

Material from President's Trip to The Summit, 6/19/80-6/27/80 [1]

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1. THANK YOU FRITZ.
2. THANK YOU ALL FOR YOUR GOOD WISHES
3. ~~AND FOR COMING OUT SO EARLY THIS MORNING.~~
4. WHILE SHORT IN TIME, OUR TRIP IS LONG IN DIFFICULTY.
5. IT WILL TAKE ME INTO MORE THAN DOZEN MEETINGS
WITH KEY LEADERS OF THE WESTERN WORLD & JAPAN,
6. ~~AS WELL AS CONSULTATIONS WITH HIS HOLINESS POPE JOHN PAUL II.~~

(=OVER=) (OUR MISSION HAS.....)

1. OUR MISSION HAS MANY FACETS,
2. WE WILL EXAMINE SUCH ISSUES AS ENERGY DEPENDENCE,...
3. THE ECONOMICS OF EMERGING NATIONS,...& LASTING PEACE FOR THE MIDDLE EAST.
4. WE WILL DISCUSS THE CLEAR-CUT CHALLENGE OF SOVIET AGGRESSION,
5. THE QUESTION OF TERRORISM & HOW TO DEAL WITH IRAN,
6. THE CONTROL OF NUCLEAR ARMS,
7. AND WE WILL DISCUSS INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES AMONG OUR NATIONS.
8. BUT THROUGH ALL THESE INTERRELATED ISSUES & DELICATE SHADES OF DIFFERENCE
9. WE WILL BE GUIDED BY THIS KNOWLEDGE:
10. THE POWER OF FREE DEMOCRATIC NATIONS -- WHO WELCOME DIVERSITY,
11. WHO DO NOT ERECT WALLS TO IMPRISON OUR OWN PEOPLE, & ~~ABOVE ALL~~
12. WHO EXIST TO NURTURE INDIVIDUAL HUMAN BEINGS, NOT ENSLAVE THEM --
13. THE POWER OF DEMOCRACY & FREEDOM WILL SHAPE THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD.

(=OVER=) (IN ROME I SHALL.....)

1. IN ROME I SHALL MEET WITH
2. ~~PRESIDENT PERTINI, PRIME MINISTER COSSIGA, & OTHER~~ ITALIAN LEADERS
3. TO DISCUSS DIPLOMATIC, ENERGY, & SECURITY MATTERS.
4. THEN POPE JOHN PAUL II AND I WILL CONTINUE OUR WORK
5. ON HUMAN RIGHTS, HUMAN NEEDS, REFUGEES, & ARMS CONTROL
6. WHICH WE BEGAN DURING HIS VISIT TO WASHINGTON LAST OCTOBER.
7. THEN 2 DAYS OF THE VENICE SUMMIT --
8. THE 6TH SUCH MEETING AMONG THE MAJOR NON-COMMUNIST, INDUSTRIAL NATIONS.

(=OVER=) (I WILL BE TOTALLY FRANK.....)

1. I ~~WILL BE TOTALLY FRANK WITH YOU, AS I WILL BE WITH THEM.~~
2. THE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES ARE ~~BEING TESTED.~~ *MEETING SEVERE TESTS--*
3. LET THERE BE NO MISUNDERSTANDING ABOUT THIS ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD: *SUCCESSFULLY.*
4. WE ARE NOT MOTIVATED BY HOSTILITY, OR BY ANY DESIRE FOR
5. RECKLESS CONFRONTATION OR A RETURN TO THE COLD WAR.
6. BUT WE MUST SUSTAIN WORLD OPPOSITION TO SOVIET AGGRESSION,
7. AND NOT ALLOW THE SOVIETS TO DERIVE ANY PERMANENT BENEFITS
FROM THEIR INVASION OF A NEUTRAL NATION.
8. IN WORKING TOWARDS THAT RESPONSE & FOR MANY OTHER DIFFICULT SOLUTIONS
9. AMERICA WILL BE CLEAR BOTH IN VOICING OUR NEEDS
AND IN UNDERSTANDING OTHER VOICES.
10. WE ARE NOT THE WARSAW PACT, HELD TOGETHER BY ONE NATION'S TANKS.
11. WE ARE BOUND BY SHARED IDEALS, SHARED GOALS, & SHARED RESPECT.
(=NEW CARD=) (OUR ALLIANCE.....)

1. OUR ALLIANCE IS BASED ON UNDERSTANDING, NOT DEMANDS;...
2. ON LISTENING TO EACH OTHER'S CONCERNS, NOT DICTATING TERMS.
3. ~~FOR JUST AS THE STRONGEST FORM OF GOVERNMENT IS SELF-GOVERNMENT,~~
4. ~~SO THE STRONGEST CEMENT OF ANY COOPERATION IS FREE WILL.~~
5. THAT IS WHAT MAKES THESE SUMMIT MEETINGS SO VITAL -- & SO DIFFICULT.
6. WE WILL WORK TOGETHER ON THE TOUGH ISSUES EACH NATION FACES AT HOME --
7. INFLATION, RISING OIL PRICES, ENERGY CONSERVATION & PRODUCTION --
8. A HOST OF PROBLEMS THAT ARE INTRICATE & INTERRELATED.
9. ~~IT IS IMPORTANT FOR AMERICANS TO UNDERSTAND THAT IN TODAY'S WORLD~~
10. INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING IN ECONOMIC MATTERS
11. IS EVERY BIT AS IMPORTANT TO ^{OUR} ~~THEIR~~ SECURITY, ^{OUR} ~~THEIR~~ JOBS,
AND THE QUALITY OF ^{OUR} ~~THEIR~~ LIVES

AS IS ANYTHING WE CAN DO AT HOME.

1. IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE SUMMIT
2. I WILL TRAVEL TO YUGOSLAVIA, SPAIN & PORTUGAL.
3. I WILL ASSURE THE LEADERS & THE PEOPLE OF YUGOSLAVIA
4. OF AMERICA'S UNWAVERING SUPPORT FOR YUGOSLAVIA'S
5. INDEPENDENCE, UNITY, & TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY
6. AS WELL AS OF OUR RESPECT FOR ITS CONSTRUCTIVE NON-ALIGNED POSITION.
7. AMERICA HAS WATCHED BOTH SPAIN & PORTUGAL MAKE A REMARKABLE TRANSITION
8. FROM AUTOCRACY TO DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN THE LAST SEVERAL YEARS,
9. AND I WILL EXPRESS PERSONALLY THE GREAT PLEASURE AMERICANS FEEL
10. AT THE SUCCESS OF THESE HISTORIC ACHIEVEMENTS.

(=NEW CARD=) (I WILL JOIN.....)

1. I WILL JOIN WITH ALL THESE NATIONS
2. IN FULFILLING THE DIFFICULT & DEMANDING AGENDA OF PEACE,
~~PARTICULARLY IN THE MIDDLE EAST;...~~
3. ~~IN MEETING THE SERIOUS CHALLENGE THRUST UPON US~~
BY ~~THE UNPRECEDENTED SOVIET DECISION TO INVADE AFGHANISTAN,~~
4. ~~INJECTING RAW MILITARY POWER INTO A REGION~~
~~OF VITAL INTEREST TO ALL THE ALLIES;...~~
5. AND IN WORKING TOWARDS A SOLID ECONOMIC FOUNDATION
FOR THE ENTIRE WORLD.

(=OVER=) (THE DIFFICULT TASKS.....)

1. THE DIFFICULT TASKS OF MARSHALING THE DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE
2. TO MEET THE CHALLENGES, DANGERS, & OPPORTUNITIES OF A NEW DECADE
3. WILL CALL FOR COURAGE, PATIENCE, KNOWLEDGE, & PERSISTENCE
AMONG ALL OUR CITIZENS.
4. THERE IS NO MORE IMPORTANT WORK FOR AN AMERICAN PRESIDENT --
5. AND I AM GRATEFUL FOR YOUR SUPPORT
6. AS WE SEEK PEACE, SECURITY, & A BETTER LIFE IN THE DAYS AHEAD.

#

[Salutations, if any, to be supplied by ADVANCE.]

Gordon Stewart
Draft A-1; 6/12/80
Scheduled Delivery:
Thur, 6/19/80; 7:30 AM

*Susan
cards
J*

Departure Remarks -- South Lawn

Thank you Fritz. Thank you all for your good wishes and for coming out so early this morning.

While short in time, our trip is long in difficulty. It will take me into more than a dozen meetings with key leaders ~~[25 meetings with 15 heads~~ of the Western world and Japan, ~~of government and State,~~] as well as consultations with His Holiness Pope John Paul II.

Our mission has many facets. We will ^{examine such} ~~examine new~~ aspects of on-going issues such as energy dependence, the economics of emerging nations, and lasting peace for the Middle East. We will discuss the clear-cut challenge of Soviet aggression, ^{terrorism and ~~the~~ how to deal with} ~~we will air the questions of~~ Iran, ~~of~~ ^{we will discuss} nuclear arms control, and ~~of~~ ^{individual differences among our} nations.

But through all these interrelated issues and delicate shades of difference we will be guided by this knowledge:

The power of free democratic nations -- who welcome diversity, who do not erect ^{walls} their defenses to imprison ^{our} their own people, who ~~have evolved beyond military aggression as a means of persuasion,~~ and above all who exist to ^{nurture} ~~enhance~~ individual human beings, not enslave them -- the power of democracy and freedom will shape the future of the world.

~~Tomorrow~~ ^{Then} In Rome I shall ~~be meeting~~ with President Pertini, Prime Minister Cossiga and other Italian leaders to discuss diplomatic, energy, and security matters.

~~Saturday~~ ^{Then} Pope John Paul II and I will continue our work on human rights, human needs, refugees, and arms control which we began during his visit to Washington last October.

Then two days of the Venice Summit, the sixth such

meeting among the major non-communist, industrial nations.

I will be totally frank with you, as I will be with them. The industrial democracies are being tested. ~~[Our historic alliance is] undergoing an important time of testing.~~ Let there be no misunderstanding about this

anywhere in the world: we are not motivated by relentless hostility, or by any desire for reckless confrontation or a

return to the Cold War. But we cannot ~~conduct business as usual~~ ^{accept without sustained} ~~as usual~~ ^{oppose} ~~or~~ ^{to Soviet aggression, and not} ~~allow the Soviets to enjoy the benefits~~ ^{derive any permanent} ~~of detente~~ ^{from} ~~without a response to~~ ^{their invasion of a neutral nation.}

must sustain world

In working towards that response ^{and for} ~~as in working towards~~

many other difficult solutions ~~++~~ America will be both clear

in voicing our needs and ⁱⁿ understanding ~~of~~ other voices. The

We are ~~West is~~ not the Warsaw Pact, held together by one nation's

tanks. We are bound by shared ideals, shared goals, and shared respect.

Our alliance is based on understanding, not demand^s;

Yugoslavia, Spain and Portugal.

I will assure the leaders and the people of Yugoslavia of America's unwavering support for Yugoslavia's independence, unity, and territorial integrity as well as of our respect for its constructive nonaligned position.

America has watched both Spain and Portugal make a remarkable transition from autocracy to democratic government in the last several years, and I will express personally the great pleasure Americans feel at the success of these historic *achievements.*
~~undertakings.~~

I will join with all of these nations, I

~~In all of these stops I will be emphasizing the readiness of the United States to join with others in fulfilling the difficult and demanding agenda of peace, particularly in the Middle East;~~ ^{*in meeting*} ~~the seriousness of the challenge thrust upon us by the unprecedented Soviet decision to ^{*invade Afghanistan, injecting*} ~~project raw military~~ ^{*raw military*} power into a region of vital interest to all the allies; and~~

in working
~~our willingness to work patiently and cooperatively towards~~
a solid economic foundation for the entire world.

The difficult tasks of ^{*marshaling*} ~~tempering~~ the democratic alliance
to meet the challenges, dangers, and opportunities of a new
decade will call for courage, patience, knowledge, and
persistence, ^{*among all*} ~~our~~ *citizens*.

There is no more important work in the world for an American
President -- and I am grateful for your support as we ^{*seek*} ~~bring~~ *peace*,
security and a better life in the days ahead.
it one step closer to completion.

#

ROME: 6/20/80 WORKING LUNCHEON TOAST/PRIME MINISTER COSSIGA 6/20/80

1. WHEN I MET PRIME MINISTER COSSIGA FOR THE 1ST TIME DURING HIS VISIT
TO THE UNITED STATES IN JANUARY, HE WAS NO STRANGER TO ME.
2. WE HAD ALREADY BEGUN OUR CONSULTATIONS BY LETTER & TELEPHONE
3. SO IT WAS NATURAL FOR OUR TALKS TO BE BOTH
BROAD IN SCOPE & SPECIFIC IN DIRECTION.
4. SINCE THEN WE HAVE ADVANCED OUR RESOLVE TO MEET THE SPECIAL CHALLENGES
5. NOW FACED BY THE FREE PEOPLES WHO VALUE OUR TRADITIONS
OF NATIONAL LIBERTY & HUMAN RIGHTS.

(=OVER=) (WE BOTH KNOW.....)

1. WE BOTH KNOW THAT THE STRONG TIES OF OUR DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE
2. ARE THE RESULT NOT OF COERCION OR EXPEDIENCY,
3. BUT OF OUR SHARED PRINCIPLES WHICH DATE TO CLASSICAL TIMES,
4. AND OF THE PERSPECTIVES & PRACTICAL SKILLS OUR PEOPLE HAVE DEVELOPED
IN THE COURSE OF DEFENDING OUR COMMON VALUES.
5. I AM PARTICULARLY STRUCK BY THE APTNESS
6. OF A PASSAGE IN YOUR STUDY OF SIR THOMAS MORE,
7. IN WHICH YOU SPOKE OF 3 REQUIREMENTS NEEDED TO PROTECT
8. OUR DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES FROM EXTERNAL & INTERNAL THREATS --
9. "POLITICAL SOLIDARITY, RECIPROCAL ECONOMIC SUPPORT,
& CULTURAL COOPERATION".

(=NEW CARD=) (THOSE VERY NECESSITIES.....)

1. THOSE VERY NECESSITIES OF DEMOCRATIC SURVIVAL, MR. PRIME MINISTER,
SHAPE OUR AGENDA TODAY.
2. AND I AM CONFIDENT THAT TOGETHER WE ARE MAKING HEADWAY
TOWARDS MEETING EVERY REQUIREMENT.
3. WE AGREE ON THE NEED
4. FOR A STRONG MILITARY DETERRENT IN EUROPE THROUGH "NATO",
5. WHILE AT THE SAME TIME SEEKING DETENTE IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS
6. THAT IS RECIPROCAL, COMPREHENSIVE, & GENUINE.
7. OUR TWO COUNTRIES REMAIN GRAVELY CONCERNED
8. ABOUT THE SOVIET INVASION & OCCUPATION OF AFGHANISTAN.
9. THESE ACTIONS CONSTITUTE A DANGER TO WORLD PEACE
& A SERIOUS IMPEDIMENT TO EAST-WEST RELATIONS.
10. SOVIET TROOPS MUST BE WITHDRAWN
11. & AFGHANISTAN RESTORED TO ITS NEUTRAL & NON-ALIGNED STATUS.
(=OVER=) (AS CURRENT.....)

1. AS CURRENT PRESIDENT OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY,
2. ITALY HAS TAKEN A LEADING ROLE IN EFFORTS TO FREE OUR OWN COUNTRYMEN
3. FROM ILLEGAL & IMMORAL CAPTIVITY IN IRAN,
4. ALL AMERICANS SINCERELY APPRECIATE

THESE EFFORTS AGAINST INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM.

5. WE AGREE ON THE NECESSITY FOR CONTINUING EFFORTS
6. TO ACHIEVE A COMPREHENSIVE MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT
7. WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS.

(=NEW CARD=) (IN REVIEWING.....)

1. IN REVIEWING THE PROGRAM FOR THE VENICE ECONOMIC SUMMIT,
 2. WE AGREE THAT FURTHER PROGRESS MUST BE MADE
 3. TOWARD REDUCING THE DEPENDENCE OF INDUSTRIAL NATIONS ON IMPORTED OIL,
 4. OUR TWO NATIONS TAKE SPECIAL PRIDE IN THE
- "STRATEGY OF COOPERATION" WE BEGAN 3 YEARS AGO,
5. WHICH HAS INVOLVED SOLAR PROGRAMS,
 - COAL TECHNOLOGY, & ENERGY CONSERVATION,
 6. AS WELL AS COMBATTING THE DRUG TRAFFIC
 7. AND ENCOURAGING CULTURAL EXCHANGE

AND THE TEACHING OF EACH OTHER'S HISTORY & LANGUAGE.

(=OVER=) (I AM DELIGHTED.....)

1. I AM DELIGHTED THAT WE HAVE AGREED TO COOPERATE
2. IN THE DESIGN OF THE WORLD'S LARGEST INSTALLATION
3. FOR THE DIRECT CONVERSION OF SUNLIGHT INTO ELECTRICITY.
4. THIS ONE MEGAWATT PHOTOVOLTAIC PLANT WILL BE CONSTRUCTED IN PUGLIA.
5. WE ARE ALSO EXAMINING WAYS IN WHICH INDUSTRIAL NATIONS CAN
6. REDUCE THE PRESENT HIGH RATES OF INFLATION,...
7. STRENGTHEN THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY SYSTEM,...
8. EXTEND TRADE,...
9. & ADVANCE COOPERATION WITH THE THIRD WORLD.

(=NEW CARD=) (THROUGH ALL THESE.....)

[Salutations, if any, to
be supplied by Advance.]

Gordon Stewart
Draft A-1; 6/11/80
Scheduled Delivery:
Fri, 6/20/80

See page 4.

*Susan
cards
J*

ROME: Toast for working luncheon with Prime Minister Cossiga

When I met Prime Minister Cossiga for the first time during
his visit to the United States in January, he was no stranger
We had already begun
to me. ~~Throughout~~ ^A our consultations by letter and telephone ~~I~~
~~had been impressed by his constancy of principle, sound judgement,~~
~~and sincere respect and affection for my country.~~

so it was natural for our
~~These impressions were reinforced by our meetings together.~~
to be
~~Our~~ ^A talks, were both broad in scope and specific in direction.

Since then ~~our~~ ^{we} ~~discussions~~ have advanced our resolve to meet
the special challenges now faced by the free ^{peoples} nations who value
^{our} ~~their~~ traditions of national liberty, ^{human rights.} and ~~the individual~~
liberties of their citizens.

We both
~~As a scholar and historian as well as an astute leader,~~
~~Prime Minister Cossiga knows~~ that the strong ties of our

democratic alliance are the result not of coercion or expediency,
but of our shared first principles, which date to classical
times, of ~~the perspectives our people have won as we won our~~
national struggles, and of the ^{perspectives and} practical skills ^{our people} ~~we~~ have
developed in the course of defending our common values.

I am particularly struck by the present aptness of a
passage in your study of Sir Thomas More, in which you spoke
of three requirements needed to protect our democratic
societies from external and internal threats -- "political
solidarity, reciprocal economic support, and cultural
cooperation."

Those very necessities of democratic survival, Mr. Prime
Minister, shape our agenda today. And I am confident that ^{together} ~~we~~
are making headway towards meeting every requirement.

~~We see eye-to-eye on the basic problems, changes, and~~
~~dangers confronting the world today. The need for close~~

cooperation and consultation to determine the best solutions-
to these problems is thus self-evident.

We agree on the need for ~~[the maintenance of]~~ a strong
military deterrent in Europe through NATO, while at the same
time seeking detente in East-West relations that is reciprocal,
comprehensive, and genuine.

~~That is why the governments of~~ Our two countries remain
gravely concerned about the Soviet invasion and occupation of
Afghanistan. These actions constitute a danger to world
peace and a serious impediment to East-West relations. Soviet
troops must be withdrawn and Afghanistan restored to its
neutral and nonaligned status.

As current President of the European community, Italy
has taken a leading role in efforts to free our ^{own} countrymen
from illegal and immoral captivity in Iran. All Americans
sincerely appreciate these efforts, against international terrorism.

We agree on the necessity for continuing efforts to achieve a comprehensive Middle East settlement within the framework of the Camp David accords.

In reviewing the program for the Venice Economic Summit, we agree ~~[there is no question]~~ that further progress must be made toward reducing the dependence of industrialized nations on imported oil, and ~~we will work together to bring this about~~. ~~In this regard,~~ Our two nations take special pride in the "Strategy of Cooperation" we began three years ago, which has involved solar programs, coal technology, and energy conservation, as well as combatting the drug traffic and encouraging cultural exchange and the teaching of each other's history and language.

I am delighted that we have agreed to cooperate in the design ~~[and construction]~~^{*} of the world's largest installation for the direct conversion of sunlight into electricity. This one megawatt photovoltaic plant will be constructed in Puglia.

[* NSC and State concur on deletion]

We are also examining ways in which leaders of the
industrial nations can improve policy coordination in their
common efforts to reduce the present high rates of inflation,
strengthen the international monetary system, extend trade,
and advance cooperation with the Third World.

Through all these interrelated questions run two common
strands. As you put it that morning when you first arrived
at the doors of the White House: "Security is both the
unwavering task and also the fruit of peace. Therefore, to
work for peace is to work for security and to work for security
is to work for peace."

I am especially pleased, Mr. Prime Minister, to have a
working luncheon with you. As we return to work allow me to
offer you and your country the warmest wishes of both the
government and the people of the United States of America.

#

1. IN EACH OF OUR LANDS, A DEMOCRACY WAS BORN.
2. EACH HAS STRUGGLED
3. TO ACHIEVE THE BALANCE OF UNITY & LIBERTY
4. THAT LEAD FREE SOCIETIES TO THE HIGHEST FORM OF HUMAN GOVERNMENT --
SELF-GOVERNMENT. /
5. FREEDOM & HUMAN RIGHTS
6. HAVE NO FIRMER FRIEND IN THOUGHT & ACTION
THAN SANDRO PERTINI.
7. FOR PERSONAL LIBERTY & DEMOCRACY IN HIS COUNTRY,
8. HE PAID THE PRICE THROUGH YEARS OF CRUEL IMPRISONMENT.
9. IN FACT, I UNDERSTAND THAT IN 1940
10. HE WAS NOT RELEASED FROM PRISON, AS HE LEGALLY HAD A RIGHT TO BE,
11. BECAUSE HE WAS CONSIDERED "ESPECIALLY DANGEROUS."
12. AND SO HE REMAINS TODAY --
13. DANGEROUS TO ANYONE
14. WHO WOULD THREATEN TO DESTROY OR DIMINISH THE LIBERTY OF AN INDIVIDUAL,
THE RIGHTS OF A GROUP,
THE LIFE OR LIVELIHOOD OF FREE PEOPLE.

1. AS CHIEF OF STATE,
2. HE WAS FOREMOST IN HIS APPEAL TO IRANIAN AUTHORITIES
3. TO RELEASE OUR DIPLOMATIC PERSONNEL FROM TERRORISTS,
4. AND IT GIVES ME GREAT PLEASURE ON THIS PUBLIC OCCASION
5. TO EXPRESS THE GRATITUDE WHICH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE & I FEEL
FOR HIS UNSWERVING SUPPORT.
6. THIS MORNING PRESIDENT PERTINI & I DISCUSSED
7. SOME OF THE CENTRAL ISSUES THAT ARE TROUBLING WORLD PEACE.
8. LATER I WAS ABLE TO DISCUSS THESE QUESTIONS WITH PRIME MINISTER COSSIGA,
9. WHOSE VISIT TO WASHINGTON IN JANUARY
10. AND WHOSE PRESIDENCY OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY
11. HAVE SO DEEPLY IMPRESSED US ALL.
12. THREE BASIC IDEAS RAN THROUGH OUR DISCUSSIONS TODAY.

1. THE FIRST IS THAT THE BEST POSSIBLE POLICY FOR OUR COUNTRIES
2. AS WE FACE A TIME OF DANGER, CHANGE, & TESTING IN THE 1980s
3. IS A POLICY THAT SEEKS BOTH
4. STRONG DEFENSE OF NATIONAL SECURITY
5. AND LASTING WORLD PEACE --
6. FOR THE PLAIN TRUTH IS THAT
7. THE ONE IS NECESSARY TO THE OTHER.
8. IN DECADES PAST,
9. THE WEST SUCCESSFULLY RESISTED SOVIET EXPANSIONISM
BOTH WESTWARD & EASTWARD.
10. TODAY WE SEE THE SOVIET UNION THRUSTING SOUTHWARD:
11. DIRECTLY INTO AFGHANISTAN,
12. AND INDIRECTLY THROUGH VIETNAM & CAMBODIA.
13. THIS REPRESENTS A STRATEGIC CHALLENGE
14. TO THE VITAL INTERESTS OF THE WEST;
15. AND THE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES MUST FACE IT TOGETHER.

1. IF WE ARE FIRM IN OUR RESOLVE,
2. WE WILL DEFINE A POSITION FROM WHICH WE CAN ENCOURAGE DETENTE.
3. IF WE FAIL,
4. WE WILL HAVE ALLOWED THE STRATEGIC,
POLITICAL,
& ECONOMIC BALANCE
5. TO BE GRAVELY ALTERED IN FAVOR OF TOTALITARIANISM. /
6. A SECOND BELIEF WE SHARE
7. IS THAT WE CANNOT DEFEND OUR COMMON HERITAGE OF FREEDOM
BY ARMS ALONE.
8. THE FUTURE OF OUR WAY OF LIFE
9. IS EQUALLY DEPENDENT ON OUR ABILITY
10. TO PROVIDE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY & SOCIAL JUSTICE
11. FOR ALL OUR CITIZENS,
12. AND TO CREATE A DECENT WORLD ENVIRONMENT
13. IN WHICH FREEDOM CAN SURVIVE & PROSPER.

1. WE MUST BE CAREFUL THINKERS & PRACTICAL POLITICIANS
2. IN OUR APPROACH TO ENERGY DEPENDENCE,
INFLATION,
DEVELOPING NATIONS,
ARMS CONTROL,
& PEACE IN TROUBLED REGIONS SUCH AS THE MIDDLE EAST. /
3. THE THIRD BASIC IDEA
4. THAT RAN THROUGHOUT OUR DISCUSSIONS TODAY
5. IS THAT NATIONAL SECURITY & WORLD PEACE
6. CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED BY MAINTAINING A
STRONG & UNITED ATLANTIC ALLIANCE.
7. JUST AS THE BEST FORM OF GOVERNMENT IS SELF-GOVERNMENT,
8. SO THE STRONGEST CEMENT OF ANY ALLIANCE
IS FREE WILL.
9. OURS IS AN ALLIANCE OF INDEPENDENT DEMOCRACIES.
10. WE DRAW STRENGTH FROM BOTH OUR COMMON TRADITIONS
AND OUR INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES.

1. MR. PRESIDENT,
2. LET US NOT BE AFRAID
3. TO CONFRONT DIRECTLY & IN FULL PUBLIC VIEW
4. THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL CHALLENGES
5. TO OUR ALLIANCE TODAY.
6. WE HAVE HEARD A GREAT DEAL RECENTLY
7. ABOUT THE DIFFERENCES & DISAGREEMENTS
8. AMONG THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES,
9. SOME VOICES IN MY COUNTRY & EUROPE
10. TALK ABOUT DISARRAY.
11. SOME PESSIMISTS VIEW DEBATE AMONG DEMOCRATIC NATIONS
AS A SIGNAL OF FATAL WEAKNESS.
12. THEY PREDICT A DECLINE OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION,
SPREADING PESSIMISM,
MATERIALISM,
SOFTNESS OF WILL,
& DIMINISHING CONFIDENCE IN OURSELVES
& IN OUR INSTITUTIONS.

1. OUR EXPERIENCE & REALITY ITSELF
2. SHOWS CLEARLY THAT THESE SELF-STYLED "REALISTS"
ARE WRONG.
3. OUR OPEN & PUBLIC GRAPPLING
4. WITH ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS
5. CANNOT OBSCURE THE EXTRAORDINARY ACHIEVEMENTS
6. OF OUR SOCIETY AS A WHOLE.
7. THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONS
8. ARE MAGNETS FOR YOUNG STUDENTS
9. FROM ALL OVER THE WORLD.
10. THE DEMOCRATIC WORLD IS A CENTER
11. OF INTELLECTUAL & TECHNOLOGICAL INVENTION.
12. IT IS A GREAT FOCUS OF CULTURAL CREATIVITY.
13. IT IS UNDERGOING A MAJOR RESURGENCE OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF.
14. AND OUR POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS
15. EXHIBIT A RESILIENCE UNMATCHED BY ANY IN THE TOTALITARIAN WORLD.

1. IT IS NOT FROM DEMOCRACY
2. THAT MILLIONS OF REFUGEES HAVE FLED SINCE 1945.
3. IT IS NOT TO ESCAPE FROM DEMOCRACY
4. THAT PEOPLE HAVE RISKED THEIR LIVES
5. IN SMALL BOATS ON THE HIGH SEAS DURING RECENT WEEKS.
6. IT IS NOT FROM DEMOCRACY
7. THAT NEARLY 10% OF THE PEOPLE OF AN ENTIRE ASIAN NATION
HAVE LEFT THEIR ANCIENT HOMELAND.
8. AND IT IS CERTAINLY NOT FROM DEMOCRACY
9. BUT FROM FOREIGN OPPRESSION
10. THAT HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF MEN, WOMEN & CHILDREN
HAVE FLED FROM AFGHANISTAN.

1. THESE VOTES OF FLEEING MILLIONS ARE BEING CAST --
2. AS THE VOICES OF MILLIONS MORE ARE BEING RAISED --
3. FOR THE DEEPLY-ROOTED FAITH THAT
4. THAT GIVES DEMOCRACY ITS UNIQUE DYNAMISM:
5. OUR UNDERLYING BELIEF
6. IN THE UNALIENABLE RIGHTS & DIGNITY
OF HUMAN BEINGS.
7. MATERIAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS & CULTURAL VITALITY ALONE
8. CANNOT EXPRESS THE POWER OF OUR SPIRITUAL HERITAGE.
9. NOR IS THE SPIRIT OF OUR SOCIETY
10. FOUND SIMPLY IN THE ENTERPRISE,
SKILLS,
& SUCCESS OF OUR PEOPLE.

1. THE FUNDAMENTAL DESIRE FOR DEMOCRACY
2. RISES FROM THE VERY CENTER OF THE HUMAN HEART & SOUL.
3. THAT IS WHY THE ECHO
4. OF THE UNSILENCEABLE CALL FOR LIBERTY
5. IS HEARD THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.
6. THAT CALL FINDS ITS VOICE
7. IN THE NATIONS ASSEMBLING IN VENICE TOMORROW.

8. OUR FAITH IN HUMAN RIGHTS --
9. THE FREEDOM, THE DIGNITY, & THE VALUE OF EVERY INDIVIDUAL --
10. IS THE MOST COMPELLING REVOLUTIONARY CONCEPT OF OUR TIMES.
11. IT HAS PRODUCED
12. A LEVEL OF ECONOMIC PROGRESS & INTELLECTUAL CREATIVITY
13. UNMATCHED BY ANY OTHER POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OR IDEA.

1. WE HAVE NO REASON TO FEAR CHANGE,
NEW IDEAS,
OR NEW PROBLEMS.
2. WE DO NOT RELY ON MILITARY INVASIONS
3. BY SO-CALLED FRIENDLY NEIGHBORS,
4. MUCH LESS ON TERRORISM,
5. TO SUSTAIN THE IDEA OF LIBERTY. /
6. IT STANDS ON ITS OWN MERIT. //
7. THE SEARCH FOR FREEDOM & DEMOCRACY
8. HAS SPREAD DURING RECENT YEARS --
9. IN SPAIN, IN PORTUGAL,
10. IN GREECE, IN AFRICA & IN LATIN AMERICA.
11. TODAY THE GENUINE HUMAN VOICE OF DEMOCRACY
12. RINGS FAR MORE CLEARLY
13. THAN THE RASPING LOUDSPEAKERS OF AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES.

1. BUT WHILE LIBERTY NEED NOT BE IMPOSED BY FORCE,
2. WE KNOW ALL TOO WELL THAT ONCE WON,
IT MUST BE DEFENDED.
3. THE SEARCH FOR PEACE DEMANDS STRENGTH, NOT WEAKNESS;
FIRMNESS, NOT VACILLATION;
PRIDE, NOT ARROGANCE.
4. WE DO NOT SEEK TO REMAKE THE WORLD
5. ON THE MODEL OF AMERICA OR THE WEST.
6. WE WANT THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD
7. TO DECIDE THEIR OWN DESTINY
AND MAKE THEIR OWN CHOICES.
8. WE ARE CONFIDENT
9. BECAUSE HISTORY IS ON THE SIDE OF FREEDOM.

1. LET THERE BE NO MISTAKE ABOUT THIS:
2. THE WEST IS NOT MOTIVATED BY RELENTLESS HOSTILITY,
3. OR BY A DESIRE FOR INDISCRIMINATE CONFRONTATION
4. OR A RETURN TO THE COLD WAR.
5. BUT FOR THE WESTERN ALLIANCE
6. SIMPLY TO ACCEPT FOREIGN OCCUPATION & DOMINATION OF AFGHANISTAN
AS AN ACCOMPLISHED FACT ↗
7. WOULD BE A CYNICAL SIGNAL TO THE WORLD
8. THAT COULD ONLY ENCOURAGE FURTHER AGGRESSION,
FURTHER TENSION,
& FURTHER DANGER TO WORLD PEACE.
9. IT IS OUR RESPONSIBILITY
10. TO REGISTER IN CONCRETE TERMS
11. OUR CONDEMNATION OF THE SOVIET INVASION
12. FOR AS LONG AS THAT INVASION CONTINUES.

1. WE CANNOT KNOW WITH CERTAINTY
2. THE MOTIVATIONS OF THIS LATEST SOVIET MOVE --
3. WHETHER AFGHANISTAN IS THE PURPOSE
OR THE PRELUDE --
4. BUT THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT
5. THAT THIS INVASION POSES AN INCREASED THREAT
6. TO THE INDEPENDENCE OF NATIONS IN THE REGION
7. AND TO THE WORLD'S ACCESS
8. TO VITAL RESOURCES & TO VITAL SEA LANES.
9. THE FACT IS THAT OUR DEMOCRACIES
10. ARE ~~VITALLY~~ VITALLY DEPENDENT ON OIL SUPPLIES
11. FROM A VOLATILE REGION
12. WHOSE OWN SECURITY --
13. FROM INTERNAL DIVISIONS & FROM EXTERNAL THREAT --
14. IS NOW IN QUESTION. /
15. UNRESOLVED,
16. THAT SECURITY PROBLEM COULD CHANGE THE WAY WE LIVE.
17. ALREADY, IT DOES TOUCH,
18. DIRECTLY & DRASTICALLY,
19. THE LIVES OF US ALL.

1. BUT OUR INTEREST IN PEACE & STABILITY IN THE REGION
GOES FAR BEYOND ECONOMICS.
2. IN THIS EVER MORE INTERDEPENDENT WORLD,
3. TO ASSUME THAT AGGRESSION NEED BE MET
4. ONLY WHEN IT OCCURS AT ONE'S OWN DOORSTEP
5. IS TO TEMPT NEW & VERY SERIOUS ADVENTURES.
6. DETENTE WITH THE SOVIETS REMAINS OUR GOAL,
7. BUT DETENTE MUST BE BUILT
8. ON A FIRM FOUNDATION OF DETERRING AGGRESSION.
9. THE SOVIETS MUST UNDERSTAND
10. THAT THEY CANNOT RECKLESSLY THREATEN WORLD PEACE,
11. OR STILL ENJOY THE BENEFITS OF COOPERATION
12. WHILE PURSUING A POLICY OF ARMED INTERVENTION. //
13. ABOVE ALL
14. EVERYONE MUST KNOW
15. THAT EFFORTS CANNOT SUCCEED
16. TO DIVIDE OUR ALLIANCE
17. OR TO LULL US INTO A FALSE BELIEF
18. THAT SOMEHOW AMERICA OR EUROPE
19. CAN BE AN ISLAND OF DETENTE
20. WHILE AGGRESSION IS CARRIED OUT ELSEWHERE.

1. WE RECOGNIZE, MR. PRESIDENT,
2. THAT OUR POLICY TOWARD THOSE WHO MIGHT THREATEN PEACE
MUST BE CLEAR;
3. IT MUST BE CONSISTENT;
4. IT MUST BE COMPREHENSIBLE.
5. THERE MUST BE NO ROOM
6. FOR ANY MISCALCULATION.
7. BUT LET ME BE EQUALLY CLEAR
8. THAT THE WAY TO IMPROVED RELATIONS IS OPEN --
9. AND THAT IS THE PATH WE PREFER.
10. I AM CONFIDENT
11. THAT JUST AS THE AMERICAN PEOPLE
12. WANT TO SUSTAIN STRONG POLICIES AGAINST SOVIET AGGRESSION,
13. THEY ALSO WANT OUR STRONG EFFORTS AT ARMS CONTROL
TO CONTINUE.

1. WE KNOW THAT THE "SALT II" AGREEMENT
2. CAN CONTRIBUTE DIRECTLY TO THE SECURITY
3. NOT ONLY OF THE UNITED STATES,
4. BUT OF EUROPE & INDEED OF THE ENTIRE WORLD.
5. IT CAN HELP
6. TO RESTRAIN FUTURE ARMS COMPETITION,
7. CONTINUE THE HISTORICALLY IMPORTANT DIRECTION OF NUCLEAR ARMS LIMITATION,
8. & KEEP OUR FAITH ↗
9. THAT EVEN THE MOST DANGEROUS DIFFERENCES
10. CAN BE RESOLVED IN A FRAMEWORK OF COOPERATION.
11. ESPECIALLY NOW IN THIS TIME OF TENSION,
12. OBSERVING THE MUTUAL CONSTRAINTS
13. IMPOSED BY THE TREATY
14. IS IN THE BEST INTEREST
15. OF EVERY NATION ON EARTH.

1. THEREFORE,
2. I INTEND TO HONOR
3. THE OBJECT & PURPOSE OF THE TREATY
4. AS LONG AS THE SOVIET UNION,
5. AS OBSERVED BY US,
6. DOES THE SAME. /
7. I WILL REMAIN IN CLOSE CONSULTATION WITH OUR CONGRESS
8. WITH THE GOAL OF SEEKING THE RATIFICATION OF "SALT II"
AT THE EARLIEST OPPORTUNE TIME. /
9. FURTHER,
10. IF THE DECADE OF THE 1980s
11. IS NOT TO BECOME THE DECADE OF VIOLENCE,
12. WE MUST WORK WITH OUR FRIENDS
13. ON RENEWED EFFORTS TO STABILIZE ALL ASPECTS OF ARMS COMPETITION
AND TO WIDEN THE SCOPE OF ARMS CONTROL ARRANGEMENTS.

1. IN SUM, I DO NOT ACCEPT
2. FORECASTS OF WEAKNESS OR FAILURE
3. FOR DEMOCRACY IN THE WORLD.
4. OUR SOCIETIES,
OUR VALUES,
OUR FREEDOMS WILL DECLINE
5. ONLY IF WE ALLOW THEM TO DO SO;...
6. ONLY IF WE SURRENDER TO UNCERTAINTY
7. ABOUT WHERE WE STAND & IN WHAT WE BELIEVE;...
8. ONLY IF WE FORGET
9. THAT EACH NATION & EACH INDIVIDUAL
10. SHARE A RESPONSIBILITY
11. TO PULL TOGETHER & DEFEND
12. THOSE COMMON BELIEFS WHICH UNITE US --
13. AND I AM CONVINCED WE WILL
14. NEVER SURRENDER NOR FORGET.

1. MR. PRESIDENT, MR. PRIME MINISTER,
2. LADIES & GENTLEMEN:
3. JUST AS WITHIN EACH DEMOCRACY
4. WE MUST WORK TO NOURISH THE SPIRIT OF COMMUNITY
5. WHICH ALONE CAN MAKE
6. THE WHOLE OF A NATION
7. LARGER THAN THE SUM OF ITS PARTS --
8. SO WITHIN THE ALLIANCE OF FREE NATIONS
9. IT IS EQUALLY TRUE
10. THAT UNLESS WE WORK TOGETHER
11. WE SHALL SURELY BE VULNERABLE SEPARATELY.
12. I PLEDGE AMERICA'S OWN UNWAVERING COMMITMENT
13. TO OUR COMMON INTERESTS OF SECURITY & PEACE,
14. AND WE DEPEND ON OUR EUROPEAN FRIENDS & ALLIES
15. TO JOIN US IN THAT EFFORT.

1. TOGETHER
2. WE CAN & WILL
3. DEFEND THE VALUES & INTERESTS OF OUR SOCIETY. ✓
4. HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE COUNSELS SUCH A COURSE.
5. PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCE COMPELS IT.
6. IT IS IN THIS SPIRIT
7. OF ALLIANCE & PARTNERSHIP
8. THAT I ASK YOU TO JOIN ME IN A TOAST
9. TO PRESIDENT PERTINI,...
10. TO THE TRADITIONS OF 2 GREAT NATIONS
11. THAT ARE AT ONCE PARALLEL & INTERTWINED,...
12. AND TO THE UNBREAKABLE SPIRIT OF FREEDOM,
FRIENDSHIP,
& LOVE OF HUMAN LIFE
13. THAT WILL FOREVER JOIN
14. ~~JOIN~~ OUR COUNTRIES & OUR PEOPLE.

#

[Salutations, if any, to
be supplied by ADVANCE.]

Gordon Stewart
Draft A-4; 6/17/80
Scheduled Delivery:
Fri, June 20

ROME: State Dinner Speech

*Susan
ok -
Have translated
and printed for
banquet
distribution
J*

In each of our lands, a democracy was born. ~~Each has~~
~~been called upon many times to preserve it.~~ Each has struggled
to achieve the balance of unity and liberty that lead free
societies to the highest form of human government --
self-government.

Freedom and human rights have no firmer friend in
thought and action than Sandro Pertini. *For personal liberty and*
~~When a dictatorship~~
democracy in
~~fastened itself on~~ his country, he paid the price through
years of cruel imprisonment. In fact, I understand that
in 1940 he was not released from prison, as he legally
had a right to be, because he was considered "especially
dangerous."

And so he remains today -- dangerous to anyone who
would threaten to destroy or diminish the liberty of an

individual, the rights of a group, the life or livelihood
of free people. As chief of state, he ^{was foremost in his} ~~forthrightly~~ appealed
to Iranian authorities to release our diplomatic personnel, ^{from}
~~terrorists,~~
and it gives me great pleasure on this public occasion to
[formally] express the gratitude which the American people
and I feel for his unswerving support.

~~President Pertini once said in an interview that by
being so human in his public life he was a bad politician.
May I say that he is an outstanding political leader precisely
because he is so human, because he has not allowed himself
to become aloof, because he has, ~~for all his stature,~~
remained a man of the people.~~

This morning President Pertini and I discussed some of
the central issues that are troubling world peace. Later
I was able to discuss these questions with Prime Minister
Cossiga, whose visit to Washington in January and whose

Presidency of the European community have so deeply impressed us all.

Three basic ideas ran through our discussions today.

The first is that the best possible policy for our countries as we face a time of danger, change, and testing in the 1980's is a policy that seeks both strong defense of national security and lasting world peace -- for the plain truth is that the one is necessary to the other.

In decades past, the West successfully resisted Soviet expansionism both westward and eastward. Today we see the Soviet Union thrusting southward: directly into Afghanistan, and indirectly through Vietnam and Cambodia. This represents a ~~comprehensive~~ strategic challenge to the vital interests of the West, and the industrial democracies must face it together. If we are firm in our resolve, we will define a position from which we can encourage detente. If we

fail, we will have allowed the strategic, political, and economic balance to be gravely altered in favor of totalitarianism.

A second belief we share is that we cannot defend our common heritage of freedom by arms alone. The future of our way of life is equally dependent on our ability to provide economic opportunity and social justice for all our citizens, and to create a decent world environment in which freedom can survive and prosper. We must ~~not only be dedicated defenders of freedom, we must~~ be careful thinkers and practical politicians in our approach to energy dependence, inflation, developing nations, arms control, and peace in troubled regions such as the Middle East.

The third basic idea that ran throughout our discussion today is that national security and world peace can only be achieved by maintaining a ^{strong and} united Atlantic Alliance.

best
Just as the ~~strongest~~ form of government is self-government,
so the strongest cement of any alliance is free will. Ours
is an alliance of independent democracies, ~~not of subjects~~
~~and satellites~~. We draw strength from both our common
traditions and our individual differences. [~~As long as we~~
~~walk together, we need never march in line behind any~~
~~dictator.~~]

Mr. President, let us not be afraid to confront directly
and in full public view the most fundamental challenges to
our alliance today.

We have heard a great deal recently about the differences
and disagreements among the Western democracies. ^{Some} Voices in
my country and Europe talk about disarray. [~~These and other~~
voices ask -- what values and interests today link the United
States and Western Europe? What do we believe in and stand
for ~~that will inspire the world?~~ Is the West able to capture

a sense of common purpose in meeting the challenge of Soviet power and expansionism? Can democracies ever achieve a strong spirit of unity and sacrifice in peacetime?

These questions go to the heart of our identity as free societies functioning in a world community we must continue to help shape.]

Some pessimists view debate among democratic nations as a signal of fatal weakness. ^{They predict a} ~~The~~ decline of Western civilization, ~~[these prophets of doom argue, is irreversible.]~~ Spreading pessimism, materialism, softness of will, and diminishing confidence in ourselves and in our institutions.

~~[are presumed symptoms of democracy's decay.]~~

^{Our experience and} Reality itself shows clearly that these ^{self-styled} ~~so-called~~ "realists" are wrong. ^{Our open and public grappling with} ~~No~~ economic or social problems we ^{cannot} ~~grapple with in open, public discussion can~~ obscure the extraordinary achievements of our society as a whole.

The democratic nations are magnets for young students from all over the world. The democratic world is a center of intellectual and technological invention; it is a great focus of cultural creativity; it is undergoing a major resurgence of religious belief; and our political institutions exhibit a resilience unmatched by [~~others, surely none~~^{any}] in the totalitarian world.

It is not from democracy that millions of refugees have fled since 1945. It is not to escape from democracy that people have risked their lives in small boats on the high seas during recent weeks. It is not from democracy that nearly ten percent of the people of an entire Asian nation ~~has~~^{have} left their ancient homeland. And it is certainly not from democracy ^{but from foreign oppression} that hundreds of thousands of men, women and children have fled [~~in order to escape foreign oppression in~~^{from}] Afghanistan.

These votes of fleeing millions are being cast -- as the voices of millions more are being raised -- for the deeply-rooted faith that gives democracy its unique dynamism: our underlying belief in the unalienable rights and dignity of human beings.

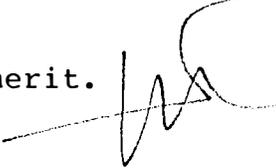
Material accomplishments and cultural vitality alone cannot express the power of our spiritual heritage. Nor is the spirit of our society found simply in the enterprise, ~~and~~ skills, and success of our people.

The fundamental desire for democracy rises from the very center of the human heart and soul. That is why the echo of the unsilenceable call for liberty is heard throughout the world. That call finds its voice in the nations assembling in Venice tomorrow.

human rights --
Our faith in, the freedom, the dignity, and the value of every individual, is the most compelling revolutionary

concept of our times. It has produced a level of economic progress and intellectual creativity unmatched by any other political philosophy or idea. We have no reason to fear change, new ideas, or new problems. We do not rely on military invasions by so-called friendly neighbors, much less on terrorism, to sustain the idea of liberty -- it stands on its own merit.

10 } 11



~~[The so-called decline of the West is a myth.]~~ The search for freedom and democracy has ~~[not lost ground. It~~ has] spread during recent years -- in Spain, in Portugal, in Greece, in Africa and in Latin America. Today the genuine human voice of democracy rings far more clearly than the ^{rasping} loudspeakers of authoritarian regimes.

But while liberty need not be imposed by force, we know all too well that once won, it must be defended. The search for peace demands strength, not weakness; firmness, not

vacillation; pride, not arrogance. We do not seek to remake the world on the model of America or the West. We want the peoples of the world to decide their own destiny and make their own choices. We are confident because history is on the side of freedom.

Let there be no mistake about this: the West is not motivated by relentless hostility, or by a desire for indiscriminate confrontation or a return to the Cold War. But for the Western alliance simply to accept ^{foreign} ~~Soviet~~ occupation and domination of Afghanistan as an accomplished fact would be a cynical signal to the world that could only encourage further aggression, further tension and further danger to world peace. It is our responsibility to register in concrete terms our condemnation of the Soviet invasion for as long as that invasion continues.

We cannot know with certainty the motivations of ~~the~~ ^{this latest}

Soviet move ~~into Afghanistan~~ -- whether Afghanistan is the purpose or the prelude. ~~Regardless of its motives,~~ ^{but} there can be no doubt that ^{this} ~~[the Soviet]~~ invasion poses an increased threat to the independence of nations in the region and to the world's access to vital resources and to vital sea lanes.

[It is hardly reassuring to find a variant of the Soviet doctrine of so-called "limited sovereignty," so cynically invoked in 1968 to justify the trampling of Czechoslovakia's experiment in political freedom, now applied not only to keeping existing satellite governments in power but to propping up new ones.]

The fact is ^{that} ~~[we face a situation today in which]~~ our democracies are vitally dependent on oil supplies from a volatile region whose own security -- from internal divisions and from external threat -- is now in question. Unresolved, that security problem could change the way we live. Already,

it does touch, directly and drastically, the lives of us all.

But our interest in peace and stability in the region goes far beyond economics. In this ever more interdependent world, to assume that aggression need be met only when it occurs at one's own doorstep is to tempt new and very serious adventures.

Detente with the Soviets remains our goal, but detente must be built on a firm foundation of ^{detering aggression.} ~~deterrence~~. The Soviets must understand that they cannot recklessly threaten world peace, ^{or} ~~They cannot~~ still enjoy the benefits of cooperation, ~~x~~ while pursuing a policy of armed intervention.

Above all ^{everyone} ~~(the Soviets)~~ must know ^{that efforts} ~~they will not~~ ^{can not} succeed ~~(in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~their constant efforts]~~ to divide our alliance or to lull us into a false belief that somehow ^{America or} Europe can be an island of detente while aggression is carried out elsewhere.

We recognize, Mr. President, that our policy toward those who might threaten peace must be clear, it must be consistent, it must be comprehensible. There must be no room for any miscalculation.

But let me be equally clear that the way to improved relations is open -- and that is the path we prefer.

I am confident that just as the American people want to sustain strong policies against Soviet aggression [in Afghanistan], they also want our strong efforts at arms control to continue.

We ^{know} ~~believe~~ that the SALT II agreement can contribute directly to the security not only of the United States, but of Europe and indeed of the entire world. It can help to restrain future arms competition, continue the historically important direction of ^{nuclear} arms limitation, and keep our faith that even the most dangerous differences can be resolved in

a framework of cooperation. Especially now in this time of tension, observing the mutual constraints imposed by the treaty is in the best interest of every nation on earth.

Therefore, I intend to ~~abide by~~ ^{honor the object + purpose of} the treaty's ~~terms~~ as long as the Soviet Union, as observed by us, ~~complies with~~ ^{also does the same} ~~those terms, as well.~~ I will remain in close consultation with ^{our} the Congress with the goal of seeking the ratification of SALT II at the earliest opportune time.

Further, if the decade of the 1980's is not to become the decade of violence, we must ^{work} ~~consult~~ with our friends on renewed efforts to stabilize all aspects of arms competition and to widen the scope of arms control arrangements.

In sum, I do not accept forecasts of ~~disaster or defeat~~ ^{weakness or failure} for democracy in the world. Our societies, our values, our freedoms will decline only if we allow them to do so; only if we surrender to uncertainty about where we stand and in

what we believe; only if we forget that each nation and each individual share a responsibility to pull together and defend those common beliefs which unite us -- and that I am convinced we will ^{never surrender nor forget.} ~~not do.~~

~~[But freedom will not flourish through faith alone.
Peace will not be secured through wishful thinking.]~~

Mr. President, Mr. Prime Minister, ladies and gentlemen:

Just as within each democracy we ~~leaders~~ must work to nourish the spirit of community which alone can make the whole of a nation larger than the sum of its parts -- so within the alliance of free nations it is equally true that unless we work together we shall surely be vulnerable separately.

I pledge America's own unwavering commitment to our common interests of security and peace, and ^{we depend} ~~rely~~ on our European friends and allies to join us in that effort.

Together we can, ^{and will} ~~together we must~~ defend the values and interests of our society. Historical experience counsels such a course. Present circumstance compels it.

It is in this spirit of alliance and partnership that I ask you to join me in a toast to President Pertini, to the traditions of two great nations that are at once parallel and intertwined, and to the unbreakable spirit of freedom, friendship, and love of human life that will forever join our countries and our people.

#

CC-7 Bob Deane
6/11/80
h

Susan
ok -

Have translated
and printed for
banquet
distribution

ROME -- STATE DINNER REMARKS

In each of our lands, a democracy was born. Each has
struggled to achieve the balance of unity and liberty that
lead free societies to the highest form of human government --
self-government.

Freedom and human rights have no firmer friend in
thought and action than Sandro Pertini. For personal liberty
and democracy in his country, he paid the price through
years of cruel imprisonment. In fact, I understand that
in 1940 he was not released from prison, as he legally
had a right to be, because he was considered "especially
dangerous".

And so he remains today -- dangerous to anyone who
would threaten to destroy or diminish the liberty of an
individual, the rights of a group, the life or livelihood
of free people. As chief of state, he was foremost in his
appeal to Iranian authorities to release our diplomatic
personnel from terrorists, and it gives me great pleasure
on this public occasion to express the gratitude which the
American people and I feel for his unswerving support.

This morning President Pertini and I discussed some of the central issues that are troubling world peace. Later I was able to discuss these questions with Prime Minister Cossiga, whose visit to Washington in January and whose Presidency of the European Community have so deeply impressed us all.

Three basic ideas ran through our discussions today.

The first is that the best possible policy for our countries as we face a time of danger, change, and testing in the 1980s is a policy that seeks both strong defense of national security and lasting world peace -- for the plain truth is that the one is necessary to the other.

In decades past, the West successfully resisted Soviet expansionism both westward and eastward. Today we see the Soviet Union thrusting southward: directly into Afghanistan, and indirectly through Vietnam and Cambodia. This represents a strategic challenge to the vital interests of the West, and the industrial democracies must face it together. If we are firm in our resolve, we will define a position from which we can encourage detente. If we fail, we will have allowed the strategic, political, and economic balance to be gravely altered in favor of totalitarianism.

The search for freedom and democracy has spread during recent years -- in Spain, in Portugal, in Greece, in Africa and in Latin America. Today the genuine human voice of democracy rings far more clearly than the rasping loudspeakers of authoritarian regimes.

But while liberty need not be imposed by force, we know all too well that once won, it must be defended. The search for peace demands strength, not weakness; firmness, not vacillation; pride, not arrogance. We do not seek to remake the world on the model of America or the West. We want the peoples of the world to decide their own destiny and make their own choices. We are confident because history is on the side of freedom.

Let there be no mistake about this: the West is not motivated by relentless hostility, or by a desire for indiscriminate confrontation or a return to the Cold War. But for the Western alliance simply to accept foreign occupation and domination of Afghanistan as an accomplished fact would be a cynical signal to the world that could only encourage further aggression, further tension and further danger to world peace. It is our responsibility to register in concrete terms our condemnation of the Soviet invasion for as long as that invasion continues.

We cannot know with certainty the motivations of this latest Soviet move -- whether Afghanistan is the purpose or the prelude -- but there can be no doubt that this invasion poses an increased threat to the independence of nations in the region and to the world's access to vital resources and to vital sea lanes.

The fact is that our democracies are vitally dependent on oil supplies from a volatile region whose own security -- from internal divisions and from external threat -- is now in question. Unresolved, that security problem could change the way we live. Already, it does touch, directly and drastically, the lives of us all.

But our interest in peace and stability in the region goes far beyond economics. In this ever more interdependent world, to assume that aggression need be met only when it occurs at one's own doorstep is to tempt new and very serious adventures.

Detente with the Soviets remains our goal, but detente must be built on a firm foundation of deterring aggression. The Soviets must understand that they cannot recklessly threaten world peace, or still enjoy the benefits of cooperation while pursuing a policy of armed intervention.

Above all, everyone must know that efforts cannot succeed to divide our alliance or to lull us into a false belief that somehow America or Europe can be an island of detente while aggression is carried out elsewhere.

We recognize, Mr. President, that our policy toward those who might threaten peace must be clear, it must be consistent, it must be comprehensible. There must be no room for any miscalculation.

But let me be equally clear that the way to improved relations is open -- and that is the path we prefer.

I am confident that just as the American people want to sustain strong policies against Soviet aggression, they also want our strong efforts at arms control to continue.

We know that the SALT II agreement can contribute directly to the security not only of the United States, but of Europe and indeed of the entire world. It can help to restrain future arms competition, continue the historically important direction of nuclear arms limitation, and keep our faith that even the most dangerous differences can be resolved in a framework of cooperation. Especially now in this time of tension, observing the mutual constraints imposed by the treaty is in the best interest of every nation on earth.

Therefore, I intend to ~~abide~~ ^{honor the object & purpose} by the treaty, ~~its terms~~ ^{does the same.} as long as the Soviet Union, as observed by us, ~~also complies~~ ^{with those terms.} I will remain in close consultation with our Congress with the goal of seeking the ratification of SALT II at the earliest opportune time.

Further, if the decade of the 1980s is not to become the decade of violence, we must work with our friends on renewed efforts to stabilize all aspects of arms competition and to widen the scope of arms control arrangements.

In sum, I do not accept forecasts of weakness or failure for democracy in the world. Our societies, our values, our freedoms will decline only if we allow them to do so; only if we surrender to uncertainty about where we stand and in what we believe; only if we forget that each nation and each individual share a responsibility to pull together and defend those common beliefs which unite us -- and I am convinced we will never surrender nor forget.

Mr. President, Mr. Prime Minister, ladies and gentlemen: Just as within each democracy we must work to nourish the spirit of community which alone can make the whole of a nation larger than the sum of its parts -- so within the alliance of free nations it is equally true that unless we work together we shall surely be vulnerable separately.

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It is in this spirit of alliance and partnership that I ask you to join me in a toast to President Pertini, to the traditions of two great nations that are at once parallel and intertwined, and to the unbreakable spirit of freedom, friendship, and love of human life that will forever join our countries and our people.

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Hertzberg/Gardner
Draft A-1; 6/11/80
Scheduled Delivery:
Sat, 6/21/80;

*Susan -
Will speak
from notes
based on this
text - J*

ROME: Remarks to Embassy Staff and Families
and Members of the American Community

Ladies and gentlemen --

I am happy to have this opportunity to spend a little time with you this morning. Italy is one of our country's best friends and closest allies, and I am particularly proud of the work you are doing here at our embassy in Rome.

My friend Dick Gardner was my personal choice to be our Ambassador here. Working with him, all of you have brought fresh ideas to our bilateral relations. The "Strategy of Cooperation" between Italy and the United States is not some impersonal blueprint. You have made it a living, dynamic program for constructive collaboration in very relevant areas -- energy research, control of narcotics,

communications and education, to name just a few.

These are not easy times for you who serve our country in overseas posts and for your families. I recognize the increased difficulties that you encounter in your work.

I am very much aware of the threats to your security with which you must live each day. I know there must be times when you wonder whether anybody back home cares. I want you to know that we do care. Your fellow citizens are deeply grateful to you. On their behalf, I salute all of you and your colleagues around the world.

Two hundred and thirty days have passed since 53 of our fellow countrymen -- many of them friends and colleagues of yours -- were seized by terrorists in Iran, in gross violation of both international law and elementary standards of human decency. Our people continue to be held with the connivance and support of what passes for a government in

that tormented country. You know the difficulties we have had -- and the international community has had -- in trying to deal with that fragmented and chaotic government. You know the efforts we have made to secure the release of the hostages. And you may be sure that we will persevere until these innocent men and women have regained their freedom.

I would particularly like to pay tribute to the members of the Armed Forces who are in this audience.

The volunteers who gave their lives in the attempt to free the hostages acted in the finest tradition of the American Armed Forces. The United States Marines who protect our missions abroad belong to the same great tradition. We are grateful to them for their dedication to duty, for their valor and for their service to our country.

To our Italian colleagues, thank you for your good work in making this such an effective embassy. By serving

the United States Government you also serve your own country. Our two nations enjoy the warm relations and mutual respect that grow out of shared values and objectives. Your work strengthens these commonly held values, and it strengthens the cause of freedom and peace everywhere on earth.

I would like to say to the members of the American community in Italy that all Americans benefit from your work and your study and from the contributions you make to better understanding between the peoples of Italy and the United States. By your example, you bring credit to your country. By the friendships you make, you forge links between our peoples which are stronger than any treaty or agreement.

We are fortunate to be represented around the globe by men and women like yourselves. We know that your work often entails personal sacrifices and separations from

your families and friends. We appreciate your dedication and we take pride in your achievements. Your best reward ultimately is the sure knowledge that you serve our country with skill and courage and selfless devotion.

Thank you and good luck to you all.

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Mr. President -- The Vatican has asked that your remarks be kept under five minutes. This draft has been approved by representatives of Bishop Hubbard (who is in charge of the Pilgrims) and by Peter Sarros, Deputy Presidential Envoy to the Vatican.

VATICAN: Remarks at Beatification Observance

*ok
cards
J*

Your Holiness, Your Eminences, Your Excellencies, and fellow Americans --

Last October ~~6th~~, ~~in Washington~~, John Paul II became the first Pope to ^{visit in} ~~enter~~ the White House. It was a day of solemn joy, as we marked a milestone in the long intertwined history of faiths and nations.

Today marks a milestone of a different sort, but of similar significance. Once again, we share a moment of reflection on ^{the interturnings of history} ~~our linked past~~ -- and, I hope, a moment of inspiration for the future.

Many of you have traveled here to mark a very special event -- the recognition which the Roman Catholic Church is

giving to five of her faithful. One of those five was a truly native American -- Kateri Tekakwitha (pronounced GA-deh-ree Tay-gah-GWEE-ta). She was born a Mohawk, a member of the tribe that is the keeper of the eastern door of the great Iroquois Confederacy. She spent her life in what is now New York State, but we willingly share her memory and her honor with our Canadian neighbors. And though she lived three centuries ago -- this year is the 300th anniversary of her death at only 24 years of age -- she is still remembered for a selfless, steadfast faith that has transcended time and place and mere mortality.

Beatification has a public meaning for members of the Catholic Church, but ^{people} ~~all of us~~ of so many different religious traditions and origins can feel the joy and satisfaction of tomorrow's event. I am glad to join you -- and to join Their Eminences John Cardinal Krol, Terence Cardinal Cooke, William Cardinal Baum and His Excellency Howard J. Hubbard, Bishop of Albany -- in sharing that joy and that satisfaction.

I want to say a word of greeting also to the others gathered here -- to the students, the teachers, the officials of ~~many different types, both in~~ Church and civil affairs, who live and work here. Your activities contribute to the task of building peace and justice in the world. By making that contribution, you are witnesses to an essential element of the American spirit: concern for the world and its people, concern for human and humane values, concern for the religious impulse which seeks to put itself at the service of the highest human aspirations.

In this beautiful palace, we are surrounded by treasures. There are the tangible ones -- the statues and the priceless works of art -- and there are the invisible ones, the inspirational works of faith.

Those invisible treasures are what make this such a timeless place, ~~when it is~~ so full of history; such a boundless place, when its physical expanse is small.

All of you here today bear witness to that.

The dedication and commitment you have come to honor is the kind we must strive to rekindle. In this trying time, when so many fall victim to violence, to hunger and to tyranny, we need the integrity of words and actions. We need those who inspire, those whom we can emulate. Those whom you have come in pilgrimage to honor are such as that. So is the great world leader who honors us by his presence in this room. Ladies and gentlemen, His Holiness, Pope John Paul II.

#

1. YOUR HOLINESS, YOUR EMINENCES, YOUR EXCELLENCIES, & FELLOW AMERICANS:
2. LAST OCTOBER, JOHN PAUL II BECAME THE 1ST POPE TO VISIT IN THE WHITE HOUSE.
3. IT WAS A DAY OF SOLEMN JOY, AS WE MARKED
4. A MILESTONE IN THE LONG INTERTWINED HISTORY OF FAITHS & NATIONS.
5. TODAY MARKS A MILESTONE OF A DIFFERENT SORT, BUT OF SIMILAR SIGNIFICANCE.
6. ONCE AGAIN, WE SHARE A MOMENT OF REFLECTION

ON THE INTERTWININGS OF HISTORY --

7. AND, I HOPE, A MOMENT OF INSPIRATION FOR THE FUTURE.
8. MANY OF YOU HAVE TRAVELED HERE TO MARK A VERY SPECIAL EVENT --
9. THE RECOGNITION WHICH THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IS GIVING
TO FIVE OF HER FAITHFUL.

(=OVER=) (ONE OF THOSE.....)

1. ONE OF THOSE 5 WAS A TRULY NATIVE AMERICAN -- "KAY-DEH-REE TAY-GAH-GWEE-TA".
2. SHE WAS BORN A MOHAWK -- A MEMBER OF THE TRIBE
3. THAT IS THE KEEPER OF THE EASTERN DOOR OF THE GREAT IROQUOIS CONFEDERACY.
4. SHE SPENT HER LIFE IN WHAT IS NOW NEW YORK STATE,
5. BUT WE WILLINGLY SHARE HER MEMORY & HER HONOR WITH OUR CANADIAN NEIGHBORS.
6. AND THOUGH SHE LIVED 3 CENTURIES AGO --
7. THIS YEAR IS THE 300TH ANNIVERSARY OF HER DEATH AT ONLY 24 YEARS OF AGE --
8. SHE IS STILL REMEMBERED FOR A SELFLESS, STEADFAST FAITH
9. THAT HAS TRANSCENDED TIME & PLACE & MERE MORTALITY.

(=NEW CARD=) (BEATIFICATION HAS.....)

1. BEATIFICATION HAS A PUBLIC MEANING FOR MEMBERS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.
2. BUT PEOPLE OF MANY DIFFERENT RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS & ORIGINS
3. CAN FEEL THE JOY & SATISFACTION OF TOMORROW'S EVENT.
4. I AM GLAD TO JOIN YOU -- & TO JOIN THEIR EMINENCES
5. JOHN CARDINAL KROL, TERRENCE CARDINAL COOKE, WILLIAM CARDINAL BAUM,
6. & HIS EXCELLENCE HOWARD J. HUBBARD, BISHOP OF ALBANY --
7. IN SHARING THAT JOY & THAT SATISFACTION.
8. I WANT TO SAY A WORD OF GREETING ALSO TO THE OTHERS GATHERED HERE --
9. TO THE STUDENTS, ...THE TEACHERS, ...
10. THE OFFICIALS OF CHURCH & CIVIL AFFAIRS -- WHO LIVE & WORK HERE.

(=OVER=) (YOUR ACTIVITIES.....)

1. YOUR ACTIVITIES CONTRIBUTE TO THE TASK OF BUILDING PEACE & JUSTICE
IN THE WORLD.
2. BY MAKING THAT CONTRIBUTION,
3. YOU ARE WITNESSES TO AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT OF THE AMERICAN SPIRIT:
4. CONCERN FOR THE WORLD & ITS PEOPLE,
5. CONCERN FOR HUMAN & HUMANE VALUES,
6. CONCERN FOR THE RELIGIOUS IMPULSE
7. WHICH SEEKS TO PUT ITSELF AT THE SERVICE OF THE HIGHEST HUMAN ASPIRATIONS.
8. IN THIS BEAUTIFUL PLACE, WE ARE SURROUNDED BY TREASURES.
9. THERE ARE THE TANGIBLE ONES --
10. THE STATUES & THE PRICELESS WORKS OF ART --
11. AND THERE ARE THE INVISIBLE ONES,
12. THE INSPIRATIONAL WORKS OF FAITH. (NEW CARD) (THOSE INVISIBLE, ...)

1. AND THAT IS WHY AMERICANS FEEL SUCH DEEP ADMIRATION & LOVE
FOR POPE JOHN PAUL II.
2. AMERICANS OF ALL FAITHS REJOICED AT HIS VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES
LAST YEAR.
3. WE HAVE WATCHED WITH RESPECT & GRATITUDE
4. AS HE HAS TOUCHED MILLIONS OF LIVES BY HIS FURTHER TRAVELS.
5. HIS MORAL & SPIRITUAL LEADERSHIP HAS FOCUSED THE ATTENTION OF THE WORLD
6. UPON THOSE SUFFERING FROM HUNGER, POVERTY, & DISEASE;...
7. UPON REFUGEES IN MANY CORNERS OF THE EARTH;...
8. AND UPON THOSE LABORING UNDER POLITICAL REPRESSION.
9. THE UNITED STATES SHARES THESE CONCERNS OF HIS HOLINESS.
10. THEY ARE OUR UNFINISHED TASKS AS WELL.

1. AMERICA HAS RESPONDED GENEROUSLY TO THE
MEN, WOMEN, & CHILDREN OF KAMPUCHEA.
 2. WE ARE ACTING WITH JUSTICE & CHARITY
 3. TOWARD THOSE PEOPLE ESCAPING FROM INTOLERABLE CONDITIONS
IN THE CARIBBEAN.
 4. AND WE WORK WITH INTERNATIONAL RELIEF AGENCIES
SUCH AS CATHOLIC RELIEF SERVICES
 5. IN PROVIDING FOOD & SHELTER FOR THOSE DISPLACED BY WARFARE
IN INDOCHINA, THE HORN OF AFRICA, & AFGHANISTAN.
- (=NEW CARD=) (IN ADDITION,.....)

1. IN ADDITION, THE UNITED STATES IS TRYING TO PROVIDE NEW LEADERSHIP
 2. TOWARD A JUST & LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.
 3. WE ARE PLEASED TO CHAMPION THE CAUSE OF DEMOCRACY & HUMAN DEVELOPMENT
IN LATIN AMERICA.
 4. AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE THE UNITED STATES
 5. MORE WORTHY AS A NATION COMMITTED TO
SOCIALJUSTICE, ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY, & RELIGIOUS FREEDOM.
 6. ONE THING MORE, & THIS IS DEEPLY IMPORTANT TO ME.
 7. ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, I WOULD LIKE TO PERSONALLY THANK
 8. YOUR HOLINESS FOR YOUR EFFORTS TOWARD THE RELEASE OF THE
 9. 53 AMERICAN HOSTAGES IN IRAN, VICTIMS OF TERRORISM WHO ARE BEING HELD
 10. IN CONTINUED DEFIANCE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW
 11. AND UNIVERSALLY ACCEPTED STANDARDS OF DECENCY.
- (=OVER=) (WE HAVE MANY,.....)

1. WE HAVE MANY UNFINISHED TASKS.
2. BUT WE HAVE MANY RESOURCES OF
3. COURAGE, PATIENCE, FAITH, STRENGTH, & LOVE.
4. WE HAVE RENEWED THESE RESOURCES IN OUR MEETING TODAY.
5. TOGETHER, WE ARE WORKING TOWARD A DAY
6. WHEN HUMAN BEINGS SHALL NOT MAKE OTHERS GO HOMELESS & HUNGRY;...
7. WHEN ALL PEOPLE WILL HAVE A VOICE IN DECIDING THEIR OWN DESTINY;...
8. WHEN WE WILL AT LAST LIFT THE TERRIBLE FEAR OF NUCLEAR DESTRUCTION
FROM OUR CHILDREN & THEIR CHILDREN;...
9. WHEN THE VALUES & IDEALS OF FREEDOM ARE RESPECTED BY ALL GOVERNMENTS;...
10. AND WHEN HUMILITY IN THE SERVICE OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT & THE HUMAN CONDITION
11. IS THE HIGH HONOR OF EVERY HUMAN STATE.

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VATICAN -- REMARKS FOLLOWING MEETING WITH POPE JOHN PAUL II

1. YOUR HOLINESS:
2. AS HAPPY AS I WAS TO WELCOME YOU AS THE 1st POPE TO VISIT THE WHITE HOUSE,
3. I AM EQUALLY PLEASED TO BE WELCOMED BY YOU TO YOUR ANCIENT & HOLY CITY.
4. LIKE MILLIONS BEFORE ME, I AM MOVED BY THE WORK
5. OF MICHELANGELO, OF RAPHAEL, OF BERNINI & MANY OTHER GREAT ARTISTS.
6. THEY HAVE LEFT US PROOF
7. THAT WHEN OUR ENERGIES ARE TURNED AWAY FROM DESTRUCTION & TOWARD CREATION,
8. WE ARE CAPABLE OF DOING THE WORK OF THE DIVINE --
9. IN THE SERVICE OF MANKIND. /
10. TODAY, AS PERHAPS NEVER BEFORE,
11. HEADS OF NATIONS & LEADERS IN RELIGIOUS FAITH
12. STAND IN NEED OF A SHARED COMMITMENT TO SERVE HUMANITY.

(=OVER=) (IN THE MIDST.....)

1. IN THE MIDST OF A TRIP WHOSE OBJECTIVE IS
2. TO PROMOTE PEACE, COOPERATION, & COMMON PURPOSE WITH
WITH CLOSE PARTNERS OF MY COUNTRY,
3. IT HAS BEEN MY PRIVILEGE TODAY
4. TO HAVE MET WITH A MAN PASSIONATELY DEDICATED TO THOSE SAME IDEALS. /
5. I AM GRATIFIED THAT WE SHARE A BELIEF THAT THE
6. STRUGGLE TO ENHANCE THE DIGNITY & DECENCY OF INDIVIDUAL HUMAN LIVES
7. GIVES MEANING TO HISTORY;...
8. THAT THROUGH OUR ACTIONS OUR BELIEFS ARE GIVEN LIFE;...
9. THAT THE ROLE OF A STATE IS NOT TO CRUSH
10. BUT TO FREE THE SPIRIT OF ITS PEOPLE;...
11. AND THAT IT IS THE DUTY OF LEADERS TO JOIN TOGETHER
12. WITH ALL WHO WOULD WALK IN THE WAYS OF PEACE.

(=NEW CARD=) (OUR COMMON.....)

1. OUR COMMON PILGRIMAGE IS MORE URGENT THAN EVER.
2. THE WORLD'S RESOURCES, MEANT BY GOD FOR ALL,
3. ARE DIVERTED ON A GRAND SCALE TO FINANCE MEANS OF DESTRUCTION.
4. HOMELESS PEOPLE BY THE MILLIONS,
5. OFTEN DRIVEN FROM THEIR LANDS BY VIOLENCE
6. AND SUBJECTED TO HUNGER & DISEASE,
7. WANDER THE WORLD IN SEARCH OF ELEMENTAL DIGNITY
THAT HAS BEEN DENIED THEM.
8. WE ALL SHARE THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR BRINGING THESE TRAGEDIES TO AN END.
9. IF THE CURRENT WORLD SITUATION IS FRAUGHT WITH
CONFLICTING INTERESTS THAT THREATEN BLOODSHED,
10. IT IS ALSO ALIVE WITH POSSIBILITIES FOR RECONCILIATION.
11. WE MUST SEIZE THESE POSSIBILITIES.

(=OVER=) (NATIONS CAN BEGIN.....)

1. NATIONS CAN BEGIN BY HEEDING A UNIVERSAL MORAL & POLITICAL IMPERATIVE --
2. THAT THE PROTECTION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF EACH PERSON
IS THE PURPOSE & THE PREMISE OF GOVERNMENTS.
3. THEY CAN ALSO RESPECT AS SACROSANCT THE SOVEREIGNTY OF OTHER NATIONS.
4. AMERICA'S SETTLERS WERE DRAWN TO OUR OWN SHORES
5. BY THE PROMISE OF FREEDOM & OF A BETTER LIFE. /
6. OVER OUR LONG HISTORY,
7. AMERICA HAS BEEN GUIDED BY THE TRADITIONS OF THAT CONTINUING QUEST --
8. FOR OURSELVES & FOR ALL PEOPLES.
9. THAT IS WHY THE PURSUIT OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM,
10. THE SECURITY OF NATIONS, & THE PEACE OF THE WORLD
11. ARE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY.

(=NEW CARD=) (AND THAT IS WHY.....)

1. THOSE INVISIBLE TREASURES ARE WHAT MAKE THIS
2. SUCH A TIMELESS PLACE, SO FULL OF HISTORY.
3. SUCH A BOUNDLESS PLACE, WHEN ITS PHYSICAL EXPANSE IS SMALL.
4. ALL OF YOU HERE TODAY BEAR WITNESS TO THAT.
5. THE DEDICATION & COMMITMENT YOU HAVE COME TO HONOR
6. IS THE KIND WE MUST STRIVE TO REKINDLE.

(=OVER=) (IN THIS TRYING.....)

1. IN THIS TRYING TIME,
2. WHEN SO MANY FALL VICTIM TO VIOLENCE, TO HUNGER & TO TYRANNY,
3. WE NEED THE INTEGRITY OF WORDS & ACTIONS.
4. WE NEED THOSE WHO INSPIRE, THOSE WHOM WE CAN EMULATE.
5. THOSE WHOM YOU HAVE COME IN PILGRIMAGE TO HONOR ARE SUCH AS THAT.
6. SO IS THE GREAT WORLD LEADER
7. WHO HONORS US BY HIS PRESENCE IN THIS ROOM.
8. LADIES & GENTLEMEN,
9. HIS HOLINESS, POPE JOHN PAUL II .

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Gordon Stewart
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Sat, 6/21/80

Susan
Pard's

VATICAN: Remarks Following Meeting with Pope John Paul II

J
(Superseded
by another
draft)

Your Holiness:

As happy as I was to welcome you as the first Pope to visit the White House, I am equally pleased to be welcomed by you to your ancient and holy city.

Like millions before me, I am moved by the work of Michelangelo, of Raphael, of Bernini and ~~so~~ many other great artists. They have left us proof that when ~~man~~ ^{we are} turns his energies ^{are turned} away from destruction and toward creation, ^{we are} he is capable of ^{doing the work of} approaching the divine -- in the service of mankind.

Today, as perhaps never before, heads of nations and ^{in religious faith} leaders ~~of religion~~ stand in need of a shared commitment to serve humanity. Political power without respect for human

^{rights}
~~life~~ and the freedom of peoples will crumble ^{because of} ~~around~~ its
inner emptiness -- just as acts of violence to those ^{basic} ~~rights~~
by ^{terrorists} ~~fanatics, zealots,~~ or dictators will fail ^{because of} ~~of~~ their own
inhumanity.

It has been my privilege today ~~to~~ In the midst of a trip
whose objective is to promote peace, cooperation, and common
purpose with ^{close} ~~to~~ ^{of} ~~whom~~ my country, ~~is particularly close~~
~~to~~ to have met with a man passionately dedicated to those
same ideals.

I am ~~deeply~~ ^{amazed} gratified to ~~find each of us believes~~ ^{that we share a belief} that
~~it is~~ the struggle to enhance the dignity and decency of
individual human lives ~~which~~ gives meaning to history; that
~~it is~~ through our actions ~~that~~ our beliefs are given life;
that the role of a State is not to crush but to free the
spirit of its people; ^{and} that it is the duty of leaders to join
together with all who would walk in the ways of peace.

Our common pilgrimage is more urgent than ever. The world's resources, meant by God for all, are diverted on a grand scale to finance means of destruction. Homeless people by the millions, often driven from their lands by violence and subjected to hunger and disease, wander the world in search ~~of the lives~~ of elemental dignity that ^{has} ~~have~~ been denied them.

We all share the responsibility for bringing these tragedies to an end. If the current world situation is fraught with conflicting interests that threaten bloodshed, it is also alive with possibilities for reconciliation. We must seize ~~them~~ *these possibilities.*

Nations can begin by heeding ^a ~~this~~ universal moral and political imperative -- that the protection of the human rights of each person is the purpose and the premise of governments. They can go ~~further~~ ^{also} by respecting ^{as sacrosanct} ~~ing~~ the sovereignty of other nations, ~~as sacrosanct.~~

America's ~~first~~ settlers were drawn to ^{our own} ~~its~~ shores by the promise of freedom ~~of faith~~ and of a better life. Over our long history, America has been guided by the traditions of that continuing quest -- for ourselves and for all peoples.

That is why the pursuit of individual freedom, the security of nations, and the peace of the world are ~~first~~ ^{basic} principles of American foreign policy. ~~Our values and interests, our power and our policies are joined in these principles.~~

And that is why America ^{ns} ~~and the world~~ ^{feel ~~st~~ such deep admiration and} ~~have no better~~ ^{love for} ~~friend than~~ Pope John Paul II. Americans of all faiths rejoiced at his visit to the United States last ^{year.} ~~October~~. We have watched with respect and ^{gratitude} ~~admiration~~ as he has touched millions of lives by his ^{further} ~~travels~~. His moral and spiritual leadership has focused the attention of the world upon those suffering from hunger, poverty, and disease; upon the ~~plight~~ ~~of~~ refugees in many corners of the earth; and upon those laboring under political repression.

The United States ~~deeply shares~~ ^{shares} these concerns of his Holiness. They are our unfinished tasks as well. America has ~~contributed~~ ^{responded} generously to the ~~international relief programs~~ for the men, women, and children of Kampuchea. We are acting with justice and charity toward those people escaping from intolerable conditions in the Caribbean. And we ~~have~~ ^{work} ~~coordinated our activities with the international relief agencies, and with such outstanding private agencies as Catholic Relief Services,~~ in providing food and shelter for those displaced by Soviet-backed warfare in Indochina, the Horn of Africa, and ~~of course,~~ Afghanistan.

In addition, the United States ^{is trying to} ~~has provided~~ new leadership toward ~~breaking down the obstacles to~~ a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. ~~Close to home~~ ^{pleased to} we are ~~vigorously~~ championing the cause of democracy and human development in Latin America. And we will ~~never rest in our efforts to~~ ^{continue} ~~keep~~ the United States ^{more} ~~worthy to~~ ^{as a nation committed to} ~~be a role for the world~~

social justice, economic opportunity, and religious freedom.

Our meeting today has enabled us to review the progress we have made, and assess the problems that remain. They are formidable, but I am confident that we possess the spiritual *vision* ~~will~~ and the physical determination to overcome them.

One thing more, and this is deeply important to me.

On behalf of the American people, I would personally like to thank your Holiness for your efforts toward the release of the 53 American hostages in Iran, *victims of terrorism* who are being held in continued defiance of international law and universally accepted standards of decency. ~~That, too, is an unfinished task.~~

We have many unfinished tasks. But we have many resources of courage, patience, faith, strength, and love. We have renewed these resources in our meeting today.

Together, we are working toward a day when human beings

shall not make others go homeless and hungry; when all people will have a voice in deciding their own destiny; when we will at last lift the terrible fear of nuclear destruction from our children's ^{and their} children; when the values and ideals of freedom are respected by all governments; and when humility in the service of the human spirit and the human condition is the high honor of every human state.

[Conclusion based on Beatification Ceremony to come]

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