

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library Digital Library Collections

This is a PDF of a folder from our textual collections.

Collection: Blackwell, Morton: Files
Folder Title: American Legion I:
American Legion – Washington Conference, 1983
Box: 42

To see more digitized collections visit:

<https://reaganlibrary.gov/archives/digital-library>

To see all Ronald Reagan Presidential Library inventories visit:

<https://reaganlibrary.gov/document-collection>

Contact a reference archivist at: reagan.library@nara.gov

Citation Guidelines: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/citing>

National Archives Catalogue: <https://catalog.archives.gov/>

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 18, 1983

MEETING WITH THE AMERICAN LEGION
DATE February 22, 1983
LOCATION Washington Hilton Hotel
TIME 11 am

FROM: Red Cavaney

I. PURPOSE

To receive the American Legion's highest Award, the Distinguished Service Award and to make a major foreign policy address to the 23rd annual American Legion Washington Conference.

II. BACKGROUND

The American Legion now has 2.7 million members and 1 million members of its ladies auxiliary. The Legion has been supportive of most of your major legislation, including the 1981 budget and tax cuts. Unlike the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Legion does not have a PAC.

You are a life member of the American Legion. You were scheduled to receive their Distinguished Service Award at their national convention last year but had to change your schedule due to the death of Dr. Loyal Davis.

Because of his role in offering you this award last year, immediate past National Commander Jack Flynt will join current National Commander Al Keller in presenting the award to you.

The 1,200 Legionaires present are either volunteer service workers from local posts or members of the Legion's national commissions on veterans affairs, national security, foreign relations, legislation, economics and Americanism.

III. PARTICIPANTS

See Schedule

IV. PRESS PLAN

See Schedule

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

See Schedule

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 18, 1983

MEETING WITH THE AMERICAN LEGION
DATE February 22, 1983
LOCATION Washington Hilton Hotel
TIME 11 am

FROM: Red Cavaney

I. PURPOSE

To receive the American Legion's highest Award, the Distinguished Service Award and to make a major foreign policy address to the 23rd annual American Legion Washington Conference.

II. BACKGROUND

The American Legion now has 2.7 million members and 1 million members of its ladies auxiliary. The Legion has been supportive of most of your major legislation, including the 1981 budget and tax cuts. Unlike the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Legion does not have a PAC.

You are a life member of the American Legion. You were scheduled to receive their Distinguished Service Award at their national convention last year but had to change your schedule due to the death of Dr. Loyal Davis.

Because of his role in offering you this award last year, immediate past National Commander Jack Flynt will join current National Commander Al Keller in presenting the award to you.

The 1,200 Legionaires present are either volunteer service workers from local posts or members of the Legion's national commissions on veterans affairs, national security, foreign relations, legislation, economics and Americanism.

III. PARTICIPANTS

See Schedule

IV. PRESS PLAN

See Schedule

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

See Schedule

bcc: Norton Blackwell

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 2, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR BILL SADLEIR

FROM: RED CAVANEY 

SUBJECT: American Legion Washington Conference
February 24-26, 1983

As a follow up to my earlier conversations with you and Fred, I am affixing a copy of our schedule proposal for consideration by you.

As you may recall, last August we were forced to cancel the President's scheduled appearance before a joint gathering of the American Legion and the American Legion Auxiliary. The annual Washington conference of these two groups in late February provides us with an excellent opportunity to remove any remaining American Legion concerns about last year's cancellation.

If at all possible, I would recommend an early acceptance by you for the President to appear before a joint gathering of the Legion and its Auxiliary here in February. I'm reluctant to broach the subject of the two groups coming together again without an indication from you that such may be possible.

Could I please have your thoughts?

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 1, 1982

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

TO: WILLIAM SADLEIR, DIRECTOR
PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS AND SCHEDULING

FROM: ELIZABETH H. DOLE *EL*

REQUEST: That the President briefly address the women of the American Legion Auxiliary at the Auxiliary Awareness Assembly.

PURPOSE: The American Legion Auxiliary is made up of concerned women around the country who are pro-defense and very supportive of this Administration. Earlier this year, the President had agreed to address their convention but had to cancel. It is my understanding that the President committed himself to address a future convention. They have requested that Ambassador Kirkpatrick address the group and a memo has been sent to her encouraging her to accept and address the defense issue. As an accomplished top-level woman she could communicate an issue which is misunderstood by a number of women. A Presidential visit would highlight the event for national press coverage.

BACKGROUND: The purpose of the Awareness Assembly is to focus in on key issues (strategic arms control, the nuclear freeze, criminal justice, jobs for veterans, and POW/MIA.

For the most part, the audience will be made up of women leaders from every state in the union as well Panama, Puerto Rico, and the Phillippines.

DATE: Thursday evening, February 24 at 7:30; or Friday afternoon, February 25; or Saturday morning, February 26.

LOCATION: Washington Hilton Hotel, Washington, D. C.

PARTICIPANTS: 400 - 600 women leaders

OUTLINE OF EVENT: President to present 10 - 15 minute remarks

REMARKS REQUIRED: Brief remarks

MEDIA COVERAGE: National press, cable to military

RECOMMENDED BY: Dee Jepsen

OPPOSED BY:

PROJECT OFFICER: Dee Jepsen

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM

1/14/83

TO: WILLIAM HENKEL *****

FROM: WILLIAM K. ^{Full}SADLEIR

SUBJ: APPROVED PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY

PLEASE IMPLEMENT THE FOLLOWING AND NOTIFY AND CLEAR ALL PARTICIPANTS. THE BRIEFING PAPER AND REMARKS SHOULD BE SUBMITTED TO RICHARD DARMAN BY 3:00 P.M. OF THE PRECEDING DAY.

NOTE: AS PROJECT OFFICER FOR THIS ACTIVITY, IT IS YOUR RESPONSIBILITY TO SUBMIT A COMPLETE, CONFIRMED LIST OF STAFF AND ATTENDEES, IDENTIFIED BY TITLE, TO THE OFFICE OF PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS AND SCHEDULING WITHIN FIVE (5) DAYS AFTER THE EVENT.

MEETING: Speak at Washington Conference of American Legion

DATE: February 22, 1983

TIME: 11:00 am

DURATION: 30 minutes

LOCATION: Washington Hilton Hotel

REMARKS REQUIRED: Yes

MEDIA COVERAGE: Coordinate with Press Office

FIRST LADY PARTICIPATION: No

Jerry

Don

is advance

7565

***** Coordinate with Red Cavaney

- | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|------------|
| cc: A. Bakshian | M. McManus | E. Dole |
| M. Brandon | J. Rosebush | R. Cavaney |
| R. Darman | B. Shaddix | |
| R. DeProspero | W. Sittmann | |
| D. Fischer | L. Speakes | |
| C. Fuller | WHCA Audio/Visual | |
| W. Henkel | WHCA Operations | |
| E. Hickey | A. Wroblewski | |

Meeting with

mylio on

Thursday



MYLIO S. KRAJA

Executive Director

Washington Office

THE AMERICAN LEGION

1608 K Street, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20006

202-861-2711

**THIS
MAY
INTEREST
YOU!**

The American Legion

★ WASHINGTON OFFICE ★ 1608 "K" STREET, N. W. ★ WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006 ★
(202) 861-2711 ★



OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

November 3, 1982

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

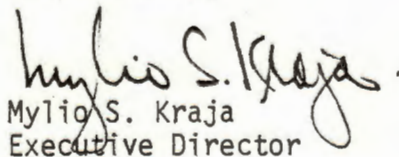
Dear Mr. President:

The American Legion respectfully requests your presence to address 1200 Legionnaires from all our States that will be assembled for our Annual Washington Conference February 20-23, 1983. We also wish to award you our most prestigious Medal that was voted to you for presentation at our National Convention in Chicago last August, which, unfortunately, you were unable to attend. Finally, The American Legion wishes, through our National Commander Al Keller, Jr., to present the Resolutions emanating from our 1982 National Convention. These Resolutions deal with our concerns for this Nation, its people, our veterans and our youth.

The Legionnaires will be gathering for a meeting, and your speech on Tuesday, February 22, 1983, in the Presidential Ballroom at the Capital Hilton Hotel, Washington, D.C.

Your early, favorable response will ensure a packed house, plus the opportunity to complete plans to the satisfaction of you and your staff. This assembly will be from 9:00 to 11:30 a.m. on February 22, 1983.

Respectfully,


Mylio S. Kraja
Executive Director

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 22, 1983

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE
AMERICAN LEGION ANNUAL CONFERENCE

Capital Hilton Hotel
Washington, D.C.

11:10 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Commander Keller, honored guests and fellow legionnaires, I thank you for that warm welcome and for the high honor that you have bestowed on me. And let me also thank you for the recognition you've given to a distinguished veteran and outstanding legislative leader -- my good friend Bob Michel. I can't think of a more deserving recipient than Bob Michel for the Legion's Distinguished Public Service Award. I also deeply appreciate Commander Keller's recent telegram to me committing the Legion's support for our government's efforts to achieve an accounting of our missing men. (Applause.)

It is always a special pleasure and honor to address the National Convention of the Legion. Each meeting is more than a joyous reunion of old comrades from days gone by; it is a reminder of those who cannot be here -- those who gave their last full measure of devotion so that we and our children could enjoy the blessings of freedom in peace.

This 23rd annual meeting here in Washington, my second speech to a national convention of the Legion, is a suitable occasion for taking stock. Back in August of 1980, when you gathered in Boston, I asked for your help and the help of millions of other Americans, to reverse a dangerous course America had drifted on for too long. I said then that, together, it was our duty to begin to choose a new road -- a road to peace built upon a realistic understanding of our nation's strength and continuing faith in her values. America has chosen that new road. And today I'd like to report on the progress we have made in the past two years in our quest for peace and freedom in an uncertain world.

I know of no more appropriate forum than this convention for such a report. When Dwight Eisenhower addressed this body in 1954, he said, "To help keep America strong, to help keep her secure, to help guide her on the true path to peace, there is no group better qualified than you of the American Legion."

In recent days I have received reports from four senior members of this administration who have returned from assignments that took them to the far corners of the globe. Vice President Bush was warmly received in Europe, where he helped clear up many misconceptions about American policy. Secretary of State Shultz undertook an extensive tour of the Far East. Our Ambassador to the United Nations, Jeane Kirkpatrick, has returned from a mission to South and Central America. And my National Security Advisor, Bill Clark, reported back from conferences in Europe with our arms control negotiators, Paul Nitze and Ed Rowny.

The reports of all these capable officials have given us a timely survey of the international scene. It's an encouraging one, marking substantial progress since that day in August of 1980 when I asked for and received your help.

MORE

The international situation then was truly alarming for all who cared about America and the cause of peace and freedom. Our country was the target for countless political and terrorist attacks all around the globe. In the view of many of our friends, we had become an uncertain ally; in the view of potential adversaries, we had become a dubious deterrent to aggression. Our position in the U.N. had eroded to unacceptable levels, and our strength as a world power according to every index -- moral, political, military, economic -- had deteriorated to such an extent that the enemies of democracy and international order felt they could take advantage of this weakness. The Soviets sent their Cuban mercenaries to Angola and Ethiopia, used chemical weapons against innocent Laotians and Cambodians, and invaded Afghanistan -- all with impunity. Perhaps the most degrading symbol of this dismal situation was the spectacle of Iranian terrorists seizing American hostages and humiliating them and our country for more than a year.

How did all this happen? Well, the answer is: America had simply ceased to be a leader in the world. This was not the exclusive fault of any one leader or party -- and it will take a truly bipartisan effort to make things right again.

For too long, our foreign policy had been a pattern of reaction to crisis, reaction to the political agendas of others, reaction to the offensive actions of those hostile to freedom and democracy. We were forever competing on territory picked by our adversaries, with the issues and timing all chosen by them. And no one knows better than combat veterans that once you're on the defensive, you can't go forward. The only movement left to you is retreat.

Some of our opinion molders had ceased to believe that we were a force for good in the world. They were ashamed that America was wealthy in a world with so much poverty. They rarely, if ever, explained that America's wealth came not from exploitation or mere good luck but from the hard work of the American people, from risk-taking by American investors, from the creativity of American inventors and entrepreneurs, and a free system of incentives.

Too many of our leaders saw the Soviets as a mirror image of themselves. If we would simply disarm, the Soviets would do likewise. They spent all their time viewing the world the way they wished it was, not the way it really is. And that's no way to protect the peace.

Their approach ignored the central focus of politics -- the minds, hearts, sympathies, fears, hopes, and aspirations not of governments, but of people. The 20th century has witnessed -- and America has led the way in -- the rising participation of all the people in international politics. Yet, even in this age of mass communications, too many of our leaders ignored this critical dimension.

Too many of our policy makers had lost touch with changing world realities. They failed to realize that to be an effective force for peace today, America must successfully appeal to the sympathies of the world's people -- the global electorate. We can't simply be anti-this, and anti-that. We can't simply react defensively to the political proposals of others, sometimes criticizing them, sometimes accommodating them, without positive alternative solutions to basic human problems.

At bottom, they ignored our responsibility to work for constructive change, not simply to try to preserve the status quo.

MORE

Fortunately, the American people sense this dangerous drift and by 1980, a national reawakening was underway. A reawakening that resulted in a new sense of responsibility, a new sense of confidence in America and the universal principles and ideals on which our free system is based.

It is not an arrogant demand that others adopt our ways. It's a realistic belief in the relative and proven success of the American experiment. What we see in America today, in spite of the many economic hardships we're facing, is a renewed faith in the rightness of our system. That system has never failed us. We have failed the system every time we forgot the fundamental principles upon which it was based.

For America to play its proper role in the world, we had to set our own house in order. Our first and highest priority was to restore a sound economic base here at home. We had to put an end to the inflationary spiral which had been scourging this country for years, creating misery among those who have to survive on fixed incomes, destroying long-term capital markets and mortgaging the future of our children and grandchildren. Then we had to lay the foundation for a recovery which would be based on sustainable growth without unleashing the inflationary monster again on ourselves and the world.

Well, we've achieved our first economic goal and we're well embarked on the second. Inflation, which was in double digits in 1979 and 1980, was only 3.9 percent in 1982 and in the last quarter was down to an annualized rate of only 1.1 percent.

The other essential precondition of a strengthened and purposeful foreign policy was the rebuilding of our foundation of our military strength. "To be prepared for war," George Washington said, "is the most effectual means of preserving peace." Well, it's precisely because we're committed to peace that we have a moral obligation to ensure America's defense credibility.

Now, I realize that many, well-meaning people deplore the expenditure of huge sums of money for military purposes at a time of economic hardship. Similar voices were heard in the 1930's, when economic conditions were far worse than anything we're experiencing today. But the result of heeding those voices then was a disastrous military imbalance that tempted the forces of tyranny and evil and plunged the world into a ruinous war. Possibly some of you remember drilling with wooden guns and doing maneuvers with cardboard tanks. We must never repeat that experience. (Applause).

Now, for two decades, the Soviet Union has been engaged in building up the most powerful military forces in all man's history. During this period, the United States limited its own military spending to the point that our investment in defense actually declined in real terms while Soviet investment was nearly double our own during the decade of the '70's. Neither our limiting or cancelling of important weapon systems nor the efforts of a decade's worth of arms control agreements and negotiations have stopped or even slowed the Soviet leadership's pursuit of global military superiority.

Well, two years ago, we began the long, tough job of rebuilding America's defenses after those years of systematic underfunding and neglect. And today we're on the verge of putting in place a defense program adequate to our security needs. If we show the resolve to sustain the necessary levels of military spending, and with your support and that of millions of other concerned citizens, we can, we can restore and deterrence, and we can better protect the peace.

Now, let me address our foreign policy strategy. Some people have said we don't have one. (Laughter.) One of the first things this administration did was what we believed the American people had demanded of us -- namely, to be realistic about the nature of the world and our adversaries, and to speak the unadulterated truth about them. Making excuses for bad behavior only encourages bullies and invites aggression.

Pursuing a policy of honesty and realism toward the Soviets doesn't mean that productive relations between our two nations are impossible. What is required for such relations is restraint and reciprocity. Restraint must be demonstrated not only by words but by deeds. We respect international law and the independence of other peoples. The Soviets need only respond in kind.

Fortunately, America is far from alone in its quest for a peaceful, prosperous and humane international order. With us stand our friends and allies, in particular the democracies of Europe, of Latin America, Asia and the Pacific. With us in spirit also are millions of people in Poland and other Soviet-dominated countries, as well as in the Soviet empire itself. I received a snapshot the other day that had been smuggled out of Poland.

And I was so proud. It was smuggled out just for the purpose of delivering it to me. It was a picture, a little photograph snapshot of a tiny little girl and a small boy holding a cardboard sign on which was printed things in Polish, and they sent the translation. It said, "Our father is sitting in prison for Solidarity." And the look of sorrow, of pathos on the little girl's face was the most touching thing you can imagine.

Maintenance of our allied partnerships is a key to our foreign policy. The bedrock of European security remains the NATO alliance. NATO is not just a military alliance. It's a voluntary political community of free men and women based on shared principles and a common history. The ties that bind us to our European allies are not the brittle ties of expediency or the weighty shackles of complusion. They resemble what Abraham Lincoln called the "mystic chords of memory" uniting peoples who share a common vision. So, let there be no doubt on either side of the Atlantic. The freedom and independence of America's allies remain as dear to us as our own.

The Soviets' fundamental foreign policy is to break the link that binds us to our NATO allies. Their growing nuclear threat to Europe, especially since the mid-seventies, has a political as well as a military purpose, the deliberate fostering of a sense of insecurity among the peoples of Western Europe, and pressure for accommodation to the Soviet power.

The ultimate Soviet goal in Europe is to force the nations to accommodate themselves to Soviet interests on Soviet terms. We should all know just what those terms are. We need look no further than the Berlin Wall and the Iron Curtain. The truth is something that we and our NATO allies must not hesitate to use to counter the slurs and threats made against us. Speaking the truth was one of the primary missions accomplished by Vice President Bush

MORE

in his recent European trip. He cleared the air of misinformation, indeed, of deliberate falsehoods. He reaffirmed America's fundamental commitment to peace. We are not in the business of imperialism, aggression, or conquest. We threaten no one. Soviet leaders know full well there is no political constituency in the United States or anywhere in the West for aggressive military action against them.

Vice President Bush reaffirmed our commitment to serious, mutual, and verifiable arms reductions. Our proposal is a serious one. And it represents real arms reduction, not merely the ratification of existing levels of weaponry on both sides.

The Vice President, also, conveyed my willingness to meet anytime and anywhere with Mr. Andropov to sign an agreement that would eliminate an entire class of weapons from the face of the earth. (Applause.) And that offer still stands.

Finally, he conveyed our belief that success in reducing significantly the strategic arsenals of both sides depends on continued Allied unity, and a determination to face and speak the truth about the threat confronting us.

I have a deep, personal commitment to achieving an arms-reduction agreement at the negotiations in Geneva on intermediate-range nuclear forces. We and our allies are in full agreement that the proposal that I have made for the complete elimination of the entire class of longer-range, land-based INF missiles remains the best and most moral outcome. We are negotiating in good faith in Geneva. And ours is not a take-it-or-leave-it proposal. Our negotiations in Geneva are premised upon sound principles, supported by all the Allies after long and careful consultation.

These principles include the only basis on which a fair agreement can be reached -- is that of equality of rights and limits between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. As a corollary, British and French strategic systems are, by definition, not a part of these bilateral negotiations and, therefore, not to be considered in them.

In addition, Soviet proposals which had the effect of shifting the threat from Europe to Asia cannot be considered reasonable. And finally, as in all areas of arms control, it will be essential that an INF agreement be underwritten by effective measures for verification. (Applause.)

Now, we view these negotiations as offering the best hope of assuring peace and stability through the reduction of INF systems. Toward that end, Ambassador Nitze has been instructed to explore in Geneva every proposed solution consistent with the principles to which the Alliance subscribes.

MORE

Any discussion of alliances, friends and concerns of the United States must give special attention to Asia. The U.S.-Japanese relationship remains the centerpiece of our Asian policy. Together, the United States and Japan can make an enormous contribution to the economic dynamism and technological progress needed for economic growth and development throughout the world. In Asia, itself, we continue to strengthen our partnership in support of peace. Prime Minister Nakasone and I affirmed our commitment to this partnership during his recent visit to Washington. Secretary Shultz' visit to Tokyo underscored it.

Our relationship with the People's Republic of China is another important one, not only for stability and peace in Asia, but around the globe. During his visit to Beijing, Secretary Shultz and -- many hours of frank and useful discussions with Chinese leaders. The most important thing to emerge from these talks was that, despite our differences, it is clear that both sides value this relationship and are committed to improve it.

As we rebuild our relationship with China, we will not forget our other friends in the area. We are committed to maintaining our relationship with the people of Taiwan, with whom we have had a long and honorable association. (Applause.) Our ties with the Republic of Korea remain strong, as troops of our two nations jointly protect that divided land against threatened aggression from the north. Incidentally, I must say, Secretary Shultz went up to the dividing line -- the demilitarized zone and met with our troops up there, some of whom were just going out on patrol for the night in that zone. And he came back with such glowing stories of the morale and the esprit de corps of our men there. And I've heard the same from the European theatre. We need have no concern about the will and determination of our sons around the world who are representing -- (applause) -- I wonder if I could take a second -- I didn't intend to do this and I've told it to some other people before. But it's a letter I received from one of our ambassadors in Europe. He had been up in the East German frontier visiting the Second Armored Cavalry Regiment. And he spoke glowingly of them. But in his letter he said that when he went to his helicopter, he was followed by a 19 year old trooper who asked him if he thought he could get a message to me. Being an Ambassador, he allowed as how he could. (Laughter.) The kid stood there and then said, "Mr. Ambassador, will you tell the President, we're proud to be here and we ain't scared of nothing?" (Laughter. Applause.)

In Southeast Asia, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, ASEAN, as it's called, is cooperating to improve the economic, cultural and educational growth of that region. Our country has strong mutual ties with ASEAN and its individual members. And the ANZUS Pact with Australia and New Zealand is one of the most significant relationships we have in the world today.

But in many of the important regions of the world, active conflicts take innocent lives, stunt economic growth and block social progress. The United States has a unique ability and responsibility to work for peace in these regions.

In the Middle East, we're working to convince the peoples of the area that lasting peace and security can only come through direct negotiations, not the use of armed force. A secure and lasting peace for Israel and its Arab neighbors, including a resolution of the Palestinian problem that satisfies that people's legitimate rights, is a fundamental objective of our foreign policy.

We've launched a new initiative designed to accelerate and broaden the negotiation process begun at Camp David. That process fulfilled the principle of exchanging occupied territory for peace between Israel and Egypt. Today, I repeat my call to the Arab world to accept the reality of Israel, the reality that peace and justice are to be gained only through direct negotiation. King Hussein should be supported in his effort to bring together a joint Jordanian-Palestinian team to negotiate the future of the West Bank, Gaza and Jerusalem.

We also continue to work for the total withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon so that country can once again be an independent sovereign state. We call on Syria, the PLO and Israel to withdraw their forces from Lebanon in the shortest possible time. A continued occupation of Lebanon by these forces can only serve the interests of those who wish to undermine the cause of peace.

This administration is prepared to take all necessary measures to guarantee the security of Israel's northern borders in the aftermath of complete withdrawal of the Israeli Army. But peace can only evolve through freely negotiated agreements, not solutions imposed by force.

The world is going through a period of great economic instability, one that poses significant dangers to world security. We and our allies must demonstrate the political courage to cooperate in undertaking the necessary remedies, particularly when these remedies require near-term sacrifices. Never has it been more true that we will all hang separately if we do not hang together.

A key element of our relationship with countries around the world is the economic link that unites us with trading partners. I will not go into great detail today about the international economic and trade policies; but one point I want to make is that it is and will be our policy to oppose protectionism at home and abroad and to foster the continued pattern of ever freer trade which has served the world so well. And it must also be fair trade. (Applause).

Closely related to the trade and economic component of our foreign policy is our relationship with the developing world. I'm convinced that the time has come for this country and others to address the problems of the developing nations in a more forthright and less patronizing way. The fact is that massive infusions of foreign aid have proven not only ineffective in stimulating economic development in the Third World, in many cases they've actually been counterproductive. That kind of foreign aid is nothing more than welfare payments on a global scale and is just as ineffectual and degrading. Our economic assistance

MORE

must be carefully targeted and must make maximum use of the energy and efforts of the private sector. This philosophy is reflected in the Caribbean Basin Initiative I announced a year ago. Its goal is to combine trade, aid and incentives for investment into a balanced arrangement that encourages self-help for the people of the Caribbean Basin. Again and again, leaders of these countries have told me that they don't want a hand-out, only help to improve their own lives by their own efforts.

An important part of such help is exposure to the effective management practices and economic thinking that contribute so much to successful development in the advanced economies like our own. There is no more damaging misconception than the notion that capitalism is an economic system benefitting only the rich. Economic freedom is the world's mightiest engine for abundance and social justice. In our own country it has created more wealth and distributed it more widely among our people than in any other society known to man. Developing countries need to be encouraged to experiment with the growing variety of arrangements for profit sharing and expanded capital ownership that can bring economic betterment to their people.

Of course, economic problems are not the only ones that developing countries must contend with. The volatile combination of poverty with social and political instability makes many of these countries national* targets for subversion by the new colonialism of the totalitarian left. When countries must divert their scarce resources from economic development in order to fight imported terrorism or guerrilla warfare, economic progress is hard to come by. Security assistance, therefore, is an integral part of our aid policy with respect to Latin America and the developing world in general.

We face a special threat in Central America where our own national security is at risk. Central America is too close to us, and our strategic stake in the Caribbean sea lanes and the Panama Canal is too great for us to ignore reality. The spectre of Marxist-Leninist controlled governments in Central America with ideological and political loyalties to Cuba and the Soviet Union poses a direct challenge to which we must respond. Poverty together with social and political instability make a volatile combination which the new colonialists of the totalitarian left are trying to exploit for their own cynical purposes.

The reaffirmation of democracy in Costa Rica in their elections of last year, the transition from military rule to elected civilian government in Honduras, and the launching of democracy in El Salvador with the successful elections last March prove that we're on the right course.

Thanks to this progress, Marxist revolution is no longer seen as the inevitable future of Central America. Democracy, with free elections, free labor unions, freedom of religion, and respect for the integrity of the individual is the clear choice of the overwhelming majority of Central Americans.

But economic reform needs time to work, and democracy must be nurtured in countries where it doesn't have long traditions. We must ensure that the governments of El Salvador and other Central American countries can defend themselves against the Marxist guerrillas and (who) receive guns, training, and money through Cuba and Nicaragua. The United States cannot and will not allow Marxist terrorism and subversion to prevail in Central America. (Applause.)

MORE

* natural

At the same time, we will continue, through our own efforts and through supporting efforts by other democracies of Latin America, to explore all possibilities for reconciliation and peace in Central America. But let me make it plain -- there we will never abandon our friends and we will never abandon our conviction that legitimate political power can be gained through competition at the ballot box in free, open, and orderly elections. (Applause.)

Ambassador Kirkpatrick, on her recent trip to Latin America, engaged in extensive consultations with leaders of the region and assured them that we would pursue our common efforts to foster economic development, assist with security concerns, and strengthen the forces of freedom.

Last June, when I addressed the British Parliament, I outlined the all-embracing goal of our foreign policy. I observed that Americans have a positive vision of the future, of the world -- a realistic and idealistic vision. We want to see a world that lives in peace and freedom under the consent of the governed. So far, however, we and the other democracies haven't done a very good job of explaining democracy and free economy to emerging nations.

Some people argue that any attempt to do that represents interference in the affairs of others -- an attempt to impose our way of life. It's nothing of the kind. Every nation has the right to determine its own destiny. But to deny that democratic values and that they have any relevance to the developing world today, or to the millions of people who are oppressed by Communist domination, is to reject the universal significance of the basic timeless credo that all men are created equal -- and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights.

People living today in Africa, in Latin America, in Central Asia, possess the same inalienable right to choose their own governors and decide their own destiny as we do. By wedding the timeless truths and values Americans have always cherished to the realities of today's world, we have forged the beginnings of a fundamentally new direction in American foreign policy -- a policy based on the unashamed, unapologetic explaining of our own priceless free institutions and proof that they work and describing the social and economic progress they so uniquely foster.

History is not a darkening path twisting inevitably toward tyranny, as the forces of totalitarianism would have us believe. Indeed, the one clear pattern in world events -- a pattern that has grown with each passing year of this century -- is in the opposite direction. It is the growing determination of men and women of all races and conditions to gain control of their own destinies and to free themselves from arbitrary domination. More than any other single force, this is the driving aspiration that unites the human family today -- the burning desire to live unhindered in a world that respects the rights of individuals and nations. Now, I'll admit we're wrong when we have to put barbed wire up to keep our people from leaving this country.

Nothing makes me prouder of the country that I serve than the fact that, once again, America leads the vanguard of this movement. So, let's turn off and tune out on those voices which for too long would have us cringing under the weight of a guilt complex.

MORE

It is America that has proposed the elimination of an entire class of nuclear weapons from the face of the earth, that has called for a 50-percent reduction in intercontinental strategic missiles. It is America that has helped end the siege of Beirut and is effectively working to broaden the Middle East peace process. It is America that works closely with the American frontline -- or the African frontline states, I should say -- and our European Allies for peace in Southern Africa, and that worked tirelessly with both Britain and Argentina to seek a peaceful resolution of the conflict in the South Atlantic.

It is America that encourages the trend toward democracy in Latin America and elsewhere in the world, and cooperates with the Muslim countries and all those who want an end to the brutal Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. It is America that joins with other free peoples in calling for reconciliation and an end to oppression in Poland.

And, yes, it is America that leads the world in contributions to humanitarian and refugee programs, and to assistance programs to help the less fortunate nations of the world.

Isn't it time for us to reaffirm an undeniable truth that America remains the greatest force for peace anywhere in the world today. (Applause.) For all the stress and strain of recent ordeals, the United States is still a young nation, a nation that draws renewed strength not only from its material abundance and economic might, but from free ideals that are as vibrant today as they were more than two centuries ago when that small but gallant band we call our Founding Fathers pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor to win freedom and independence.

My fellow Legionnaires, the American dream lives -- not only in the hearts and minds of our own countrymen, but in the hearts and minds of millions of the world's people in both free and oppressed societies who look to us for leadership. As long as that dream lives, as long as we continue to defend it, America has a future. And all mankind has reason to hope. (Applause.)

Thank you. And God bless you all. (Applause.)

END

11:43 A.M. EST

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 18, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR RED CAVANEY

FROM: MORTON C. BLACKWELL

SUBJECT: Draft Remarks for February 22 American Legion Meeting

mcbl/c

This is a good speech but I have several important suggestions.

1. This is not the American Legion National ~~Conference~~ ^{CONVENTION}. It is the 23rd Annual Washington Conference. Therefore on Page 1, fourth paragraph, the first sentence should read: "This 23rd annual meeting in Washington marks my second speech to a national gathering of the Legion".
2. On Page 5, second paragraph, I think the President should not use the term "the masses". Much better to say here: "the rising influence of grassroots citizens in international politics".
3. On Page 6, the phrase "the relative and proven success of the American experiment" is awkward. I suggest we leave out the words "relative and".
4. On Page 14, we should be aware there is enthusiastic support for the Republic of China on Taiwan in the American Legion and other veterans groups. This draft gives Taiwan short shrift. At minimum the President should refer here to the Taiwan Relations Act as the law of the land and the expression of our national commitment to the people on Taiwan.
5. On Page 15, the second full paragraph, I suggest the draft over uses Karl Marx's term "capitalism". The third sentence might better begin "The free market, properly practiced . . .". The next sentence might better begin: "Economic freedom generates wealth . . .".
6. On Page 18 we are missing a good bet to enlist support. I suggest the President take this opportunity to urge the Legion to make a special effort to put the heat on the Congress to promptly vote on the long overdue funding for Radio Marti.
7. Also on Page 18, the final paragraph, I would suggest the President avoid the description: "African front line states". Just omitting the words "front line" would be very helpful.

The term "African front line states" implies we are partisan on the side of mostly Marxist states in their determination to crush South Africa by any means. There is no need to link us to the "world revolutionary structure" proclaimed for Marxist Angola and Mozambique.

All in all, though, this is a very fine draft.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: February 17, 1983 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: February 18, 1983 NOON FRIDAY

SUBJECT: DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: American Legion National Convention
Tuesday, February 22, 1983

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	GERGEN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MEESE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HARPER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	JENKINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEAVER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MURPHY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
STOCKMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CLARK	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WHITTLESEY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WILLIAMSON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	VON DAMM	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FELDSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BRADY/SPEAKES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FULLER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>Bakshian</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Remarks: Please forward comments/edits directly to Aram Bakshian, with a copy to my office, by noon tomorrow--Friday, February 18.

Thank you.

Richard G. Darman
 Assistant to the President
 (x2702)

Response:

(NSC/Bakshian)
February 17, 1983
5:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: AMERICAN LEGION NATIONAL CONVENTION
TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1983

Commander Keller, honored guests and fellow Legionnaires.

Thank you for that warm welcome. And, before going any further, let me also thank you for the recognition you've just given to a distinguished veteran and outstanding legislative leader -- my good friend Bob Michel. I can't think of a more deserving recipient for the Legion's Distinguished Public Service Award.

It is always a special pleasure, and a special honor, to address the National Convention of the Legion. Each meeting is more than a joyous reunion of old comrades from days gone by; it is a reminder of those who cannot be here -- those who gave their last full measure of devotion so that we and our children could enjoy the blessings of freedom in peace.

meeting
This 23rd annual meeting in Washington marks my second speech to a national convention of the Legion. Perhaps it is a suitable moment for taking stock. Back in August of 1980, when you gathered in Boston, I asked for your help and the help of millions of other Americans, to reverse a dangerous course America had drifted on for too long. I said then that, together, it was our duty to begin to choose a new road -- a road to peace built upon a realistic understanding of our Nation's strength and continuing faith in her values. Thanks in part to your help, America has chosen that new road.

Today, I'd like to report to you on the progress we have made in the past 2 years -- not just in narrow terms of military manpower and hardware, but in terms of the underlying reasons for our national defense efforts -- the quest for peace and freedom in an uncertain world.

I know of no more appropriate forum than this convention for such a report. For, as that great soldier and statesman, Dwight Eisenhower, said when he addressed this body in 1954, "To help keep America strong -- to help keep her secure -- to help guide her on the true path to peace, there is no group better qualified than you of the American Legion."

A few weeks ago, I stood in the House of Representatives and spoke to the American people about the state of the Union. I stressed that the key to America's extraordinary success has been our ability to preserve our country's liberty and sense of vision, our free institutions and limited government.

Today I want to talk about America's relations with the nations and peoples of the world, and about the principles -- they are the very same fundamental principles -- that guide our actions in the international arena.

It is particularly timely to discuss them now because in the past week I have received reports from four senior members of this Administration who have returned from assignments that took them to the far corners of the globe. Vice President Bush was warmly received in Europe, where he helped clear up many misconceptions about American policy there. Secretary of State Shultz undertook an extensive tour of the Far East. Our

Ambassador to the United Nations, Jeane Kirkpatrick, has returned from a mission to South and Central America. And my National Security Advisor, Bill Clark, reported back from conferences in Europe with our arms control negotiators, Paul Nitze and Ed Rowny.

The reports of all these capable officials have confirmed our basic view of the international scene. That scene is not without its somber tones, but in many ways it is an encouraging one, marking substantial progress since that day in August of 1980 when I asked for and received your help. The international situation then was truly alarming for all who cared about America and the cause of peace and freedom. Our country was the target of countless political and terrorist attacks all around the globe. We had lost many friends in the world. It had become difficult for us to renew military base agreements -- even with countries that were basically friendly to us -- and even more difficult to reach new agreements with other countries. In the view of many of our friends, we had become an uncertain ally; in the view of potential adversaries, we had become a dubious deterrent to aggression. Our position in the U.N. had eroded to unacceptable levels, and our strength as a world power according to every index -- moral, political, military, economic -- had deteriorated to such an extent that the enemies of democracy and international order felt they could take advantage of this weakness. The Soviets sent their Cuban mercenaries to Angola, dispatched their generals to help communize Ethiopia, used chemical weapons against innocent Laotians and Cambodians, and

invaded Afghanistan -- all with impunity. Perhaps the most degrading symbol of this dismal situation was the spectacle of Iranian terrorists seizing American hostages and humiliating them and our country for more than a year.

How did all this happen? The answer is not hard to find. America had simply ceased to be a leader in the world. That failure was not the exclusive fault of any one leader or party; it was the result of a foreign policy that had come to be based on some fatally-flawed premises.

It was a passive policy of reaction -- reaction to crisis, reaction to the political agendas of others, reaction to the offensive actions of those hostile to freedom and democracy. Because of this, we were forever competing on territory picked by our adversaries, with the issues, timing and weapons all chosen by the other side. And no one knows better than old military men that, once you're on the defensive, you can't go forward: the only way you can move is in retreat.

That mistaken foreign policy of the past was based partly on a guilt complex about America. Some of our foreign policymakers really believed that we were not a force for good in the world. They were ashamed that America was wealthy in a world with so much poverty. They rarely, if ever, explained that America's wealth came not from exploiting the Third World but from the hard work of the American people, the risk-taking of American investors, the creativity of American inventors and entrepreneurs, and a free system of incentives.

Too many of our leaders blindly believed that the Soviets, and indeed most people around the world, were just like us. They felt that if we only restrained our acquisition of new arms, then the Soviets would voluntarily follow suit. Predictably, many of these same people were shocked and surprised when the Soviets invaded Afghanistan. They had spent all their time viewing the world the way they wished it was, not the way it really is. And that is no way to protect the peace.

There was another basic defect. That past policy was based on an outdated, 19th-century view of the world. It saw diplomacy as a kind of parlor game played between national governments and national elites. As such, it ignored the central focus of politics -- the minds, hearts, sympathies, fears, hopes and aspirations of people -- not governments, not foreign ministry elites, but people. The 20th century has witnessed -- and America has led the way in -- the rising participation of the masses of ^{grassroots} people in international politics. Yet, in this age of mass communications, too many of our leaders ignored this critical dimension.

Too many members of the old foreign policy establishment had lost touch with changing world realities. They failed to realize that to be an effective force for peace today, America must successfully appeal to the sympathies of the world's people -- the global electorate. We cannot simply be anti-this, and anti-that. We cannot simply react defensively to the political proposals of others, sometimes criticizing them, sometimes

accommodating them, without positive alternative solutions to basic human problems.

At bottom, the old policy lacked a strategy, it was without direction and without much more of a goal than buying time and postponing trouble.

Fortunately, the American people sensed this dangerous drift and, by 1980, a national re-awakening was underway. This re-awakening resulted in a new pride in America and the universal principles and ideals on which our free system is based. It is not an arrogant demand that others adopt our ways; it is a realistic sense of pride in our country, in the relative and proven success of the American experiment. What we see in America today -- in spite of the many economic hardships we are facing -- is a renewed faith in the goodness of our system. It was on the basis of this new faith in America that our Administration began to change some of the fundamental principles on which American foreign policy was based. We recognized, of course, that America could never play its proper role in the world until we set our own house in order. So, our first and highest priority was to restore a sound economic base here at home.

Two years ago, the economy and the American people were close to the breaking point. We had to put a final end to the inflationary spiral which had been scourging this country for years, creating misery among those of us who have to survive on fixed incomes, destroying the long-term capital markets and mortgaging the future of our children and grandchildren. Then we

had to lay the foundation for a recovery which would be based on sustainable growth without unleashing the inflationary monster again on ourselves and the world.

We have achieved our first goal, and we are well embarked on the second.

The other essential precondition of a strengthened and purposeful foreign policy was the rebuilding of the foundation of our military strength. Teddy Roosevelt was absolutely right when he said: "We need to keep in a condition of preparedness . . . not because we want war, but because we desire to stand with those whose plea for peace is listened to with respectful attention." It is precisely because we are committed to peace that we have a moral obligation to ensure America's defense credibility.

Now I realize that many well-meaning people deplore the expenditure of huge sums of money for military purposes at a time of economic hardship. Similar voices were heard in the 1930's, when economic conditions were far worse than anything we are experiencing today. But the result of heeding those voices then was a disastrous military imbalance that tempted the forces of tyranny and evil and plunged the world into a ruinous war. We must not repeat that tragic error in the nuclear age.

The record is clear. For two decades, the Soviet Union has been engaged in the accumulation of the most powerful military forces known to history. During this period, the United States limited its own military spending to the point that our investment in defense actually declined in real terms while

Soviet military investment exceeded our own by more than \$200 billion over the decade of the seventies. Neither the example of unilateral restraint shown by the United States in limiting or cancelling important weapon systems, nor the efforts of a decade's worth of arms control agreements and negotiations, have stopped or even significantly slowed the Soviet leadership's pursuit of global military superiority.

So, 2 years ago, we began the long, tough job of rebuilding America's defenses after years of systematic underfunding and neglect. Today, we are on the verge of putting in place a defense program adequate to our security needs. If we show the resolve to sustain the necessary levels of military spending -- and with your support and that of millions of other concerned citizens, we can -- we can restore balance and deterrence, and we can preserve the peace.

For our strategic forces, this means strengthening and modernizing our Triad of land-based, sea-based and air-based systems. For our conventional forces, it means that the United States will increase the readiness and responsiveness of our men and machines while making the investments necessary to meet the challenges of tomorrow. This year's defense budget represents an essential step in this direction. Though the past weeks have witnessed vigorous debate over various figures and categories in the budget, I am confident that the Congress and the American people will recognize that the increases we are seeking are the minimum we require for our security and the peace of the world.

And I'm confident that we can count on the Legion to help rally support for this vital part of our program for peace.

Let me now address our foreign policy proper -- both the elements of continuity that reflect the permanent interests of the United States and the improvements we are trying to bring about.

One of the first things this Administration did was what the American people had demanded of us -- namely, to be realistic about the nature of the world and our adversaries, and to speak the unadulterated truth about them. You may remember some observations I made about the nature of the Soviets and their methods and goals. Some interpreted my candid remarks as unnecessarily damaging to our relationship with the USSR. I must respectfully disagree. I don't believe the American people feel that peace can be preserved by refusing to face up to the truth. History has too often shown us the folly of making excuses for bad behavior. It only encourages bullies and invites aggression.

Pursuing a policy of honesty and realism toward the Soviets does not mean that productive relations between our nations are impossible. All that is required for such relations is restraint and reciprocity. Restraint must be demonstrated not only by words but by deeds. Too often, the professions of peaceful intentions offered by Soviet leaders have been belied by their actions. We have always respected international law and the independence of other peoples. The Soviets need only respond in kind.

Fortunately, America is far from alone in its quest for a peaceful, prosperous and humane international order. With us stand the great democracies of Europe, of Latin America, Asia and the Pacific. With us in spirit also are millions of people in Poland and other Soviet-dominated countries, as well as in the Soviet empire itself.

The bedrock of free world security remains the NATO alliance. NATO is not just a military alliance. It is a voluntary political community of free men and women based on shared principles and a common history. The ties that bind us to our European allies are not the brittle ties of expediency or the weighty shackles of compulsion. They resemble what Abraham Lincoln called the "mystic chords of memory" uniting peoples who share a common vision and have shed blood in a common cause. So, let there be no doubt on either side of the Atlantic: the freedom and independence of America's allies remain as dear to us as our own.

The Soviets have no more fundamental foreign policy objective than to break the link that binds us to our NATO allies. Their growing nuclear threat to Europe has a political as well as a military purpose -- the deliberate fostering of a sense of insecurity among the peoples of Western Europe, and a desire for accommodation to Soviet power. NATO's plan to counter that threat through deployment of new missiles is meant to remove any doubt the Soviets may harbor about the alliance's capabilities and our common resolve.

At the same time, we have also taken common steps to strengthen NATO's conventional capabilities. By doing this, we can be more confident that war can be prevented, and that, if aggression should come, it can be thwarted without resort to nuclear weapons.

The ultimate Soviet goal is to force the nations of Europe to accommodate themselves to Soviet interests on Soviet terms. We should all know just what those terms are. They require that a people yield up its right to hear and speak the truth. But the greatest weapon available to the Free World is the truth. It is a weapon we must not hesitate to use to counter the slurs and threats the Soviets have made against our friends and allies, in Europe and elsewhere. Speaking the truth was one of the primary missions I assigned to Vice President Bush in his recent European trip. He cleared the air of the misinformation, indeed, the deliberate falsehoods, that have been spread by the Soviets in their effort to thwart the strengthening of NATO's deterrent. The Vice President made four key points:

- He reaffirmed America's fundamental commitment to peace. We are not in the business of imperialism, aggression or conquest. We threaten no one -- least of all, the Soviet Union. The Soviet leaders know full well that there is no political constituency in the United States, or anywhere in the West, for aggressive military action against the USSR or its allies.
- The Vice President reaffirmed our commitment to serious, mutual and verifiable arms limitations. He

stressed the fairness of our proposal that both sides eliminate an entire category of weapons -- the land-based intermediate range nuclear missiles, including the Soviet SS-4, 5 and 20, and the U.S. Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missiles. This is in dramatic contrast to the Soviet position, which is designed to preserve their existing monopoly on such missiles. Our proposal is a serious one, and it represents real arms reduction, not merely the ratification of existing levels of weaponry on both sides.

-- The Vice President also conveyed my willingness to meet anytime and anywhere with Mr. Andropov to sign an agreement that would eliminate these weapons from the face of Europe. That offer still stands.

-- Finally, the Vice President conveyed our belief that success in eliminating these intermediate range missiles, and also in reducing significantly the strategic arsenals of both sides, depends critically on continued allied unity, and a determination to face and speak the truth about the threat confronting us.

Now I know there are some in the West who question the sincerity of this Administration's interest in arms control agreements with the Soviet Union. But their doubts are unfounded. What they too often forget is how difficult it is to negotiate arms control agreements where the interests of the parties are sharply different and elementary trust does not

exist. The Soviet government's brazen and repeated disregard of treaty obligations -- witness their continuing use of "yellow rain" and other lethal chemical and biological agents -- makes it vital that any agreement we reach can be well and truly verified. For our part, I pledge to you that this Nation and this Administration will take every responsible step to reduce the risks and the arsenals of war -- nuclear, conventional and chemical.

Any survey of the foreign policy interests and concerns of the United States must give special attention to Asia. After the Vietnam War ended, many Americans counseled a withdrawal from American responsibilities in Asia. I strongly opposed such a view in the past, and I believe that the policies we are pursuing in Asia today are proper and necessary.

The U.S.-Japanese alliance relationship remains the centerpiece of our Asian policy. Together, the United States and Japan can make a large contribution to the economic dynamism and technological progress needed for economic growth and development throughout the world. In Asia itself, we continue to strengthen our partnership in support of peace. Prime Minister Nakasone and I affirmed our commitment to this partnership during his recent visit to Washington; Secretary Shultz' visit to Tokyo underscored it.

Our relationship with the Peoples Republic of China is another important one not only for stability and peace in Asia, but around the globe. During his visit to Beijing, Secretary Shultz had many hours of frank and useful discussions with

Chinese leaders. The most important thing to emerge from these talks was that, despite our differences, it is clear that both sides value this relationship and are committed to improve it. In that connection, I'm especially pleased that Premier Zhao has accepted my invitation to visit the United States at a mutually agreeable time in the future.

*Taiwan
Republic of
China*

As we build our relationship with China, we will not forget our other friends in the area. We are committed to maintaining our unofficial relations with Taiwan, with which we have had a long and honorable association. Our ties with the Republic of Korea remain strong, as troops of our two nations jointly protect that divided land against threatened aggression from the north. The Secretary's visit to Seoul has further cemented the bonds that unite our peoples and reaffirmed our intention to continue the closest cooperation.

Ever since assuming the Presidency, I have sought to establish a new and enduring approach for conducting our relations with the developing world. I am convinced that the time has come for this country, and for the West generally, to address the problems of the developing nations in a more forthright and less patronizing way. The fact is that massive infusions of foreign aid have proven not only ineffective in stimulating economic development in the Third World -- in many cases they have actually been counterproductive. That kind of foreign aid is nothing more than welfare payments on a global scale, and just as ineffectual and degrading. Our economic

assistance must be carefully targeted, and must make maximum use of the energy and efforts of the private sector.

This philosophy is reflected in the Caribbean Basin Initiative I announced almost a year ago. Its goal is to combine trade, aid and incentives for investment into a balanced arrangement that encourages self-help for the people of the Caribbean Basin. Again and again, leaders of these countries have told me that they don't want a hand-out, only help so that they can improve their own lives by their own efforts. "We do not need you to give us the fish," I was told by one of them, "but rather the fishing pole so that we can catch our own fish."

An important part of such help is exposure to the effective management practices and economic thinking that contribute so much to successful development in more advanced societies. There is no more damaging misconception than the notion that capitalism is an economic system benefitting only the rich. ~~Capitalism~~ ^{the free market} properly practiced is the world's mightiest engine for abundance and social justice. ^{Economic freedom} ~~It~~ generates wealth and spreads prosperity, as any comparison between free and collectivist economies proves. Developing countries need to be encouraged to experiment with the growing variety of arrangements for profit sharing and expanded capital ownership that can bring economic betterment to their people.

Of course, economic problems are not the only ones that developing countries must contend with. The volatile combination of poverty with social and political instability makes many of these countries natural targets for subversion by the new

colonialism of the totalitarian left. When countries must divert their scarce resources from economic development in order to fight imported terrorism or guerrilla warfare, economic progress is hard to come by. Security assistance, therefore, is an integral part of our aid policy with respect to Latin America and the developing world in general.

It was in this spirit that I sent my ambassador to the United Nations, Jeane Kirkpatrick, on her recent trip to Latin America. Ambassador Kirkpatrick engaged in extensive consultations with leaders of the region, and assured them that we would pursue our common efforts to foster economic development, assist with their security concerns, and strengthen the forces of freedom.

Last June, when I addressed the British Parliament, I outlined the all-embracing goal of our foreign policy. I observed that Americans are no longer ashamed to say that we have a positive vision for the future of the world. It is both a realistic and an idealistic vision. We want to see a world that lives in peace and freedom under the consent of the governed. And, far from being ashamed of that vision, we are proud of it.

Some people argue that any attempt to promote democratic institutions and practices represents interference in the affairs of others -- an attempt to impose our way of life. That is just plain, old-fashioned hogwash. Every nation has the right to determine its own destiny. But to deny that democratic values have any relevance to the developing world today, or to the millions of people oppressed by communist domination, is to

reject the universal significance of America's basic, timeless credo that all men are created equal -- and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights.

Do not people living today in Africa, in Latin America, in Central Asia, possess the same inalienable right to choose their own governors and decide their own destiny as we who are blessed with freedom do?

By wedding the timeless truths and values Americans have always cherished to the realities of today's world, we have forged the beginnings of a fundamentally new direction in American foreign policy -- a policy with the unashamed, unapologetic basis of our priceless free institutions, and the social and economic progress they so uniquely foster.

And, believe me, my fellow Legionnaires, it's not a moment too soon. The Soviets have been playing international politics for many years now. They have an immense campaign war chest and spend many times what we do on their own form of public diplomacy -- the dissemination of propaganda and disinformation. It is time for us to speak out and speak the truth. We have already begun mobilizing our political and information resources -- not to immitate the Soviets at their own game, which would defeat our purpose, but simply so that their lies will not go unanswered, and the voice of freedom will be heard.

In particular, we have begun to reinvigorate the United States Information Agency, and to initiate a major modernization program for our chief means of international mass communication -- the Voice of America, and Radio Free

Europe/Radio Liberty. We are also currently working to create another such radio for the people of Cuba -- Radio Marti.

dit common for the African
History is not a darkening path twisting inevitably toward tyranny, as the forces of totalitarianism would have us believe. Indeed, the one clear pattern in world events -- a pattern that has grown with each passing year of this century -- is in the opposite direction. It is the growing determination of men and women of all races and conditions to gain control of their own destinies and to free themselves of arbitrary domination. More than any other single human force, this is the driving aspiration that unites the human family today -- the burning desire to live unhindered in a world that respects the rights of individuals and nations.

At mid-point in my elected term, nothing makes me prouder of the country I serve than the fact that, once again, America leads the vanguard of this movement.

It is America that has proposed the elimination of an entire class of nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth -- that has called for a 50-percent reduction in intercontinental strategic missiles.

It is America that has helped end the seige of Beirut and is actively working to broaden the Middle East peace process.

It is America that works closely with the African frontline states and our allies for peace in Southern Africa -- and that had the trust and confidence of both Britain and Argentina in seeking a peaceful resolution of the conflict in the South Atlantic.

Coole word

It is America that encourages the trend toward democracy in Latin America and elsewhere in the world -- and cooperates with the Moslem countries and all those who want an end to the brutal Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

It is America that joins with other free peoples in calling for reconciliation and an end to oppression in Poland.

And, yes, it is America that leads the world in contributions to humanitarian and refugee programs and to multinational and bilateral programs to help the less fortunate nations of the world.

For all the stress and strain of recent ordeals, we are still a young Nation -- a Nation that draws renewed strength not only from its material abundance and economic might, but from free ideals that are as vibrant today as they were more than two centuries ago when a small but gallant band of our forefathers, against all odds, pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor to win freedom and independence.

My fellow Legionnaires, the American dream lives -- not only in the hearts and minds of our own countrymen, but in the hearts and minds of millions of the world's people in both free and oppressed societies who look to us for leadership. As long as that dream lives, as long as we continue to defend it, America has a future -- and so does democracy.

Thank you, and God bless you.