

Material from President's Trip to The Summit, 6/19/80-6/27/80 [2]

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

Rick Hertzberg
Draft A-1; 6/12/80
Scheduled Delivery:
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✓

*Susan
Cards
J*

BELGRADE: Arrival Statement

Mr. President, Yugoslav and American friends --

I have looked forward to this day since March 1978,
when President Tito invited me to come to Yugoslavia.

I am grateful to the Presidency of the Socialist Federal
Republic of Yugoslavia for renewing that invitation.

My pleasure in visiting this proud and beautiful land
is tempered by the sorrow we all feel at the passing of
President Tito. He was a great man -- one of the greatest
of the twentieth century. He was one of a small handful of
statesmen who can truly be said to have shaped the modern
world -- and one of an even smaller handful who have shaped
it for the better. He was a man of extraordinary courage --
physical, moral, and political courage. He was also a man of

imagination and of a rare kind of practical vision -- the kind of vision that sees not only what a better world might be like, but also how the imperfect tools we have can be used to help build one.

President Tito's contribution to the development of a strong, independent and nonaligned Yugoslavia was, of course, unparalleled. But his contribution to international peace and stability was no less important.

It was my privilege to have worked with President Tito. I greatly valued his counsel, which was the product of so much wisdom and experience, and which he generously shared with me, both face to face and through the many letters we exchanged. I share your grief at his passing, and your admiration for what he accomplished.

President Tito left a precious legacy -- a strong, independent and nonaligned Yugoslavia.

I have come to Belgrade to assure you of the friendship and support of the United States as you build on that legacy.

President Tito devoted a great deal of effort to forging good relations between our two countries. Today the foundation of those relations is firm and durable. In the past three years, moreover, the bonds between our two countries have grown visibly stronger -- and I am eager to work with you to make them stronger still.

In this connection, Mr. President, I want to reaffirm to you today the basic continuity of American policy toward Yugoslavia. The United States supports and will continue to support the independence, territorial integrity and unity of Yugoslavia. The United States wishes to see an economically prosperous and politically strong Yugoslavia. The United States respects Yugoslavia's nonalignment and admires Yugoslavia's constructive international role.

We stand ready to work closely with you to ensure the continued development of an independent Yugoslavia. But we know that Yugoslavia's independence is the creation not of any outside force, but of the courage and sacrifice of the people of Yugoslavia. And we also know that the greatest bulwark of your independence is your own fierce determination to defend it.

That determination is perhaps the key to the special role Yugoslavia plays in the world. Yugoslavia was a pioneer of nonalignment and a founder of the Nonaligned Movement. Yugoslavia remains an important leader of that movement today. Militarily, economically, and politically, Yugoslavia has pursued a policy of authentic nonalignment that has won the respect of the whole world.

Especially now -- at a time when the principles of equality, noninterference, and territorial inviolability are threatened -- Yugoslavia's steadfast defense of the principles

of the United Nations and of the Nonaligned Movement takes on new importance. Yugoslavia can make a significant contribution to the solution of international problems and to the further development of detente between East and West.

The United States also wants to strengthen detente, and we will work hard toward that end. But detente must be based on reciprocity. It must be based on mutual restraint. It must be based on respect for the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity and noninterference in the affairs of other nations. These are the same principles of international life for which Yugoslavia has always struggled.

At the same time, the United States strongly believes that efforts to reduce the chances of nuclear war must continue. So must the effort to build an international system that helps^{to} reduce ~~international~~ tensions and helps^{to} foster peace, security, freedom, and economic well-being.

Despite the crises that beset the world today, the United States remains committed to preserving the framework of detente and to maintaining a dialogue between the nations of the world. Specifically, we support arms control and disarmament talks and negotiations wherever they can contribute to mutual security and international stability. We also support the Madrid Review Conference of the Helsinki Final Act, which we feel can contribute to a full and frank review of progress to date -- and to balanced steps forward in all areas of the Final Act.

I am looking forward to our discussions on these and other matters. We are eager to hear your ideas for ways in which Yugoslavia and the Nonaligned Movement can contribute to solving the many difficult problems the world faces.

Mr. President, our time here is short, and we have much to discuss. But we will be building on a foundation of

mutual purpose. I am very pleased to be here. I bring to you, and to all the people of Yugoslavia, the warmest good wishes of the people of the United States.

Thank you.

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1. MR. PRESIDENT, ~~DISTINGUISHED~~ AMERICAN COLLEAGUES & YUGOSLAV FRIENDS --
2. ALTHOUGH THIS IS MY 1ST VISIT TO YUGOSLAVIA,
3. THE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES
4. HAS INVOLVED 7 AMERICAN PRESIDENTS, BEGINNING WITH HARRY TRUMAN.
5. I AM HERE TO AFFIRM THE CONTINUITY OF THAT RELATIONSHIP.
6. I AM HERE TO REITERATE OUR FIRM SUPPORT OF YUGOSLAVIA'S
7. INDEPENDENCE, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, & UNITY,
8. AND OUR RESPECT FOR YUGOSLAVIA'S NON-ALIGNED POSITION.
9. THESE ARE THE PRINCIPLES WHICH PRESIDENT TITO & I EMPHASIZED
10. DURING HIS VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES A LITTLE MORE THAN TWO YEARS AGO.
11. I WANT YOU TO KNOW
12. THAT THEY ARE JUST AS CENTRAL TO AMERICAN POLICY NOW AS THEY WERE THEN.

(=OVER=) (IT IS WITH)

1. IT IS WITH GREAT SADNESS
2. THAT I PAY HERE TONIGHT A PERSONAL TRIBUTE TO PRESIDENT TITO.
3. I REGARDED HIM AS A FRIEND
4. AS WELL AS A STATESMAN OF UNCOMMON VISION.
5. I VALUED HIS COUNSEL, HIS WISDOM & HIS PERSPECTIVE.
6. I GAINED MANY DEEP INSIGHTS FROM OUR PERSONAL CORRESPONDENCE,
7. WHICH CONTINUED EVEN DURING HIS FINAL ILLNESS.
8. GREAT MEN OF HISTORY SOMETIMES LEAVE THE NATIONS THEY HAVE LED
7. ILL-EQUIPPED TO FACE THE WORLD WITHOUT THEM.
8. WHAT HAS IMPRESSED ME IN MY BRIEF STAY HERE
9. IS HOW SMOOTHLY YOU HAVE MET THE CHALLENGE OF TRANSITION.

(=NEW CARD=) (THAT IS A.....)

1. THAT IS A GREAT TRIBUTE
2. NOT ONLY TO THE FORESIGHT OF PRESIDENT TITO,
3. BUT ALSO TO THE DEDICATION & PATRIOTISM OF HIS POLITICAL HEIRS.
4. A MAN LIKE PRESIDENT TITO CANNOT BE REPLACED.
5. IT IS THE NATURE OF SUCH MEN TO BE IRREPLACABLE.
6. BUT THE COURAGE & CREATIVITY OF THE YUGOSLAV PEOPLE
7. GUARANTEE THAT PRESIDENT TITO'S LIFE'S WORK
8. OF BUILDING A STRONG, INDEPENDENT YUGOSLAVIA
9. WILL GO FORWARD IN THE YEARS AHEAD.
10. YUGOSLAVIA'S UNSWERVING DEFENSE OF THE PRINCIPLES OF TRUE
11. NON-ALIGNMENT & NON-INTERVENTION IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF SOVEREIGN STATES
12. IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT IN TODAY'S UNSTABLE & TROUBLED WORLD.

1. THE UNITED STATES RESPECTS SUCH A POLICY.
2. IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN MY HOPE AS PRESIDENT
3. THAT WE COULD MOVE ON, IN MANY AREAS OF THE WORLD,
4. FROM CONFLICT TO PEACE.
5. I LOOKED FORWARD TO SIGNIFICANT ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN ARMS CONTROL
WITH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF "SALT II".
6. RATIFICATION OF THIS TREATY HAS BEEN TEMPORARILY FRUSTRATED,
BUT NOT ABANDONED.
7. WE ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED THAT
8. AN UNJUSTIFIABLE ACT OF ARMED AGGRESSION CONTINUES IN AFGHANISTAN,
9. A FOUNDING MEMBER WITH YOU OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT --
10. A SMALL COUNTRY WHICH PRESENTED NO THREAT TO ANYONE.

(=NEW CARD=) (THE VAST MAJORITY.....)

1. THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD,
2. IN AN EXTRAORDINARY VOTE BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS,
3. HAVE CALLED FOR THE IMMEDIATE & UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL
OF ALL FOREIGN TROOPS FROM AFGHANISTAN.
4. WE WANT TO SEE THE RESTORATION OF
5. AN INDEPENDENT & NON-ALIGNED AFGHANISTAN
6. WHICH CAN LIVE IN PEACE WITH ALL ITS NEIGHBORS
7. AND CONTRIBUTE TO THE STABILITY OF THE REGION.
8. WITH THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL SOVIET FORCES FROM AFGHANISTAN,
9. WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO JOIN IN ASSURANCES & ARRANGEMENTS
10. TO ESTABLISH A TRULY INDEPENDENT, NON-ALIGNED AFGHANISTAN,
11. WITH A GOVERNMENT ACCEPTABLE TO THE AFGHAN PEOPLE.

(=OVER=) (WE WOULD BE.....)

1. WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO EXPLORE A TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENT,
2. TO BE IMPLEMENTED ALONG WITH THE PROMPT WITHDRAWAL
OF ALL SOVIET TROOPS FROM AFGHANISTAN,
3. FOR THE PURPOSE OF RESTORING PEACE & TRANQUILITY IN THAT SUFFERING COUNTRY.
4. MR. PRESIDENT, OUR TALKS TODAY HAVE ALSO TOUCHED ON
5. THE GRAVE CONSEQUENCES OF POLITICALLY MOTIVATED TERRORISM.
6. I SPEAK FOR EVERY AMERICAN CITIZEN
7. WHEN I SAY HOW MUCH WE APPRECIATE YUGOSLAVIA'S FORTHRIGHT SUPPORT
8. FOR THE RELEASE OF THE AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC PERSONNEL
9. WHO AT THIS MOMENT ARE HELD HOSTAGE IN IRAN,
10. IN VIOLATION OF EVERY TENET NOT ONLY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW
BUT OF SIMPLE DECENCY.

(=NEW CARD=) (FOR MY PART,....)

1. FOR MY PART, I WANT TO REITERATE THAT MY GOVERNMENT WILL NOT TOLERATE
2. TERRORIST ACTS AGAINST YUGOSLAV OFFICIALS & ESTABLISHMENTS
IN THE UNITED STATES,
3. AND THAT WE STRONGLY OPPOSE POLITICAL EFFORTS
4. AIMED AT UNDERMINING YUGOSLAVIA'S UNITY & TERRITORIAL INTERGRITY.
5. MR. PRESIDENT, OUR TALKS TODAY HAVE CONFIRMED MY VIEW
6. THAT YUGOSLAVIA'S CONCEPT OF NON-ALIGNMENT
7. IS NOT A PASSIVE OR QUIESCENT THING,...
8. BUT A BOLD, CREATIVE, IMAGINATIVE APPROACH
9. TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE WORLD,
10. PARTICULARLY THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

1. AND OUR TALKS HAVE CONFIRMED SOMETHING ELSE:
2. THAT BOTH YUGOSLAVIA & THE UNITED STATES
3. WANT TO STRENGTHEN THE BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN US --
4. AND THAT WE WANT TO DO SO ON THE BASIS
5. OF INDEPENDENCE, EQUALITY & MUTUAL RESPECT.
6. I WOULD LIKE TO THANK YOU, ON BEHALF OF MY FAMILY & MY COLLEAGUES,
7. FOR YOUR GENEROUS HOSPITALITY & FRIENDSHIP.
8. I LOOK FORWARD TO A CONTINUING EXCHANGE WITH YOU
9. ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES -- ON WHICH WE SHARE SO MANY COMPATIBLE VIEWS;...
10. AND ALSO ON BILATERAL ISSUES -- ON WHICH WE HAVE MADE SUCH
GREAT PROGRESS IN RECENT YEARS.

(=NEW CARD=) (I WOULD LIKE.....)

1. I WOULD LIKE TO RAISE MY GLASS:
2. --TO THE PRESIDENCY OF THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA
3. AND TO ITS PRESIDENT, HIS EXCELLENCY "TSVEE-YETEEEN MEE-YAH-TOE-VICH";
(CVIJETIN MIJATOVIC)
4. --TO A STRONG & PROSPEROUS SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA;
5. --TO THE PEOPLES OF YUGOSLAVIA,
6. WHOSE LOVE OF INDEPENDENCE WE ADMIRE & SUPPORT;
7. --AND TO THE FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF YUGOSLAV-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP
8. IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE & STABILITY IN THE WORLD.

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1. I LEAVE YUGOSLAVIA WITH STRONG IMPRESSIONS
OF A BRAVE & DEDICATED COUNTRY.
2. I HAVE BEEN MOVED BY THE DIGNITY & COURAGE OF THE YUGOSLAV PEOPLES
3. AT THIS TIME OF NATIONAL SORROW OVER THE PASSING OF PRESIDENT TITO.
4. JUST AS STRONGLY, I HAVE BEEN IMPRESSED BY THE
5. DETERMINATION OF YUGOSLAVIA'S LEADERS AS THEY
FACE THE CHALLENGES OF THE PRESENT & PLAN FOR THE FUTURE.
6. MY TALKS WITH PRESIDENT "MEE-YAH-TOE-VITCH" (MIJATOVIC)
& OTHER YUGOSLAV LEADERS
7. HAVE REMINDED ME ONCE AGAIN OF YUGOSLAVIA'S STEADFAST COMMITMENT
8. TO THE POLICIES WHICH HAVE BECOME ITS HALLMARK:
9. --INDEPENDENCE & NON-ALIGNMENT ABROAD;...
10. --BROTHERHOOD, UNITY & SELF-MANAGEMENT AT HOME. (=OVER=) (WE HAVE.....)

1. WE HAVE REVIEWED OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS --
2. WHICH I AM HAPPY TO AFFIRM ARE EXCELLENT.
3. WE HAVE ALSO HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS
4. A NUMBER OF ASPECTS OF THE CURRENT INTERNATIONAL SCENE.
5. THERE, AS WE HAD TO AGREE, THE PICTURE REMAINS DEEPLY TROUBLED.
6. WE HAVE SEEN IN AFGHANISTAN A GROSS VIOLATION OF THE
SOVEREIGNTY OF A NON-ALIGNED NATION.
7. IN RESPONSE, THE UNITED STATES & YUGOSLAVIA
CLEARLY HAVE DIFFERENT ROLES TO PLAY,
8. BUT BOTH OUR COUNTRIES ARE COMMITTED TO UPHOLDING THE PRINCIPLES OF
9. RESPECT FOR INDEPENDENCE & SOVEREIGNTY,
10. NON-INTERVENTION & PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF DISPUTES --
11. PRINCIPLES THAT ARE ENSHRINED IN THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER
12. AND CONFIRMED IN THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. (=NEW CARD=) (AS A LEADER.....)

1. AS A LEADER & FOUNDER OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT,
2. YUGOSLAVIA PLAYS A UNIQUE ROLE IN PROMOTING
3. THE UNIVERSAL REALIZATION OF THESE PRINCIPLES.
4. AS I DEPART YUGOSLAVIA, I WANT TO EXPRESS TO YOU, MR. PRESIDENT,
5. & TO YOUR COLLEAGUES IN THE PRESIDENCY & YUGOSLAVIA'S OTHER RULING BODIES,
6. & TO THE PEOPLE OF YOUR GREAT COUNTRY
7. MY SINCERE THANKS FOR THE HOSPITALITY YOU HAVE SHOWN US.
8. OUR VISIT HAS NOT ONLY BEEN USEFUL, IT HAS ALSO BEEN VERY ENJOYABLE.
9. WE CARRY HOME TO THE UNITED STATES MANY PLEASANT MEMORIES, AND
10. REMINDERS OF THE CLOSE FRIENDSHIP OF OUR PEOPLE.
11. THANK YOU & FAREWELL.
12. "HAH-LA EE DOE VEE-JANE-YA!" (HVALA I DO VIDJENA)

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

Rick Hertzberg
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(not delivered)

*Susan
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J*

BELGRADE: Departure Statement

I leave Yugoslavia with strong impressions of a brave and dedicated country.

I have been moved by the dignity and courage of the Yugoslav peoples at this time of national sorrow over the passing of President Tito. Just as strongly, I have been impressed by the determination of Yugoslavia's leaders as they face the challenges of the present and plan for the future.

My talks with president Mijatovic [pronounced Mee-YAH-toe-vitch] and other Yugoslav leaders have reminded me once again of Yugoslavia's steadfast commitment to the policies which have become its hallmark:

¶ independence and nonalignment abroad;

¶ brotherhood, unity and self-management at home.

We have reviewed our bilateral relations -- which I am happy to affirm are excellent.

We have also had an opportunity to discuss a number of aspects of the current international scene. There, as we had to agree, the picture remains deeply troubled.

in Afghanistan
We have seen ^a gross violation of ~~non-intervention and~~ *the*
of a non-aligned nation.
~~national~~ sovereignty. In response, the United States and
clearly
Yugoslavia ~~clearly~~ have different roles to play, *b* but both
our countries are committed to upholding the principles of
respect for independence and sovereignty, nonintervention
and peaceful resolution of disputes -- principles that are
enshrined in the United Nations Charter and confirmed in the
Helsinki Final Act.

As a leader and founder of the Nonaligned Movement, Yugoslavia plays a unique role in promoting the universal realization of these principles.

As I depart Yugoslavia, I want to express to you, *Mister* President Mijatovic [~~Mee YAH toe vitch~~], and to your colleagues in the Presidency and Yugoslavia's other ruling bodies, ^{and to the people of} my ^{your great} ^{Country} sincere thanks for the hospitality you have shown us. Our visit has not only been useful, it has also been ^{very} enjoyable.

We carry home to the United States many pleasant memories, *and reminders of the close friendship of our peoples.* ~~We look forward very much to returning your hospitality soon.~~

Thank you and farewell.

Hvala I do Vidjena [HVAH-la ee doe vee-JANE-ya]!

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1. MAJESTADES, SEÑOR PRESIDENTE, AMIGOS DE ESPAÑA Y DE ESTADOS UNIDOS:
2. ES ESTE UN GRAN MOMENTO PARA MÍ,
3. ENCONTRARME AQUÍ Y PODER ^{TRAER} A VUESTRAS MAJESTADES Y A VUESTRO PUEBLO
4. LOS ^{CALUROSOS} BUENOS DESEOS DEL GOBIERNO Y DEL PUEBLO DE LOS
ESTADOS UNIDOS DE AMÉRICA.
5. ME CAUSA UN ESPECIAL PLACER POR EL GRAN INTERÉS QUE SIENTO
6. PERSONALMENTE POR VUESTRA LENGUA Y VUESTRA CULTURA. /
7. HACE CUATROCIENTOS AÑOS, ESPAÑA ERA LA SUPERPOTENCIA DEL
8. MUNDO OCCIDENTAL Y LOS ESPAÑOLES DE ENTONCES DEJARON TRAS SÍ
9. UNA LEYENDA DE CLARIVIDENCIA Y VALOR QUE JAMÁS SE HA OLVIDADO.
10. EN AQUELLA EDAD DE ORO PINTORES COMO EL GRECO Y VELAZQUEZ
11. Y ESCRITORES COMO CERVANTES Y LOPE DE VEGA
12. ENSEÑARON AL MUNDO NUEVAS MANERAS DE VER Y DE SENTIR.
(=OVER=) (LOS EXPLORADORES.....)

1. LOS EXPLORADORES ESPAÑOLES FUERON LOS ASTRONAUTAS DE SU ÉPOCA
2. QUE SONDEARON VALIENTEMENTE NEUVOS MUNDOS DE IMPREVISTOS PELIGROS
Y DIFICULTADES.
3. ESTA GRANDEZA DE ESPAÑA NOS HA BENEFICIADO A TODOS. /
4. MI PROPIO ESTADO DE GEORGIA COMENZÓ COMO PEQUEÑO PUESTO^{puerto} AVANZADO
DEL IMPERIO ESPAÑOL.
5. EL PRIMER EUROPEO QUE PISÓ AQUELLA TIERRA FUE HERNANDO DE SOTO. ~~EN 1540.~~
6. GEORGIA FUE DURANTE MUCHO MÁS TIEMPO UNA COLONIA ESPAÑOLA QUE
LO FUE INGLESA. /
7. HABLO DE LA INFLUENCIA HISTÓRICA DE ESPAÑA PORQUE ES EVIDENTE
8. QUE EL VALOR Y LA GRANDEZA DE ESPAÑA PERDURAN HOY.
9. EN POCO MÁS DE CUATRO AÑOS HABEIS CREADO UNA DEMOCRACIA VIGOROSA
10. Y FLORECIENTE CON RESPETO DE LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS,
11. DE LAS LIBERTADES PERSONALES Y DE LA LIBERTAD DE EXPRESIÓN. / (=NEW=) (LA TARC/

1. LA TAREA NO HA SIDO FÁCIL. M
2. HABEIS TENIDO QUE LUCHAR CON UNA RECESIÓN ECONÓMICA MUNDIAL,
3. CON ENORMES AUMENTOS DE LOS COSTOS DE LA ENERGÍA
4. Y CON ANTIGUOS Y ALGUNAS VECES DIVISIVOS PROBLEMAS INTERNOS.
5. NO OBSTANTE HABEIS LOGRADO BRILLANTEMENTE RECONSTRUIR
ANTIGUAS INSTITUCIONES Y CREAR LAS NUEVAS^{NUEVAS} NUEVAS. /
6. EL DESARROLLO DE LA DEMOCRACIA ESPAÑOLA
7. HA SIDO UN TÓNICO PARA TODO EL MUNDO OCCIDENTAL.
8. ESPAÑA DESMIENTE EL FALSO ARGUMENTO
9. DE QUE LA TENDENCIA DE LA HISTORIA CONDUCE INVARIABLEMENTE
10. HACIA EL AUTORITARISMO -- CON LO QUE ESPAÑA ES UNA FUENTE
11. DE ESPERANZA E INSPIRACIÓN PARA LOS DEMÓCRATAS DE TODAS PARTES.

1. LO VIVIDO POR ESPAÑA ENSEÑA LECCIONES DE DECISION,
2. DE MODERACION Y DE DOMINIO DE SI MISMA,
3. LECCIONES PARA OTRAS DEMOCRACIAS Y PAISES NEUVOS DEL TERCER MUJDO
4. QUE HAN ENCONTRADO LA LIBERTAD Y AHORA BUSCAN MODELOS QUE SEGUIR
PARA PLASMAR SUS PROPIAS SOCIEDADES.
5. EN LOS ÚLTIMOS CUATRO AÑOS ESPAÑA SE HA DESPLAZADO HACIA
6. UN NUEVO LUGAR DE LIDERAZGO EN EL MUNDO.
7. VUESTROS MINISTROS HAN DEJADO CLARO REPETIDAS VECES QUE ESPAÑA
8. SE MANTIENE AL LADO DE OTRAS DEMOCRACIAS OCCIDENTALES COMO FUTURO
9. MIEMBRO DE LA COMUNIDAD EUROPEA Y DE LA COMUNIDAD ATLANTICA.

(=NEW CARD=) (NOS COMPLACE QUE.....)

1. NOS COMPLACE QUE HAYAIS COMENZADO NEGOCIACIONES PARA INGRESAR EN LAS
2. COMUNIDADES EUROPEAS PORQUE CREEMOS QUE LA ENTRADA DE ESPAÑA
3. FORTALECERÁ LA COMUNIDAD IGUAL QUE LA COMUNIDAD FORTALECE A EUROPA.
4. DE MANERA PARECIDA, ESPERAMOS QUE ESPAÑA VEA QUE COINCIDE
5. CON SUS INTERESES EL PARTICIPAR EN LA DEFENSA COLECTIVA DE OCCIDENTE.
6. NO OBSTANTE, RECONOCEMOS COMPLETAMENTE QUE ESTA ES UNA DECISION
7. QUE SOLAMENTE Y EXCLUSIVAMENTE LE CORRESPONDE A ESPAÑA,
8. A SU TIEMPO Y A SU MANERA.
9. NUESTRA NACION PRESTARÁ COMPLETO APOYO A VUESTRA DECISION
UNA VEZ QUE LA TOMEIS.

(=OVER=) (ADEMÁS,.....)

1. ADEMÁS, NUESTROS DOS PAÍSES COMPARTEN UNA ASOCIACIÓN BILATERAL
DE SEGURIDAD BASADA EN IMPORTANTES INTERESES COMUNES.
2. COMENZAREMOS ESTE AÑO A REVISAR LAS RELACIONES DE SEGURIDAD
3. QUE HAN SERVIDO BIEN LOS INTERESES DE NUESTROS DOS PAÍSES
4. Y QUE CONTINUARÁN SIRVIÉNDOLOS DURANTE MUCHOS AÑOS. /
5. NUESTRAS IMPORTANTES RELACIONES ECONÓMICAS TAMBIÉN UNEN A NUESTROS PUEBLOS.
6. LOS EMPRESARIOS NORTEAMERICANOS HAN DEMOSTRADO SU FE EN EL PORVENIR
7. DE ESPAÑA CON LA ELEVADA CUANTÍA DE SUS INVERSIONES AQUÍ EN LOS
AÑOS RECIENTES.
8. LOS EXPORTADORES DE LOS DOS PAÍSES HAN VISTO MUTUAMENTE A CADA
9. UNO DE ELLOS COMO MERCADO IMPORTANTE PARA SUS PRODUCTOS.
10. LO QUE ESTÁ PERFECTAMENTE CLARO ES QUE LAS CRECIENTES
11. RELACIONES ECONÓMICAS SON DE GRAN BENEFICIO PARA LOS DOS PAÍSES. /

(=NEW CARD=) (LA PREOCUPACIÓN.....)

1. LA PREOCUPACIÓN DE ESPAÑA ACERCA DE LOS SUMINISTROS DE ENERGÍA
2. LA COMPARTEN PLENAMENTE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS.
3. COMO SABEN USTEDES, PASÉ A OCUPAR EL CARGO DE PRESIDENTE
4. EN UN MOMENTO EN QUE EL PUEBLO NORTEAMERICANO TODAVÍA CREÍA
5. EN BUENA ^{MEDIDA} MEDIDA QUE EL PETRÓLEO ERA UN RECURSO INFINITO. 3
6. EL DRAMA CENTRAL DE LA VIDA PÚBLICA NORTEAMERICANA EN LOS ÚLTIMOS
7. CUATRO AÑOS HA SIDO LA LUCHA PARA CAMBIAR ESA ACTITUD Y CREAR
ENTONCES UNA POLÍTICA ENERGÉTICA VIABLE.
8. LA LUCHA CONTINÚA, PERO LOS CIMIENTOS DE ESA POLÍTICA ENERGÉTICA ESTÁN
CASI TERMINADOS.
9. ESTO ES CRÍTICO NO SOLAMENTE PARA EL PORVENIR DE MI PROPIO PAÍS,
10. SINO PARA LA MÁS AMPLIA TRAMA DE RELACIONES DE LA QUE FORMAN

1. NUESTROS DOS PAÍSES TAMBIEN COMPARTEN UN PROFUNDO INTERÉS
2. EN LA EVOLUCIÓN DEMOCRÁTICA Y EL RESPETO POR LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS
EN OTRAS PARTES DEL MUNDO.
3. EN IBEROAMÉRICA LOS DOS TENEMOS LAZOS ESPECIALES.
4. APRECIO EL APOYO Y LOS SABIOS CONSEJOS QUE RECIBIMOS FRECUENTEMENTE
5. DE ESPAÑA ACERCA DE SITUACIONES DIFÍCILES, A MENUDO CRÍTICAS,
6. EN IBEROAMÉRICA Y EN EL CARIBE.
7. TAMBIÉN APRECIAMOS LAS ESTRECHAS CONSULTAS QUE HEMOS SOSTENIDO
8. Y LA AYUDA QUE NOS HABEIS PRESTADO ACERCA DE LA CRISIS DE LOS REHENES
9. EN IRÁN Y EN CUANTO A OTROS ASPECTOS DE ESA DELICADA SITUACIÓN.
10. EN EL ^{CERCANO} ~~CERCA~~NO ORIENTE Y EN PARTES DE AFRICA PODEMOS ESPERAR
11. MÁS COOPERACIÓN, ESPECIALMENTE VÁLIDA POR VUESTRO CONOCIMIENTO
HISTÓRICO DEL MUNDO MUSULMÁN.

(=NEW CARD=) (LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS.....)

1. LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS TIENEN MOTIVOS ESPECIALES PARA APLAUDIR
2. LA APARICIÓN DE ESPAÑA COMO SOCIO IMPORTANTE EN LAS TAREAS
SIN TERMINAR DE LA PAZ.
3. SUS LAZOS CULTURALES E HISTÓRICOS EN TANTOS CAMPOS DEL MUNDO
4. LA PERMITEN SER UN PUENTE ENTRE EL TERCER MUNDO Y OCCIDENTE.
5. ESTO ES ESPECIALMENTE IMPORTANTE CUANDO EMPEZAMOS A CONTENDER
6. CON LOS PROBLEMAS ~~DEL NUEVO DECENIO~~, DE LA NUEVA DÉCADA.
7. QUE EN MUCHOS SENTIDOS SERÁN MÁS DIFÍCILES Y PELIGROSOS
QUE LOS QUE YA HEMOS SUPERADO.
8. HOY ^{EL} OCCIDENTE SE ENFRENTA CON UN PROBLEMA ESTRATÉGICO DE
MAGNITUD HISTÓRICA.
9. DESDE 1945 HASTA MEDIADO ^{MIL NOVECIENTOS, QUARENTA Y CINCO} ~~EL DECENIO~~ DE 1950,
^{DE LA DECADA} ~~EL DECENIO~~ ^{CINCUENTA}
10. RESISTIMOS CON ÉXITO EL EMPUJE EXPANSIONISTA SOVIÉTICO HACIA EL ESTE.
Y ~~HA~~ EL OESTE.

(=OVER=) (HOY LA UNION SOVIETICA.....)

Electrostatic Copy Made for Presentation Purposes

1. HOY LA UNIÓN SOVIÉTICA ESTÁ EMPUJANDO HACIA EL SUR;
2. DIRECTAMENTE EN AFGANISTÁN,
3. INDIRECTAMENTE A TRAVÉS DE VIETNAM Y CAMBOYA,
4. Y EN OTROS LUGARES POR MEDIO DE AGENTES EXTRAJEROS.
5. EL DESAFÍO ES BIEN CLARO, Y TAMBIÉN LO ES EL PROBLEMA QUE SUPONE
PARA NUESTRAS INSTITUCIONES DEMOCRÁTICAS:
6. ¿PERMITIREMOS QUE PROSIGA LA AGRESIÓN IMPUNEMENTE,
7. O RESISTEREMOS LAS INCURSIONES QUE AFECTAN A NUESTROS COMUNES
INTERESES VITALES?
8. NO TENGO DUDA ALGUNA ACERCA DE LA ACTITUD DE NUESTROS
DOS PAÍSES EN CUANTO A LA CUESTIÓN.

(=NEW CARD=) (EL GRATO RESURGIMIENTO.....)

1. EL GRATO RESURGIMIENTO DE LA INFLUENCIA ESPAÑOLA
2. EN TODO EL MUNDO ES UNA IMPORTANTE FUENTE DE LA CONFIANZA
3. CON QUE ^{EL} OCCIDENTE PUEDE ENFOCAR, ^{ESTA} EL DIFÍCIL ^{DECADA.} ^{OCHESTA} DECENIO DE 1980.
4. ESA CONFIANZA ESTÁ PLENAMENTE JUSTIFICADA.
5. LA VITALIDAD DE QUE HE SIDO TESTIGO AQUÍ DEMUESTRA
6. EL NUEVO SENTIDO DE SEGURIDAD DE ESPAÑA EN CUANTO A SU PORVENIR
7. Y EN LA DIVERSIDAD Y EL LIBRE EJERCICIO DEL ESPÍRITU HUMANO.

(=OVER=) (SEÑOR, DESEO)

DECADA

1. SENOR, DESEO ALZAR MI COPA
2. -- POR VUESTRA MAJESTAD,
3. -- POR VUESTRA GENTIL REINA,
4. -- POR VUESTRO PRESIDENTE Y POR TODAS LOS MIEMBROS DEL GOBIERNO
5. Y LOS LÍDERES DE LA OPOSICIÓN DEMOCRÁTICA QUE HAN CONTRIBUIDO
A CREAR LA DEMOCRACIA ESPAÑOLA.
6. Y SOBRE TODO POR EL PUEBLO ESPAÑOL,
7. A CUYOS ANIMOS HAY QUE ACHACAR LA MAYOR PARTE DEL MÉRITO
DE LOS ÉXITOS DE LOS ÚLTIMOS AÑOS.
8. ¡VIVA ESPAÑA !

#

fnok - Photos delivered
recovered in spirit

~~ADAM...~~

SPAIN-STATE LUNARHEAD

DAST

6/2/80

PALABRAS DEL PRESIDENTE DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS DE AMERICA

(Brindis: Palacio Real)

Majestades, Señor Presidente, amigos de España y de Estados Unidos:

Es este un gran momento para mí, encontrarme aquí y poder traer a Vuestras Majestades y a vuestro pueblo los calidos ~~calidos~~ buenos deseos del Gobierno y del pueblo de los Estados Unidos de América. Me causa un especial placer por el gran interés que siento personalmente por vuestra lengua y vuestra cultura.

Hace cuatrocientos años, España era la superpotencia del Mundo Occidental y los españoles de entonces dejaron tras sí una leyenda de clarividencia y valor que jamás se ha olvidado. En aquella Edad de Oro pintores como El Greco y Velazquez y escritores como Cervantes y Lope de Vega enseñaron al mundo nuevas maneras de ver y de sentir. Los exploradores españoles fueron los astronautas de su época que sondearon valientemente nuevos mundos de imprevistos peligros y dificultades. Esta grandeza de España nos ha beneficiado a todos.

Mi propio Estado de Georgia comenzó como pequeño puesto avanzado del Imperio español. El primer europeo que pisó aquella tierra fue Hernando de Soto en ~~1540~~. Georgia fue durante mucho más tiempo una colonia española que lo fue inglesa.

Hablo de la influencia histórica de España porque es evidente que el valor y la grandeza de España perduran hoy. En poco más de cuatro años habeis creado una democracia vigorosa y floreciente con respeto de los derechos humanos, de las libertades personales y de la libertad de expresión.

La tarea no ha sido fácil. Habeis tenido que luchar con una recesión económica mundial, con enormes aumentos de los costos de la energía y con antiguos y alguna veces divisivos problemas internos. No obstante habeis logrado brillantemente reconstruir antiguas instituciones y crear las nuevas.

El desarrollo de la democracia española ha sido un tónico para todo el mundo Occidental. España desmiente el falso argumento de que la tendencia de la historia conduce invariablemente hacia el autoritarismo -- con lo que España es una fuente de esperanza e inspiración para los demócratas de todas partes. Lo vivido por España enseña lecciones de decisión, de moderación y de dominio de sí misma, lecciones para otras democracias y países nuevos del Tercer Mundo que han encontrado la libertad y ahora buscan modelos que seguir para plasmar sus propias sociedades.

En los últimos cuatro años España se ha desplazado hacia un nuevo lugar de liderazgo en el mundo. Vuestros ministros han dejado claro repetidas veces que España se mantiene al lado de otras democracias occidentales como futuro miembro de

la Comunidad Europea y de la Comunidad Atlántica. Nos complace que hayais comenzado negociaciones para ingresar en las comunidades europeas porque creemos que la entrada de España fortalecerá la comunidad igual que la comunidad fortalece a Europa.

De manera parecida, esperamos que España vea que coincide con sus intereses el participar en la defensa colectiva de Occidente. No obstante, reconocemos completamente que esta es una decisión que solamente y exclusivamente le corresponde a España, a su tiempo y a su manera. Nuestra Nación prestará completo apoyo a vuestra decisión una vez que la tomeis.

Además, nuestros dos países comparten una asociación bilateral de seguridad basada en importantes intereses comunes. Comenzaremos este año a revisar las relaciones de seguridad que han servido bien los intereses de nuestros dos países y que continuarán sirviéndolos durante muchos años.

Nuestras importantes relaciones económicas también unen a nuestros pueblos. Los empresarios norteamericanos han demostrado su fe en el porvenir de España con la elevada cuantía de sus inversiones aquí en los años recientes. Los exportadores de los dos países han visto mutuamente a cada uno de ellos como mercado importante para sus productos. Lo que está perfectamente claro es que las crecientes relaciones económicas son de gran beneficio para los dos países.

La preocupación de España acerca de los suministros de energía la comparten plenamente los Estados Unidos. Como saben ustedes, pasé a ocupar el cargo de Presidente en un momento en que el pueblo norteamericano todavía creía en buena medida que el petróleo era un recurso infinito. El drama central de la vida pública norteamericana en los últimos cuatro años ha sido la lucha para cambiar esa actitud y crear entonces una política energética viable. La lucha continúa, pero los cimientos de esa política energética están casi terminados. Esto es crítico no solamente para el porvenir de mi propio país, sino para la más amplia trama de relaciones de la que forman parte nuestros dos países.

Nuestros dos países también comparten un profundo interés en la evolución democrática y el respeto por los derechos humanos en otras partes del mundo. En Iberoamérica los dos tenemos lazos especiales. Aprecio el apoyo y los sabios consejos que recibimos frecuentemente de España acerca de situaciones difíciles, a menudo críticas, en Iberoamérica y en el Caribe. También apreciamos las estrechas consultas que hemos sostenido y la ayuda que nos habeis prestado acerca de la crisis de los rehenes en Irán y en cuanto a otros aspectos de esa delicada situación. En el Cercano Oriente y en partes de Africa podemos esperar más cooperación, especialmente válida por vuestro conocimiento histórico del mundo musulmán.

Los Estados Unidos tienen motivos especiales para aplaudir la aparición de España como socio importante en las tareas sin terminar de la paz. Sus lazos culturales e históricos en tantos campos del mundo la permiten ser un puente entre el Tercer Mundo y Occidente. Esto es especialmente importante cuando empezamos a contender con los problemas del nuevo ^{deca da} ~~decenio~~, que en muchos sentidos serán más difíciles y peligrosos que los que ya hemos superado.

^{el} Hoy Occidente se enfrenta con un problema estratégico de magnitud histórica. Desde 1945 hasta mediado ^{de la década} ~~del decenio~~ de 1950, resistimos con éxito el empuje expansionista soviético hacia el Este ^{el OESTE}. Hoy la Unión Soviética está empujando hacia el Sur; directamente en Afganistán, indirectamente a través de Vietnam y Camboya, y en otros lugares por medio de agentes extranjeros. El desafío es bien claro, y también lo es el problema que supone para nuestras instituciones democráticas: ¿ permitiremos que prosiga la agresión impunemente, o resistiremos las incursiones que afectan a nuestros comunes intereses vitales? No tengo duda alguna acerca de la actitud de nuestros dos países en cuanto a la cuestión. El grato resurgimiento de la influencia española en todo el mundo es una importante fuente de la confianza con que ^{el} Occidente puede enfocar el difícil decenio de 1980. Esa confianza está plenamente justificada. La vitalidad de que he sido testigo aquí demuestra el nuevo sentido de seguridad de España en cuanto a su porvenir y en la diversidad y el libre ejercicio del espíritu humano.

Señor, deseo alzar mi copa

-- por Vuestra Majestad

-- por vuestra gentil Reina

-- por vuestro Presidente y por todos los miembros del Gobierno y los líderes de la Oposición democrática que han contribuido a crear la democracia española.

Y sobre todo por el pueblo español, a cuyos ánimos hay que achacar la mayor parte del mérito de los éxitos de los últimos años.

¡Viva España!

* * *

(not delivered in Spanish)

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

Rick Hertzberg
Draft A-2, 6/17/80
Scheduled Delivery:
Wed, 6/25/80, 1:00 PM

SPAIN -- Toast for State Luncheon

Xlate into
Simple Spanish -
I may use it
J

Your Majesties, Mr. President, friends of Spain and the
United States --

This is a great moment for me -- to be here and to ~~have~~
~~the opportunity to~~ bring you and your people the warm good
wishes of the government and people of the United States of
America. It is a special pleasure because of my great personal
interest in your language and culture.

Four hundred years ago, Spain was the superpower of the
Western World, and the Spanish of that day left a legend of
vision and courage that has never been forgotten. During
that golden age, painters like El Greco and Velasquez,
and writers like Cervantes and Lope De Vega, taught the
world new ways to see and to feel. The Spanish explorers

*bravely new worlds with
with probing unforseen dangers and
difficulties.*

were the astronauts of their day, with the added difficulties

~~that they did not know for sure where they were going or how~~

~~they were going to get back.~~

*All of us have benefitted
from this greatness of Spain.*

My own State of Georgia began as a very small and
~~unimportant~~ outpost of the Spanish Empire. The first European
to set foot there was Hernando de Soto, in 1540. Georgia
was a Spanish colony for a much longer time than it was an
English colony.

historic influence
I speak of the ~~past~~ greatness of Spain because ~~I believe~~ *it is so obvious*
courage and greatness prevails today.
that ~~now~~ Spain's ~~day~~ has come again. In little more than
four years you have created a vigorous, thriving democracy,
with respect for human rights, individual liberties, and
freedom of expression.

The task has not been easy. You have had to contend
with worldwide recession, with enormous increases in energy
costs, and with ancient and sometimes divisive internal

challenges. Yet you have succeeded brilliantly in rebuilding old institutions and creating new ones.

The growth of Spanish democracy has been a tonic for the entire Western world. Spain refutes the ^{fake} ~~glib~~ contention that the sweep of history is invariably toward authoritarianism -- ^{so} ~~and~~ Spain is a source of hope and inspiration to democrats everywhere. Spain's experience holds lessons about resolution, moderation, and self-control -- lessons for other democracies and for ^{new} countries in the Third World which have ^{found freedom} ~~emerged from~~ ~~colonialism~~ and now are searching for models to follow in shaping their own societies.

In the past four years Spain has also moved toward a ^{of leadership} new place ^{your} ~~its~~ in the world. ~~Its~~ ministers have repeatedly made it clear that Spain stands side by side with the other Western democracies, as a full member-to-be of the European and Atlantic communities. We are pleased that you have begun

negotiations for entry into the European communities because we believe that Spain's accession will strengthen the community, just as the community strengthens Europe.

Similarly, we hope that Spain will see its own interests served by participating in the collective defense of the West. However, we fully recognize that this is a decision to be taken solely and exclusively by Spain -- in its own

time and in its own way. *Our nation will give full support to your decision once it has been made.*

In addition, our two countries share a bilateral security partnership based on important common interests. We will begin a review this year of the security relationship that has well served the interests of both our countries, ~~I am confident that the result will be satisfactory to both of us, and that the relationship will continue to serve our joint interests for many years to come.~~

Our significant economic relationship ^{also} ~~is another factor~~

~~that~~ links our peoples. American business ^{leaders} ~~people~~ have demonstrated their faith in Spain's future by their high level of investments here in recent years. Exporters in each country have looked to the other as an important market for their products. What is absolutely clear is that the ^{growing} economic relationship is of very great benefit to both countries.

Spain's concern about energy supplies is fully shared in the United States. As you know, I took office as President at a time when the American people still largely believed that oil was an infinite resource. The central drama of American public life during the last four years has been the struggle to change that ~~consciousness~~ ^{attitude --} ~~or lack of consciousness~~ and then to build a viable energy policy. The struggle goes on, but the foundations for such an energy policy are now nearly complete. This is crucial not only to the future of my own country, but to the broader web of relationships of which both our countries are a part.

Our two countries also share a strong interest in democratic evolution and respect for human rights in other parts of the world. In Latin America we both have special ties. I appreciate the support and wise counsel we have often received from Spain with respect to difficult, frequently critical, situations in Latin America and the Caribbean. We also appreciate the close consultations we have had, *and the assistance you have given us* on the hostage crisis in Iran and other aspects of that delicate situation. In the Middle East and parts of Africa we can look forward to further cooperation, *especially valuable because of your historical knowledge of the Moslem world.*

The United States has special reason to applaud Spain's emergence as a major partner in the unfinished tasks of peace. Her cultural and historical ties in so many areas of the world enable her to be a bridge between the Third World and the West. This is especially relevant as we take up the problems of the new decade, which in many ways will be more difficult and dangerous than any we have surmounted before.

Today the West confronts a strategic challenge of historic magnitude. From 1945 through the mid-1950's, we successfully resisted Soviet expansionary power westward and eastward. Today, the Soviet Union is thrusting southward directly in Afghanistan, indirectly through Vietnam and Cambodia, and elsewhere by means of foreign proxies. The challenge is clear, and so is the question it poses for our democratic institutions: do we permit aggression to proceed with impunity, or do we resist encroachment which affects our common vital interests? There is no doubt in my mind where both our countries stand on this issue.

The gratifying
The resurgence of Spanish influence throughout the world is an important source of ~~the sense of historical~~ confidence with which the West can approach the difficult decade of the 1980's. That confidence is fully justified. The vitality I have witnessed here attests to Spain's own sure sense of its future and the direction it has freely

taken -- toward democracy, diversity, and the unfettered
exercise of the human spirit.

Your Majesty, I would like to raise my glass:

¶ to you;

¶ to your lovely queen;

¶ to your President and all the leaders of the government
and of the democratic opposition who have helped build Spanish
democracy;

¶ and above all to the Spanish people -- to whose
spirit goes the bulk of the credit for the successes of the
past several years. Viva Espana.

#

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

Rick Hertzberg
Draft A-2; 6/17/80
Scheduled Delivery:
Wed, 6/25/80; Evening

ok
J

SPAIN: Toast for Working Supper with Suarez

I very much appreciate your warm welcome, and the opportunity to continue the talks we began so successfully in the White House in January. The months since then have demonstrated graphically the need for us to keep in close touch and, wherever possible, to coordinate our policies. This visit gives me a chance to hear from you about your recent meetings in the Middle East and at Belgrade, and to share with you some thoughts arising from the Economic Summit at Venice, and also from my visits to Rome and Belgrade. I look forward to continuing the kind of intimate dialogue we have established.

I would like to ask my colleagues to join me in raising their glasses to a leader who has won a special place in

history by overseeing Spain's peaceful transition to democracy

-- a head of government who faces challenges at home as

difficult as those to be found anywhere -- a statesman who

is leading Spain on its new international course:

Mr. President.

#

VENICE -- CLOSING PRESS STATEMENT

OUR MEETING IS ENDING IN A SPIRIT OF ^{GRANDLYING} CONCORD AND
^{MUTUAL} OF CONFIDENCE. WE HAVE JOINED IN UNITY TO DEFINE THE
~~COMMON~~ AGENDA FOR OUR COMMON ACTION.

FROM THE HISTORY OF THIS CITY WE HAVE ^{IMPORTANT} ~~DRAWN AN URGENT~~
LESSON -- THAT EVEN THE MOST SECURE POWERS MUST ACT IN TIME
TO SHAPE GREAT CHANGES. THE REPUBLIC OF VENICE LEFT US
INCOMPARABLE BEAUTY. YET IN THE END ITS LEADERS FAILED TO
MEET THE THREATS OF CHANGE PRESSING FROM THE EAST, AND
FAILED TO SEIZE THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR CHANGE OPENING IN
THE WEST. WE SHALL NOT REPEAT THOSE ERRORS.

[over]

70's DIFFICULT

FREE PEOPLES FACE HARD CHOICES IN THIS ^{or} ^{NEW} DECADE. THE FREEDOMS THAT MAKE OUR NATIONS STRONG ARE AT RISK IN THE WORLD OF ^{the} 1980's. WE HAVE PLEDGED OURSELVES HERE TO SECURE THOSE FREEDOMS FOR ^{the} 1990's, TO THE END OF THIS CENTURY, AND BEYOND.

The CHALLENGES, ~~IN NATURE,~~ ARE BOTH POLITICAL & ECONOMIC.

WE HAVE COMMITTED OUR COMBINED STRENGTHS AGAINST A RUTHLESS POWER'S INVASION OF ITS NEARLY DEFENSELESS NEIGHBOR. THE SOVIET AGGRESSION IN AFGHANISTAN IS A PROFOUND ASSAULT ON THE LAW OF NATIONS AND A GRAVE THREAT TO THE STABILITY OF A REGION VITAL TO OUR COLLECTIVE SECURITY.

WE HAVE PLEDGED TO OPPOSE THE SOVIET INVASION WITH ██████ THE MEANS AT OUR DISPOSAL. WE DO THIS BECAUSE IT IS A MORAL AND

[new card]

STRATEGIC IMPERATIVE. WE ALSO KNOW THAT ONLY BY RESISTING SOVIET MILITARISM AND ~~SOVIET~~ AGGRESSION IN THE PRESENT CAN WE REOPEN THE PATH TO PEACE AND ACCOMMODATION IN THE FUTURE.

*UNITED
TERRORISM - HI JACKING
ATTACKS ON DIPLOMATIC
PERSONNEL
REFUGEES*

WE ARE COMMITTED TO THE SAME SOLID UNITY OF PURPOSE IN OVERCOMING OUR COMMON ECONOMIC CHALLENGES.

WE CONTINUE TO BATTLE THE INFLATIONARY FORCES THAT POISON THE CONFIDENCE ON WHICH OUR ECONOMIC SYSTEMS ARE BUILT. THAT BATTLE IS FAR FROM WON: IT COMPELS US TO GREATER COMMON EFFORT.

[over]

- 13% '80 vs '79

WE ARE RESOLVED TO BREAK THE LINK BETWEEN OUR ECONOMIC
 GROWTH AND OUR OIL CONSUMPTION. WE HAVE SET ^{AMBITIOUS} ~~CONCRETE~~ GOALS FOR
 ALTERNATIVE ENERGY SOURCES -- 15-20 MILLION BARRELS PER DAY OF
 OIL EQUIVALENT BY 1990. AND WE HAVE AGREED ON CONCRETE ACTIONS
 TO FULFILL THEM. HERE -- IN OIL CONSERVATION AND IN THE
 EXPLORATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF ALTERNATIVE ENERGY SOURCES,
 INCLUDING OUR ENORMOUS COAL RESERVES -- IS AN ADVENTURE WORTHY
 OF OUR IMAGINATION ^{AND} OUR SKILL, ~~[AND OUR PIONEERING SPIRIT.]~~

[new card]

FINALLY, ANOTHER CHALLENGE CONFRONTS US IN THE POOR NATIONS
 OF THE WORLD. ^{HERE AGAIN,} ~~THERE AS WELL,~~ WE MUST MATCH OUR CONCERN WITH
 CONCRETE ACTION. FOR WITHOUT SUCH ACTION, WE WILL FACE AN
 ACCELERATING SPIRAL OF DESPAIR AND DISORDER. ^{WE WILL STUDY THIS}
^{QUESTION IN DEPTH. SHARE RESPONSIBILITY & OTHERS' BETTER}
 WE KNOW THAT THE HUNGER THAT AFFLICTS MANY OF THESE LANDS ^{LIFE}
 IS NOT ONLY FOR THE FOOD WE HAVE IN ABUNDANCE, BUT ALSO FOR THE
 MUTUAL RESPECT AND ~~MUTUAL~~ SUPPORT WE GIVE FREELY TO ONE ANOTHER.
 WE RECOGNIZE THAT HUNGER. WE HAVE RESOLVED TO DO ALL WE CAN TO
 RELIEVE IT WITH DIGNITY AND EQUAL TREATMENT.

THERE IS NO LONGER MUCH REAL

WHAT WE DO IN FACING THESE DANGERS AND OPPORTUNITIES IS A MEASURE OF OUR WILL TO SURVIVE AS FREE SOCIETIES. DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICIES, BETWEEN MILITARY STRENGTH AND ENERGY SECURITY, ^{or} BETWEEN ECONOMIC HEALTH AND POLITICAL VITALITY, NO LONGER HAVE MUCH REAL MEANING. ALL THESE ELEMENTS MUST BE FUSED TO PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR GENUINE SECURITY -- SECURITY FOR THE FUTURE AS WELL AS FOR THE PRESENT.

HERE IN VENICE WE HAVE CONFRONTED A WEB OF CHALLENGES TOGETHER, AND TOGETHER WE HAVE FASHIONED OUR RESPONSES.

[new card]

OUR HOSTS -- BY THEIR GIFT OF HOSPITALITY -- HAVE OPENED THIS PATH OF HARMONY AND TANGIBLE COOPERATION. WE OWE ~~DEEP~~ OUR THANKS TO THE AUTHORITIES OF THE ITALIAN REPUBLIC FOR PREPARING AND COORDINATING OUR WORK -- AND TO THE PEOPLE OF VENICE FOR MAKING OUR STAY SO PLEASANT. WE LEAVE THIS MEETING THANKFUL FOR THEIR HELP, INSPIRED BY THEIR EXAMPLE IN ~~PROBLEM-SOLVING~~ PROBLEMS, AND COMMITTED TO SHOW IN OUR COMMON WORK HOW MUCH WE HONOR THE SACRIFICES THEY HAVE MADE TO OUR CONVENIENCE.

WE WILL RETURN TO OUR OWN COUNTRIES TO ASK MORE SACRIFICES OF OURSELVES. ~~[MANY OF OUR DECISIONS WILL DEMAND PAINFUL ADJUSTMENTS OF OUR PEOPLE.]~~ SOME WILL OPPOSE THE PLEDGES OF ACTION WE HAVE

GIVEN HERE. SOME WILL SEEK TO DELAY THEIR IMPLEMENTATION. BUT I AM
CONFIDENT THAT OUR DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES WILL ~~CHOOSE TO~~ ASSUME THE ^{SE}
BURDENS OF FREEDOM IN FREEDOM, RATHER THAN HAVE FAR MORE CRUSHING
BURDENS IMPOSED WITHOUT CHOICE. ?

~~IN OUR OWN MEETINGS~~ WE HAVE REACHED OUR CONCLUSIONS FREELY,
AS BEFITS A ^{AN} ~~FREE~~ ASSOCIATION OF FREE PEOPLES. WE HAVE AGREED
~~FREELY~~ ON THE WAYS TO ENSURE THE SECURITY OF OUR FREE WORLD.
NOW -- AND URGENTLY -- WE SHALL SHOW THAT WE CAN ~~EFFECTIVELY~~
EMPLOY THE TOOLS OF DEMOCRACY TO BUILD THE FUTURE OF FREEDOM.

#

1. I WAS EXTREMELY PLEASED TO ACCEPT THE INVITATION
2. OF PRESIDENT "YANNISH" (EANES) TO VISIT PORTUGAL
3. ON THE OCCASION OF MY TRIP TO EUROPE.
4. PORTUGAL & THE UNITED STATES HAVE AN OLD & VALUED FRIENDSHIP.
5. OUR COUNTRIES ESTABLISHED DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS MORE THAN 200 YEARS AGO.
6. WE APPOINTED A VICE CONSUL TO PONTA DELGADA
7. EVEN BEFORE WE HAD WRITTEN OUR DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.
8. BEYOND OUR OFFICIAL RELATIONS, THE LINKS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES
9. HAVE BEEN NURTURED BY PORTUGAL'S GREATEST GIFT TO THE UNITED STATES --
10. SOME OF HER PEOPLE WHO CAME TO OUR COUNTRY WITH A PIONEER SPIRIT.
11. TODAY THERE ARE MANY THOUSANDS OF AMERICANS
12. WHO PROUDLY PRESERVE THEIR FAMILY HERITAGE BROUGHT FROM PORTUGAL.

(=OVER=) (PORTUGAL & THE.....)

1. PORTUGAL & THE UNITED STATES ARE BOTH MEMBERS OF A GREAT ALLIANCE.
2. THAT ALLIANCE HELPS TO GUARANTEE OUR MUTUAL SECURITY,
3. BUT IT HAS BECOME MORE THAN JUST A MILITARY DEFENSE PACT.
4. IT REFLECTS THE BASIC COMMITMENT OF ALL ITS MEMBERS TO
FREEDOM & DEMOCRACY.
5. OVER THE PAST 6 YEARS, AMERICANS HAVE WATCHED & SUPPORTED
6. PORTUGAL'S SUCCESSFUL STRUGGLE TO BUILD A DEMOCRACY.
7. THAT STRUGGLE HAS GIVEN HOPE
8. TO BELIEVERS IN DEMOCRATIC LIBERTY ALL OVER THE WORLD.
9. FOR ALL THESE REASONS, I AM GRATEFUL FOR
10. THE OPPORTUNITY TO VISIT PORTUGAL
11. AND OF BEING ABLE TO MEET WITH YOUR COUNTRY'S LEADERS.

(=NEW CARD=) (AS YOU KNOW,.....)

1. AS YOU KNOW, I HAVE JUST COME FROM A MEETING OF HEADS OF STATE IN VENICE.
2. THE NEED FOR CONSULTATION AMONG ALLIES
3. HAS TAKEN ON A NEW URGENCY AS THIS NEW DECADE BEGINS.
4. WE HAVE WATCHED GOVERNMENT-SPONSORED TERRORISM
AGAINST AMERICAN DIPLOMATS IN TEHRAN.
5. WE HAVE WITNESSED THE SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN;
6. AND WE HAVE SEEN HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES
7. DRIVEN BY OPPRESSION FROM THEIR HOMELANDS
8. IN SOUTHWEST ASIA, INDOCHINA, & LATIN AMERICA.

(=OVER=) (IN CONTRAST,.....)

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

1. IN CONTRAST, THE PEOPLES OF BOTH PORTUGAL & THE UNITED STATES
2. LIVE IN PEACE & FREEDOM,
3. WITH RESPECT FOR OUR NEIGHBORS & FOR OUR FELLOW CITIZENS.
4. BOTH OUR NATIONS ARE ENGAGED IN HELPING
5. THE GREAT NUMBERS OF HUMAN BEINGS AROUND THE WORLD
6. WHO ARE OPPRESSED OR DESPERATELY POOR.
7. BOTH OUR NATIONS ARE TRYING TO BUILD A BETTER, MORE HUMANE WORLD.
8. IT IS IN THAT SPIRIT THAT I LOOK FORWARD TO
9. THESE CONSULTATIONS WITH OUR PORTUGUESE FRIENDS.
10. IN THE NAME OF MY FELLOW COUNTRYMEN, LET ME EXPRESS THE
11. SPECIAL FRIENDSHIP AMERICANS FEEL FOR THE PEOPLE OF PORTUGAL.
12. TO ALL PORTUGUESE, I BRING A WARM AMERICAN "AH-BRAHSS-OH". (ABRACO)

#

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

Rick Hertzberg
Draft A-1, 6/13/80
Scheduled Delivery:
Thur, 6/26/80

*Susan
ok
J*

PORTUGAL -- arrival statement

I was extremely pleased to accept the invitation of
President Eanes [pronounced Yannish] to visit Portugal on
the occasion of my trip to Europe.

Portugal and the United States have an old and valued
friendship. Our countries established diplomatic relations
more than two hundred years ago. We appointed a Vice Consul
to Ponta Delgada even before we had written our Declaration
of Independence.

Beyond our official relations, the links between our
countries have been nurtured by Portugal's greatest gift to *the*
United States -- some of her people who came to our country with
~~her people~~ *a pioneer spirit.* Today there are many thousands of Americans
who proudly preserve ^{*their family*} ~~the~~ heritage ~~they or their parents or~~
~~grandparents brought with them~~ from Portugal.

Portugal and the United States are both members of a great Alliance. That alliance ^{helps to guarantee our mutual security, but it} has become more than just a military defense pact. It reflects the basic commitment of all its members to freedom and democracy.

Over the past six years, Americans have watched and supported Portugal's successful struggle to build a democracy. That struggle has given hope to believers in democratic liberty all over the world.

For all these reasons, I am grateful for this opportunity to visit Portugal and of being able to meet with your country's leadership,

As you know, I have just come from a meeting of heads of state in Venice. The need for consultation among allies ^{as this new decade begins.} has taken on a new urgency ~~in this first half of 1980~~. We have watched government-sponsored terrorism against American diplomats in Tehran. We have witnessed the Soviet invasion

of Afghanistan; and we have seen hundreds of thousands of refugees driven by oppression from their homelands in Southwest Asia, Indochina, and Latin America.

In contrast, the peoples of both Portugal and the United States live in peace and freedom, with respect for our neighbors and for our fellow citizens. Both our nations are engaged in helping the great ^{numbers of human beings} majority of ~~humanity~~ ^{who are} around the world ~~which is~~ ^{oppressed or} desperately poor. Both our nations are trying to build a better, more humane world. It is in that spirit that I look forward to these consultations with our Portuguese friends.

In the name of my fellow countrymen, let me express the special friendship Americans feel for the people of Portugal. To all Portuguese, I bring a warm American abraço [pronounced ah-BRAHSS-oh].

#

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

Rick Hertzberg
Draft A-2; 6/17/80
Scheduled Delivery:
Thur, 6/26/80

*Susan
ok
J*

PORTUGAL: Luncheon Toast

Mr. President, let me thank you and Mrs. Eanes [pronounced
Yannish] for this lovely luncheon in this magnificent setting.

Rosalynn and I have long looked forward to a chance to visit
Portugal. *excitement of the* The₁ visit started even before our plane landed,
as we came in over Lisbon and the Tagus river. As I looked
down on this beautiful city and its monuments, I was vividly
reminded of Portugal's rich history.

Just a few hours ago I had the chance to visit the
monastery which honors two of Portugal's greatest heroes, the
poet Camoes and the explorer Vasco Da Gama. These men, and
others like Ferdinand Magellan, are₁ *properly* honored in America too.
Their courage and vision paved the way for the extension of a
great cultural heritage across the seas to other continents.

Portugal has reason for pride in those men. Now, five

hundred years later, we may have run out of "seas never before navigated" ~~[Note: a (Camoës) quote]~~, but I have seen that Portugal continues to be served by dedicated men.

While their task is different from that of the discoverers, it is no less difficult. It is to build a ^{*strong and permanent*} democracy.

Portugal's democratic leaders had the courage of the explorers in the years after the 1974 revolution. Your *nation's* perseverance and capacity have been severely tested by the stresses of the past six years -- economic crises, the resettlement of hundreds of thousands of refugees, forging new ties with your former colonies, and challenges to democracy itself. But you have prevailed. You have built healthy and vigorous democratic parties, defended the freedom to debate and differ, and conducted fair and free elections.

~~[President Eanes has been an especially impressive figure.~~

~~Just as the founding fathers of the American republic stood]~~

~~[firm in the defense of liberty during and after our revolution,
so too has this dedicated statesman-soldier stood as the protector
and guarantor of the gains of the Portuguese revolution.]*~~

Many of you in this room have helped lay the foundations of a lasting democracy in Portugal. You, the democratic leaders, have personally borne the burdens of office. You have played the role of responsible opposition. You have organized, inspired, and led your people. Because of your personal involvement in creating democracy, you know better than most just how precious it is.

It is no wonder that Portugal was among the first of the world's nations to recognize and respond to the threat posed to democratic societies everywhere by aggression in

*State recommends dropping this, on the grounds that it would have you appearing to take sides in the current political feud between Eanes and Sa Carneiro. Jim Rentschler thinks this concern is oversensitive, and points out that Eanes is your host at this luncheon. Also, the tribute is deserved, and praise for Eanes would send a message of firm support for Portuguese democracy.

also, see attached memo

Afghanistan and official terrorism in Iran. Your actions and your words ~~showed that you understood~~ ^{demonstrated} that people who value freedom cannot stand idly by while others' rights are ruthlessly suppressed and while a system of international order, so dearly won and delicately maintained, is so callously attacked.

It is at times such as these that friends and allies must stand together.

The Alliance has served us well but it is now being tested by ~~a~~ new challenges -- a challenge to its most vital economic interests, ^{and} a challenge to the principle that free people, in independent nations, should have the right to decide their future without outside interference. Will we be able to meet such a threat? Do we have the will, the capacity, the resolve to make a common stand? I am confident that we can, and my confidence has been bolstered by the talks I have had here today.

Consultations such as these and others that I have had *with other nations* on this trip are essential for us to maintain the strength and unity of our association. For we are members of a voluntary association -- the association of democratic nations. It is a source of great satisfaction to me and my fellow Americans, Mr. President, to know that democracy is succeeding in Portugal and that Portugal is a steadfast member of the Atlantic Alliance.

I raise my glass to you, Mr. President, and to Portugal's democratic leaders of all parties: you have set an example in your achievements at home and your leadership abroad. I thank you for your hospitality. I wish you every success and I look forward to our continued and close collaboration.

#

1. MR. PRESIDENT, LET ME THANK YOU & MRS. "YANNISH" (EANES)
2. FOR THIS LOVELY LUNCHEON IN THIS MAGNIFICENT SETTING.
3. ROSALYNN & I HAVE LONG LOOKED FORWARD TO A CHANCE TO VISIT PORTUGAL.
4. THE EXCITEMENT OF THE VISIT STARTED EVEN BEFORE OUR PLANE LANDED,
5. AS WE CAME IN OVER LISBON & THE TAGUS RIVER.
6. AS I LOOKED DOWN ON THIS BEAUTIFUL CITY & ITS MONUMENTS,
7. I WAS VIVIDLY REMINDED OF PORTUGAL'S RICH HISTORY.
8. JUST A FEW HOURS AGO I HAD THE CHANCE TO VISIT
9. THE MONASTERY WHICH HONORS TWO OF PORTUGAL'S GREATEST HEROES --
10. THE POET CAMOES & THE EXPLORER VASCO DA GAMA.

(=OVER=) (THESE MEN.....)

1. THESE MEN, & OTHERS LIKE FERDINAND MAGELLAN,
ARE PROPERLY HONORED IN AMERICA TOO.
2. THEIR COURAGE & VISION PAVED THE WAY
3. FOR THE EXTENSION OF A GREAT CULTURAL HERITAGE ACROSS THE SEAS
TO OTHER CONTINENTS.
4. PORTUGAL HAS REASON FOR PRIDE IN THOSE MEN.
5. NOW, 500 YEARS LATER, WE MAY HAVE RUN OUT OF
6. "SEAS NEVER BEFORE NAVIGATED" (CAMOES),
7. BUT I HAVE SEEN THAT PORTUGAL CONTINUES TO BE SERVED BY DEDICATED MEN,
8. WHILE THEIR TASK IS DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF THE DISCOVERERS,
9. IT IS NO LESS DIFFICULT.
10. IT IS TO BUILD A STRONG & PERMANENT DEMOCRACY.

(=NEW CARD=) (PORTUGAL'S DEMOCRATIC.....)

1. PORTUGAL'S DEMOCRATIC LEADERS HAD THE COURAGE OF THE
2. EXPLORERS IN THE YEARS AFTER THE 1974 REVOLUTION.
3. YOUR NATION'S PERSEVERANCE & CAPACITY HAVE BEEN SEVERELY TESTED
4. BY THE STRESSES OF THE PAST 6 YEARS --
5. ECONOMIC CRISES,...THE RESETTLEMENT OF HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES,..
6. FORGING NEW TIES WITH YOUR FORMER COLONIES, &
7. CHALLENGES TO DEMOCRACY ITSELF.
8. BUT YOU HAVE PREVAILED.
9. YOU HAVE BUILT HEALTHY & VIGOROUS DEMOCRATIC PARTIES,
DEFENDED THE FREEDOM TO DEBATE & DIFFER,
& CONDUCTED FAIR & FREE ELECTIONS.

1. MANY OF YOU IN THIS ROOM
2. HAVE HELPED LAY THE FOUNDATIONS OF A LASTING DEMOCRACY IN PORTUGAL.
3. YOU, THE DEMOCRATIC LEADERS,
4. HAVE PERSONALLY BORNE THE BURDENS OF OFFICE.
5. YOU HAVE PLAYED THE ROLE OF RESPONSIBLE OPPOSITION.
6. YOU HAVE ORGANIZED, INSPIRED, & LED YOUR PEOPLE.
7. BECAUSE OF YOUR PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT IN CREATING DEMOCRACY,
8. YOU KNOW BETTER THAN MOST JUST HOW PRECIOUS IT IS.
9. IT IS NO WONDER THAT PORTUGAL
10. WAS AMONG THE FIRST OF THE WORLD'S NATIONS
11. TO RECOGNIZE & RESPOND TO THE THREAT
12. POSED TO DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES EVERYWHERE BY
13. AGGRESSION IN AFGHANISTAN & OFFICIAL TERRORISM IN IRAN.

(=NEW CARD=) (YOUR ACTIONS.....)

1. YOUR ACTIONS & YOUR WORDS DEMONSTRATED THAT
2. PEOPLE WHO VALUE FREEDOM CANNOT STAND IDLY BY
3. WHILE OTHERS' RIGHTS ARE RUTHLESSLY SUPPRESSED
4. AND WHILE A SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL ORDER,
5. SO DEARLY WON & DELICATELY MAINTAINED,
6. IS SO CALLOUSLY ATTACKED.
7. IT IS AT TIMES SUCH AS THESE THAT FRIENDS & ALLIES MUST STAND TOGETHER.
8. THE ALLIANCE HAS SERVED US WELL
9. BUT IT IS NOW BEING TESTED BY NEW CHALLENGES --
10. A CHALLENGE TO ITS MOST VITAL ECONOMIC INTERESTS
11. AND A CHALLENGE TO THE PRINCIPLE THAT
12. FREE PEOPLE, IN INDEPENDENT NATIONS, SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO
13. DECIDE THEIR FUTURE WITHOUT OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE.

(=OVER=) (WILL WE BE ABLE.....)

1. WILL WE BE ABLE TO MEET SUCH THREATS?
2. DO WE HAVE THE WILL, THE CAPACITY, THE RESOLVE
TO MAKE A COMMON STAND?
3. I AM CONFIDENT THAT WE CAN,
4. AND MY CONFIDENCE HAS BEEN BOLSTERED BY THE TALKS I HAVE HAD HERE TODAY.

(=NEW CARD=) (CONSULTATIONS SUCH AS.....)

1. CONSULTATIONS SUCH AS THESE
2. AND OTHERS THAT I HAVE HAD WITH OTHER NATIONS ON THIS TRIP
3. ARE ESSENTIAL FOR US TO MAINTAIN THE STRENGTH & UNITY
OF OUR ASSOCIATION.
4. FOR WE ARE MEMBERS OF A VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION --
5. THE ASSOCIATION OF DEMOCRATIC NATIONS.
6. IT IS A SOURCE OF GREAT SATISFACTION TO
7. ME & MY FELLOW AMERICANS, MR. PRESIDENT,
8. TO KNOW THAT DEMOCRACY IS SUCCEEDING IN PORTUGAL
9. AND THAT PORTUGAL IS A STEADFAST MEMBER OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE.

(=OVER=) (I RAISE MY.....)

1. I RAISE MY GLASS TO YOU, MR. PRESIDENT,
2. AND TO PORTUGAL'S DEMOCRATIC LEADERS OF ALL PARTIES:
3. YOU HAVE SET AN EXAMPLE IN YOUR ACHIEVEMENTS AT HOME
& YOUR LEADERSHIP ABROAD.
4. I THANK YOU FOR YOUR HOSPITALITY.
5. I WISH YOU EVERY SUCCESS
6. AND I LOOK FORWARD TO OUR CONTINUED & CLOSE COLLABORATION.

#

SPEECH DELIVERED BY PRESIDENT ANTÓNIO RAMALHO EANES AT THE
STATE LUNCHEON IN HONOUR OF PRESIDENT AND MRS. JIMMY CARTER.
PALÁCIO DA AJUDA, JUNE 26, 1980

Mr. President

As we receive here, today, the Head of State of the great American Nation and Mrs. Rosalynn Carter, I am not only fulfilling a protocolar duty and a sincere gesture of hospitality. I do this - and I know that I am interpreting in a correct way the feelings of the portuguese people - with the perfect knowledge that I am paying, through Your Excellency, a tribute to the American people, to whom we are linked by a profound, solid and already old friendship.

Our friendship is bound to interests of a perennial nature. It is a friendship that was born, that developed and asserted itself among two sovereign and free peoples, among peoples that place freedom and sovereignty as the supreme values of their national identities.

Our friendship is reinforced also by the contribution of the dignified and respected work of men and women of portuguese origin in the making and greatness of the United States, where they are fully integrated.

Our friendship has its roots in the undestructible marks of a same civilization, born in Europe, and to which the United States brings new dimensions and a new demonstration of greatness.

In the permanent defense of the values and ideals that were born from that civilization which is common to us, in the coordinated actions that assert them and in the solidarity duty that emanates from them, lies the present proof of our friendship as free and sovereign peoples.

It is in this common civilization, in the set of same values which it determines, that the system of alliances to which we belong takes roots and finds its foundation. This system of alliances, that assumes its full meaning through permanent concertation, which is natural between democratic nations, defines an

essential condition for the effectiveness of world balances and a successful deterrent to all those who wish to disrupt them. Only the cohesion of our system of alliances allows, at all moments, the necessary determination, so that all the conflicts and all the situations of tension may be solved through negotiations and dialogue.

Mr. President,

Your presence in Portugal symbolizes then the permanent friendship of a nation, eight centuries old, that reasserts today her universalistic vocation on the basis of her natural expression which are Europe and the Atlantic, for a young 200 years old nation that is the fulcrum of world progress and upon whom lies an historical role of maximum greatness in the assertion of democracy, freedom, and Human rights.

This visit, Mr. President, can thus assume its highest meaning because there exists, today, a democratic regime in Portugal and because our dialogue can be established on the certainty that we represent the free will of our peoples.

Today you will find a nation that, in few years, was able to create and defend a regime of democracy and freedom, asserting with full dignity its historical vocation of open and just relations with other peoples and cultures.

Many, even at the highest international level, doubted our possibilities of success.

But the portuguese people has proved that the full respect for pluralistic democracy can win, even in the most adverse internal and international conditions.

We do not underestimate the dangers that still threaten our democracy. But we have a rich experience, that gives us sure indications concerning the right ways to defend democratic pluralism.

We will find the roads leading to concertation among democratic forces that share concepts of progress - and the aims of those that place themselves at the extremes of the national political spectrum will thus loose their meaning.

Mr. President,

Through her history, Portugal, has built and strengthened her independence through her own merits.

Along this apprenticeship, Portugal has constructed a capacity for dialogue and understanding with other peoples, and has given a valuable contribution for the formation of new nations, whose high significance and opportunity only the political blindness of the dictatorship that existed before the 25th April 1974 was unable to understand, both at the national level and in the perspective of world peace.

Today, international relations are based on interdependences that, if they are correctly understood, may turn into a fruitful cooperation between peoples and in the construction of a climate of peace for the coming generations.

The international crisis that are taking place in different areas of the world urges us to serenely analyse their origin and to increasingly strengthen the cohesion and the cooperation that links States where democracy, freedom and respect for human dignity are unquestionable values.

It would be dangerous if in difficult moments an exacerbated nationalistic selfishness or an estrangement concerning a difficult situation of any member of the international community, whether a big power or a small country, would prevail.

For us, solidarity is not a vain word.

For this reason, I would like to reiterate, Mr. President, that we accompany you and the American People, in the drama that affects the hostages who, in Teheran, remain the victims of an intolerable violation of Human Rights and of a complete contempt for the most elementary rules of international relations.

No argument about any alleged litigious matter between two countries can justify an act that offends even the principles of generosity and fraternity of Islam. It is urgent, then, for the International Community to mobilize all efforts and to adopt efficient measures for the quick solution of this problem.

../.

In other areas, generalized regional conflicts threaten world peace and strangle the legitimate rights of certain peoples to choose their own destiny. At this moment, the situation in the Middle East and in Afganistan present a particular seriousness.

The events in Afganistan have caused a situation which is unacceptable, for it bears an assault on people's right to the expression of their own sovereignty.

In those events there are precedents which can not be accepted in international relations and that threaten the stability of world balances.

Therefore, we can not but defend the efforts that might lead to a definite and complete solution of such a critical problem.

On the other hand, in Africa, now almost totally free from colonialism, it is urgent to solve adequately its last traces.

Due to the historical, cultural, and affective relationship between Europe and the peoples of the african continent, it would be unexcusable not to pursue a dialogue that will stimulates economic and social development of the less favoured, and of those that suffer from an unequal treatment in economic exchanges, allowing for conditions that will enable them to reach full independence and to keep autonomous positions in the field of international relations. If this perspective does not materialize, the convulsions and the void that will inevitably appear will be another disruptive factor in the already shaken geo-political balance.

Mr. President,

In the disturbed present context, western solidarity assumes an increasingly higher importance. From our side, it will not be questioned, in the same way that Portugal will stand for a complete fulfilment of her engagements towards her allies, pursuing the common defense of the values and principles that unite them and justify those commitments.

Solidarity is, nevertheless, not understood by all in the same way. We believe that only the conciliation of the different interests, according to a standard of a reasonable good sense, may allow solidarity to become a concrete reality in the relations between peoples.

For this reason, we defend a full use of all opportunities that lead to the formation of efficient consensus, which can assure the coordination of our efforts and the success of our cooperation.

In difficult moments for our democratic process, when economic hardships threatened the fragile structure of our democracy, the United States provided us with a valuable and timely assistance. Portugal will not act otherwise, within the limits of its possibilities and of its own conditioning factors.

We are sure that Your Excellency's visit has contributed, in a decisive way, for the strengthening of the ties between our two countries and for a better understanding of the positions we defend within the framework of values that we share, concerning the major international questions and our bilateral relations.

I ask you all to accompany me in a toast for the personal happiness of the President of the United States and Mrs. Carter, and for the prosperity of the American People.

UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION

ARRIVAL

6-26-80

Arrival Statement/Andrews AFB (Return from European trip, 6/80)

G + POPE + EC

ITALY - COM

POPE - MORAL, HUMANS

YUGO - IND, INT, UNITY

SP/PORTUGAL - DEMO

FR, GB, J, FRG, CAN, IT

80's & 70's PAINFUL

GROWTH ≠ ENERGY

OIL

PROBS. SMELL OF FOR OIL

OIL DEPEND. SECURITY

POLITICS. PERIL, UNCERTAIN

PRICE. INFL, UNEMP. LDC'S

DECISIONS TOGETHER

AFGHAN. W'DRAW COMPLETE

IRAN. TERRORISM

SOME DIFFERENCES

FREE NATIONS.

GLAD TO BE HOME

SUCCESSFUL TRIP



ANDREWS AFB -- ARRIVAL STATEMENT

6/26/80

1. MR. VICE PRESIDENT, THANK YOU FOR YOUR KIND WORDS & FOR YOUR WARM WELCOME.
2. THIS WAS A USEFUL & PRODUCTIVE TRIP.
3. --I DISCUSSED WITH OUR ITALIAN FRIENDS THE COMMON OBJECTIVES
WE PURSUE AS ALLIES.
4. --I MET WITH POPE JOHN PAUL II TO SEEK HIS COUNSEL ON
5. THE BROAD SUBJECTS OF MORALITY & HUMAN RIGHTS,...ESPECIALLY ON THE
6. INCREASINGLY URGENT PROBLEM OF REFUGEES ALL OVER THE WORLD.
7. --I ASSURED THE NEW LEADERS OF YUGOSLAVIA OF OUR SUPPORT FOR THE
8. INDEPENDENCE, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY & UNITY OF THEIR COUNTRY.
9. --I CONFERRED WITH THE LEADERS OF SPAIN & PORTUGAL
10. & EXPRESSED IN BOTH COUNTRIES THE ADMIRATION WE AMERICANS FEEL
11. FOR THEIR REMARKABLY SUCCESSFUL TRANSITIONS TO DEMOCRACY.

(=OVER=) (PERHAPS MOST IMPORTANT.....)

1. PERHAPS MOST IMPORTANT, AT THE VENICE SUMMIT, WITH OUR FRIENDS FROM
2. CANADA, FRANCE, THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, GREAT BRITAIN,
3. ITALY, JAPAN, & THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY
4. WE ADDRESSED THE LONG-TERM PROBLEMS OF THE WORLD'S ECONOMY
& THE PAINFUL CHOICES OF THE NEW DECADE.
5. TOGETHER, WE AGREED ON STEPS TO LESSEN EVEN FURTHER
6. THE INDUSTRIAL WORLD'S OVERDEPENDENCE ON IMPORTED OIL,
7. & TO CUT THE TIES THAT HAVE BOUND OUR ECONOMIC GROWTH TO OUR OIL SUPPLIES.
8. ALL OF US RECOGNIZE THE EXTRAORDINARY IMPORTANCE OF THIS
WHOLE ISSUE OF OIL.
9. MANY OF OUR PROBLEMS BOTH AT HOME & ABROAD
10. ARE PERMEATED WITH THE SMELL OF FOREIGN OIL.

(=NEW CARD=) (OIL DEPENDENCE)

1. OIL DEPENDENCE IS A MAJOR CAUSE OF INFLATION & UNEMPLOYMENT
IN OUR COUNTRY.
2. OIL POLITICS ADDS AN EXTRA ELEMENT OF PERIL TO DANGERS IN
THE MIDDLE EAST, IRAN & AFGHANISTAN.
3. AND OIL PRICES FURTHER IMPOVERISH THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES
4. FURTHER IMPOVERISH THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES
5. THAT ARE FAR LESS ABLE TO PAY THEM THAN WE ARE.
6. FOR ALL THESE REASONS, I WAS GREATLY HEARTENED BY THE DECISIONS
7. MADE AT VENICE TO CUT OIL IMPORTS THROUGH CONSERVATION
8. & ESPECIALLY THROUGH DEVELOPMENT OF NEW ENERGY SOURCES.

(=OVER=) (WE & OUR.....)

1. WE & OUR FRIENDS ALSO MADE COMMON CAUSE IN
2. CONDEMNING THE SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN
3. & CALLING FOR THE COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET TROOPS.
4. THAT SOVIET MILITARY OCCUPATION IS OPPOSED
5. NOT ONLY BY THE AFGHAN PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION,
6. BUT BY VIRTUALLY THE ENTIRE WORLD.
7. WE BELIEVE A JUST & PEACEFUL SOLUTION CAN BE FOUND --
8. ONE THAT NEED NOT COMPROMISE THE SECURITY INTERESTS OF ANY COUNTRY,
9. BUT, AS ALL OF US AGREED IN VENICE,
10. THE SOVIET TROOPS MUST WITHDRAW,
11. & THE WITHDRAWAL MUST BE COMPLETE.

(=NEW CARD=) (ONE FINAL.....)

1. ONE FINAL WORD.
2. ONE OF THE MOST ENCOURAGING RESULTS OF MY JOURNEY
3. WAS WHAT IT SHOWED ABOUT OUR RELATIONS WITH KEY FRIENDS & ALLIES,
4. CERTAINLY, WE HAVE SOME DIFFERENCES,
5. THAT IS TO BE EXPECTED IN RELATIONS AMONG FREE NATIONS,
6. BUT THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT WE ALL SHARE COMMON IDEALS & GOALS
7. & A COMMON FAITH IN THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY,
8. AND WE ARE DETERMINED -- ALL OF US --
9. TO WORK TOGETHER TO ASSURE THOSE IDEAS, THOSE GOALS, & THAT FUTURE.
10. ROSALYNN, AMY & I ARE VERY GLAD TO BE HOME AGAIN,
11. TO ALL OF YOU -- OUR THANKS FOR TURNING OUT TO GREET US,
12. YOU HAVE MADE THIS, FOR US, A VERY WARM & HAPPY HOMECOMING.

#

Rick Hertzberg
Draft A-3; 6/26/80
Scheduled Delivery:
Thursday, 6/26/80

ANDREWS AFB: Arrival Statement

Susan -
Ok, if ^{some} people
are going to
turn out
J

Mr. Vice President, thank you for your kind words.

~~Thank you, everybody~~ ^{and} for your warm welcome.

This was a useful and productive trip.

I discussed

-- ~~It gave me a chance to meet~~ with our Italian
friends ~~to discuss~~ the common objectives we
pursue as allies.

ZBIG
DOES NOT
LIKE THE "IT
GAVE ME A CHANCE
FORMULATION."
Jody

I met

-- ~~It gave me a chance to meet~~ with Pope John Paul II
on the broad subjects of morality and
~~and to seek his counsel,~~ *human rights,*
especially on the
increasingly urgent ~~human~~ problem of refugees all
over the world.

I assured

-- ~~It gave me a chance to get to know~~ the new leaders
of Yugoslavia ~~and to assure them~~ of our support
for the independence, territorial integrity and
unity of their country.

I conferred

-- It ~~gave me a chance to confer~~ with the leaders of Spain and Portugal and ~~to~~ ^{ed} express in both countries the admiration we Americans feel for their remarkably successful transitions to democracy.

Perhaps most important, at the Venice Summit, with our friends from Canada, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, and the European Community, we addressed the long-term problems of the world's economy and the painful choices of the new decade.

Together, we agreed on steps to lessen even further the industrial world's ^{over} dependence on imported oil, and to cut the ties that have bound our economic growth to our oil supplies.

All of us recognize the extraordinary importance of this whole issue of oil. ~~The fact is that most~~ ^{Many} of our problems both at home and abroad are permeated with the smell of foreign oil. Oil dependence is ~~the biggest~~ ^{a major}

~~single~~ cause of inflation and unemployment in our country.

Oil politics adds an extra element of peril to dangers in the Middle East, Iran and Afghanistan. And oil prices further impoverish Third World countries that are far less able to pay them than we are. For all these reasons, I was greatly heartened by the decisions made at Venice to cut oil imports through conservation and especially through development of new energy sources.

The hard choices we have to make for economic

~~security were the main focus of our summit meeting. But~~

We and

our friends also made common cause ~~with us~~ in condemning

the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and calling for the

complete withdrawal of Soviet troops. That Soviet ^{military occupation} ~~invasion~~

is opposed not only by the Afghan people's struggle for national liberation, but by virtually the entire world.

We believe a just and peaceful solution can be found -- one

that need not compromise the security interests of ~~the~~

~~Soviet Union or any other~~ country. But, as ^{all of us} ~~my colleagues~~

~~and I~~ agreed in Venice, the Soviet troops must withdraw,
and the withdrawal must be complete.

One final word. One of the most encouraging results
of my journey was what it showed about our relations with
key friends and allies. Certainly, we have ^{some} ~~our~~ differences.
^{to be expected}
That is, ~~right and proper~~ in relations among free nations.
But there is no doubt that we all share common ideals and
goals and a common faith in the future of democracy. And
we are determined -- all of us -- to work together to assure
those ideas, those goals, and that future.

~~As always,~~ ^{, Amy} Rosalynn [,] and I are very glad to be home
again. To all of you, our thanks for turning out to greet
us. You have made this, for us, a very warm and happy
homecoming.

#