISELY BECAUSE IT PROTECTS THE HUMAN & SPIRITUAL VALUES WE HOLD MOST DEAR — THE RIGHT TO WORSHIP AS WE CHOOSE THE RIGHT TO ELECT DEMOCRATIC LEADERS, THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE THE TYPE OF EDUCATION WE WANT FOR OUR CHILDREN — & FREEDOM FROM FEAR, WANT & OPPRESSION. THESE ARE GOD-GIVEN FREEDOMS, NOT THE CONTRIVANCES OF MAN.

WE ALSO BELIEVE IN HELPING ONE ANOTHER THROUGH OUR CHURCHES & CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS OR SIMPLY AS ONE FRIEND -- ONE GOOD SAMARITAN -- TO ANOTHER.

PAGE 5 - THE VATICAN, JUNE 7, 1982

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS & THE GOLDEN RULE
ARE AS MUCH A PART OF OUR LIVING HERITAGE
AS THE CONSTITUTION WE TAKE SUCH PRIDE IN,
& WE HAVE TRIED -- NOT ALWAYS SUCCESSFULLY,
BUT ALWAYS IN GOOD CONSCIENCE -- TO EXTEND
THOSE SAME PRINCIPLES TO OUR ROLE IN THE
WORLD.

WE KNOW THAT GOD HAS BLESSED AMERICA
WITH A FREEDOM & ABUNDANCE MANY OF OUR
LESS FORTUNATE BROTHERS & SISTERS AROUND
THE WORLD HAVE BEEN DENIED. SINCE THE END
OF WORLD WAR II WE HAVE DONE OUR BEST TO
PROVIDE ASSISTANCE TO THEM -- ASSISTANCE
AMOUNTING TO BILLIONS OF DOLLARS WORTH OF
FOOD, MEDICINES & MATERIALS -- AND WE WILL
CONTINUE TO DO SO IN THE YEARS AHEAD.
AMERICANS HAVE ALWAYS BELIEVED THAT,
IN THE WORDS OF THE SCRIPTURE, "UNTO
WHOMSOEVER MUCH IS GIVEN, OF HIM SHALL
BE MUCH REQUIRED."

PAGE 6 - THE VATICAN, JUNE 7, 1982

TO US, IN A TROUBLED WORLD, THE HOLY SEE,
& YOUR PASTORATE, REPRESENT ONE OF THE
WORLD'S GREATEST MORAL & SPIRITUAL FORCES.
WE ADMIRE YOUR ACTIVE EFFORTS TO FOSTER
PEACE & PROMOTE JUSTICE, FREEDOM AND
COMPASSION IN A WORLD THAT IS STILL
STALKED BY THE FORCES OF EVIL.

AS A PEOPLE & AS A GOVERNMENT,
WE SEEK TO PURSUE THE SAME GOALS OF PEACE,
FREEDOM & HUMANITY ALONG POLITICAL &
ECONOMIC LINES THAT THE CHURCH PURSUES
IN ITS SPIRITUAL ROLE. SO WE DEEPLY
VALUE YOUR COUNSEL & SUPPORT AND EXPRESS
OUR SOLIDARITY WITH YOU.

PAGE 7 - THE VATICAN, JUNE 7, 1982

YOUR HOLINESS, ONE OF THE AREAS OF
OUR MUTUAL CONCERN IS LATIN AMERICA.

WE WANT TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THE CHURCH
IN THAT AREA TO HELP PROMOTE PEACE,
SOCIAL JUSTICE & REFORM, AND TO PREVENT
THE SPREAD OF REPRESSION AND GODLESS
TYRANNY. WE ALSO SHARE YOUR CONCERN IN
SEEKING PEACE & JUSTICE IN TROUBLED AREAS
OF THE MIDDLE EAST SUCH AS LEBANON.

ANOTHER SPECIAL AREA OF MUTUAL
CONCERN IS THE MARTYRED NATION OF POLAND,
YOUR OWN HOMELAND. THROUGH CENTURIES
OF ADVERSITY, POLAND HAS BEEN A BRAVE
BASTION OF FAITH & FREEDOM - IN THE
HEARTS OF HER COURAGEOUS PEOPLE IF NOT
IN THOSE WHO RULE HER.

PAGE 8 - THE VATICAN, JUNE 7, 1982

WE SEEK A PROCESS OF RECONCILIATION &
REFORM THAT WILL LEAD TO A NEW DAWN OF
HOPE FOR THE PEOPLE OF POLAND AND WE
WILL CONTINUE TO CALL FOR AN END TO
MARTIAL LAW, FOR THE FREEING OF ALL
POLITICAL PRISONERS, AND A RESUMED
DIALOGUE AMONG THE POLISH GOVERNMENT,
THE CHURCH, AND THE SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT
WHICH SPEAKS FOR THE VAST MAJORITY OF
POLES.

WHILE DENYING FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE
TO THE OPPRESSIVE POLISH REGIME, AMERICA
WILL CONTINUE TO PROVIDE THE POLISH
PEOPLE WITH AS MUCH FOOD & COMMODITY
SUPPORT AS POSSIBLE THROUGH CHURCH &
PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS.

TODAY, YOUR HOLINESS, MARKS THE
BEGINNING OF THE U.N. SPECIAL SESSION
ON DISARMAMENT. WE PLEDGE TO DO EVERYTHING
POSSIBLE IN THESE DISCUSSIONS
AS IN OUR INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVES FOR PEACE
& ARMS REDUCTIONS — TO HELP BRING A REAL,
LASTING PEACE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.
TO US, THIS IS NOTHING LESS THAN A
SACRED TRUST.

DANTE HAS WRITTEN THAT "THE INFINITE
GOODNESS HAS SUCH WIDE ARMS THAT IT TAKES
WHATEVER TURNS TO IT." WE ASK YOUR
PRAYERS, HOLY FATHER, THAT GOD WILL GUIDE
US IN OUR EFFORTS FOR PEACE — ON THIS
JOURNEY & IN THE YEARS AHEAD — AND THAT
THE WIDE ARMS OF FAITH & FORGIVENESS CAN
SOMEDAY EMBRACE A WORLD AT PEACE, WITH
JUSTICE & COMPASSION FOR ALL MANKIND.

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SP628

JUNE 7, 1982
ROME, ITALY

PRESENTATION BY THE PRESIDENT OF
AWARD TO RESCUERS OF GENERAL DOZIER

MR. PRIME MINISTER, I WANT TO
EXPRESS AMERICA'S DEEP GRATITUDE AND
RESPECT FOR THE MASSIVE EFFORT YOU &
YOUR GOVERNMENT UNDERTOOK TO FREE
GENERAL DOZIER. THE OPERATION WAS
BRILLIANT. IT INSPIRED THE ENTIRE
CIVILIZED WORLD BECAUSE IT REPRESENTED
GOOD TRIUMPHING OVER EVIL. LET ME SAY,
WE SHARE YOUR COUNTRY'S DETERMINATION
TO WAGE AN UNRELENTING STRUGGLE AGAINST
INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM. TERRORISM IS
A PLAGUE AS DARK AS THOSE THAT RAVAGED
EUROPE DURING THE MIDDLE AGES,
AND TERRORISM, TOO, WILL BE WIPED OFF
THE FACE OF THIS CONTINENT.

-2- PRESENTATION OF AWARD TO RESCUERS

I AM ESPECIALLY PLEASED TO BE ABLE
TO THANK PERSONALLY THE MEN OF THE
OPERATIONAL NUCLEUS SECURITY CENTER
WHO RESCUED GENERAL DOZIER IN THAT
SPECTACULAR RAID ON JANUARY 28.

~~THE HOODS YOU ARE WEARING TODAY MAY~~
~~YOU MAY HAVE~~
~~TO HIDE YOUR FACES, BUT THE HOODS CANNOT~~ YOU CAN'T
HIDE YOUR BRAVERY AND IDEALS. YOU ARE
TRULY ADMIRABLE MEN. YOU ARE HEROES
IN MY COUNTRY, AND SO IT'S A GREAT HONOR
FOR ME TO PRESENT OUR OUTSTANDING
PUBLIC SERVICE AWARD TO EACH MEMBER
OF THE SQUAD.

THANK YOU ALL FROM THE BOTTOM OF
MY HEART.

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End
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File

08032555
SP629
JUNE 8, 1982
LONDON, ENGLAND

PRESIDENT'S TOAST TO P.M. THATCHER
LUNCHEON - 10 DOWNING STREET

PRIME MINISTER THATCHER, IT IS A
PLEASURE TO MEET AGAIN WITH SUCH A
"RESPECTED AND TRUSTED FRIEND. NANCY
AND I ARE HONORED TO BE YOUR GUESTS,
AND GUESTS OF THE BRITISH PEOPLE.

OUR FRIENDSHIP BEGAN IN THIS GREAT
CITY JUST BEFORE YOU TOOK OFFICE. THEN,
AS NOW, I ENJOYED MY VISIT VERY MUCH.

"WHEN A MAN IS TIRED OF LONDON,"
SAMUEL JOHNSON SAID, "HE IS TIRED OF LIFE,
FOR THERE IS IN LONDON ALL THAT LIFE CAN
AFFORD." HE WAS RIGHT. I AM VERY GLAD
TO BE ALIVE, AND I LOVE LONDON. IT'S
GREAT TO BE BACK.

- 2 -

WHEN YOU WERE OUR GUEST IN WASHINGTON
LAST YEAR, MADAM PRIME MINISTER, YOU SAID
YOU HAD COME ACROSS THE ATLANTIC WITH A
MESSAGE. BRITAIN, YOU SAID, STANDS WITH
AMERICA; WHEN AMERICA LOOKS FOR FRIENDS,
BRITAIN WILL BE THERE. YOUR WORDS TOUCHED
THE HEARTS OF OUR PEOPLE, AND WE WERE VERY
GRATEFUL. LET ME TELL YOU THAT I ALSO
HAVE CROSSED THE OCEAN WITH A MESSAGE:
AMERICA STANDS WITH BRITAIN.

THESE ARE DIFFICULT DAYS FOR BOTH
OUR PEOPLES. WE ARE GRIPPED BY RECESSION
AND CONCERNED ABOUT AGGRESSION AND
INSTABILITY IN THE WORLD. NO LONGER CAN WE
REST ON COMFORTABLE ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT OUR
ECONOMIES OR OUR SECURITY. TOGETHER AND
INDEPENDENTLY, OUR TWO COUNTRIES HAVE
ACTED TO RENEW AND PROTECT OUR WAY OF LIFE.

WE ARE RESTORING INCENTIVES AND OPPORTUNITY TO OUR MARKETPLACES. BY REDUCING EXCESSIVE TAXATION AND REGULATION, BY LIFTING THE HEAVY HAND OF GOVERNMENT, WE ARE PLACING OUR FAITH IN THE WORKING MEN AND WOMEN OF BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES.

OUR TWO COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN UNITED IN COMMITMENT TO FREE TRADE, AND WE ARE BOTH MAKING ECONOMIC SACRIFICES FOR THE SAKE OF WESTERN SECURITY.

BUT AN IMPORTANT CHALLENGE STILL LOOMS BEFORE US. THE PROTECTION OF OUR PERSONAL FREEDOMS AND NATIONAL INTERESTS IN THE FACE OF HOSTILE IDEOLOGIES AND ENORMOUS MILITARY THREATS. WE MUST FIND THE RIGHT BALANCE OF DETERRENT FORCES AND ARMS REDUCTIONS TO SECURE A LASTING PEACE FOR GENERATIONS TO COME.

THE UNITED KINGDOM IS A GREAT SYMBOL OF WESTERN THOUGHT AND VALUES. THE BRITISH PEOPLE ARE KNOWN FOR THEIR VISION AND DEDICATION. YOURS HAS BEEN AN EMPIRE OF IDEAS, NOURISHING FREEDOM AND CREATING WEALTH AROUND THE GLOBE. HERE IS THE BIRTHPLACE OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT, CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS AND ECONOMIC FREEDOM. A BODY OF IDEAS THAT HAS RAISED THE STANDARD OF LIVING AND IMPROVED THE QUALITY OF LIFE FOR MORE PEOPLE IN LESS TIME THAN ANY THAT CAME BEFORE.

YOUR LEADERSHIP, MADAM PRIME MINISTER, HAS ALSO BEEN FAR-SEEING AND COURAGEOUS, RETURNING YOUR COUNTRY AND YOUR PEOPLE TO THE ROOTS OF THEIR STRENGTH.

YOU REMIND ME OF SOMETHING ONE OF OUR
WISER AMERICANS, WILL ROGERS, ONCE SAID
ABOUT THE PARADOX OF BEING A GREAT LEADER:

"THE FELLOW THAT CAN ONLY SEE A WEEK
AHEAD IS ALWAYS THE POPULAR FELLOW, FOR
HE IS LOOKING WITH THE CROWD. BUT THE
ONE THAT CAN SEE YEARS AHEAD" -- THE
TRUE LEADER -- "HAS A TELESCOPE". HIS
BIGGEST PROBLEM IS GETTING PEOPLE TO
BELIEVE HE HAS IT.

WELL, YOU HAVE A TELESCOPE, AND
YOUR FOCUS IS TRUE. YOU ALSO HAVE THE
ELOQUENCE AND DETERMINATION NECESSARY
TO LEAD, AND YOUR PEOPLE HAVE THE WISDOM
AND TENACITY TO PERSEVERE. WE AMERICANS
BELIEVE THIS COMBINATION PROMISES GREAT
THINGS FOR NOT ONLY GREAT BRITAIN, BUT
THE WORLD.

NANCY AND I THANK YOU FOR THIS WARM
RECEPTION AMONG FRIENDS. I WOULD LIKE
TO PROPOSE A TOAST TO THE BONDS BETWEEN
OUR PEOPLE, TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE
MARGARET THATCHER, PRIME MINISTER OF THE
UNITED KINGDOM, AND MR. THATCHER, AND
TO THE QUEEN. THE QUEEN.

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JUNE 8, 1982 - 1:00 P.M. - D R A F T -

(PARVIN)

ADDRESS TO THE BUNDESTAG - BONN, WEST GERMANY - JUNE 9, 1982

MR. PRESIDENT, CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT, MEMBERS OF THE
BUNDESTAG, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS...

PERHAPS BECAUSE I'VE JUST COME FROM LONDON, I HAVE THIS
URGE TO QUOTE THE GREAT DR. JOHNSON, WHO SAID, "THE FEELING
OF FRIENDSHIP IS LIKE THAT OF BEING COMFORTABLY FILLED
WITH ROAST BEEF." WELL, I FEEL VERY MUCH FILLED WITH
FRIENDSHIP THIS AFTERNOON. AND I BRING YOU THE WARMEST
REGARDS AND GOODWILL OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

I AM VERY HONORED TO SPEAK TO YOU TODAY AND THUS TO
ALL THE PEOPLE OF GERMANY. NEXT YEAR WE WILL JOINTLY
CELEBRATE THE 300TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FIRST GERMAN
SETTLEMENT IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES. THE 13 FAMILIES
WHO CAME TO OUR NEW LAND WERE THE FORERUNNERS OF MORE
THAN 7 MILLION GERMAN IMMIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES.
TODAY MORE AMERICANS CLAIM GERMAN ANCESTRY THAN ANY
OTHER.

THESE GERMANS CLEARED AND CULTIVATED OUR LAND,
BUILT OUR INDUSTRIES, AND ADVANCED OUR ARTS AND SCIENCES.
IN HONOR OF 300 YEARS OF GERMAN CONTRIBUTIONS IN AMERICA,
PRESIDENT CARSTENS AND I HAVE AGREED TODAY THAT HE WILL
PAY AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES IN OCTOBER OF
1983 TO CELEBRATE THE OCCASION.

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THE GERMAN PEOPLE HAVE GIVEN US SO MUCH, WE LIKE TO THINK THAT WE'VE REPAID SOME OF THAT DEBT. OUR AMERICAN REVOLUTION WAS THE FIRST REVOLUTION IN MODERN HISTORY TO BE FOUGHT FOR THE RIGHT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT AND THE GUARANTEE OF CIVIL LIBERTIES. THAT SPIRIT WAS CONTAGIOUS. IN 1849 THE FRANKFURT PARLIAMENT'S STATEMENT OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS GUARANTEED FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION, FREEDOM OF RELIGION, AND EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW. THESE PRINCIPLES LIVE TODAY IN THE BASIC LAW OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC. MANY PEOPLES TO THE EAST STILL WAIT FOR SUCH RIGHTS.

THE UNITED STATES IS PROUD OF YOUR DEMOCRACY, BUT WE CANNOT TAKE CREDIT FOR IT. (HINE-RISH HIGH-NUH), IN SPEAKING OF THOSE WHO BUILT THE AWE-INSPIRING CATHEDRALS OF MEDIEVAL TIMES, SAID THAT "IN THOSE DAYS PEOPLE HAD CONVICTIONS, WE MODERNS HAVE ONLY OPINIONS AND IT REQUIRES SOMETHING MORE THAN OPINIONS TO BUILD A GOTHIC CATHEDRAL." OVER THE PAST 30 YEARS, THE CONVICTIONS OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE HAVE BUILT A CATHEDRAL OF DEMOCRACY -- A GREAT AND GLORIOUS TESTAMENT TO YOUR IDEALS.

WE IN AMERICA GENUINELY ADMIRE THE FREE SOCIETY YOU HAVE BUILT IN ONLY A FEW DECADES. AND WE UNDERSTAND ALL THE BETTER WHAT YOU HAVE ACCOMPLISHED, BECAUSE OF OUR OWN HISTORY. AMERICANS SPEAK WITH THE DEEPEST REVERENCE OF THOSE FOUNDING FATHERS AND FIRST CITIZENS WHO GAVE US THE FREEDOMS WE ENJOY TODAY. AND EVEN THOUGH THEY LIVED OVER 200 YEARS AGO, WE CARRY THEM IN OUR HEARTS AS WELL AS OUR HISTORY BOOKS.

3

I BELIEVE FUTURE GENERATIONS OF GERMANS WILL LOOK TO YOU HERE TODAY AND TO YOUR FELLOW GERMANS WITH THE SAME PROFOUND RESPECT AND APPRECIATION. YOU HAVE BUILT A FREE SOCIETY WITH AN ABIDING FAITH IN HUMAN DIGNITY -- THE CROWNING IDEAL OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION. THIS WILL NOT BE FORGOTTEN. YOU WILL BE SALUTED AND HONORED BY THIS REPUBLIC'S DESCENDENTS OVER THE CENTURIES TO COME.

YESTERDAY, BEFORE THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT, I SPOKE OF THE VALUES OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION AND THE NECESSITY TO HELP ALL PEOPLES GAIN THE INSTITUTIONS OF FREEDOM. IN MANY WAYS, IN MANY PLACES, OUR IDEALS ARE BEING TESTED TODAY. WE ARE MEETING THIS AFTERNOON BETWEEN TWO IMPORTANT SUMMITS, THE GATHERING OF LEADING INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES AT VERSAILLES AND THE ASSEMBLING OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE HERE IN BONN TOMORROW. CRITICAL AND COMPLEX PROBLEMS FACE US. BUT OUR DILEMMAS WILL BE MADE EASIER IF WE REMEMBER OUR PARTNERSHIP IS BASED ON A COMMON WESTERN HERITAGE AND A FAITH IN DEMOCRACY.

I BELIEVE THIS PARTNERSHIP OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE NATIONS IS MOTIVATED PRIMARILY BY THE SEARCH FOR PEACE. INNER PEACE FOR OUR CITIZENS AND PEACE AMONG NATIONS.

WHY INNER PEACE? BECAUSE DEMOCRACY ALLOWS FOR SELF-EXPRESSION. IT RESPECTS MAN'S DIGNITY AND CREATIVITY. IT OPERATES BY RULE OF LAW, NOT BY TERROR OR COERCION. IT IS GOVERNMENT WITH THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED. AS A RESULT, CITIZENS OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE ENJOY AN UNPRECEDENTED LEVEL OF MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL WELL-BEING. AND THEY ARE FREE TO FIND THEIR OWN PERSONAL PEACE.

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WE ALSO SEEK PEACE AMONG NATIONS. THE PSALMIST SAID, "SEEK PEACE AND PURSUE IT." OUR FOREIGN POLICIES ARE BASED ON THIS PRINCIPLE AND DIRECTED TOWARD THIS END. THE NOBLEST OBJECTIVE OF OUR DIPLOMACY IS THE PATIENT AND DIFFICULT TASK OF RECONCILING OUR ADVERSARIES TO PEACE. AND I KNOW WE ALL LOOK FORWARD TO THE DAY WHEN THE ONLY INDUSTRY OF WAR WILL BE THE RESEARCH OF HISTORIANS.

BUT THE SIMPLE HOPE FOR PEACE IS NOT ENOUGH. WE MUST REMEMBER SOMETHING (FREED-RISH SHILLER) SAID, "THE MOST PIOUS MAN CAN'T STAY IN PEACE IF IT DOESN'T PLEASE HIS EVIL NEIGHBOR." SO THERE MUST BE A METHOD TO OUR SEARCH, A METHOD THAT RECOGNIZES THE DANGERS AND REALITIES OF THE WORLD. DURING CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT'S STATE VISIT TO WASHINGTON LAST YEAR, I SAID THAT YOUR REPUBLIC WAS "PERCHED ON A CLIFF OF FREEDOM." I WASN'T SAYING ANYTHING THE GERMAN PEOPLE DO NOT ALREADY KNOW. LIVING AS YOU DO IN THE HEART OF A DIVIDED EUROPE, YOU CAN SEE MORE CLEARLY THAN OTHERS THAT THERE ARE GOVERNMENTS AT PEACE NEITHER WITH THEIR OWN PEOPLES NOR THE WORLD.

I DON'T BELIEVE ANY REASONABLE OBSERVER CAN DENY THERE IS A THREAT TO BOTH PEACE AND FREEDOM TODAY. IT IS AS STARK AS THE GASH OF A BORDER THAT SEPARATES THE GERMAN PEOPLE. WE ARE MENACED BY A POWER THAT OPENLY CONDEMNS OUR VALUES AND ANSWERS OUR RESTRAINT WITH A RELENTLESS MILITARY BUILD-UP.

WE CANNOT SIMPLY ASSUME EVERY NATION WANTS THE PEACE WE SO EARNESTLY DESIRE. THE POLISH PEOPLE WOULD TELL US THERE ARE THOSE WHO WOULD USE MILITARY FORCE TO REPRESS OTHERS WHO WANT ONLY BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS. THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS OF AFGHANISTAN WOULD TELL US AS WELL THAT THE THREAT OF AGGRESSION HAS NOT RECEDED FROM THE WORLD.

WITHOUT A STRENGTHENED ATLANTIC SECURITY, THE POSSIBILITY OF MILITARY COERCION WILL BE VERY GREAT. WE MUST CONTINUE TO IMPROVE OUR DEFENSES IF WE ARE TO PRESERVE PEACE AND FREEDOM. THIS IS NOT AN IMPOSSIBLE TASK; FOR ALMOST 40 YEARS, WE HAVE SUCCEEDED IN DETERRING WAR. OUR METHOD HAS BEEN TO ORGANIZE OUR DEFENSIVE CAPABILITIES, BOTH NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL, SO THAT AN AGGRESSOR COULD HAVE NO HOPE OF MILITARY VICTORY. THE ALLIANCE HAS CARRIED ITS STRENGTH NOT AS A BATTLE FLAG, BUT AS A BANNER OF PEACE. DETERRENCE HAS KEPT THAT PEACE, AND WE MUST CONTINUE TO TAKE THE STEPS NECESSARY TO MAKE DETERRENCE CREDIBLE.

THIS DEPENDS IN PART ON A STRONG AMERICA. A NATIONAL EFFORT, ENTAILING SACRIFICES BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, IS NOW UNDERWAY TO MAKE LONG-OVERDUE IMPROVEMENTS IN OUR MILITARY POSTURE. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE SUPPORT THIS EFFORT BECAUSE THEY UNDERSTAND HOW FUNDAMENTAL IT IS TO KEEPING THE PEACE THEY SO FERVENTLY DESIRE.

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WE ALSO ARE RESOLVED TO MAINTAIN THE PRESENCE OF WELL-EQUIPPED AND TRAINED FORCES IN EUROPE, AND OUR STRATEGIC FORCES WILL BE MODERNIZED AND REMAIN COMMITTED TO THE ALLIANCE. BY THESE ACTIONS, THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES ARE SAYING, "WE ARE WITH YOU GERMANY. YOU ARE NOT ALONE." OUR ADVERSARIES WOULD BE FOOLISHLY MISTAKEN SHOULD THEY GAMBLE THAT AMERICANS WOULD ABANDON THEIR ALLIANCE RESPONSIBILITIES, NO MATTER HOW SEVERE THE TEST.

ALLIANCE SECURITY DEPENDS ON A FULLY CREDIBLE CONVENTIONAL DEFENSE TO WHICH ALL ALLIES CONTRIBUTE. THERE IS A DANGER THAT ANY CONFLICT COULD ESCALATE TO A NUCLEAR WAR. STRONG CONVENTIONAL FORCES CAN MAKE THE DANGER OF CONVENTIONAL OR NUCLEAR CONFLICT MORE REMOTE. REASONABLE STRENGTH IN AND OF ITSELF IS NOT BAD; IT IS HONORABLE WHEN USED TO MAINTAIN PEACE OR DEFEND DEEPLY HELD BELIEFS.

ONE OF THE FIRST CHORES IS TO FULFILL OUR COMMITMENTS TO EACH OTHER BY CONTINUING TO STRENGTHEN OUR CONVENTIONAL DEFENSES. THIS MUST INCLUDE IMPROVING THE READINESS OF OUR STANDING FORCES AND THE ABILITY OF THOSE FORCES TO OPERATE AS ONE. WE MUST ALSO APPLY THE WEST'S TECHNOLOGICAL GENIUS TO IMPROVING OUR CONVENTIONAL DETERRENCE.

THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT THAT WE AS AN ALLIANCE HAVE THE MEANS TO IMPROVE OUR CONVENTIONAL DEFENSES. OUR PEOPLES HOLD VALUES OF INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY AND DIGNITY THAT TIME AND AGAIN THEY HAVE PROVEN WILLING TO DEFEND. OUR ECONOMIC ENERGY VASTLY EXCEEDS THAT OF OUR ADVERSARIES.

OUR FREE SYSTEM HAS PRODUCED TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANTAGES THAT OTHER SYSTEMS, WITH THEIR STIFLING IDEOLOGIES, CANNOT HOPE TO EQUAL. ALL OF THESE RESOURCES ARE AVAILABLE TO OUR DEFENSE.

YES, MANY OF OUR NATIONS CURRENTLY ARE EXPERIENCING ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES. YET WE MUST NEVERTHELESS GUARANTEE THAT OUR SECURITY DOES NOT SUFFER AS A RESULT. WE'VE MADE STRIDES IN CONVENTIONAL DEFENSE OVER THE LAST FEW YEARS DESPITE OUR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, AND WE HAVE DISPROVED THE PESSIMISTS WHO CONTEND THAT OUR EFFORTS ARE FUTILE. THE MORE WE CLOSE THE CONVENTIONAL GAP, THE LESS THE RISKS OF AGGRESSION OR NUCLEAR CONFLICT.

THE SOIL OF GERMANY, AND EVERY OTHER ALLY, IS OF VITAL CONCERN TO EACH MEMBER OF THE ALLIANCE, AND THIS FUNDAMENTAL COMMITMENT IS EMBODIED IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY. BUT IT WILL BE AN EMPTY PLEDGE UNLESS WE INSURE THAT AMERICAN FORCES ARE READY TO REINFORCE EUROPE AND EUROPE IS READY TO RECEIVE THEM. I AM ENCOURAGED BY THE RECENT AGREEMENT ON WARTIME HOST NATION SUPPORT. THIS PACT STRENGTHENS OUR ABILITY TO DETER AGGRESSION IN EUROPE AND DEMONSTRATES OUR COMMON DETERMINATION TO RESPOND TO ATTACK.

JUST AS EACH ALLY SHARES FULLY IN THE SECURITY OF THE ALLIANCE, EACH IS RESPONSIBLE FOR SHOULDERING A FAIR SHARE OF THE BURDEN. NOW THAT, OF COURSE, OFTEN LEADS TO A DIFFERENCE OF OPINION, AND CRITICISM OF OUR ALLIANCE IS AS OLD AS THE PARTNERSHIP ITSELF.



BUT VOICES HAVE NOW BEEN RAISED ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC THAT MISTAKE THE INEVITABLE PROCESS OF ADJUSTMENT WITHIN THE ALLIANCE FOR A DRAMATIC DIVERGENCE OF INTERESTS.

SOME AMERICANS THINK THAT EUROPEANS ARE TOO LITTLE CONCERNED FOR THEIR OWN SECURITY; SOME WOULD UNILATERALLY REDUCE THE NUMBER OF AMERICAN TROOPS DEPLOYED IN EUROPE. AND IN EUROPE ITSELF, WE HEAR THE IDEA THAT THE AMERICAN PRESENCE, RATHER THAN CONTRIBUTING TO PEACE, EITHER HAS NO DETERRENT VALUE OR ACTUALLY INCREASES THE RISK THAT OUR ALLIES MAY BE ATTACKED.

THESE ARGUMENTS IGNORE BOTH THE HISTORY AND THE REALITY OF THE TRANSATLANTIC COALITION.

LET ME ASSURE YOU THAT THE AMERICAN COMMITMENT TO EUROPE REMAINS STEADY AND STRONG. EUROPE'S SHORES ARE OUR SHORES. EUROPE'S BORDERS ARE OUR BORDERS. AND WE WILL STAND WITH YOU IN DEFENSE OF OUR HERITAGE OF LIBERTY AND DIGNITY. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE RECOGNIZE EUROPE'S SUBSTANTIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO OUR JOINT SECURITY.

NOWHERE IS THAT CONTRIBUTION MORE EVIDENT THAN HERE IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC. GERMAN CITIZENS HOST THE FORCES OF SIX NATIONS. GERMAN SOLDIERS AND RESERVISTS PROVIDE THE BACKBONE OF NATO'S CONVENTIONAL DETERRENT IN THE HEARTLAND OF EUROPE. YOUR (BOON-DES-VAIR) IS A MODEL FOR THE INTEGRATION OF DEFENSE NEEDS WITH A DEMOCRATIC WAY OF LIFE. AND YOU HAVE NOT SHRUNK FROM THE HEAVY RESPONSIBILITY OF ACCEPTING THE NUCLEAR FORCES NECESSARY FOR DETERRENCE.

9

I ASK YOUR HELP IN FULFILLING ANOTHER RESPONSIBILITY. MANY AMERICAN CITIZENS DON'T BELIEVE THAT THEIR COUNTERPARTS IN EUROPE -- ESPECIALLY YOUNGER CITIZENS -- REALLY UNDERSTAND THE U.S. PRESENCE THERE. IF YOU WILL WORK TOWARD EXPLAINING THE U.S. ROLE TO PEOPLE ON THIS SIDE OF THE ATLANTIC, I WILL EXPLAIN IT TO THOSE ON THE OTHER SIDE.

IN RECENT MONTHS, BOTH IN YOUR COUNTRY AND MINE, THERE HAS BEEN RENEWED PUBLIC CONCERN ABOUT THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR AND THE ARMS BUILDUP. I KNOW IT IS NOT EASY, ESPECIALLY FOR THE GERMAN PEOPLE, TO LIVE IN THE GALE OF INTIMIDATION THAT BLOWS FROM THE EAST.

IF I MIGHT QUOTE (HIGH-NUH) AGAIN, HE ALMOST FORETOLD THE FEARS OF NUCLEAR WAR WHEN HE WROTE, "WILD, DARK TIMES ARE RUMBLING TOWARD US, AND THE PROPHET WHO WISHES TO WRITE A NEW APOCALYPSE WILL HAVE TO INVENT ENTIRELY NEW BEASTS, AND BEASTS SO TERRIBLE THAT THE ANCIENT ANIMAL SYMBOLS...WILL SEEM LIKE COOING DOVES AND CUPIDS IN COMPARISON." THE NUCLEAR THREAT IS A TERRIBLE BEAST. PERHAPS THE BANNER CARRIED IN ONE OF THE NUCLEAR DEMONSTRATIONS HERE IN GERMANY SAID IT BEST. THE SIGN READ, "I AM AFRAID." I KNOW OF NO WESTERN LEADER WHO DOESN'T SYMPATHIZE WITH THAT EARNEST PLEA. TO THOSE WHO MARCH FOR PEACE, MY HEART IS WITH YOU. I WOULD BE AT THE HEAD OF YOUR PARADE IF I BELIEVED MARCHING ALONE COULD BRING ABOUT A MORE SECURE WORLD. AND TO THE 2,800 WOMEN IN (FIL-DER-SHTOT) WHO SENT A PETITION FOR PEACE TO PRESIDENT BREZHNEV & MYSELF, LET ME SAY I ^{MYSELF WOULD} ~~WOULD GLADLY~~ SIGN YOUR PETITION IF I THOUGHT IT COULD BRING ABOUT HARMONY. I UNDERSTAND YOUR GENUINE CONCERNS.

THE WOMEN OF (FIL-DER-SHOT) AND I SHARE THE SAME GOAL. THE QUESTION IS HOW TO PROCEED. WE MUST THINK THROUGH THE CONSEQUENCES OF HOW WE REDUCE THE DANGERS TO PEACE.

THOSE WHO ADVOCATE THAT WE UNILATERALLY FOREGO THE MODERNIZATION OF OUR FORCES MUST PROVE THAT THIS WILL ENHANCE OUR SECURITY AND LEAD TO MODERATION BY THE OTHER SIDE -- IN SHORT, THAT IT WILL ADVANCE, RATHER THAN UNDERMINE, THE PRESERVATION OF THE PEACE. THE WEIGHT OF RECENT HISTORY DOES NOT SUPPORT THIS NOTION.

THOSE WHO DEMAND THAT WE RENOUNCE THE USE OF A CRUCIAL ELEMENT OF OUR DETERRENT STRATEGY MUST SHOW HOW THIS WOULD DECREASE THE LIKELIHOOD OF WAR. IT IS ONLY BY COMPARISON WITH A NUCLEAR WAR THAT THE SUFFERING CAUSED BY CONVENTIONAL WAR SEEMS A LESSER EVIL. OUR GOAL MUST BE TO DETER WAR OF ANY KIND.

AND THOSE WHO DECRY THE FAILURE OF ARMS CONTROL EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE SUBSTANTIAL RESULTS MUST CONSIDER WHERE THE FAULT LIES. I WOULD REMIND THEM IT IS THE UNITED STATES THAT HAS PROPOSED TO BAN LAND-BASED INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILES -- THE MISSILES MOST THREATENING EUROPE. IT IS THE UNITED STATES THAT HAS PROPOSED AND WILL PURSUE DEEP CUTS IN STRATEGIC SYSTEMS. IT IS THE WEST THAT HAS LONG SOUGHT THE DETAILED EXCHANGES OF INFORMATION ON FORCES AND EFFECTIVE VERIFICATION PROCEDURES. AND IT IS DICTATORSHIPS, NOT DEMOCRACIES, THAT NEED MILITARISM TO CONTROL THEIR OWN PEOPLE AND IMPOSE THEIR SYSTEM ON OTHERS.

11

WE IN THE WEST -- GERMANS, AMERICANS, OUR OTHER ALLIES -- ARE DEEPLY COMMITTED TO CONTINUING EFFORTS TO RESTRICT THE ARMS COMPETITION. COMMON SENSE DEMANDS THAT WE PERSEVERE. I INVITE THOSE WHO GENUINELY SEEK EFFECTIVE AND LASTING ARMS CONTROL TO STAND BEHIND THE FAR-REACHING PROPOSALS THAT WE HAVE PUT FORWARD. IN RETURN I PLEDGE THAT WE WILL SUSTAIN THE CLOSEST OF CONSULTATIONS WITH OUR ALLIES.

ON NOVEMBER 18TH, I OUTLINED A BROAD AND AMBITIOUS ARMS CONTROL PROGRAM. ONE ELEMENT CALLS FOR REDUCING LAND-BASED INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILES TO ZERO ON EACH SIDE. IF CARRIED OUT, IT WOULD ELIMINATE THE GROWING THREAT TO WESTERN EUROPE POSED BY THE U.S.S.R.'s MODERN SS-20 ROCKETS, AND IT WOULD MAKE UNNECESSARY THE NATO DECISION TO DEPLOY AMERICAN INTERMEDIATE-RANGE SYSTEMS.

AND, BY THE WAY, I CANNOT UNDERSTAND WHY, AMONG SOME, THERE IS A GREATER FEAR OF WEAPONS NATO IS TO DEPLOY THAN OF WEAPONS THE SOVIET UNION ALREADY HAS DEPLOYED. OUR PROPOSAL IS FAIR BECAUSE IT IMPOSES EQUAL LIMITS AND OBLIGATIONS ON BOTH SIDES AND IT CALLS FOR SIGNIFICANT REDUCTIONS, NOT MERELY A CAPPING OF AN EXISTING HIGH LEVEL OF DESTRUCTIVE POWER. AS YOU KNOW, WE HAVE MADE THIS PROPOSAL IN GENEVA, WHERE NEGOTIATIONS HAVE BEEN UNDERWAY SINCE THE END OF NOVEMBER LAST YEAR. WE INTEND TO PURSUE THOSE NEGOTIATIONS INTENSIVELY. I REGARD THEM AS A SIGNIFICANT TEST OF THE SOVIETS' WILLINGNESS TO ENTER INTO MEANINGFUL ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS.

12

ON MAY 9TH, WE PROPOSED TO THE SOVIET UNION THAT STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTIONS TALKS BEGIN THIS MONTH IN GENEVA. THE U.S.S.R. HAS AGREED, AND TALKS WILL BEGIN ON JUNE 29TH. WE IN THE UNITED STATES WANT TO FOCUS ON THE MOST DESTABILIZING SYSTEMS, AND THUS REDUCE THE RISK OF WAR. THAT IS WHY IN THE FIRST PHASE WE PROPOSE TO REDUCE SUBSTANTIALLY THE NUMBER OF BALLISTIC MISSILE WARHEADS AND THE MISSILES THEMSELVES. IN THE SECOND PHASE WE WILL SEEK AN EQUAL CEILING ON OTHER ELEMENTS OF OUR STRATEGIC FORCES, INCLUDING BALLISTIC MISSILE THROW WEIGHT, AT LESS THAN CURRENT AMERICAN LEVELS. WE WILL HANDLE CRUISE MISSILES AND BOMBERS IN AN EQUITABLE FASHION. WE WILL NEGOTIATE IN GOOD FAITH, AND UNDERTAKE THESE TALKS WITH THE SAME SERIOUSNESS OF PURPOSE THAT HAS MARKED OUR PREPARATIONS OVER THE LAST SEVERAL MONTHS.

ANOTHER ELEMENT OF THE PROGRAM I OUTLINED WAS A CALL FOR REDUCTIONS IN CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE. FROM THE EARLIEST POSTWAR YEARS, THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES HAVE FACED THE OMINOUS REALITY THAT MASSIVE SOVIET CONVENTIONAL FORCES WOULD REMAIN STATIONED WHERE THEY DO NOT BELONG. THE MUSCLE OF SOVIET FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE FAR EXCEEDS LEGITIMATE DEFENSE NEEDS. THEIR PRESENCE IS MADE MORE THREATENING STILL BY A MILITARY DOCTRINE THAT EMPHASIZES MOBILITY AND SURPRISE ATTACK. AND AS HISTORY SHOWS, THESE TROOPS HAVE BUILT A LEGACY OF INTIMIDATION AND REPRESSION.

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IN RESPONSE, THE NATO ALLIES MUST SHOW THEY HAVE THE WILL AND CAPACITY TO DETER ANY CONVENTIONAL ATTACK OR ANY ATTEMPT TO INTIMIDATE US. YET WE ALSO WILL CONTINUE THE SEARCH FOR RESPONSIBLE WAYS TO REDUCE NATO AND WARSAW PACT MILITARY PERSONNEL TO EQUAL LEVELS.

IN RECENT WEEKS, WE IN THE ALLIANCE HAVE CONSULTED ON HOW BEST TO INVIGORATE THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS ON MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS. BASED ON THESE CONSULTATIONS, WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES IN THE VIENNA TALKS SOON WILL MAKE A PROPOSAL BY WHICH THE TWO ALLIANCES WOULD REDUCE THEIR RESPECTIVE GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL IN VERIFIABLE STAGES TO A TOTAL OF 700,000 MEN AND THEIR COMBINED GROUND AND AIR FORCE PERSONNEL TO A LEVEL OF 900,000 MEN.

WHILE THE AGREEMENT WOULD NOT ELIMINATE THE THREAT NOR SPARE OUR CITIZENS THE TASK OF MAINTAINING A SUBSTANTIAL DEFENSIVE FORCE, IT COULD CONSTITUTE A MAJOR STEP TOWARD A SAFER EUROPE FOR BOTH EAST AND WEST. IT COULD LEAD TO MILITARY STABILITY AT LOWER LEVELS AND LESSEN THE DANGERS OF MISCALCULATION AND OF SURPRISE ATTACK. AND IT ALSO WOULD DEMONSTRATE THE POLITICAL WILL OF THE TWO ALLIANCES TO ENHANCE STABILITY BY LIMITING THEIR FORCES IN THE CENTRAL AREA OF THEIR MILITARY COMPETITION.

THE WEST HAS ESTABLISHED A CLEAR SET OF GOALS. WE AS AN ALLIANCE WILL PRESS FORWARD WITH PLANS TO IMPROVE OUR OWN CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE. AT THE SAME TIME, WE PROPOSE AN ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENT TO EQUALIZE CONVENTIONAL FORCES AT A SIGNIFICANTLY LOWER LEVEL.

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WE WILL MOVE AHEAD WITH OUR PREPARATIONS TO MODERNIZE OUR NUCLEAR FORCES IN EUROPE. BUT, AGAIN, WE ALSO WILL WORK UNCEASINGLY TO GAIN ACCEPTANCE IN GENEVA OF OUR PROPOSAL TO BAN LAND-BASED INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILES.

IN THE UNITED STATES, WE WILL MOVE FORWARD WITH THE PLANS I ANNOUNCED LAST YEAR TO MODERNIZE OUR STRATEGIC NUCLEAR FORCES, WHICH PLAY SO VITAL A ROLE IN MAINTAINING PEACE BY DETERRING WAR. YET WE ALSO HAVE PROPOSED THAT STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTIONS TALKS BEGIN, AND WE WILL PURSUE THEM DETERMINEDLY.

IN EACH OF THESE AREAS, OUR POLICIES ARE BASED ON THE CONVICTION THAT A STABLE MILITARY BALANCE AT THE LOWEST POSSIBLE LEVEL WILL HELP FURTHER THE CAUSE OF PEACE. THE OTHER SIDE WILL RESPOND IN GOOD FAITH TO THESE INITIATIVES ONLY IF IT BELIEVES WE ARE RESOLVED TO PROVIDE FOR OUR OWN DEFENSE. UNLESS CONVINCED THAT WE WILL UNITE AND STAY UNITED BEHIND THESE ARMS CONTROL INITIATIVES AND MODERNIZATION PROGRAMS, OUR ADVERSARIES WILL SEEK TO DIVIDE US FROM ONE ANOTHER AND OUR PEOPLES FROM THEIR LEADERS.

I AM OPTIMISTIC ABOUT OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION IF THE WESTERN NATIONS REMAIN TRUE TO THEIR VALUES AND TRUE TO EACH OTHER. I BELIEVE IN WESTERN CIVILIZATION AND IN ITS MORAL POWER. I BELIEVE DEEPLY IN THE PRINCIPLES THE WEST ESTEEMS.

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AND GUIDED BY THESE IDEALS, I BELIEVE WE CAN FIND A NO-NONSENSE, WORKABLE, AND LASTING POLICY THAT WILL KEEP THE PEACE.

EARLIER I SAID THE GERMAN PEOPLE HAD BUILT A REMARKABLE CATHEDRAL OF DEMOCRACY. BUT WE STILL HAVE OTHER WORK AHEAD. WE MUST BUILD A CATHEDRAL OF PEACE, WHERE NATIONS ARE SAFE FROM WAR AND WHERE PEOPLE NEED NOT FEAR FOR THEIR LIBERTIES. I'VE HEARD THE HISTORY OF THE FAMOUS CATHEDRAL AT COLOGNE -- HOW THOSE BEAUTIFUL SOARING SPIRES MIRACULOUSLY SURVIVED THE DESTRUCTION ALL AROUND THEM, INCLUDING PART OF THE CHURCH ITSELF.

LET US BUILD A CATHEDRAL AS THE PEOPLE OF COLOGNE BUILT THEIRS -- WITH THE DEEPEST COMMITMENT AND DETERMINATION. LET US BUILD AS THEY DID -- NOT JUST FOR OURSELVES BUT FOR THE GENERATIONS BEYOND. FOR IF WE CONSTRUCT OUR PEACE PROPERLY, IT WILL ENDURE AS LONG AS THE SPIRES OF COLOGNE.

- E N D O F D R A F T -

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PRESIDENT'S BACKUP COPY:

ADDRESS TO THE PARLIAMENT, WESTMINSTER, LONDON ENGLAND,
TUESDAY, JUNE 8, 1982

MY LORD CHANCELLOR, MR. SPEAKER:

THE JOURNEY OF WHICH THIS VISIT FORMS A PART IS A LONG ONE. ALREADY IT HAS TAKEN ME TO TWO GREAT CITIES OF THE WEST -- ROME AND PARIS -- AND TO THE ECONOMIC SUMMIT AT VERSAILLES. THERE, ONCE AGAIN, OUR SISTER DEMOCRACIES HAVE PROVED THAT, EVEN IN A TIME OF SEVERE ECONOMIC STRAIN, FREE PEOPLES CAN WORK TOGETHER FREELY AND VOLUNTARILY TO ADDRESS PROBLEMS AS SERIOUS AS INFLATION, UNEMPLOYMENT, TRADE, AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN A SPIRIT OF COOPERATION AND SOLIDARITY. OTHER MILESTONES LIE AHEAD -- LATER THIS WEEK, IN GERMANY, WE AND OUR NATO ALLIES WILL DISCUSS MEASURES FOR OUR JOINT DEFENSE, AND AMERICA'S LATEST INITIATIVES FOR A MORE PEACEFUL, SECURE WORLD THROUGH ARMS REDUCTIONS.

EACH STOP OF THIS TRIP IS IMPORTANT BUT, AMONG THEM ALL, THIS MOMENT OCCUPIES A SPECIAL PLACE IN MY HEART AND THE HEARTS OF MY COUNTRYMEN -- A MOMENT OF KINSHIP AND HOMECOMING IN THESE HALLOWED HALLS.

SPEAKING FOR ALL AMERICANS, I WANT TO SAY HOW VERY MUCH AT HOME WE FEEL IN YOUR HOUSE. EVERY AMERICAN WOULD, BECAUSE THIS IS ONE OF DEMOCRACY'S SHRINES. HERE THE RIGHTS OF FREE PEOPLE AND THE PROCESSES OF REPRESENTATION HAVE BEEN DEBATED AND REFINED.

IT HAS BEEN SAID THAT AN INSTITUTION IS THE LENGTHENING SHADOW OF A MAN. THIS INSTITUTION IS THE LENGTHENING SHADOW OF ALL THE MEN AND WOMEN WHO HAVE SAT HERE, AND ALL THOSE WHO HAVE VOTED TO SEND REPRESENTATIVES HERE.

THIS IS MY SECOND VISIT TO GREAT BRITAIN AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

MY FIRST OPPORTUNITY TO STAND ON BRITISH SOIL OCCURRED ALMOST A YEAR AND A HALF AGO WHEN YOUR PRIME MINISTER GRACIOUSLY HOSTED A DIPLOMATIC DINNER AT THE BRITISH EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON. MRS. THATCHER SAID THEN SHE HOPED THAT I WAS NOT DISTRESSED TO FIND STARING DOWN AT ME FROM THE GRAND STAIRCASE A PORTRAIT OF HIS ROYAL MAJESTY, KING GEORGE III. SHE SUGGESTED IT WAS BEST TO LET BYGONES BE BYGONES AND -- IN VIEW OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES' REMARKABLE FRIENDSHIP IN SUCCEEDING YEARS -- SHE ADDED THAT MOST ENGLISHMEN TODAY WOULD AGREE WITH THOMAS JEFFERSON THAT "A LITTLE REBELLION NOW AND THEN IS A VERY GOOD THING."

FROM HERE I WILL GO TO BONN, AND THEN BERLIN, WHERE THERE STANDS A GRIM SYMBOL OF POWER UNTAMED. THE BERLIN WALL, THAT DREADFUL GRAY GASH ACROSS THE CITY, IS IN ITS THIRD DECADE. IT IS THE FITTING SIGNATURE OF THE REGIME THAT BUILT IT. AND A FEW HUNDRED KILOMETERS BEHIND THE BERLIN WALL THERE IS ANOTHER SYMBOL. IN THE CENTER OF WARSAW THERE IS A SIGN THAT NOTES THE DISTANCES TO TWO CAPITALS. IN ONE DIRECTION IT POINTS TOWARD MOSCOW. IN THE OTHER IT POINTS TOWARD BRUSSELS, HEADQUARTERS OF WESTERN EUROPE'S TANGIBLE UNITY.

THE MARKER SAYS THAT THE DISTANCES FROM WARSAW TO MOSCOW AND WARSAW TO BRUSSELS ARE EQUAL. THE SIGN MAKES THIS POINT: POLAND IS NOT EAST OR WEST. POLAND IS AT THE CENTER OF EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION. IT HAS CONTRIBUTED MIGHTILY TO THAT CIVILIZATION. IT IS DOING SO TODAY BY BEING MAGNIFICENTLY UNRECONCILED TO OPPRESSION.

POLAND'S STRUGGLE TO BE POLAND, AND TO SECURE THE BASIC RIGHTS WE OFTEN TAKE FOR GRANTED, DEMONSTRATES WHY WE DARE NOT TAKE THOSE RIGHTS FOR GRANTED. GLADSTONE, DEFENDING THE REFORM BILL OF 1866, DECLARED: "YOU CANNOT FIGHT AGAINST THE FUTURE. TIME IS ON OUR SIDE." IT WAS EASIER TO BELIEVE IN THE INEVITABLE MARCH OF DEMOCRACY IN GLADSTONE'S DAY -- IN THAT HIGH NOON OF VICTORIAN OPTIMISM.

WE ARE APPROACHING THE END OF A BLOODY CENTURY PLAGUED BY A TERRIBLE POLITICAL INVENTION -- TOTALITARIANISM. OPTIMISM COMES LESS EASILY TODAY, NOT BECAUSE DEMOCRACY IS LESS VIGOROUS, BUT BECAUSE DEMOCRACY'S ENEMIES HAVE REFINED THEIR INSTRUMENTS OF REPRESSION. YET OPTIMISM IS IN ORDER BECAUSE, DAY BY DAY, DEMOCRACY IS PROVING ITSELF TO BE A NOT-AT-ALL FRAGILE FLOWER.

FROM STETTIN ON THE BALTIC TO VARNA ON THE BLACK SEA, THE REGIMES PLANTED BY TOTALITARIANISM HAVE HAD MORE THAN 30 YEARS TO ESTABLISH THEIR LEGITIMACY. BUT NONE -- NOT ONE REGIME -- HAS YET BEEN ABLE TO RISK FREE ELECTIONS. REGIMES PLANTED BY BAYONETS DO NOT TAKE ROOT.

4

THE STRENGTH OF THE SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT IN POLAND DEMONSTRATES THE TRUTH TOLD IN AN UNDERGROUND JOKE IN THE SOVIET UNION. IT IS THAT THE SOVIET UNION WOULD REMAIN A ONE-PARTY NATION EVEN IF AN OPPOSITION PARTY WERE PERMITTED -- BECAUSE EVERYONE WOULD JOIN THAT PARTY.

* AMERICA'S TIME AS A PLAYER ON THE STAGE OF WORLD HISTORY HAS BEEN BRIEF. I THINK UNDERSTANDING THIS FACT HAS ALWAYS MADE YOU PATIENT WITH YOUR YOUNGER COUSINS. WELL, NOT ALWAYS PATIENT. I DO RECALL THAT ON ONE OCCASION SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL SAID IN EXASPERATION ABOUT ONE OF OUR MOST DISTINGUISHED DIPLOMATS: "HE IS THE ONLY CASE I KNOW OF A BULL WHO CARRIES HIS CHINA SHOP WITH HIM." *

WITTY AS SIR WINSTON WAS, HE ALSO HAD THAT SPECIAL ATTRIBUTE OF GREAT STATESMEN: THE GIFT OF VISION, THE WILLINGNESS TO SEE THE FUTURE BASED ON THE EXPERIENCE OF THE PAST.

IT IS THIS SENSE OF HISTORY, THIS UNDERSTANDING OF THE PAST, THAT I WANT TO TALK WITH YOU ABOUT TODAY, FOR IT IS IN REMEMBERING WHAT WE SHARE OF THE PAST THAT OUR TWO NATIONS CAN MAKE COMMON CAUSE FOR THE FUTURE.

WE HAVE NOT INHERITED AN EASY WORLD -- IF DEVELOPMENTS LIKE THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, WHICH BEGAN HERE IN ENGLAND, AND THE GIFTS OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY HAVE MADE LIFE MUCH EASIER FOR US -- THEY HAVE ALSO MADE IT MORE DANGEROUS. THERE ARE THREATS NOW TO OUR FREEDOM, INDEED, TO OUR VERY EXISTENCE, THAT OTHER GENERATIONS COULD NEVER EVEN HAVE IMAGINED.

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THERE IS, FIRST, THE THREAT OF GLOBAL WAR. NO PRESIDENT, NO CONGRESS, NO PRIME MINISTER, NO PARLIAMENT CAN SPEND A DAY ENTIRELY FREE OF THIS THREAT. AND I DON'T HAVE TO TELL YOU THAT IN TODAY'S WORLD, THE EXISTENCE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS COULD MEAN, IF NOT THE EXTINCTION OF MANKIND, THEN SURELY THE END OF CIVILIZATION AS WE KNOW IT.

THAT IS WHY NEGOTIATIONS ON INTERMEDIATE RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES NOW UNDERWAY IN EUROPE AND THE "START" TALKS -- STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTION TALKS -- WHICH WILL BEGIN LATER THIS MONTH, ARE NOT JUST CRITICAL TO AMERICAN OR WESTERN POLICY; THEY ARE CRITICAL TO MANKIND. OUR COMMITMENT TO EARLY SUCCESS IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS IS FIRM AND UNSHAKABLE AND OUR PURPOSE IS CLEAR: REDUCING THE RISK OF WAR BY REDUCING THE MEANS OF WAGING WAR ON BOTH SIDES.

AT THE SAME TIME, THERE IS A THREAT POSED TO HUMAN FREEDOM BY THE ENORMOUS POWER OF THE MODERN STATE. HISTORY TEACHES THE DANGERS OF GOVERNMENT THAT OVERREACHES: POLITICAL CONTROL TAKING PRECEDENCE OVER FREE ECONOMIC GROWTH, SECRET POLICE, MINDLESS BUREAUCRACY -- ALL COMBINING TO STIFLE INDIVIDUAL EXCELLENCE AND PERSONAL FREEDOM.

NOW I AM AWARE THAT AMONG US HERE AND THROUGHOUT EUROPE, THERE IS LEGITIMATE DISAGREEMENT OVER THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE PUBLIC SECTOR SHOULD PLAY A ROLE IN A NATION'S ECONOMY AND LIFE. BUT ON ONE POINT ALL OF US ARE UNITED: OUR ABHORRENCE OF DICTATORSHIP IN ALL ITS FORMS; BUT MOST PARTICULARLY TOTALITARIANISM AND THE TERRIBLE INHUMANITIES IT HAS CAUSED IN OUR TIME: THE GREAT PURGE, AUSCHWITZ AND DACHAU, THE GULAG AND CAMBODIA.

6

HISTORIANS LOOKING BACK AT OUR TIME WILL NOTE THE CONSISTENT RESTRAINT AND PEACEFUL INTENTIONS OF THE WEST. THEY WILL NOTE THAT IT WAS THE DEMOCRACIES WHO REFUSED TO USE THE THREAT OF THEIR NUCLEAR MONOPOLY IN THE FORTIES AND EARLY FIFTIES FOR TERRITORIAL OR IMPERIAL GAIN. HAD THAT NUCLEAR MONOPOLY BEEN IN THE HANDS OF THE COMMUNIST WORLD, THE MAP OF EUROPE, INDEED, THE WORLD, WOULD LOOK VERY DIFFERENT TODAY. AND CERTAINLY THEY WILL NOTE IT WAS NOT THE DEMOCRACIES THAT INVADED AFGHANISTAN, OR SUPPRESSED POLISH SOLIDARITY, OR USED CHEMICAL AND TOXIN WARFARE IN AFGHANISTAN AND SOUTHEAST ASIA.

IF HISTORY TEACHES ANYTHING, IT TEACHES: SELF-DELUSION IN THE FACE OF UNPLEASANT FACTS IS FOLLY. WE SEE AROUND US TODAY THE MARKS OF OUR TERRIBLE DILEMMA -- PREDICTIONS OF DOOMSDAY, ANTI-NUCLEAR DEMONSTRATIONS, AN ARMS RACE IN WHICH THE WEST MUST FOR ITS OWN PROTECTION BE AN UNWILLING PARTICIPANT. AT THE SAME TIME, WE SEE TOTALITARIAN FORCES IN THE WORLD WHO SEEK SUBVERSION AND CONFLICT AROUND THE GLOBE TO FURTHER THEIR BARBAROUS ASSAULT ON THE HUMAN SPIRIT.

WHAT, THEN, IS OUR COURSE? MUST CIVILIZATION PERISH -- IN A HAIL OF FIERY ATOMS? MUST FREEDOM WITHER -- IN A QUIET, DEADENING ACCOMMODATION WITH TOTALITARIAN EVIL? SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL REFUSED TO ACCEPT THE INEVITABILITY OF WAR OR EVEN THAT IT WAS IMMINENT. HE SAID:

X "I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT SOVIET RUSSIA DESIRES WAR. WHAT THEY DESIRE IS THE FRUITS OF WAR AND THE INDEFINITE EXPANSION OF THEIR POWER AND DOCTRINES. BUT WHAT WE HAVE TO CONSIDER HERE TODAY WHILE TIME REMAINS, IS THE PERMANENT PREVENTION OF WAR AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CONDITIONS OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE IN ALL COUNTRIES."

THIS IS PRECISELY OUR MISSION TODAY: TO PRESERVE FREEDOM AS WELL AS PEACE. IT MAY NOT BE EASY TO SEE, BUT I BELIEVE WE LIVE NOW AT A TURNING POINT.

IN AN IRONIC SENSE, KARL MARX WAS RIGHT. WE ARE WITNESSING TODAY A GREAT REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS -- A CRISIS WHERE THE DEMANDS OF THE ECONOMIC ORDER ARE COLLIDING DIRECTLY WITH THOSE OF THE POLITICAL ORDER. BUT THE CRISIS IS HAPPENING NOT IN THE FREE, NON-MARXIST WEST, BUT IN THE HOME OF MARXISM-LENINISM, THE SOVIET UNION. IT IS THE SOVIET UNION THAT RUNS AGAINST THE TIDE OF HISTORY BY DENYING FREEDOM AND HUMAN DIGNITY TO ITS CITIZENS. IT ALSO IS IN DEEP ECONOMIC DIFFICULTY. THE RATE OF GROWTH IN THE SOVIET GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT HAS BEEN STEADILY DECLINING SINCE THE FIFTIES AND IS LESS THAN HALF OF WHAT IT WAS THEN. THE DIMENSIONS OF THIS FAILURE ARE ASTOUNDING; A COUNTRY WHICH EMPLOYS ONE-FIFTH OF ITS POPULATION IN AGRICULTURE IS UNABLE TO FEED ITS OWN PEOPLE. WERE IT NOT FOR THE TINY PRIVATE SECTOR TOLERATED IN SOVIET AGRICULTURE, THE COUNTRY MIGHT BE ON THE BRINK OF FAMINE. THESE PRIVATE PLOTS OCCUPY A BARE 3 PERCENT OF THE ARABLE LAND BUT ACCOUNT FOR NEARLY ONE-QUARTER OF SOVIET FARM OUTPUT AND NEARLY ONE-THIRD OF MEAT PRODUCTS AND VEGETABLES.

8

OVERCENTRALIZED, WITH LITTLE OR NO INCENTIVES, YEAR AFTER YEAR THE SOVIET SYSTEM POURS ITS BEST RESOURCE INTO THE MAKING OF INSTRUMENTS OF DESTRUCTION. THE CONSTANT SHRINKAGE OF ECONOMIC GROWTH COMBINED WITH THE GROWTH OF MILITARY PRODUCTION IS PUTTING A HEAVY STRAIN ON THE SOVIET PEOPLE.

WHAT WE SEE HERE IS A POLITICAL STRUCTURE THAT NO LONGER CORRESPONDS TO ITS ECONOMIC BASE, A SOCIETY WHERE PRODUCTIVE FORCES ARE HAMPERED BY POLITICAL ONES.

THE DECAY OF THE SOVIET EXPERIMENT SHOULD COME AS NO SURPRISE TO US. WHEREVER THE COMPARISONS HAVE BEEN MADE BETWEEN FREE AND CLOSED SOCIETIES -- WEST GERMANY AND EAST GERMANY, AUSTRIA AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA, MALAYSIA AND VIETNAM -- IT IS THE DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES THAT ARE PROSPEROUS AND RESPONSIVE TO THE NEEDS OF THEIR PEOPLE. AND ONE OF THE SIMPLE BUT OVERWHELMING FACTS OF OUR TIME IS THIS: OF ALL THE MILLIONS OF REFUGEES WE HAVE SEEN IN THE MODERN WORLD, THEIR FLIGHT IS ALWAYS AWAY FROM, NOT TOWARD, THE COMMUNIST WORLD. TODAY ON THE "NATO" LINE, OUR MILITARY FORCES FACE EAST TO PREVENT A POSSIBLE INVASION. ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE LINE THE SOVIET FORCES ALSO FACE EAST -- TO PREVENT THEIR PEOPLE FROM LEAVING.

THE HARD EVIDENCE OF TOTALITARIAN RULE HAS CAUSED IN MANKIND AN UPRISING OF THE INTELLECT AND WILL. WHETHER IT IS THE GROWTH OF THE NEW SCHOOLS OF ECONOMICS IN AMERICA OR ENGLAND OR THE APPEARANCE OF THE SO-CALLED "NEW PHILOSOPHERS" IN FRANCE, THERE IS ONE UNIFYING THREAD RUNNING THROUGH THE INTELLECTUAL WORK OF THESE GROUPS:

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REJECTION OF THE ARBITRARY POWER OF THE STATE, THE REFUSAL TO SUBORDINATE THE RIGHTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL TO THE SUPERSTATE, THE REALIZATION THAT COLLECTIVISM STIFLES ALL THE BEST HUMAN IMPULSES.

SINCE THE EXODUS FROM EGYPT, HISTORIANS HAVE WRITTEN OF THOSE WHO SACRIFICED AND STRUGGLED FOR FREEDOM: THE STAND AT THERMOPYLAE, THE REVOLT OF SPARTACUS, THE STORMING OF THE BASTILLE, THE WARSAW UPRISING IN WORLD WAR II.

MORE RECENTLY WE HAVE SEEN EVIDENCE OF THIS SAME HUMAN IMPULSE IN ONE OF THE DEVELOPING NATIONS IN CENTRAL AMERICA. FOR MONTHS AND MONTHS THE WORLD NEWS MEDIA COVERED THE FIGHTING IN EL SALVADOR. DAY AFTER DAY WE WERE TREATED TO STORIES AND FILM SLANTED TOWARD THE BRAVE FREEDOM FIGHTERS BATTLING OPPRESSIVE GOVERNMENT FORCES IN BEHALF OF THE SILENT, SUFFERING PEOPLE OF THAT TORTURED COUNTRY.

THEN ONE DAY THOSE SILENT SUFFERING PEOPLE WERE OFFERED A CHANCE TO VOTE TO CHOOSE THE KIND OF GOVERNMENT THEY WANTED. SUDDENLY THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS IN THE HILLS WERE EXPOSED FOR WHAT THEY REALLY ARE: CUBAN-BACKED GUERILLAS WHO WANT POWER FOR THEMSELVES AND THEIR BACKERS, NOT DEMOCRACY FOR THE PEOPLE. THEY THREATENED DEATH TO ANY WHO VOTED AND DESTROYED HUNDREDS OF BUSES AND TRUCKS TO KEEP PEOPLE FROM GETTING TO THE POLLING PLACES. BUT ON ELECTION DAY THE PEOPLE OF EL SALVADOR, AN UNPRECEDENTED 1.4 MILLION OF THEM, BRAVED AMBUSH AND GUNFIRE, TRUDGING MILES TO VOTE FOR FREEDOM.

THEY STOOD FOR HOURS IN THE HOT SUN WAITING FOR THEIR TURN TO VOTE. MEMBERS OF OUR CONGRESS WHO WENT THERE AS OBSERVERS TOLD ME OF A WOMAN WOUNDED BY RIFLE FIRE WHO REFUSED TO LEAVE THE LINE TO HAVE HER WOUND TREATED UNTIL AFTER SHE HAD VOTED. A GRANDMOTHER, WHO HAD BEEN TOLD BY THE GUERILLAS SHE WOULD BE KILLED WHEN SHE RETURNED FROM THE POLLS, TOLD THE GUERILLAS, "YOU CAN KILL ME, KILL MY FAMILY, KILL MY NEIGHBORS, BUT YOU CAN'T KILL US ALL." THE REAL FREEDOM FIGHTERS OF EL SALVADOR TURNED OUT TO BE THE PEOPLE OF THAT COUNTRY, THE YOUNG, THE OLD AND THE IN-BETWEEN. STRANGE, BUT THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE IF ANY NEWS COVERAGE OF THAT WAR SINCE THE ELECTION.

PERHAPS THEY'LL SAY IT'S BECAUSE THERE ARE NEWER STRUGGLES NOW. ON DISTANT ISLANDS IN THE SOUTH ATLANTIC YOUNG MEN ARE FIGHTING FOR BRITAIN. AND, YES, VOICES HAVE BEEN RAISED PROTESTING THEIR SACRIFICE FOR LUMPS OF ROCK AND EARTH SO FAR AWAY. BUT THOSE YOUNG MEN AREN'T FIGHTING FOR MERE REAL ESTATE. THEY FIGHT FOR A CAUSE, FOR THE BELIEF THAT ARMED AGGRESSION MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO SUCCEED, AND THAT PEOPLE MUST PARTICIPATE IN THE DECISIONS OF GOVERNMENT UNDER THE RULE OF LAW. IF THERE HAD BEEN FIRMER SUPPORT FOR THAT PRINCIPLE SOME 45 YEARS AGO, PERHAPS OUR GENERATION WOULDN'T HAVE SUFFERED THE BLOODLETTING OF WORLD WAR II.

IN THE MIDDLE EAST THE GUNS SOUND ONCE MORE, THIS TIME IN LEBANON, A COUNTRY THAT FOR TOO LONG HAS HAD TO ENDURE THE TRAGEDY OF CIVIL WAR, TERRORISM AND FOREIGN INTERVENTION AND OCCUPATION. THE FIGHTING IN LEBANON ON THE PART OF ALL PARTIES MUST STOP AND ISRAEL SHOULD BRING ITS FORCES HOME. BUT THIS IS NOT ENOUGH. WE MUST ALL WORK TO STAMP OUT THE SCOURGE OF TERRORISM THAT IN THE MIDDLE EAST MAKES WAR AN EVER-PRESENT THREAT.

BUT BEYOND THE TROUBLESPOTS LIES A DEEPER, MORE POSITIVE PATTERN. AROUND THE WORLD TODAY THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION IS GATHERING NEW STRENGTH. IN INDIA, A CRITICAL TEST HAS BEEN PASSED WITH THE PEACEFUL CHANGE OF GOVERNING POLITICAL PARTIES. IN AFRICA, NIGERIA IS MOVING IN REMARKABLE AND UNMISTAKABLE WAYS TO BUILD AND STRENGTHEN ITS DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS. IN THE CARIBBEAN AND CENTRAL AMERICA, 16 OF 24 COUNTRIES HAVE FREELY ELECTED GOVERNMENTS. AND IN THE UNITED NATIONS, 8 OF THE 10 DEVELOPING NATIONS WHICH HAVE JOINED THE BODY IN THE PAST 5 YEARS ARE DEMOCRACIES.

IN THE COMMUNIST WORLD AS WELL, MAN'S INSTINCTIVE DESIRE FOR FREEDOM AND SELF-DETERMINATION SURFACES AGAIN AND AGAIN. TO BE SURE, THERE ARE GRIM REMINDERS OF HOW BRUTALLY THE POLICE STATE ATTEMPTS TO SNUFF OUT THIS QUEST FOR SELF RULE: 1953 IN EAST GERMANY, 1956 IN HUNGARY, 1968 IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, 1981 IN POLAND. BUT THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES IN POLAND AND WE KNOW THERE ARE EVEN THOSE WHO STRIVE AND SUFFER FOR FREEDOM WITHIN THE CONFINES OF THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF. HOW WE CONDUCT OURSELVES HERE IN THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES WILL DETERMINE WHETHER THIS TREND CONTINUES.

NO, DEMOCRACY IS NOT A FRAGILE FLOWER; STILL IT NEEDS CULTIVATING. IF THE REST OF THIS CENTURY IS TO WITNESS THE GRADUAL GROWTH OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRATIC IDEALS, WE MUST TAKE ACTIONS TO ASSIST THE CAMPAIGN FOR DEMOCRACY.

12

SOME ARGUE THAT WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE DEMOCRATIC CHANGE IN RIGHT-WING DICTATORSHIPS, BUT NOT IN COMMUNIST REGIMES. TO ACCEPT THIS PREPOSTEROUS NOTION -- AS SOME WELL-MEANING PEOPLE HAVE -- IS TO INVITE THE ARGUMENT THAT, ONCE COUNTRIES ACHIEVE A NUCLEAR CAPABILITY, THEY SHOULD BE ALLOWED AN UNDISTURBED REIGN OF TERROR OVER THEIR OWN CITIZENS. WE REJECT THIS COURSE.

AS FOR THE SOVIET VIEW, CHAIRMAN BREZHNEV REPEATEDLY HAS STRESSED THAT THE COMPETITION OF IDEAS AND SYSTEMS MUST CONTINUE AND THAT THIS IS ENTIRELY CONSISTENT WITH RELAXATION OF TENSIONS AND PEACE. WE ASK ONLY THAT THESE SYSTEMS BEGIN BY LIVING UP TO THEIR OWN CONSTITUTIONS, ABIDING BY THEIR OWN LAWS, AND COMPLYING WITH THE INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS THEY HAVE UNDERTAKEN. WE ASK ONLY FOR A PROCESS, A DIRECTION, A BASIC CODE OF DECENCY -- NOT FOR AN INSTANT TRANSFORMATION.

WE CANNOT IGNORE THE FACT THAT EVEN WITHOUT OUR ENCOURAGEMENT THERE HAVE BEEN AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE REPEATED EXPLOSIONS AGAINST REPRESSION IN DICTATORSHIPS. THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF IS NOT IMMUNE TO THIS REALITY. ANY SYSTEM IS INHERENTLY UNSTABLE THAT HAS NO PEACEFUL MEANS TO LEGITIMIZE ITS LEADERS. IN SUCH CASES, THE VERY REPRESSIVENESS OF THE STATE ULTIMATELY DRIVES PEOPLE TO RESIST IT -- IF NECESSARY, BY FORCE.

WHILE WE MUST BE CAUTIOUS ABOUT FORCING THE PACE OF CHANGE, WE MUST NOT HESITATE TO DECLARE OUR ULTIMATE OBJECTIVES AND TO TAKE CONCRETE ACTIONS TO MOVE TOWARDS THEM. WE MUST BE STAUNCH IN OUR CONVICTION THAT FREEDOM IS NOT THE SOLE PREROGATIVE OF A LUCKY FEW, BUT THE INALIENABLE AND UNIVERSAL RIGHT OF ALL HUMAN BEINGS.

SO STATES THE UNITED NATIONS' UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS -- WHICH, AMONG OTHER THINGS, GUARANTEES FREE ELECTIONS.

THE OBJECTIVE I PROPOSE IS QUITE SIMPLE TO STATE: TO FOSTER THE INFRASTRUCTURE OF DEMOCRACY -- THE SYSTEM OF A FREE PRESS, UNIONS, POLITICAL PARTIES, UNIVERSITIES -- WHICH ALLOWS A PEOPLE TO CHOOSE THEIR OWN WAY, TO DEVELOP THEIR OWN CULTURE, TO RECONCILE THEIR OWN DIFFERENCES THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS.

THIS IS NOT CULTURAL IMPERIALISM; IT IS PROVIDING THE MEANS FOR GENUINE SELF-DETERMINATION AND PROTECTION FOR DIVERSITY. DEMOCRACY ALREADY FLOURISHES IN COUNTRIES WITH VERY DIFFERENT CULTURES AND HISTORICAL EXPERIENCES. IT WOULD BE CULTURAL CONDESCENSION, OR WORSE, TO SAY THAT ANY PEOPLE PREFER DICTATORSHIP TO DEMOCRACY. WHO WOULD VOLUNTARILY CHOOSE NOT TO HAVE THE RIGHT TO VOTE; DECIDE TO PURCHASE GOVERNMENT PROPAGANDA HANDOUTS INSTEAD OF INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPERS; PREFER GOVERNMENT TO WORKER CONTROLLED UNIONS; OPT FOR LAND TO BE OWNED BY THE STATE INSTEAD OF THOSE WHO TILL IT; WANT GOVERNMENT REPRESSION OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, A SINGLE POLITICAL PARTY INSTEAD OF A FREE CHOICE, A RIGID CULTURAL ORTHODOXY INSTEAD OF DEMOCRATIC TOLERANCE AND DIVERSITY?

SINCE 1917 THE SOVIET UNION HAS GIVEN COVERT POLITICAL TRAINING AND ASSISTANCE TO MARXIST-LENINISTS IN MANY COUNTRIES. OF COURSE IT ALSO HAS PROMOTED THE USE OF VIOLENCE AND SUBVERSION BY THESE SAME FORCES.

14

OVER THE PAST SEVERAL DECADES, WEST EUROPEAN AND OTHER SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND LIBERALS HAVE OFFERED OPEN ASSISTANCE TO FRATERNAL POLITICAL AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS, TO BRING ABOUT PEACEFUL AND DEMOCRATIC PROGRESS. APPROPRIATELY FOR A VIGOROUS NEW DEMOCRACY, THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY'S POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS HAVE BECOME A MAJOR FORCE IN THIS EFFORT.

WE IN AMERICA NOW INTEND TO TAKE ADDITIONAL STEPS, AS MANY OF OUR ALLIES HAVE ALREADY DONE, TOWARD REALIZING THIS SAME GOAL. THE CHAIRMEN AND OTHER LEADERS OF THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTY ORGANIZATIONS ARE INITIATING A STUDY WITH THE BIPARTISAN AMERICAN POLITICAL FOUNDATION TO DETERMINE HOW THE UNITED STATES CAN BEST CONTRIBUTE -- AS A NATION -- TO THE GLOBAL CAMPAIGN FOR DEMOCRACY NOW GATHERING FORCE. THEY WILL HAVE THE COOPERATION OF CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS OF BOTH PARTIES ALONG WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF BUSINESS, LABOR, AND OTHER MAJOR INSTITUTIONS IN OUR SOCIETY.

I LOOK FORWARD TO RECEIVING THEIR RECOMMENDATIONS, AND TO WORKING WITH THESE INSTITUTIONS AND THE CONGRESS IN THE COMMON TASK OF STRENGTHENING DEMOCRACY THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

IT IS TIME THAT WE COMMITTED OURSELVES AS A NATION -- IN BOTH THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS -- TO ASSISTING DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT.

WE PLAN TO CONSULT WITH LEADERS OF OTHER NATIONS AS WELL. THERE IS A PROPOSAL BEFORE THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE TO INVITE PARLIAMENTARIANS FROM DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES TO A MEETING NEXT YEAR IN STRASBOURG. THAT PRESTIGIOUS GATHERING COULD CONSIDER WAYS TO HELP DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL MOVEMENTS.

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THIS NOVEMBER IN WASHINGTON THERE WILL TAKE PLACE AN INTERNATIONAL MEETING ON FREE ELECTIONS AND NEXT SPRING THERE WILL BE A CONFERENCE OF WORLD AUTHORITIES ON CONSTITUTIONALISM AND SELF-GOVERNMENT HOSTED BY THE CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE UNITED STATES. AUTHORITIES FROM A NUMBER OF DEVELOPING AND DEVELOPED COUNTRIES -- JUDGES, PHILOSOPHERS AND POLITICIANS WITH PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE -- HAVE AGREED TO EXPLORE HOW TO TURN PRINCIPLE INTO PRACTICE AND FURTHER THE RULE OF LAW.

AT THE SAME TIME WE INVITE THE SOVIET UNION TO CONSIDER WITH US HOW THE COMPETITION OF IDEAS AND VALUES -- WHICH IT IS COMMITTED TO SUPPORT -- CAN BE CONDUCTED ON A PEACEFUL AND RECIPROCAL BASIS. FOR EXAMPLE, I AM PREPARED TO OFFER PRESIDENT BREZHNEV AN OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ON OUR TELEVISION, IF HE WILL ALLOW ME THE SAME OPPORTUNITY WITH THE SOVIET PEOPLE. WE ALSO SUGGEST THAT PANELS OF OUR NEWSMEN PERIODICALLY APPEAR ON EACH OTHER'S TELEVISION TO DISCUSS MAJOR EVENTS,

I DO NOT WISH TO SOUND OVERLY OPTIMISTIC . . . YET THE SOVIET UNION IS NOT IMMUNE FROM THE REALITY OF WHAT IS GOING ON IN THE WORLD. IT HAS HAPPENED IN THE PAST: A SMALL RULING ELITE EITHER MISTAKENLY ATTEMPTS TO EASE DOMESTIC UNREST THROUGH GREATER REPRESSION AND FOREIGN ADVENTURE, OR IT CHOOSES A WISER COURSE -- IT BEGINS TO ALLOW ITS PEOPLE A VOICE IN THEIR OWN DESTINY.

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EVEN IF THIS LATTER PROCESS IS NOT REALIZED SOON, I BELIEVE THE RENEWED STRENGTH OF THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT, COMPLEMENTED BY A GLOBAL CAMPAIGN FOR FREEDOM, WILL STRENGTHEN THE PROSPECTS FOR ARMS CONTROL AND A WORLD AT PEACE.

I HAVE DISCUSSED ON OTHER OCCASIONS, INCLUDING MY ADDRESS ON MAY 9TH, THE ELEMENTS OF WESTERN POLICIES TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION TO SAFEGUARD OUR INTERESTS AND PROTECT THE PEACE. WHAT I AM DESCRIBING NOW IS A PLAN AND A HOPE FOR THE LONG TERM -- THE MARCH OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY WHICH WILL LEAVE MARXISM-LENINISM ON THE ASH-HEAP OF HISTORY AS IT HAS LEFT OTHER TYRANNIES WHICH STIFLE THE FREEDOM AND MUZZLE THE SELF-EXPRESSION OF THE PEOPLE.

THAT IS WHY WE MUST CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN "NATO" EVEN AS WE MOVE FORWARD WITH OUR ZERO OPTION INITIATIVE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS ON INTERMEDIATE RANGE FORCES AND OUR PROPOSAL FOR A ONE-THIRD REDUCTION IN STRATEGIC BALLISTIC MISSILE WARHEADS.

OUR MILITARY STRENGTH IS A PREREQUISITE TO PEACE BUT LET IT BE CLEAR WE MAINTAIN THIS STRENGTH IN THE HOPE IT WILL NEVER BE USED. FOR THE ULTIMATE DETERMINANT IN THE STRUGGLE NOW GOING ON FOR THE WORLD WILL NOT BE BOMBS AND ROCKETS -- BUT A TEST OF WILLS AND IDEAS -- A TRIAL OF SPIRITUAL RESOLVE: THE VALUES WE HOLD, THE BELIEFS WE CHERISH, THE IDEALS TO WHICH WE ARE DEDICATED.

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THE BRITISH PEOPLE KNOW THAT, GIVEN STRONG LEADERSHIP, TIME, AND A LITTLE BIT OF HOPE, THE FORCES OF GOOD ULTIMATELY RALLY AND TRIUMPH OVER EVIL. HERE AMONG YOU IS THE CRADLE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT, THE MOTHER OF PARLIAMENTS. HERE IS THE ENDURING GREATNESS OF THE BRITISH CONTRIBUTION TO MANKIND, THE GREAT CIVILIZED IDEAS: INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY, REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT AND THE RULE OF LAW UNDER GOD.

I HAVE OFTEN WONDERED ABOUT THE SHYNESS OF SOME OF US IN THE WEST ABOUT STANDING FOR THESE IDEALS THAT HAVE DONE SO MUCH TO EASE THE PLIGHT OF MAN AND THE HARDSHIPS OF OUR IMPERFECT WORLD. THIS RELUCTANCE TO USE THOSE VAST RESOURCES AT OUR COMMAND REMINDS ME OF THE ELDERLY LADY WHOSE HOME WAS BOMBED IN THE BLITZ; AS THE RESCUERS MOVED ABOUT THEY FOUND A BOTTLE OF BRANDY SHE HAD STORED BEHIND THE STAIRCASE, WHICH WAS ALL THAT WAS LEFT STANDING. SINCE SHE WAS BARELY CONSCIOUS, ONE OF THE WORKERS PULLED THE CORK TO GIVE HER A TASTE OF IT. SHE CAME AROUND IMMEDIATELY AND SAID: "HERE NOW, PUT IT BACK, THAT'S ONLY FOR EMERGENCIES."

WELL, THE EMERGENCY IS UPON US.

LET US BE SHY NO LONGER -- LET US GO TO OUR STRENGTH. LET US OFFER HOPE. LET US TELL THE WORLD THAT A NEW AGE IS NOT ONLY POSSIBLE BUT PROBABLE.

DURING THE DARK DAYS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR WHEN THIS ISLAND WAS INCANDESCENT WITH COURAGE, WINSTON CHURCHILL EXCLAIMED ABOUT BRITAIN'S ADVERSARIES: "WHAT KIND OF A PEOPLE DO THEY THINK WE ARE?"

BRITAIN'S ADVERSARIES FOUND OUT WHAT EXTRAORDINARY PEOPLE THE BRITISH ARE. BUT ALL THE DEMOCRACIES PAID A TERRIBLE PRICE FOR ALLOWING THE DICTATORS TO UNDERESTIMATE US. WE DARE NOT MAKE THAT MISTAKE AGAIN. SO LET US ASK OURSELVES: WHAT KIND OF PEOPLE DO WE THINK WE ARE? AND LET US ANSWER: FREE PEOPLE, WORTHY OF FREEDOM, AND DETERMINED NOT ONLY TO REMAIN SO BUT TO HELP OTHERS GAIN THEIR FREEDOM AS WELL.

SIR WINSTON LED HIS PEOPLE TO GREAT VICTORY IN WAR AND THEN LOST AN ELECTION JUST AS THE FRUITS OF VICTORY WERE ABOUT TO BE ENJOYED. BUT HE LEFT OFFICE HONORABLY -- AND, AS IT TURNED OUT, TEMPORARILY -- KNOWING THAT THE LIBERTY OF HIS PEOPLE WAS MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE FATE OF ANY SINGLE LEADER. HISTORY RECALLS HIS GREATNESS IN WAYS NO DICTATOR WILL EVER KNOW. AND HE LEFT US A MESSAGE OF HOPE FOR THE FUTURE, AS TIMELY NOW AS WHEN HE FIRST UTTERED IT, AS OPPOSITION LEADER IN THE COMMONS NEARLY 27 YEARS AGO: "WHEN WE LOOK BACK ON ALL THE PERILS THROUGH WHICH WE HAVE PASSED AND AT THE MIGHTY FOES WE HAVE LAID LOW AND ALL THE DARK AND DEADLY DESIGNS WE HAVE FRUSTRATED, WHY SHOULD WE FEAR FOR OUR FUTURE? WE HAVE," SAID SIR WINSTON, "COME SAFELY THROUGH THE WORST."

THE TASK I HAVE SET FORTH WILL LONG OUTLIVE OUR OWN
GENERATION. BUT TOGETHER, WE, TOO, HAVE COME THROUGH THE
WORST. LET US NOW BEGIN A MAJOR EFFORT TO SECURE THE BEST --
A CRUSADE FOR FREEDOM THAT WILL ENGAGE THE FAITH AND FORTITUDE
OF THE NEXT GENERATION. FOR THE SAKE OF PEACE AND JUSTICE,
LET US MOVE TOWARD A WORLD IN WHICH ALL PEOPLE ARE AT LAST
FREE TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN DESTINY.

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End
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