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Ireland, United Kingdom, and Normandy  
06/01/1984-06/10/1984 Richard S. Beal (Binder)  
(2 of 3)

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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** COORDINATION OFFICE, NSC: RECORDS

**Withdrawer**

DLB 10/2/2006

**File Folder** THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO EUROPE: IRELAND, UNITED KINGDOM AND NORMANDY 06/01/1984-06/10/1984  
RICHARD S. BEAL (BINDER) (2 OF 3)

**FOIA**

F02-071/1

**Box Number** 90542

COLLINS

39

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of	Doc Date	Restrictions
28296	PAPER	DUPLICATE OF #3122; PRIVATE MEETING WITH PRESIDENT HILLERY <b>R 8/5/2008 NLRRF02-071/1</b>	1	ND	B1
28297	PAPER	DUPLICATE OF #3123; SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS FOR THE PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH PRESIDENT HILLERY <b>R 8/5/2008 NLRRF02-071/1</b>	1	ND	B1
28298	PAPER	DUPLICATE OF #3124; BILATERAL WITH PRIME MINISTER FITZGERALD <b>R 8/5/2008 NLRRF02-071/1</b>	1	ND	B1
28299	PAPER	DUPLICATE OF #3125; SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS FOR THE PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER FITZGERALD <b>R 8/5/2008 NLRRF02-071/1</b>	1	ND	B1

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

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

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B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]

B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]

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B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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President Hillery  
Courtesy Meeting

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

28296

Private Meeting with President Hillery

-- President Hillery was once an active politician and former Foreign Minister. As a constitutional president, he has no direct governmental responsibilities. He was instrumental in gaining Ireland's entry into the European Community and is a former Vice President of the EC Commission. He recently visited China and may be interested in the President's impressions of his recent China trip.

-- The President could give Hillery his impressions of his visit to Ireland and, if he wishes, raise substantive issues, such as the Northern Ireland problem. He could compliment Hillery on the government's efforts to find a solution. If time permits, he could mention Ireland's upcoming EC presidency, our hopes for peaceful democratic development in Central America, and US efforts to improve East/West relations.

-- Following the private meeting, there will be a photo opportunity. There will be no remarks. The President will participate in a tree-planting ceremony outside Hillery's residence before leaving.

DECLASSIFIED

NARR P62-0711, #28296

BY CU NARADATE 8/5/08

CONFIDENTIAL

SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS FOR THE PRESIDENT'S MEETING  
WITH PRESIDENT HILLERY

NORTHERN  
IRELAND

-- I have been impressed by the efforts of your government to make progress on the Northern Ireland problem.

-- We will do everything we can to encourage Anglo-Irish cooperation on this issue.

EUROPEAN  
COMMUNITY

-- It must be a particular pride and pleasure for you, as a former member of the European Commission, to see Ireland again assume the responsibilities of the EC presidency.

-- I know Ireland will acquit its responsibilities well. We look forward to working with our Irish friends and colleagues in the months ahead.

CENTRAL  
AMERICA

-- The election of Duarte is cause for hope. He will consolidate reforms and act against violence. He will have our full support.

EAST/WEST  
RELATIONS

-- I regret Chernenko's negative response to US and NATO initiatives. If no progress results, the record will show that it is the Soviets who bear sole responsibility.

CHINA

-- I understand that you recently visited China. Perhaps we could share some views on our impressions.

UNCLASSIFIED

REF FOZ 0711 # 26297

BY CW NARADATE 8/5/08



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

State Dinner Hosted by Prime Minister FitzGerald

-- The dinner in Dublin Castle, the site of the New Ireland Forum, will include some 250 guests. Dublin Castle also could be the scene of peaceful demonstrations against US policy in Central America.

-- Prime Minister FitzGerald is expected to toast the President with themes of US-Irish friendship. In return, the President will call attention to Ireland's cultural, religious, and economic contributions; to its involvement in UN peacekeeping; and to its unique position between Europe and the US.

By alb

10/2/04

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MONDAY, JUNE 4





~~CONFIDENTIAL~~Bilateral with Prime Minister FitzGerald

-- The President's 30-minute meeting with FitzGerald at Leinster House is a follow-on to their March meeting in Washington. The meeting will also give the two leaders an opportunity for further consultations as Ireland prepares to assume the EC Presidency on July 1. The major topic likely will be the report of the New Ireland Forum, issued May 2. FitzGerald may ask about US foreign policy positions and raise current US-EC issues.

-- The President will want to express US support for the efforts of FitzGerald to work with Britain toward a solution of the Northern Ireland problem and to reaffirm US policy. US policy in Central America, consultations with Ireland during its EC Presidency, and East/West relations could also be raised.

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR F02-0711, #28298BY CN NARA DATE 8/5/08~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NLRR FOZ-0711, #28299-~~CONFIDENTIAL~~BY CW NARA DATE 8/5/68

SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS FOR THE PRESIDENT'S MEETING  
WITH PRIME MINISTER FITZGERALD

NORTHERN  
IRELAND

-- My St. Patrick's Day statements remain the basis of U.S. policy.

-- We continue to believe that the Northern Ireland problem is the responsibility of the people and governments most directly involved.

-- I hope that the New Ireland Forum process will lead to greater Anglo-Irish cooperation in resolving the problem.

-- (If raised) When I visit London, I would be interested in hearing Prime Minister Thatcher's assessment of prospects for progress in Northern Ireland.

CENTRAL  
AMERICA

-- The election of Duarte is cause for hope. He will consolidate reforms and act against violence. He is open to dialogue and will have our full support.

-- We are supporting the Contadora. If the Contadora Document of Objectives is implemented on a verifiable and reciprocal basis, our concerns in Nicaragua will be satisfied.

-- We see little evidence that Nicaragua is prepared to make its elections free and fair. We hope that the EC will encourage the Sandanistas to create the conditions required.

-- Nicaragua's attack on Costa Rica's border posts is illustrative of the Sandanistas' bullying behavior.

EUROPEAN  
COMMUNITY

-- As Ireland assumes the Presidency of the Community, we expect to be in particularly close contact. We wish you luck on the major issues confronting the Community, including the accession of Spain and Portugal.

-- We hope you will convey our concerns about proposed restrictions on our agricultural exports. We will hold firm against protectionist pressures and hope the Community will do likewise.

-- During this period, we will also look forward to consulting on political issues with the Community, through your government.

EAST/WEST  
RELATIONS

-- The Soviets are still very much on defensive in their approach to the West. Their decision to boycott the Olympics is as regrettable as it is unjustified. We also regret Chernenko's negative response to U.S. and NATO initiatives.

-- In letters to Chernenko, I have stressed my commitment to improved relations and offered specific ideas for moving forward. If no progress results, record will show that it is Soviets who bear sole responsibility.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



Speech to the Joint Session of the Irish Parliament

-- Prior to his address, the President will be introduced to the leaders of the political parties in the parliament. Besides Fitzgerald, these are the Deputy Prime Minister and Labor Party Leader, Dick Spring; former Prime Minister and Fianna Fail Party leader Charles Haughey (who lunched with the President on St. Patrick's Day 1982); and Worker's Party leader Tomas MacGiolla. MacGiolla's party is Marxist-oriented, and he likely could use the occasion to make some kind of protest against the President.

-- The President is the second US President to address a joint session of the Irish parliament, following President Kennedy, who was accorded the honor in June, 1963. About 200 people will attend the address, although some deputies have threatened to boycott it in protest against US policy in Central America.

-- The President's most important speech in Europe, it will emphasize broad East-West relations, peace, arms control, and US economic recovery. It will emphasize the importance of finding peaceful solutions to conflict, including that in Northern Ireland.

White  
By dhb

ED  
August 28, 1997  
10/2/06

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: SHANNON ARRIVAL STATEMENT  
FRIDAY, JUNE 1, 1984

President and Mrs. Hillery, Prime Minister and Mrs. FitzGerald, distinguished guests, and I want to add with the greatest of pleasure: A chairde gaeil (Ah-car-jah gale -- My Irish friends):

On behalf of Nancy and myself, thank you very much for your warm and wonderful Irish welcome. We are beginning a mission to strengthen historic ties of friendship and cooperation among the world's leading democracies. It is our deepest hope, and our earnest conviction, that we can make genuine progress together toward a safer world, a more prosperous world, a far better world.

To be able to begin our journey on this isle of wondrous beauty, with a countryside green as no other place seems to be, to be able to stand on the soil of my ancestors among all of you, is, for me, a very special gift. I want you to know that, for this great-grandson of Ireland, this is a moment of joy.

And I am returning not only to my own roots, I am returning to America's roots. So much of what America means and stands for we owe to you -- to your indomitable spirit and generosity, and to your impassioned love for liberty and independence.

There are few people on Earth whose hearts burn more with the flame of freedom than the Irish. George Washington said, "When our friendless standard was first unfurled for resistance, who were the strangers who first mustered around our staff? And

when it reeled in fight, who more bravely sustained it than Erin's generous sons?"

You did. America has always been a haven of opportunity for those seeking a new life. They, in turn, have given to us, shaped us, enriched us. And, from the beginning, when that first large party of your ancestors arrived at Newport News in 1621, your Irish blood has enriched America.

With courage and determination, you helped our struggling colony break free. Then, day-by-day, by the sweat of your brow and with an ache in your back you helped turn our small, undeveloped country into a great and mighty Nation; your hearts and minds shaped our literary and cultural history; your smiles, mirth, and song lifted our spirits with laughter and music; and always, you reminded us by your deep faith that wisdom and truth, love and beauty, grace and glory begin in Him -- our Father, our Creator, our loving God.

No wonder we have been blessed all these years by what some call "the luck of the Irish."

Today, the sons and daughters of our first Irish settlers number 40 million strong. Speaking for them, and even for those not so fortunate, may I say: We are still part of you; we have and will remain true to your values; long live Irish-American friendship.

The challenges to peace and freedom that we face today are neither easy nor free from danger. But face them we must, and surmount them we can, providing that we remember the rights of individual liberty, and of government resting on the consent of

the governed, are more than the sole possession of a chosen few; they are universal rights, gifts from God to men and women everywhere. And those rights are a crucial anchor for stability in a troubled world -- a world where peace is threatened by governments that oppress their citizens, renounce God, and prey on their neighbors. Edmund Burke's warning of nearly two centuries ago holds true today, "The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing."

Ireland today is undertaking important responsibilities in international councils, and through your peacekeeping forces, to help reduce the risks of war. The United States bears a heavy burden for strengthening economic development and preserving peace, and we are deeply grateful for Ireland's contributions.

Americans are people of peace. We have known and suffered the trauma of war, and witnessed the fruits of reconciliation. That is why we pray tolerance and reconciliation will one day unite Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland in a spirit of communion and community; and that is why those who advocate violence or engage in terrorism in Northern Ireland will never be welcome in the United States.

Looking to the future, I believe there is reason for optimism and confidence. America's economic expansion can and should bring more jobs and opportunities to your people. And the more than 300 U.S. companies based here demonstrate our clear commitment to a future of peace and well-being for all the people of Ireland, North and South.



Thank you, again, for making Nancy and me feel so welcome.

And may I speak for so many of your families and friends in America when I say the words:

"Ireland, oh Ireland . . . Country of my fathers . . .  
Mother of my yearning, love of all my longings,  
home of my heart . . ."

God bless you all.



(Rohrabacher/RR)

May 30, 1984

2:00 p.m.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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



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

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: BALLYPOREEN  
SUNDAY, JUNE 3, 1984

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



(NSC/State/Dolan/BE)  
May 30, 1984  
4:00 p.m.

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

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

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

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

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

Now of course I didn't exactly expect a chilly reception. As I look around this chamber, I know I can't claim to be a better Irishman than anyone here, but I can perhaps claim to be an Irishman longer than anyone here. I also have some other credentials: I am the great-grandson of a Tipperary man; I am the President of a country with the closest possible ties to Ireland; and I was a friend of Barry Fitzgerald. One Irishman told me he thought I would fit in: "Mr. President," he said, "you love a good story, you love horses, you love politics -- the accent we can work on."

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

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

I can assure you that Irish-Americans speak with one voice about the importance of the friendship of our two nations and the bonds of affection between us. The American people know how

profoundly Ireland has affected our national heritage and our growth into a world power; I know they want me to assure you today that your interests and concerns are ours; and that, in the United States, you have true and fast friends.

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

I know many of you recall with sadness the tragic events of last Christmas: the 5 people killed and 92 injured after a terrorist bomb went off in Harrods of London. Just the day before, a Garda recruit, Gary Sheehan, and Private Patrick Kelly, a young Irish soldier with 4 children, were slain by terrorist bullets. These two events, occurring 350 miles apart -- one in Ireland, one in Britain -- demonstrated the pitiless, indiscriminate nature of terrorist violence, a violence evil to its core and contemptible in all its forms. And it showed that the problems of Northern Ireland are taking a toll on the people of both Britain and Ireland, North and South.

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

I repeat today: There is no place for the crude, cowardly violence of terrorism -- not in Britain, not in Ireland, not in Northern Ireland. All sides should have one goal before them;

let us state it simply and directly: to end the violence, to end it completely, to end it now.

The terrorism, the sense of crisis that has existed in Northern Ireland has been costly to all. But, let us not overlook legitimate cause for hope in the events of the last few months. As you know, the dialogue is again underway between the governments here in Dublin and in London. There is also the constructive work of the New Ireland Forum. The Forum's recent report has been praised; it has also been criticized; but the important thing is that men of peace are being heard and their message of reconciliation discussed.

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

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



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

In the economic sphere, we Americans, too, are proud that our businesses have been permitted to prosper in Ireland's new economic environment. As you know, there are about 300 American businesses here providing between 35,000 and 40,000 jobs, and we are continuing to encourage this investment.

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

Men and women everywhere in our shrinking world are having the same experience. For most of mankind the oceans are no longer the fearful distances they were when my great-grandfather

Michael Reagan took weeks to reach America. Some men and women still set out with their children in small boats fleeing tyranny and deprivation. For most of us, though, the oceans and airways are now peaceful avenues thronged with ideas, people and goods going in every direction. They draw us together. Slowly, but surely, more and more people share the values of peace, prosperity and freedom which unite Ireland and America.

This year I have made two visits to America's neighbors across the Pacific, in Asia. This century has brought the Pacific nations many hardships, and many difficulties and differences remain. But what I found everywhere was energy, optimism and excitement. Some nations in Asia have produced astounding economic growth rates by providing incentives that reward initiative, by unleashing freedom. More and more, there is a sense of common destiny and possibility for all the peoples of this great region. The vast Pacific has become smaller, but the future of those who live around it is larger than ever before.

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

I believe that great opportunities do lie ahead to overcome the age-old menaces of disease and hunger and want. But moments of great progress can also be moments of great testing. President Kennedy noted when he was here that we live in a "most climactic period" but also "in the most difficult and dangerous struggle in the history of the world." He was talking about our century's struggle between the forces of freedom and

totalitarianism -- a struggle overshadowed, we all know too well, by weapons of awful destruction on both sides.

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

This is my deepest commitment, to achieve stable peace, not just by deterring aggression, but also by assuring that our economic strength helps lead the way to greater stability through growth and human progress; to be prepared with the strength of our commitment to pursue all possible avenues for arms reduction; and to be prepared with the greatest strength of all -- the spiritual strength and self-confidence that enables us to reach out to our adversaries and to tell them, "The United States of America is ready to be your friend." To all of you, who have always been our dear and trusted friends, I tell you today from my heart, America is prepared for peace.

What we are doing now in American foreign policy, is bringing an enduring steadiness, particularly in the area of arms reduction.

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

and shifting policies have sometimes left both friends and adversaries confused or disconcerted.

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

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

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

But then, after the recent deployment of intermediate missiles here in Europe, the Soviets quit the bargaining table.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Soviets seek to place the blame on the Americans for this self-imposed isolation, but they have not taken these steps by our choice. We remain ready for them to join with us and the rest of the world community to build a more peaceful world. In solidarity with our Allies, confident of our strength, we threaten no nation. Peace and prosperity are in the Soviet interest as well as ours. Let us move forward.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



of earth marked with crosses and stars of David, the graves of Americans who never came home, who gave their lives that others might live in freedom and peace.

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

All the United States is attempting to do -- with only 55 military advisors and \$474 million in aid, three-fourths of which is earmarked for economic and social development -- is give the Salvadorans the chance they want for democratic self-determination -- without outside interference.

But this the government of Nicaragua is determined not to permit. By their own admission they are supplying and training the Salvadoran guerrillas; in their own country they have not held elections in 4 years; they have all but crushed freedom of the press and moved against labor unions, outlawed political freedoms, and even sponsored mob action against Nicaragua's independent human rights commission and imprisoned its director.

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

weeks ago, the head of the Nicaraguan Bishops Conference, Bishop Pablo Antonio Vega, said, "The tragedy of the Nicaraguan people is that we are living with a totalitarian ideology that no one wants in this country."

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

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

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

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

suffering we have seen in this century, that democracies are called upon to resist.

The Irish orator James Philpot Curran, once said, "The condition upon which God hath given liberty to man is eternal vigilance." And yes, military strength is indispensable to freedom; I have seen four wars in my lifetime, none of them because the forces of freedom were too strong.

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

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

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

afraid of the tanks, of the guns, and instead we don't fear them at all."

Let us not take the counsel of our fears. Let us instead offer the world a politics of hope, a forward strategy for freedom. The words of William Faulkner, at a Nobel prize ceremony more than 3 decades ago, are an eloquent answer to those who predict nuclear doomsday or the eventual triumph of the superstate: "Man will not merely endure," he said, "he will prevail because he will return to the old verities and truths of the heart. He is immortal because he alone among creatures has a soul, a spirit capable of compassion and sacrifice and endurance."

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

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

It was toward the end of his visit here that John Fitzgerald Kennedy said: "I am going to come back and see old Shannon's face again." And on his last day in Ireland, he promised, "I certainly will come back in the springtime."

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

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