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Last Updated: 02/08/2024

(DOLAN)

MONDAY, JUNE 4, 1984

The President has seen\_\_\_

ADDRESS TO A JOINT SESSION OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT

215025 SS SP889

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 SHANNON TO GALWAY,
TO BALLYPOREEN, 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.

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 MOST
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 SO MANY CABINET
MEMBERS OF IRISH EXTRACTION. 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
AFTERNOON, 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, ACTIVE DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS HERE IN DUBLIN AND IN LONDON IS CONTINUING. 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 MORE THAN 300 AMERICAN BUSINESSES HERE
PROVIDING BETWEEN 35,000 AND 40,000 JOBS.
WE ARE CONTINUING TO ENCOURAGE THIS
INVESTMENT: AND I ASSURE YOU TODAY WE WILL
ENCOURAGE EVEN GREATER INVESTMENT FOR THE
FUTURE.

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.

IN THE LAST 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

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.

STIRRING, THE SAME OPTIMISM TOWARD A BETTER

FUTURE.

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 BEING

PREPARED TO DETER AGGRESSION, BUT ALSO BY

ASSURING THAT ECONOMIC STRENGTH HELPS LEAD

THE WAY TO GREATER STABILITY THROUGH GROWTH

AND HUMAN PROGRESS.— BEING PREPARED WITH

THE STRENGTH OF OUR COMMITMENT TO PURSUE ALL

POSSIBLE AVENUES FOR ARMS REDUCTION, AND

BEING PREPARED WITH THE GREATEST STRENGTH OF

ALL, THE SPIRITUAL STRENGTH AND

SELF-CONFIDENCE THAT ENABLES US TO REACH OUT

TO OUR ADVERSARIES. TO THEM, AND 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 SEARCH FOR ARMS REDUCTION.

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. WE BELIEVE

THERE CAN BE ONLY ONE POLICY, FOR ALL

NATIONS, IF WE ARE TO PRESERVE OUR PRECIOUS

CIVILIZATION IN THIS MODERN AGE: A NUCLEAR

WAR CANNOT BE WON AND MUST NEVER BE FOUGHT.

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 FORCES, AND THE I.N.F. 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 I.N.F.

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, THE

SOVIETS ALSO MADE SOME STEPS OF THE KIND

REQUIRED IN ANY SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS.

BUT THEN, AFTER THE FIRST DEPLOYMENT OF INTERMEDIATE-RANGE 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 NOT DEPLOYING, BUT URGING THE SOVIETS TO NEGOTIATE, THEY WERE DEPLOYING SOME 370 SS-20 MISSILES, CAPABLE OF REACHING EVERY CITY IN EVERY COUNTRY IN EUROPE. 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 I.N.F.

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 HALT,

AND EVEN REVERSE, THE DEPLOYMENT OF OUR

INTERMEDIATE-RANGE MISSILES FROM EUROPE AS

THE OUTCOME OF A VERIFIABLE AND EQUITABLE

AGREEMENT. BUT FOR SUCH AN OUTCOME TO BE

POSSIBLE, WE NEED TO HAVE THE SOVIETS RETURN

TO THE BARGAINING TABLE. BEFORE THIS BODY

AND THE PEOPLE OF EUROPE, I CALL ON THEM TO

DO SO.

INDEED, I BELIEVE WE MUST NOT BE SATISFIED, AND WE DARE NOT REST, UNTIL THE DAY WE HAVE BANISHED THESE TERRIBLE WEAPONS OF WAR FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH FOREVER.

IN ADDITION TO THE ARMS CONTROL

NEGOTIATIONS, I WANT TO STRESS TODAY THAT

THE UNITED STATES SEEKS GREATER DIALOGUE 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 SEEK SERIOUS DISCUSSIONS WITH THE

SOVIETS TO GUARD 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.

IN THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE I MENTIONED A MOMENT AGO, THE UNITED STATES AND 34 OTHER NATIONS ARE NEGOTIATING MEASURES TO LESSEN EAST-WEST TENSIONS, AND REDUCE UNCERTAINTIES ARISING FROM MILITARY ACTIVITIES IN EUROPE, THE AREA WITH THE GREATEST CONCENTRATION OF ARMED FORCES IN THE WORLD. THE 16 NATIONS OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE HAVE ADVANCED CONCRETE PROPOSALS WHICH WOULD MAKE CONFLICT IN EUROPE LESS LIKELY. THE SOVIET UNION HAS NOT ACCEPTED THESE PROPOSALS BUT HAS FOCUSED UPON A DECLARATION ON THE NON-USE OF FORCE.

MERE RESTATEMENT OF A PRINCIPLE ALL
NATIONS HAVE AGREED TO IN THE U.N. CHARTER
AND ELSEWHERE WOULD BE AN INADEQUATE
CONCLUSION TO A CONFERENCE WHOSE MANDATE
CALLS FOR MUCH MORE. WE MUST TRANSLATE THE
IDEA INTO ACTIONS WHICH BUILD EFFECTIVE
BARRIERS AGAINST THE USE OF FORCE IN EUROPE.

IF THE SOVIET UNION WILL AGREE TO SUCH CONCRETE ACTIONS, WHICH OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE ALREADY SEEM PREPARED TO ACCEPT, THIS WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT STEP FORWARD IN CREATING A MORE PEACEFUL WORLD.

IF DISCUSSIONS ON REAFFIRMING THE PRINCIPLE NOT TO USE FORCE, A PRINCIPLE IN WHICH WE BELIEVE SO DEEPLY WILL BRING THE SOVIET UNION TO NEGOTIATE AGREEMENTS WHICH WILL GIVE CONCRETE NEW MEANING TO THAT PRINCIPLE, WE WILL GLADLY ENTER INTO SUCH DISCUSSIONS. I URGE THE SOVIET UNION NOW TO JOIN ALL OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE TO MOVE PROMPTLY TO TAKE THESE STEPS WHICH WILL HELP ENSURE PEACE AND STABILITY IN EUROPE.

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 ARE TAKING 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 PROPOSED 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. THIS CAN HAVE AN IMPACT IN MANY WAYS IN MANY PLACES, AND BE A FORCE FOR GOOD.

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 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.

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 FUTURE BELONGS TO THE
FREE.

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 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 LITTLE MORE THAN 2 YEARS, THE PEOPLE OF
EL SALVADOR HAVE VOTED IN FREE ELECTIONS.
EACH TIME, THEY HAD TO BRAVE THE THREATS OF
GUERRILLAS SUPPORTED BY THE SANDINISTA
REGIME IN NICARAGUA, AND 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
HAS BEEN DETERMINED NOT TO PERMIT. BY THEIR
OWN ADMISSION THEY HAVE BEEN SUPPLYING AND
TRAINING THE SALVADORAN GUERRILLAS. IN THEIR
OWN COUNTRY THEY HAVE NEVER HELD ELECTIONS.
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, 100,000
NICARAGUAN CATHOLICS ATTENDED A RALLY ON
GOOD FRIDAY THIS YEAR TO SUPPORT THEIR
CHURCH, WHICH HAS BEEN PERSECUTED BY THE
SANDINISTAS' COMMUNIST DICTATORSHIP. IN A
HOMILY TO 4,000 NICARAGUANS PACKED INTO DON
BOSCO CHURCH SEVERAL WEEKS AGO, THE HEAD OF
THE NICARAGUAN BISHOPS CONFERENCE, BISHOP
PABLO ANTONIA VEGA, SAID, THE TRAGEDY OF
THE NICARAGUAN PEOPLE IS THAT WE ARE LIVING
WITH A TOTALITARIAN IDEOLOGY THAT NO ONE
WANTS IN THIS COUNTRY.

YOU MAY NOT HAVE HEARD ABOUT THIS
COURAGEOUS ACT OF DEFIANCE OR THE BRAVE
WORDS OF NICARAGUAN ARCHBISHOP OBANDO Y
BRAVO. TO THOSE WHO SAY THAT THE ONLY
COURSE FOR CENTRAL AMERICAN COUNTRIES IS
MARXISM-LENINISM, HE RECENTLY TOLD HIS
PEOPLE, WE CHRISTIANS MUST SHOW ANOTHER
WAY. THAT IS TO FOLLOW CHRIST, WHOSE PATH
IS THAT OF TRUTH AND LIBERTY.

THE VAST MAJORITY OF THOSE NOW

STRUGGLING FOR FREEDOM IN NICARAGUA —

CONTRARY TO WHAT THE SANDINISTAS 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.

MOREOVER, THIS IS A WORLDWIDE STRUGGLE.

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.

IN THE MOVING WORDS USED BY THE

CZECHOSLOVAK CHARTER 77 GROUP JUST A WEEK

AGO, IN REPLY TO SUPPORTERS OF NUCLEAR

DISARMAMENT IN THE WEST, UNLIKE YOU, WE

HAVE PERSONAL EXPERIENCE OF OTHER, PERHAPS

LESS CONSPICUOUS, BUT NO LESS EFFECTIVE

MEANS OF DESTROYING CIVILIZATION THAN THOSE

REPRESENTED BY THERMONUCLEAR WAR, SOME OF

US, AT THE VERY LEAST, PREFER THE RISK

INVOLVED IN MAINTAINING A FIRM STANCE

AGAINST AGGRESSION TO THE CERTAINTY OF THE

CATASTROPHIC CONSEQUENCES OF APPEASEMENT.

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 POLITICAL SYSTEMS BASED ON FREEDOM AND THOSE BASED ON A DREADFUL DENIAL OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT.

IF OUR ADVERSARIES BELIEVE WE WILL
DIMINISH OUR OWN SELF-RESPECT BY KEEPING
SILENT OR ACQUIESCING IN THE FACE OF
SUCCESSIVE CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY, 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.

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, FAULKNER SAID, HE WILL
PREVAIL. BECAUSE HE WILL RETURN TO THE
OLD VERITIES AND TRUTHS OF THE HEART. HE IS
IMMORTAL BECAUSE, ALONE AMONG CREATURES, HE
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.

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 TWO DECADES AGO BY A YOUNG AMERICAN PRESIDENT: A FUTURE OF PEACE AND 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.

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 —— AS IN
OLDEN TIME —— IN THE CAUSE OF HUMAN FREEDOM.

# # #

(DOLAN)

OMAHA BEACH MEMORIAL REMARKS

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MR. PRESIDENT, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS:
WE STAND TODAY AT A PLACE OF BATTLE, ONE
THAT 40 YEARS AGO SAW AND FELT THE WORST OF
WAR. MEN BLED AND DIED HERE FOR A FEW FEET
OR INCHES OF SAND AS BULLETS AND SHELLFIRE
CUT THROUGH THEIR RANKS. ABOUT THEM,
GENERAL OMAR BRADLEY LATER SAID: "EVERY MAN
WHO SET FOOT ON OMAHA BEACH THAT DAY WAS A
HERO."

NO SPEECH CAN ADEQUATELY PORTRAY THEIR SUFFERING, THEIR SACRIFICE, THEIR HEROISM.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN ONCE REMINDED US THAT—
THROUGH THEIR DEEDS— THE DEAD OF BATTLE
HAVE SPOKEN MORE ELOQUENTLY FOR THEMSELVES
THAN ANY OF THE LIVING EVER COULD, THAT WE
CAN ONLY HONOR THEM BY REDEDICATING
OURSELVES TO THE CAUSE FOR WHICH THEY GAVE A
LAST FULL MEASURE OF DEVOTION.

TODAY, WE DO REDEDICATE OURSELVES TO
THAT CAUSE. AND AT THIS PLACE OF HONOR, WE
ARE HUMBLED BY THE REALIZATION OF HOW MUCH
SO MANY GAVE TO THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM AND TO
THEIR FELLOW MAN.

JUNE 6TH, 1944, ARE HERE TODAY. OTHERS WHO HOPED TO RETURN NEVER DID.

"SOMEDAY, LIS, I'LL GO BACK," SAID
PRIVATE FIRST CLASS PETER ROBERT ZANATTA, OF
THE 37TH ENGINEER COMBAT BATTALION, AND
FIRST ASSAULT WAVE TO HIT OMAHA BEACH.

"I'LL GO BACK AND I'LL SEE IT ALL AGAIN.

I'LL SEE THE BEACH, THE BARRICADES, AND THE
GRAVES."

THOSE WORDS OF PRIVATE ZANATTA COME TO US FROM HIS DAUGHTER, LISA ZANATTA HENN, IN A HEART-RENDING STORY ABOUT THE EVENT HER FATHER SPOKE OF OFTEN: "THE NORMANDY INVASION WOULD CHANGE HIS LIFE FOREVER," SHE SAID.

SHE TELLS SOME OF HIS STORIES OF WORLD WAR II, BUT SAYS FOR HER FATHER "THE STORY TO END ALL STORIES WAS D-DAY."

"HE MADE ME FEEL THE FEAR OF BEING ON THAT BOAT WAITING TO LAND. I CAN SMELL THE OCEAN AND FEEL THE SEASICKNESS. I CAN SEE THE LOOKS ON HIS FELLOW SOLDIERS' FACES, THE FEAR, THE ANGUISH, THE UNCERTAINTY OF WHAT LAY AHEAD. AND WHEN THEY LANDED, I CAN FEEL THE STRENGTH AND COURAGE OF THE MEN WHO TOOK THOSE FIRST STEPS THROUGH THE TIDE TO WHAT MUST HAVE SURELY LOOKED LIKE INSTANT DEATH."

PRIVATE ZANATTA'S DAUGHTER SAYS:

I DON'T KNOW HOW OR WHY I CAN FEEL THIS

EMPTINESS, THIS FEAR, OR THIS DETERMINATION,

BUT I DO. MAYBE IT'S THE BOND I HAD WITH MY

FATHER...ALL I KNOW IS THAT IT BRINGS TEARS

TO MY EYES TO THINK ABOUT MY FATHER AS A

20-YEAR-OLD BOY HAVING TO FACE THAT BEACH.

THE ANNIVERSARY OF D-DAY WAS ALWAYS SPECIAL FOR HER FAMILY, AND LIKE ALL THE FAMILIES OF THOSE WHO WENT TO WAR, SHE DESCRIBES HOW SHE CAME TO REALIZE HER OWN FATHER'S SURVIVAL WAS A MIRACLE.

"SO MANY MEN DIED. I KNOW THAT MY
FATHER WATCHED MANY OF HIS FRIENDS BE
KILLED. I KNOW THAT HE MUST HAVE DIED
INSIDE A LITTLE EACH TIME. BUT HIS
EXPLANATION TO ME WAS 'YOU DID WHAT YOU HAD
TO DO AND YOU KEPT ON GOING."

WHEN MEN LIKE PRIVATE ZANATTA AND ALL OUR ALLIED FORCES STORMED THE BEACHES OF NORMANDY 40 YEARS AGO, THEY CAME NOT AS CONQUERORS, BUT AS LIBERATORS. WHEN THESE TROOPS SWEPT ACROSS THE FRENCH COUNTRYSIDE AND INTO THE FORESTS OF BELGIUM AND LUXEMBOURG, THEY CAME NOT TO TAKE, BUT TO RETURN WHAT HAD BEEN WRONGLY SEIZED.

WHEN OUR FORCES MARCHED INTO GERMANY, THEY
CAME NOT TO PREY ON A BRAVE AND DEFEATED
PEOPLE, BUT TO NURTURE THE SEEDS OF
DEMOCRACY AMONG THOSE WHO YEARNED TO BE FREE
AGAIN.

WE SALUTE THEM TODAY. BUT,
MR. PRESIDENT, WE ALSO SALUTE THOSE WHO,
LIKE YOURSELF, WERE ALREADY ENGAGING THE
ENEMY INSIDE YOUR BELOVED COUNTRY—
THE FRENCH RESISTANCE. YOUR VALIANT
STRUGGLE FOR FRANCE DID SO MUCH TO CRIPPLE
THE ENEMY AND SPUR THE ADVANCE OF THE ARMIES
OF LIBERATION. THE FRENCH FORCES OF THE
INTERIOR WILL FOREVER PERSONIFY COURAGE AND
NATIONAL SPIRIT; THEY WILL BE A TIMELESS
INSPIRATION TO ALL WHO ARE FREE, AND TO ALL
WHO WOULD BE FREE.

TODAY, IN THEIR MEMORY, AND FOR ALL WHO FOUGHT HERE, WE CELEBRATE THE TRIUMPH OF DEMOCRACY.

WE REAFFIRM THE UNITY OF DEMOCRATIC PEOPLES WHO FOUGHT A WAR AND THEN JOINED WITH THE VANQUISHED IN A FIRM RESOLVE TO KEEP THE PEACE.

FROM A TERRIBLE WAR, WE LEARNED THAT
UNITY MADE US INVINCIBLE, NOW, IN PEACE,
THAT SAME UNITY MAKES US SECURE. WE SOUGHT
TO BRING ALL FREEDOM-LOVING NATIONS TOGETHER
IN A COMMUNITY DEDICATED TO THE DEFENSE AND
PRESERVATION OF OUR SACRED VALUES.

OUR ALLIANCE, FORGED IN THE CRUCIBLE OF WAR, TEMPERED AND SHAPED BY THE REALITIES OF THE POST-WAR WORLD, HAS SUCCEEDED. IN EUROPE, THE THREAT HAS BEEN CONTAINED, THE PEACE HAS BEEN KEPT.

TODAY, THE LIVING HERE ASSEMBLED —

OFFICIALS, VETERANS, CITIZENS — ARE A

TRIBUTE TO WHAT WAS ACHIEVED HERE 40 YEARS

AGO. THIS LAND IS SECURE. WE ARE FREE.

THESE THINGS WERE WORTH FIGHTING —

AND DYING -- FOR.

QUOTING FROM HER FATHER, WHO PROMISED HE
WOULD RETURN TO NORMANDY. SHE ENDED WITH A
PROMISE TO HER FATHER, WHO DIED 8 YEARS AGO
OF CANCER "I'M GOING THERE...DAD, AND I'LL
SEE THE BEACHES AND THE BARRICADES AND THE
MONUMENTS. I'LL SEE THE GRAVES AND I'LL PUT
FLOWERS THERE JUST LIKE YOU WANTED TO DO...
I'LL FEEL ALL THE THINGS YOU MADE ME FEEL
THROUGH YOUR STORIES AND YOUR EYES. I'LL
NEVER FORGET WHAT YOU WENT THROUGH, DAD, NOR
WILL I LET ANYONE ELSE FORGET — AND DAD,
I'LL ALWAYS BE PROUD.

THROUGH THE WORDS OF HIS LOVING

DAUGHTER — (WHO IS HERE WITH US TODAY)

A D-DAY VETERAN HAS SHOWN US THE MEANING OF
THIS DAY FAR BETTER THAN ANY PRESIDENT CAN.

IT IS ENOUGH FOR US TO SAY ABOUT PRIVATE

ZANATTA AND ALL THE MEN OF HONOR AND COURAGE

WHO FOUGHT BESIDE HIM FOUR DECADES AGO.

WE WILL ALWAYS REMEMBER. WE WILL ALWAYS BE

PROUD. WE WILL ALWAYS BE PREPARED, SO WE

MAY ALWAYS BE FREE.

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