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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection:** SPEECHWRITING, WHITE HOUSE OFFICE OF:  
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**Date:** 9/10/98

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. note	handwritten on draft (partial of p 1), 1p	n.d.	P5 RW 8/31/17

### RESTRICTION CODES

**Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**

- P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].
- P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].

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**Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]**

- F-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA].
- F-2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA].
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- F-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA].
- F-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].
- F-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
- F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

They want the opportunities that will let all nations that have been engaged in this war go forward together to greater prosperity—not for us sitting around this table—but for the masses that we represent.

That means peace. Speaking for the Allied forces, I say we are going to have peace even if we have to fight for it.

On two occasions now I have had the great honor of meeting high officials of the Soviet Government. It is my feeling that in the basic desires of all of us they are one with us. Regardless of the methods by which we arrive at that goal, that is what we are struggling for.

I cannot speak for any other individual. In fact, while I am expressing what is in my heart and mind, I am speaking for no one except Ike Eisenhower. But I believe that there is not any single man around this table that would not give back all the honors, all the publicity, everything else this war has brought to him, if he could have avoided the misery, the suffering and the debt that have been brought to the populations by reason of this war.

Yet this was a holy war. More than any other war in history, this war has been an array of the forces of evil against those of righteousness. It had to have its leaders and it had to be won—but no matter what the sacrifice, no matter what the suffering of populations, no matter what the cost, the war had to be won.

To no one man do the United Nations owe a greater debt than to Marshal Zhukov. As our honored guest today he has come down and very courteously conferred certain honors of the Soviet Union upon members of the Allied forces.

But Marshal Zhukov, being a modest man, probably underrates the standing that he holds in our hearts and minds. One day, when all of us here at this board are gathered to our fathers, there is certain to be another order of the Soviet Union. It will be the Order of Zhukov, and that order will be prized by every man who admires courage, vision, foresight and determination in a soldier.

Gentlemen, I deem it a very great honor to ask you to rise and drink to Marshal Zhukov.

Address at Guildhall, London, England, June 12, 1945

**M**Y LORD Mayor, My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen:

The high sense of distinction I feel in receiving this great honor from the City of London is inescapably mingled with feelings of profound sadness. All of us must always regret that your country and mine were ever faced with the tragic situation that compelled the appointment of an Allied commander-in-chief, the capacity in which I have just been so extravagantly commended.

Humility must always be the portion of any man who receives acclaim earned in the blood of his followers and the sacrifices of his friends. Conceivably a commander may have been professionally superior. He may have given everything of his heart and mind to meet the spiritual and physical needs of his comrades. He may have written a chapter that will glow forever in the pages of military history. Still, even such a man, if he existed, would sadly face the facts that his honors cannot hide in his memories the crosses marking the resting places of the dead. They cannot soothe the anguish of the widow or the orphan whose husband or father will not return.

The only attitude in which a commander may with satisfaction receive the tributes of his friends is in humble acknowledgment that, no matter how unworthy he may be, his position is a symbol of great human forces that have labored arduously and successfully for a righteous cause. Unless he feels this symbolism and this rightness in what he has tried to do, then he is disregardful of the courage, the fortitude and devotion of the vast multitudes he has been honored to command. If all the Allied men and women that have served with me in this war can only know that it is they this august body is really honoring today then, indeed, will I be content.

This feeling of humility cannot erase, of course, my great pride in being tendered the Freedom of London. I am not a native of this land. I come from the very heart of America. In the superficial aspects by which we ordinarily recognize family relationships the town where I was born and the one where I was reared are far separated from this great city. Abilene, Kansas, and Denison, Texas, would together add in size to possibly one five hundredth part of Greater London. By your standards those towns are young, without

your aged traditions that carry the roots of London back into the uncertainties of unrecorded history. To those people I am proud to belong, but I find myself today five thousand miles from that countryside, the honored guest of a city whose name stands for grandeur and size throughout the world. Hardly would it seem possible for the London Council to have gone farther afield to find a man to honor with its priceless gift of token citizenship.

Yet kinship among nations is not determined in such measurements as proximity, size and age. Rather we should turn to those inner things, call them what you will—I mean those intangibles that are the real treasures free men possess. To preserve his freedom of worship, his equality before the law, his liberty to speak and act as he sees fit, subject only to the provision that he trespass not upon similar rights of others—the Londoner will fight! So will the citizen of Abilene! When we consider these things then the valley of the Thames draws closer to the farms of Kansas and the plains of Texas. To my mind it is clear that when two peoples will face the tragedies of war to defend the same spiritual values, the same treasured rights, then, in deepest sense those two are truly related. So, even as I proclaim my undying Americanism, I am bold enough, and exceedingly proud to claim, basic kinship to you of London.

And what man who has followed the history of this war could fail to experience inspiration from the example of this city? When the British Empire stood—alone but unconquered, almost naked but unafraid—to defy the Hitler hordes, it was on this devoted city that the first terroristic blows were launched.

Five years and eight months of war, much of it on the actual battleline! Blitzes, big and little, fly-bombs, V-bombs; all of them you took in your stride. You worked—from your needed efforts you would not be deterred. You carried on, and from your midst arose no cry for mercy, no wail of defeat. The Battle of Britain will take its place as another of your deathless traditions. And your faith and endurance have finally been rewarded.

You had been more than two years in war when Americans, in numbers, began swarming into your country. Most were mentally unprepared for the realities of war—especially as waged by the Nazis. Others believed that tales of British sacrifice had been exaggerated. Still others failed to recognize the difficulties of the task ahead.

All such doubts, questions and complacencies could not endure a single casual tour through your scarred streets and avenues. With awe our men gazed upon empty spaces where once had stood buildings erected by the toil and sweat of peaceful folk. Our eyes rounded as we saw your women serving quietly and efficiently in almost every kind of war effort, even flak batteries. We became accustomed to the warning sirens, which seemed to compel, from the native Londoner, not a single hurried step. Gradually we drew closer together until we became true partners in the war.

In London, my associates and I planned two great expeditions, that to invade the Mediterranean and later that to cross the Channel. London's hospitality to Americans, her good-humored acceptance of the added inconveniences we brought, her example of fortitude and quiet confidence in the final outcome—all these helped to make the supreme headquarters of two Allied expeditions the smooth-working organizations they became! They were composed of chosen representatives of two proud and independent peoples, each noted for its initiative and for its satisfaction with its own customs, manners and methods. Many feared that these representatives could never combine together in efficient fashion to solve the complex problems presented by modern war.

I hope you believe we proved the doubters wrong! Moreover, I hold that we proved this point not only for war, we proved that it can always be done by our two peoples, provided only both show the same good will, the same forbearance, the same objective attitude that British and Americans so amply demonstrated in nearly three years of bitter campaigning.

No one man could, alone, have brought about this result. Had I possessed the military skill of a Marlborough, the wisdom of Solomon, the understanding of Lincoln, I still would have been helpless without the loyalty, the vision, the generosity of thousands upon thousands of British and Americans. Some of them were my companions in the high command, many were enlisted men and junior officers carrying the fierce brunt of the battle, and many others were back in the U. S. and here in Great Britain, in London. Moreover, back of us were always our great national war leaders and their civil and military staffs that supported and encouraged us through every trial, every test. The whole was one great team. I know that on this special occasion, the three million American men and women serv-

ing in the Allied Expeditionary Force would want me to pay the tribute of admiration, respect and affection to their British comrades of this war.

My most cherished hope is that, after Japan joins the Nazi in utter defeat, neither my country nor yours need ever again summon its sons and daughters from their peaceful pursuits to face the tragedies of battle. But—a fact important for both of us to remember—neither London nor Abilene, sisters under the skin, will sell her birthright for physical safety, her liberty for mere existence.

No petty differences in the world of trade, traditions or national pride should ever blind us to identities in priceless values. If we keep our eyes on this guidepost then no difficulties along our path of mutual co-operation can ever be insurmountable. Moreover, when this truth has permeated to the remotest hamlet and heart of all peoples, then indeed may we beat our swords into plowshares and all nations can enjoy the fruitfulness of the earth.

My Lord Mayor, I thank you once again for an honor to me and to the American forces that will remain one of the proudest in my memories.

*Address at Hotel De Ville, Paris, June 14, 1945*

**L**ADIES and Gentlemen:

I am sorry that I cannot express myself in the French language. The few words which I shall say to you will be simple words. I should like, with your permission, to use the language of the ordinary soldier.

In all wars when it seems that victory is deserting one side to pass over to the other, we always look for the moment when the fortunes of war have begun to change direction. It is impossible to plot precisely when victory appears definitely on one of the two sides. But there are numerous factors involved, and among them is that of the will.

Hitler committed one very serious error, a fundamental error. He believed that he had conquered France; he had not succeeded in beating her.

We know very well that through the forces of Resistance, the FFI sustained a tremendous effort during the years of the occupation. The full worth and importance of the effort of the French Forces of the Interior have not yet been revealed.

The grave mistake of Hitler's strategy is that he was obliged to reduce to slavery those whom he had conquered so that he could continue to run his economic machine towards the goal which he believed to be victory.

Oh, indeed, he paraded his troops along your Champs-Elysees! He imposed upon you a most unjust treaty, but he was never able to conquer the heart of France.

Far from being a boon to him, France soon became an immense burden. You employed every arm: trickery, ridicule, derision, and the dagger.

Later, when we landed, your aid was always of the greatest importance. You blew up bridges, telephone lines. You even subdued entire garrisons, and here at Paris in the very heart of France, the regeneration of the city came from within itself.

We all know, believe me, how much Paris and all of France suffered. I must tell you that we have a friendly sympathy and complete understanding of the difficulties you have undergone.

If you are like me, and if, next to the human generosity in your hearts there is also a small place for bitter vengeance, then I want to tell you, I who have just toured through the streets of Paris, that Berlin is destroyed and that I am glad of it.

When we landed in North Africa first, the French armies were at our sides. On the soil of France they were with us and certain units of yours even made the long journey from Lake Tchad to Munich.

I wish I could tell you how much I have appreciated the value and competence of all your leaders who served with me; General Juin, General de Lattre, and so many others. I cannot name them all, for merely enumerating them would be unjust and one might forget one of them.

For the year that I have been in France, this is not the first time that I have passed through Paris, but up until now I have been working in Paris.

Today, with my officers and my colleagues from my allied headquarters, I have just crossed the heart of Paris.

I should like to end by telling you this: My country has loved

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WHRC

† EISENHOWER  
SPEAKS

*Dwight D. Eisenhower*  
*in his messages and speeches.*



*International News Features*

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

*Selected and Edited by Rudolph L. Treuenfels*  
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May 5, 1988, Thursday

LENGTH: 676 words

HEADLINE: NORTH-SOUTH: PHILIPPINE MINISTER CHALLENGES NORTH ON DEMOCRACY

DATELINE: STRASBORG, May 5

BODY:

Philippine Foreign Secretary Raul Manglapus yesterday challenged the northern industrialized West on the historical origins of "democracy," "human dignity" and "social justice."

Manglapus told a ministerial meeting of the 21-nation Council of Europe at its headquarters here that "there can be no equality (between North and South) if there is condescension."

"And there will be condescension unless we forever excise from historical interpretation the notion that it was the North that taught the South democracy, that only the North produced the culture of individual dignity, that it was the North that invented the quality of social justice."

The ministers, who included Manglapus and Foreign Minister Ibrahima Fall of Senegal, were meeting here to take stock of the council's "North-South" campaign, officially launched in January by King Juan Carlos of Spain.

The aim of the six-month "European Public Campaign on North-South Interdependence and Solidarity" is to create greater awareness at both public and decision-making levels of the interdependence between the industrialized North and the developing South.

Manglapus stressed that with all the well-meaning speeches from officials and politicians from the North, inter-dependence meant learning from the South as well.

"The democratic value that is the heart of the constitution of the Council of Europe is indigenous not only to northern societies but to all human cultures that have walked the earth," he said.

Manglapus cited democratic republics like Licchavis, developed on the Indian sub-continent 600 years before Christ, the Iroquois Confederacy that preceded the United States Constitution by 200 years and the Aztec Republic in Mexico.

All ministers emphasized the need for a new, more dynamic dialogue between North and South.

But Manglapus asked: "If individual dignity is native to all, why is the U.S. Food Security Act, the EEC's (European Economic Community) common agricultural policy and Japan's farm protection system allowed to continue to undermine the South's agricultural trade and depress farm prices in world markets."

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Several speakers stressed that government policies in the fields of finance, trade and agriculture must be reconsidered with a view to global equity, social justice and solidarity between North and South.

Portuguese Foreign Minister J. Deus Pinheiro reiterated the proposal made by his country's prime minister, Hanibal Covaco Silva, that a center be set up in Lisbon for dealing with North-South relations generally and inter-dependence in particular.

During the debate yesterday, ministers placed an emphasis on the human dimensions of Third World development, pointing out that development is not merely an economic problem.

Lynda Chalker, Britain's minister of state in the Foreign Office, insisted that political security is as important as economic security in the Third World, and referred to the importance of human rights and democracy for progress.

But Senegalese Foreign Minister Fall pointed a finger at the North for coming up with "technical and technocratic reactions" to problems like Africa's debt.

"What Africa needs is practical and political help," he said.

Summing up the debate, the council declared it would "continue to place particular emphasis on the human dimension of development, including respect for individual dignity and human rights in general."

It also said it would be concerned with "the creation of decent living conditions and a healthy environment, active participation by all citizens, the fostering of cultural identities and cultural cross-fertilization."

The council underlined that "global solidarity must provide the foundation for the future of our single world community in a spirit of rationality rather than charity."

And it stressed that the relationship between North and South must be one between equal partners.

Several of the ministers will be meeting again in Madrid on June 1 for the closing session of the council's campaign, to be presided over by King Juan Carlos.



LORD, make straight in the desert a highway for our God. Mk. 1:3; Lu. 3:4-6; Jo. 1:23 \*

4 Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low: and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain: 45:2 • a straight place

5 And the glory of the LORD shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together: for the mouth of the LORD hath spoken it.

6 The voice said, Cry. And he said, What shall I cry? All flesh is grass, and all the goodness thereof is as the flower of the field: Job 14:2; Ps. 102:11; 103:15; 1 Pet. 1:24, 25

7 The grass withereth, the flower fadeth: because the spirit of the LORD bloweth upon it: surely the people is grass. Ps. 90:5, 6 • breath

8 The grass withereth, the flower fadeth: but the word of our God shall stand for ever. 59:21; Mat. 5:18; John 12:34; 1 Pet. 1:25

9 O Zion, that bringest good tidings, get thee up into the high mountain; O Jerusalem, that bringest good tidings, lift up thy voice with strength; lift it up, be not afraid; say unto the cities of Judah, Behold your God! O thou that tellest good tidings to Zion

10 Behold, the Lord God will come with strong hand, and his arm shall rule for him: behold, his reward is with him, and his work before him. in strength • 59:16, 18 \*

11 He shall feed his flock like a shepherd: he shall gather the lambs with his arm, and carry them in his bosom, and shall gently lead those that are with young. Heb. 13:20; 1 Pet. 2:25 • nurse young ones \*

*The majesty of the Lord*

12 Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meted out heaven with the span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance? Prov. 30:4 • measured to 1½ pecks

13 Who hath directed the spirit of the LORD, or being his counselor hath taught him? Job 21:22; Rom. 11:34; 1 Cor. 2:16 • Holy Spirit

14 With whom took he counsel, and who instructed him, and taught him in the path of judgment, and taught him knowledge, and showed to him the way of understanding? justice • Job 36:22-23

15 Behold, the nations are as a drop of a bucket, and are counted as the small dust of the balance: behold, he taketh up the isles as a very little thing. considers • coasts

16 And Leb'-a-non is not sufficient to burn, nor the beasts thereof sufficient for a burnt offering. Deut. 3:25

17 All nations before him are as nothing; and they are counted to him less than nothing, and vanity. Dan. 4:35 • Ps. 62:9

18 To whom then will ye liken God? or what likeness will ye compare unto him?

19 The workman melteth a graven image, and the goldsmith spreadeth it over with gold, and casteth silver chains.

20 He that is so impoverished that he hath no oblation chooseth a tree that will not rot; he seeketh unto him a cunning workman to prepare a graven image, that shall not be moved. offering • skillful

21 Have ye not known? have ye not heard? hath it not been told you from the beginning? have ye not understood from the foundations of the earth? Rom. 1:19

22 It is he that sitteth upon the circle of the earth, and the inhabitants thereof are as grasshoppers; that stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain, and spreadeth them out as a tent to dwell in: Job 9:8; Jer. 10:12

23 That bringeth the princes to nothing: he maketh the judges of the earth as vanity. reduces • Job 12:21; Ps. 107:40

24 Yea, they shall not be planted; yea, they shall not be sown: yea, their stock shall not take root in the earth: and he shall also blow upon them, and they shall wither, and the whirlwind shall take them away as stubble. 17:13; 41:16

25 To whom then will ye liken me, or shall I be equal? saith the Holy One. v. 18

26 Lift up your eyes on high, and behold who hath created these things, that bringeth out their host by number: he calleth them all by names by the greatness of his might, for that he is strong in power; not one faileth. 51:6 • 42:5; 48:12, 13 • Ps. 147:4

27 Why sayest thou, O Jacob, and speakest, O Israel, My way is hid from the LORD, and my judgment is passed over from my God? 54:7-8 • the justice due to me is passed away

28 Hast thou not known? hast thou not heard, that the everlasting God, the LORD, the Creator of the ends of the earth, fainteth not, neither is weary? there is no searching of his understanding. Ps. 147:5

29 He giveth power to the faint; and to them that have no might he increaseth strength. 50:4; Jer. 31:25 • 41:10

30 Even the youths shall faint and be weary, and the young men shall utterly fall: Jer. 6:11; 9:21 • 9:17

31 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; and they shall walk, and not faint. hope in • Ps. 103:5 • be refreshed in

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# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 05/16/88

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: C.O.B. Friday 05/20/88

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: FOREIGN AFFAIRS ORGANIZATION  
LONDON, ENGLAND  
(05/16 4:00 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HOBBS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HOOLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	KRANOWITZ	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MILLER - OMB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	POWELL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAUER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RANGE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CRIBB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RISQUE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CRIPPEN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CULVAHOUSE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DAWSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DONATELLI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	DOLAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	COURTEMANCHE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRISCOM	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Tony Dolan by close of business on Friday, May 20th, with an info copy to my office. Thanks.

**RESPONSE:**

May 19, 1988

TO: TONY DOLAN

NSC staff concurs with the changes marked.

*Paul Stevens*  
Paul Schott Stevens  
Executive Secretary

Rhett Dawson  
Ext. 2702

cc: Rhett Dawson

(Dolan)  
May 16, 1988  
4:00 p.m.

Received 5:00  
1988 MAY 16 PM 5:21

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: FOREIGN AFFAIRS ORGANIZATION  
GUILDHALL  
LONDON, ENGLAND  
FRIDAY, JUNE 3, 1988

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

Guildhall has been here since the 14th century. And while it is comforting at my age to be near anything that much older than myself, the age of this institution, venerable as it is, is hardly all that impresses. Who after all 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 here conclude with a moving, majestic hymn to your country and 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 evil]. You are a brave people and this land truly, as that hymn heard so often here proclaims, a "land of hope and glory." And it is why Nancy and I -- in the twilight of a Presidency and in the evening of our lives -- are

State argues to drop this  
would cause serious problems with "legitimacy" if linked to "evil".  
Perhaps just delete the

PRESERVATION COPY

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; ~~we are here in part to celebrate the special~~ *I have come from Moscow, and returned to the West, to Western Europe, and to the world of freedom. There is no question but that our relationship between the United States and Great Britain, a own Anglo-American partnership is a bastion of that freedom.* ~~relationship at the center of the NATO alliance~~

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

~~(Then too, during his religious talks in our country, the English Jesuit and author, Reverend Barnard Basset, delights his American audiences by revealing some of the naughty things you used to say about our G.I.'s, when they peacefully invaded your island 44 years ago so that together we could not-so-peacefully invade Nazi-held Europe. "What is the difference," one of your naughty stories went "between a cow chewing his cud and a G.I. chewing gum?" Answer: "The look of intelligence on the cow's face.")~~

No, he's here also to return to the West, to Europe, to report on his trip. And US-UK relationship should not be called "central" to NATO

This is bad and will be embarrassing  
Offensive

~~[Not that we Americans haven't had our moments.] [I once dared to remind you of your own youthful and rambunctious days when an English king angrily asked the Duke of Dublin whether it was true that he had just burned down the local cathedral. Yes, replied the Duke, "but only because I thought the archbishop was inside."]~~

No.  
With  
Northern  
Ireland in  
flames, this  
is in bad  
taste

[And then 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."]

Very old  
story.  
Not very  
funny any  
more

[So there has always been, as there should be among friends, an element of fun about our differences. I gained a lesson in this point from an English army officer in 1947 when I was on location here for a film. He explained to me that one day during the war, he was standing in a pub with some of his comrades when a group of American airmen entered nosily, set up a round or two, got a bit rowdy and started making some toasts that were less than complimentary to certain members of the British royalty.]

This  
could be  
dropped  
as well.

["To heck...to heck with...a prominent member of British royalty," the Yanks shouted. (Obviously I'm not quoting them exactly.) Quite properly offended by this rude behavior but determined to give as good as they got -- the British officer and his comrades responded with a toast of their own: "To heck (and here again the quotation is not exact), "...to heck with the President of the United States." Whereupon all the Americans in the bar grabbed their glasses and yelled: "we'll drink to that."]

Not so  
funny

Well, whatever I learned here about our differences, let me also assure you I learned more about how much we have in common...and the depth of our friendship. And, you know, I have

often mentioned this in the States but I have never had an opportunity to tell a British audience how during that first visit here I was, like most Americans, anxious to see some of those 700 years old inns I had been told about 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, to this place.

Let's say NATO

It was for these causes of peace and freedom that the people of Great Britain, the United States and <sup>the</sup> other <sup>of a North Atlantic Alliance</sup> ~~allied~~ nations have for 44 years made enormous sacrifices to keep our military ready and our alliance strong. And for these causes we have in this decade embarked on a new post-war strategy, a strategy of public candor about the moral and fundamental differences between statism and democracy but a strategy also 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 of fundamental issues and their eventual resolution.

The pursuit of this policy has just now taken me to Moscow and let me say: I believe this policy is bearing fruit. <sup>We</sup> ~~Quite~~ <sup>have made important progress in resolving problems in East-West</sup> ~~possibly, we are breaking out of the post-war era, quite relations and easing tensions. We~~ <sup>possibly, we are entering a new time in history, one made see the first glimmerings of possible</sup> ~~possible by authentic~~ <sup>progress</sup> ~~change~~ <sup>This is</sup> ~~and its~~ ~~ideology~~ ~~a change~~ that itself results from the steadfastness of the allied democracies over the past 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

Much too optimistic

No change in ideology. Even State recommends dropping.

(Opens us up to charge that we are now removing the deterrent)

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 the arms continues almost 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 <sup>my</sup> ~~my~~ zero-option plan, much maligned when first proposed, that is the basis for the I.N.F. Treaty [the instruments of ratification ~~final papers~~ of which Mr. Gorbachev and I <sup>exchanged</sup> ~~signed~~ just 24 hours ago;] the first treaty ever that did not just control <sup>offensive weapons</sup> ~~arms~~ but reduced them and, yes, actually eliminated an entire class of <sup>US and Soviet</sup> ~~nuclear weapons~~ <sup>missiles</sup>. 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 can achieve. For 2 weeks now, Soviet troops have been departing Afghanistan and there is hope of similar change in other regional conflicts.

This treaty and the development in Afghanistan 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 the voices of 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 voice, a voice of eloquence and firmness, a voice that proclaimed proudly

We aren't racing

Accuracy

ABM Treaty reduced "arms"

weapons' warheads) not being destroyed

May be too strong + too self-congratulatory

✓  
✓  
✓  
✓  
✓  
✓  
✓



the cause of the western alliance and human freedom, has been heard. And even as that voice never sacrificed its anti-Communist credentials or realistic, hard-headed appraisal of change in the Soviet Union, it did, because it came from the longest-serving senior leader in the alliance, become one of the first to recognize <sup>the opportunities for peace</sup> ~~real change when real change was underway~~ and to suggest that we could, as that voice put it, "do business with Mr. Gorbachev."

Perhaps US Pres is "senior" leader

So this is my first official duty here today. Prime Minister, the achievements of the Moscow summit as well as the Geneva and Washington summits before them are the work of your valor and strength and by virtue of the office you hold, the work of the British people. So let me say, simply: At this hour in history, Prime Minister, the entire world is in your debt and in the debt of 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 appreciation for the efforts and support of the leaders and peoples of all the <sup>democratic allies.</sup> ~~allied nations.~~ 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 <sup>grouping of free nations</sup> ~~alliance~~ 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, <sup>1949</sup> ~~the House of~~ <sup>or Western</sup> Europe has stood as one; and, joined by the United States and other democracies such as Japan, moved forward with diplomatic

Did not act as an Alliance in Gulf or in Afghanistan

Assembly

achievement and a startling growth of democracies and free markets all across the globe -- in short, an expansion of the frontiers of freedom and a lessening of the chances of war. I believe history will record our time as the time of the renaissance of 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 of gratitude to you, Prime Minister, to the British people and to all our valiant allies that I report to you now on events in Moscow.

Yesterday, at Greenwich time, Mr. Gorbachev and I <sup>exchanged instruments of ratification</sup> [signed the ~~final papers~~] of the I.N.F. treaty.] (Report on INF and START and other negotiations.)

Rep.  
(p. 6)

Now, part of the realism and candor we were determined to bring to negotiations with Soviets meant refusing to put all the weight of these negotiations and our bilateral relationship on the single difficult issue of arms negotiations. We have understood full well that the agenda of discussion must be broadened to deal with the more fundamental differences between us. This is the meaning of realism. 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 <sup>equally important</sup> ~~other~~ items on the agenda dealt with critical issues like regional conflicts, human rights and people-to-people exchanges.

4-part agenda

With regard to regional conflicts, here too, we can see ~~momentous~~ progress. We are now in the third week of the pull-out of Soviet

Repeats  
1.6

troops from Afghanistan. The importance of this step cannot be underestimated. (Report on Afghanistan, and other regional conflicts.)

Our third area of discussion was human rights. (Human rights report.)

And finally the matter of bilateral contacts between our peoples. Let me say that this trip itself saw many such contacts. At Moscow State University, at the orthodox monastery at Danilov<sup>sk</sup>, at meetings with Soviet dissidents, artists, and writers, I saw and heard... (Report on meeting and bilateral agreements.)

[All of this I took as further evidence that it is usually governments not people who make war on each other. And I am reminded of the words of Gandhi, spoken shortly after he visited Britain in his quest for independence, that he was "not conscious of a single experience throughout my 3 months in England and Europe that made me feel that after all East is East and West is West. On the contrary, I have been convinced more than ever that human nature is much the same, no matter under what climate it flourishes, and that if you approached people with trust and affection, you would have ten-fold trust and thousand-fold affection returned to you." ]

[And yet while the Moscow summit showed great promise and the response of the Russian 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 and the pursuit of a

State  
thinks  
these  
paragraphs  
are  
"not  
very  
effective,  
or  
pointed  
comments."

NSC  
staff  
has  
no  
problem

X  
✓

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 both 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 be ever vigilant. And while we embrace honest change when it occurs; let us also be wary.

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. I attempted then to give an accounting of the western alliance and what might lie ahead -- including my own view of the prospects for peace and freedom. 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 and could well lead to a worldwide movement towards democracy.

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. I noted the economic difficulties now reaching the critical stage in the Soviet Union; <sup>and Eastern Europe;</sup> and 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 freedom but only if we as free men and women worked together in 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 but 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 kept the faith. And, whatever happens, whatever triumphs or disappointments ahead, we must hold fast to our strategy of strength and candor -- our strategy of hope, hope in the eventual triumph of freedom. Let us take further, practical steps. I am hopeful that our own National Endowment for Democracy, which has helped democratic institutions in many lands, will spark parallel organizations in European nations. I praise the Council of Europe which, in conjunction with the European Parliament, has held two international democracy conferences including one on Third World democracy. The latest conference has called for establishment of an International Institute of Democracy; the United States heartily endorses this proposal.

But as we move forward with these steps, let us not fail to

note the lessons we have learned along the way in developing our overall 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 foreign aggression or human rights abuses is somehow an act of belligerence. Over the long run such inhibitions make free peoples <sup>reticent</sup> ~~taciturn~~, then silent and ultimately confused about their first principles and half-hearted about their cause. This is the first and most important defeat a free people can ever suffer. For truly, when free peoples cease telling the truth about and to their adversaries, they cease telling the truth to themselves.

Wrong word

[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, that 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 nations, too often they interpreted conciliatory words as weakness, too often they miscalculated by underestimating <sup>the</sup> willingness of free men and women to resist to the end. Words for freedom remind them otherwise.

Somewhat contradicts our "deeds, not words" theme vis-a-vis the Soviets - would be like; GBR's nothing

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, Prime Minister, you and I stood at the

Normandy beaches to commemorate the selflessness that comes from such pride and faith. And, I wonder if you might permit me to recall this morning another such moment, one that took place 18 months after ~~Overload~~<sup>OVERLORD</sup> and the rescue of Europe. ✓

Operation ~~Market Garden~~<sup>MARKET GARDEN</sup>, it was called. A plan to suddenly drop two British and one American airborne (armies) on Belgium and launch a great flanking movement around the Siegfried line and 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 week, in one of the most valiant exploits in the annals of war, they held out against hopeless odds. A few 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 Carrol there was this paragraph: "'Look at him,' said Henry Knap an American 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 also told of the wife of Cornelius Ryan, the American writer who immortalized Market Garden in his book, "A Bridge Too Far." She 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

weren't  
the units →  
smaller  
than  
"armies"?

caps.

writer could only look up and say of Colonel Frost:

"Honestly, what that man went through...."

Seated there in Spaso House with Soviet dissidents a few days ago, I felt the same way and asked myself: what won't men suffer for freedom?

The dispatch concluded with this quote from Colonel Frost about his visits to that bridge at Arnhem. "'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 we must view ours; we also are on a pilgrimage, a pilgrimage towards those things we honor and love: human dignity, the hope of peace and 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 nor altering its immediate effects, over time guides 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 time when the will of man and God are as one again.

I also cherish the belief that what we have done together in Moscow and throughout this decade has helped bring mankind along the road of that pilgrimage. If this be so, it is due to prayerful recognition of what we are about as a civilization and a people. I mean, of course, the great steps forward, the great civilized ideas that comprise so much of your greatness: the



development of law embodied by your constitutional tradition, the idea of restraint on centralized power and the notion of human rights as established in your Magna Carta, the idea of representative government as embodied by your mother of all parliaments.

But we go beyond even this. It was your own Evelyn Waugh 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 civilization 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, can remind us best of what we are about.

You know, we Americans like to think of ourselves as competitive and we do dislike losing; but I must say that judging from the popularity of this story in the United States it must mean that if we do lose, we prefer to do 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. It is the story of British athlete Harold Abrahams, a young Jew, whose victory -- as his immigrant 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. We believe in -- indeed, we see today evidence of -- the power of prayer to change all things. 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.

My friends, more than <sup>four</sup>~~three~~ 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 -- and 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, "and let us make a newer world."

Check  
this  
note

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

2940 Add-on

April 22, 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR TOM GRISCOM

FROM: JOHN D. NEGROPONTE *JDN*

SUBJECT: President's Speech in London

State has sent us a suggested draft for the President's speech in London en route from the Moscow Summit.

I enclose this for your and the speechwriters' consideration. However, I am also enclosing a page of NSC staff guidance on themes for the London speech, as well as a short paper with some additional bilateral (U.S.-UK) themes and points to make.

Attachments

Tab A NSC Guidance on the President's London Speech  
Tab B Bilateral Themes for the President's London Speech  
Tab C State Draft of the President's London Speech

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B  
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## NSC Guidance on the President's London Speech

The State Department draft appropriately draws on the President's 1982 Westminster speech and its celebration of democracy. The President can point to the remarkable developments since 1982, in the form of the worldwide vindication of our faith in democracy and economic freedom. Even in the Communist world, statist solutions are discredited.

The National Endowment for Democracy ought to be mentioned. It was launched in the 1982 Westminster speech.

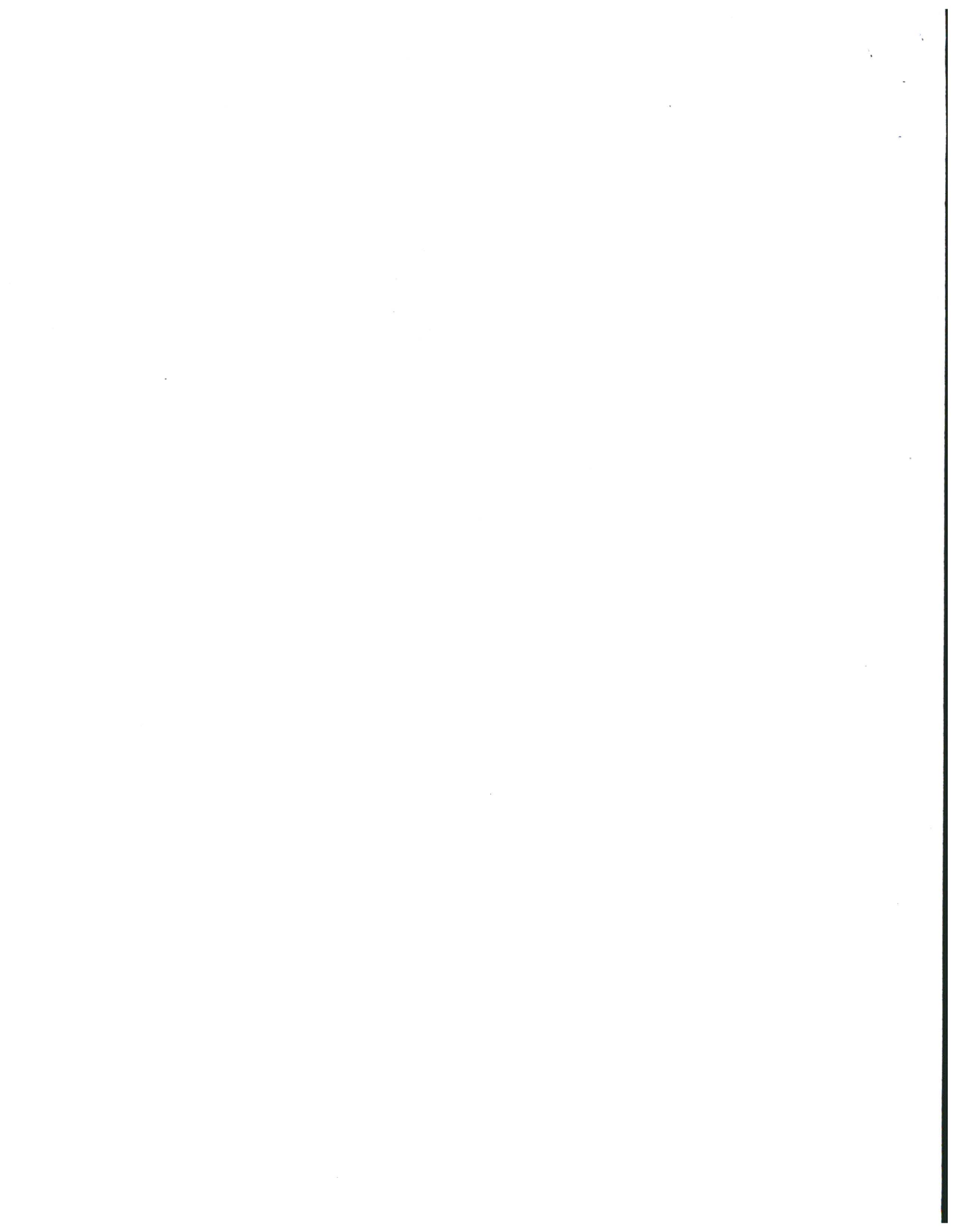
The London speech necessarily must include a preliminary readout of the Summit. This will need to be fixed after the Summit, but in our drafting we can anticipate:

- in arms control, exchange of the instruments of INF ratification; no START treaty but substantial progress in START; and a completed protocol on verification of the TTB/PNE treaties;
- in human rights, a vigorous insistence by the President on better performance;
- in the regional conflicts, a review of all the conflicts; insistence on better Soviet performance in the Gulf, the Mideast, and Angola; and hope that the Afghan accords will lead to total Soviet withdrawal and Afghan self-determination; and

-- in bilateral relations, agreement on further expansion of scientific, cultural, and people-to-people exchanges that will tear down more of the artificial barriers to the free flow of people, information, and ideas.

This speech should stress that this progress could not have been achieved without Western firmness and solidarity -- for which Mrs. Thatcher deserves much credit.

It should also sketch out the President's vision for Europe, East-West relations, and the cause of democracy over the next 10 years: He should pay tribute to European unity (free trade by 1992; European defense cooperation) within the framework of Western unity. He can express optimism about democracy in the Third World and growing prosperity as people draw the right lessons about economic freedom. He can express hope that by the power of example -- and by Western strength, firmness, and solidarity -- we can influence in a positive direction a Communist world which is clearly going through a period of reappraisal because of its evident failures.



## Bilateral Themes for President's Speech in London

The Guild Hall. -- On this, the State draft is not entirely accurate. We need to be careful in characterizing the Guild Hall and its historical role. The Guild Hall serves as the seat of government for the City of London (about one square mile), not greater London. This Guild Hall has not been in existence for a thousand years -- it was constructed in 1411 on the site of an older guild hall. The guilds were not democratic organizations, but rather bodies of artisans or tradesmen established to oversee economic activity (i.e. depending on the guild, akin to unions or trade associations). The Hall became the site of the Corporation fairly late in British history -- possibly in the 17th century. The Corporation was, and is, a body of City merchants, guild representatives, freemen, clerics, etc. By definition, members of the Corporation (who are elected) are not permitted to participate in party politics -- the only borough in London where this restriction applies.

U.S. Policy toward the Soviets. -- In any discussion of the President's priority interest in restoring Western military and economic strength, it would be appropriate to offer thanks for the strong efforts made by the UK in support of NATO and the Trident acquisition. The President could offer his personal thanks to Mrs. Thatcher here, since she was personally responsible for reinvigorating the UK's defense program.



Similarly, if the speech refers to the stationing of INF missiles, it would be appropriate to thank the UK for its agreement to deploy both the Pershing II and the Cruise.

Democracy and economic strength. -- The speech should stress the U.S. and the UK's common awareness of the need for entrepreneurial spirit and economic growth. The material in the draft is okay but it could be expanded to include a nod to the remarkable economic progress made by Mrs. Thatcher in liberalizing the UK economy and turning it from the "sick man" of Western Europe in the late 70s/early 80s to one of the most robust of the industrial democracies (i.e. higher growth rate than FRG). Similarly, Mrs. Thatcher has been a staunch advocate of removing barriers to free trade and supporting U.S. efforts to protect and strengthen the present international trade system. It would be worthwhile to acknowledge that support.

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4/18/88

DRAFT UK GUILD HALL SPEECH

I have just come from one of the world's great cities, and I am now in another one. In terms of geography, Moscow and London are some 1500 miles apart. But in more fundamental terms, the distance is much greater.

We can and must seek to narrow the distance between East and West. I think in the past three days we have made good progress in our continuing effort to do just that.

But we cannot forget that those distances exist. The political and philosophical distances are just as real as the geographic ones. This home truth is what strikes me above all else, in this historic hall, which has been the center of government for London for over a thousand years. The idea of democratic self-government -- free people governing themselves -- is what Guild Hall is all about.

NO

Wrong

That idea has been one of the most revolutionary forces in history. It still is. It is at the heart of the special relationship between our two great countries. It is the foundation stone of the NATO Alliance. And it remains in fundamental conflict with the ideas on which the Soviet Union is based.

A Turning Point in History

Six years ago, on my first visit to Europe as President, I was honored with the opportunity to address the Parliament of your great nation. I spoke then of the challenge which history has offered your country and mine, and our democratic allies: to preserve freedom as well as peace.

*Good*  
I pointed out that the world was at a historic turning point -- a crisis where the demands of the economic order were conflicting directly with those of the political order. But this was not the crisis of capitalism that Karl Marx predicted. Instead, it was a crisis of communism -- and it presented the West with a challenge and an opportunity.

Some people may have thought my remarks were visionary but not realistic. I know some people had that reaction in 1981, when I proposed a treaty to eliminate intermediate-range

missiles. Well, we saw how that turned out. We do not yet know how the crisis of communism will turn out, but I can report to you from on-site inspection of the Soviet Union: the winds of change are blowing.

*Good*  
Three factors have come together to bring this about. One is the continuing failure of an economic system that does not encourage initiative, but instead has actively repressed it. A second is the arrival of a new leadership generation, which is determined to do something about this problem. And the third factor has been the persistence of the free world -- above all, the countries of the NATO Alliance -- in maintaining our strength and solidarity in defense of our own right to peace and freedom.

There is a common denominator in all this: freedom. It is a simple concept, but a profound one. It weaves its way through politics and economics and international relations like a golden thread of hope.

## Collective Security

Let's be clear about one thing right up front: the East/West competition is not going to end in the foreseeable future. When I met with my NATO colleagues earlier in March, at a different sort of summit, we all agreed on that. But we agreed as well that something very important may be happening in the Soviet Union, and we should seize the opportunity to seek to build a solid foundation for a more constructive relationship with the East.

Because we stood together as allies, we succeeded in negotiating a treaty that substantially reduces the Soviet nuclear threat to NATO -- indeed, to all of its neighbors. But the threat of Soviet military power -- nuclear, conventional, and chemical -- remains. We are continuing to negotiate for stabilizing and verifiable reductions in all three areas. If we stay united, maintain our own strength, and persist in pursuit of our objectives, I know we will succeed. But we must not let down our guard, or abandon a good position just to make it easier to get an agreement. The fact that changes are underway in the Soviet Union does not change a time-tested truth: eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

Soviet Reforms

The reforms now taking place in the Soviet Union are real. They may be a first step towards greater economic and political freedom there. But there is a long way to go. As the old saying has it, the journey of a thousand miles begins with a first step. Let us hope that this first step is followed by a second, and a third -- and that there is no walking back.

We must also recognize that what is going on may really be an effort to modernize the economy and make it more efficient, without really reforming the communist system itself. The Russian people have lived through such episodes before, in their long and troubled history. So the reforms may end up having a major impact on how the Soviets live their lives and run their society -- or they may have none at all.

But freedom is a funny thing. It's habit-forming. If people gain some limited economic freedom, they want more. And the next thing they ask is, why not political freedom too?

Mr. Gorbachev is trying to shake the Soviet Union out of economic difficulties, technological backwardness, and social stagnation. I do not know how deep and broad support for his program is. No one in the West knows. Perhaps Mr. Gorbachev does not know himself.

*Don't  
persuade*

U.S. Policy towards Soviet Union

Whatever the level of support, and however his efforts turn out, we cannot entrust our security to what we think or hope might happen in the Soviet Union. We must base our policy on our own interests, and on the facts of the world in which we live.

For seven and a half years, I have pursued a steady policy towards the Soviet Union. My first priority has been to restore Western strength: modernizing our armed forces, rebuilding the confidence and unity of our alliances, strengthening our economy, and openly encouraging democracy throughout the world.

It is essential to be strong. But it is just as important to be smart. And with the Soviet Union, being smart means being realistic. I have no illusions about the nature of Soviet society, or of Soviet foreign policy, and I haven't hesitated to speak my mind on either subject.

The differences we in the West have with the Soviet Union -- differences in our philosophies of political and moral order



-- will not go away. At the same time, we have a fundamental common interest in making sure that these differences do not lead to war.

I have never been interested in repeating the experience of "detente." Detente became a one-dimensional relationship, in which the message Moscow got was that all we cared about was arms control. The Soviet Union felt free to build up and use military force -- its own and that of client states -- beyond its borders. We were told that Soviet human rights abuses were not our concern.

I made clear from the outset that this was not my approach. The dialogue was not going to be limited to subjects of Moscow's choosing, but would have to cover the full range of issues affecting our relationship.

My four-part agenda is by now well known:

-- Human Rights. This goes to the heart of what we stand for as democracies. It is not an embarrassing afterthought. I am not talking about linkage. But there is no avoiding this basic truth: We in the West really care about human rights. No relationship can be sustained

if it neglects those rights. Well, it is on the agenda now, and that in itself is an accomplishment. But just talking about it is not enough. There is a long way to go. Success in some individual cases, heartening as it is, is not enough either. So we are not going to let up.

-- Regional conflicts. If any one act symbolized the failure of detente, it was the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The Soviet withdrawal is now underway. In the 1970s, the Soviets had come to believe that we in the West were not prepared to defend freedom around the world. Well, that has changed. Freedom fighters around the world now know that they do not stand alone against Soviet aggression, direct or indirect. With our commitments to friends and allies foremost in our mind, we're prepared to work together with the Soviets to seek peaceful solutions to other regional conflicts, as well.

-- Bilateral relations. The Soviet Union is a vast country with which the U.S. already has a range of cooperative relationships. So do many other countries, including the United Kingdom. Each of us has much to gain by having our peoples get to know each other better. I take special pride in the initiative to expand opportunities for contact

between young Americans and young Soviets. But it is important to set standards of strict reciprocity so the benefits flow both ways. That is exactly the approach I have followed.

-- Finally, there is arms control. One lesson of the 1970s is that arms agreements that only guide the growth of arsenals just aren't good enough. Treaties that pretend technology stands still can lose much of their value. As for agreements that can't be effectively verified, or that violate the principle of U.S./Soviet equality, let me say one thing: I'm not going to sign them.

We need to conduct our relations with the Soviet Union for the long term. We must not be misled by atmospherics, whether sunny or stormy. The sun is shining on East/West relations right now. But we can remember times when the sky was cloudy indeed. Such times may come again.

It is just as dangerous to fall victim to euphoria when things are going well as it is to succumb to hysteria when there are problems. In dealing with the Soviet Union, the key to success is to do so on the basis of military strength, allied solidarity, and a clear-eyed, confident knowledge and

understanding of what we are dealing with and what we ourselves want to accomplish. That is the only basis on which to build a structure of peace that will weather good times and bad.

Community of NATO

I said at the beginning that Western solidarity was one of the three principal reasons we are seeing changes in the Soviet Union. NATO has succeeded so well because we share more than a common threat. We share a common purpose -- a commitment to democracy and freedom. NATO is a community of values and political principles that we are all pledged to protect and to foster.

A major part of the strength of the Alliance derives from these common values. That strength was essential as we went forward with deployments of the Pershing II and cruise missiles which made the INF Treaty possible. This strength will stand us in good stead as we proceed together to maintain our transatlantic partnership for peace.

NATO is, first and foremost, a military alliance -- the most successful one in history. It is a strictly defensive alliance -- none of our weapons will ever be used except in

response to attack. The military area of responsibility of the North Atlantic Alliance is clearly defined. Our determination to defend it together against any threat has kept the peace for almost forty years.

But as a community of democracies, our concerns go beyond these all-important military purposes. We have no interest in being an isolated island of democracy and prosperity in a world of misery and tyranny. When I spoke to your Parliament six years ago, I stressed the need for the Western allies to 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.

#### Democratic Tide

For that reason, we share the goal not only of building a better life for our own peoples, but also of helping create the conditions that foster freedom and economic development elsewhere in the world as well. I spoke six years ago of a democratic tide that was rising around the world.

The doctrine of Marxism preaches that history follows certain inevitable laws -- in effect, that we are not the

masters of our own destinies. Well, that's just wrong. It is individual men and women who make history happen. There is a tide of democracy not because of iron laws of history or economics, but because individual human beings -- often at great personal sacrifice and risk -- have taken control of their own destinies, and created that tide.

Now I do believe that once democracy gets going, it's got a real advantage over the competition. That's because freedom works better than anything else. It's as true in economics as it is in politics. That's the lesson that the Soviet Union is slowly learning. How thoroughly they will apply that lesson remains an open question. And, as I said, the next question is an even bigger one -- how far can you go in freeing your economy before you must start to free your political system, as well?

Democracy is not a fragile flower; throughout history, the boots of tyrants have failed to stamp it out. But it needs cultivating. That's just what I proposed we do, six years ago. And the last six years have been good ones for democracy, around the world. Sometimes the triumph of democracy has been peaceful, sometimes it has been less so. In some cases, that triumph has been only partial, so far. But the message is clear: freedom is on the march.

In the Philippines, ordinary people rekindled the spirit of democracy and restored the electoral process. The return to democracy in the Republic of Korea took a different path, but it too led to the ballot box, where the will of the people was freely expressed.

Democracy is the watchword in the Western hemisphere, as well. The proud citizens of America's sister republics in the Western hemisphere are taking control of their own destinies, following the shining example of the men and women in Spain and Portugal. Ten years ago, only a third of the people of Latin America and the Caribbean lived in democracies or in countries that were turning to democracy. Today over 90 percent do.

*Challenge Soviets*  
~~And~~ the winds of change are blowing in Eastern Europe, as well. Perhaps it gives a better picture of the process to say the breezes of change are blowing. Change behind the Iron Curtain is a painfully slow process, even slower in some countries than others. But there too, the process has begun.

Democracy and Economic Growth

Sometimes a single phrase can sum up a myriad of details. One such phrase makes a very important point that applies not just to the Soviet Union, but to the entire world: the magic of the marketplace.

Just what is that magic? In fact, it is not magic at all. It is the simple, empirically demonstrated fact that freedom works -- not just in politics, but in economics, as well.

Around the world, new businesses, new economic growth, new technologies are emerging from the workshops of ordinary people with extraordinary dreams.

This truth is not news to you here in the United Kingdom. But we Americans have been doing our part, as well. My Administration has sought to unleash entrepreneurial energy by cutting taxes and regulations. Economists estimate that three-quarters of the more than 13.5 million new jobs in the United States since the beginning of our current expansion came from businesses with fewer than 100 employees -- businesses started by ordinary people who dared to take a chance. And many of our new high technologies were first developed in the garages of fledgling entrepreneurs.



In India and China, freer markets for farmers have led to an explosion in production. In Latin America, this same lesson of free markets, greater opportunity, and growth is being studied and acting on. In Africa, governments are rethinking their policies, and where they're allowing greater economic freedom to farmers, crop production has improved. Where they are not, we see famine.

Meanwhile, in the newly industrialized countries of the Pacific rim, both economic growth and standards of living have soared. The secret of their success is free markets in services and manufacturing, as well as agriculture. Japan, the Republic of Korea, Taiwan, and the ASEAN nations have together created the true economic miracle of the last two decades. In each case, much of their success has been due to ordinary people who succeeded as entrepreneurs.

It just makes no sense to try to confine economic freedom to individual countries. No country can hope for lasting economic growth at the expense of other countries. The secret of lasting prosperity is free trade internationally and free economies domestically. The two go hand in hand.

We must continue to stand guard for our own peace and freedom, as NATO has done for almost forty years. We are the masters of our own fates, and will have no one but ourselves to blame if we fail. But I do not believe we will fail. Free people, working together freely for the common good, can look back on their achievements with well-deserved satisfaction, and can face the future with well-justified confidence. →

~~EUR/RPM/S3-147~~

Democracy and International Security

And the benefits of freedom do not stop there. Democracy and security go hand in hand, as well.

Historians may find a few counterexamples, but the simple truth is that democracies do not start wars. Tyrants throughout the ages have sometimes mistaken this for pacifism -- to their eternal regret. The citizens of a democratic country will fight to defend their freedoms -- but they will not fight to take freedom away from others.

We see this lesson in the CSCE process, as well. It has become a fundamental tenet of that process that human rights in Europe are essential to security in Europe. That is a lesson that must apply in every corner of the globe.

So as the democratic tide sweeps forward, it brings with it not just the blessings of freedom and prosperity, but peace, as well. That tide is low in the Soviet Union today. It will be years, perhaps decades, before we know whether it will bring those blessings to the people of that land.

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(Dolan)  
June 1, 1988  
3:30 p.m. (Moscow)

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: FOREIGN AFFAIRS ORGANIZATION  
THE 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 is, as your majestic, moving hymn proclaims, a "land of hope and glory." And

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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 you and the alliance. I am especially pleased that this should happen here; for truly the relationship between the United States and Great Britain has been critical to NATO's success 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 [RR--nod toward statue of seated, reflective Churchill], grew so exasperated with American diplomacy that 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."

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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 one 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

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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



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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 double-zero option, much maligned when first proposed, that provided 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.

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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 who 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, it 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 toward the leaders and peoples of all the democratic allies. Whether deploying crucial

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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. On Wednesday, at 0-8:20 Greenwich time, Mr. Gorbachev and I exchanged the instruments of ratification of the I.N.F. treaty. So, too, we made tangible 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 control. As I never tire of saying,

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nations do not distrust each other because they are armed, they are armed because they distrust 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 are now in the third week of the pull-out of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. The importance of this step should not be underestimated. Our third area of discussion was bilateral contacts between our peoples. An expanding program of student exchanges and the opening of cultural centers -- progress toward a broader understanding of each other.

And finally, on the issue of human rights -- granting people the right to speak, write, travel, and worship freely -- there are signs of greater individual freedom.

Now originally I was going to give you just an accounting on these items. But, you know, on my first day in Moscow, Mr. Gorbachev used a Russian saying: "Better to see something once than to hear about it a hundred times." So if I might go beyond our four-part agenda today and offer just a moment or two of personal reflection on the country I saw for the first time.

In all aspects of Soviet life, the talk is of progress toward democratic reform. In the economy, in political institutions, in religious, social, and artistic life. It is called glasnost -- openness. It is Perestroika -- restructuring. Mr. Gorbachev and I discussed his upcoming party conference where many of these reforms will be debated and, perhaps, adopted. Such things as official accountability, limitations on length of

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service in office, an independent judiciary, revisions of the criminal law, and lowering taxes on cooperatives. In short, giving individuals more freedom to run their own affairs, to control their own destinies.

To those of us familiar with the post-war era, all of this is cause for shaking the head in wonder. Imagine, the President of the United States and the General Secretary of the Soviet Union walking together in Red Square talking about a growing personal friendship and meeting, together, average citizens, realizing how much our people have in common.

It was a special moment in a week of special moments. My personal impression of Mr. Gorbachev is that he is a serious man seeking serious reform. I pray that the hand of the Lord will be on the Soviet people -- the people whose faces Nancy and I saw everywhere we went. Believe me, there was one thing about those faces that we will never forget -- they were the faces of hope, the hope of a new era in human history, and, hopefully, an era of peace and freedom for all.

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 statism and expansionism have been the central point in our difficulties.

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Now that the allies are strong and expansionism 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 that we have adopted is one that provides for setbacks along the way as well as progress. Let us embrace honest change when it occurs; but let us also be wary. And ever vigilant. Let us stay strong.

And 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

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determination from free nations, decided to loosen their grip. It was then I suggested that the 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. In matters of state, unless the truth be spoken, it ceases to exist.

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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



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those magnificent veterans -- British, Americans, and others 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. Now, there's a word.' He turned to his wife, 'Dear, what's the word for going to Arnhem?'

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'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 toward 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 has 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

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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

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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 that 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."