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2. bio	(w/notations), 1p D 7/19/00 S98-003 #87	4/88	P1, P3

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The Poetical Works of Tennyson

Cambridge Edition

Edited by G. Robert Stange

Houghton Mifflin Company Boston

1974

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fruits, and spices, clear of

...ats of the golden year.
...old. Ah! when shall all
...d
...ile, and universal Peace
...of light across the land, 40
...of beams athwart the sea,
...cle of the golden year?'
...flow'd, and ended; where-

...mimic cadence answer'd

...it lies so far away,
...not in our children's time,
...und world to us that live;
...one to fix our hopes on

...of the golden year.'
...struck his staff against the

...James, — you know him,
...it full 60
...o'er, and firm upon his feet,
...en stock in winter woods,
...ith the hoary clematis;
...in heat:
'What stuff is this!
...'d the happy season back, —
...bey, — we forward; dream-
...—
...in an age when every hour
...sixty minutes to the death,
...ve us, as if the seedsman,

...ming harvest, should not
70
...he bag; but well I know
...who works, and feels he

...l year is ever at the doors.'
...d, high above, I heard them

...quarry, and the great echo

...nd the hills from bluff to

ULYSSES

...d in 1842, and unaltered.

...that an idle king,
...earth, among these barren

Match'd with an aged wife, I mete and dole
Unequal laws unto a savage race,
That hoard, and sleep, and feed, and know not me.
I cannot rest from travel; I will drink
Life to the lees. All times I have enjoy'd
Greatly, have suffer'd greatly, both with those
That loved me, and alone; on shore, and when
Thro' scudding drifts the rainy Hyades 10
Vext the dim sea. I am become a name;
For always roaming with a hungry heart
Much have I seen and known, — cities of men
And manners, climates, councils, governments,
Myself not least, but honor'd of them all, —
And drunk delight of battle with my peers,
Far on the ringing plains of windy Troy.
I am a part of all that I have met;
Yet all experience is an arch wherethro'
Gleams that untravell'd world whose margin fades 20
For ever and for ever when I move.
How dull it is to pause, to make an end,
To rust unburnish'd, not to shine in use!
As tho' to breathe were life! Life piled on life
Were all too little, and of one to me
Little remains; but every hour is saved
From that eternal silence, something more,
A bringer of new things; and vile it were
For some three suns to store and hoard myself,
And this gray spirit yearning in desire 30
To follow knowledge like a sinking star,
Beyond the utmost bound of human thought.

This is my son, mine own Telemachus,
To whom I leave the sceptre and the isle, —
Well-loved of me, discerning to fulfil
This labor, by slow prudence to make mild
A rugged people, and thro' soft degrees
Subdue them to the useful and the good.
Most blameless is he, centred in the sphere
Of common duties, decent not to fail 40
In offices of tenderness, and pay
Meet adoration to my household gods,
When I am gone. He works his work, I mine.

There lies the port; the vessel puffs her sail;
There gloom the dark, broad seas. My mariners,
Souls that have toil'd, and wrought, and thought with me, —
That ever with a frolic welcome took
The thunder and the sunshine, and opposed
Free hearts, free foreheads, — you and I are old;
Old age hath yet his honor and his toil. 50
Death closes all; but something ere the end,
Some work of noble note, may yet be done,
Not unbecoming men that strove with Gods.
The lights begin to twinkle from the rocks;
The long day wanes; the slow moon climbs; the deep
Moans round with many voices. Come, my friends.
'T is not too late to seek a newer world.
Push off, and sitting well in order smite
The sounding furrows; for my purpose holds
To sail beyond the sunset, and the baths 60
Of all the western stars, until I die.
It may be that the gulfs will wash us down;
It may be we shall touch the Happy Isles,
And see the great Achilles, whom we knew.
Tho' much is taken, much abides; and tho'
We are not now that strength which in old days
Moved earth and heaven, that which we are, we are, —
One equal temper of heroic hearts,
Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will
To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield. 70

TITHONUS

First printed in the 'Cornhill Magazine' for February, 1860, and afterwards included in the 'Enoch Arden' volume in 1864. See Notes.

The woods decay, the woods decay and fall,
The vapors weep their burthen to the ground,
Man comes and tills the field and lies beneath,
And after many a summer dies the swan.
Me only cruel immortality
Consumes; I wither slowly in thine arms,
Here at the quiet limit of the world,
A white-hair'd shadow roaming like a dream
The ever-silent spaces of the East,
Far-folded mists, and gleaming halls of morn. 10

Alas! for this gray shadow, once a man —
So glorious in his beauty and thy choice,
Who madest him thy chosen, that he seem'd
To his great heart none other than a God!
I ask'd thee, 'Give me immortality.'
Then didst thou grant mine asking with a smile,
Like wealthy men who care not how they give.
But thy strong Hours indignant work'd their wills,
And beat me down and marr'd and wasted me,
And tho' they could not end me, left me maim'd 20
To dwell in presence of immortal youth,
Immortal age beside immortal youth,
And all I was in ashes. Can thy love,
Thy beauty, make amends, tho' even now,
Close over us, the silver star, thy guide,
Shines in those tremulous eyes that fill with tears
To hear me? Let me go; take back thy gift.
Why should a man desire in any way
To vary from the kindly race of men,
Or pass beyond the goal of ordinance 30
Where all should pause, as is most meet for all?

A soft air fans the cloud apart; there comes
A glimpse of that dark world where I was born.
Once more the old mysterious glimmer steals
From thy pure brows, and from thy shoulders pure,
And bosom beating with a heart renew'd.
Thy cheek begins to redden thro' the gloom,
Thy sweet eyes brighten slowly close to mine,

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(Dolan)
May 31, 1988
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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: FOREIGN AFFAIRS ORGANIZATION
GUILDHALL
LONDON, ENGLAND
FRIDAY, JUNE 3, 1988

My Lord Mayor, Prime Minister, Your Excellencies, My Lords, Aldermen, Sheriffs, ladies and gentlemen:

I wonder if you can imagine what it is for an American to stand in this place. Back in the States, we are terribly proud of anything more than a few hundred years old; some even see my election to the Presidency as America's attempt to show our European cousins that we too have a regard for antiquity.

Guildhall has been here since the 15th century and while it is comforting at my age to be near anything that much older than myself, the venerable age of this institution is hardly all that impresses. Who can come here and not think upon the moments these walls have seen: the many times the people of this city and nation have gathered here in national crisis or national triumph. In the darkest hours of the last world war -- when the tense drama of Edward R. Murrow's opening..."This is London"...was enough to impress on millions of Americans the mettle of the British people -- how many times in those days did proceedings continue here, a testimony to the cause of civilization for which you stood. From the Marne to El Alamein to Arnhem to the Falklands, you have in this century so often remained steadfast for what is right -- and against what is wrong. You are a brave people and this land truly, as your majestic, moving hymn proclaims, a "land of hope and glory." And

it is why Nancy and I -- in the closing days of this historic trip -- are glad to be in England once again. After a long journey, we feel among friends; and with all our hearts we thank you for having us here.

Such feelings are, of course, especially appropriate to this occasion; I have come from Moscow to report to the alliance and to all of you. I am especially pleased that this should happen here; for truly the relationship between the United States and Great Britain has been critical to the NATO alliance and the cause of freedom.

This hardly means we've always had a perfect understanding. When I first visited Mrs. Thatcher at the British Embassy in 1981, she mischievously reminded me that the huge portrait dominating the grand staircase was none other than that of George III. Though she did graciously concede that today most of her countrymen would agree with Jefferson that a little rebellion now and then is a good thing. I'm also reminded of a time when Sir Winston, who wasn't always as sedate as he appears over there (nods toward statue of seated, reflective Churchill), grew so exasperated with American diplomacy he called our Secretary of State, quote: "the only case I know of a bull who carries his own china shop with him."

On the other hand, we do hear stories from the French about your famous absorption with all things British, they even claim this headline actually appeared in a British newspaper: "Fog Covers Channel. Continent cut off."

So there has always been, as there should be among friends, an element of fun about our differences. But let me assure you it is how much we have in common...and the depth of our friendship...that truly matters. I have often mentioned this in the States but I have never had an opportunity to tell a British audience how during my first visit here more than 40 years ago I was, like most Americans, anxious to see some of the sights and those 400-year-old inns I had been told abound in this country. Well, a driver took me and a couple of other people to an old inn, a pub really, what we would call a "mom and pop place." This quite elderly lady was waiting on us, and finally, hearing us talk to each other, she said, "You're Americans, aren't you?" We said we were. "Oh," she said, "there were quite a lot of your young chaps down the road during the war, based down there." And she added, "They used to come in here of an evening, and they'd have songfest. And they called me Mom, and they called the old man Pop." Then her mood changed and she said, "It was Christmas Eve. And, you know, we were all alone and feeling a bit down. And, suddenly, in they came, burst through the door, and they had presents for me and Pop." And by this time she wasn't looking at us anymore. She was looking off into the distance and with tears in her eyes remembering that time. And she said, "Big strapping lads they was, from a place called Ioway."

From a place called Ioway. And Oregon, California, Texas, New Jersey, Georgia. Here with other young men from Lancaster, Hampshire, Glasgow and Dorset -- all of them caught up in the

terrible paradoxes of that time: that young men must wage war to end war; and die for freedom so that freedom itself might live.

And it is those same two causes for which they fought and died -- the cause of peace, the cause of freedom for all humanity -- that still bring us, British and American, together.

For these causes, the people of Great Britain, the United States and other allied nations have for 44 years made enormous sacrifices to keep our alliance strong and our military ready. For them, we embarked in this decade on a new post-war strategy, a forward strategy of freedom, a strategy of public candor about the moral and fundamental differences between statism and democracy but also a strategy of vigorous diplomatic engagement. A policy that rejects both the inevitability of war or the permanence of totalitarian rule; a policy based on realism that seeks not just treaties for treaties' sake but the recognition and resolution of fundamental differences with our adversaries.

The pursuit of this policy has just now taken me to Moscow and let me say: I believe this policy is bearing fruit. Quite possibly, we are beginning to take down the barriers of the post-war era; quite possibly, we are entering a new era in history, a time of lasting change in the Soviet Union. We will have to see. But if so; it is because of the steadfastness of the allies -- the democracies -- for more than 40 years, and especially in this decade.

I saw evidence of this change at the Kremlin. But before I report to you on events in Moscow, I hope you will permit me to say something that has been much on my mind for several years now

but most especially over the past few days while I was in the Soviet Union.

The history of our time will undoubtedly include a footnote about how during this decade and the last, the voices of retreat and hopelessness reached crescendo in the West -- insisting the only way to peace was unilateral disarmament; proposing nuclear freezes; opposing deployment of counterbalancing weapons such as intermediate-range missiles or the more recent concept of strategic defense systems.

These same voices ridiculed the notion of going beyond arms control -- the hope of doing something more than merely establishing artificial limits within which arms build-ups could continue all but unabated. Arms reduction would never work, they said, and when the Soviets left the negotiating table in Geneva for 15 months, they proclaimed disaster.

And yet it was our zero-option plan, much maligned when first proposed, that is the basis for the I.N.F. treaty, the first treaty ever that did not just control offensive weapons but reduced them and, yes, actually eliminated an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles. Similarly, just as these voices urged retreat or slow withdrawal at every point of Communist expansion, we have seen what a forward strategy for freedom and direct aid to those struggling for self-determination in Afghanistan can achieve.

This treaty, last month's development in Afghanistan, the changes we see in the Soviet Union -- these are momentous events. Not conclusive. But momentous.

And that is why although history will, as it has about the skeptics and naysayers of any time, duly note that we too heard voices of denial and doubt, it is those who spoke with hope and strength that will be best remembered. And here I want to say that through all the troubles of the last decade, one such firm, eloquent voice, a voice that proclaimed proudly the cause of the Western Alliance and human freedom, has been heard. A voice that never sacrificed its anti-Communist credentials or its realistic, appraisal of change in the Soviet Union, but because it came from the longest-serving leader in the Alliance, did become one of the first to suggest that we could "do business" with Mr. Gorbachev.

So let me discharge my first official duty here today. Prime Minister, the achievements of the Moscow summit as well as the Geneva and Washington summits say much about your valor and strength and by virtue of the office you hold, that of the British people. So let me say, simply: At this hour in history, Prime Minister, the entire world salutes you and your gallant people and gallant nation.

And while your leadership -- and the vision of the British people have been an inspiration not just to my own people but to all of those who love freedom and yearn for peace, I know you join me in a deep sense of gratitude towards the leaders and peoples of all the democratic allies. Whether deploying crucial weapons of deterrence, standing fast in the Persian Gulf, combating terrorism and aggression by outlaw regimes or helping freedom fighters around the globe, rarely in history has any alliance of free nations acted with such firmness and dispatch,

and on so many fronts. In a process reaching back as far as the founding of NATO and the Common Market, the House of Western Europe, together with the United States, Canada, Japan, and others -- this House of Democracy -- engaged in an active diplomacy while sparking a startling growth of democratic institutions and free markets all across the globe -- in short, an expansion of the frontiers of freedom and a lessening of the chances of war. So, history will record our time as the time of a renaissance for the democracies; a time when faced with those twin threats of nuclear terror and totalitarian rule that so darkened this century, the democracies ignored the voices of retreat and despair and found deep within themselves the resources for a renewal of strength and purpose.

So, it is within this context that I report now on events in Moscow.

Wednesday, at ____ Greenwich time, Mr. Gorbachev and I exchanged instruments of ratification of the I.N.F. treaty. So took, we made important progress toward the START treaty on strategic weapons. Such a treaty, with all its implications, is, I believe, now within our grasp.

But part of the realism and candor we were determined to bring to negotiations with the Soviets meant refusing to put all the weight of these negotiations and our bilateral relationship on the single issue of arms controls. We have understood full well that the agenda of discussion must be broadened to deal with the more fundamental differences between us. As I never tire of saying, nations do not mistrust each other because they are

armed, they are armed because they mistrust each other. So equally important items on the agenda dealt with critical issues like regional conflicts, human rights and bilateral exchanges.

With regard to regional conflicts, here too, we saw progress. We are now in the third week of the pull-out of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. The importance of this step should not be underestimated. We also continued discussion on Ethiopia, Angola, Cambodia, the Persian Gulf and the Middle East, and Central America.

Our third area of discussion was bilateral contacts between our peoples. An expanding program of student interchanges and the opening of cultural centers were the highlights here.

And, finally, the issue of human rights. I am pleased to tell you, Mr. Gorbachev and I made progress here. (etc)

And yet while the Moscow summit showed great promise and the response of the Soviet people was heartening; let me interject here a note of caution and, I hope, prudence. It has never been disputes between the free peoples and the peoples of the Soviet Union that have been at the heart of post-war tensions and conflicts. No, disputes among governments over the pursuit of a statist and expansionist ideology has been the central point in our difficulties.

Now that the allies are strong and the power of that ideology is receding around the world and in the Soviet Union, there is hope. And we look to this trend to continue. We must do all that we can to assist it. And this means openly acknowledging positive change. And crediting it.

But let us also remember the strategy we have adopted is one that provides for setbacks along the way as well as progress, indeed, just as our strategy anticipated positive change, it provides for the opposite as well. So, let us never engage in self-delusion; let us remember that the jury is not yet in. Let us embrace honest change when it occurs; but let us also be wary. And ever vigilant. Let us stay strong.

But let us be confident too. Prime Minister, perhaps you remember that upon accepting your gracious invitation to address the members of the Parliament in 1982, I suggested then that the world could well be at a turning point when the two great threats to life in this century -- nuclear war and totalitarian rule -- might now be overcome. In an accounting of what might lie ahead for the Western alliance, I suggested that the hard evidence of the totalitarian experiment was now in and that this evidence had led to an uprising of the intellect and will, one that reaffirmed the dignity of the individual in the face of the modern state.

I suggested, too, that in a way Marx was right when he said the political order would come into conflict with the economic order -- only he was wrong in predicting which part of the world this would occur in. For the crisis came not in the capitalist west but in the Communist east. Noting the economic difficulties reaching the critical stage in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, I said that at other times in history the ruling elites had faced such situations and, when they encountered resolve and determination from free nations, decided to loosen their grip. It was then I suggested that tides of history were running in the

cause of liberty but only if we as free men and women joined together in a worldwide movement toward democracy, a crusade for freedom, a crusade that would be not so much a struggle of armed might -- not so much a test of bombs and rockets as a test of faith and will.

Well, that crusade for freedom, that crusade for peace is well underway. We have found the will. We have held fast to the faith. And, whatever happens, whatever triumphs or disappointments ahead, we must keep to this strategy of strength and candor, this strategy of hope -- hope in the eventual triumph of freedom.

But as we move forward let us not fail to note the lessons we have learned along the way in developing our strategy. We have learned the first objective of the adversaries of freedom is to make free nations question their own faith in freedom, to make us think that adhering to our principles and speaking out against human rights abuses or foreign aggression is somehow an act of belligerence. Over the long run such inhibitions make free peoples taciturn, then silent; then confused about first principles and ultimately half-hearted about their cause. This is the first and most important defeat free nations can ever suffer. For truly, when free peoples cease telling the truth about and to their adversaries, they cease telling the truth to themselves. Unless the truth be spoken, it ceases to exist.

It is in this sense that the best indicator of how much we care about freedom is what we say about freedom; it is in this sense, words truly are actions. And there is one added and quite

extraordinary benefit to this sort of realism and public candor: This is also the best way to avoid war or conflict. Too often in the past the adversaries of freedom forgot the reserves of strength and resolve among free peoples, too often they interpreted conciliatory words as weakness, too often they miscalculated -- and underestimated the willingness of free men and women to resist to the end. Words of freedom remind them otherwise.

This is the lesson we have learned, the lesson of the last war and, yes, the lesson of Munich. But it is also the lesson taught us by Sir Winston, by London in the Blitz, by the enduring pride and faith of the British people.

Just a few years ago, Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth and I stood at the Normandy beaches to commemorate the selflessness that comes from such pride and faith. It is well we recall the lessons of our alliance. And, I wonder if you might permit me to recall one other this morning.

Operation MARKET GARDEN, it was called, 3 months after OVERLORD and the rescue of Europe began. A plan to suddenly drop British and American airborne divisions on the Netherlands and open up a drive into the heart of Germany. A battalion of British paratroopers was given the great task of seizing the bridge deep in enemy territory at Arnhem. For a terrible, terrible 10 days they held out. Some years ago, a reunion of those magnificent veterans, British, Americans and other of our allies was held in New York City. From the dispatch by New York Times reporter Maurice Carroll there was this paragraph: "'Look

at him,' said Henri Knap an Amsterdam newspaperman who headed the Dutch Underground's intelligence operation in Arnhem. He gestured toward General John Frost, a bluff Briton who had commanded the battalion that held the bridge. 'Look at him...still with that black moustache. If you put him at the end of a bridge even today and said 'keep it,' he'd keep it.'"

The story mentioned the wife of Cornelius Ryan, the American writer who immortalized MARKET GARDEN in his book, "A Bridge Too Far," who told the reporter that just as Mr. Ryan was finishing his book -- writing the final paragraphs about Colonel Frost's valiant stand at Arnhem and about how in his eyes his men would always be undefeated -- her husband burst into tears. That was quite unlike him; and Mrs. Ryan, alarmed, rushed to him. The writer could only look up and say of Colonel Frost: "Honestly, what that man went through...."

A few days ago, seated there in Spaso House with Soviet dissidents, I had that same thought. And asked myself: What won't men suffer for freedom?

The dispatch about the Arnhem veteran concluded with this quote from Colonel Frost about his visits to that bridge. "'We've been going back ever since. Every year we have a -- what's the word -- reunion. No, there's a word.' He turned to his wife, 'Dear what's the word for going to Arnhem?' 'Reunion,' she said. 'No,' he said, 'there's a special word.' She pondered, 'Pilgrimage,' she said. 'Yes, pilgrimage,'" Colonel Frost said.

As those veterans of Arnhem view their time, so too we must view ours; ours is also a pilgrimage, a pilgrimage towards those things we honor and love: human dignity, the hope of freedom for all peoples and for all nations. And I have always cherished the belief that all of history is such a pilgrimage and that our Maker, while never denying us free will does over time guide us with a wise and provident hand, giving direction to history and slowly bringing good from evil -- leading us ever so slowly but ever so relentlessly and lovingly to a moment when the will of man and God are as one again.

I cherish too the hope that what we have done together throughout this decade and in Moscow this week has helped bring mankind along the road of that pilgrimage. If this be so, prayerful recognition of what we are about as a civilization and a people have played its part. I mean, of course, the great civilized ideas that comprise so much of your heritage: the development of law embodied by your constitutional tradition, the idea of restraint on centralized power and individual rights as established in your Magna Carta, the idea of representative government as embodied by the mother of all parliaments.

But we go beyond even this. Your own Evelyn [EE-vel-lynn] Waugh [WAAH] who reminded us that "civilization -- and by this I do not mean talking cinemas and tinned food nor even surgery and hygienic houses but the whole moral and artistic organization of Europe -- has not in itself the power of survival." It came into being, he said, through the [Judeo-]Christian tradition and "without it has no significance or power to command allegiance.

It is no longer possible," he wrote, "to accept the benefits of civilisation and at the same time deny the supernatural basis on which it rests...."

So, it is first things we must consider. And here it is a story, one last story, that can remind us best of what we are about.

You know, we Americans are competitive and dislike losing. But judging from the popularity of this story in the United States, if we must lose, we must prefer doing it to you. In any case, it is a story that a few years ago came in the guise of that new art form of the modern world and for which I have an understandable affection -- the cinema, film, the movies.

It is a story about the 1920 Olympics and two British athletes. The story of British athlete Harold Abrahams, a young Jew, whose victory -- as his immigrant Arab-Italian coach put it -- was a triumph for all those who have come from distant lands and found freedom and refuge here in England.

It was the triumph too of Eric Liddell, a young Scotsman, who would not sacrifice religious conviction for fame. In one unforgettable scene, Eric Liddell reads the words of Isaiah. They speak to us now.

"He giveth power to the faint, and to them that have no might, he increased their strength...but they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength...they shall mount up with wings as eagles. They shall run and not be weary...."

Here then is our formula, our ultra secret for the years ahead, for completing our crusade for freedom. Here is the

strength of our civilization and the source of our belief in the rights of humanity. Our faith is in a higher law, a greater destiny. Yes, we believe in -- indeed, we see today evidence of -- prayer and its power. And like the founding fathers of both our lands, we posit human rights; we hold that humanity was meant not to be dishonored by the all-powerful state but to live in the image and likeness of him who made us.

More than five decades ago, an American President told his generation they had a rendezvous with destiny; at almost the same moment a Prime Minister asked the British people for their finest hour. Today, in the face of the twin threats of war and totalitarianism, this rendezvous, this finest hour is still upon us. Let us go forward then as on chariots of fire. Let us seek to do His will in all things, to stand for freedom, to speak for humanity.

"Come, my friends," as it was said of old by Tennyson, "it is not too late to seek a newer world."

STEVENS, BATJER, HOOLEY, HILDEBRAND, COURTEMANCHE
GRISCOM

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> UNCLASSIFIED <OSRI> RUEHMO <DTG> 041822Z MAY 88

<ORIG>FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

<TO>TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3085

<SUBJ>SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL VISIT - PRESS BOOKS

<TEXT>BT
UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 07 MOSCOW 11219
DEPT PASS WHITE HOUSE FOR J. HOOLEY AND J. HILDEBRAND
DEPT PASS NSC FOR M. BATJER
DEPT FOR S/S L. PASCOE, EUR/SOV M. PARRIS, A/TSS J. BULL
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: OVIP, (REAGAN, RONALD)
SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL VISIT - PRESS BOOKS
REF: STATE 139004
/--
1. PER REQUEST REFTEL, HEREWITH IS UNCLASSIFIED SITE INFORMATION FOR THE UPCOMING PRESIDENTIAL VISIT.
/--
2. THE DANILOV MONASTERY:
THE DANILOV MONASTERY WAS FOUNDED IN 1282 BY PRINCE DANIIL ALEKSANDROVICH, FROM WHOM IT TOOK ITS NAME. IN THE CENTURIES AFTER ITS FOUNDING IT PLAYED A KEY ROLE IN THE DEFENSE OF MOSCOW AGAINST NUMEROUS ATTACKS BY TATAR ARMIES. THE MONASTERY CONTAINS A NUMBER OF CHURCHES, INCLUDING THE CHURCH OF THE SEVEN ECUMENICAL COUNCILS (WHICH DATES TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY) AND THE TRINITY CHURCH (WHICH DATES TO THE NINETEENTH). THE MONASTERY WAS DISBANDED SHORTLY AFTER THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION OF 1917. UNTIL THE MONASTERY WAS RETURNED TO THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH IN 1983, IT SERVED AT VARIOUS TIMES AS AN OFFICE BUILDING, A WAREHOUSE, AND A PRISON.
/--
THE SOVIET STATE RETURNED THE DANILOV MONASTERY TO THE CHURCH IN 1983 IN A STATE OF ALMOST TOTAL RUIN. SINCE THEN, THE CHURCH HAS BEEN BUSILY RECONSTRUCTING THE MONASTERY IN PREPARATION FOR THE MILLENNIAL CELEBRATIONS. THE TOTAL COST WILL RUN SOME 20 MILLION RUBLES (APPROXIMATELY 30 MILLION DOLLARS AT CURRENT EXCHANGE RATES). THE COSTS HAVE REPORTEDLY BEEN BORNE IN FULL BY THE CHURCH. THAT IS A POINT OF GREAT PRIDE FOR THE CHURCH HIERARCHY.
/--
ONCE RESTORED, THE MONASTERY WILL SERVE AS THE ADMINISTRATIVE CENTER OF THE CHURCH, HOUSING BOTH THE PATRIARCH AND THE HOLY SYNOD. LOCATED CLOSE TO THE CENTER OF MOSCOW, IT IS A SYMBOL OF THE STATE'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE CHURCH AS AN IMPORTANT SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND -- IN THE CHURCH'S EYES -- OF ITS GROWING SOCIAL INFLUENCE AND POWER.
/--
3. MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY
OFFICIAL NAME: MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY (MGU) NAMED FOR MIKHAIL VASIL'EVICH LOMONOSOV
CURRENT HEAD: RECTOR ANATOLIY ALEKSEYEVICH LOGUNOV
VICE RECTOR FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

April 12, 1988

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. James Hooley
Director, Presidential Advance

FROM: Mark Ramee

SUBJECT: Material on Sites

Attached is information developed by the Embassy responding to informal requests from you and Tom Griscom on sites to be visited during the Summit.

The Ambassador has reviewed this material.

Attachments

- Danilov Monastery
- Moscow State University
- President's Reception for Dissidents/ Refuseniks: Proposed Guest List
- House of Writers

cc: POL/INT
P&C
Summit File
Mark Ramee

DANILOV MONASTERY

Religious Personalities: Persons to meet to discuss religious developments in the USSR

-- Filaret, Metropolitan of Minsk and Belorussia, Head of the Foreign Church Relations Department. Rumored to be a candidate to become the next Patriarch.

-- Pitirim, Metropolitan of Volokolamsk and Yur'ya, Head of the Publications Department. Also rumored to be a candidate to become the next Patriarch.

-- Kirill, Archbishop of Smolensk and Vyaz'ma. Church's expert on religious legislation.

-- Yuvenaly, Metropolitan of Krutiskiy and Kolomna. Member of the Holy Synod. Oversees canonization. Rumored to be a candidate to become the next Patriarch.

Names of monks engaged in restoring Icons at the monastery:

-- Feofaniy

-- Vladimir

-- Yuvenaliy

-- (other names to be added)

Background on the Danilov Monastery

The Danilov Monastery was founded in 1282 by Prince Daniil Aleksandrovich, from whom it took its name. In the centuries after its founding it played a key role in the defense of Moscow against numerous attacks by Tatar armies. The monastery contains a number of churches, including the Church of the Seven Ecumenical Councils (which dates to the sixteenth century) and the Trinity Church (which dates to the nineteenth). The monastery was disbanded shortly after the October Revolution of 1917. Until the monastery was returned to the Russian Orthodox Church in 1983, it served at various times as an office building, a warehouse, and a prison.

The Soviet State returned the Danilov Monastery to the Church in 1983 in a state of almost total ruin. Since then, the Church has been busily reconstructing the monastery in preparation for the millennial

celebrations. The total cost will run some 20 million rubles (approximately $30 million at current exchange rates). The costs have reportedly been borne in full by the Church. That is a point of great pride for the Church hierarchy.

Once restored, the monastery will serve as the administrative center of the Church, housing both the Patriarch and the Holy Synod. Located close to the center of Moscow, it is a symbol of the State's acceptance of the Church as an important social organization and -- in the Church's eyes -- of its growing social influence and power.

Possible points for Presidential comments/questions there.

-- The monastery has been restored with remarkable speed and care. Has the Soviet State been of assistance in the restoration work? Does the Church approach all restoration work with such great enthusiasm?

-- I understand the Church has recently received a number of other monasteries from the State that will require extensive restorations -- the Optina Monastery, the Tolgskiy Monastery -- and might soon receive the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev. The costs of restoring them must be quite high, in the millions of rubles. How will the Church raise the funds for restoring them?

-- Many Russian Icons are beautiful works of art. Most Christian denominations in the United States do not use Icons. What is the religious significance of Icons?

-- I understand the Church is planning a major celebration for the Millennium of Christianity in Russia, which unfortunately will begin after I have departed. What part of the celebration will take part in the monastery? How many people are you expecting? What role has the State played in preparation for the millennial celebrations?

-- The Soviet government is working on new legislation on religious organizations in the Soviet Union. What will be the key provisions of that legislation? To what extent will it be an advance over past legislation? What role has the Church played in formulating the new legislation? Is the Church satisfied?

-- Religion appears to be becoming an ever more important part of life for many Soviet citizens. How much has the Orthodox Church grown over the past decade? How do you explain that growth?

How Might the President Handle the Millennium

Christianity has played a major role in the development of the Russian State and society. Much of the great Russian literature of the nineteenth and early twentieth century found its inspiration in Orthodoxy. The President should give due recognition to those points. At the same time, the President should show an awareness of the religious diversity and multinational character of the Soviet Union. The President should note that the baptism of Russia served not only as the basis or Orthodoxy in Russia, Ukraine, and Belorussia, but also for many other Christian denominations, including most notably Catholicism in Ukraine. Moreover, the President should be aware that Christianity was not brought to the non-Slavic parts of the present-day Soviet Union by the Russians: for example, the Georgian and Armenian peoples became Christian much earlier than the Russians and Christianity came to the Baltic Region from Germany and Poland.

MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY

Brief description of event: President Reagan's Address to Faculty and Students of Moscow State University

Purpose: To provide the President with a forum from which to make a major address. To put the President before and to enable him to interact with a generation of young people and potential future leaders.

Venue: Attached is a brief description of Moscow State University.

Audience: Absent our intervention, the Soviets will go to some lengths to have what they consider the right audience on hand for the occasion. It will include a well-groomed, well-behaved mixture of young men and women, Slavs and non-Slavs, students and faculty, etc. Admittance to the hall will be a sought-after privilege. We can indicate to the Soviets our preferences, e.g., that there be many English speakers, that students come from a variety of disciplines, that resident American students be allowed to attend, that students aged 18-22 predominate, etc.

Questions: As noted, Soviet habit is to send written questions to the stage, where a host selects and passes presumably representative questions to the speaker. This procedure could be implemented in the case of the President. However, the Soviets would in all likelihood also accede to our suggestion that oral questions be allowed, with individuals coming to one or two microphones. In either case, we could expect a mixture of education and non-education issues to arise.

Attachment:

Description of MGU

Moscow State University Background Notes

Official Name: **Moscow State University (MGU) named for Mikhail Vasil'evich Lomonosov**

Current Head: Rector Anatoliy Alekseyevich Logunov

Vice Rector for International Relations Vladimir Ivanovich Tropin

Founded: 1755 by the scientist M.V. Lomonosov

Student Population: (approx.) 30,000 Undergraduates
(approx.) 5,000 Graduate

Moscow State University (pronounced in Russian as M-Geh-OO) is a state financed and operated institution of higher education. It is the largest and oldest continuously operating university in the USSR.

Admission to MGU is very competitive. Tuition is free and most students receive a small stipend while they attend the university. A Bachelors degree normally requires five to six years. MGU also awards advanced degrees up to and including the doctorate degree.

Moscow University was founded in 1755 by the famous scholar Mikhail Vasil'evich Lomonosov. Lomonosvov was a brilliant scientist, but he is best known for writing a Russian grammar which served as a basic text for decades. He is considered a founder of classical literary Russian. Lomonosov modelled Moscow University after universities in Germany where he had studied.

In 1953 MGU moved to its current location in the large (Stalin) building in Lenin Hills.

During the 1987-88 academic year, approximately 35 American students and professors will study, teach and conduct research at MGU. A variety of American institutions have exchanges with MGU under the 1985 Exchanges agreement. Some of these are: IREX (International Research and Exchanges Board), IIE (Institute for International Education), the State University of New York, and the State University of New York. In addition, Tufts and MGU teach a joint course on the History of the Nuclear Arms Race. American and Soviet students are linked via satellite and share an identical syllabus.

MGU is comprised of many faculties and four research insititutes.

Faculties: Mechanical - Mathematical
Calculative Mathemathematics and Cybernetics
Physics
Chemical
Biology
Soil Science
Geology
Geography
Philosophy
History
Economics
Philology
Journalism
Psychology
Law
Institute of Asian and African Countries
Dept. of Social Science

Research Institutes: Nuclear Physics
Astronomy
Mechanical
Anthropology

The university also includes a Research Statistics Center, a botanical garden, four astronomy observatories, a museum and a zoo.

PRESIDENT'S SPEECH: SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Make-Up of Audience--Although the audience should represent the broad spectrum of MGU faculty and students, we strongly believe that the large majority of participants should be comprised of younger people, i.e. undergraduate students. Among faculty, we recommend that we specifically invite representatives from each of the many faculties. There should, however, be an emphasis on social science scholars (especially from the history, journalism, and law departments), who will be the most informed about American life and U.S.-Soviet relations. We should also invite a small number of government officials who hold key executive positions in the area of higher education (primarily from the Central Committee and the State Committee for Public Education).

dience participation--we should encourage a dialogue between
e President and his audience. We expect that any questions
rected to the President will be for the most part upbeat and
ncontentious. Some potential themes are:

esident's perception of Soviet Union
How it has changed since his characterization of the U.S.S.R. as "evil empire";

President's impressions of perestroika and other changes in the country under Gorbachev.

ıs control
Possibilities for a START agreement, a test ban agreement, and a nuclear freeze.

Why the U.S. insists on deploying SDI.

. politics
Presidential elections: who will be nominated and elected and who the President endorses. Possibilties for continuation of Administration Soviet policy under new President.

Military: influence of "military-industrial complex" in shaping defense policy.

Congress: relations with White House, role in budget process and treaty ratification.

Social problems: why has government not done more to provide jobs and house the homeless.

- Soviet cooperation:
Trade: potential for increased trade, why the U.S. has such strict export regulations for the U.S.S.R..

Educational exchanges: potential for expansion.

Joint scientific projects, particularly in areas of space and nuclear fission.

HOUSE OF WRITERS

Brief description of event: Luncheon in honor of the President hosted by the USSR Union of Writers.

Purpose: To give the President an opportunity to talk with and answer questions from one of the most influential groups in Soviet society -- the creative intelligentsia. To convey the image of a President interested in the arts in the broadest sense of the term. To support the reform movement in the USSR.

Guest List: Potentially the most delicate aspect of the event. Problems: (1) For every one friend we make with an invitation, we offend two others by not inviting them. (2) Certain individuals would expect to be invited for protocol reasons (we should keep them to a minimum), even though they may not be among those whom we describe as "reformers." Attached is a "notional" list of potential invitees from various disciplines -- writers, artists, cineasts, actors, musicians, journalists -- whom we would propose to suggest to the Writers' Union. All are in the forefront of the reform movement in this country; we doubt that their inclusion would stir opposition, except to the extent that seats will be limited.

Writers' Union: Both a symbolically important organization and venue for this sort of event; background material is attached.

Potential questions: Generally non-hostile but nevertheless probing. A few examples: Who is your favorite American (Soviet) author? Why doesn't the U.S. publish more literature by Soviet authors (to match what is published here by American authors)? Why does the U.S. Government provide so little direct support to the arts? What Soviet films have been shown in the U.S.?

A P&C suggestion: When Gorbachev went to the U.S. in December, he took with him a number of intellectuals (all of whom are included in the attached list). This reflected Soviet thinking that Americans would be interested in meeting and hearing from such people -- just as the Soviets would be interested in meeting and hearing from American creative elite. One might want to consider the possibility of the President inviting three or four prominent American artists -- a painter, an actor

or film producer, a writer and a singer or composer -- to accompany him to Moscow as part of his official party. These individuals would be available to meet with their counterparts during the Summit (they would be received with open arms) and to accompany the President to the Writers' Union. Far from detracting from the President, they would enhance his image and reinforce the message of American interest in the arts. (Some support this for the reasons noted above. Others believe it could deflect attention from the President and the more serious aspects of the Summit.)

Attachments:

1. Guest List
2. Background on Writers' Union
3. Bio of Vladimir Karpov

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HOUSE OF WRITERS GUEST LIST (FIRST DRAFT)

Afanas'ev, Yuriy	Director, State Historical Archives Administration
Abuladze, Tengiz	Georgian Filmmaker ("Repentance")
Aitmatov, Chingiz	Kirghiz author and playwright
Alperin, Mikhail	Jazz Pianist
Baklanov, Grigoriy	Editor, monthly magazine "Znamya" (Banner)
Barudin, Sergey	Editor, monthly magazine "Druzhba Narodov" (Friendship of Peoples)
Belyayev, Al'bert	Editor-in-Chief, "Sovetskaya Kul'tura"
Bitov, Andrey	Author
Bovin, Aleksandr	Political Commentator, "Izvestiya"
Burlatskiy, Fedor	Playwright and journalist ("Literaturnaya Gazeta")
Dodin, Lev	Artistic Director, Maliy Drama Theater (Leningrad)
Fokin, B	Artistic Director, Yermolev Theater
Gelman, Aleksandr	Playwright
Glazunov, Il'ya	Popular Artist
Grushin, B.A.	Deputy Director of the All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion
Gubenko, Nikolay	Artistic director, Taganka Theater; actor

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

Kancheli, Giya	Composer, Head of Georgian Composers Union
Karpov, Vladimir	Head, USSR Writers Union
Klimov, Elim	Filmmaker, actor; Head of Union of Cinematographers
Korotich, Vitaliy	Editor of weekly magazine, "Ogonyek" (Little Flame)
Kulikov, Boris	Rector, Moscow Conservatory
Lavrov, Kiril	Head, Union of Theater Workers
Medvedyev, Roy	Historian (non-conformist)
Mikhalkov, Nikita	Film Director
Mussalitin, Vladimir	Editor-in-Chief, "Sovietsky Pisatel" (Soviet Writer)
Okudzhava, Bulat	Singer, poet
Pokrovskiy, Boris	Director, Chamber Opera Theater

Popov, Evgeniy	Author
Popov, Kirill	Economist and Editor-in-Chief of "Voprosiy Economiki"
Pristavkin, Anatoliy	Author
Radzinskiy, Eduard	Playwright
Rasputin, Valentin	Author
Rozovskiy, Mark	Playwright
Rozhdestvenskiy, Gennadiy	Orchestra Director
Rybakov, Anatoliy	Author ("Children of the Arbat")
Ryazanov, Eldar	Filmmaker ("Forgotten Melody for the Flute")
Salakhov, Tair	First Secretary, Union of Artists
Shatrov, Mikhail	Playwright ("Brest Peace")
Shchedrin, Rodion	Composer, Head of RSFSR Composers Union
Shnitke, Alfred	Composer
Smirnov, Georgiy L.	Director, Institute of Marxism-Leninism
Soloukin, Vladimir	Author
Solovev, Sergey	Filmmaker ("Assa")
Tabakov, Oleg	Actor, Director
Temirkanov, Yuriy	Artistic Director, Kirov Theater (Leningrad); Director, Leningrad Symphony Orchestra
Tolstaya, Natal'ya	Writer, Great Granddaughter of Tol'stoy

Tolstaya, Tatyana	Author
Tovstonogov, Georgiy	Artistic Director, Bolshoi Drama Theater (Leningrad)
Ugarov, Boris	President, Academy of Arts
Ul'yanov, Mikhail	Actor, Chairman Head of Russian Union of Theater Workers; Director Vakhtangov Theatre
Vasnetsov, Andrey	Chairman, Union of Artists
Voronin, Sergey	Poet and Head of the CPSU Central Committee Cultural Department
Voznesenskiy, Andrey	Poet
Yakovlev, Yegor	Chief Editor, "Moscow News"
Yefremov, Oleg	Artistic Diector, Moscow Arts Theater
Yerofeyev, Viktor	Author
Zakharov, Mark	Artistic Director, LenKomsomol Theater
Zalygin, Sergey	Chief Editor, monthly magazine "Novyy Mir" (New World); Author; leader of environmental protection movement
Zaslavskaya, T. I.	Academician

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THE USSR UNION OF WRITERS

The USSR Union of Writers is "a voluntary public creative organization that joins together the professional literary people of the Soviet Union, who through their creative work participate in the struggle for building Communism, for social progress, for peace and friendship among nations."

This provision from the Union's by-laws illustrates the Union's ambiguous position in the Soviet system. On the one hand, the Union of Writers is a professional association, which since its inception in the early 1930's has at one time or another included virtually every important writer in the USSR -- from Pasternak (expelled from the Union in the late 1950's), Sholokhov, Gorky, and Akhmatova in the early days to Yevtushenko, Voznesenskiy, and Rasputin today. As such, it would ordinarily be expected to represent writers and, when possible, act as a "pressure group" or "lobby" to defend their interests.

On the other hand, notwithstanding its status as a "public organization," the Union of Writers has been the instrument by which the Party has exerted control over the writers, imposed its aesthetic standards ("Socialist realism"), and generally sought to manage Soviet culture. As such, it has been a classic "transmission belt" for implementing decisions of the Central Committee on literary matters.

Membership. Membership in the USSR Union of Writers is about 10,000. Since admission to membership is based on a variety of considerations that are not necessarily literary, it is fair to say that only a minority of members can be considered genuine writers. Most are literary publicists and propagandists.

Battles over admission to membership are not uncommon, and often are politically symbolic. In February 1988, Tatyana Tolstaya and two other "liberal" writers were denied admission while two "conservatives" were granted admission. This turn of events is considered an indication of the growing strength of the Russophile movement. In March 1988, Viktor Yerofeyev and Yevgeniy Popov were readmitted to the Union after having been expelled subsequent to the "Metropol' incident" of the late 1970's. This event, long-awaited in Moscow, was seen as a victory for the "liberals" in the Union.

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BY LOJ NARA, DATE 7/26/00

Central Organs. The highest authority in the USSR Union of Writers is the All-Union Congress, which is supposed to be held every three years. In practice, however, Writers' Congresses have been much more infrequent. The last Congress was the Eighth Congress, held in Moscow in mid-1986.

The Congress elects a Board to run the Union of Writers between Congresses. The Board is large, with more than 100 members. The current Board differs from its predecessors in having more real writers and fewer literary bureaucrats; however, the latter are still in the majority. The Board, in turn, appoints a Secretariat, consisting of fewer members, to perform the day-to-day business of the Union. The Foreign Commission is responsible for the Union's relations with foreign writers and organizations.

The Chairman of the Union of Writers is G.M. Markov, who was "kicked upstairs" into this largely honorific position at the last Writers' Congress. The First Secretary is V.V. Karpov, a respected writer who has written primarily on World War II. (See attached biography).

In theory, the governing organs of the Union answer to the membership, and at Congresses and other meetings through the years, a number of courageous writers -- Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn at the Fourth Congress in 1967, for example -- have made attempts to assert the principle of democracy in the Union. In practice, however, a small group within the Secretariat dominates the Union, and those who transgress its written or unwritten rules are in danger of being expelled.

Republic Unions of Writers and Local Writers' Organizations. The territorial structure of the USSR Union of Writers generally reflects the Soviet territorial-administrative structure. Each of the 15 Soviet Republics, including the RSFSR, has its own Union of Writers. There are also two city organizations -- Moscow (about 2,000 members) and Leningrad -- as well as 16 Unions of autonomous republics, four Unions of autonomous oblasts, and 55 local organizations in the RSFSR.

Some of these organizations are known for their distinct iedological cast. For example, the Moscow organization is considered more "conservative" than the USSR Union, and the RSFSR Union is considered more "conservative," even "ultra-nationalist." In addition, there have been intense national rivalries among Soviet writers. For years, it has commonly been said that Russian writers have "carried" a horde of "untalented" non-Russian writers greedy for the soft literary life, and the last Congress was the

scene of a heated exchange between "Russian nationalist" writers and Georgian writers. Recently, however, some of the best Soviet literature has come from non-Russian writers, such as Anatolii Kim (Korean by origin, but writes in Russian), Otar Chiladze (Georgian), and Grant Matevosian (Armenian).

The KGB Connection. The KGB has representatives in key positions in the Union of Writers. The top KGB man is widely reputed to be Yu. N. Verchenko, Secretary of the Board, who occupies the office right next to that of First Secretary Karpov. There are Verchenko counterparts on the RSFSR and other Republic boards, and in the Moscow organization as well.

The Foreign Commission is also considered a KGB stronghold. Its current chairman, Genrikh Borovik, is known to have KGB ties. Many of the Foreign Commission's "consultants," who often accompany visiting foreign writers during their visits to the USSR, are thought to work with, if not for, the KGB.

Some well-known Soviet writers are thought to be KGB or to work closely with the KGB. One is the poet Robert Rozhdestvenskiy, who is often accused of being a KGB general. Similar accusations, neither proved nor disproved, have been leveled at Yevgeny Yevtushenko.

Publications. The USSR Union of Writers puts out about 140 newspapers, journals, and other periodicals. It publishes one of the leading newspapers in the USSR -- "Literaturnaya Gazeta" (Literary Gazette), a weekly newspaper meant primarily for the intelligentsia, with a circulation of about 3.8 million.

The USSR Union of Writers also publishes a number of "thick" literary journals, which for many years have served as a forum for conducting thinly veiled debates about policy and current issues. The leading journals at present are "Novyy Mir" (New World) and "Znamya" (Banner), under Chief Editors Sergei Zalygin and Grigoriy Baklanov, respectively. Both journals have published a number of long-banned and controversial works and are considered to be in the forefront of the movement for glasnost and perestroika.

Finally, the USSR Union of Writers controls an empire of publishing houses. "Literaturnaia Gazeta" and "Sovetskiy Pisatel'" (Soviet Writer) are the central publishing houses in Moscow, and each of the Republic organizations has its own publishing house.

Each of the Republic Unions also has its own publications, usually one newspaper and two "thick" journals (one in Russian and the

other in the leading non-Russian language of the Republic). The Republic publications are worthy of attention, because they often present points of view that differ from the standard "party" line.

In the RSFSR, for example, the journals "Nash Sovremennik" (Our Contemporary) and "Moskva" (Moscow) often reflect a "nationalist" or "Russian" viewpoint that can be implicitly critical of official policy. In the non-Russian republics, the local literary journals often express the "national" sentiments of the non-Russian nationalities in the Republic.

RONALD W. REAGAN LIBRARY

THIS FORM MARKS THE FILE LOCATION OF ITEM NUMBER 2 LISTED ON THE WITHDRAWAL SHEET AT THE FRONT OF THIS FOLDER.

Nomination of George Nesterczuk To Be Deputy Director of the United States Information Agency
June 5, 1984

The President today announced his intention to nominate George Nesterczuk to be Deputy Director of the United States Information Agency. He would succeed Leslie Lenkowsky.

Since 1981 he has been with the Office of Personnel Management and is presently serving as Associate Director for Workforce and Effectiveness Development. From 1977 to 1981, he was scientific consultant and senior scientist for EG & G Washington Analytical Services Center, Inc. At that time he also served as a consultant for the Ukrainian National Information Service in Washington, DC. He was vice president and chief scientist for Atlantic Science Corp. from 1972 to 1977.

He is a member of the American Astronomical Society, the American Geophysical Union, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and the New York Academy of Science.

He graduated from Cornell University (B.A., 1967) and the University of Maryland (M.S., 1971). He is presently a candidate for a Ph.D. at the University of Maryland. He is married and resides in Greenbelt, MD. He was born May 21, 1945, in Asch, West Germany.

Remarks at a Meeting With Conservative Members of the British Parliament
June 6, 1984

[*Inaudible*]—meeting with Conservative M.P.s. I thank you, Mr. Peter Viggers, and I thank all of you for your kind words and for your strong support for our efforts to preserve peace with freedom in our troubled world.

Your remarks are particularly timely, today being the 40th anniversary of D-day, as the Ambassador said. In all the 20th century, D-day stands as the shining example of what free nations can do when united and inspired by mankind's highest ideals.

I understand that your group is composed of Members of Parliament who were elected for the first time last June. And please accept my congratulations on the honor you've been accorded in joining the Mother of Parliaments. As younger Members of the House of Commons, you've reached maturity in a divided world. You may have heard that I come from a slightly older generation. Ours lived as adults through the most severe test in history for freedom-loving people.

So, I'm very gratified to see that those vital lessons learned by my generation—lessons about the wisdom of collective defense and about the need for allied strength and unity to defend free institutions—have been learned as well by all of you.

Today in Europe, peace through strength is not a slogan; it is a fact of life. There is another important lesson we've learned: While we remain strong, we must always be ready for reconciliation, ready to resolve differences with our adversaries and resolve them peacefully at the negotiating table.

I want you and your fellow citizens in Britain to know the United States is seeking, and we will continue to seek, cooperation with the Soviet Union to make our world a safer place. Continued public support for collective security in all NATO countries is absolutely essential. I thank you for all that you're doing to foster that support. You can be proud that you're members of a fraternity within the free nations who have assumed the heavy burden of working for both peace and liberty.

the words of Stephen Spender's poem. You are men who in your "lives fought for life . . . and left the vivid air signed with your honor."

I think I know what you may be thinking right now—thinking "we were just part of a bigger effort; everyone was brave that day." Well, everyone was. Do you remember the story of Bill Millin of the 51st Highlanders? Forty years ago today, British troops were pinned down near a bridge, waiting desperately for help. Suddenly, they heard the sound of bagpipes, and some thought they were dreaming. Well, they weren't. They looked up and saw Bill Millin with his bagpipes, leading the reinforcements and ignoring the smack of the bullets into the ground around him.

Lord Lovat was with him—Lord Lovat of Scotland, who calmly announced when he got to the bridge, "Sorry I'm a few minutes late," as if he'd been delayed by a traffic jam, when in truth he'd just come from the bloody fighting on Sword Beach, which he and his men had just taken.

There was the impossible valor of the Poles who threw themselves between the enemy and the rest of Europe as the invasion took hold, and the unsurpassed courage of the Canadians who had already seen the horrors of war on this coast. They knew what awaited them there, but they would not be deterred. And once they hit Juno Beach, they never looked back.

All of these men were part of a rollcall of honor with names that spoke of a pride as bright as the colors they bore: the Royal Winnipeg Rifles, Poland's 24th Lancers, the Royal Scots Fusiliers, the Screaming Eagles, the Yeomen of England's armored divisions, the forces of Free France, the Coast Guard's "Matchbox Fleet" and you, the American Rangers.

Forty summers have passed since the battle that you fought here. You were young the day you took these cliffs; some of you were hardly more than boys, with the deepest joys of life before you. Yet, you risked everything here. Why? Why did you do it? What impelled you to put aside the instinct for self-preservation and risk your lives to take these cliffs? What inspired all the men of the armies that met here? We look at you, and somehow we know the answer. It was faith and belief; it was loyalty and love.

The men of Normandy had faith that what they were doing was right, faith that they fought for all humanity, faith that a just God would grant them mercy on this beachhead or on the next. It was the deep knowledge—and pray God we have not lost it—that there is a profound, moral difference between the use of force for liberation and the use of force for conquest. You were here to liberate, not to conquer, and so you and those others did not doubt your cause. And you were right not to doubt.

You all knew that some things are worth dying for. One's country is worth dying for, and democracy is worth dying for, because it's the most deeply honorable form of government ever devised by man. All of you loved liberty. All of you were willing to fight tyranny, and you knew the people of your countries were behind you.

The Americans who fought here that morning knew word of the invasion was spreading through the darkness back home. They fought—or felt in their hearts, though they couldn't know in fact, that in Georgia they were filling the churches at 4 a.m., in Kansas they were kneeling on their porches and praying, and in Philadelphia they were ringing the Liberty Bell.

Something else helped the men of D-day: their rockhard belief that Providence would have a great hand in the events that would unfold here; that God was an ally in this great cause. And so, the night before the invasion, when Colonel Wolverton asked his parachute troops to kneel with him in prayer he told them: Do not bow your heads, but look up so you can see God and ask His blessing in what we're about to do. Also that night, General Matthew Ridgway on his cot, listening in the darkness for the promise God made to Joshua: "I will not fail thee nor forsake thee."

These are the things that impelled them; these are the things that shaped the unity of the Allies.

When the war was over, there were lives to be rebuilt and governments to be returned to the people. There were nations to be reborn. Above all, there was a new peace to be assured. These were huge and

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daunting tasks. But the Allies summoned strength from the faith, belief, loyalty, and love of those who fell here. They rebuilt a new Europe together.

There was first a great reconciliation among those who had been enemies, all of whom had suffered so greatly. The United States did its part, creating the Marshall plan to help rebuild our allies and our former enemies. The Marshall plan led to the Atlantic alliance—a great alliance that serves to this day as our shield for freedom, for prosperity, and for peace.

In spite of our great efforts and successes, not all that followed the end of the war was happy or planned. Some liberated countries were lost. The great sadness of this loss echoes down to our own time in the streets of Warsaw, Prague, and East Berlin. Soviet troops that came to the center of this continent did not leave when peace came. They're still there, uninvited, unwanted, unyielding, almost 40 years after the war. Because of this, allied forces still stand on this continent. Today, as 40 years ago, our armies are here for only one purpose—to protect and defend democracy. The only territories we hold are memorials like this one and graveyards where our heroes rest.

We in America have learned bitter lessons from two World Wars: It is better to be here ready to protect the peace, than to take blind shelter across the sea, rushing to respond only after freedom is lost. We've learned that isolationism never was and never will be an acceptable response to tyrannical governments with an expansionist intent.

But we try always to be prepared for peace; prepared to deter aggression; prepared to negotiate the reduction of arms; and, yes, prepared to reach out again in the spirit of reconciliation. In truth, there is no reconciliation we would welcome more than a reconciliation with the Soviet Union, so, together, we can lessen the risks of war, now and forever.

It's fitting to remember here the great losses also suffered by the Russian people during World War II: 20 million perished, a terrible price that testifies to all the world the necessity of ending war. I tell you from my heart that we in the United States do not want war. We want to wipe from the face of the Earth the terrible weapons that man now has in his hands. And I tell you, we are ready to seize that beachhead. We look for some sign from the Soviet Union that they are willing to move forward, that they share our desire and love for peace, and that they will give up the ways of conquest. There must be a changing there that will allow us to turn our hope into action.

We will pray forever that some day that changing will come. But for now, particularly today, it is good and fitting to renew our commitment to each other, to our freedom, and to the alliance that protects it.

We are bound today by what bound us 40 years ago, the same loyalties, traditions, and beliefs. We're bound by reality. The strength of America's allies is vital to the United States, and the American security guarantee is essential to the continued freedom of Europe's democracies. We were with you then; we are with you now. Your hopes are our hopes, and your destiny is our destiny.

Here, in this place where the West held together, let us make a vow to our dead. Let us show them by our actions that we understand what they died for. Let our actions say to them the words for which Matthew Ridgway listened: "I will not fail thee nor forsake thee."

Strengthened by their courage, heartened by their value [valor], and borne by their memory, let us continue to stand for the ideals for which they lived and died.

Thank you very much, and God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 1:20 p.m. at the site of the U.S. Ranger Monument at Pointe du Hoc, France, where veterans of the Normandy invasion had assembled for the ceremony.

Following his remarks, the President unveiled memorial plaques to the 2d and 5th Ranger Battalions. Then, escorted by Phil Rivers, superintendent of the Normandy American Cemetery, the President and Mrs. Reagan proceeded to the interior of the observation bunker. On leaving the bunker, the President and Mrs. Reagan greeted each of the veterans.

Other Allied countries represented at the

ceremony by their heads of state and government were: Queen Elizabeth II of the United Kingdom, Queen Beatrix of The Netherlands, King Olav V of Norway, King Baudouin I of Belgium, Grand Duke Jean of Luxembourg, and Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau of Canada.

Interview With Walter Cronkite of CBS News in Normandy, France
June 6, 1984

Mr. Cronkite. Mr. President, it's quite a day out here. We're observing the fact that American soldiers can do the impossible as represented here at Pointe du Hoc when they're commanded to, but, on the other hand, at a terrible cost, isn't it?

The President. Yes. As I said in my remarks, 225 of them came up those cliffs, and 2 days later, there were only 90 of them able to take part in combat.

Mr. Cronkite. Mr. President, you know, this war—World War II, that is—was called a popular war, as opposed to the actions we've had recently—Vietnam, Lebanon, Grenada, I suppose. What are the conditions it takes to have a popular war, for heaven sakes?

The President. Well, I doubt that any war can be—if we really describe it, can be popular. No one wants it. But here was a case in which the issues of right and wrong were so clearly defined and delineated before we even got into the war. And then we didn't choose to pull the trigger; the trigger was pulled at us. And we were in a war as of a Sunday morning, December 7th, in the Pacific.

And I've always remembered my first assignment as a reserve officer called to active duty was at the port of embarkation in San Francisco. And it was a job as liaison officer loading the convoys for out in the Pacific. And standing at the foot of the gangplank one day as they—coming along full pack and gear and everything, ready to go up the gangplank—and one of them—there was a pause, a hitch in the line—one standing there, just a youngster. And I said, "How do you feel?"

"Well," he said, "I don't want to go." He said, "None of us want to go." But he said, "We all know, the shortest way home is through Tokyo."

Mr. Cronkite. You know, now we're in the nuclear age, and as terrible as this war was, is it possible in a nuclear age that we would have another war that could be restricted to anything as horrible as this even?

The President. Walter, I have said, and will continue to say, a nuclear war cannot be won. It must never be fought. And this is why the goal must be to rid the world once and for all of those weapons.

Mr. Cronkite. You don't think we could fight a strategic war like this without invoking nuclear weapons?

The President. Well, this we don't know. But if it was ever to resort to those weapons—we did, in World War II, we saw the power of deterrence. All the nations had chemical warfare, had gas. But it was never used, because everyone had it. Maybe the same thing would apply in—with regard to nuclear war. But why take that chance? If everybody is having the weapons as a deterrent to the other, then let's do away with the deterrents.

Mr. Cronkite. Do you—you had some remarks prepared. I don't think you got a chance to deliver them in a foreshortened speech in Ireland in which you said that you were optimistic that perhaps we could get nuclear limitation talks going again with the Soviets. What gives you cause for that optimism?

The President. I just think common sense. I think right now the Soviet Union is—well, there was an article in The Economist that sort of described it. They're hibernating. We're so used to thinking that they're always in the midst of some kind of devious plan. I just don't think they have any answers right now, and they're sort of hunkered down trying to decide.

Mr. Cronkite. Do we have a plan?

The President. What?

Mr. Cronkite. Do we have a plan?

The President. Yes, and the plan is to—we have maintained contact. We're negotiating other things of mutual interest to the two countries, making some progress on them. But on those talks—my idea of the goal is if we can once start down the road of achieving reductions in the armaments, I just have to believe that we'll see the common sense in continuing down the road and eliminating them.

Mr. Cronkite. Have you had a chance with your busy schedule on this tour to catch up with the fact that the Soviets on this anniversary, the 40th anniversary of D-day, are making much of the fact that they've cited before—a fact, I mean, by their token, of the fiction that we deliberately delayed this landing by 2 years in order that the Germans would eat up the Soviets by attrition, and that we came ashore virtually unopposed because of connivance with the Germans. Have you heard that they're repeating that all over Europe?

The President. Oh, I know that. As a matter of fact, recently, our ceremony for the funeral of the unknown soldier from Vietnam, they referred to that as "a militaristic orgy." I sometimes wonder——

Mr. Cronkite. No reference to Afghanistan, huh?

The President. I wonder sometimes, when they talk about heated rhetoric coming from me, doesn't anyone listen to what they're saying? But how anyone could say that this was an almost unopposed landing, we know better. And the evidence is right here; and the survivors, many of them, are right here.

They had not won the war, and we had not delayed for any reason of that kind. I have some reason for saying that, because my own war service was spent in a unit that was directly under Air Corps Intelligence, and we had access to all the intelligence information about things, even including this. And there was an awful lot of war to be fought.

Mr. Cronkite. Yes. As a matter of fact, you know, 40,000 airmen gave their lives over Europe. I covered the Air Force as a correspondent, and I think of that. When you talk about 10,000 dying here on D-day, 40,000 died in order to get the Luftwaffe out of the skies before D-day——

The President. Yes.

Mr. Cronkite. ——or this wouldn't have been possible.

Let me ask you one more question before you have to go. Speaking of wars and political campaigns, what's your plan for D-day against Mondale, Hart, or whoever it is?

The President. Just tell them what we've done and what we're going to do and pretend they're not there. [*Laughter*]

Mr. Cronkite. Well, you may have to climb a hundred-foot cliff, but I guess you've got your weapons—[*laughter*]—at your ready.

The President. Yes.

Mr. Cronkite. Thank you very much, Mr. President.

The President. Well, it's good to see you again.

Mr. Cronkite. Thank you.

Note: The interview began at 2:50 p.m. at Pointe du Hoc. At the conclusion of the interview, the President and Mrs. Reagan departed Pointe du Hoc and traveled to Omaha Beach.

Remarks at a United States-France Ceremony Commemorating the 40th Anniversary of the Normandy Invasion, D-day

June 6, 1984

Mr. President, distinguished guests, we stand today at a place of battle, one that 40 years ago saw and felt the worst of war. Men bled and died here for a few feet of—

or inches of sand, as bullets and shellfire cut through their ranks. About them, General Omar Bradley later said, "Every man who set foot on Omaha Beach that day was a hero."

No speech can adequately portray their suffering, their sacrifice, their heroism. President Lincoln once reminded us that through their deeds, the dead of battle have spoken more eloquently for themselves than any of the living ever could. But we can only honor them by rededicating ourselves to the cause for which they gave a last full measure of devotion.

Today we do rededicate ourselves to that cause. And at this place of honor, we're humbled by the realization of how much so many gave to the cause of freedom and to their fellow man.

Some who survived the battle of June 6, 1944, are here today. Others who hoped to return never did.

"Someday, Lis, I'll go back," said Private First Class Peter Robert Zanatta, of the 37th Engineer Combat Battalion, and first assault wave to hit Omaha Beach. "I'll go back, and I'll see it all again. I'll see the beach, the barricades, and the graves."

Those words of Private Zanatta come to us from his daughter, Lisa Zanatta Henn, in a heart-rending story about the event her father spoke of so often. "In his words, the Normandy invasion would change his life forever," she said. She tells some of his stories of World War II but says of her father, "the story to end all stories was D-day."

"He made me feel the fear of being on that boat waiting to land. I can smell the ocean and feel the seasickness. I can see the looks on his fellow soldiers' faces—the fear, the anguish, the uncertainty of what lay ahead. And when they landed, I can feel the strength and courage of the men who took those first steps through the tide to what must have surely looked like instant death."

Private Zanatta's daughter wrote to me: "I don't know how or why I can feel this emptiness, this fear, or this determination, but I do. Maybe it's the bond I had with my father. All I know is that it brings tears to my eyes to think about my father as a 20-year-old boy having to face that beach."

The anniversary of D-day was always special for her family. And like all the families of those who went to war, she describes how she came to realize her own father's survival was a miracle: "So many men died. I know that my father watched many of his friends be killed. I know that he must have died inside a little each time. But his explanation to me was, 'You did what you had to do, and you kept on going.' "

When men like Private Zanatta and all our allied forces stormed the beaches of Normandy 40 years ago they came not as conquerors, but as liberators. When these troops swept across the French countryside and into the forests of Belgium and Luxembourg they came not to take, but to return what had been wrongly seized. When our forces marched into Germany they came not to prey on a brave and defeated people, but to nurture the seeds of democracy among those who yearned to be free again.

We salute them today. But, Mr. President, we also salute those who, like yourself, were already engaging the enemy inside your beloved country—the French Resistance. Your valiant struggle for France did so much to cripple the enemy and spur the advance of the armies of liberation. The French Forces of the Interior will forever personify courage and national spirit. They will be a timeless inspiration to all who are free and to all who would be free.

Today, in their memory, and for all who fought here, we celebrate the triumph of democracy. We reaffirm the unity of democratic peoples who fought a war and then joined with the vanquished in a firm resolve to keep the peace.

From a terrible war we learned that unity made us invincible; now, in peace, that same unity makes us secure. We sought to bring all freedom-loving nations together in a community dedicated to the defense and preservation of our sacred values. Our alliance, forged in the crucible of war, tempered and shaped by the realities of the postwar world, has succeeded. In Europe, the threat has been contained, the peace has been kept.

Today the living here assembled—officials, veterans, citizens—are a tribute to what was achieved here 40 years ago. This land is secure. We are free. These things

are worth fighting and dying for.

Lisa Zanatta Henn began her story by quoting her father, who promised that he would return to Normandy. She ended with a promise to her father, who died 8 years ago of cancer: "I'm going there, Dad, and I'll see the beaches and the barricades and the monuments. I'll see the graves, and I'll put flowers there just like you wanted to do. I'll feel all the things you made me feel through your stories and your eyes. I'll never forget what you went through, Dad, nor will I let anyone else forget. And, Dad, I'll always be proud."

Through the words of his loving daughter, who is here with us today, a D-day veteran has shown us the meaning of this day far better than any President can. It is enough for us to say about Private Zanatta and all the men of honor and courage who fought beside him four decades ago: We will always remember. We will always be proud. We will always be prepared, so we may always be free.

Thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 4:33 p.m. at the Omaha Beach Memorial at Omaha Beach, France. In his opening remarks, he referred to President François Mitterrand of France.

Following the ceremony, President Reagan traveled to Utah Beach.

Remarks by Telephone to the Crew of the U.S.S. *Eisenhower* Following D-day Ceremonies in Normandy, France

June 6, 1984

Greetings to all of you, the officers and men of the U.S.S. *Eisenhower.* Believe me, all of us up here are inspired by the sight of your magnificent ship and the battle group which accompanied you to the coast of Normandy.

We're returning from a commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the D-day landing—the heroic operation that was planned and commanded by General Dwight D. Eisenhower. The memory of "Ike," our great allied leader, still inspires heroic efforts on both sides of the Atlantic.

Today, as 40 years ago, our Navy and all of our Armed Forces are advancing the cause of peace and freedom. The dedication of you, our sailors and marines, particularly during your recent deployment in the Eastern Mediterranean, is in the highest tradition of the service.

The American people and our allies in Europe and beyond are all more secure because men of your caliber are on station when and where needed. Admiral Flatley, Captain Clexton, officers and men of the "Ike"—I salute you for your devoted service to the cause of freedom.

You know, I'm up here hoping that you've been able to hear me. I'll just say, God bless you all, and if it wouldn't be too demoralizing, wave, and I'll know whether you've heard this.

Thank you. Thank you all. Good sailing, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 7:10 p.m. on board Marine One during the flight from Utah Beach, France, to London.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

the exchange of young students between their countries which will begin in 1982.

The two governments agreed to begin regular meetings to discuss cultural and information matters with the desire to improve cultural programs and in order to examine means of strengthening relations in these fields. The first cultural and information talks will be held in Washington in October.

The two sides concluded their talks by welcoming recent decisions to strengthen mutual consultations as an expression of the special and close relationship which Italy and the United States enjoy.

Address to Members of the British Parliament

June 8, 1982

My Lord Chancellor, Mr. Speaker:

The journey of which this visit forms a part is a long one. Already it has taken me to two great cities of the West, Rome and Paris, and to the economic summit at Versailles. And there, once again, our sister democracies have proved that even in a time of severe economic strain, free peoples can work together freely and voluntarily to address problems as serious as inflation, unemployment, trade, and economic development in a spirit of cooperation and solidarity.

Other milestones lie ahead. Later this week, in Germany, we and our NATO allies will discuss measures for our joint defense and America's latest initiatives for a more peaceful, secure world through arms reductions.

Each stop of this trip is important, but among them all, this moment occupies a special place in my heart and in the hearts of my countrymen—a moment of kinship and homecoming in these hallowed halls.

Speaking for all Americans, I want to say how very much at home we feel in your house. Every American would, because this is, as we have been so eloquently told, one of democracy's shrines. Here the rights of free people and the processes of representation have been debated and refined.

It has been said that an institution is the lengthening shadow of a man. This institution is the lengthening shadow of all the men and women who have sat here and all those who have voted to send representatives here.

This is my second visit to Great Britain as President of the United States. My first opportunity to stand on British soil occurred almost a year and a half ago when your Prime Minister graciously hosted a diplomatic dinner at the British Embassy in Washington. Mrs. Thatcher said then that she hoped I was not distressed to find staring down at me from the grand staircase a portrait of His Royal Majesty King George III. She suggested it was best to let bygones be bygones, and in view of our two countries' remarkable friendship in succeeding years, she added that most Englishmen today would agree with Thomas Jefferson that "a little rebellion now and then is a very good thing." [*Laughter*]

Well, from here I will go to Bonn and then Berlin, where there stands a grim symbol of power untamed. The Berlin Wall, that dreadful gray gash across the city, is in its third decade. It is the fitting signature of the regime that built it.

And a few hundred kilometers behind the Berlin Wall, there is another symbol. In the center of Warsaw, there is a sign that notes the distances to two capitals. In one direction it points toward Moscow. In the other it points toward Brussels, headquarters of Western Europe's tangible unity. The marker says that the distances from Warsaw to Moscow and Warsaw to Brussels are equal. The sign makes this point: Poland is not East or West. Poland is at the center of European civilization. It has contributed mightily to that civilization. It is doing so today by being magnificently unreconciled to oppression.

Poland's struggle to be Poland and to secure the basic rights we often take for

granted demonstrates why we dare not take those rights for granted. Gladstone, defending the Reform Bill of 1866, declared, "You cannot fight against the future. Time is on our side." It was easier to believe in the march of democracy in Gladstone's day—in that high noon of Victorian optimism.

We're approaching the end of a bloody century plagued by a terrible political invention—totalitarianism. Optimism comes less easily today, not because democracy is less vigorous, but because democracy's enemies have refined their instruments of repression. Yet optimism is in order, because day by day democracy is proving itself to be a not-at-all-fragile flower. From Stettin on the Baltic to Varna on the Black Sea, the regimes planted by totalitarianism have had more than 30 years to establish their legitimacy. But none—not one regime—has yet been able to risk free elections. Regimes planted by bayonets do not take root.

The strength of the Solidarity movement in Poland demonstrates the truth told in an underground joke in the Soviet Union. It is that the Soviet Union would remain a one-party nation even if an opposition party were permitted, because everyone would join the opposition party. [*Laughter*]

America's time as a player on the stage of world history has been brief. I think understanding this fact has always made you patient with your younger cousins—well, not always patient. I do recall that on one occasion, Sir Winston Churchill said in exasperation about one of our most distinguished diplomats: "He is the only case I know of a bull who carries his china shop with him." [*Laughter*]

But witty as Sir Winston was, he also had that special attribute of great statesmen—the gift of vision, the willingness to see the future based on the experience of the past. It is this sense of history, this understanding of the past that I want to talk with you about today, for it is in remembering what we share of the past that our two nations can make common cause for the future.

We have not inherited an easy world. If developments like the Industrial Revolution, which began here in England, and the gifts of science and technology have made life much easier for us, they have also made it more dangerous. There are threats now to our freedom, indeed to our very existence, that other generations could never even have imagined.

There is first the threat of global war. No President, no Congress, no Prime Minister, no Parliament can spend a day entirely free of this threat. And I don't have to tell you that in today's world the existence of nuclear weapons could mean, if not the extinction of mankind, then surely the end of civilization as we know it. That's why negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear forces now underway in Europe and the START talks—Strategic Arms Reduction Talks—which will begin later this month, are not just critical to American or Western policy; they are critical to mankind. Our commitment to early success in these negotiations is firm and unshakable, and our purpose is clear: reducing the risk of war by reducing the means of waging war on both sides.

At the same time there is a threat posed to human freedom by the enormous power of the modern state. History teaches the dangers of government that overreaches—political control taking precedence over free economic growth, secret police, mindless bureaucracy, all combining to stifle individual excellence and personal freedom.

Now, I'm aware that among us here and throughout Europe there is legitimate disagreement over the extent to which the public sector should play a role in a nation's economy and life. But on one point all of us are united—our abhorrence of dictatorship in all its forms, but most particularly totalitarianism and the terrible inhumanities it has caused in our time—the great purge, Auschwitz and Dachau, the Gulag, and Cambodia.

Historians looking back at our time will note the consistent restraint and peaceful intentions of the West. They will note that it was the democracies who refused to use the threat of their nuclear monopoly in the forties and early fifties for territorial or imperial gain. Had that nuclear monopoly been in the hands of the Communist world, the map of Europe—indeed, the world—would look very different today. And certainly they will note it was not the democracies that invaded Afghanistan or su-

pressed Polish Solidarity or used chemical and toxin warfare in Afghanistan and Southeast Asia.

If history teaches anything it teaches self-delusion in the face of unpleasant facts is folly. We see around us today the marks of our terrible dilemma—predictions of doomsday, antinuclear demonstrations, an arms race in which the West must, for its own protection, be an unwilling participant. At the same time we see totalitarian forces in the world who seek subversion and conflict around the globe to further their barbarous assault on the human spirit. What, then, is our course? Must civilization perish in a hail of fiery atoms? Must freedom wither in a quiet, deadening accommodation with totalitarian evil?

Sir Winston Churchill refused to accept the inevitability of war or even that it was imminent. He said, "I do not believe that Soviet Russia desires war. What they desire is the fruits of war and the indefinite expansion of their power and doctrines. But what we have to consider here today while time remains is the permanent prevention of war and the establishment of conditions of freedom and democracy as rapidly as possible in all countries."

Well, this is precisely our mission today: to preserve freedom as well as peace. It may not be easy to see; but I believe we live now at a turning point.

In an ironic sense Karl Marx was right. We are witnessing today a great revolutionary crisis, a crisis where the demands of the economic order are conflicting directly with those of the political order. But the crisis is happening not in the free, non-Marxist West, but in the home of Marxist-Leninism, the Soviet Union. It is the Soviet Union that runs against the tide of history by denying human freedom and human dignity to its citizens. It also is in deep economic difficulty. The rate of growth in the national product has been steadily declining since the fifties and is less than half of what it was then.

The dimensions of this failure are astounding: A country which employs one-fifth of its population in agriculture is unable to feed its own people. Were it not for the private sector, the tiny private sector tolerated in Soviet agriculture, the country might be on the brink of famine. These private plots occupy a bare 3 percent of the arable land but account for nearly one-quarter of Soviet farm output and nearly one-third of meat products and vegetables. Overcentralized, with little or no incentives, year after year the Soviet system pours its best resource into the making of instruments of destruction. The constant shrinkage of economic growth combined with the growth of military production is putting a heavy strain on the Soviet people. What we see here is a political structure that no longer corresponds to its economic base, a society where productive forces are hampered by political ones.

The decay of the Soviet experiment should come as no surprise to us. Wherever the comparisons have been made between free and closed societies—West Germany and East Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia, Malaysia and Vietnam—it is the democratic countries what are prosperous and responsive to the needs of their people. And one of the simple but overwhelming facts of our time is this: Of all the millions of refugees we've seen in the modern world, their flight is always away from, not toward the Communist world. Today on the NATO line, our military forces face east to prevent a possible invasion. On the other side of the line, the Soviet forces also face east to prevent their people from leaving.

The hard evidence of totalitarian rule has caused in mankind an uprising of the intellect and will. Whether it is the growth of the new schools of economics in America or England or the appearance of the so-called new philosophers in France, there is one unifying thread running through the intellectual work of these groups—rejection of the arbitrary power of the state, the refusal to subordinate the rights of the individual to the superstate, the realization that collectivism stifles all the best human impulses.

Since the exodus from Egypt, historians have written of those who sacrificed and struggled for freedom—the stand at Thermopylae, the revolt of Spartacus, the storming of the Bastille, the Warsaw uprising in World War II. More recently we've seen evidence of this same human impulse in one of the developing nations in Central

America. For months and months the world news media covered the fighting in El Salvador. Day after day we were treated to stories and film slanted toward the brave freedom-fighters battling oppressive government forces in behalf of the silent, suffering people of that tortured country.

And then one day those silent, suffering people were offered a chance to vote, to choose the kind of government they wanted. Suddenly the freedom-fighters in the hills were exposed for what they really are—Cuban-backed guerrillas who want power for themselves, and their backers, not democracy for the people. They threatened death to any who voted, and destroyed hundreds of buses and trucks to keep the people from getting to the polling places. But on election day, the people of El Salvador, an unprecedented 1.4 million of them, braved ambush and gunfire, and trudged for miles to vote for freedom.

They stood for hours in the hot sun waiting for their turn to vote. Members of our Congress who went there as observers told me of a women who was wounded by rifle fire on the way to the polls, who refused to leave the line to have her wound treated until after she had voted. A grandmother, who had been told by the guerrillas she would be killed when she returned from the polls, and she told the guerrillas, "You can kill me, you can kill my family, kill my neighbors, but you can't kill us all." The real freedom-fighters of El Salvador turned out to be the people of that country—the young, the old, the in-between.

Strange, but in my own country there's been little if any news coverage of that war since the election. Now, perhaps they'll say it's—well, because there are newer struggles now.

On distant islands in the South Atlantic young men are fighting for Britain. And, yes, voices have been raised protesting their sacrifice for lumps of rock and earth so far away. But those young men aren't fighting for mere real estate. They fight for a cause—for the belief that armed aggression must not be allowed to succeed, and the people must participate in the decisions of government—[*applause*]—the decisions of government under the rule of law. If there had been firmer support for that principle some 45 years ago, perhaps our generation wouldn't have suffered the bloodletting of World War II.

In the Middle East now the guns sound once more, this time in Lebanon, a country that for too long has had to endure the tragedy of civil war, terrorism, and foreign intervention and occupation. The fighting in Lebanon on the part of all parties must stop, and Israel should bring its forces home. But this is not enough. We must all work to stamp out the scourge of terrorism that in the Middle East makes war an ever-present threat.

But beyond the troublespots lies a deeper, more positive pattern. Around the world today, the democratic revolution is gathering new strength. In India a critical test has been passed with the peaceful change of governing political parties. In Africa, Nigeria is moving into remarkable and unmistakable ways to build and strengthen its democratic institutions. In the Caribbean and Central America, 16 of 24 countries have freely elected governments. And in the United Nations, 8 of the 10 developing nations which have joined that body in the past 5 years are democracies.

In the Communist world as well, man's instinctive desire for freedom and self-determination surfaces again and again. To be sure, there are grim reminders of how brutally the police state attempts to snuff out this quest for self-rule—1953 in East Germany, 1956 in Hungary, 1968 in Czechoslovakia, 1981 in Poland. But the struggle continues in Poland. And we know that there are even those who strive and suffer for freedom within the confines of the Soviet Union itself. How we conduct ourselves here in the Western democracies will determine whether this trend continues.

No, democracy is not a fragile flower. Still it needs cultivating. If the rest of this century is to witness the gradual growth of freedom and democratic ideals, we must take actions to assist the campaign for democracy.

Some argue that we should encourage democratic change in right-wing dictatorships, but not in Communist regimes. Well, to accept this preposterous notion—as some

well-meaning people have—is to invite the argument that once countries achieve a nuclear capability, they should be allowed an undisturbed reign of terror over their own citizens. We reject this course.

As for the Soviet view, Chairman Brezhnev repeatedly has stressed that the competition of ideas and systems must continue and that this is entirely consistent with relaxation of tensions and peace.

Well, we ask only that these systems begin by living up to their own constitutions, abiding by their own laws, and complying with the international obligations they have undertaken. We ask only for a process, a direction, a basic code of decency, not for an instant transformation.

We cannot ignore the fact that even without our encouragement there has been and will continue to be repeated explosions against repression and dictatorships. The Soviet Union itself is not immune to this reality. Any system is inherently unstable that has no peaceful means to legitimize its leaders. In such cases, the very repressiveness of the state ultimately drives people to resist it, if necessary, by force.

While we must be cautious about forcing the pace of change, we must not hesitate to declare our ultimate objectives and to take concrete actions to move toward them. We must be staunch in our conviction that freedom is not the sole prerogative of a lucky few, but the inalienable and universal right of all human beings. So states the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which, among other things, guarantees free elections.

The objective I propose is quite simple to state: to foster the infrastructure of democracy, the system of a free press, unions, political parties, universities, which allows a people to choose their own way to develop their own culture, to reconcile their own differences through peaceful means.

This is not cultural imperialism, it is providing the means for genuine self-determination and protection for diversity. Democracy already flourishes in countries with very different cultures and historical experiences. It would be cultural condescension, or worse, to say that any people prefer dictatorship to democracy. Who would voluntarily choose not to have the right to vote, decide to purchase government propaganda handouts instead of independent newspapers, prefer government to worker-controlled unions, opt for land to be owned by the state instead of those who till it, want government repression of religious liberty, a single political party instead of a free choice, a rigid cultural orthodoxy instead of democratic tolerance and diversity?

Since 1917 the Soviet Union has given covert political training and assistance to Marxist-Leninists in many countries. Of course, it also has promoted the use of violence and subversion by these same forces. Over the past several decades, West European and other Social Democrats, Christian Democrats, and leaders have offered open assistance to fraternal, political, and social institutions to bring about peaceful and democratic progress. Appropriately, for a vigorous new democracy, the Federal Republic of Germany's political foundations have become a major force in this effort.

We in America now intend to take additional steps, as many of our allies have already done, toward realizing this same goal. The chairmen and other leaders of the national Republican and Democratic Party organizations are initiating a study with the bipartisan American political foundation to determine how the United States can best contribute as a nation to the global campaign for democracy now gathering force. They will have the cooperation of congressional leaders of both parties, along with representatives of business, labor, and other major institutions in our society. I look forward to receiving their recommendations and to working with these institutions and the Congress in the common task of strengthening democracy throughout the world.

It is time that we committed ourselves as a nation—in both the pubic and private sectors—to assisting democratic development.

We plan to consult with leaders of other nations as well. There is a proposal before the Council of Europe to invite parliamentarians from democratic countries to a meeting next year in Strasbourg. That prestigious gathering could consider ways to help democratic political movements.

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take place an international meeting on free elections. And next spring there will be a conference of world authorities on constitutionalism and self-goverment hosted by the Chief Justice of the United States. Authorities from a number of developing and developed countries—judges, philosophers, and politicians with practical experience—have agreed to explore how to turn principle into practice and further the rule of law.

At the same time, we invite the Soviet Union to consider with us how the competition of ideas and values—which it is committed to support—can be conducted on a peaceful and reciprocal basis. For example, I am prepared to offer President Brezhnev an opportunity to speak to the American people on our television if he will allow me the same opportunity with the Soviet people. We also suggest that panels of our newsmen periodically appear on each other's television to discuss major events.

Now, I don't wish to sound overly optimistic, yet the Soviet Union is not immune from the reality of what is going on in the world. It has happened in the past—a small ruling elite either mistakenly attempts to ease domestic unrest through greater repression and foreign adventure, or it chooses a wiser course. It begins to allow its people a voice in their own destiny. Even if this latter process is not realized soon, I believe the renewed strength of the democratic movement, complemented by a global campaign for freedom, will strengthen the prospects for arms control and a world at peace.

I have discussed on other occasions, including my address on May 9th, the elements of Western policies toward the Soviet Union to safeguard our interests and protect the peace. What I am describing now is a plan and a hope for the long term—the march of freedom and democracy which will leave Marxism-Leninism on the ash-heap of history as it has left other tyrannies which stifle the freedom and muzzle the self-expression of the people. And that's why we must continue our efforts to strengthen NATO even as we move forward with our Zero-Option initiative in the negotiations on intermediate-range forces and our proposal for a one-third reduction in strategic ballistic missile warheads.

Our military strength is a prerequisite to peace, but let it be clear we maintain this strength in the hope it will never be used, for the ultimate determinant in the struggle that's now going on in the world will not be bombs and rockets, but a test of wills and ideas, a trial of spiritual resolve, the values we hold, the beliefs we cherish, the ideals to which we are dedicated.

The British people know that, given strong leadership, time and a little bit of hope, the forces of good ultimately rally and triumph over evil. Here among you is the cradle of self-government, the Mother of Parliaments. Here is the enduring greatness of the British contribution to mankind, the great civilized ideas: individual liberty, representative government, and the rule of law under God.

I've often wondered about the shyness of some of us in the West about standing for these ideals that have done so much to ease the plight of man and the hardships of our imperfect world. This reluctance to use those vast resources at our command reminds me of the elderly lady whose home was bombed in the Blitz. As the rescuers moved about, they found a bottle of brandy she'd stored behind the staircase, which was all that was left standing. And since she was barely conscious, one of the workers pulled the cork to give her a taste of it. She came around immediately and said, "Here now—there now, put it back. That's for emergencies." [*Laughter*]

Well, the emergency is upon us. Let us be shy no longer. Let us go to our strength. Let us offer hope. Let us tell the world that a new age is not only possible but probable.

During the dark days of the Second World War, when this island was incandescent with courage, Winston Churchill exclaimed about Britain's adversaries, "What kind of a people do they think we are?" Well, Britain's adversaries found out what extraordinary people the British are. But all the democracies paid a terrible price for allowing the dictators to underestimate us. We dare not make that mistake again. So, let us ask ourselves, "What kind of people do we think we are?" And let us answer, "Free people, worthy of freedom and deter-

mined not only to remain so but to help others gain their freedom as well."

Sir Winston led his people to great victory in war and then lost an election just as the fruits of victory were about to be enjoyed. But he left office honorably, and, as it turned out, temporarily, knowing that the liberty of his people was more important than the fate of any single leader. History recalls his greatness in ways no dictator will ever know. And he left us a message of hope for the future, as timely now as when he first uttered it, as opposition leader in the Commons nearly 27 years ago, when he said, "When we look back on all the perils through which we have passed and at the mighty foes that we have laid low and all the dark and deadly designs that we have frustrated, why should we fear for our future? We have," he said, "come safely through the worst."

Well, the task I've set forth will long outlive our own generation. But together, we too have come through the worst. Let us now begin a major effort to secure the best—a crusade for freedom that will engage the faith and fortitude of the next generation. For the sake of peace and justice, let us move toward a world in which all people are at last free to determine their own destiny.

Thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 12:14 p.m. in the Royal Gallery at the Palace of Westminster in London.

On the previous evening, the President was greeted by Queen Elizabeth II in an arrival ceremony at Windsor Castle, near Windsor, England. Later, the Queen hosted a private dinner for the President.

On the morning of June 8, the President and the Queen spent part of the morning horseback riding on the Windsor Castle grounds.

Toasts of the President and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher at a Luncheon Honoring the President in London

June 8, 1982

The Prime Minister. We are here today to welcome and to honor our great ally, the United States of America. Mr. President, Mrs. Reagan, it's a privilege and a pleasure to have you both here with us. It's rare enough to have an American President as a guest at Number 10, but my researchers have been unable to find out when we last had the honor of the First Lady at Number 10 as well.

President and Mrs. Reagan, your presence gives me and, indeed, many of our guests a chance to repay as best we can the hospitality you bestowed on us when we were your first official guests from abroad at the beginning of your Presidential term of office. I realize, of course, that you've both become accustomed recently to taking your meals in rather grander places—[*laughter*]—the Palace of Versailles and Windsor Castle. As you can see, this is a very simple house, one which has witnessed the shaping of our shared history since it first became the abode of Prime Ministers in 1732.

Mr. President, some of us were present this morning to hear your magnificent speech to members of both Houses of Parliament in the historic setting of the Royal Gallery. It was, if I may say so, respectfully, a triumph. We are so grateful to you for putting freedom on the offensive, which is where it should be. You wrote a new chapter in our history—no longer on the defensive but on the offensive. It was, if I might say so, an exceedingly hard act to follow. [*Laughter*] But I will try to be brief.

Much has been said and written over the years, Mr. President, about the relations between our two countries. And there's no need for me to add to the generalities on the subject today, because we've had before our eyes in recent weeks the most concrete expression of what, in practice, our friend-

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Abstracts

AUTH: BY MAURICE CARROLL

REFR: NEW YORK TIMES Page 39, Column 1 JOURNAL-CODE NYT

DATE: September 19, 1975, Friday

ABST: Popular Library Inc, publisher of paperback edition of Cornelius Ryan's A Bridge Too Far, on Sept 17 '44 battle at Arnhem, sponsors anniv breakfast reunion, NYC, of battle survivors. Those present include Gen James M Gavin, Gen John Frost and Ryan's widow Kathryn Morgan Ryan. Illus of bridge during battle and today. Pors of Gavin and Frost then and today (M).

DESC: ANNIVERSARIES; ARNHEM, BATTLE OF; BRIDGES AND TUNNELS; WORLD WAR II (1939-45)

SJTI: BRIDGE TOO FAR, A (BOOK)

COMP: POPULAR LIBRARY INC

NAME: FROST, JOHN (GEN); GAVIN, JAMES M (LT GEN) (RET); RYAN, KATHRYN MORGAN (MRS CORNELIUS RYAN) ; RYAN, CORNELIUS (1920-74)

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ILLU: Illustrations: Photograph

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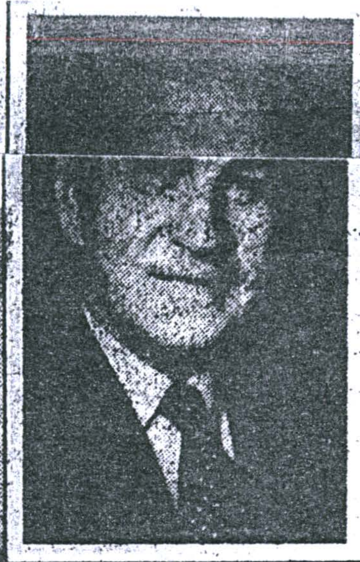
Survivors of Arnhem Recall Heroism in the Face of Defeat



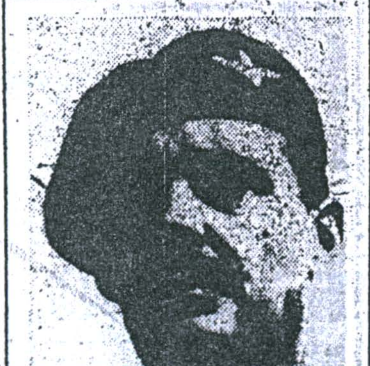
The New York Times — Associated Press

Left: British soldiers, greatly outnumbered, holding off German Panzer divisions at the Bridge at Arnhem in World War II. Below: the bridge as it is today. Below left: Colonel John Frost, who commanded the troops and now, a general. Above: Gen. James M. Gavin, Commander of the 82d Airborne Division at the age of 37, and as he appeared Wednesday night with General Frost and others at a publishers get-together at the Harvard Club.

By MAURICE CARROLL

Gen. James M. Gavin remembers parachuting into a turnip patch with a member of the Dutch Resistance at his side. Lieut. Comdr. Arnoldus Wolters remembers packing into the invasion glider for his return to the Netherlands a teddy bear for an infant daughter he had never seen. Mrs. Cornelius Ryan remembers the sight of her author-husband limping across the bridge at Arnhem that he had written about.

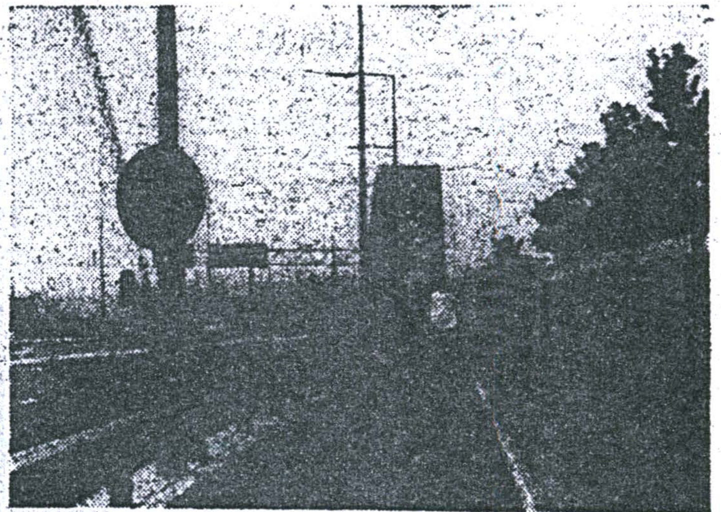
Into the early morning yesterday a handful of those who had lived through the tragic battle of Arnhem sat around a table in a paneled room in the Harvard Club here and shared roast beef and wine, gossip and reminiscences. All were in the late Cornelius Ryan's account of the battle, "A Bridge Too Far," and they talked like any tourists of their lives and travels, but they talked, too, of the parts they had played in the World War II battle, a bloody miscalculation by the Allies that produced more cas- [...] than D-Day at Nor- [...]



held their end of the corridor, but the small British force at Arnhem was encircled, fought heroically to hold on, but finally was overrun, most of its members killed or captured. The civilians who survived had to undergo another winter of German occupation.

According to Mr. Ryan's note in the book, most authorities agree that Allied casualties in the Normandy landing were between 10,000 and 12,000, while the nine days of "Operation Market Garden" produced casualties — killed, wounded, missing — totaling more than 17,000.

"Look at him," said Henri Knap, an Amsterdam newspaper columnist who headed the Dutch Underground's intelligence operation in Arnhem. He gestured toward Gen. John Frost, a bluff Briton who had commanded the battalion that held the bridge. "Look at him," said Mr. Knap, "Still with that black moustache. "If you put him at the end of a bridge even today and said, 'keep it,'



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Mr. Wolters escaped with the British troops evacuating Arnhem and did not see his family for another year.

Mr. Ryan died of cancer last

Wednesday, he knew there was 'practically no possibility for relief.'"

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Bridge at Arnhem in World War II. Below: the bridge as it is today. Below left: Colonel John Frost, who commanded the troops and now, a general. Above: Gen. James M. Gavin, Commander of the 82d Airborne Division at the age of 37, and as he appeared Wednesday night with General Frost and others at a publishers get-together at the Harvard Club.

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On Sept. 17, 1944, the greatest armada of aircraft ever assembled for a single operation took to the air. "Operation Market Garden" was designed to seize a series of bridges behind the German lines in the Netherlands, creating a corridor into Germany that could end the war in 1944.

The last bridge, the bridge at Arnhem on the lower Rhine, was to be taken by a battalion from the First British Airborne Division. For four days the 500 men in that battalion fought off an overwhelming German force that, unexpected by the Allied planners, had been massed in the Arnhem area. But the Germans prevailed, and the Allies were unable to cross the Rhine until March, 1945.

The Americans seized and held their end of the corridor, but the small British force at Arnhem was encircled, fought heroically to hold on, but finally was overrun, most of its members killed or captured. The civilians who survived had to undergo another winter of German occupation.

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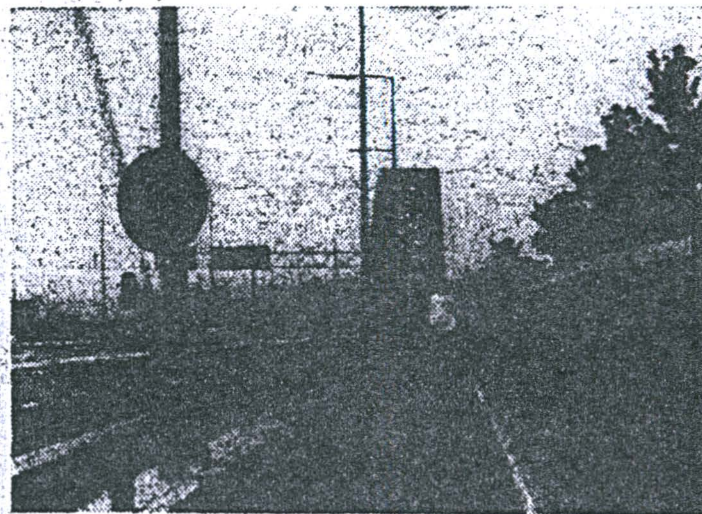
Publisher Is Host

"Well, I love the Dutch," said General Gavin, who commanded the 82d Airborne Division, which successfully captured the three bridges that were its objectives. He was talking with Kenneth Colins of Popular Library, the publishing house that brought out the paperback of the Ryan book and which served as host for the anniversary gathering. "They fought beside us."

He gestured around the small dining room. "We were just so emotionally involved in the whole thing," he said. "These people were so close."

Participants move in and out of the Ryan chronology.

When the Germans invaded the Netherlands Mr. Wolters



sailed his minesweeper to Britain with 60 Jews aboard, leaving behind his wife and infant daughter. For the child, he packed a two-foot Teddy bear when he was asked to return to Arnhem to be military commissioner of the Netherlands territory that the airborne troops would liberate.

"We don't use rank at home," he said as military titles flew about the small room. "It was such a long time ago, I hardly remember."

Perhaps he should be called "chief," someone suggested (He retired recently after 12 years as head of the Rotterdam police), and he smiled and said he planned to stop at Police Headquarters during his visit here.

Mr. Wolters escaped with the British troops evacuating Arnhem and did not see his family for another year.

Mr. Ryan died of cancer last November. He knew he was dying as he completed work on "A Bridge Too Far." His wife, Kathryn, recalled how he had become emotionally involved with it.

General Frost, who was a colonel when he commanded the bridge defenders, had used a copper fox-hunting horn to summon his men during maneuvers and he took it with him to Arnhem. Mrs. Ryan remembered her husband writing the paragraph that told how the colonel had felt when he finally knew his position was doomed. It reads:

"To Col. John Frost, whose hunting horn had called him to them on the sunny Sunday that was to be the opening of their victory march, they would always remain unbeaten. Yet now, on this dark and tragic Wednesday, he knew there was 'practically no possibility for relief.'"

Mrs. Ryan turned to General Frost. "Connie burst into tears when he wrote that," she said, "and told me, 'Honestly, what that man went through' . . ."

A year ago, her husband, dying and in need of support when he walked, had visited the annual commemoration of the battle at the Arnhem bridge. "And the next day," she remembered, "Johnny and Connie walked the bridge. He was walking so shakily. And Johnny was helping him. They walked and talked together. Remember, Johnny?"

General Frost nodded.

"We've been going back ever since," he said. "Every year, we have a—what's the word? —reunion? No, there's a word."

He turned to his wife. "Dear, what's the word for going back to Arnhem?"

"Reunion," she said.

"No," he said, "there's a special word."

She pondered, "Pilgrimage," she said.

"Yes, Pilgrimage."

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ENGLAND AND WALES

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Longitude East of Greenwich

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North Sea

English Channel

St. George's Channel

Bristol Channel

Cardigan Bay

IRELAND (EIRE)

WALES

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FRANCE

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Balbriggan

Rush

Bray

Wicklow

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Gorey

Blackpool

Preston

Burnley

Bradford

Leeds

Hull (Kingston-upon-Hull)

Blackburn

Bolton

Huddersfield

Doncaster

Grimsby

Manchester

Liverpool

Birkenhead

Stockport

Sheffield

Chesterfield

Lincoln

Chester

Crewe

Stoke on Trent

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Derby

Leicester

Peterborough

Norwich

Great Yarmouth

Lowestoft

King's Lynn

Shrewsbury

Stafford

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Newport

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Swindon

Reading

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Canterbury

Dover

Folkestone

Margate

Ramsgate

Guildford

Reigate

Tunbridge Wells

Hastings

Eastbourne

Brighton

Worthing

Southampton

Portsmouth

Bournemouth

Poole

Salisbury

Exeter

Torquay (Torbay)

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