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WHITE HOUSE
OFFICE OF RECORDS MANAGEMENT
WORKSHEET

- X - MEDIA
- H - INTERNAL

Subject Codes:

Name of Document: BRIEFING PAPERS FOR
PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULED
APPOINTMENTS FOR MAY 11 82

PR 007.01

1) Subject: Meeting with Chief Executive
Officers of small business organizations
regarding the budget

BE 006

F1 004

2) Meeting with Chief Executive Officers
of trade organizations
regarding the budget

BE 003

3) Meeting with Chief Executive
Officers of corporations
regarding the budget

4) Address by satellite to the
American Broadcasting Corporation
meeting

UT 001

PR 016

PR 016.01

5) Luncheon for Soviet Dissidents

CO 165

HU 002

SO 003

ROUTE TO:

ACTION

DISPOSITION

Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
RMMATT	RSZ	1 1			1 1

Referral Note: _____

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
THE PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULE
Tuesday, May 11, 1982

9:00 am (30 min)	<u>Staff Time</u> (Baker, Meese, Deaver)	Oval Office
9:30 am (15 min)	<u>National Security Briefing</u> (William P. Clark)	Oval Office
9:45 am (15 min)	<u>Senior Staff Time</u>	<i>SIT. Room</i> Oval Office
10:00 am (60 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
10:55 11:00 am (20 min)	<i>MICD. C.F.?</i> <u>Meeting with Small Business Organization Chief Executive Officers</u> (Elizabeth Dole) (TAB A)	Oval Office
11:20 am (20 min)	<u>Meeting with Leaders of National Trade Associations</u> (Elizabeth Dole) (TAB B)	Cabinet Room
11:40 am (20 min)	<u>Meeting with Representatives of Business Organizations</u> (Elizabeth Dole) (TAB C)	Oval Office
<i>cancel</i> 12:00 m (10 min)	<u>Meeting with Alexander Solzhenitsyn</u> (William P. Clark)	Oval Office <i>NSC</i> (distributed separately)
12:15 pm (75 min)	<u>Luncheon with Soviet Immigrants</u> (William Clark/Muffie Brandon)	Family Dining Room, State Floor
1:30 pm (20 min)	<u>Speak via satellite to ABC Affiliates Meeting in Los Angeles</u> (Aram Bakshian/Mark Goode) (TAB D)	Library (draft remarks attached)
1:50 pm (3 hrs)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Residence
5:00 pm (30 min)	<u>Staff Time</u> (Baker, Meese, Deaver)	Residence

DCF

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULE

Tuesday, May 11, 1982

9:04

9:00 am (30 min)	<u>Staff Time</u> (Baker, Moore , Deaver)	Oval Office
9:30 am (15 min)	<u>National Security Briefing</u> <i>9:28 - 9:44</i> (William P. Clark) <i>McFARLAND</i>	Oval Office
9:45 am (15 min)	Senior Staff Time <i>SITUATION ROOM 9:45-10:03</i>	Oval Office
10:00 am (60 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u> <i>10:03 -</i>	Oval Office
11:00 am (20 min)	Meeting with Small Business Organization Chief Executive Officers <u>(Elizabeth Dole) <i>11:03 - 11:23 ?</i></u>	Oval Office
11:20 am (20 min)	Meeting with Leaders of National Trade Associations <u><i>11:25 - 11:49</i></u> (Elizabeth Dole)	Cabinet Room
11:40 am (20 min)	Meeting with Representatives of Business Organizations <u><i>11:50 -</i></u> (Elizabeth Dole)	Oval Office
12:00 m (10 min)	Meeting with Alexander Solzhenitsyn (William P. Clark)	Oval Office
12:15 pm (75 min)	<u>Luncheon with Soviet Immigrants</u> <i>12:55-</i> (William Clark/Muffie Brandon)	Family Dining Room, State Floor
1:30 pm (20 min)	Speak via satellite to ABC Affiliates <u>Meeting in Los Angeles <i>1:40 - 2:00</i></u> (Aram Bakshian/Mark Goode)	Library
1:50 pm (3 hrs)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u> <i>2:00 - 2:15 - OVAL</i>	Residence
2:00 pm (30 min)	<i>2:17 - FAMILY THEATRE - PRESS BRIEFING</i> (Baker, Moore, Deaver)	Residence

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
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1:50 pm (3 hrs)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Residence
5:00 pm (30 min)	<u>Staff Time</u> (Baker, Meese, Deaver)	Residence

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON
May 10, 1982

MEETING WITH SMALL BUSINESS CEOs

DATE: May 11, 1982
LOCATION: Oval Office
TIME: 11:00 - 11:20 a.m.

FROM: Elizabeth H. Dole *[Signature]*

I. PURPOSE

To gain support from small business for the budget compromise and attendant legislative battles. To also demonstrate your support and concern for small business.

II. BACKGROUND

This meeting is part of a series to activate grassroots support for the budget compromise. These CEOs represent the most politically potent small business organizations. They have been extremely supportive of your Economic Recovery Plan and should now be ready to actively work again. They will have been briefed on elements of the Domenici compromise at 10:30 a.m. They have some concern over the amount of taxes to be raised and the precise formula, but a strong personal appeal by you should be enough to energize them.

III. PARTICIPANTS (6)

*Jim Sanders, SBA
Follett*

*J. Baker.
W. Valis*

Wilson Johnson; President and CEO, National Federation of Independent Business
Tom Addison; Chairman and CEO, National Association of Wholesaler Distributors
Sam Washburn; President, National Cattlemen's Association
Richard Tittle; President and CEO, National Small Business Association
Paul Bell; Member of the Board, Associated General Contractors
James Sanders; Administrator, Small Business Administration

IV. PRESS COVERAGE

White House photo coverage only.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS


11:00 a.m. Guests are ushered into Oval Office. You greet your guests and take seats in the fireplace area.
11:02 a.m. You outline the progress made on negotiating a budget resolution and make a strong appeal for their support.
11:20 a.m. Guests depart.

Attachment: Talking Points

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON
May 10, 1982

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Attachment: Talking Points

SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING WITH
SMALL BUSINESS CEOs

- I want to thank you all for coming here on such short notice. I have asked you to come, however, because of the importance, and urgency, of the situation.
- We don't have the luxury of waiting any longer. We must get the budget under control to get interest rates down and deficits under control. The economic health of our country is at stake.
- As you know, we've tried to negotiate a bi-partisan budget compromise, but the Democratic leadership made that impossible. So we've adopted the Domenici plan, which will reduce the federal deficit over three years by \$416 billion. Without this plan, the deficits will rise to over \$631 billion by 1985, and we simply can't afford to let that happen.
- Frankly, I need your help now. We need your support on this budget compromise.
- Your efforts last year on behalf of my economic recovery plan helped make the difference between success and failure. This year, we will need an equally committed effort to succeed.
- Now, can I count on you?


B

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 10, 1982

MEETING WITH TRADE ASSOCIATION AND BUSINESS LEADERS

DATE: May 11, 1982
LOCATION: Cabinet Room
TIME: 11:20 - 11:40 a.m.
FROM: Elizabeth H. Dole 

I. PURPOSE

To energize the business community and enlist their maximum grassroots support for the budget compromise.

II. BACKGROUND

All the major business organizations strongly supported your economic recovery plan in 1981. This year, uncertainty over interest rates, deficits and the specific tax formulas have caused wavering. At present, the U.S. Chamber is leaning toward "neutrality" due to their concern over tax increases. The other major business organizations (National Association of Manufacturers, the Business Roundtable, the National Federation of Independent Business, and the American Business Conference) are now ready to support your budget compromise. Your strong appeal to this group is needed to produce active and vigorous support.

Prior to your arrival, the group will have been briefed on the compromise proposal by senior Administration officials.

III. PARTICIPANTS

See attached list.

IV. PRESS PLAN

Full press coverage.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

11:20 a.m. You enter the Cabinet Room, take your seat and stress the need for grassroots support.

11:25 a.m. Discussion.

11:40 a.m. You thank your guests and take your leave.

Attachments:

Participants List
Talking Points

SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING WITH
TRADE ASSOCIATION AND BUSINESS LEADERS

- Thank you all for coming. I asked you here to discuss our most critical domestic issue. The economic health of this nation now depends on our actions. We in government and you in business must join forces to reduce interest rates and get the deficit under control. The economic recovery and the future security of our nation depends on our actions.

- As you know, I tried to compromise on taxes and defense cuts. I offered to split the difference on domestic spending cuts, but the Speaker rejected my offers. Now Senator Domenici and the Republican Senate leadership have worked with us to develop a new budget plan. Our task now is to gather a bipartisan consensus around this plan.

- The compromise provides the best possibility to get deficits under control so we can get on with the business of economic recovery. You supported me last year and you were crucial in getting our package through the Congress. Now all those achievements are in jeopardy unless we act together to reach a new agreement.

- I know some of you have concerns about the amount and type of tax increases, as well as the "politics" of Social Security. I share your concerns. But the issue now is getting agreement on a plan that can pass, and we urgently need an agreement.

- I want to ask each of you: Can I count on you?

TRADE ASSOCIATION/BUSINESS CEOs

PARTICIPANT LIST: 11:00 PRESIDENTIAL MEETING, CABINET ROOM -- 5/11/82

W. Paul Thayer, CEO, LTV Corp.
Chairman, U.S. Chamber of Commerce

Clifton C. Garvin, CEO, Exxon Corp.
Chairman, The Business Roundtable

Robert F. Dee, Chairman
Smith Kline-Beckman

O. B. Butler, Chairman
Procter & Gamble Corporation

Robert A. Mosbacher, CEO
Mosbacher Production Company
Executive Committee Member,
American Business Conference

Bernard J. O'Keefe, CEO, E G & G
Vice Chairman (1982 Chairman)
National Assn. of Manufacturers

Fernando de Baca, President
Vanir Development Company and
Chairman, Latin American
Manufacturers Association

James E. Biddle, CEO, Mader Corp.
First Vice President, Association
of Wall and Ceilings Industry

William Mullins, CEO, Mullins
Grain Co. and Chairman,
National Corn Growers Association

Charles Hammon, CEO, Hammon Seed
Farms and Chairman
American Soybean Association

Theodore Brophy, CEO, GTE Corp.
Co-Chairman, The Business Roundtable

TRADE ASSOCIATION/BUSINESS LEADERS' STAFF

PARTICIPANT LIST: 11:20 PRESIDENTIAL MEETING, CABINET ROOM -- 5/11/82

Dr. Richard Rahn, Senior Vice
President/Chief Economist
U. S. Chamber of Commerce

John Post, Executive Director
The Business Roundtable

Walter Hasty, Dir. National
Government Relations and
Chairman of Business Liaison
Discussion Group

Jack M. Albertine, President
American Business Conference

Alexander Trowbridge, President
National Assn. of Manufacturers

Joe M. Baker, Executive V. P.
Associaton of Wall and Ceiling
Industry, and Chairman
Construction Industry Coalition
for the New Beginning

Michael Hall, President
National Corn Growers Assn.

John Baize, Washington Rep.
American Soybean Association

Robert Buehler, V. P. Government
Relations, B. F. Goodrich
Budget Control Working Group,
Chairman

Emmett Hines, Director of Govt.
Relations, Armstrong World Ind.
Chairman, Tax Action Group

Mike Roush, Legislative Rep.
National Federation of Independent
Business

Dirk Van Dongen, President
National Assn. of Wholesaler-
Distributors

Richard C. Creighton, Executive
Director Congressional Relations
Associated General Contractors

Herbert Liebenson, Vice President
Government Affairs
National Small Business Assn.

Participant List/Staff
11:00 5/11/82

R. William Taylor, President
American Society of Association
Executives

Burton Eller, Vice President,
Government Affairs
National Cattlemen's Association

C

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON
May 10, 1982

MEETING WITH CORPORATE CEOs

DATE: May 11, 1982
LOCATION: Oval Office
TIME: 11:45 a.m. - 12:00 noon
FROM: Elizabeth H. Dole

I. PURPOSE

To solidify support for the Domenici budget compromise from the major business groups.

II. BACKGROUND

Big business totally supported you in 1981, but has been less willing to do so in 1982 due primarily to concern over the size and shape of proposed tax increases. The National Association of Manufacturers (NAM), the Business Roundtable, and the American Business Conference (ABC) are now ready to support the Domenici compromise. The Chamber of Commerce has been holding back due to concern over their opposition to tax increases. These CEOs will have participated in your 11:00 a.m. Cabinet Room meeting with trade association and business leaders. Immediately following the Cabinet Room meeting, they will be ushered into the Oval Office for a private follow-on meeting with you.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Paul Thayer, CEO-LTV Corp.; Chairman, U.S. Chamber of Commerce
Bernie O'Keefe, CEO-EG&G Corp.; Vice Chairman, NAM
Bob Mosbacher, CEO-Mosbacher; Vice Chairman, American Business
Conference
Cliff Garvin, CEO-Exxon; Chairman, Business Roundtable
Clifton C. My.
Production Co., Houston, TX

IV. PRESS PLAN

White House Photo coverage only.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

11:45 a.m. Guests are ushered into the Oval Office and are seated in the fireplace area.
11:47 a.m. You make a special appeal for support on behalf of their major business organizations.
12:00 Noon Meeting adjourns.

Attachment:

Talking Points


THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 10, 1982

MEETING WITH CORPORATE CEOs

DATE: May 11, 1982
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11:47 a.m. You make a special appeal for support on behalf of
their major business organizations.

12:00 Noon

Meeting adjourns.

D

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 10, 1982

LIVE SATELLITE ADDRESS

DATE: May 11, 1982

LOCATION: Library

TIME: 1:30 PM

FROM: Mark Goode

I. PURPOSE

To address the ABC affiliates meeting being held in Los Angeles May 11-12. The President will give a brief statement followed by a question and answer period.

II. BACKGROUND

The President will be introduced by Roone Arledge and David Brinkley and then you will be given an opportunity to present your views to the 1600 affiliates attending.

The questions will come from the affiliate representatives only, not the correspondents or anchor persons. The group is basically supportive of the Administration and the questions will be non-hostile.

This will be live via satellite where we will switch from the White House to California.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President - at the White House

Roone Arledge - MC in Los Angeles

David Brinkley - " " " "

Phil Donahue " " " "

IV. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

From 1:30 - 1:35 will will be doing the necessary audio checking and satellite checking with the President.

1:35 - 1:40 The President will make his address

1:40 - 1:50 The President will take questions from the affiliates.

Attachments: will be supplied by the speechwriters office and Dave Gargan's office

(Parvin/AB)
May 10, 1982
10:00 a.m.

OPENING REMARKS: ABC AFFILIATES MEETING VIA SATELLITE
MAY 11, 1982

- Thank you, Roone. Say, you remember when I asked CBS for time to reply to that Bill Moyers' show? Well, this is what they gave me.
- But I really am happy to be able to speak with all of you attending the ABC Affiliates meeting in Los Angeles. I understand the heavy hitters are out there -- Leonard Goldenson, Elton Rule, and Ward Huey of the affiliates. Gentlemen, the mere mention of your names works magic. When I told Sam Donaldson I'd be talking to you, I never heard him so quiet.
- You know living and working here in Washington I sometimes have the feeling I'm on one of your series -- Fantasy Island. (Or, I hate to tell you this, but I've got bad news for the ABC fall line-up -- the Argentinians just sunk the Love Boat.) But it's always nice to get away from Washington -- even if it's by satellite -- and find out what's on peoples' minds.
- I'm told I don't have enough time to tell you about the things I would really like to fill you in on, like our nuclear reduction plan or the budget compromise, if there's to be room for questions. And, besides, I think I am going

to like q&a by satellite. If I don't like the question, I can just say we're having technical difficulties. So back to you Roone and the questions. . .

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3118

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
Sec 2 (D), E.O. 11652 as amended
White House Guidelines, Sept. 11, 2003
BY NADA LM DATE 9/5/17

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INFORMATION

May 10, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: WILLIAM P. CLARK *wpc*
SUBJECT: Your May 11 Luncheon for Soviet Dissidents

On Tuesday, May 11, at noon, you are scheduled to hold a luncheon for a group of distinguished dissidents from the Soviet Union. The purpose of this meeting is for you to familiarize yourself with the human rights movement in the USSR and to signal publicly your concern with the suppression of political, religious and ethnic freedoms there by honoring some outstanding dissidents. (C)

The nine guests represent diverse trends in the dissident movement. Alexander Solzhenitsyn, with whom you have scheduled a separate ten-minute meeting just prior to the lunch, is the outstanding spokesman of the Russian national cause. The other participants represent the Helsinki Monitoring Group, Soviet Baptists, as well as Ukrainian, Jewish and Moslem groups. (C)

You should bear in mind that nearly all these guests have spent long years in prisons and concentration camps, and in one case in a psychiatric ward. They tend to be emotional and very passionately concerned for the fate of their associates persecuted in the USSR. They will likely try to take advantage of this unique opportunity to press on you their respective causes. You should also consider that these groups do not always see eye to eye: Solzhenitsyn, in particular, is something of a loner who has attacked several of your guests (verbally) for being too Western in their orientation and not sufficiently patriotic. (C)

Attached at Tab A are talking points for your meeting with Solzhenitsyn; Tab B are talking points for the luncheon; and at Tab C is a list of participants giving brief biographic sketches of the guests. (C)

Attachments:

- Tab A Talking points for meeting with Solzhenitsyn
- Tab B Talking points for lunch
- Tab C List of participants
- Tab D Luncheon Remarks

Prepared by:
Richard Pipes

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Review May 6, 1988.

cc: The Vice President
Ed Meese
Jim Baker
Mike Deaver

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TALKING POINTS FOR PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH
ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN AT 12:00 NOON -- MAY 11, 1982

Prior to your lunch with nine dissidents from the Soviet Union, you are scheduled to meet privately for 10 minutes with one of them, Alexander Solzhenitsyn. This brief private meeting is a sign of recognition of Solzhenitsyn's achievements as a dissident and as a writer.

Solzhenitsyn is a very controversial figure in Russian dissident circles and has many enemies (some of whom will be represented at the lunch). He is a Russian nationalist who believes that Communism was imported to his country from the West and is fundamentally alien to Russian national spirit. He tends to romanticize pre-Revolutionary, tsarist Russia. He is extremely vocal in his condemnation of all compromises with the Soviet regime whether inside the USSR or outside. (His opponents, by contrast, argue that Communist despotism in the USSR is rooted in Russian history and made possible by the low level of culture of the Russian masses: Russia, in their opinion, must be Westernized before it can become a fit place to live and a peaceful member of the world community.)

During your meeting with Solzhenitsyn you may want to:

- Express admiration for him as a great writer of novels and historical documentaries and as a courageous fighter for human rights;
- Say what a great impression his three-volume historical account of Stalin's concentration camp empire, Gulag Archipelago, has made on world opinion and how much it has contributed to undermining illusions about the Soviet Union;
- Ask him about his life in Cavendish, Vermont, and whether he finds New England similar to his native Russia;
- Ask about his current work on the history of the Russian Revolution.

TALKING POINTS FOR PRESIDENT'S LUNCH WITH
DISSIDENTS FROM THE USSR -- MAY 11, 1982

-- This is a most unusual, historic occasion: never before has a President of the United States honored a group of distinguished fighters for human rights from the Soviet Union.

You may want to speak briefly to each of the guests who represent diverse trends in the Soviet dissident movement (their biographies are attached under Tab C):

- Alexander Solzhenitsyn has courageously stood up against Communist oppression and through his writings revealed Soviet reality.
- Ludmilla Alexeeva has played a key role in starting the Helsinki Monitoring Movement in the USSR to check Moscow's compliance with the Final Act.
- Valerii Chalidze has published the Chronicle of Soviet repression.
- General Peter Grigorenko has given up a prestigious life in the Soviet Army to defend the rights of Soviet minorities for which he was declared "insane" and confined to a psychiatric ward.
- Father Georgii Vins is a Baptist minister who has fought and suffered for the rights of Christians in the USSR.
- Mark Azbel has distinguished himself fighting for the rights of Soviet Jews.
- Andrei Siniavskii is a distinguished Russian writer whose novels published anonymously brought him a long jail sentence.
- Ayshe Seitmuratova is a heroic figure in the struggle of the Crimean Tatars for restitution of their homeland.
- Pavel Litvinov, the grandson of a Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs, suffered punishment for the daring act of protesting the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Many others, equally distinguished, are presently languishing in Soviet jails and camps: there are thousands of them, among whom three should be specially mentioned: Andrei Sakharov, the great fighter for democracy and arms control, now under house arrest; Yurii Orlov, the founder of the Helsinki Monitoring Group in Moscow; and Anatolii Shcharanskii, a man who fought both for the right to emigrate to Israel to join his wife and for general human rights and who now is in prison.

As the lunch ends, you may want to say in conclusion that the struggles which the guests at the luncheon and their associates in the Soviet Union have urged demonstrate that:

- The peoples of the Soviet Union have not been intimidated.
- That they share the same values as we.
- That the words and deeds of the Soviet regime are not representative of the people whom it rules.
- This is the best guarantee that some day the peoples of the Soviet Union will become peaceful and law-abiding members of the community of nations.

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS
FOR THE PRESIDENT'S LUNCH WITH
DISSIDENTS FROM THE USSR

MAY 11, 1982

NOTE: Without exception, all the participants have demonstrated unusual civic courage while in the Soviet Union, standing up for human rights in its many aspects for which they suffered imprisonment and other forms of abuse.

Ludmilla ALEXEEVA: A founding member of the Russian Helsinki Watch Group, who had travelled widely around the USSR to investigate abuses of human rights until expelled in 1977.

Mark AZBEL: A Soviet Jewish physicist who organized in Moscow illegal scientific seminars of refuseniks. Helped edit the samizdat publication, Jews in the Soviet Union. Resides in Israel but presently teaches as guest professor at the University of Pennsylvania. He left the Soviet Union in 1977.

Valerii CHALIDZE: A scientist, he was one of the earliest to get in trouble with the authorities in the struggle for human rights. Left in 1972. Presently publishes Russian political literature in New York.

General Peter GRIGORENKO: A distinguished Soviet Army general and once an ardent Communist, he took up in the 1960s the cause of the Crimean Tatars whom Stalin had expelled from their homeland in 1944; cashiered from the service, he was committed to psychiatric wards. An Ukrainian by origin.

Pavel LITVINOV: The grandson of Stalin's Minister of Foreign Affairs, he was arrested and tried for organizing in 1968 a demonstration in Red Square protesting the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Ayshe SEITMURATOVA: A Muslim Tatar from the Crimea. In 1944 suffered with all her people mass deportations ordered by Stalin. Ever since has fought for the right of her people to return to the Crimea for which she was arrested numerous times.

Andrei SINIAVSKII: An eminent writer and editor, he published for years in the Soviet Union under the pen-name "Abram Tertz." Caught in 1965 he was given a prominent trial, served a long sentence in camp.

Alexander SOLZHENITSYN: The prominent writer and author of Gulag Archipelago, was expelled in 1975.

Father Georgii VINS: A Baptist minister, spent many years in camps for his Christian activities.

(Elliott/AB)
May 10, 1982
11:00 a.m.

REMARKS FOR LUNCHEON WITH SOVIET EMIGRES AND EXILES
MAY 11, 1982

I would like you to know, on behalf of our countrymen, how honored we are to welcome you to the White House -- the people's house in America.

I believe you are the first group of fighters for freedom and human rights in the Soviet Union ever to be received in the White House. And that, of course, is a source of great satisfaction to us.

But there is something even more important about your visit. You may come from different regions, represent different faiths and nationalities, but you are united by a bond every bit as strong as it is rare: You live for truth; you fight for truth, and you have proved you are willing to risk your lives for it.

The seemingly all-powerful Soviet state is still terrified of the brave voices and acts of courage like your own. With the sacrifices you have made, you redeem your national honor. Freedom itself is in your debt. You demonstrate that Russians and other national groups of the Soviet Union share our common ideals, and that the actions of the Soviet Government do not represent its peoples' real feelings and aspirations.

My only regret, is that we cannot look at these tables and see the faces of Andrei Sakharov, Anatoly Shcharansky, and Yuri Orlov -- and all those others who have been deprived of their freedom for the crime of wanting freedom for their people.

We do not want them to have to leave their beloved countries, as you had to do. No, our hope, our challenge, is that someday, they may wake up knowing there will be no more persecution, no more pain, just because they love the truth, strive for a greater good, and believe in God.

Alexander Herzen wrote: "To shrink from saying a word in defense of the oppressed is as bad as any crime . . ." I pledge to you that the United States will speak out, will stand up for, and will defend the values we share.

Communists boast they will crush democratic freedoms. Well, let us tell them: you can imprison your people, you can close their schools, you can take their books, harass their priests and smash their unions. You can never destroy the love of God and freedom that burns in their hearts -- they will triumph over you.

Andrei Sakharov, imprisoned, but unbowed, told the West: "Everything is as it was under the system of power and economy created by Stalin." But he added: "I consider the United States the historically determined leader of the movement toward a pluralist and free society, vital to mankind."

We Americans must respond to that challenge. We must remember that freedom was not won here without the help of others; that people who turn their backs on friends often lose what they cherish most for themselves, and that freedom is never more than one generation from extinction.

Thank you again for coming today, for reminding us what we stand for, and what all of us, together, must do. God bless you all.