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CH

Document No. 498254

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/30/87 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 p.m. Tuesday 12/01

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: HUMAN RIGHTS EVENT

(11/30 7:30 p.m. draft)

	ACTION		FYI			ACTION		FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			GRISCOM	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		
DUBERSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			HOBBS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		
MILLER - OMB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>			HOOLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		
BALL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>			KING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		
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CRIBB	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>			RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		
CRIPPEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>			SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		
CULVAHOUSE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>			TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		
DAWSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			DOLAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		
DONATELLI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Tony Dolan by 2:00 p.m. on Tuesday, December 1st, with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

The structural guarantees of freedom are at least as important as the Bill of Rights (for example the Soviet constitution has a bill of rights as strongly worded as ours, but it is useless in a regime that concentrates all power into the hands of the communist party). See suggested edit for language on the importance of U.S. structural provisions.

Rhett Dawson
Ext. 2702
RWD

(Rohrabacher/ARD)
November 30, 1987
7:30 P.M.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: HUMAN RIGHTS EVENT
THURSDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1987

Thank you. I appreciate all of you being here. You represent groups that have a keen interest in the discussions that will be taking place during the upcoming visit of General Secretary Gorbachev. I'm happy to have this opportunity to confirm to you that although we are making a serious effort to improve relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, we will not do it by compromising our national interests or diminishing our commitment to the universality of human rights.

Our dedication to liberty and justice for all is not negotiable, not to this generation, not to any generation of Americans. This year we celebrate the 200th anniversary of our Constitution, which, of course, contains not just an organizational structure for the Federal Government, but also the

Bill of Rights. I think it is interesting to note that the reason the Bill of Rights was added to the document was that it was believed that the Constitution might not have been ratified otherwise. Such was the devotion to liberty among our forefathers and mothers.

The United States declared its independence with a document that proclaimed rights to be inalienable gifts from God, not just to those who could make it to our shores but to all people, everywhere. Ben Franklin, the grand old man of the Revolution, once said, "God, grant that not only the love of liberty, but a thorough knowledge of the rights of man may pervade all the

*The structure
decides power
so that no person
or group can be
so powerful that
they can ignore
the human
rights. The Bill of
Rights sets limits
on all of the branches
of government.*

*Both are vitally
important
to protect
the freedoms
Americans
we have
come to
cherish.*

nations of the Earth, so that a philosopher may set his foot anywhere on its surface and say: This is my country!"

Well, 200 years later, liberty has not spread as wide as Franklin would have wished but, consistent with his vision, is a spirit of solidarity that exists between the free peoples of the world. We see the violation of anyone's human rights, acts of repression or brutality, as attacks on civilization itself. The United States, as the most powerful of the free nations, is looked to for leadership by those who live in freedom and as a mighty source of hope to those who languish under tyranny. This is weighty responsibility that no American, especially a President, can take lightly.

In my upcoming meetings, I know that sitting next to me are unseen guests, men and women whose only hope is that they are not forgotten here in the West: Dissidents who are inhumanly committed to mental institutions, often subdued with mind-altering drugs; Soviet Jews, Armenians, Germans, and others who have applied to emigrate and have endured incredible hardships as a result; divided families and spouses who are cruelly separated from their loved ones. These people are not now, nor will they ever be, forgotten by our Administration.

Well, let me assure you and, through you, all those whose cause you champion: We care deeply about the well being of these unseen guests and their presence will be felt throughout my summit discussions. The goal of this visit, and any subsequent visits, is not simply arms reduction. Certainly that is one priority, yet it remains on par with solving certain bilateral

issues, ending regional conflicts, and, of course, improving human rights.

And while there has been much talk about a new openness and progress on human rights, the Soviet people still joke about the repression that permeates their country. One story I recently heard concerns a man who lost his parrot and went to the K.G.B. to report his missing bird. The K.G.B. asked him why he came to them. Why didn't he just report it to the local authorities. The man replied, "I just want you to know I don't agree with a thing that parrot has to say."

Seriously though, much has been said about Glasnost and reforms in the Soviet Union. There does seem to have been modest progress. Soviet officials not that long ago refused to discuss human rights, claiming it was their internal affairs. General Secretary Gorbachev even told a French newsman before the Geneva Summit that there were "no political prisoners in the U.S.S.R." Today our discussions on this issue are wide-ranging and human rights is accepted as an integral component of our bilateral discussions.

In the last two years we've witnessed a loosening of the grip. Over 200 political prisoners have been released from the Gulag. There is a higher rate of emigration. Some long-divided families have been reunited. There has even been a relaxing of some of the controls on freedom of expression. Earlier this year, for example, there were demonstrations in the Baltic countries on the anniversaries of the Hitler-Stalin Pact and the

day marking the beginning of the Soviet occupation in 1940. The fact that these protests were permitted at all was heartening.

However, in recent months there is evidence of Soviet backsliding in the area of human rights. On November 18th thousands of police and militia prevented a demonstration on Latvian freedom day in Riga. Similarly, a recent demonstration by Jewish refusniks was broken up in Moscow. Despite an amnesty decree in connection with the 70th anniversary of the Bolshevik overthrow of the Krensky regime, only a trickle of political and religious leaders have been released since the Spring. The Soviet council on Religious Affairs told Senator Lugar in August that all prisoners of faith would be freed by November. We're still waiting. In fact, I recently received a petition signed by 6,000 people asking for the freedom of imprisoned Lithuanian priests, Fathers Svarisnska and Tamevicius. Clearly they, and other religious figures, are still victims, still prisoners of conscience.

It remains a perplexing situation. Four divided spouses were released, or promised release, nevertheless four others were refused. Why? Cancer victims like Benjamin Charny, a 17-year refusenik, have not received permission to go abroad for medical treatment. Why? Even the dissidents who publish a journal called "Glasnost" have been threatened and intimidated.

There is no doubt that some progress has been made in human rights in the Soviet Union, especially earlier in the year. Yet how can we ignore that, on this day, as we speak, 13 political prisoners are dying in special regimen camp 36-1, which is one of

the most brutal in the Gulag system. Already 10 prisoners have died there, four of them Helsinki monitors. We cannot pretend that this does not exist, that these prisoners of camp 36-1 are of no consequence. They are important to us because of what they symbolize and because they are human beings and we are outraged at the way they are being treated.

George Bernard Shaw, the ultimate Irish playwright, once wrote, "The worst sin towards our fellow creatures is not to hate them, but to be indifferent to them: That's the essence of inhumanity." Today, we are pleased with any releases, any unification of separated families, any lessening of the iron grip on the freedoms of expression and religion. But we will not be indifferent to those who are left behind and we will not be lulled into ignoring the fact that the apparatus of state repression remains intact in the Soviet Union. The real joy will come, and trust between East and West will flourish, not when prisoners are released, but when the Gulag is dismantled and the organs of repression abolished.

Early in this century President Teddy Roosevelt said, "...for the world has set its face hopefully toward our democracy; and, O my fellow citizens, each one of you carries on your shoulders not only the burden of doing well for the sake of your own country, but the burden of doing well and seeing that this nation does well for the sake of mankind..."

So it's not just up to any one Government official. It is up to all of us. I'd like to thank each of you for participating in this discussion and exchange of ideas with members of the

Administration in preparation for the upcoming summit. We need your involvement, your continued support, and your stalwart commitment to our country's ideals. Thank you for all you are doing. God bless you.

Carol
8803

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY DOLAN

FROM: PAUL SCHOTT STEVENS

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Human Rights Event

The NSC concurs with the text at Tab A as amended.

Attachment

Tab A Draft of President's Remarks

cc:

Rhett Dawson

(Rohrabacher/ARD)
November 30, 1987
7:30 P.M.

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as amendments
↓
(Bill of Rights not yet later)

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Ben...

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the most brutal in the Gulag system. [?] Already 10 prisoners have died there, four of them Helsinki monitors. We cannot pretend that this does not exist, that these prisoners of Camp 36-1 are of no consequence. They are important to us because of what they symbolize and because they are human beings, ~~and we are outraged at the way they are being treated.~~

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Administration in preparation for the upcoming summit. We need your involvement, your continued support, and your stalwart commitment to our country's ideals. Thank you for all you are doing. ~~God bless you.~~

and now, I'd like to turn over this meeting to Deputy Secretary of State Whitehead.

CH

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



December 1, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY DOLAN
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DIRECTOR OF SPEECHWRITING

FROM: ALAN CHARLES RAUL ACR
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Human Rights Event

Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced draft Presidential Remarks and we have no legal objection. We note, however, that there is a reference to the Bill of Rights on the first page, in the second paragraph, that may be somewhat misleading. The Constitution was in fact ratified in 1789 before the ratification of the Bill of Rights in 1791.

cc: Rhett B. Dawson

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

REVISED

11/30/87

Carol

MEMORANDUM

TO: COLIN POWELL
FROM: FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR. *FJR*
SUBJECT: APPROVED PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY

MEETING: The Human Rights Event, previously scheduled at 11:30 am on December 3, is changed to 10:00 am on the same date.

DATE:

TIME:

DURATION:

LOCATION:

BACKUP LOCATION:

REMARKS REQUIRED:

MEDIA COVERAGE:

FIRST LADY
PARTICIPATION:

NOTE: PROJECT OFFICER, SEE ATTACHED CHECKLIST

M. Archambault	Advance Office
W. Ball	J. Hooley
J. Courtemanche	J. Kuhn
E. Crispen	J. Lamb
R. Dawson	J. Manning
F. Donatelli	J. McKinney
D. Dellinger	N. Risque
A. Dolan	D. Johnson
J. Erkenbeck	R. Shaddick
L. Faulkner	G. Walters
C. Fuller	WHCA Audio/Visual
M. Fitzwater	WHCA Operations
T. Griscom	

5TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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October 6, 1985, Sunday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section 4; Page 20, Column 3; Editorial Desk

LENGTH: 558 words

HEADLINE: Martyrs for Human Dignity Left Nameless

BODY:

To the Editor:

Anthony Lewis's Sept. 19 column, 'A Question of Confidence,' is an excellent elucidation of Soviet paranoia over dissidents, as illustrated by the heart-rending case of Dr. Anatoly Koryagin, the Soviet psychiatrist imprisoned for exposing the abuse of psychiatry in the U.S.S.R.

However unintentionally, the column nonetheless raises its own question of confidence, namely, confidence in the ability of many Western journalists to comprehend fully the whole gamut of cruelty and inhumanity to which Soviet dissidents are subjected.

Barbarous Soviet treatment of those who raise even a small voice in dissent is well documented in the Western press in general terms - in the abstract. What is far less appreciated is the cruelty that comes of being left to suffer and even die for one's belief in human dignity in silence, nameless.

Mr. Lewis describes the vicious treatment of Dr. Koryagin as 'a grim example of a general crackdown on dissidents' and writes that 'there has been no letup in the cases of the best-known victims, such as Andrei Sakharov, Yuri Orlov and Anatoly Shcharansky.' He then adds: 'Amnesty International says that four political prisoners at one labor camp have died in the last 16 months -after pleas for their release because of illness had been ignored.'

In confining himself to that cold statistic, Mr. Lewis unwittingly visits the ultimate cruelty on the four who died for their right to differ: He leaves them nameless, depriving them of the only last thing that might have invested their deaths with meaning - the knowledge of the world beyond the Gulag that it was they who were killed, if only through deliberate medical neglect, and what it is that they died for.

The names of the four are Oleksa Tykhy, Yuriy Lytvyn, Valeriy Marchenko and Vasyl Stus. Mr. Tykhy was co-founder of the Ukrainian Helsinki Watch Group; Mr. Lytvyn and Mr. Stus were members of the same group; Mr. Marchenko was its close collaborator. All four were writers and all died in special-regime camp 36 in the Urals.

The last death occurred just recently - on Sept. 4. It was Vasyl Stus who died that day: 47 years old, one of the Ukraine's leading contemporary poets, midway into the 13th year of a prison term which, had he survived, would have totaled 23 years. His crimes were to write poetry and to join the Ukrainian Helsinki Watch Group during the nine months of relative freedom he was permitted to enjoy between his release from his first eight-year term of imprisonment

(c) 1985 The New York Times, October 6, 1985

and his second arrest on May 14, 1980.

Anthony Lewis writes, "One story is enough to make the point: enough, one would think, to melt a heart of stone." He chooses the story of Dr. Koryagin for that purpose, and there can be no question that Dr. Koryagin's story cries out to be told. But one story is never enough.

Six and more million stories from the Holocaust were not enough to make the point. Not in Cambodia, not in Afghanistan, not in Central America. The machinery for meting out death to nameless men and women is still in place and op-erating in much of the world. In our readiness to merge individual tragedies and subsume them under universal condemnations of per-secution, torture and murder, we trivialize all tragedy and melt no hearts - of stone or even softer matter. MARTA SKORUPSKY New York, Sept. 20, 1985

TYPE: Letter

SUBJECT: Terms not available

DATE: DECEMBER 1, 1987

CLIENT:
LIBRARY: NEXIS
FILE: OMNI

YOUR SEARCH REQUEST IS:
PHILOSOPHER W/80 FOOT ANYWHERE AND SURFACE AND MY COUNTRY

NUMBER OF STORIES FOUND WITH YOUR REQUEST THROUGH:
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1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in VAR KWIC format.

The Associated Press

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January 5, 1978, AM cycle

LENGTH: 830 words

DATELINE: PARIS

KEYWORD: Carter-Talks

BODY:

... quoted Benjamin Franklin, who was an envoy to France during the Revolutionary War, as saying: "God grant that not only the love of liberty, but a thorough knowledge of the rights of man may pervade all the nations of the earth so that a philosopher may set his foot anywhere on its surface and say 'This is my country. '"

After the dinner, Carter and Giscard d'Estaing drove together to the chateau. There, surrounded by American and French secret service agents, the leaders made their way smiling and shaking hands through a milling throng of 3,500 dignitaries and socialites.

In the crowd, ...

2ND STORY of Level 1 printed in VAR KWIC format.

Copyright (c) 1975 U.S. News & World Report

July 7, 1975

SECTION: Pg. 44

LENGTH: 1250 words

HEADLINE: What Kind Of Future For America;
"I Am Hopeful That National Pride Will Return"

BYLINE: RICHARD B. MORRIS; Gouverneur Morris professor of history, Columbia University; also president-elect of the American Historical Association, and editor of a forthcoming working on the revolutionary, John Jay.

BODY:

... earth, not to America alone. Surely, to be an American does not mean that we should turn our back on our world obligations.

Benjamin Franklin once expressed the hope that the knowledge of the rights of man would prevail worldwide some day, and that a time would come when a philosopher might set his foot anywhere on its surface and say, "This is my country." Franklin personified pride in nation in the best sense - a love for America and a conviction that it would be a world standard-bearer of humane progress.

Q. Are there any hopeful signs coming out of the chaos of the 1960s and early ...

4TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

International Human Rights

Remarks on Signing Proclamation 5589.

22 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1636

December 10, 1986

LENGTH: 1943 words

The President. Today we renew our allegiance to those human rights which all free men cherish and which we Americans, in particular, hold so dear.

It's love of freedom that binds a people who are so richly diverse. It unites us in purpose, and it makes us one nation. At birth, our country was christened with a declaration that spoke of self-evident truths, the foremost of which was that each and every individual is endowed by our creator with certain unalienable rights. And our creed as Americans is that these rights -- these human rights -- are the property of every man, woman, and child on this planet and that a violation of human rights anywhere is the business of free people everywhere.

When talking about human rights, we're not referring to abstract theory or ungrounded philosophy. Jefferson, who penned our great Declaration of Independence, years later wrote: "Freedom of religion, freedom of the press, freedom of the person under the protection of habeas corpus and trial by juries impartially selected -- these principles form the bright constellation which has guided our steps through an age of revolution and transformation."

Well, our country does not have an unblemished record. We've had to overcome our shortcomings and ensure equal justice for all. And yet we can be proud that respect for the rights of the individual has been an essential element, a basic principle, if you will, of American Government.

It was 195 years ago this coming Monday, on December 15, 1791, that our forefathers put legal force behind their ideals when they ratified the Bill of Rights, the first 10 amendments to our Constitution. Our forefathers knew that they were writing the first lines of a new chapter in human history.

Another page in that same chapter was written 38 years ago today when the General Assembly of the United States [United Nations] n1 adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. That document, a triumph for the higher aspirations of mankind, is but words on paper unless we're willing to act to see that it is taken seriously. We owe it to ourselves and to those who sacrificed so much for our liberty to keep America in the forefront of this battle. Lincoln, the Great Emancipator, once said, "Our defence is in the spirit which prized liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands everywhere. Destroy this spirit and you have planted the seeds of despotism at your own front door."

n1 White House correction.

And how fares human rights on this day? Well, there are many encouraging signs. Less than a decade ago, democracy seemed in retreat. Communism, which

22 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1636

has turned the suppression of human rights into a science, was on the move. Military regimes and authoritarian dictators held power in much of the non-Communist world. A traumatized United States was overwhelmed by self-doubt and uncertainty. Our optimism today flows from renewed confidence in our principles and from the trend of history which is now clearly on the side of the free. Since the beginning of the decade, we have witnessed one of the greatest expansions of democracy on record. Latin America, once the bastion of the caudillo, the Latin strongman, is now, for the most part, democratic territory. Ninety percent of the people live in countries that have returned or are in the process of returning to democratic rule.

I've always felt that the Americas, placed as they are between the two great oceans, were put here to be found by people with a special love of freedom. Democracy and human rights are the birthright of all Americans. We should not be satisfied until every country in this hemisphere is free and living at peace with one another. Incidentally, when I said all Americans, I'm speaking of all of the people from Tierra del Fuego at the tip of South America to the North Pole. We are all Americans.

Indeed, we've learned through painful experiences that respect for human rights is essential to peace and, ultimately, to our own freedom. A government which does not respect the rights of its own people and laws is unlikely to respect those of its neighbors. In this century democratic governments have not started wars.

Our confidence today also comes from the realization that the mystique of communism has, at long last, been shattered. Young intellectuals can no longer be seduced by a philosophy that has so blatantly and demonstrably failed. The only thing produced in abundance by Marxism-Leninism has been deprivation and tyranny. From Ethiopia to Cuba, from the Soviet Union itself -- which is beginning to fall even further behind the Western democracies -- to Vietnam, throughout the Communist world, the cupboards are empty, and the jails are full. This is the natural consequence of a fatally flawed philosophy.

The other day, someone told me the difference between a democracy and a peoples democracy. It's the same difference between a jacket and straightjacket. [Laughter]

We're honored this morning to have with us Mr. Yuriy Orlov and Mr. Natan Shcharanskiy, who, along with other brave individuals, took it upon themselves to monitor Soviet compliance with the human rights provisions of the Helsinki awards [Helsinki accords]. n2 Mr. Orlov, Mr. Shcharanskiy, and their colleagues, people of extraordinary moral courage, have suffered -- many are even now in labor camps or Siberian exile -- for the ideals that we proclaim today. Mr. Anatoly Marchenko, who we are saddened to hear recently died while in prison, was a martyr for the cause of human rights. The Soviet Union, along with 34 other European and North American nations, freely signed the Helsinki accords 11 years ago. Mr. Orlov and Mr. Shcharanskiy, I can promise you, Mr. Marchenko and so many others have not died in vain. The United States intends to hold the Soviet Union to the human rights commitments it made at Helsinki.

n2 White House correction.

The Soviet Government, despite a few gestures this year -- gestures that reflect posturing more than flexibility -- continues its systematic violation

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of human rights. The new Soviet emigration law, for example, purports to ease restrictions. Yet for far too many the opposite is true. The restriction of emigration, the suppression of dissent, the lengthy separation of families and spouses, the continued imprisonment of religious activists in Ukraine and throughout the Soviet Union are the orders of the day. These realities remain unacceptable, and we will continue to do our utmost to press for change and to bring our moral and diplomatic weight to bear on behalf of those brave souls who speak out within the Soviet bloc. We and our allies are, for example, doing this at the meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which is now taking place in Vienna.

Also with us this morning is Armando Valladares, a remarkable Cuban poet. His heartrending ordeal in Castro's gulag -- detailed in his book "Against All Hope" -- is an outrage against civilization. Even more outrageous, the horrors and sadism Mr. Valladares endured are not unique, not some freak accident, but intentional government policy which continues to this day. Many others suffered and continue to suffer the same grotesque brutality. Also with us is Senor Ramon Grau Alcina, who arrived in our country less than 3 months ago, after 21 years of imprisonment in Cuba. His crime: helping parents arrange to get their children to safety before the Castro regime was able to fully grab power.

And recently, the Castro regime smashed a tiny, domestic human rights group with an iron fist. All of its members have been imprisoned except one. Its leader, Dr. Ricardo Bofill Pages, has sought asylum in the French Embassy in Havana.

What happened in Cuba is now happening in Nicaragua. An unmistakable pattern: repression, attacks on the church, the closing down of newspapers, the destruction of independent unions, and the construction of concentration camps and prisons on a scale never imagined. The Sandinista regime has repeatedly hampered the Organization of American States attempts to investigate charges of human rights violations. A short time ago a message was smuggled out of a Sandinista prison which revealed stories not dissimilar to those of Mr. Valladares.

The violation of human rights, whether in Kampuchea or Paraguay, Afghanistan or North Korea, whether it be the murder of Baha'is in Iran or the repression of ethnic Turks in Bulgaria, is the rightful cause of all free peoples. We remain deeply concerned, for example, about the denial of human rights in Africa. The system of apartheid and the state of emergency in South Africa are unconscionable and must be ended. The brutality and repression in Ethiopia, Angola, or any other repressive African regime are of no less concern.

Whatever the regime, if progress is to be made, it will require not only support from governments but the active commitment of citizens, individuals unhampered in their humanitarian activities by politics or affairs of state. I've always been an advocate of this kind of personal involvement, knowing that energetic, dedicated individuals inside and outside the government are essential to solving problems.

Amnesty International, which is celebrating its 25th anniversary, has always sought to mobilize the world, government officials and private citizens, on behalf of political prisoners and in defense of human rights. One of that organization's guiding spirits, Ginetta Sagan, who is with us today, has been a vital force for decency, humanity, and freedom throughout the world in these

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last three decades. Unlike so many others who opposed the Vietnam war, for example, Ginetta did not look the other way once the Communists assumed power. She has made serious efforts to call the Government of Vietnam to task for their massive violations of human rights. In Chile, Poland, and so many other countries, this woman has saved lives and championed the cause. Ginetta, would you stand? You are the kind of hero every American can be proud of. Thank you for all you've done.

Ms. Sagan. Thank you, Mr. President.

The President. You know, she doesn't want me to tell you this, but I know a little about her that I think you should know. During the latter days of the Second World War, Ginetta was a courier for the resistance forces in Italy and in February 1945 was captured. She knows firsthand the suffering, the torture, the despair of those imprisoned by despots. Her tormentors, fascist secret police, tried to break her body and her spirit. They told her no one knew she was alive, that she was utterly alone, isolated. At the darkest moment of her ordeal, a guard kicked open the door of her interrogation cell and threw in a small round loaf of bread. Inside that loaf she found a matchbox that contained a tiny piece of paper on which was written one word: Courage.

Today that's our job, our duty. America must continue to be a beacon of hope, sending this message to the oppressed of all nations. Those who suffer for freedom are not alone. We think of them, and we are with them. And that's what Human Rights Day is all about.

I want to thank each and every one of you for what you're doing to further this cause. Now, I thank you, and God bless you. And I understand it's time for me to sign the proclamation.

Note: The President spoke at 11:30 a.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building.

Following the ceremony, the President met privately with Anatoly Shcharanskiy in the Oval Office.

*Comparisons
of our
Constitution
+
the Soviets*

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Public Papers of the Presidents

Human Rights Day, Bill of Rights Day, and Human Rights Week, 1986

Proclamation 5589.

22 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1639

December 10, 1986

LENGTH: 640 words

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

On December 15, 1791, our young Nation celebrated the ratification of the Bill of Rights, the first ten amendments to the constitution of the United States, which gave legal form to the great principles our Founding Fathers had set forth in the Declaration of Independence less than a generation earlier. As we celebrate that occasion some 195 years later, it is well to recall those principles, which endure today as they have for nearly two centuries. They endure because they rest on a simple but profound truth, that each of us is created with equal moral dignity, that every individual is endowed by nature and nature's God with inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. On this foundation of individual rights and self-government our Founding Fathers created a great Nation, setting it on the course of liberty that continues to this day.

As we look around the world, however, we see a very different history. Some nations, to be sure, have followed a course similar to our own and today enjoy the liberty that we Americans have long cherished. But others have never known genuine liberty, while still others, especially in our own century, have lost the liberty they once enjoyed.

Thirty-eight years ago, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly. Yet many of the governments that voted for that Declaration are flagrantly ignoring the principles they affirmed on that momentous occasion. The Soviet Union continues its repression of Catholics in Lithuania and Ukraine, and of other religious activists. Hundreds of thousands of Jews are still being denied the right to emigrate, while Soviet armies, for the seventh year now, have brutally repressed the people of Afghanistan. In Berlin, the world marked the 25th year of a wall built not to protect people but to keep them in their place. In Poland, workers will sadly mark the fifth anniversary of martial law and will mourn those who suffered for their defense of human rights.

Unfortunately, no continent has been spared the pain of human rights violations. In South Africa the manifest injustices of the apartheid system of racial discrimination persist. Refugees continue to flow from the communist nations of southeast Asia. And the world is listening increasingly to the tragic stories of those who have suffered so long in the Cuban gulags just 90 miles from our shores -- and in the emerging gulags of Nicaragua.

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Yet despite this reign of repression, there is reason for hope. In our own hemisphere in this decade the movement has been toward freedom, not toward repression, as country after country has brought into being the institutions of democracy.

The defense of human rights is a humanitarian concern, and a practical one as well. Peace and respect for human rights are inseparable. History demonstrates that there can be no genuine peace without respect for human rights, that governments that do not respect the rights of their own citizens are a threat to their neighbors as well.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim December 10, 1986, as Human Rights Day and December 15, 1986, as Bill of Rights Day, and I call upon all Americans to observe the week beginning December 8, 1986, as Human Rights Week.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this tenth day of December, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-six, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and eleventh.

Ronald Reagan

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:10 p.m., December 10, 1986]

2ND DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Bicentennial of the United States Constitution

Remarks to the Winners of the National Essay Competition.

23 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1004

September 10, 1987

LENGTH: 1224 words

Well, Chief Justice Burger, ladies and gentlemen, I want to start out by congratulating you contest winners. You have all accomplished something very fine, and you have a right to be very proud. I'm sure your families are proud of you.

History's no easy subject. Even in my day it wasn't, and we had so much less of it to learn then. [Laughter] But one of the most valuable benefits of a study of the past is that it gives you a perspective on the present.

I think it's probably true that every generation, every age, is prone to think itself beset by unusual and particularly threatening difficulties and to look back on the past as a golden age when issues were not so complex and politics not so divisive and when problems didn't seem so intractable. Sometimes we're tempted to think of the birth of our country as one such golden age: a time characterized primarily by harmony and cooperation and reason.

Well, in fact, the Constitution and our government were born in crisis. As I'm sure you all discovered in your research, the years leading up to our Constitutional Convention were some of the most difficult our nation ever endured. The economy was near collapse. Trade disputes between the individual States threatened to send it over the brink. A steadily increasing number of farm foreclosures led to an uprising of poor farmers in Massachusetts led by a former Revolutionary War captain, Daniel Shays -- Shays' Rebellion. Meanwhile, pirates from the Barbary Coast plundered our shipping, seemingly at will, and our young nation was surrounded on almost every side by none too friendly neighbors.

To many, by that time, it was clear that the Articles of Confederation could not hold our nation together, and as Henry Knox said: "The poor, poor Federal Government is sick unto death." Well, even so, there was, in 1787, no general agreement in our land as to how a stronger Federal Government should be constituted or, indeed, whether one should be constituted at all. There were strong secessionist feelings in many parts of the country. In Boston, some were calling for a separate nation of New England. Others felt the 13 States should divide into 3 independent nations. George Washington himself was amazed to find in New England continuing strong sentiment in favor of a monarchy.

It wasn't the absence of problems but the presence of vision that won the day in 1787. And it wasn't the absence of division but the presence of something higher -- those self-evident truths for which so many had recently had to fight and die -- that allowed men to transcend their differences, to come together to produce a document that would change the world.

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It was then, in 1787, that the revolution truly began; for it was with the writing of the Constitution, setting down as it were the architecture of democratic government, that the fine words and brave rhetoric of 1776 took on substance, that the hopes and dreams of the revolutionists would become a living, enduring reality. All men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights -- until that moment, that was just a high-blown sentiment, the dreams of a few philosophers and their hotheaded followers.

But could one really construct a government, run a country, with such idealistic notions? But once those ideals took root in living, functioning institutions, once those notions became a nation, well, then, as I said, the revolution could really begin not just in America but around the world. A revolution to free man from tyranny of every sort and secure his freedom the only way possible in this world: through the checks and balances and institutions of democratic government.

Wasn't it Daniel Webster who said at one point to maintain our Constitution, "for if the Constitution should ever fall, there would be anarchy throughout the world"? That revolution has been so successful that even those tyrannies that, in practice, reject every ideal and moral precept upon which our country is founded -- even they put on the pretense of democracy, aping our Constitution and its democratic forms.

We know only too well that the ideals of our founders still wait to be fulfilled throughout much of the world. We read the headlines. We see the great problems, the divisions, and some lost hope. But in 1987, as in 1787, success will not depend on the severity of our problems but on the strength of our vision, the courage of our beliefs.

There's a favorite story of mine on the Constitutional Convention. Toward the end, when it appeared that the Convention would be successful, Ben Franklin observed to several of the members seated near him that he had often looked at the picture of the Sun painted on the back of the president's chair. "I have," he said, "often looked at it without knowing if it is a rising or setting sun." And then he said: "But now, at length, I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting sun."

One of the great pleasures of my present job is that it so often brings me in events such as these in contact with the young people of America. And I can't tell you how often I've had the same certain knowledge that Ben Franklin had, because I look out on this your generation and see that it's one of the finest groups of young people this nation has ever seen. And I know that with young people like these the cause of America and human freedom is rising and will continue to rise until it floods the whole world with its light.

And in closing, I want to think the Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States and those whose generosity made this event possible.

And the moment you've all been waiting for: It's time to announce the national winner. Apparently, there were two essays that were so good the judges couldn't decide between them. So, they very judiciously decided to award two prizes. And they go to Liza Johnson and Mahbub Majumdar.

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[At this point, the President presented the competition winners with the grand prizes.]

I just want to leave you with one little word that I've used sometimes with young people before when I've faced them about this Constitution. And now that all of you, through your efforts, are so familiar with it -- maybe you've already figured this out, but if you haven't, just let me tell you.

I've read a number of constitutions of other countries, including that of the Soviet Union, and was astonished to find guarantee of freedom of expression and assembly and so forth in all of those. And you find yourself thinking, well, then, what makes ours so different? Why does ours work the way it does? And the answer is so simple that it almost escapes you. And yet it is so great that it explains the whole difference: three words -- "We the People." All those other constitutions in the world are documents in which the government tells the people what they can do. And our Constitution is one in which we the people tell the government what it can do, and it can do nothing other than what is prescribed in that document. So, if we can get the rest of the world to switch around someday, it will be heaven on Earth.

Thank you all very much. And congratulations again.

Note: The President spoke at 10:54 a.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building.

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Public Papers of the Presidents

New Britain, Connecticut

Remarks to Members of the Community Action Council and the
Chamber of Commerce.

23 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 784

July 8, 1987

LENGTH: 1142 words

Before lunch today, I had a talk with Congresswoman Johnson and Mayor McNamara and 11 other distinguished citizens of New Britain. And I know that some were Republicans and some were Democrats, and they represented many occupations and backgrounds. And we had a good discussion, and I got to straighten out some things that I thought might be not straightened out in some people's minds. I don't know whether we agreed on everything -- everyone was very polite -- but I think we do agree on the principles of economic freedom that all of us cherish.

And while we were there, I couldn't help being reminded of a story. A lot of things remind me of stories these days. [Laughter] I'm a collector of stories -- I really am -- that I can verify are told by the Soviet citizens among themselves. They reveal that they have a sense of humor, but also that they have a certain kind of cynical outlook on their system there. And these stories give you an idea on what they're thinking.

And this one's just very brief. It's about two Soviets who were talking to each other. And one of them asked, "What's the difference between the Soviet Constitution and the United States Constitution?" And the other one said, "That's easy. The Soviet Constitution guarantees freedom of speech and freedom of gathering. The American Constitution guarantees freedom after speech and freedom after gathering." [Laughter]

We had a lively discussion there, though, as the mayor can attest. And today on the city steps, I'll be asking New Britain to join a great national discussion, the kind that our Founders launched 200 years ago when they drafted our Constitution and submitted it to the people for ratification, the kind that the 14 of us were having a few minutes ago. If we didn't agree on everything, well, neither did the generation that gave us the Constitution.

But I'm here today because I believe that the outcome of this discussion will determine the strength and health of our nation and what it stands for in the decades to come. I'll be talking out there about what I hope will be among the most important legacies of my Presidency: the Economic Bill of Rights.

Now, you've heard a lot about this from our critics. On one hand they say it's a ploy, something I've cooked up to distract attention from whatever -- I don't know, but -- [laughter]. On the other hand, they say little that's new here, which I guess means it's made up of things that I believed in and fought to achieve for years, and now I'm working to make certain that America doesn't lose all that we've done.

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Well, it can be one or the other, not both, and I'll plead guilty to the second charge. I went to Washington to do a job: lower taxes, restore our defenses, cut the size and intrusiveness of government, tune up the carburetor and step on the gas of the greatest engine against poverty and for opportunity in the history of man -- the free enterprise system of the United States of America.

We've achieved a great deal of that. We still have a government that spends too much and a deficit that's too large. As long as we have those, we can't be sure that the growth that we've enjoyed these last 4 1/2 years will continue.

Today I'll talk about the way that things were before I came into office and the way they are now and about the role of economic freedom and the opportunities that America offers all peoples. But I thought I'd make one especially important point to you; it's about poverty. Between 1979 and 1980, in the years before we were elected, the breakdown of our economy hit the poor the hardest. The poverty rates soared, growing at the fastest rate even as 3 million people were pushed into poverty in that brief time. With our recovery, that rise has been stopped and poverty has dropped at the fastest pace in 15 years. Although today New Britain's unemployment rate is 3.9 percent, which is very much lower than the national average, I know many families here were hurt by those economic dislocations. So, a lot's at stake in what I'll be talking about today.

Let me close by telling you a little story. It dates back to when I was running 7 years ago. I told it once then on TV. If anyone should remember it, just please pretend you didn't hear it. [Laughter] It comes from a newspaper report about a fifth-grade girl out in Indiana. She wanted to buy a pair of roller skates. In the great American tradition, she saved her allowance until she had the money to get them. But, as she told the reporter, "When I went back to the store, the price had gone up. I saved more money, but when I got back again, the price had gone up again." And then she said, "It's just not fair."

Well, it wasn't. We all remember that. I remember a friend of mine went to the supermarket and was buying lettuce, and when he heard the price, he said, "It would have been cheaper to eat money." [Laughter]

Well today, 7 years later, things are much fairer for all Americans. We've polished up the American dream, and now it shines as never before, a great star of hope once again for all the world. We did it by freeing Americans of the burdens of too much taxation and regulation and of the threat of inflation. And, yes, we did it also by respecting our country's most deeply held and cherished traditional values.

I know you have a big memorial out in the park. Over the two centuries, generations of Americans have fought, and many have died, to protect America's freedom, America's values, and America's promise. Well, it's the least we in our time can do to make sure that all our nation has achieved in these last several years to protect America's dream and promise -- see that it is for generations to come.

I'm going to do it. I shouldn't anyway, but I'm going to tell another story. I know yours is an industrial community, and you're out there and competing in the world. To show you again what some of the Soviets think of their system, this story has to do with the fact that in the Soviet Union to buy an

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automobile you have a 10-year waiting period. And when you start out to buy it, you go through a number of departments and sign papers and so forth, and then you have to put down the money first. And then the fellow says to you, "Come back in 10 years and get your car." And this happened to one Russian. And their story is that as he started to leave and they said, "Come back in 10 years," he said, "Morning or afternoon?" [Laughter] And the fellow said, "Ten years from now, what difference does it make?" "Well," he said, "the plumber is coming in the morning." [Laughter]

Note: The President spoke at 12:44 p.m. at Elk's Lodge No. 957. In his opening remarks, he referred to Representative Nancy L. Johnson and Mayor William McNamara.

6TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Bicentennial of the United States Constitution

Remarks on Greeting the Winners of the Elementary School
Essay Project.

23 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 609

June 1, 1987

LENGTH: 1281 words

The President. Well, welcome to the White House and congratulations to the special representatives of the 1987 Elementary School Essay Project. It could be said that each of you boys and girls here is just about one in a million, because that's how many children entered the Elementary School Essay Project -- more than a million. And the judges tell me they read countless outstanding essays, but yours, well, they just stood out just a little bit above all the rest. And that's why you're here. So again, congratulations. I know you and your parents and teachers and principals are proud, and you deserve to be.

You know, Thomas Jefferson once wrote a friend to say that our Constitution represented "unquestionably, the wisest ever yet presented to men." Well, right about here, you probably think I'm going to say there's no truth to the rumor that I was the friend he was writing the letter to. [Laughter]

But history has certainly borne out Mr. Jefferson's judgment. Through two centuries now, our Constitution has proven a source of strength, stability, and unerring wisdom, serving longer than any other written constitution in the world. Think of that: Young as our country is, we're really, though, the oldest republic in the world. I know that, what with some of the budget bills, Presidents have days when they think the Constitution created one branch of government too many. But seriously, the Constitution has blessed us with what I have to believe is the finest Government in history.

Of course, as President, I find that the Constitution is part of my daily life. It's the Constitution that established the Office of the President of the United States. And it's the Constitution that sets forth my responsibilities at home and abroad, the Constitution that guides my dealings with the Congress, the judiciary, and the members of my Cabinet, like Secretary Bennett. n1

n1 Secretary of Education William J. Bennett.

At the same time, the Constitution plays a part in guiding each of your lives. You see, when the Founding Fathers met in Philadelphia to draft that document, they were thinking of the future. They were thinking of the kind of country they wanted to leave for their children and their children's children. They wanted their sons and daughters to grow up in a land that was safe for people of all religious faiths, a land where they would be free to speak their minds and shape their own lives, a land where all would be free.

We're all heirs to the Constitution; we're all the Constitution's children. Being the heirs to the Constitution is our good fortune, but it also places upon us a responsibility: the responsibility to nurture and defend this country so

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that, when our turn comes, we, too, can pass on to our children a nation of greatness and freedom. And maybe that's the most important part of all that you've learned in studying and writing about the Constitution. You have taken the first step toward shouldering your responsibilities as citizens of our country, the country that you will one day lead.

So, congratulations to all of you once again. And to all your teachers and parents, you all look so happy and proud -- don't go busting any buttons. Just God bless you all.

Secretary Bennett. Thank you very much, Mr. President. We thought, since all these children did so much homework and they represent the homework of more than a million children, we ought to give you, just very briefly, a little sample of the work. So, I'd like to call on two of the Constitution's children to read some remarks, their essays, little essays, they wrote.

First, Wanda Nichols, who's an eighth grader from North Carolina.

Wanda, will you step up?

Wanda Nichols. As a young, individualistic, black citizen, this magnificent document means so much to me. The Constitution and its Bill of Rights have given me a distinct and honorable place in a democratic society. I am a respected human being, although I happen to belong to a minority. I can do what I please within the limits of the law.

It has granted me rights and freedoms to pursue my human goals and aspirations. Freedom of worship has reinforced and nourished my belief in God and consideration to fellow man. Freedom of speech and of the press have given me the tools to speak out in a positive way, because I am more informed. These constitutional rights have made me a true believer in equal justice and equal opportunity.

To me, the Constitution is like a beautiful and talented lady. She is charming, but unyielding to the onslaughts of bigotry. She is rigid, but flexible. She changes her mood according to the way our society sees change. Yet I am not afraid to face changes, because she is there to guard my identity and human worth.

Thank you.

Secretary Bennett. Thank you, Wanda.

Mr. President, representing the first, second, third, and fourth grades, we have Mr. Justin Swope, from the State of Maryland, a second grader.

Justin?

Justin Swope. On July 4th, 1976, our country celebrated our 200th birthday. I wasn't born until 1978, so I missed that celebration. However, on September 17th, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, we will celebrate the birthday of our Constitution. The Constitution is having its 200th birthday, and I want to be there.

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The Constitution is important to me. It lets me go to my church. No one is allowed in my house without my permission. I can say anything I want when I get big, I even get to vote for our leaders, and maybe I'll be one. I think our country is lucky we have the Constitution.

We all pay taxes to help build roads, schools, parks, courts, and we pay police, firemen, but most important, good leaders. They make the laws we must live by in America. I think the men who wrote the Constitution in 1787 were pretty smart. I'm glad we have the Constitution. I love living in America.

Secretary Bennett. Thatta boy!

The President. I know it's time to let you all get in the shade now, which you'll appreciate it. But just in closing, to all of these children here, you here in Washington, and you've seen, I'm sure, the Capitol, or are going to see, if you haven't already, and some of the great institutions and the buildings of government, but there's one thing that you all must know while you're looking at all of us: We all work for you. You're the boss. And I said in a State of the Union Address some time ago something I'm going to repeat here to all of you, because you probably weren't listening at the time. [Laughter]

As you go on in school, you're probably going to see constitutions in your studies of other countries. I've read a number of constitutions from other nations, even including the Soviet Union. And I'm surprised to find things in there that sound like ours: the right of assembly, the right to do this or that. Any you think, well, they seem similar, but there is one great difference. And the difference is so tiny that it's almost overlooked, but it is so great that it spells the difference between all those constitutions and ours. All those other constitutions are written by the government, telling the people what they can do. Our Constitution is written by the people, telling the Government what it can do. And the whole difference is the phrase in our Constitution: "We the People . . ."

So, when you're looking around here today, why, if you see anything that needs correcting, let us know; you're the boss.

Thank you all very much. Congratulations again.

Note: The President spoke at 11:45 a.m., in the Rose Garden at the White House.

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Public Papers of the Presidents

Columbia, Missouri

Remarks to a Sixth Grade Class at Fairview Elementary
School.

23 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 300

March 26, 1987

LENGTH: 1247 words

The President. Well, I've enjoyed this. I wish it could go on longer. I hope that you all realize that you are part of a really exceptional school system. That's why we're here. The schools here in Columbia have achieved so much improvement over the years and such quality, that's why the Secretary and I and the others are all here.

But also in this civics class, and what you were doing -- you know, it brings to mind about people like myself, like the Secretary and the people that you were talking about there in the Congress. We don't really make the country great, you and Mrs. Hassemer, and you and your parents and the people of this country determine the quality of the country, because all of us work for you. We're the employees of the people of this country. And if the people of America are good, and they are, and they're patriotic, things will go right.

Many years ago, in fact more than 100 years ago, when this brandnew country had suddenly achieved such stature and was so great and becoming powerful, a French writer came to this country. His name was de Tocqueville. He came because Europe was amazed. They wanted to find out: How did we do it? And he came and went all over America to meet the people and to look and to see, and went back and wrote a book about it. And he wrote one line in that book that was very wonderful in explaining things. He said: "America is great because America is good. And if America ever stops being good, America will stop being great."

And with all of this, and the checks and balances which you've been speaking about here today, the legislative, the executive branch, the judicial branch over all, to make sure we obey the law, all points up to the fact that, when we had our Revolution 200 years ago -- there had been revolutions all over the world before and since. But most of those revolutions just changed one set of rulers for another set of rulers. Our Revolution was much deeper than that. We created something that had never before been done in the history of man. We created a government that was run by the people. And that's the difference between our Constitution and all those others.

I've read an awful lot of constitutions. I've read the Soviet Constitution. It talks about right of assembly and freedom of speech and things of that kind. But what's the big difference, then, between theirs and ours? Well, all those other constitutions say we the government will allow you, the people, to do the following things. Our Constitution says we, the people, will allow the Government to do the following things, and the Government can't do anything that is not prescribed there in the Constitution.

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And that makes us so totally different from anyone else in the whole world. And pretty soon, you're going to be growing up and be in a new century, and you're going to be running the country. And you don't have to hold public office to do that. You, the people, are in charge.

I could go on here, but I know I shouldn't. Could I, just as a closing in here -- since you were all being asked so many questions, I know I've only have time for one. We have to move on to some other classes.

Would someone like to ask -- well, my partner here would.

Student. All this publicity and the press and stuff, they would scare me out of any mind. I just wonder what is it that made it worthwhile to you?

The President. That had made it so what?

Q. Worthwhile to you.

The President. What had made it worthwhile? Well, this was one of the things why I asked for a commission to be appointed to bring out all the facts. You know, there was a revolution in a country called Iran, and the Ayatollah Khomeini took over and became the dictator of that country. Before that, it had a royal family, the Shah, the King. And he was thrown out of the country. But he had been -- well, I knew him personally, and had met him and had been there in Iran. And he was doing what he thought was right for the people.

Then, this revolution decided that we, the United States, we were the Great Satan, we were the evil force. And yet, that's a very strategic country there in the Middle East, where there is so much trouble. And yet, where so much trouble for the world can be caused. And we got word that some people there in the government would like to talk to us about maybe reestablishing a friendly relationship between the two countries.

Now, there is a terrorist group in another country, Lebanon, that we believe also sort of may not take orders exactly, but it gets its direction from the Ayatollah Khomeini's government. And they are holding some Americans as hostages. They've kidnaped them, and they're holding them there. They've had them there more than a year.

And we thought this was an opportunity -- if we could establish a better relationship with these people in the Iranian Government who wanted to have a better relationship, or said they did. And, so, we sent some people over to start talking to them. And they wanted us to prove that we really were serious. And, so, they asked us to sell them some weapons. We hadn't been doing that because they're engaged in a war.

But these people said they were opposed to the war themselves, and they would like to see it ended. So we agreed, but on a basis that we said you can prove your qualifications as you're asking us to prove ours by seeing if you could get this terrorist group to free our hostages. And we would each do this for each other.

Well, this is what we started. And I'm afraid it wasn't carried out the way we had thought it would be. It sort of settled down to just trading arms for hostages, and that's a little like paying ransom to a kidnaper. If you do it,

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then the kidnaper's just encouraged to go kidnap someone else.

And finally, all of this came out into the open. Up until then, we'd had to keep everything very secret because we felt that the people who were talking to us from Iran would be executed by their government if they were found doing this. And it all came out in the public. I don't know what has happened to all those people there or not. And I have to say that I still think that the idea was right to try and establish a friendly relationship, try and bring about peace between the two countries that are at war, and try and get our people freed. But it kind of deteriorated into something else, and as I said the other night on television, I won't make that mistake again.

Well, I know that I've talked too much here, and --

Mrs. Hassemer. Thank you for coming. We really appreciate it. I understand you need to get down to third grade.

The President. Yes.

Mrs. Hassemer. We do appreciate your coming today. Let's thank the President and Secretary Bennett for coming. [Applause]

The President. When you're studying these particular things, this particular course, remember how important it is. Because Thomas Jefferson -- you all know who he was back in our history -- Thomas Jefferson said: "If the people have all the facts and know the truth, the people will never make a mistake."

Thank you all very much.

Note: The President spoke at 12:10 p.m. to Mrs. Elaine Hassemer's sixth grade class.

Prior to his remarks, the President and Secretary of Education William J. Bennett listened to a classroom discussion on the U.S. Constitution's separation of powers.

9TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

The State of the Union

Address Delivered Before a Joint Session of The Congress.

23 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 59

January 27, 1987

LENGTH: 3777 words

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, distinguished Members of Congress, honored guests, and fellow citizens:

May I congratulate all of you who are Members of this historic 100th Congress of the United States of America. In this 200th anniversary year of our Constitution, you and I stand on the shoulders of giants -- men whose words and deeds put wind in the sails of freedom. However, we must always remember that our Constitution is to be celebrated not for being old, but for being young -- young with the same energy, spirit, and promise that filled each eventful day in Philadelphia's statehouse. We will be guided tonight by their acts, and we will be guided forever by their words.

Now, forgive me, but I can't resist sharing a story from those historic days. Philadelphia was bursting with civic pride in the spring of 1787, and its newspapers began embellishing the arrival of the convention delegates with elaborate social classifications. Governors of States were called Excellency, Justices and chancellors had reserved for them honorable with a capital "H." For Congressmen, it was honorable with a small "h." And all others were referred to as "the following respectable characters." [Laughter]

Well, for this 100th Congress, I invoke special executive powers to declare that each of you must never be titled less than honorable with a capital "H." Incidentally, I'm delighted you are celebrating the 100th birthday of the Congress. It's always a pleasure to congratulate someone with more birthdays than I've had. [Laughter]

Now, there's a new face at this place of honor tonight. And please join me in warm congratulations to the Speaker of the House, Jim Wright. [Applause] Mr. Speaker, you might recall a similar situation in your very first session of Congress 32 years ago. Then, as now, the speakership had changed hands and another great son of Texas, Sam Rayburn -- "Mr. Sam" -- sat in your chair. I cannot find better words than those used by President Eisenhower that evening. He said, "We shall have much to do together; I am sure that we will get it done and that we shall do it in harmony and good will."

Tonight I renew that pledge. To you, Mr. Speaker, and to Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd, who brings 34 years of distinguished service to the Congress, may I say: Though there are changes in the Congress, America's interests remain the same. And I am confident that, along with Republican leaders Bob Michel and Bob Dole, this Congress can make history.

Six years ago I was here to ask the Congress to join me in America's new beginning. Well, the results are something of which we can all be proud. Our

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inflation rate is now the lowest in a quarter of a century. The prime interest rate has fallen from the 21 1/2 percent the month before we took office to 7 1/2 percent today. And those rates have triggered the most housing starts in 8 years.

The unemployment rate -- still too high -- is the lowest in nearly 7 years, and our people have created nearly 13 million new jobs. Over 61 percent of everyone over the age of 16, male and female, is employed -- the highest percentage on record. Let's roll up our sleeves and go to work and put America's economic engine at full throttle.

We can also be heartened by our progress across the world. Most important, America is at peace tonight, and freedom is on the march. And we've done much these past years to restore our defenses, our alliances, and our leadership in the world. Our sons and daughters in the services once again wear their uniforms with pride.

But though we've made much progress, I have one major regret: I took a risk with regard to our action in Iran. It did not work, and for that I assume full responsibility. The goals were worthy. I do not believe it was wrong to try to establish contacts with a country of strategic importance or to try to save lives. And certainly it was not wrong to try to secure freedom for our citizens held in barbaric captivity. But we did not achieve what we wished, and serious mistakes were made in trying to do so. We will get to the bottom of this, and I will take whatever action is called for.

But in debating the past, we must not deny ourselves the successes of the future. Let it never be said of this generation of Americans that we became so obsessed with failure that we refused to take risks that could further the cause of peace and freedom in the world.

Much is at stake here, and the Nation and the world are watching to see if we go forward together in the national interest or if we let partisanship weaken us. And let there be no mistake about American policy: We will not sit idly by if our interests or our friends in the Middle East are threatened nor will we yield to terrorist blackmail.

And now, ladies and gentlemen of the Congress, why don't we get to work?

I am pleased to report that because of our efforts to rebuild the strength of America, the world is a safer place. Earlier this month I submitted a budget to defend America and maintain our momentum to make up for neglect in the last decade. Well, I ask you to vote out a defense and foreign affairs budget that says yes to protecting our country. While the world is safer, it is not safe.

Since 1970 the Soviets have invested \$500 billion more on their military forces than we have. Even today, though nearly 1 in 3 Soviet families is without running hot water and the average family spends 2 hours a day shopping for the basic necessities of life, their government still found the resources to transfer \$75 billion in weapons to client states in the past 5 years -- clients like Syria, Vietnam, Cuba, Libya, Angola, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, and Nicaragua.

With 120,000 Soviet combat and military personnel and 15,000 military advisers in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, can anyone still doubt their single-minded determination to expand their power? Despite this, the Congress

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cut my request for critical U.S. security assistance to free nations by 21 percent this year, and cut defense requests by \$85 billion in the last 3 years.

These assistance programs serve our national interests as well as mutual interests. And when the programs are devastated, American interests are harmed. My friends, it's my duty as President to say to you again tonight that there is no surer way to lose freedom than to lose our resolve.

Today the brave people of Afghanistan are showing that resolve. The Soviet Union says it wants a peaceful settlement in Afghanistan, yet it continues a brutal war and props up a regime whose days are clearly numbered. We are ready to support a political solution that guarantees the rapid withdrawal of all Soviet troops and genuine self-determination for the Afghan people. In Central America, too, the cause of freedom is being tested. And our resolve is being tested there as well. Here, especially, the world is watching to see how this nation responds.

Today over 90 percent of the people of Latin America live in democracy. Democracy is on the march in Central and South America. Communist Nicaragua is the odd man out -- suppressing the church, the press, and democratic dissent and promoting subversion in the region. We support diplomatic efforts, but these efforts can never succeed if the Sandinistas win their war against the Nicaraguan people.

Our commitment to a Western Hemisphere safe from aggression did not occur by spontaneous generation on the day that we took office. It began with the Monroe Doctrine in 1823 and continues our historic bipartisan American policy. Franklin Roosevelt said we "are determined to do everything possible to maintain peace on this hemisphere." President Truman was very blunt: "International communism seeks to crush and undermine and destroy the independence of the Americans. We cannot let that happen here." And John F. Kennedy made clear that "Communist domination in this hemisphere can never be negotiated." Some in this Congress may choose to depart from this historic commitment, but I will not.

This year we celebrate the second century of our Constitution. The Sandinistas just signed theirs 2 weeks ago, and then suspended it. We won't know how my words tonight will be reported there for one simple reason: There is no free press in Nicaragua.

Nicaraguan freedom fighters have never asked us to wage their battle, but I will fight any effort to shut off their lifeblood and consign them to death, defeat, or a life without freedom. There must be no Soviet beachhead in Central America.

You know, we Americans have always preferred dialog to conflict, and so, we always remain open to more constructive relations with the Soviet Union. But more responsible Soviet conduct around the world is a key element of the U.S.-Soviet agenda. Progress is also required on the other items of our agenda as well -- real respect for human rights and more open contacts between our societies and, of course, arms reduction.

In Iceland, last October, we had one moment of opportunity that the Soviets dashed because they sought to cripple our Strategic Defense Initiative, SDI. I wouldn't let them do it then; I won't let them do it now or in the future. This is the most positive and promising defense program we have undertaken. It's

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the path, for both sides, to a safer future -- a system that defends human life instead of threatening it. SDI will go forward.

The United States has made serious, fair, and far-reaching proposals to the Soviet Union, and this is a moment of rare opportunity for arms reduction. But I will need, and American negotiators in Geneva will need, Congress' support. Enacting the Soviet negotiating position into American law would not be the way to win a good agreement. So, I must tell you in this Congress I will veto any effort that undercuts our national security and our negotiating leverage.

Now, today, we also find ourselves engaged in expanding peaceful commerce across the world. We will work to expand our opportunities in international markets through the Uruguay round of trade negotiations and to complete and historic free trade arrangement between the world's two largest trading partners, Canada and the United States. Our basic trade policy remains the same: We remain opposed as ever to protectionism, because America's growth and future depend on trade. But we would insist on trade that is fair and free. We are always willing to be trade partners but never trade patsies.

Now, from foreign borders let us return to our own, because America in the world is only as strong as America at home. This 100th Congress has high responsibilities. I begin with a gentle reminder that many of these are simply the incomplete obligations of the past. The American people deserve to be impatient, because we do not yet have the public house in order.

We've had great success in restoring our economic integrity, and we've rescued our nation from the worst economic mess since the Depression. But there's more to do. For starters, the Federal deficit is outrageous. For years I've asked that we stop pushing onto our children the excesses of our government. And what the Congress finally needs to do is pass a constitutional amendment that mandates a balanced budget and forces government to live within its means. States, cities, and the families of America balance their budgets. Why can't we?

Next, the budget process is a sorry spectacle. The missing of deadlines and the nightmare of monstrous continuing resolutions packing hundreds of billions of dollars of spending into one bill must be stopped. We ask the Congress once again: Give us the same tool that 43 Governors have -- a line-item veto so we can carve out the boondoggles and pork, those items that would never survive on their own. I will send the Congress broad recommendations on the budget, but first I'd like to see yours. Let's go to work and get this done together.

But now let's talk about this year's budget. Even though I have submitted it within the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit reduction target, I have seen suggestions that we might postpone that timetable. Well, I think the American people are tired of hearing the same old excuses. Together we made a commitment to balance the budget. Now, let's keep it.

As for those suggestions that the answer is higher taxes, the American people have repeatedly rejected that shop-worn advice. They know that we don't have deficits because people are taxed too little. We have deficits because big government spends too much.

Now, next month I'll place two additional reforms before the Congress. We've created a welfare monster that is a shocking indictment of our sense of

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priorities. Our national welfare system consists of some 59 major programs and over 6,000 pages of Federal laws and regulations on which more than \$132 billion was spent in 1985. I will propose a new national welfare strategy, a program of welfare reform through State-sponsored, community-based demonstration projects. This is the time to reform this outmoded social dinosaur and finally break the poverty trap. Now, we will never abandon those who, through no fault of their own, must have our help. But let us work to see how many can be freed from the dependency of welfare and made self-supporting, which the great majority of welfare recipients want more than anything else.

Next, let us remove a financial specter facing our older Americans: the fear of an illness so expensive that it can result in having to make an intolerable choice between bankruptcy and death. I will submit legislation shortly to help free the elderly from the fear of catastrophic illness.

Now let's turn to the future. It's widely said that America is losing her competitive edge. Well, that won't happen if we act now. How well prepared are we to enter the 21st century? In my lifetime, America set the standard for the world. It is now time to determine that we should enter the next century having achieved a level of excellence unsurpassed in history.

We will achieve this, first, by guaranteeing that government does everything possible to promote America's ability to compete. Second, we must act as individuals in a quest for excellence that will not be measured by new proposals or billions in new funding. Rather, it involves an expenditure of American spirit and just plain American grit.

The Congress will soon receive my comprehensive proposals to enhance our competitiveness, including new science and technology centers and strong new funding for basic research. The bill will include legal and regulatory reforms and weapons to fight unfair trade practices. Competitiveness also means giving our farmers a shot at participating fairly and fully in a changing world market.

Preparing for the future must begin, as always, with our children. We need to set for them new and more rigorous goals. We must demand more of ourselves and our children by raising literacy levels dramatically by the year 2000. Our children should master the basic concepts of math and science, and let's insist that students not leave high school until they have studied and understood the basic documents of our national heritage.

There's one more thing we can't let up on: Let's redouble our personal efforts to provide for every child a safe and drug-free learning environment. If our crusade against drugs succeeds with our children, we will defeat that scourge all over the country.

Finally, let's stop suppressing the spiritual core of our national being. Our nation could not have been conceived without divine help. Why is it that we can build a nation with our prayers, but we can't use a schoolroom for voluntary prayer? The 100th Congress of the United States should be remembered as the one that ended the expulsion of God from America's classrooms.

The quest for excellence into the 21st century begins in the schoolroom but must go next to the workplace. More than 20 million new jobs will be created before the new century unfolds, and by then, our economy should be able to provide a job for everyone who wants to work. We must also enable our workers

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to adapt to the rapidly changing nature of the workplace. And I will propose substantial, new Federal commitments keyed to retraining and job mobility.

Over the next few weeks, I'll be sending the Congress a complete series of these special messages -- on budget reform, welfare reform, competitiveness, including education, trade, worker training and assistance, agriculture, and other subjects. The Congress can give us these tools, but to make these tools work, it really comes down to just being our best. And that is the core of American greatness.

The responsibility of freedom presses us towards higher knowledge and, I believe, moral and spiritual greatness. Through lower taxes and smaller government, government has its ways of freeing people's spirits. But only we, each of us, can let the spirit soar against our own individual standards. Excellence is what makes freedom ring. And isn't that what we do best?

We're entering our third century now, but it's wrong to judge our nation by its years. The calendar can't measure America because we were meant to be an endless experiment in freedom -- with no limit to our reaches, no boundaries to what we can do, no end point to our hopes.

The United States Constitution is the impassioned and inspired vehicle by which we travel through history. It grew out of the most fundamental inspiration of our existence: that we are here to serve Him by living free -- that living free releases in us the noblest of impulses and the best of our abilities; that we would use these gifts for good and generous purposes and would secure them not just for ourselves, and for our children, but for all mankind.

Over the years -- I won't count if you don't -- nothing has been so heartwarming to me as speaking to America's young, and the little ones especially, so fresh-faced and so eager to know. Well, from time to time I've been with them -- they will ask about our Constitution. And I hope you Members of Congress will not deem this a breach of protocol if you'll permit me to share these thoughts again with the young people who might be listening or watching this evening.

I've read the constitutions of a number of countries, including the Soviet Union's. Now, some people are surprised to hear that they have a constitution, and it even supposedly grants a number of freedoms to its people. Many countries have written into their constitution provisions for freedom of speech and freedom of assembly. Well, if this is true, why is the Constitution of the United States so exceptional?

Well, the difference is so small that it almost escapes you, but it's so great it tells you the whole story in just three words: We the people. In those other constitutions, the Government tells the people of those countries what they're allowed to do. In our Constitution, we the people tell the Government what it can do, and it can do only those things listed in that document and no others.

Virtually every other revolution in history has just exchanged one set of rulers for another set of rulers. Our revolution is the first to say the people are the masters and government is their servant. And you young people out there, don't ever forget that. Someday you could be in this room, but

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wherever you are, America is depending on you to reach your highest and be your best -- because here in America, we the people are in charge.

Just three words: We the people. Those are the kids on Christmas Day looking out from a frozen sentry post on the 38th parallel in Korea or aboard an aircraft carrier in the Mediterranean. A million miles from home, but doing their duty.

We the people -- those are the warmhearted whose numbers we can't begin to count, who'll begin the day with a little prayer for hostages they will never know and MIA families they will never meet. Why? Because that's the way we are, this unique breed we call Americans.

We the people -- they're farmers on tough times, but who never stop feeding a hungry world. They're the volunteers at the hospital choking back their tears for the hundredth time, caring for a baby struggling for life because of a mother who used drugs. And you'll forgive me a special memory -- it's a million mothers like Nelle Reagan who never knew a stranger or turned a hungry person away from her kitchen door.

We the people -- they refute last week's television commentary downgrading our optimism and our idealism. They are the entrepreneurs, the builders, the pioneers, and a lot of regular folks -- the true heroes of our land who make up the most uncommon nation of doers in history. You know they're Americans because their spirit is as big as the universe and their hearts are bigger than their spirits.

We the people -- starting the third century of a dream and standing up to some cynic who's trying to tell us we're not going to get any better. Are we at the end? Well, I can't tell it any better than the real thing -- a story recorded by James Madison from the final moments of the Constitutional Convention, September 17th, 1787. As the last few members signed the document, Benjamin Franklin -- the oldest delegate at 81 years and in frail health -- looked over toward the chair where George Washington daily presided. At the back of the chair was painted the picture of a Sun on the horizon. And turning to those sitting next to him, Franklin observed that artists found it difficult in their painting to distinguish between a rising and a setting Sun.

Well, I know if we were there, we could see those delegates sitting around Franklin -- leaning in to listen more closely to him. And then Dr. Franklin began to share his deepest hopes and fears about the outcome of their efforts, and this is what he said: "I have often looked at that picture behind the President without being able to tell whether it was a rising or setting sun: But now at length I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting sun."

Well, you can bet it's rising because, my fellow citizens, America isn't finished. Her best days have just begun.

Thank you, God bless you, and God bless America.

Note: The President spoke at 9:03 p.m. in the House Chamber of the Capital. He was introduced by Jim Wright, Speaker of the House of Representatives. The address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

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Public Papers of the Presidents

Soviet Union-United States Relations

Remarks at a White House Briefing for Republican Student Interns.

1986 Pub. Papers 1011

July 29, 1986

LENGTH: 1611 words

Thank you all very much, and welcome to the White House complex. I'm delighted to have this chance to speak with you today. I know most of you are interns who've come to Washington to observe this government of ours firsthand. For many of you it may be an eye-opening experience -- was for me. [Laughter]

I want to talk today about a serious subject, one of those serious subjects that can often seem dry and academic, but which can be so important to all of our lives. In the swirl of issues and events that is Washington, there remains one overriding purpose, the purpose toward which everything else we do in this town is -- or should be -- aimed.

I guess I would define it this way: creating a peaceful and safe world in which we can all securely enjoy the rights and freedoms that have been given to us by God. Being free and prosperous in a world at peace -- that's our ultimate goal. That is, as you might say, the business at hand here in Washington. Toward that end, few issues cut deeper than our relations with the Soviet Union. There are many issues on the U.S.-Soviet agenda: arms reduction, human rights, Soviet involvement in regional conflicts around the world, and possibilities for bilateral cooperation -- all of these are important. But today I want to share with you some of the latest developments in our ongoing efforts to negotiate radical reductions in nuclear arms with the Soviet Union.

When I spoke in Glassboro a little over a month ago, speaking to a high school graduation there, I said there were encouraging signs to the negotiating table. I spoke of a possible moment of opportunity in our relations with the Soviet Union. The Soviets have put forward proposals on a range of issues, from nuclear powerplant safety to conventional force reductions to nuclear arms reductions. And as I said at Glassboro, while we cannot accept all these proposals as they stand, we feel the Soviets have begun to make a serious effort. In that speech I stressed my own commitment to move the process forward, to pursue every opportunity to seek real and verifiable reductions in nuclear weapons.

I have now sent a letter to General Secretary Gorbachev that underlines my determination to keep the momentum going. Now, unfortunately I can't satisfy what I know must be your curiosity about the specifics of that letter. In the past we've criticized the Soviets for making their proposals public, because serious exchanges usually take place in private. Negotiations are sensitive plants that can wither up and die in the glare of publicity.

But even though I can't get specific about these negotiations, I can tell you of my renewed hopes for their success. I am hopeful that we have reached a

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stage where misunderstanding or suspicion in themselves will no longer keep us from our goal. Each side has a candid, realistic view of the other's positions and intentions. This candor has assisted the negotiating process, and I believe if the Soviets sincerely want equitable and verifiable nuclear arms reductions, there will be such nuclear arms reductions.

While I can't discuss the specific proposals in my letter, I can say that they are responsive to Soviet concerns. They seek out areas of convergence, they address the ultimate goal of eliminating all nuclear weapons while identifying practical steps that can move us in that direction. I also agreed to the Soviets suggestion of a work plan involving a series of preparatory meetings that could lead to a productive summit later this year.

Let me add that our program for the reduction of nuclear weapons rests on two pillars. The first is good-faith negotiations with the Soviet Union toward arms reductions. And as I said, I think we are seeing the first cautious steps in this direction from the other side.

The second pillar is our Strategic Defense Initiative, research on which has advanced more rapidly than the projections of even a few years ago. We won't bargain away SDI, because it is a promising area of technology that could release the world from the threat of nuclear ballistic missiles. We must continue our SDI program on schedule. What we seek is a transition to a world in which deterrence no longer depends solely on the threat of mutual annihilation.

You know, this came into being -- it was called the MADD policy, because that's MADD -- you know, everything in Washington become initials. Well, MADD spells what it is -- it's really mad, but it was mutual assured destruction, and the idea being that there would be peace between us as long as each one of us knew that the other fellow could retaliate if we shot first -- and blow us up, too. And since we never intended to shoot first, that meant that we'd have to take the first one and then hope we had enough left that they'd think twice before there would be a first one.

Well, the offensive and defensive parts of the equation now are clearly related, and both are part of our discussion with the Soviet Union. So, I must emphasize -- to the extent that some Members of Congress slow down or undercut SDI, they undercut hopes for progress in arms reductions.

We do not seek the Strategic Defense Initiative to enable us to be safe from their weapons while we still have our offensive weapons to shoot at them -- not in any way. We look at the Strategic Defense Initiative -- if our research develops that there is such a practical system, then we look at that as the means of getting everybody in the world, including ourselves, to get rid of their nuclear missiles.

And we're doing our share. We've responded constructively. We've made clear our serious desire for a better relationship with the Soviet Union. But now the ball is in the Soviet court. As I said in Glassboro, if both sides genuinely want progress, then this could represent a turning point in the effort to make ours a safer and more peaceful world.

Our arms reduction negotiations with the Soviet Union will not succeed overnight. They'll certainly be a long, arduous process. For the first time,

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however, we're not only pointed in the right direction -- toward reduction and eventual elimination of nuclear weapons -- we have begun to move, both sides, down that road.

As I look out on you from a little more than seven decades plus of experience, believe me, I reflect on how important that road is. I have seen four wars in my lifetime. I know the heartbreak, the human suffering that war causes. Each generation seeks for succeeding generations an end to war, a time of peace and freedom. Well, this dream is mine today. And I can only hope that years hence you'll be able to say to the generation succeeding your own that you were witness to one of the birthdates of this dream, this dream of freedom and of peace.

I'm finished with the serious part, but I do just want to tell you a little something. I know you must wonder sometimes -- sounds so lofty, a summit conference -- what happens when the General Secretary of the other great superpower and the President of this one get together in a room by themselves and talk to each other. Well, you might be interested to know that the General Secretary has a good sense of humor. [Laughter] I've been collecting jokes -- [laughter] -- that I know are told by the Russian people among themselves, which kind of shows a little cynicism about government. We're aware of that in our own country. [Laughter] So, I told him one of those jokes, and I got a big laugh. [Laughter]

I told him the joke about the American and the Russian who were arguing about how much freedom they had. And the American finally said to the Russian, "Look," he said, "I can walk into the Oval Office. I can pound the President's desk, and I can say, 'Mr. President, I don't like the way you're running our country.'" And the Russian said, "I can do that." And the American said, "You can?" He says, "I can go into the Kremlin. I can walk into the General Secretary's office. I can pound the desk and say, 'Mr. General Secretary, I don't like the way President Reagan's running his country.'" [Laughter]

Well, listen, thank you all, and I hope this has been and is being a valuable experience for all of you -- to see behind the front and where the wheels are going around. Sometimes, I know it looks a little unwashed -- [laughter] -- but all in all, as Churchill once said about democracy: With all its faults, it's better than any other system anyone else has ever devised. But it depends on all of us and all of you. It can't work without the people.

I have another hobby. I've been reading a lot of constitutions of other nations, including the Soviet -- and amazed at how many things I found in the Soviet Constitution that are similar to things in ours, like freedom of speech and things. Of course, they don't allow that, but it's there. [Laughter] And then I thought well, what -- and then the difference came to me, the difference is so simple that you can almost miss it and yet it explains the entire situation between all our countries. Theirs all say, their constitutions, that the government permits the people the following privileges, rights, and so forth. Ours says: "We the people will allow the government to do the following things, and it can't do anything other than what we have specifically given it the right to do. And as long as we keep that kind of a system in this country, we will be a superpower."

Thank you all very much. God bless you.

Windy White

2ND DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Helsinki Human Rights Day, 1987

Proclamation 5686.

23 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 893

July 31, 1987

LENGTH: 660 words

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Twelve years ago, the United States, Canada, and 33 European countries signed the Helsinki Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. These nations thereby committed themselves to observe important standards of international conduct and to respect basic human rights and fundamental freedoms at home. They also pledged themselves to pursue practical steps to reduce the barriers by which the Soviet Union has divided Europe into East and West, denying the nations of Eastern Europe the rights of self-determination and limiting contact between peoples.

The Helsinki Final Act embodies its signatories' agreement that freedom and human rights are the best guarantors of peace. It mandated that these freedoms, routinely enjoyed by the peoples of the West, be recognized and respected as well in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. After more than a decade, though there have been some limited gains, that mandate has not been fulfilled.

The Soviet Union and the Soviet-dominated governments of Eastern Europe have systematically violated many of their most fundamental Helsinki pledges. Freedoms of thought, conscience, religion, and belief are constrained. Loved ones, families, and friends are kept apart. The flow of ideas and information is restricted. The right of the individual to depart from and return to his own country is denied. Helsinki monitors and other prisoners of conscience continue to languish in prisons, labor camps, psychiatric hospitals, and internal exile, merely for expressing their political and religious beliefs. In Perm Camp 36-1, the most brutal of the labor camps in the Gulag, ten political prisoners -- three of whom were Helsinki monitors -- have died in the last 3 years. Harsh treatment and lack of medical care threaten the lives of those remaining in the camp.

These and other violations have exacted a fearsome and tragic human cost, and they reflect a disregard for the fundamental principle that in order for any of a nation's international agreements to be respected, all must be observed. The continuing violations of Helsinki obligations by the Soviet Union and the Soviet-dominated countries of Eastern Europe place in doubt those nations' faithful observance of their international obligations in every sphere.

The third follow-up Meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe has been underway in Vienna since November 1986. The primary aim of the United States and its NATO Allies in Vienna is to secure compliance by the East with the commitments made at Helsinki, so that citizens in all the signatory

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states can enjoy the fundamental freedoms agreed to in the Final Act.

The Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 151, has designated August 1, 1987, as "Helsinki Human Rights Day" and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in its observance.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim August 1, 1987, as Helsinki Human Rights Day and reaffirm the American commitment to universal observance of the values enshrined in the Final Act. These values are fundamental to our way of life and a source of inspiration to peoples around the world. In renewing our dedication with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities, let us call upon all signatories of the Final Act to match deeds with words and to respect in full its solemn principles and provisions.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this thirty-first day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

Ronald Reagan

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:32 p.m., August 3, 1987]

Note: The proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on August 1.