

NATIONAL ARCHIVES

IRELAND



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EMBARGOED UNTIL 1100 HOURS EASTERN STANDARD TIME
ON WEDNESDAY 20 FEBRUARY 1985

PLEASE CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

ADVANCE TEXT OF A SPEECH TO BE DELIVERED BY
THE RT. HON MARGARET THATCHER TO A JOINT SESSION
OF THE US CONGRESS AT 1100 HOURS ON WEDNESDAY
20 FEBRUARY, 1985 IN WASHINGTON D.C.

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MR SPEAKER, MR PRESIDENT, DISTINGUISHED MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, ON THIS, ONE OF THE MOST MOVING OCCASIONS OF MY LIFE, MY FIRST WORDS MUST BE TO SAY THANK YOU FOR GRANTING ME THIS RARE PRIVILEGE OF ADDRESSING A JOINT MEETING OF THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS.

MY THOUGHTS TURN TO THREE EARLIER OCCASIONS WHEN A BRITISH PRIME MINISTER - WINSTON CHURCHILL - HAS BEEN HONOURED BY A CALL TO ADDRESS BOTH HOUSES.

AMONG HIS MANY REMARKABLE GIFTS WINSTON HELD A SPECIAL ADVANTAGE HERE.

THROUGH HIS AMERICAN MOTHER HE HAD TIES OF BLOOD WITH YOU, ALAS FOR ME, THESE ARE NOT MATTERS WE CAN READILY ARRANGE FOR OURSELVES.

THOSE THREE OCCASIONS DESERVE TO BE RECALLED BECAUSE THEY SERVE AS LAMPS ALONG A DARK ROAD WHICH OUR PEOPLE TROD TOGETHER, AND THEY REMIND US WHAT AN EXTRAORDINARY PERIOD OF HISTORY THE WORLD HAS PASSED THROUGH BETWEEN THAT TIME AND OURS, AND THEY TELL US WHAT LATER GENERATIONS IN BOTH OUR COUNTRIES

/SOMETIMES

SOMETIMES FIND HARD TO GRASP - WHY PAST ASSOCIATIONS BIND US SO CLOSELY.

WINSTON CHURCHILL'S VERSION OF A UNION OF MIND AND PURPOSE BETWEEN THE ENGLISH SPEAKING PEOPLES WAS TO FORM THE MAINSPRING OF THE WEST.

NO-ONE OF MY GENERATION CAN FORGET THAT AMERICA HAS BEEN THE PRINCIPLE ARCHITECT OF A PEACE IN EUROPE WHICH HAS LASTED 47 YEARS. GIVEN THIS SHIELD OF THE UNITED STATES, WE HAVE BEEN GRANTED THE OPPORTUNITIES TO BUILD A CONCEPT OF EUROPE BEYOND THE DREAMS OF OUR FATHERS: A EUROPE WHICH SEEMED UNATTAINABLE AMID THE MUD AND SLAUGHTER OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND THE SUFFERING AND SACRIFICE OF THE SECOND.

WHEN, IN THE SPRING OF 1945, THE GUNS FELL SILENT, GENERAL EISENHOWER CALLED OUR SOLDIERS TO A SERVICE OF THANKSGIVING.

IN THE ORDER OF SERVICE WAS THE PRAYER OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE: O LORD GOD, WHEN THOU GIVEST TO THY SERVANTS TO ENDEAVOUR IN GREAT MATTER, GRANT US TO KNOW THAT IT IS NOT THE BEGINNING BUT THE CONTINUING OF THE SAME, UNTIL IT BE THOROUGHLY FINISHED, WHICH YIELDETH THE TRUE GLORY.

ON THIS DAY, CLOSE TO THE 43TH ANNIVERSARY OF THAT SERVICE, AND OF PEACE IN EUROPE, ONE OF THE LONGEST PERIODS WITHOUT WAR IN ALL OUR HISTORY, I SHOULD LIKE TO RECALL THOSE WORDS AND ACKNOWLEDGE HOW FAITHFULLY AMERICA HAS FULFILLED THEM.

FOR OUR DELIVERANCE FROM WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEFALLEN US, I WOULD NOT HAVE US LEAVE OUR GRATITUDE TO THE TRIBUTES OF HISTORY. THE DEBT THE FREE PEOPLES OF EUROPE OWE TO A NATION GENEROUS WITH ITS BOUNTY, WILLING TO SHARE ITS STRENGTH, SEEKING TO PROTECT THE WEAK, IS UNCALCULABLE. WE THANK AND SALUTE YOU.

AMERICA AND EUROPE

OF COURSE IN THE YEARS WHICH SEPARATE US FROM THE TIME WHEN WINSTON CHURCHILL LAST SPOKE TO CONGRESS, THERE HAVE BEEN DISAPPOINTMENTS AS WELL AS HOPES FULFILLED, THE CONTINUED TROUBLES IN THE MIDDLE EAST, FAMINE AND OPPRESSION IN AFRICA, GENOCIDE IN SOUTH EAST ASIA, THE BRUTAL OCCUPATION OF AFGHANISTAN, THE UNDIMINISHED AGONY OF TORTURED POLAND, AND ABOVE ALL THE CONTINUED AND CONTINUING DIVISION OF THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT.

○ /FROM

FROM THESE SHORES IT MAY SEEM TO SOME OF YOU THAT BY COMPARISON WITH THE RISKS AND SACRIFICES WHICH AMERICA HAS BORNE THROUGH FOUR DECADES, AND THE COURAGE WITH WHICH YOU HAVE SHOULDERS UNWANTED BURDENS, EUROPE HAS NOT FULLY MATCHED YOUR EXPECTATIONS.

BEAR WITH ME IF I DWELL FOR A MOMENT ON THE EUROPE TO WHICH WE NOW BELONG.

IT IS NOT THE EUROPE OF ROME, OF CHARLEMAGNE, OF BISMARCK. WE WHO ARE ALIVE TODAY HAVE PASSED THROUGH PERHAPS THE GREATEST TRANSFORMATION OF HUMAN AFFAIRS ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE SINCE THE FALL OF ROME.

IN BUT A SHORT CHAPTER OF ITS LONG STORY, EUROPE LOST THE POSITION WHICH IT HAD OCCUPIED SINCE THE DAWN OF HISTORY: AND IT IS YOUR HISTORY AS MUCH AS OURS.

FOR FIVE CENTURIES THAT SMALL CONTINENT HAD EXTENDED ITS AUTHORITY OVER ISLANDS AND CONTINENTS THE WORLD OVER, FOR THE FIRST 43 YEARS OF THIS CENTURY THERE WERE SEVEN GREAT POWERS - THE UNITED STATES, GREAT BRITAIN, GERMANY, FRANCE, RUSSIA, JAPAN AND ITALY.

OF THOSE SEVEN TWO NOW TOWER OVER THE REST - THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION.

TO THAT SWIFT AND HISTORIC CHANGE EUROPE - A EUROPE OF MANY HISTORIES, MANY NATIONS - HAS HAD TO FIND A RESPONSE.

IT HAS NOT BEEN AN EASY PASSAGE, TO BLEND THIS CONFLUX OF NATIONALISM, PATRIOTISM, SOVEREIGNTY INTO A EUROPEAN COMMUNITY.

YET I THINK THAT OUR CHILDREN AND GRAND-CHILDREN MAY SEE THIS PERIOD, THESE BIRTH PANGS OF A NEW EUROPE, MORE CLEARLY THAN WE DO NOW.

THEY WILL SEE IT AS A VISIONARY CHAPTER IN THE CREATION OF A EUROPE ABLE TO SHARE THE LOAD ALONGSIDE YOU.

DO NOT DOUBT THE FIRMNESS OF OUR RESOLVE IN OUR MARCH TOWARDS THIS GOAL.

BUT DON'T UNDER-ESTIMATE WHAT WE ALREADY DO.

TODAY, OUT OF THE FORCES OF THE ALLIANCE IN EUROPE, NINETY-FIVE PERCENT OF THE DIVISIONS, EIGHTY-FIVE PERCENT OF THE TANKS, EIGHTY PER CENT OF THE COMBAT AIRCRAFT AND SEVENTY PERCENT OF THE FIGHTING SHIPS ARE PROVIDED, MANNED AND PAID FOR BY THE EUROPEAN ALLIES. EUROPE HAS MORE THAN THREE MILLION MEN UNDER ARMS AND MORE STILL IN RESERVE. WE HAVE TO.

WE ARE RIGHT IN THE FRONT LINE.

THE FRONTIER OF FREEDOM CUTS ACROSS OUR CONTINENT.
MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, THE DEFENCE OF THAT FRONTIER IS AS VITAL
TO YOU AS IT IS TO US.

EAST-WEST RELATIONS

IT IS FASHIONABLE FOR SOME COMMENTATORS TO SPEAK OF THE TWO
SUPER-POWERS, THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION, AS
THOUGH THEY WERE SOMEHOW OF EQUAL WORTH AND EQUAL SIGNIFICANCE.

MR. SPEAKER, THAT IS A TRAVESTY OF THE TRUTH.

THE SOVIET UNION HAS NEVER CONCEALED ITS TRUE AIM.
IN THE WORDS OF MR. BREZHNEV:

"THE TOTAL TRIUMPH OF SOCIALISM ALL OVER THE WORLD IS INEVITABLE,
FOR THIS TRIUMPH WE SHALL STRUGGLE WITH NO LACK OF EFFORT."

INDEED THERE HAS BEEN NO LACK OF EFFORT.

CONTRAST THIS WITH THE RECORD OF THE WEST. WE DO NOT
AIM AT DOMINATION, AT HEGEMONY IN ANY PART OF THE WORLD.
EVEN AGAINST THOSE WHO OPPOSE AND WOULD DESTROY OUR IDEAS,
WE PLOT NO AGGRESSION.

OF COURSE WE ARE READY TO FIGHT THE BATTLE OF IDEAS WITH ALL THE
VIGOUR AT OUR COMMAND.

BUT WE DO NOT TRY TO IMPOSE OUR SYSTEM ON OTHERS.

WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT FORCE SHOULD BE THE FINAL ARBITER IN
HUMAN AFFAIRS.

WE THREATEN NO-ONE.

THE ALLIANCE HAS GIVEN A SOLEMN ASSURANCE TO THE WORLD:

"NONE OF OUR WEAPONS WILL BE USED EXCEPT IN RESPONSE TO ATTACK."

IN TALKING TO THE SOVIET UNION WE FIND GREAT DIFFICULTY IN GETTING
THIS MESSAGE ACROSS, THEY JUDGE US BY THEIR AMBITIONS.
THEY CANNOT CONCEIVE OF A POWERFUL NATION NOT
USING ITS POWER FOR EXPANSION OR SUBVERSION.

AND YET THEY SHOULD REMEMBER THAT WHEN, AFTER THE LAST WAR, THE
UNITED STATES HAD A MONOPOLY OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, SHE NEVER ONCE
EXPLOITED HER SUPERIORITY.

NO COUNTRY EVER USED SUCH GREAT POWER MORE RESPONSIBLY OR WITH
SUCH RESTRAINT.

I WONDER WHAT WOULD HAVE BEFALLEN US IN WESTERN EUROPE AND GREAT BRITAIN IF THAT MONOPOLY HAD BEEN IN SOVIET HANDS.

DETERRENCE

MR. SPEAKER, WARS ARE NOT CAUSED BY THE BUILD-UP OF WEAPONS.

THEY ARE CAUSED WHEN AN AGGRESSOR BELIEVES HE CAN ACHIEVE HIS OBJECTIVES AT AN ACCEPTABLE PRICE.

THE WAR OF 1939 WAS NOT CAUSED BY AN ARMS RACE. IT SPANG FROM A TYRANT'S BELIEF THAT OTHER COUNTRIES LACKED THE MEANS AND THE WILL TO RESIST HIM.

REMEMBER BISMARCK'S PHRASE:

"DO I WANT WAR? OF COURSE NOT, I WANT VICTORY."

OUR TASK IS TO SEE THAT POTENTIAL AGGRESSORS FROM WHATEVER QUARTER UNDERSTAND PLAINLY THAT THE CAPACITY AND THE RESOLVE OF THE WEST WOULD DENY THEM VICTORY IN WAR, AND THAT THE PRICE THEY WOULD PAY WOULD BE INTOLERABLE.

THAT IS THE BASIS OF DETERRENCE.

IT IS THE SAME WHATEVER THE NATURE OF THE WEAPONS. LET US NEVER FORGET THE HORRORS OF CONVENTIONAL WARS AND THE HIDEOUS SACRIFICE OF THOSE WHO HAVE SUFFERED IN THEM. OUR TASK IS NOT ONLY TO PREVENT NUCLEAR WAR, BUT CONVENTIONAL WAR AS WELL.

NO-ONE UNDERSTOOD THE IMPORTANCE OF DETERRENCE MORE CLEARLY THAN WINSTON CHURCHILL WHEN IN HIS LAST SPEECH TO YOU HE SAID:

"BE CAREFUL ABOVE ALL THINGS NOT TO LET GO OF THE ATOMIC WEAPON UNTIL YOU ARE SURE, AND MORE THAN SURE, THAT OTHER MEANS OF PRESERVING PEACE ARE IN YOUR HANDS."
THIRTY-THREE YEARS ON, THOSE WEAPONS ARE STILL KEEPING THE PEACE.

BUT SINCE THEN THE TECHNOLOGY HAS MOVED ON, AND IF WE ARE TO MAINTAIN DETERRENCE, AS WE MUST, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT OUR RESEARCH AND CAPACITY DO NOT FALL BEHIND.

THAT IS WHY I FIRMLY SUPPORT PRESIDENT REAGAN'S DECISION TO PURSUE RESEARCH INTO DEFENCE AGAINST BALLISTIC NUCLEAR MISSILES - THE STRATEGIC DEFENCE INITIATIVE.

/INDEED

INDEED I HOPE THAT OUR OWN SCIENTISTS WILL SHARE IN THIS RESEARCH,
THE UNITED STATES MUST NOT FALL BEHIND THE WORK BEING DONE BY THE
SOVIET UNION.

BOTH COUNTRIES ARE SIGNATORIES TO THE 1972 ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE
TREATY, A TREATY WITHOUT ANY TERMINAL DATE.
NOTHING IN THAT TREATY PRECLUDES RESEARCH, BUT SHOULD THAT
RESEARCH ON EITHER SIDE LEAD TO THE POSSIBLE DEPLOYMENT OF
NEW BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENCE SYSTEMS, THAT WOULD OF COURSE
BE A MATTER FOR NEGOTIATION UNDER THE TREATY.

ARMS CONTROL

BUT DESPITE OUR DIFFERENCES WITH THE SOVIET UNION, WE HAVE TO TALK
WITH THEM.

FOR WE HAVE ONE OVERRIDING INTEREST IN COMMON:

THAT NEVER AGAIN SHOULD THERE BE A CONFLICT BETWEEN OUR PEOPLES.
WE HOPE TOO THAT WE CAN ACHIEVE SECURITY WITH FAR FEWER WEAPONS
THAN WE HAVE TODAY AND AT LOWER COST.

THANKS TO THE SKILFUL DIPLOMACY OF SECRETARY SHULTZ, NEGOTIATIONS
ON ARMS CONTROL OPEN IN GENEVA ON 12 MARCH.

THEY WILL BE OF IMMENSE IMPORTANCE TO MILLIONS.

THEY WILL BE INTRICATE, COMPLEX AND DEMANDING.

WE SHOULD NOT EXPECT TOO MUCH TOO SOON.

WE MUST RECOGNISE THAT WE SHALL FACE A SOVIET POLITICAL OFFENSIVE
DESIGNED TO SOW DIFFERENCES AMONG US, CALCULATED TO CREATE
INFIRMITY OF PURPOSE, TO IMPAIR RESOLVE - AND EVEN TO AROUSE FEAR
IN THE HEARTS OF OUR PEOPLE.

HOPE IS SUCH A PRECIOUS COMMODITY IN THE WORLD TODAY

THAT SOME ARE TEMPTED TO BUY IT AT TOO HIGH A PRICE.

WE SHALL HAVE TO RESIST THE MUDDLED ARGUMENTS OF THOSE WHO
HAVE BEEN INDUCED TO BELIEVE THAT RUSSIA'S INTENTIONS ARE
BENIGN AND THAT OURS ARE SUSPECT, OR WHO WOULD HAVE US SIMPLY GIVE
UP OUR DEFENCES IN THE HOPE THAT WHERE WE LED OTHERS WOULD FOLLOW.

AS WE LEARNED CRUELLY IN THE 1930'S, FROM GOOD INTENTIONS CAN
COME TRAGIC RESULTS.

LET US BE UNDER NO ILLUSIONS: IT IS OUR STRENGTH NOT THEIR GOODWILL
THAT HAS BROUGHT THE SOVIET UNION TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE IN
GENEVA.

/WIDER

WIDER WORLD

MR. SPEAKER, WE KNOW THAT OUR ALLIANCE, IF IT HOLDS FIRM, CANNOT BE DEFEATED. BUT IT COULD BE OUTFLANKED. IT IS AMONG THE UNFREE AND THE UNDERFED THAT SUBVERSION TAKES ROOT.

AS ETHIOPIA DEMONSTRATED, THOSE PEOPLE GET PRECIOUS LITTLE HELP FROM THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES.

THE WEAPONS WHICH THEY POUR IN BRING NEITHER HELP NOR HOPE TO THE HUNGRY.

IT IS THE WEST WHICH HEARD THEIR CRIES.

IT IS THE WEST WHICH RESPONDED MASSIVELY TO THE HEART-RENDING STARVATION IN AFRICA. IT IS THE WEST WHICH HAS MADE A UNIQUE CONTRIBUTION TO THE UPLIFTING OF HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF PEOPLE FROM POVERTY, ILLITERACY AND DISEASE.

THE PROBLEMS OF THE THIRD WORLD ARE NOT ONLY THOSE OF FAMINE. THEY FACE ALSO A MOUNTING BURDEN OF DEBT, FALLING PRICES FOR PRIMARY PRODUCTS, PROTECTIONISM BY THE INDUSTRIALISED COUNTRIES.

SOME OF THE REMEDIES ARE IN THE HANDS OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES THEMSELVES. THEY CAN OPEN THEIR MARKETS TO PRODUCTIVE INVESTMENT. THEY CAN PURSUE RESPONSIBLE POLICIES OF ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT - WE SHOULD RESPECT THE COURAGE AND RESOLVE WITH WHICH SO MANY OF THEM HAVE TACKLED THEIR SPECIAL PROBLEMS. BUT WE ALSO HAVE A DUTY TO HELP.

HOW? FIRST, AND MOST IMPORTANT, BY KEEPING OUR MARKETS OPEN TO THEM. PROTECTIONISM IS A DANGER TO ALL OUR TRADING PARTNERSHIPS. FOR SO MANY COUNTRIES TRADE IS EVEN MORE IMPORTANT THAN AID. WE SUPPORT PRESIDENT REAGAN'S CALL FOR A NEW GATT ROUND.

THE CURRENT STRENGTH OF THE DOLLAR, WHICH IS CAUSING SO MUCH DIFFICULTY FOR SOME OF YOUR INDUSTRIES, CREATES OBVIOUS PRESSURES FOR "SPECIAL CASES", FOR NEW TRADE BARRIERS TO A FREE MARKET. I AM CERTAIN THAT YOUR ADMINISTRATION IS RIGHT TO RESIST SUCH PRESSURES.

TO GIVE IN TO THEM WOULD BETRAY THE MILLIONS IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD, TO SAY NOTHING OF THE STRAINS ON YOUR OTHER TRADING PARTNERS. THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES NEED OUR MARKETS, AS WE NEED THEIRS.

/WE

WE CANNOT PREACH ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT TO THEM, AND REFUSE TO PRACTISE IT AT HOME.

SECOND, THE WAY IN WHICH WE IN THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES MANAGE OUR ECONOMIES

- DETERMINES WHETHER THE WORLD'S FINANCIAL FRAME-WORK IS STABLE;
- DETERMINES THE LEVEL OF INTEREST RATES;
- DETERMINES THE AMOUNT OF CAPITAL AVAILABLE FOR SOUND INVESTMENT THE WORLD OVER;
- DETERMINES WHETHER OR NOT THE POOR COUNTRIES CAN SERVICE THEIR PAST LOANS, LET ALONE COMPETE FOR NEW ONES.

THOSE ARE THE REASONS WHY WE SUPPORT SO STRONGLY YOUR EFFORTS TO REDUCE YOUR BUDGET DEFICIT. NO OTHER COUNTRY IN THE WORLD CAN BE IMMUNE FROM ITS EFFECTS - SUCH IS THE INFLUENCE OF THE AMERICAN ECONOMY ON US ALL.

WE IN EUROPE HAVE WATCHED WITH ADMIRATION THE BURGEONING OF THIS MIGHTY AMERICAN ECONOMY. THERE IS A NEW MOOD IN THE UNITED STATES. A VISITOR FEELS IT AT ONCE. THE RESURGENCE OF YOUR SELF-CONFIDENCE AND YOUR NATIONAL PRIDE IS ALMOST TANGIBLE. NOW THE SUN IS RISING IN THE WEST.

BRITAIN'S RECORD

FOR MANY YEARS OUR VITALITY IN BRITAIN WAS BLUNTED BY EXCESSIVE RELIANCE ON THE STATE. OUR INDUSTRIES WERE NATIONALISED, CONTROLLED AND SUBSIDISED IN A WAY THAT YOURS NEVER WERE. WE'RE HAVING TO RECOVER THE SPIRIT OF ENTERPRISE WHICH YOU NEVER LOST.

MANY OF THE POLICIES YOU ARE FOLLOWING ARE THE POLICIES WE ARE FOLLOWING.

YOU HAVE BROUGHT INFLATION DOWN. SO HAVE WE.

YOU HAVE DECLARED WAR ON REGULATIONS AND CONTROLS ON ENTERPRISE, SO HAVE WE.

OUR CIVIL SERVICE IS NOW SMALLER THAN AT ANY TIME SINCE THE WAR. CONTROLS ON PAY, PRICES, DIVIDENDS, FOREIGN EXCHANGE - ALL ARE GONE.

/YOU

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YOU HAVE ENCOURAGED SMALL BUSINESS, SO OFTEN THE SOURCE OF TOMORROW'S JOBS. AND SO HAVE WE.

ABOVE ALL, WE ARE CARRYING OUT THE LARGEST PROGRAMME OF DENATIONALISATION IN OUR HISTORY. JUST A FEW YEARS AGO IN BRITAIN PRIVATISATION WAS THOUGHT TO BE A PIPE DREAM. NOW IT IS A REALITY, AND A POPULAR ONE.

OUR LATEST SUCCESS WAS THE SALE OF BRITISH TELECOMMUNICATIONS. IT WAS THE LARGEST SHARE ISSUE EVER TO BE BROUGHT TO THE MARKET - ON EITHER SIDE OF THE ATLANTIC. SOME TWO MILLION PEOPLE BOUGHT SHARES.

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, THAT IS WHAT CAPITALISM IS. A SYSTEM WHICH BRINGS WEALTH TO THE MANY, NOT JUST TO THE FEW.

THE UK ECONOMY IS IN ITS FOURTH YEAR OF RECOVERY.

WE HAVE NOT YET SHARED YOUR SUCCESS IN BRINGING DOWN UNEMPLOYMENT, ALTHOUGH WE ARE CREATING MANY NEW JOBS.

BUT OUTPUT, INVESTMENT AND STANDARD OF LIVING ARE ALL AT RECORD LEVELS AND PROFITS ARE WELL UP.

AND THE POUND - IT IS TOO LOW. BUT WHATEVER THE PROPER INTERNATIONAL LEVEL OF STERLING, IT IS A MARVELLOUS TIME FOR AMERICANS NOT ONLY TO VISIT BRITAIN, BUT TO INVEST WITH US.

AND MANY ARE. AMERICA IS BY FAR THE LARGEST DIRECT INVESTOR IN BRITAIN; AND I AM DELIGHTED TO SAY THAT BRITAIN IS THE LARGEST DIRECT INVESTOR IN THE UNITED STATES.

SO THE BRITISH ECONOMY HAS AN UNDERLYING STRENGTH. AND, LIKE YOU, WE USE OUR STRENGTH AND RESOLVE TO CARRY OUT OUR DUTIES TO OUR ALLIES TO THE WIDER WORLD.

WE WERE THE FIRST COUNTRY TO STATION CRUISE MISSILES ON OUR TERRITORY. BRITAIN LED THE REST.

IN PROPORTION TO OUR POPULATION WE STATION THE SAME NUMBER OF TROOPS AS YOU IN GERMANY.

IN CENTRAL AMERICA WE KEEP TROOPS STATIONED IN BELIZE AT THAT GOVERNMENT'S REQUEST. THAT IS OUR CONTRIBUTION TO SUSTAINING DEMOCRACY IN A PART OF THE WORLD SO VITAL TO THE UNITED STATES.

/WE

WE HAVE TROOPS IN CYPRUS AND IN THE SOUTH ATLANTIC AND A SMALL FORCE IN THE SINAI AT YOUR REQUEST. BRITISH SERVICEMEN ARE NOW ON SECONDMENT TO SOME THIRTY FOREIGN COUNTRIES. WE WERE ALONGSIDE YOU IN BEIRUT. WE WORK WITH YOU IN THE ATLANTIC AND IN THE INDIAN OCEANS. OUR NAVY IS ON DUTY ACROSS THE WORLD.

BRITAIN MEETS HER RESPONSIBILITIES FOR THE DEFENCE OF FREEDOM THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. SHE WILL GO ON DOING SO.

TERRORISM AND IRELAND

BUT, MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, CLOSER TO HOME THERE IS A THREAT TO FREEDOM BOTH SAVAGE AND INSIDIOUS. BOTH OUR COUNTRIES HAVE SUFFERED AT THE HANDS OF TERRORISTS. WE HAVE LOST SOME OF OUR BEST YOUNG LIVES. AND I HAVE LOST SOME CLOSE AND DEAR FRIENDS.

FREE, STRONG, DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES WILL NOT BE DRIVEN BY GUNMEN TO ABANDON FREEDOM OR DEMOCRACY.

THE PROBLEMS OF THE MIDDLE EAST WILL NOT BE SOLVED BY THE COLD-BLOODED MURDER OF AMERICAN SERVICEMEN IN LEBANON, OR BY THE MURDER OF AMERICAN CIVILIANS ON A HIJACKED AIRCRAFT. NOR WILL THE PROBLEMS OF NORTHERN IRELAND BE SOLVED BY THE ASSASSIN'S GUN OR BOMB.

GARRET FITZGERALD AND I AND OUR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS ARE UNITED IN CONDEMNING TERRORISM.

WE RECOGNISE THE DIFFERING TRADITIONS AND IDENTITIES OF THE TWO PARTS OF THE COMMUNITY IN NORTHERN IRELAND, THE NATIONALIST AND THE UNIONIST. WE SEEK A POLITICAL WAY FORWARD ACCEPTABLE TO THEM BOTH AND WHICH RESPECTS THEM BOTH.

SO LONG AS A MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND WISH TO REMAIN PART OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, THEIR WISHES WILL BE RESPECTED. IF EVER THERE WERE TO BE A MAJORITY IN FAVOUR OF CHANGE, THEN I BELIEVE THAT OUR PARLIAMENT WOULD RESPOND ACCORDINGLY.

FOR THAT IS THE PRINCIPLE OF CONSENT, ENSHRINED IN YOUR CONSTITUTION AND AN ESSENTIAL PART OF OURS.

THERE IS NO DISAGREEMENT ON THIS PRINCIPLE BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM GOVERNMENT AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND.

/INDEED

INDEED THE FOUR CONSTITUTIONAL NATIONALIST PARTIES OF IRELAND, NORTH AND SOUTH, WHO CAME TOGETHER TO ISSUE THE NEW IRELAND FORUM REPORT, MADE CLEAR THAT ANY NEW ARRANGEMENTS COULD ONLY COME ABOUT BY CONSENT. I WELCOME TOO THEIR OUTRIGHT CONDEMNATION AND TOTAL REJECTION OF TERRORISM AND ALL ITS WORKS.

BE UNDER NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT THE PROVISIONAL IRA. THEY TERRORISE THEIR OWN COMMUNITIES. THEY ARE THE ENEMIES OF DEMOCRACY, AND OF FREEDOM TOO.

DO NOT JUST TAKE MY WORD FOR IT; ASK THE PEOPLE OF THE IRISH REPUBLIC - WHERE IT IS AN OFFENCE EVEN TO BELONG TO THAT ORGANISATION - OR THEIR ELECTED GOVERNMENT IN DUBLIN. *It is also an offence in Northern Ireland.*

I RECOGNISE AND APPRECIATE THE EFFORTS WHICH HAVE BEEN MADE BY ADMINISTRATION AND CONGRESS ALIKE TO BRING HOME THIS MESSAGE TO AMERICAN CITIZENS WHO MAY BE MISLED INTO MAKING CONTRIBUTIONS TO SEEMINGLY INNOCUOUS GROUPS. THE FACT IS THAT MONEY IS USED TO BUY THE DEATHS OF IRISHMEN, NORTH AND SOUTH OF THE BORDER - AND SEVENTY PER CENT OF THOSE KILLED BY THE IRA ARE IRISHMEN - AND EVEN THE KILLING AND WOUNDING OF AMERICAN CITIZENS VISITING OUR COUNTRY.

congratulates Garret

GARRET FITZGERALD AND I WILL CONTINUE TO CONSULT TOGETHER IN THE QUEST FOR STABILITY AND PEACE IN NORTHERN IRELAND. WE HOPE WE WILL HAVE YOUR CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR OUR JOINT EFFORTS TO FIND A WAY FORWARD. *(Affiance)*

CONCLUSION

DISTINGUISHED MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, OUR TWO COUNTRIES HAVE A COMMON HERITAGE AS WELL AS A COMMON LANGUAGE. IT IS NO MERE FIGURE OF SPEECH TO SAY THAT MANY OF YOUR MOST ENDURING TRADITIONS, REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT, HABEAS CORPUS, TRIAL BY JURY, A SYSTEM OF CONSTITUTIONAL CHECKS AND BALANCES, STEM FROM OUR OWN SMALL ISLANDS.

BUT THEY ARE AS MUCH YOUR LAWFUL INHERITANCE AS OURS. YOU DID NOT BORROW THESE TRADITIONS. YOU TOOK THEM WITH YOU, BECAUSE THEY WERE ALREADY YOUR OWN, NO LESS THAN OURS.

/BUT

BUT HUMAN PROGRESS IS NOT AUTOMATIC. CIVILISATION HAS ITS EBBS AND FLOWS. IF WE LOOK AT THE HISTORY OF THE LAST FIVE HUNDRED YEARS, WHETHER IN THE FIELD OF ART, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE OR IN THE PRACTICE OF POLITICS, THE CONSCIOUS INSPIRATION OF IT ALL HAS BEEN THE BELIEF AND PRACTICE OF FREEDOM UNDER LAW, A FREEDOM DISCIPLINED BY MORALITY, UNDER A LAW PERCEIVED TO BE JUST.

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, I CANNOT CONCLUDE THIS ADDRESS WITHOUT RECALLING WORDS MADE IMMORTAL BY YOUR OWN GREAT PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN HIS SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS, WHEN HE LOOKED BEYOND AN AGE WHEN MEN FOUGHT AND STROVE, TOWARDS A MORE PEACEFUL FUTURE. MAY OUR TWO KINDRED NATIONS LONG ENDURE, WITH MALICE TOWARD NONE, WITH CHARITY FOR ALL: WITH FIRMNNESS IN THE RIGHT AS GOD GIVES US TO SEE THE RIGHT, TO FINISH THE WORK THAT WE ARE IN, TO BIND UP THE WOUNDS OF SUFFERING HUMANITY, TO DO ALL WHICH MAY ACHIEVE A JUST AND LASTING PEACE, AMONG OURSELVES AND WITH ALL NATIONS.

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, MAY OUR TWO KINDRED NATIONS GO FORWARD TOGETHER, FIRM OF PURPOSE, CLEAR OF VISION, AND WARM OF HEART, AS WE APPROACH THE THIRD MILLENIUM OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA.