REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT WALTER F. MONDALE U.S. OLYMPIC COMMITTEE HOUSE OF DELEGATES COLORADO SPRINGS, COLORADO APRIL 12, 1980

PRESIDENT KANE, MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES: Freit

I APPRECIATE THE OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK TO YOU ON BEHALF OF THE HONORARY PRESIDENT OF THE U.S. OLYMPIC COMMITTEE -- THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. AND I AM DELIGHTED TO BE IN COLORADO SPRINGS -- THE HOME OF THE U.S. OLYMPIC COMMITTEE.

I SPEAK TO YOU AS LEADERS DEDICATED TO AMATEUR SPORT, AND AS CITIZENS DEDICATED TO AMERICA'S BEST INTERESTS. I KNOW THAT EVERYONE IN THIS ROOM LOVES OUR COUNTRY. AND I WANT TO EXPRESS THE NATION'S GRATITUDE FOR YOUR EFFORTS AT LAKE PLACID TO PERSUADE THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE TO MOVE OR POSTPONE THE MOSCOW GAMES. I THANK YOUR LEADERS AS WELL FOR STATING THAT THE COMMITTEE WOULD BE GUIDED BY THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION ON THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE NATION.

As we meet today, the Lesson of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan still waits to be drawn.

HISTORY HOLDS ITS BREATH -- FOR WHAT IS AT STAKE IS NO LESS THAN THE FUTURE SECURITY OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD.

If one nation can be subjugated by Soviet aggression, is any sovereign nation truly safe from that fate? If a hundred thousand Russian troops, and the barbaric use of Lethal gas, and the spectre of nightly assassinations — if these fail to alarm us, what will? If the Soviet lunge toward the most strategic oil—rich spot on Earth fails to unite us, what will?

+ friend

AND IF WE AND OUR ALLIES, FAIL TO USE EVERY SINGLE PEACEFUL MEANS AVAILABLE TO PRESERVE THE PEACE, WHAT HOPE IS THERE THAT PEACE WILL LONG BE PRESERVED?

While History Holds its Breath, America has moved decisively.

To show the Soviet Union that it cannot invade another nation and still conduct business as usual with the United States, our country has:

- O EMBARGOED 17 MILLION TONS OF GRAIN;
- O TIGHTENED CONTROLS ON HIGH TECHNOLOGY TRADE;
- O LIMITED SOVIET FISHING IN OUR WATERS;
- O RAISED OUR DEFENSE BUDGET TO UPGRADE ALL ASPECTS OF OUR FORCES;
 - O STRENGTHENED OUR NAVAL PRESENCE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN;
 - O INTENSIFIED DEVELOPMENT OF OUR RAPID DEPLOYMENT FORCES;

O OFFERED TO HELP OTHER SOVEREIGN STATES IN THE REGION TO MAINTAIN THEIR OWN SECURITY.

IN THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, THE UNITED STATES JOINED MORE THAN A HUNDRED OTHER NATIONS IN AN UNPRECEDENTED MAJORITY — CALLING FOR THE IMMEDIATE, UNCONDITIONAL, AND TOTAL WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET TROOPS FROM AFGHANISTAN. BUT THE PRESIDENT, THE CONGRESS, AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE UNDERSTAND THAT A WORLD WHICH TRAVELS TO THE MOSCOW GAMES DEVALUES ITS CONDEMNATION AND OFFERS ITS COMPLICITY TO SOVIET PROPAGANDA.

 \ensuremath{I} am convinced that the American people do not want their athletes cast as pawns in that tawdry propaganda charade. And \ensuremath{I} urge you to respect that undeniable consensus.

OLYMPIC TEAM THE HONOR THEY DESERVE -- FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- DEEPLY RESPECT THE SACRIFICE WE ARE ASKING OUR ATHLETES TO MAKE.

It is no longer a question of whether participation in the Moscow Olympics confers legitimacy on Soviet aggression. When the Communist Party prints a million handbooks to tell its top activists that the Summer Games mean world respect for Soviet foreign policy, surely that issue is behind us.

Nor is it a question of drawing a line between sports and politics. That line the Soviets long ago erased. When billions of rubles are diverted to the Games from Soviet domestic needs;

WHEN MOSCOW AND OTHER OLYMPIC CITIES ARE PURGED OF DISSIDENTS WHO MIGHT SPEAK OUT; WHEN SOVIET CHILDREN WHO MIGHT MEET WESTERN PEOPLE AND IDEAS ON THE STREETS ARE PACKED OFF TO INTERNAL EXILE; WHEN SOVIET EMISSARIES ROAM THE GLOBE OFFERING ATHLETES EXPENSE-PAID TRIPS TO MOSCOW; WHEN SOVIET SPORTS OFFICIALS DISTORT THE NUMBER OF TEAMS COMMITTED TO PARTICIPATING -- SURELY THE ISSUE OF SOVIET POLITICS IN SOVIET SPORTS IS ALSO BEHIND US.

ABOVE ALL, THE DECISION YOU WILL MAKE TODAY IS NOT A CHOICE BETWEEN A SPORTS ISSUE AND A NATIONAL SECURITY ISSUE. FOR THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE OLYMPIC BOYCOTT IS A GENUINE ELEMENT OF AMERICA'S RESPONSE TO THE INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN. IT IS AN UNAMBIGUOUS STATEMENT OF OUR NATIONAL RESOLVE. IT IS A KEYSTONE IN OUR CALL TO OUR ALLIES FOR SOLIDARITY.

WE MUST NOT -- AND CANNOT -- BREAK THAT LINK BETWEEN

AMERICA'S POWER TO CHECK AGGRESSION, AND AMERICA'S CALL FOR AN

OLYMPIC BOYCOTT. YOUR VOTE IS A TEST OF OUR WILL, OUR CONFIDENCE,

OUR VALUES, AND OUR POWER TO KEEP THE PEACE THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS.

IT IS NOT A PARTISAN ISSUE -- FOR BOTH POLITICAL PARTIES RESOUNDINGLY SUPPORTED THE PRESIDENT'S ACTION IN CONGRESS. IT IS NOT A PAROCHIAL ISSUE -- FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE OVERWHELMINGLY AGREE THAT WE MUST NOT GO TO MOSCOW.

AND IT IS NOT JUST A NATIONAL ISSUE -- FOR CITIZENS AND GOVERNMENTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD SHARE OUR JUDGMENT.

The unsilenceable voice of human rights, and
From his exile in Gorky, Andrei Sakharov - The Father of the
Russian H-Bomb -- Calls on America, saying that "a united position
on the Moscow Olympic Games must obviously be a basic part" of
the world's response. This morning, as many as 50 nations -LEADING POLITICAL AND SPORTS POWERS -- AWAIT YOUR SIGNAL TO JOIN US.

ATHLETES AND SPORTS ORGANIZATIONS AND NATIONAL BODIES

AROUND THE WORLD AWAIT YOUR LEAD TO MOBILIZE THEIR COMMITMENT.

THEY DO SO FOR GOOD REASON. TODAY VIRTUALLY EVERY INDUSTRIAL

NATION ON EARTH IS DANGEROUSLY DEPENDENT ON PERSIAN GULF OIL. HOW

COULD WE CONVINCE THE SOVIETS NOT TO THREATEN THE GULF, IF A BLOW

WAS DEALT TO OUR DETERRENT? How COULD OUR GOVERNMENT SEND A MESSAGE

TO MOSCOW, IF TOMORROW'S PRAYDA BRAGS THAT OUR POLICIES HAVE

BEEN REPUDIATED?

IT IS FITTING THAT THE SAME ANCIENT NATION THAT GAVE US THE OLYMPICS ALSO GAVE US DEMOCRACY -- FOR YOUR DECISION HERE IS TRULY A REFERENDUM ON FREEDOM.

AND THUS IT IS ALSO A REFERENDUM ON AMERICA'S CHARACTER AND THUS IT IS ALSO A REFERENDUM ON AMERICA'S CHARACTER AND FUNDAMENTAL VALUES. THE ATHLETES HERE, AND THE ATHLETES YOU REPRESENT, MAY HAVE BEEN BORN A FULL GENERATION AFTER THE BERLIN OLYMPICS. BUT AS THEIR ADVISORS AND TRUSTEES, YOU BEAR THE RESPONSIBILITY OF LINKING THAT HISTORY TO THEIR DUTY. FOR THE STORY OF HITLER'S RISE IS MORE THAN AN UNSPEAKABLE TRAGEDY, MORE THAN A STUDY IN TYRANNY. IT IS ALSO A CHRONICLE OF THE FREE WORLD'S FAILURE -- OF OPPORTUNITIES NOT SEIZED, AGGRESSION NOT OPPOSED, APPEASEMENT NOT CONDEMNED.

By the fall of 1935, the Nazis had passed the notorious Nuremburg Laws reducing Jews to the status of non-persons, and were flexing their military muscle. For a hopeful moment, American opinion was galvanized — and editorials and Amateur Athletic Unions across the country urged a boycott of the Berlin Olympics.

AN AMERICAN MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE, ERNEST JAHNCKE (JANK-EE), MADE THE PLEA MOST ELOQUENTLY WHEN HE WROTE THE PRESIDENT OF THE IOC:

"If our committee permits the Games to be held in Germany, there will be nothing left to distinguish the Olympic idea from the Nazi ideal. . . . It will take years to re-establish the prestige of the games and the confidence of the peoples of the world.

Sport will lose its beauty and its nobility and become, as it has already become in Nazi Germany, an ugly, ignoble affair."

The call for a boycott was rejected. And the reasons for rejection are bone-chilling -- even across all these decades.

DON'T DRAG SPORTS INTO THE ARENA OF POLITICS, THEY WERE TOLD. IT WILL DESTROY THE OLYMPIC MOVEMENT, THEY WERE TOLD.

IT WILL ONLY PENALIZE OUR AMERICAN ATHLETES, THEY WERE TOLD.

SOLUTIONS TO POLITICAL PROBLEMS ARE NOT THE RESPONSIBILITY OF SPORTING BODIES, THEY WERE TOLD. LET US TAKE OUR JEWS AND BLACKS TO BERLIN AND BEAT THE NAZIS, THEY WERE TOLD. IF AMERICA REFUSES TO GO, WE WILL BE THE ONLY ONES LEFT OUT IN THE COLD, THEY WERE TOLD.

Such reasons prevailed. Only weeks after American attendance was assured, Nazi troops took the Rhineland -- and Hitler readied Germany for the Games. His preparations cast uncanny foreshadows. For he expelled foreign journalists who told the truth about persecution. He ordered his vicious propaganda concealed from foreign visitors. And he, too, looked forward to legitimacy. As Joseph Goebbels boasted on the eve of the Olympics, the Reich expected the Games "to turn the trick and create a friendly world attitude toward Nazi political, economic, and racial aims."

IT WORKED. NOT EVEN JESSE OWENS' MAGNIFICENT PERSONAL TRIUMPH DIMINISHED HITLER'S INTERNATIONAL PROPAGANDA SUCCESS -- A COUP HE LINKED DIRECTLY TO HIS MASTER RACE DOCTRINE. WE REVERE JESSE IN DEATH AS IN LIFE -- FOR HE WAS AN EXEMPLARY AMERICAN, AN INSPIRATION TO MILLIONS EVERYWHERE, AND A PERSONAL FRIEND LOVED BY MANY OF YOU HERE TODAY. BUT NEITHER JESSE'S ACHIEVEMENT IN BERLIN, NOR ANY WORDS SPOKEN AT THE GAMES, PREVENTED THE REICH FROM EXPLOITING THE OLYMPICS TOWARD THEIR OWN BRUTAL ENDS.

LISTEN TO NAZI WAR MINISTER ALBERT SPEER'S REPORT ON THE FUHRER'S MOOD AS THE HAPPY SPECTATORS LEFT BERLIN:

"HITLER WAS EXULTING OVER THE HARMONIOUS ATMOSPHERE THAT PREVAILED. . . . INTERNATIONAL ANIMOSITY TOWARD NAZI GERMANY WAS PLAINLY A THING OF THE PAST, HE THOUGHT."

Before Long, the Nazi war machine scarred the face of Europe -- and soon the night closed in.

WE ARE FAR FROM THAT TIME -- BUT NOT FROM THAT SCRIPT.

LIKE YOU, I UNDERSTAND THE IDEALS OF SPORT -- FOR SPORTSMANSHIP IS SYNONYMOUS WITH FAIR PLAY. LIKE YOU, I AM IN AWE OF THE OLYMPIC TRADITION -- STRETCHING OVER CENTURIES, REACHING OUT ACROSS CULTURES.

AND LIKE EVERY AMERICAN, I KNOW THE EXHILARATION OF OLYMPIC VICTORY. Few moments in my life match the electricity I felt at Lake Placid. And few human experiences can compare to the years of sacrifice, pain, and yearning that you and our athletes have invested in this summer.

But I also know, as you know, that some goals surpass even personal achievement. To any young athletes who feel singled out for suffering, I say, It is warthat singles out our young for suffering. And it is war that our peaceful resolve can prevent.

Ask the farmers of the midlands if they have sacrificed -
AND THEY WILL TELL YOU NOT HOW THE PRICE OF WHEAT HAS FALLEN.

BUT HOW THE STRENGTH OF AMERICA HAS RISEN. ASK THE WORKERS

IN OUR EXPORT INDUSTRIES IF THEY HAVE SACRIFICED.

N OUR EXPORT

Ask the computer companies whose products have been embargoed.

Ask the businesses whose years of planning have come undone.

Ask the young sailors in the Indian Ocean task force. Ask the American families whose taxes support our defense budget. Ask the Afghan athlete who faces the Soviets not on a field in Moscow, but as a resistance fighter in Kabul.

WE RECOGNIZE THE ENORMOUS PRICE WE ARE ASKING OUR ATHLETES TO PAY. WE RECOGNIZE THE TREMENDOUS SACRIFICE WE ARE ASKING OF SPORTS OFFICIALS. BUT ON BEHALF OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES I ASSURE YOU THAT OUR NATION WILL DO EVERYTHING WITHIN ITS POWER

- O TO ENSURE THE SUCCESS OF THE LOS ANGELES GAMES;
- O TO HELP THE OLYMPIC COMMITTEE RESTORE ITS FINANCES;
- O TO PROVIDE EVEN GREATER ASSISTANCE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMATEUR SPORT;
- O AND ABOVE ALL, TO RECOGNIZE THE TRUE HEROISM OF OUR ATHLETES WHO DO NOT GO TO MOSCOW.

I BELIEVE ALL AMERICANS WILL THANK YOU -- BOTH FOR THE CONTRIBUTION YOU MAKE TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY, AND TO THE FURTHER INTEGRITY YOU CONFER ON AMATEUR SPORT.

FOR I BELIEVE THAT THE OLYMPIC MOVEMENT WILL BE FOREVER STRENGTHENED BY YOUR COURAGE. YOU WILL HAVE RESTORED TO THE MODERN OLYMPICS THE ANCIENT "TRUCE OF THE GODS." NO NATION MAY SERVE AS THE OLYMPIC HOST WHILE INVADING AND SUBJUGATING ANOTHER: THAT WAS THE RULE FOR THE GREEK CITY-STATES, AND THAT MUST BE THE RULE AGAIN TODAY.

FORTY-FIVE YEARS AGO, WHEN AN AMERICAN OLYMPIC OFFICIAL TOOK HIS STAND AGAINST BERLIN, HE SAID THIS:

"PLACE YOUR GREAT TALENTS AND INFLUENCE IN THE SERVICE OF THE SPIRIT OF FAIR PLAY AND CHIVALRY -- INSTEAD OF THE SERVICE OF BRUTALITY, FORCE, AND POWER. TAKE YOUR RIGHTFUL PLACE IN THE HISTORY OF THE OLYMPICS. THE OLYMPIC IDEA HAS BEEN RESCUED FROM THE REMOTE PAST. YOU HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO RESCUE IT FROM THE IMMEDIATE PRESENT -- AND TO SAFEGUARD IT FOR POSTERITY."

HIS WORDS REACH OUT TO US ACROSS THE DECADES. HISTORY RARELY OFFERS US A SECOND CHANCE. IF WE FAIL TO SEIZE THIS ONE, HISTORY ITSELF MAY FAIL US.

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THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT WALTER F. MONDALE U.S. OLYMPIC COMMITTEE HOUSE OF DELEGATES COLORADO SPRINGS, COLORADO APRIL 12, 1980

PRESIDENT KANE, MEMBERS OF THE USOC House of Delegates:

I SPEAK TO YOU TODAY ON BEHALF OF THE HONORARY PRESIDENT OF THE U.S. OLYMPIC COMMITTEE -- THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

NEVER BEFORE HAS THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES FACED A DECISION

OF THIS GRAVITY, MANY OF YOU -- WHO HAVE MET IN RECENT MONTHS AND AS

WITH PRESIDENT CARTER AND OTHER GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS -- HAVE SAID AND AS

YOU FOUND THOSE BRIEFINGS HELPFUL. TODAY, AS YOU MAKE THIS

DIFFICULT DECISION, ALL OF YOU DESERVE TO HEAR OUR CASE. I DEEPLY SCORY

APPRECIATE THE CHANCE YOU GIVE ME THIS MORNING TO BRING THAT

MESSAGE TO THE ENTIRE HOUSE OF DELEGATES.

AS WE MEET TODAY, HISTORY HOLDS ITS BREATH. THE STORY OF FIFTY AMERICAN HOSTAGES STILL LACKS A CLIMAX. THE LESSON OF THE SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN STILL WAITS TO BE DRAWN.

HISTORY HOLDS ITS BREATH -- BUT THE SUSPENSE CUTS DEEPER

THAN MERE UNCERTAINTY, DEEPER THAN ANXIETY. FOR WHAT IS AT

STAKE IS NO LESS THAN THE FUTURE OF FREEDOM LISELF.

IF THE CIVILIZED WORLD CANNOT STAND TOGETHER TO END THE

TERRORISM IN TEHERAN, CAN IT EVER STAND SECURE AT ALL? IF ONE

NATION CAN SEE ITS SITIES RAVAGED BY SOVIET AGGRESSION, IS ANY

SOVEREIGN NATION TRULY SAFE FROM THAT FATE?

IF THE SPECTRE OF A HUNDRED THOUSAND TROOPS, AND POISON GAS, AND NIGHTLY ASSASSINATIONS FAILS TO ALARM US -- WHAT WILL?

IF THE SOVIET LUNGE TOWARD THE MOST STRATEGIC OIL-RICH SPOT ON EARTH FAILS TO UNITE US -- WHAT WILL?

AND IF WE AND OUR ALLIES FAIL TO USE EVERY SINGLE PEACEFUL MEANS WE HAVE TO PRESERVE THE PEACE, WHAT HOPE IS THERE THAT PEACE WILL LONG BE PRESERVED AT ALL?

WHILE HISTORY HOLDS ITS BREATH, WHILE OUR ALLIES WATCH
A CHANGE, AMERICA HAS MOVED DECISIVELY.

- AFTER MONTHS OF RESTRAINT AND FRUSTRATING NEGOTIATIONS,
 THE PRESIDENT HAS IMPOSED SANCTIONS ON IRAN, AND HE HAS ASKED OUR
 ALLIES TO JOIN US.
- TO DELIVER A MESSAGE THAT WILL STING THE SOVIET UNION ANNOT THE PRESIDENT HAS EMBARGOED 17 MILLION TONS OF GRAIN.
 - . HE TIGHTENED CONTROLS ON HIGH TECHNOLOGY TRADE.
 - HE LIMITED SOVIET FISHING IN OUR WATERS.
 - . HE STRENGTHENED OUR NAVAL PRESENCE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN.
- HE INTENSIFIED DEVELOPMENT OF OUR RAPID DEPLOYMENT

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18 votes is no more than those nations now occupied by Soviel forces, plus a mere handful of others.

. HE HAS OFFERED TO ASSIST STATES IN THE REGION TO

MAINTAIN THEIR OWN SECURITY.

GENERA ASSEMBLY HAS VOTED 104 TO 18 TO COMO DEMIN THE

HE HAS EXPLAINED TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAT THE

(NUMSION)

MOSCOW OLYMPICS ARE A BLATANT SOVIET BID FOR WORLD LEGITIMACY.

PROCLAM TO THE PEDPLE, THAT WHATEVER THE GOVERN OF THE WORLD MAY SAY, THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD HAS INFORMED THE SOVIET UNION THAT THE UNITED CON

STATES OF AMERICA -- AS THE LEADER OF THE FREE NATIONS -- REFUSES
SHOULD DECLINE
TO LET ITS ATHLETES BE CAST AS PLAYERS IN THAT TAWDRY PROPAGANDA OF CHARADE.

AND TO MAKE IT ABSOLUTELY CLEAR THE QUESTION YOU ARE DECIDING TODAY.

Part of the same Red Army devastating Afg hamson

IT IS NOT A QUESTION OF WHETHER AMERICANS WILL PARTICIPATE
IN THE GAMES -- FOR THE PRESIDENT HAS DETERMINED THAT THEY WILL NOT.

IT IS NOT A QUESTION OF WHETHER PARTICIPATION IN THE MOSCOW OLYMPICS CONFERS LEGITIMACY ON SOVIET AGGRESSION. WHEN THE COMMUNIST PARTY PRINTS A MILLION HANDBOOKS TO TELL ITS TOP ACTIVISTS THAT THE SUMMER GAMES MEAN WORLD RESPECT FOR SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY, SURELY THAT ISSUE IS BEHIND US.

NOR IS IT A QUESTION OF WHETHER THE SOVIETS HAVE INFUSED
THE GAMES WITH THEIR POLITICS. WHEN BILLIONS AND BILLIONS OF
RUBLES ARE DIVERTED TO THE GAMES FROM DESPERATE SOCIAL NEEDS;

The Soviets have publicly of the same of the grand western notion that politics and sport do not mix, and have boasted about their refusal to attend international

WHEN RANSOMS OF WESTERN CAPITAL ARE EXTORTED FOR THE RIGHTS TO REPORT THE GAMES; WHEN MOSCOW IS PURGED OF DISSIDENTS WHO MIGHT SPEAK OUT, AND CHILDREN WHO MIGHT BEG ON THE STREETS; WHEN A MASSIVE WESTERN NEWS BLACKOUT IS PLANNED; WHEN SOVIET EMISSARIES ROAM THE GLOBE TO BRIBE TEAMS TO COME TO MOSCOW; WHEN SOVIET SPORTS OFFICIALS OUTRAGEOUSLY MISREPORT THE NUMBER OF TEAMS COMMITTED TO PARTICIPATING -- SURELY, THE POLITICIZATION ISSUE, TOO, IS BEHIND US.

ABOVE ALL, THE DECISION YOU WILL MAKE TODAY IS NOT A CHOICE BETWEEN BELIEVING THE BOYCOTT TO BE EITHER A SPORTS ISSUE, OR A NATIONAL SECURITY ISSUE. FOR THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES HAS MADE IT CLEAR TO THE WORLD THAT THE OLYMPIC BOYCOTT IS A CRUCIAL ELEMENT OF AMERICA'S DETERRENT. IT IS AN UNAMBIGUOUS STATEMENT OF OUR NATIONAL RESOLVE. IT IS A KEYSTONE IN OUR CALL TO OUR ALLIES FOR SOLIDARITY.

NO WORDS SPOKEN TODAY CAN BREAK THAT LINK BETWEEN AMERICA'S POWER TO CHECK AGGRESSION, AND AMERICA'S CALL FOR AN OLYMPIC BOYCOTT. YOUR VOTE IS A TEST OF OUR WILL, OUR CONFIDENCE, OUR VALUES, AND OUR POWER TO KEEP THE PEACE THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS.

RESOUNDINGLY SUPPORTED THE PRESIDENT'S ACTION IN CONGRESS. IT IS

NOT AN ELECTION-YEAR ISSUE -- FOR ALL MAJOR PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

SUPPORT THE BOYCOTT. IT IS NOT A PAROCHIAL ISSUE -- FOR THE

AMERICAN PEOPLE OVERWHELMINGLY AGREE THAT WE MUST NOT GO TO MOSCOW.

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AND IT IS NOT JUST A NATIONAL ISSUE -- FOR CITIZENS AND GOVERNMENTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD LOOK TO THIS HOUSE OF DELEGATES FOR DIRECTION. FROM HIS EXILE IN GORKY, THE FATHER OF THE RUSSIAN H-BOMB CALLS ON AMERICA TO LEAD A UNITED INTERNATIONAL BOYCOTT. FROM LONDON TO BONN TO STRASBOURG TO MELBOURNE, 50 NATIONS AWAIT THE SIGNAL TO JOIN US -- AND SCORES OF OTHERS READY TO JOIN THE FIFTY.

ATHLETES AND SPORTS ORGANIZATIONS AND NATIONAL BODIES

AROUND THE WORLD ARE ASKING YOUR COURAGE TO MOBILIZE THEIR

COMMITMENT -- AND FOR GOOD REASON. TODAY VIRTUALLY EVERY INDUSTRIAL

NATION ON EARTH IS SHOCKINGLY DEPENDENT ON PERSIAN GULF OIL.

HOW CAN WE CONVINCE THE SOVIETS NOT TO THREATEN THE GULF, IF YOU

DEAL A BLOW TO OUR DETERRENT? HOW CAN OUR GOVERNMENT SEND A

MESSAGE TO MOSCOW, IF TOMORROW'S PRAYDA BRAGS THAT YOU HAVE

REPUDIATED IT? HOW CAN OUR PRESIDENT CONVINCE OUR ALLIES TO

IMPOSE SANCTIONS ON TRAN, IF YOU TURN YOUR BACK ON OUR PRESIDENT?

IT IS FITTING THAT THE SAME ANCIENT NATION THAT GAVE US
THE OLYMPICS ALSO GAVE US DEMOCRACY -- FOR YOUR DECISION HERE IS
TRULY A REFERENDUM ON FREEDOM.

AND THUS IT IS ALSO A REFERENDUM ON DECENCY. THE AMERICAN ATHLETES YOU REPRESENT MAY HAVE BEEN BORN A FULL GENERATION AFTER THE BERLIN OLYMPICS. BUT AS OUR ATHLETES' MENTORS AND TEACHERS, YOU BEAR THE RESPONSIBILITY OF LINKING THAT HISTORY TO THEIR DUTY.

FOR THE STORY OF HITLER'S RISE IS MORE THAN AN UNSPEAKABLE TRAGEDY, MORE THAN A STUDY IN TYRANNY. IT IS ALSO A CHRONICLE OF THE FREE WORLD'S FAILURE -- OF OPPORTUNITIES UNSEIZED, AGGRESSION UNOPPOSED, AND APPEASEMENT UNCONDEMNED.

BY THE FALL OF 1935, THE NAZIS HAD PASSED THE NOTORIOUS NUREMBURG LAWS REDUCING JEWS TO THE STATUS OF NON-PERSONS. FOR A HOPEFUL MOMENT, AMERICAN OPINION WAS GALVANIZED -- AND EDITORIALS AND AMATEUR ATHLETIC UNIONS ACROSS THE COUNTRY URGED A BOYCOTT OF THE BERLIN OLYMPICS.

AN AMERICAN MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE, ERNEST JAHNCKE, MADE THE PLEA MOST ELOQUENTLY WHEN HE WROTE THE PRESIDENT OF THE IOC:

"IF OUR COMMITTEE PERMITS THE GAMES TO BE HELD IN

GERMANY, THERE WILL BE NOTHING LEFT TO DISTINGUISH

THE OLYMPIC IDEA FROM THE NAZI IDEAL. . . . IT WILL

TAKE YEARS TO RE-ESTABLISH THE PRESTIGE OF THE GAMES

AND THE CONFIDENCE OF THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD.

SPORT WILL LOSE ITS BEAUTY AND ITS NOBILITY AND BECOME,

AS IT HAS ALREADY BECOME IN NAZI GERMANY, AN UGLY,

IGNOBLE AFFAIR."

THE CALL FOR A BOYCOTT WAS REJECTED. AND THE REASONS
FOR REJECTION ARE BONE-CHILLING -- EVEN ACROSS ALL THESE YEARS.

DON'T DRAG SPORTS INTO THE ARENA OF POLITICS, THEY WERE TOLD. IT WILL DESTROY THE OLYMPIC MOVEMENT, THEY WERE TOLD. IT WILL ONLY PENALIZE OUR AMERICAN ATHLETES, THEY WERE TOLD. SOLUTIONS TO POLITICAL PROBLEMS ARE NOT THE RESPONSIBILITY OF SPORTING BODIES, THEY WERE TOLD. LET US TAKE OUR JEWS AND BLACKS TO BERLIN AND BEAT THE NAZIS, THEY WERE TOLD. IF AMERICA REFUSES TO GO, WE WILL BE THE ONLY ONES LEFT OUT IN THE COLD, THEY WERE TOLD.

SUCH REASONS PREVAILED. ONLY WEEKS AFTER AMERICAN
ATTENDANCE WAS ASSURED, NAZI TROOPS TOOK THE RHINELAND -- AND
HITLER READIED GERMANY FOR THE GAMES. HIS PREPARATIONS CAST
UNCANNY FORESHADOWS. FOR HE, TOO, EXPELLED FOREIGN JOURNALISTS
WHO WROTE THE TRUTH ABOUT PERSECUTION. HE, TOO, ORDERED HIS
VICIOUS PROPAGANDA CONCEALED FROM FOREIGN VISITORS. HE, TOO,
LOOKED FORWARD TO LEGITIMACY. AS JOSEPH GOEBBELS BOASTED ON THE
EVE OF THE OLYMPICS, THE REICH EXPECTED THE GAMES "TO TURN THE
TRICK AND CREATE A FRIENDLY WORLD ATTITUDE TOWARD NAZI POLITICAL,
ECONOMIC, AND RACIAL AIMS."

IT WORKED. LISTEN TO ALBERT SPEER'S REPORT ON THE FUHRER'S MOOD AS THE HAPPY SPECTATORS LEFT BERLIN:

"HITLER WAS EXULTING OVER THE HARMONIOUS ATMOSPHERE THAT PREVAILED. . . . INTERNATIONAL ANIMOSITY TOWARD NAZI GERMANY WAS PLAINLY A THING OF THE PAST, HE THOUGHT."

Mus

BEFORE LONG, THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS WERE OPERATING BRISKLY --

WE ARE FAR FROM THAT TIME -- BUT NOT FROM THAT SCRIPT. Trumple

LIKE YOU, I UNDERSTAND THE IDEALS OF SPORT -- FOR SPORTSMANSHIP IS SYNONYMOUS WITH FAIR PLAY. LIKE YOU, I UNDERSTAND THE SANCTITY OF THE GAMES -- FOR THE OLYMPICS ARE ALSO A RITE OF ARMISTICE.

AND LIKE EVERY AMERICAN, I KNOW THE EXHILARATION OF OLYMPIC VICTORY. FEW MOMENTS IN MY LIFE MATCH THE ELECTRICITY I FELT AT LAKE PLACID. AND FEW EXERTIONS CAN COMPARE TO THE YEARS OF SCARIFICE, PAIN, AND YEARNING THAT YOU AND OUR ATHLETES HAVE INVESTED IN THIS SUMMER.

BUT I ALSO KNOW, AS YOU KNOW, THAT SOME GOALS SURPASS EVEN PERSONAL ACHIEVEMENT. TO ANY YOUNG ATHLETES WHO FEEL SINGLED OUT FOR SUFFERING, I SAY, IT IS WAR THAT SINGLES OUT OUR YOUNG FOR SUFFERING. ASK THE FARMERS OF THE MIDLANDS IF THEY HAVE SACRIFICED -- AND THEY WILL TELL YOU NOT HOW THE PRICE OF WHEAT HAS FALLEN, BUT HOW THE STRENGTH OF AMERICA HAS RISEN.

WE RECOGNIZE WHAT WE ARE ASKING OF OUR ATHLETES. WE RECOGNIZE THE TOLL THIS WILL TAKE ON YOU. BUT IF THIS HOUSE OF DELEGATES ACCEPTS THE UNDENIABLE NATIONAL CONSENSUS THAT OUR COUNTRY DOES NOT WISH TO SEND ITS ATHLETES TO MOSCOW, THEN ON BEHALF OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES I ASSURE YOU THAT OUR NATION WILL DO EVERYTHING WITHIN ITS POWER

assist committee and the pratund.

TO PROVIDE ALTERNATIVE ARENAS FOR INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION;

- TO ENSURE THE SUCCESS OF THE LOS ANGELES GAMES;
- TO EXPLORE THE CREATION OF A PERMANENT SUMMER SITE IN GREECE;
- TO HELP THE OLYMPIC COMMITTEE RESTORE ITS FINANCES

 AND PROVIDE EVEN GREATER ASSISTANCE TO THE DEVELOPMENT

 OF AMATEUR SPORT;
- AND ABOVE ALL, TO RECOGNIZE THE TRUE HEROISM OF OUR ATHLETES WHO DO NOT GO TO MOSCOW.

I AM CONVINCED THAT THIS YEAR'S OLYMPIC TEAM WILL BE HONORED BY AMERICANS WITH AS MUCH PRIDE AND ENTHUSIASM AND LOVE AS ANY PAST MEDAL WINNERS RECEIVED.

AND I ALSO BELIEVE THAT THE OLYMPIC MOVEMENT WILL BE FOREVER STRENGTHENED BY YOUR COURAGE -- AND THEIRS -- TODAY.

FOR AT LAST YOU WILL HAVE TRULY ENDOWED THE MODERN OLYMPICS WITH A PRINCIPLE FROM ITS ANCIENT PAST: THAT NO NATION MAY SERVE AS THE OLYMPIC HOST WHILE INVADING AND SUBJUGATING ANOTHER.

FORTY-FIVE YEARS AGO, WHEN ERNEST JAHNCKE MADE HIS PLEA TO KEEP AMERICAN ATHLETES FROM GOING TO BERLIN, HE SAID THIS:

"LET ME URGE UPON YOU THAT YOU PLACE YOUR GREAT TALENTS
AND INFLUENCE IN THE SERVICE OF THE SPIRIT OF FAIR PLAY
AND CHIVALRY -- INSTEAD OF THE SERVICE OF BRUTALITY,
FORCE, AND POWER."

HE CONCLUDED BY RECALLING THE IDEALS OF BARON DE COUBERTIN. THE FOUNDER OF THE MODERN OLYMPIC MOVEMENT:

"LET ME BESEECH YOU," HE SAID TO THE IOC, "TO TAKE
YOUR RIGHTFUL PLACE IN THE HISTORY OF THE OLYMPICS -ALONGSIDE OF DE COUBERTIN, INSTEAD OF HITLER.

DE COUBERTIN RESCUED THE OLYMPIC IDEA FROM THE
REMOTE PAST. YOU HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO RESCUE
IT FROM THE IMMEDIATE PRESENT -- AND SAFEGUARD IT
FOR POSTERITY."

HIS WORDS FELL ON DEAF EARS ONCE -- BUT TODAY THEY REACH OUT TO US ACROSS THE DECADES. HISTORY RARELY OFFERS US A SECOND CHANCE. IF WE FAIL TO SEIZE IT, HISTORY ITSELF MAY FAIL US.

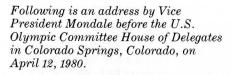
Current Policy No. 162

Vice President Mondale

U.S. Call for an Olympic Boycott

April 12, 1980

United States Department of State Bureau of Public Affairs
Washington, D.C.



I appreciate the opportunity to speak to you on behalf of the honorary President of the U.S. Olympic Committee—the President of the United States. And I am delighted to be in the lovely community of Colorado Springs, the home of the U.S. Olympic Committee.

I speak to you as leaders dedicated to amateur sport, and as citizens dedicated to America's best interests. I know that everyone in this room loves our country. And I want to express the nation's gratitude for your efforts at Lake Placid to persuade the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to move or postpone the Moscow games. I thank your leaders as well for stating that the committee would be guided by the President's decision on the best interests of the nation.

As we meet today, the lesson of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan still waits to be drawn. History holds its breath; for what is at stake is no less than the future security of the civilized world. If one nation can be subjugated by Soviet aggression, is any sovereign nation truly safe from that fate? If 100,000 Russian troops, and the barbaric use of lethal gas, and the specter of nightly assassinations—if these fail to alarm us, what will? If the Soviet lunge toward the most strategic oil-rich spot on Earth fails to unite us, what will? And if we and our allies and friends fail to use every single

peaceful means available to preserve the peace, what hope is there that peace will long be preserved?

While history holds its breath,
America has moved decisively. To show
the Soviet Union that it cannot invade
another nation and still conduct business
as usual with the United States, our
country has embargoed 17 million tons of
grain, tightened controls on high
technology trade, limited Soviet fishing
in our waters, raised our defense budget
to upgrade all aspects of our forces,
strengthened our naval presence in the
Indian Ocean, intensified development of
our rapid deployment forces, and offered
to help other sovereign states in the
region to maintain their security.

On April 12, 1980, by a vote of 1,604 to 797, the U.S. Olympic Committee agreed not to send a U.S. team to the 1980 Olympic games in Moscow.

In the U.N. General Assembly, the United States joined more than 100 other nations in an unprecedented majority calling for the immediate, unconditional, and total withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. But the President, the Congress, and the American people understand that a world which travels to the Moscow games devalues its condemnation and offers its complicity to Soviet propaganda.

I am convinced that the American people do not want their athletes cast as pawns in that tawdry propaganda charade. And I urge you to respect that undeniable consensus. Your decision



today is not a question of denying our Olympic team the honor they deserve; for the American people, as you know, deeply respect the sacrifice we are asking our athletes to make. It is no longer a question of whether participation in the Moscow Olympics confers legitimacy on Soviet aggression. When the Communist Party prints a million handbooks to tell its top activists that the summer games mean world respect for Soviet foreign policy, surely that issue is behind us.

Nor is it a question of drawing a line between sports and politics. That line the Soviets long ago erased. When billions of rubles are diverted to the games from Soviet domestic needs; when Moscow and other Olympic cities are purged of dissidents who might speak out; when Soviet children who might meet Western people viously be a basic part" of the world's response. This morning, as many as 50 nations—leading political and sports powers—await your signal to join us.

Athletes and sports organizations and national bodies around the world await your lead to mobilize their commitment. They do so for good reason. Today virtually every industrial nation on Earth is dangerously dependent on Persian Gulf oil. How could we convince the Soviets not to threaten the Gulf, if a blow was dealt to our deterrent? How could our government send a message to Moscow, if tomorrow's *Pravda* brags that our policies have been repudiated?

It is fitting that the same ancient nation that gave us the Olympics also gave us democracy; for your decision here is truly a referendum on freedom.

... if we and our allies fail to use every single peaceful means available to preserve the peace, what hope is there that peace will long be preserved?

and ideas on the streets are packed off to internal exile; when Soviet emissaries roam the globe offering athletes expense-paid trips to Moscow; when Soviet sports officials distort the number of teams committed to participating—surely the issue of Soviet politics in Soviet sports is also behind us.

Above all, the decision you will make today is not a choice between a sports issue and a national security issue. For the President and Congress have made it clear that the Olympic boycott is a genuine element of America's response to the invasion of Afghanistan. It is an unambiguous statement of our national resolve. It is a keystone in our call to our allies for solidarity.

We must not—and cannot—break that link between America's power to check aggression and America's call for an Olympic boycott. Your vote is a test of our will, our confidence, our values, and our power to keep the peace through peaceful means. It is not a partisan issue—for both political parties resoundingly supported the President's action in Congress. It is not a parochial issue; for the American people overwhelmingly agree that we must not go to Moscow.

And it is not just a national issue for citizens and governments throughout the world share our judgment. From his exile in Gorky, Andrei Sakharov—the unsilenceable father of human rights and the father of the Russian H-bomb—calls on America, saying that "a united position on the Moscow Olympic games must ob-

Berlin Olympic Games

And thus it is also a referendum on America's character and fundamental values. The athletes here, and the athletes you represent, may have been born a full generation after the Berlin Olympics. But as their advisers and trustees, you bear the responsibility of linking that history to their duty. For the story of Hitler's rise is more than an unspeakable tragedy, more than a study in tyranny. It is also a chronicle of the free world's failure—of opportunities not seized, aggression not opposed, appeasement not condemned.

By the fall of 1935, the Nazis had passed the notorious Nuremberg laws reducing the Jews to nonpersons, and were flexing their military muscle. For a hopeful moment, American opinion was galvanized—and editorials and amateur athletic unions across the country urged a boycott of the Berlin Olympics. An American member of the International Olympic Committee, Ernest Jahncke, made the plea most eloquently when he wrote the President of the IOC:

If our committee permits the Games to be held in . . . Germany, . . . there will be nothing left to distinguish [the Olympic idea] from the Nazi ideal. . . . It will take . . . years to reestablish the prestige of the games and the confidence of the peoples of the world. Sport will lose its beauty and its nobility and become, as it has already become in Nazi Germany, an ugly, ignoble affair.

The call for a boycott was rejected. And the reasons for rejection are bone chilling—even across all these decades. Do not drag sports into the arena of politics, they were told. It will destroy the Olympic movement, they were told. It will only penalize our American athletes, they were told. Solutions to political problems are not the responsibility of sporting bodies, they were told. Let us take our Jews and blacks to Berlin and beat the Nazis, they were told. If America refuses to go, we will be the only ones left out in the cold, they were told.

Such reasons prevailed. Only weeks after American attendance was assured, Nazi troops took the Rhineland; and Hitler readied Germany for the games. His preparations cast uncanny foreshadows. For he expelled foreign journalists, who told the truth about persecution. He ordered his vicious propaganda concealed from foreign visitors. And he too looked forward to legitimacy. As Joseph Goebbels boasted on the eve of the Olympics, the Reich expected the games "to turn the trick and create a friendly world attitude toward Nazi political, economic, and racial aims."

It worked. Not even Jesse Owens' magnificent personal triumph diminished Hitler's international propaganda success—a coup he linked directly to his master race doctrine. We revere Jesse in death as in life; for he was an exemplary American, an inspiration to millions everywhere and a personal friend loved by many of you here today. But neither Jesse's achievements in Berlin, nor any words spoken at the games, prevented the Reich from exploiting the Olympics toward their own brutal ends. Listen to Nazi War Minister Albert Speer's report on the Fuhrer's mood as the happy spectators left Berlin: "Hitler was exulting over the harmonious atmosphere that prevailed. . . . International animosity toward Nazi Germany was plainly a thing of the past, he thought." Before long, the Nazi war machine scarred the face of

The Need for Sacrifice

We are far from that time—but not from that script. Like you, I understand the ideals of sport—for sportsmanship is synonymous with fair play. Like you, I am in awe of the Olympic tradition—stretching over centuries, reaching out across cultures.

Europe; and soon the night closed in.

And like every American, I know the exhilaration of Olympic victory. Few moments in my life match the electricity

I felt at Lake Placid. And few human experiences can compare to the years of sacrifice, pain, and yearning that you and our athletes have invested in this summer. But I also know, as you know, that some goals surpass even personal achievement. To any young athletes who feel singled out for suffering, I say, it is war above all that singles out our young for suffering. And it is war that our peaceful resolve can prevent.

Everyone across the board is being asked to sacrifice. We need only ask the farmers of the midlands if they have sacrificed. Or ask the workers in our export industries if they have sacrificed. Or ask the computer companies whose products have been embargoed. Or ask the businesses whose years of planning have come undone. Or ask the young sailors in the Indian Ocean task force. Or ask the American families whose taxes support our defense budget. Or ask the Afghan athlete who faces the Soviets not on a field in Moscow but as a resistance fighter in Kabul.

A heavy burden lies on your shoulders. We recognize the enormous price we are asking our athletes to pay. We recognize the tremendous sacrifice we are asking of sports officials. But on behalf of the President of the United States, I assure you that our nation will do everything within its power to insure the success of the Los Angeles games; to help the Olympic Committee restore its finances; to provide even greater assistance to the development of amateur sport; and above all, to recognize the true heroism of our athletes who do not go to Moscow.

I believe all Americans will thank you—both for the contribution you make to our national security and to the further integrity you confer on amateur sport. For I believe that the Olympic movement will be forever strengthened by your courage. You will have restored to the modern Olympics the ancient "truce of the gods." No nation may serve as the Olympic host while invading and subjugating another: That was the rule for the Greek city-states, and that must be the rule again today.

Forty-five years ago, when an American official took his stand against Berlin, he said this:

Place your great talents and influence in the service of the spirit of fair play and chivalry—instead of the service of brutality, force, and power. . . . Take your rightful place in the history of the Olympic idea [has been rescued] from the remote past. You have the opportunity to rescue it from the immediate present—and to safeguard it for posterity.

His words reach out to us across the decades. History rarely offers us a second chance. If we fail to seize this one, history itself may fail us. ■

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