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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Jan 9, 1984

BIF/TERRY:

Attached are two books that were located in some of Judge Clark's old papers.

Hopefully this is just the beginning of the material Brenda and I have discussed with you.

I found another book..... it is from an old Monday Lunch. The secret material under NSC is no longer sensitive. It was just time sensitive.

Happy New Year!!

I will be in touch.

Kathleen Shanahan

3 Notebooks from Judge Clark's old papers listed as follows:

- 1. Weekly Update for the President
Dec 21 81
- 2. Presidential Speeches Trip to Europe 1982
- 3. Fairness Issues Jun 1 82
a briefing book on
Individual programs and
General perspectives

Filed CF Oversize Attachment # 225

PRESERVATION COPY

THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO EUROPE

June 2 - 11, 1982

THURSDAY, JUNE 3, 1982

TAB A Statement following meeting with Pres. Mitterrand

TAB B Toast at dinner hosted by Ambassador Galbraith

FRIDAY, JUNE 4, 1982

TAB C Remarks to U.S. Embassy Staff (Paris)

SATURDAY, JUNE 5, 1982

TAB D** Radio Talk (Versailles)

MONDAY, JUNE 7, 1982

TAB E Remarks at The Vatican (Rome)

TAB F Toast at luncheon with President Pertini (Rome)

TUESDAY, JUNE 8, 1982

TAB G Address to the Parliament (London)

TAB H Toast at luncheon with Prime Minister Thatcher

TAB I Toast at State Dinner (Windsor Castle)

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 9, 1982

TAB J** Remarks following meeting with P.M. Thatcher (London)

TAB K Remarks following meeting w/Chancellor Schmidt (Bonn)

TAB L Address to the Bundestag (Bonn)

FRIDAY, JUNE 11, 1982

TAB M** Remarks to U.S. Forces stationed in Europe

TAB N Remarks: Charlottenburg Palace Garden (Berlin)

TAB O Remarks: Cologne/Bonn Refueling Stop
(West Germany Int'l Airport)

TAB P** Remarks at Arrival Ceremony (Andrews AFB)

** Remarks to be completed on trip

(Elliott/AB)
May 26, 1982
11:30 a.m.

PRESIDENT'S REMARKS TO THE PRESS FOLLOWING MEETING AND LUNCH WITH
PRESIDENT MITTERRAND, JUNE 3, 1982

Good afternoon ladies and gentlemen. President Mitterrand and I have had a very useful and interesting discussion of world events and of our hopes for the Versailles summit, beginning tomorrow. We are reserving our in-depth discussions of economic issues for this weekend when we will meet with our five colleagues. We did, however, have the opportunity to exchange ideas on several issues.

We continued our dialogue on troubling international problems, including the Falkland Island crisis, tension in Central America and in the Middle East.

I am looking forward to meeting with President Mitterrand and the other leaders of the industrial democracies this weekend at Versailles. I am most grateful to President Mitterrand and to the people of France for their warm hospitality on this eighth reunion of the leaders of the free world. I anticipate a fruitful and productive meeting. Thank you.

(Elliott/AB/NSC)
June 1, 1982
3:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL TOAST AT DINNER HOSTED BY AMBASSADOR GALBRAITH,
PARIS, JUNE 3, 1982

Mr. President, Madame Mitterrand, Prime Minister and Madame Mauroy, Ministers, honored guests, dear friends:

Nancy and I are very pleased to be with you tonight in this lovely home of Ambassador and Mrs. Galbraith, our gracious hosts.

Mr. President, I speak not just for Nancy and myself, but for so many of our countrymen, when I express the joy we Americans feel in returning to France, and seeing again her special jewel -- Paris.

Mr. President, I am grateful to have this opportunity to continue our dialogue and to meet with Madame Mitterrand, members of your government and many fine Frenchmen and women. I have enjoyed getting to know you this past year, and I 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 and this summit with a spirit of confidence.

Our Administration has embarked upon a bold program to bring inflationary Government spending under control, restore personal incentives to revive economic growth, and rebuild our defenses to ensure peace through strength. This has meant a fundamental change in policies, and 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 and both personal savings and 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. At the same time, we have invited the Soviet Union to meet with us and to negotiate, for the first time in history, substantial and 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 and more prosperous world.

We understand that other nations may pursue different roads toward our common goals. But we can still come together and work together for a greater good. The challenge of our democracies is to forge a unity of purpose and 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, and we must not pretend we can solve them overnight. But we can solve them; we have the means to solve them. It is we, not the foes of freedom, who enjoy the blessings of Constitutional government, rule of law, political and economic liberties, and 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 and social progress. We need only the spirit, wisdom and 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 a way to underscore this relationship than to recall that there are more than 60,000 American soldiers, sailors and marines who rest beneath the soil of France.

As the anniversary of D-Day approaches, let us pay homage to all the brave men and women, French and American, who gave their lives so we, and future generations, could live in freedom. In their memory, let us remain vigilant to the challenges we face. We will stand tall and stand firm whenever we stand together.

Mr. President, 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. 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 and do my

utmost, as if the issue of the whole struggle depended upon me alone."

Well, the challenges we face today do not require the same sacrifices that Martin Treptow and so many thousands of others were called upon to make. But they do require our best effort, our willingness to believe in each other, and to believe that, together with God's help, we can and will resolve the problems confronting us.

Mr. President, I pledge to you my best effort. Let us continue working together for the values and 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.

Mr. President, let us raise our glasses to all the cathedrals yet to be built. With our friendship, courage and determination, they will be built.

Vive la France et vive l'Amerique -- des amis ce soir, demain et toujours. *

* [Long live France and America: Friends this evening, tomorrow and always.]

(Elliott/AB)
May 26, 1982
11:30 a.m.

PRESIDENT'S REMARKS TO U.S. EMBASSY STAFF AND DEPENDENTS, PARIS
JUNE 4, 1982

Mr. Secretary, Mrs. Haig, Mr. Ambassador, Mrs. Galbraith -- Nancy and I are very grateful that so many of you, staff members and families, could be here today. I just wish we had the time to greet each one of you personally.

You know, you belong to a pretty special group. You're doing a very important job and living an experience you'll never forget. Maybe some of you feel a little like Gertrude Stein when she wrote, "America is my country and Paris is my home town."

Well, I just want you to know that you are never forgotten back in the States and that we appreciate very much your hard work and hospitality. The success of the summit -- and this visit to Paris -- will be in great measure due to your efforts.

If I may, I'd like to speak for a moment on a subject which concerns me greatly, and each one of you in a personal way -- terrorism. All of us have been moved by the tragic events of the past months -- especially by the death of Colonel Ray on the streets of Paris. I know that some of you here today were his colleagues, and you have our deep sympathy. I think I can speak from experience -- it's no fun being a target, no matter where on Earth you're standing. The safety of our diplomats is of paramount concern to us. President Mitterrand has also put in motion steps to control the threat of terrorism. We are

encouraging him -- as are the other world leaders who share my concerns -- to continue this effort.

We know your jobs are not easy. The delicate nature of diplomacy makes many demands upon you. But France and the United States are old friends and close partners. And if our partnership is growing stronger -- which I am convinced it is -- that is certainly a tribute to your professional skills. We salute you for all you are doing and urge you to keep up the good work.

And Nancy joins me in thanking you again for your warm welcome.

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(B kshian)
May 21, 1982
5:00 p.m.

PRESIDENT'S REMARKS AT THE VATICAN, 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 and charity where the highest and 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. 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 and the spirit which we cherish.

This is no easy task, but I leave this audience with a renewed sense of hope and dedication. Hope, because one cannot meet a man like Your Holiness without feeling that a world that can produce such courage and vision out of adversity and 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.

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 and peace, and faith that a Supreme Being guides our daily striving in this world. Our national motto, "In God We Trust," reflects that faith.

Many of our earliest settlers came to America seeking a refuge where they could worship God unhindered. So our dedication to political and 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 and 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, and freedom from fear, want and oppression. These are God-given freedoms, not the contrivances of man.

We also believe in helping one another through our churches and charitable institutions or simply as one friend -- one good Samaritan -- to another.

The Ten Commandments and the Golden Rule are as much a part of our living heritage as the Constitution we take such pride in, and 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 and abundance many of our less fortunate brothers and 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 and 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."

To us, in a troubled world, the Holy See, and your Pastorate, represent one of the world's greatest moral and spiritual forces. We admire your active efforts to foster peace and promote justice, freedom and compassion in a world that is still stalked by the forces of evil.

As a people and as a government, we seek to pursue the same goals of peace, freedom and humanity along political and economic lines that the church pursues in its spiritual role. So we deeply value your counsel and support and express our solidarity with you.

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 and reform, and to prevent the spread of repression and godless tyranny. We also share your concern in seeking peace and 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 and freedom -- in the hearts of her courageous people if not in those who rule her. We seek a process of reconciliation and 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 and commodity support as possible through church and 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 and 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 and in the years ahead -- and that the wide arms of faith and forgiveness can someday embrace a world at peace, with justice and compassion for all mankind.

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(Parvin/AB)
May 26, 1982
12:30 p.m.

LUNCHEON TOAST: QUIRINALE PALACE
JUNE 7, 1982

It's a genuine privilege to be here today, and most especially as the guest of President Pertini.

The poet Robert Browning wrote, "Open my heart and you will see/Graved inside of it, 'Italy'." As countless immigrants to my Nation's shores would confirm, Italy is engraved inside millions of American hearts. Mr. President, after your recent trip to the United States, the name Pertini also is engraved in our hearts.

In my time at the White House, I don't remember as beautiful and moving a gesture as the kiss you planted on our flag that March morning. Because of the principles you stand for, that kiss touched all the citizens of my country. We were deeply honored. And, Mr. President, I want to say personally how honored I feel to call you "amico" (uh-me-co).

The word friend certainly characterizes the relationship between Italy and the United States. We are drawn together by the blood of our people and the bonds of our Western ideals. We share a devotion to liberty and the determination to preserve that liberty for ourselves and our descendents.

Yes, we live in difficult times that test our beliefs. The independence and freedom of people the world over are threatened by the expansion of totalitarian regimes and by the brutal crimes of international terrorism. But, let me say, I am optimistic. The West simply needs to believe in itself and its own leadership to succeed.

Italy and her people are abundant in that leadership. Italy has made hard but self-confident choices in recent years. The Atlantic Alliance is firm in large part because of Italian determination to assume major responsibilities within NATO for our common defense. Prospects for peace are improved because of Italy's contribution to such efforts as the Sinai Multinational Force. The free world better appreciates human dignity and justice, thanks to Italy's principled stand on Afghanistan and Poland. And, of course, there is Italy's integrity in the face of terrorism -- and let me cite here the brilliant operation that freed General Dozier.

These issues have required difficult decisions. They have required political decisiveness beyond the ordinary. So I want to pay special tribute to you, President Pertini, Prime Minister Spadolini, Foreign Minister Colombo, and to the entire Italian government for the resolution you have shown and the example you have given.

In return I want to assure you that the United States stands behind you in defending the values of the West. The Atlantic Alliance is still the heart of our foreign policy. And that heart beats for peace and freedom.

The United States is fortunate to enjoy the friendship of Italy and the Italian people. We are wiser for your counsel and stronger for your partnership. Like the great Virgil, we Americans believe, "As long as rivers shall run down to the sea, or shadows touch the mountain slopes, or stars graze in the vault

of heaven, so long shall your honor, your name, your praises endure."

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, may I propose a toast to Italy -- and to her honor, her name, and her praises. May they long endure.

(RR/Further Revisions)
Made 5/26/82
Prepared: 6/1/82, 5:00

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

My Lord Chancellor, Mr. Speaker:

Speaking for all Americans, I want to say how deeply you have honored us by your invitation for me to speak here. I feel at home 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.

And I cannot allow this moment to pass without recalling the generous words of the Member for Bristol, Mr. Burke, concerning conciliation with the rebellious colonists in North America.

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. Here is the preeminent symbol of government with a friendly face.

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 the portrait of His Royal Majesty 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."

I responded by saying that I was especially proud that my first foreign visit as President was to your country and I only had to go 15 city blocks from the White House to do it.

I go from here to Bonn, and then Berlin, where there is a symbol of power untamed. The Berlin Wall, that dreadful gray gash across the city, is in its third decade. It is the 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 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. But 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 Trieste on the Adriatic, 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.

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 be a one-party nation even if an opposition party were permitted -- because everyone would join that party.

We Americans are sometimes thought of as a little rough around the edges, but this is usually the case with young nations. You may recall a story about your own earlier days when a King of England asked one of the dukes of the realm whether it was true he had just burned down the local cathedral. The Duke replied, "Yes, but only because I thought the archbishop was inside."

America's time as a player on the stage of world history has been brief. I think realization of 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."

But however witty Sir Winston may have been, 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.

There is, first, the threat of war. No President, no Congress, no Prime Minister, no Parliament ever spent 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 the INF talks currently going on in Europe and the START talks, which we expect to commence soon, are not just critical to American or Western policy -- they are critical to

mankind. Our commitment to these negotiations is firm and unshakable; we want a settlement and we want it soon.

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: rampant inflation, stringent taxation, mindless bureaucracy -- all combining to stifle individual excellence and personal freedom. History teaches the dangers of governments which become more concerned with their own power and procedures than with the people they are supposed to serve. Indeed, the very complaints listed in our own Declaration of Independence -- complaints whose justice was argued for in this Parliament by such great statesmen as Burke and Fox -- read in many ways like a list of complaints against the modern state. Silent encroachment by government has always posed the most serious and enduring threat to the freedom of man.

Now some of us in the West have long argued against the impulse to use the power of the state for utopian ends because we believe it leads to stagnant economies and unnecessary government intrusions into the lives of individuals, robbing them of initiative, dignity and self-respect. But I am also 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 totalitarianism and all the terrible inhumanities it has caused in our time: Auschwitz and Dachau, the Great Purge, the Gulag Archipelago and Cambodia.

Historians looking back at our time will look in wonder at our own self-doubts. They will note that it was the democracies who refused to use 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. Surely historians will note it was not the democracies that invaded Afghanistan, or suppressed Polish Solidarity, or used chemical and biological warfare in Afghanistan and Southeast Asia.

Surely those historians will find in the councils of those who preached the supremacy of the state . . . the focus of evil. It was your own C. S. Lewis who saw so well the virulence and the danger of the police state when he wrote:

The greatest evil is not now done in those sordid 'dens of crime' that Dickens loved to paint. It is not done even in concentration camps and labour camps. In those we see its final result. But it is conceived and ordered (moved, seconded, carried and minuted) in clean, carpeted, warmed, and well-lighted offices, by quiet men with white collars and cut fingernails and smooth-shaven cheeks who do not need to raise their voice.

Because these "quiet men" do not "raise their voices," because they sometimes speak in soothing tones of brotherhood and peace, because like Hitler they are always making "their final territorial demand," some would have us accept them at their word and accommodate ourselves to their aggressive impulses. But, if history teaches anything, it teaches: self-delusion in the face of unpleasant facts is folly. The words of Hilaire Belloc, who was a Member of this body, are a reminder of the danger we face today:

We sit by and watch the Barbarian, we tolerate him; in the long stretches of peace we are not afraid.

We are tickled by his irreverence . . . we laugh. But as we laugh we are watched by large and awful faces from beyond: and on these faces there is no smile.

We see around us today all the earmarks of our terrible dilemma -- on the one hand: predictions of doomsday, anti-nuclear demonstrations, an arms race in which the West must for its own protection be an unwilling participant. In awful counterpoint, we see the march of those who seek disruption and conflict throughout the world, conflict they hope will further a "clean," "well-lighted," thoroughly modern -- but thoroughly barbarous -- assault on the human spirit called Marxism-Leninism.

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:

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.

He also said our fortunes are still in our own hands and we hold the power to save the future. We do not hear too much of that kind of hope these days from the professional prophets or pundits who predict doomsday or the onrush of the Orwellian state. But then expert knowledge has always had one great shortcoming: It focuses on the ripples, not the waves and tides of history.

We live now at a turning point in time. It may not be easy to see but I believe that moment is upon us.

As one Soviet specialist has recently pointed out, 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 it is happening in the home of Marxism-Leninism, the Soviet Union. Not only is the Soviet Union running against the tide of history in denying freedom and human dignity to its citizens, it 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. In agriculture particularly, a country which employs one-fifth of its population in this sector 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 the farm output and nearly one-third of meat products and vegetables.

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 with the growth of military production is putting an impossible strain on the Soviet people -- in important areas like health care, neglect and inefficiency are quite literally returning the country to the standards of decades ago. Infant mortality has reached such appalling levels -- the government no

longer publishes the relevant statistics. Acute alcohol poisoning is an epidemic -- a rate nearly 100 times that in Western nations. Medical facilities and care for the masses is inefficient and sharply declining. In Moscow, a medical unit for cardiac patients is reportedly located on the fifth floor, and there is no elevator.

What we see here is the classic situation outlined by Marx -- when the political structure no longer corresponds to the economic base -- when productive forces are hampered by political ones. It is possible this internal conflict will lead to liberalization in the Soviet Union. But there is also the great danger that the fear of this revolutionary situation will continue to paralyze the Soviet leadership and drive it toward aggression -- aggression that allows it to mobilize the unhappy masses with chauvinistic slogans and diverts them from domestic needs.

Yet the decay of the Soviet experiment comes as no surprise. 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 it is one of the simple but overwhelming facts of our time: 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 young "philosophies" in France, there is one unifying thread running through the intellectual work of these groups: the rejection of state power as the principal means of social change, 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 busses and trucks to keep people from getting to the polling places. But on election day the people of El Salvador braved ambush and gunfire, trudging miles (pardon me, kilometers) to vote for freedom, an unprecedented 1.4 million of them.

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 is a newer war to cover now. Young men are fighting for Britain on some tiny islands in the South Atlantic. 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 never be allowed to succeed.

A majority of the nations in the world support this belief as the vote for U.N. Resolution 502 demonstrated. Resisting military aggression is the foundation of world peace and the rule of order. If there had been firmer support for that cause some

45 years ago, perhaps our generation wouldn't have suffered the bloodletting of World War II.

Everywhere 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 today, man's instinctive desire for freedom and self-determination surfaces again and again. To be sure, there are grim reminders of how quickly the police state can snuff out this quest for self rule: 1953 in East Germany, 1956 in Hungary, 1968 in Czechoslovakia, 1981 in Poland.

But there will be other Polands and we know there are even those who struggle 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. I have looked forward to telling you today that the United States is creating an institution to assist this campaign for democracy. A bipartisan group of American leaders -- leaders of our political parties, the press and the bar, leaders from management and labor -- will organize to help others learn the mechanics of a democratic society. Indeed, representing these

groups here today are the distinguished chairmen of the Republican and Democratic parties and the leaders of the United States House of Representatives and the United States Senate. These Americans and their respective institutions will participate in a joint study to determine how we can best contribute to representative government throughout the world.

We plan to consult with leaders of other nations. 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.

This November in Washington there will take place an international meeting on free elections. Next spring we have called a conference of world authorities on constitutionalism and self-government. With the Chief Justice of the United States as host, authorities from India, Nigeria, Venezuela and other 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 attempts to ease domestic unrest through foreign adventure or chooses another course -- by allowing its people a voice in their own destiny.

Consider what this would mean for the prospects of peace. Consider what a process of democratization within the Soviet Union might contribute. Public involvement in the peace movement would grow as it has in the West. The enormous Soviet military budget, nearly 15 percent of the gross national product, would suddenly be subjected to public scrutiny. The problem of verification -- one of the central difficulties in negotiating arms control agreements -- could be dramatically eased. We could, in fact, introduce an "open land" policy to complete the tacit "open skies" policy. This would permit much more thorough verification and possibly lead to the abolition of whole categories of arms such as chemical weapons. Above all, the suspicion and distrust which is endemic to closed political systems, and which so poisons the pursuit of peace, would be greatly alleviated.

Yet, even if this process does not take place soon, I believe the renewed strength of the democratic movement complemented by a global campaign for freedom would strengthen the prospects for arms control.

I have discussed on other occasions, including in my address 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 policy 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 totalitarian ideologies which stifle the freedom and muzzle the self-expression of citizens.

That is why we must continue our efforts to strengthen NATO even as we move forward with our zero outcome initiative and our proposal for a one-third reduction in 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 struggle of wills and ideas -- a test of spiritual resolve: the values we hold, the beliefs we cherish, the ideals to which we are dedicated.

The British people know that, given time, strong leadership 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 empire, 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."

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. Great dramatic changes have occurred. We live longer today in better health and prosperity than ever dreamed of in the past. I have already lived 20 years beyond my life expectancy when I was born. That's a source of annoyance to some of my countrymen.

To those who predict doomsday or the triumph of the superstate let us cite the words of one great author at a Nobel Prize ceremony some years ago. William Faulkner spoke of the self-doubt that infects our age.

"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."

During the dark days of the Second World War when this place -- like an 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? The answer is: Free people, worthy of freedom, and determined to remain so.

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(Maseng/AB)
May 26, 1982
6:30 p.m.

TOAST TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE MARGARET THATCHER, PRIME MINISTER OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, 10 DOWNING STREET, JUNE 8, 1982

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.

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.

Madam Prime Minister, 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 who 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, Madam Prime Minister. 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, Madam Prime Minister, 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.