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with port facilities intact, was captured next day.

1944, August 27–September 4. The American Pursuit Falters. Gasoline for Bradley's army group was reduced to a trickle as supplies went to the British. Patton's Third Army crossed the Meuse (August 30), only to be halted there with empty fuel tanks. Hodges' First Army, after bagging 25,000 prisoners at Mons (September 3), was also reduced to inchworm progress.

1944, September 3. Eisenhower Assumes Direct Command of Ground Operations. This permitted Montgomery to devote full attention to 21 Army Group.

1944, September 4–14. The Germans Block Antwerp. Hitler ordered General Kurt Student's First Parachute Army to block further advance across the Albert Canal, and General Gustav von Zangen's Fifteenth Army to hold the Scheldt estuary. Until that had been cleared, Antwerp was of no use as an Allied port. Clearing Antwerp became the main mission of the Second Army, while the Canadian First Army, after investing Le Havre, moved up the coast to clear the Channel ports and to overrun the V-1 missile sites in the Pas de Calais area.

1944, September 5. Recall of Rundstedt. Hitler again assigned Rundstedt to su-

preme command in the west. He prepared a stand along the Westwall fortified zone (Siegfried Line).

1944, September 14. Allies Close on the German Border. The line ran northward from Switzerland, through Lorraine to Aachen, then northwesterly through Maastricht, along the Albert Canal, and west to the Channel at Ostend. Bradley's 12th Army Group had renewed a creeping advance, still hampered by gasoline shortage.

COMMENT. Since June 6, the Allies had put more than 2.1 million men on French soil, shattered Hitler's dream of a Festung Europa, and flung the German forces back to their own border. The stupendous drive through France had cost some 40,000 Allied killed, 165,000 wounded, and 20,000 missing. German losses had been a catastrophic half-million men in the field forces and an additional 200,000 in the coastal fortresses. Chewed, disrupted, and battered, the remnants now stood behind the dilapidated Siegfried Line, seemingly vulnerable to an Allied coup de grâce. However, their homogeneous staff structure was still intact, their discipline remained, and replacements were being rushed from Germany and the east. Rundstedt and his principal subordinates provided a high order of leadership. The war was still far from its end.

INVASION OF GERMANY, 1944

Both Montgomery and Bradley were convinced that a single thrust into Germany, furnished with unlimited support, would end the war, but neither desired to play second fiddle. Eisenhower, straddling, approved Montgomery's plan to turn the northern German flank by seizing a northern bridgehead over the Maas (Meuse) before clearing the water approaches to Antwerp. The First Allied Airborne Army (3 divisions) under Major General Lewis H. Brereton, in reserve in England, was attached to Montgomery's command for the operations.

Operation "Market Garden"

Montgomery's bold plan was to drop 3 airborne divisions as steppingstones behind the German lines along a narrow 60-mile causeway over marshy ground, seizing the bridges of three rivers—the Maas (Meuse), Waal (Rhine), and Lek (lower Rhine). The British Second Army—led by XXX Corps—would drive across this "airborne carpet" and turn the northern flank of the Siegfried Line.

1944, September 17. Air Drops at Arnhem, Nijmegen, and Eindhoven. The daylight drops were successful, but German resistance on the ground was stronger than expected. The U.S. 101st Division secured

the Wilhelmina Canal crossing near Eindhoven. The U.S. 82nd captured the Maas bridge at Grave, but was unable to gain the Waal bridge at Nijmegen. The British 1st Airborne Division, with a Polish bri-

gade attached, reached the north of the Lek, but at or beyond was met by unexpectedly strong German forces. The British ground force, headed by tanks, reached the Lek but failed to join the 101st (September 17). The Meuse bridge was secured after 24 hours of bitter fighting by a combined Anglo-American assault. Bad lack of maneuver ground in the countryside hampered further advance, though detachments reached the bank of the Lek.

1944, September 17–26. Battle of the Scheldt. The British 1st Airborne was to clear German reinforcements and to hold a small perimeter, though it was to hold the Lek bridgehead.

The Scheldt Estuary Campaign

Montgomery now turned to the liberation of the water gate to the Beveland peninsula and Walcheren.

1944, October 1–November 8. South Beveland and Walcheren. Furious British assaults (some units participated), plus a small-scale operation, resulted in capturing the Beveland peninsula (October 31) after suffering heavy losses. Walcheren was captured (November 8) to an amphibious assault, following on the flooding of the dikes by Allied air bombings. The Scheldt was now free to the south shore had been cleared (October 22).

1944, November 4–26. Minesweeping in the Scheldt. Even before the last of the dikes was fired at Walcheren, one of the most important mine sweeps of the war. The 70-mile channel to Antwerp was combed 16 times by 100 Allied minesweepers before the first Allied convoy entered the port (November 27).

Breaking the Siegfried Line, October–December

1944, October 1–23. American Advance to the Westwall. Bradley's Second Army pressed against the Siegfried Line from above Maastricht to Liège. The British 1st Airborne now, for the new Ninth Army, was joined (October 3). From the Swiss border, Devers' Sixth Army

gade attached, reached the Arnhem area north of the Lek, but at once became involved with unexpectedly strong German forces. The British ground advance, spearheaded by tanks, reached Eindhoven to join the 101st (September 18). The Nijmegen bridge was secured after another 24 hours of bitter fighting by a joint Anglo-American assault. Bad weather and lack of maneuver ground in the flooded countryside hampered further advance, though detachments reached the south bank of the Lek.

1944, September 17-26. Battle of Arnhem.

The British 1st Airborne was pocketed by German reinforcements and forced into a small perimeter, though clinging for a while to the Lek bridgehead. Behind them

the Germans now completely barred the way to further Allied advance and bad weather prevented dropping of reinforcements or supply. Ringed by close-in artillery and mortar fire, with food and ammunition exhausted, and forced away from the bridge, the defense collapsed. Some 2,200 survivors were evacuated across the Lek in assault boats during the night (September 25-26), leaving 7,000 men behind them killed, wounded, or captured.

COMMENT. *The stand of the 1st Airborne Division at Arnhem ranks high in the annals of the British Army. German reaction was prompt, skillful, and efficient. The Rhine barrier still faced the Allies and the German defense was still intact.*

The Scheldt Estuary Campaign, October-November

Montgomery now turned to the task essential to any further Allied advance—liberation of the water gate to Antwerp. The keys to the Scheldt were the South Beveland peninsula and Walcheren Island at its western tip, both highly fortified.

1944, October 1-November 8. Battle for South Beveland and Walcheren Island.

Furious British assaults (some American units participated), plus a small amphibious operation, resulted in capture of the peninsula (October 31) after both sides suffered heavy losses. Walcheren Island fell (November 8) to an amphibious assault, following on the flooding of the defenses by Allied air bombings of the sea dikes. The Scheldt was now free, for the south shore had been cleared already (October 22).

1944, November 4-26. Minesweeping the Scheldt.

Even before the last gun was fired at Walcheren, one of the most difficult mine sweeps of the war had begun. The 70-mile channel to Antwerp was combed 16 times by 100 Allied vessels before the first Allied convoy entered the port (November 27).

Breaking the Siegfried Line, October-December

1944, October 1-23. American Advance to the Westwall.

Bradley's 12th Army Group pressed against the Siegfried Line from above Maastrich to Lunéville—3 armies now, for the new Ninth U.S. Army, Lieutenant General William H. Simpson, had joined (October 3). From Lunéville to the Swiss border, Devers' 6th Army

Group penetrated Alsace and the Vosges Mountains. Winter was closing in. German opposition west of the Rhine was strong. Rundstedt's command, OB West, consisted from north to south of Student's Army Group H, from the North Sea to below Roermond; Model's Army Group B, reaching south to the line of the Moselle; and Hermann Balck's Army Group G to Karlsruhe. An SS group, under SS Chief Heinrich Himmler, held the remainder of the line to Switzerland. Patton's Third Army reached and closed in on Metz (October 3). Hodges' First Army captured Aachen after furious fighting (October 21), the first breach of the Siegfried Line.

1944, October 28. Eisenhower Orders November Offensive. This was to destroy all German forces west of the Rhine, to establish bridgeheads across it, and to advance into Germany.

1944, November 2-7. Repulse at Schmidt.

The U.S. 28th Division of the V Corps was repulsed in efforts to take Schmidt, just north of the Roer River dams.

1944, November 16-December 15. Roer River-Hürtgen Forest Operations.

Bradley's Ninth and First Armies attacked against heavy opposition, over difficult terrain, enlarging the Aachen breakthrough.

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THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MILITARY HISTORY

from 3500 B.C. to the present

R. ERNEST DUPUY and TREVOR N. DUPUY

Revised Edition



1817

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were reckoned among the most spirited and reliable troops in the British Eighth Army. Additional forces were raised by conscription and worked under the United States command in the southwestern Pacific, operating against the Japanese.

In home politics the Labour government, in power since 1935 under M. J. Savage, intensified the economic controls it had already begun to operate before the war, when Peter Fraser had set up the framework of a welfare state in 1938. War production increased, but prices remained fairly stable. Fraser succeeded Savage as prime minister in 1940 and held the post till 1949. He played a leading part, as spokesman for the small nations, in the drawing up of the United Nations Charter at San Francisco in 1945. New Zealand by the end of the war had had its ties with the United Kingdom loosened, but not broken; it was somewhat closer to the U.S. and a good deal closer to its nearest neighbor, Australia.

NIGHT AND FOG.

See *Nacht und Nebel*.

NIMITZ, Chester W. (1885-1966).

American admiral. Appointed commander in chief of the United States Pacific Fleet shortly after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, he was responsible for the U.S. victory at Midway in June 1942 and for the subsequent undermining of Japanese naval power. He was among those receiving Japan's surrender aboard the USS *Missouri* on September 2, 1945.

NKVD.

See *Narodnyy Kommissariat Vnutrennikh Del*.

NOMURA, Kichisaburo (1877-1964).

An admiral, diplomat and Japanese ambassador to the United States at the time of Pearl Harbor, Nomura abrogated Japan's treaty of commerce with the U.S. as foreign minister in late 1939. Together with Saburo Kurusu, he negotiated with Cordell Hull, the American secretary of state, from April through November 1941. He tried earnestly to avert war without compromising Japan's position on the Asian mainland. Both Hull and Nomura wanted to turn Japan away from the Axis and toward an accommodation with the United States. Nomura's ambiguity and vacillation, which greatly imperiled the negotiations, were caused by his imperfect English, his diplomatic inexperience and the uncertain political climate in Tokyo, and also by his hope of forestalling war by letting the talks drag on as long as possible. This tactic failed when the Japanese government took the Hull note of November 26 as an ultimatum. Through confusion and communications

delays that were symbolic of the entire negotiations, Nomura met with Hull to announce the impending attack on Pearl Harbor more than an hour after it had already begun.

NORDPOL.

See *Englandspiel*.

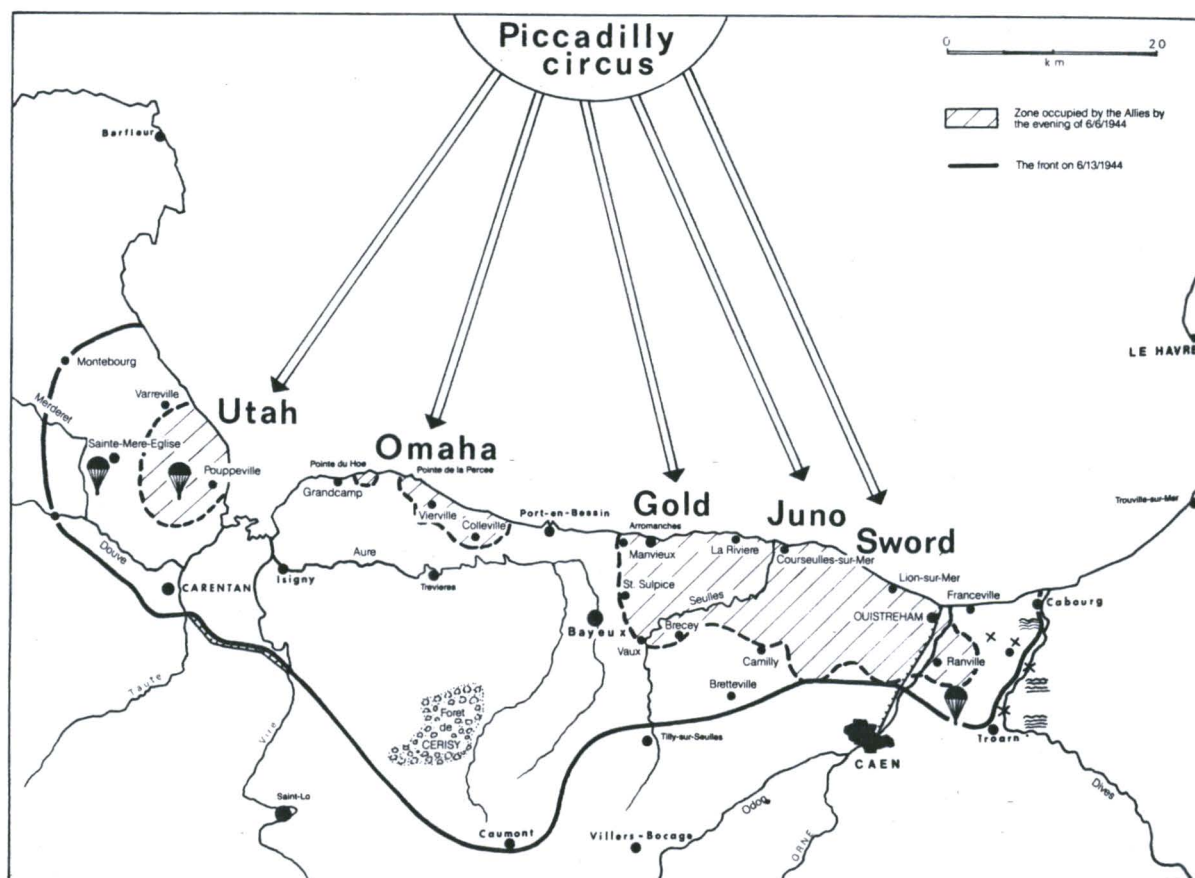
NORMANDY LANDING.

Four years' preparation went into the Allied re-entry onto the continent after the near-disaster of Dunkirk. Four years' raiding experience by Louis Mountbatten's and Robert F. Laycock's commandos, including the disastrous dress rehearsal at Dieppe; four years' pounding, often ineffectual, by the Royal Air Force's Bomber Command at industrial and communications targets; two and a half years of the same by the USAAF; a year's meticulous planning, done in dead secrecy in London by a joint Anglo-American staff; a year's administrative build-up (Operation Bolero) by the Americans of troops, aircraft and ammunition in England, without which the operation could never have been mounted at all; the protracted battle of the Atlantic, over which all Bolero's supplies came; the struggle to design and assemble adequate landing craft; and the work of all the secret services that sought to foster resistance; all these were combined in the largest amphibious operation ever mounted. Bolero assembled 21 U.S. divisions; there were 26 British-Canadian and Polish divisions as well. The Germans had 36 infantry and six Panzer divisions between Brest and the Rhine, and about 15 more infantry and three more Panzer divisions readily available.

The major Anglo-American attack on northwestern Europe, long anticipated by the Germans on the beaches south of Boulogne, took place instead in the Baie de la Seine at dawn on June 6, 1944. This was Operation Neptune, the assault phase of Operation Overlord. Eisenhower had postponed it for 24 hours, awaiting more favorable weather; no longer a postponement was feasible without risking the essential element of surprise. As it was, the armada was so large that by dusk on June 5 a few ships were already in sight of the shore; they spent the night disturbed only by a moderate sea.

Eisenhower decided to call out resistance forces for maximum activity on the night of the landing and to undertake an intricate program of road and rail interdiction bombing in the first days of June, which cut every bridge on the Seine below Paris and every bridge but one on the Loire below Briare. The French Resistance added 950 rail cuts and a myriad of road blocks and acts of minor sabotage on the critical night. Massive bombardment of the landing area, from sea and air, began at midnight. Bernard Mont-

NORMANDY LANDING



gomery, the force commander, put three divisions ashore from the air in the early hours of the morning, and five from the sea after dawn, on the first day (D-day). Two American airborne divisions, aiming for the base of the Cotentin peninsula, were widely scattered in their first drop. The seaborne landing just east of the peninsula (Omaha beach) nearly failed, but was rescued by the evening of the first day; all the rest succeeded. A British airborne division seized and held the crossing of the Ouistreham-Caen canal, on the operation's left flank, in its earliest hours. Caen was to have been captured on the first day; the Germans held it till July 9. But by June 11 all Neptune's landing areas had been built into a single solid front; 326,000 troops were ashore, and the work of Overlord went ahead. Erwin Rommel, the defending general (who was away on leave at the critical moment), had kept his strength well forward, and had no immediate reserves available. An exceptionally elaborate and suc-

cessful deception plan led the Germans to believe that the main landing, under Gen. George S. Patton, was going to take place south of Boulogne after all; thinking Neptune itself was a feint, they did not react fast.

The success of the landing gave enormous encouragement to the populations of occupied Europe: the end of the war was at last clearly in sight. Still, there was far to go. Montgomery pursued for the next month his intended strategy, of hammering away on his left flank—to which he attracted all the available German armor—with British and Canadian troops, while the Americans on the right cleared the Cotentin peninsula. Cherbourg was taken on June 26, but German demolitions delayed its re-opening as a port until July 19. Artificial ports meanwhile supplied the forces ashore, though the one serving the Americans was severely damaged by a storm in the third week of June. There was no German naval and virtually no air

interference, but for every inch

On July 25 the Army in an effort to reach Avranches then passed through Brittany—where it fomented a pro-left-handed movement, behind the

NORMANDY LANDING



interference, but the German army fought stubbornly for every inch of the close Norman countryside.

On July 25 Gen. Omar Bradley launched his First Army in an offensive southward from St. Lo, which reached Avranches in a week. Patton's Third Army then passed through the First, fanned out across Brittany—where the French Special Air Service had fomented a popular rising—and swept round in a left-handed half-circle through Mayenne and Alençon, behind the Germans' left rear.

Rommel by this time had been wounded, and Gerd von Rundstedt, his superior, had been replaced by Guenther von Kluge. Von Kluge attempted a counter-offensive westward from Mortain; but Bradley, forewarned by Ultra, stopped him in his tracks. The German Seventh Army was thereupon encircled in a vast pocket between Falaise and Argentan; it lost half a million men, most of them as prisoners.

By now France outside the battle areas was teeming with resistance groups, many of them with SAS troops

NORMANDY LANDING

or SOE or OSS officers from the Special Operations Executive or Office of Strategic Services as their fighting core; the Germans were losing control over their own rear. On August 15 Lucian Truscott's Sixth Army Group—moved in landing craft sent around from Normandy to the Tyrrhenian—disembarked on the coast of the Riviera and began its advance up the Rhone. This was made much easier by resisters, who opened a route through the lower Alps, again around the Germans' left flank. In the last week of August the isolated German garrisons in southwestern France headed back for the Reich—by road, as the railways were no longer in service—and lost heavily in resistance ambushes on the way. Five Free French divisions were by now in action, four under Jean de Lattre de Tassigny in the Sixth Army Group and one under Leclerc in Patton's Third Army.

As the Allied armies moved northeastward, Eisenhower had intended to bypass Paris; feeding its population would further strain his already tenuous lines of supply. But resisters in the city forced his hand. Communists and Gaullists initiated an insurrection on August 19; Dietrich von Choltitz, the German governor, could have repressed it but did not, and surrendered to Leclerc on the 25th.

Meanwhile the Canadians were advancing rapidly along the coast. They took Dieppe on September 1 and were in Brugge by the 9th. The British reached Antwerp on September 4 to find that the Belgian resistance had secured the port installations virtually intact, although no ship could unload at Antwerp until November 26, after fierce fighting on Walcheren had cleared the mouth of the Schelde.

This advance overran several hundred V-1 launching sites, from which the Germans had been bombarding London with pilotless aircraft (each carrying a ton of explosive) since June 13. These attacks had been much less destructive than had at first been feared—the V-1 and V-2 between them caused about 31,000 casualties in England—but were highly disagreeable; they also gave the population of southeastern England a direct feeling of personal participation in the war once again. After they lost Antwerp, the Germans directed their V-weapons on that city as well; indeed, of 3,000 V-2s fired between September 8, 1944 and March 29, 1945, 1,750 were aimed at Antwerp and 1,250 at London. Belgian casualties were quite as large as the British. There was no defense against a V-2, but over half the 7,840 V-1s fired at England were destroyed in the air by fighters or anti-aircraft defenses. The Americans meanwhile had also pressed forward vigorously, taking Verdun on September 1, Liege on the 8th and Luxembourg on the 10th. But they ran out of gasoline and impetus as

they neared the Siegfried Line, just inside the west German frontier, where, for a short time, they stuck.

One attempt to break the deadlock, turn the Germans' new right flank and bring the war to a sudden end narrowly failed. Allied airborne troops had repeatedly prepared to drop in key areas behind the battle front, only to find their dropping zones overrun by the swiftness of the ground troops' advance. On September 17 two U.S. airborne divisions seized the bridges at Nijmegen and Eindhoven, and the First British airborne division dropped at Arnhem. Intelligence that there were two SS Panzer divisions near Arnhem was ignored, but proved true: the British parachutists were too lightly armed to secure their objective against such opposition, and a drive to link up with them overland was checked by tough German defenses. The remnant withdrew on September 25.

While the British and Canadians fought to open the Schelde, the Americans and French tackled the left bank of the Rhine. Nancy fell on September 15, Aachen on October 21, Belfort on November 22 and Strasbourg on the 23rd, but the autumn rains were unusually heavy, and progress was slow. The opening of Antwerp enabled Eisenhower to shorten his supply lines, which had hitherto run from Brest (captured, damaged, on September 18), Cherbourg and the Channel ports; but Antwerp was on his extreme left flank. German garrisons held out in the Channel Islands, Lorient, St. Nazaire and the mouth of the Gironde, but were easily enough contained. Submarine operations from the Biscay coast came almost to a standstill: a distinct subsidiary gain for the Allies.

The sudden German offensive in the Ardennes on December 16 achieved tactical surprise—partly because complete radio silence prevented Ultra from giving any warning—but it never shook Eisenhower's nerve. By Christmas Eve it had been mastered. It never even reached Namur, the halfway mark towards its goal of Antwerp, and it cost the Germans a quarter of a million men, as well as 1,600 aircraft and 600 tanks (the Allies lost some 60,000 men in it). (See also *Battle of the Bulge*.)

In January the Ardennes salient was finally reduced, and in February and early March Eisenhower's armies pinched out the German forces west of the Rhine. On March 7 an American armored spearhead seized a bridge, accidentally left undestroyed, at Remagen between Cologne and Coblenz. By March 23 Bradley had three corps east of the Rhine there, in a bridgehead 25 miles wide; on that day Montgomery's armies launched a major crossing of the Rhine near Wesel, downstream of the Ruhr. Over 40,000 tactical support sorties were flown in four days. Resistance to the land attack was comparatively slight, and by April 18 the Ruhr in-

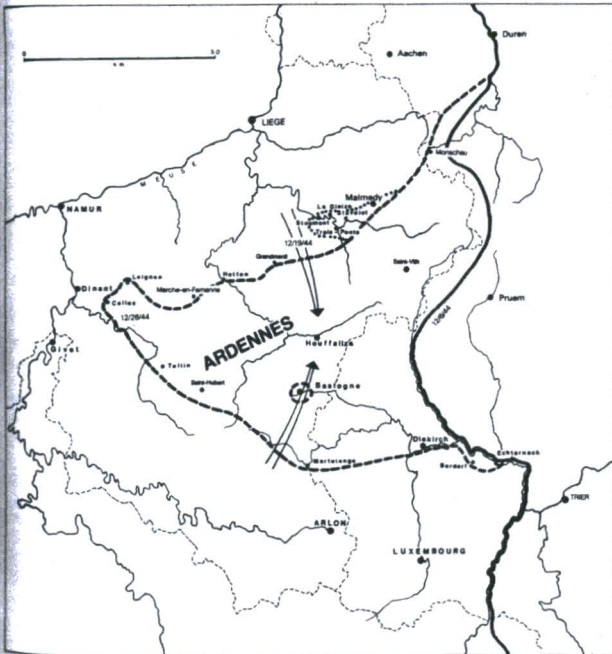


dustrial area had a further 325,000

The Bomber resumed their strike against Germany; the T-47s arrived in April 25 America's Fifth Army crossed the Elbe. The British captured Hamburg on May 27. The Americans arrived in Salzburg on May 28. Their own Fifth Army entered the city of Berlin on May 2. Alfred Jodl signed the German surrender on May 7.

NORTH AFRICA
See French North Africa and Eastern Theater

NORWAY.
Germany vitally needed the port to achieve its goal. It took about 22 miles to cut off from the blockade in 1939. Obviously, the loss of the port have been an im-



dustrial area had been encircled, costing the Germans a further 325,000 prisoners.

The Bomber Command and the Eighth USAAF resumed their strategic onslaught on a much weakened Germany; the Third Reich altogether broke up. On April 25 American and Soviet troops met at Torgau on the Elbe. The British took Bremen on April 26 and Hamburg on May 3. The Americans reached Nuremberg on April 20 and Munich on April 30; they arrived in Salzburg on May 4, and made contact with their own Fifth Army south of the Brenner the same day. Alfred Jodl signed an act of unconditional surrender on May 7.

M. R. D. Foot

NORTH AFRICA.

See French North Africa; Mediterranean and Middle Eastern Theater of Operations.

NORWAY.

Germany vitally needed Swedish iron. Despite its efforts to achieve self-sufficiency, the Reich had to import about 22 million tons of iron in 1938. Of this amount, 9.5 million tons were provided by countries cut off from the Reich after the Allies imposed a blockade in 1939, and nine million by Sweden. Obviously, the loss of the high-quality Swedish ore would have been an irreparable disaster for Germany's war

economy (see Germany—Economy of the Third Reich). For the most part the ore was extracted from the Kiruna and Gallivare basins in the north. Carried by a single railroad line, it could be unloaded at the Swedish port of Lulea, ice-bound for most of the year, or at the Norwegian port of Narvik, kept ice-free all year round by the Gulf Stream. German vessels had sailed freely into Norwegian territorial waters to pick up the iron ore at Narvik since the beginning of the war (see Iron Road), a practice the British wanted stopped. Despite appeals and maneuvers by Churchill, as yet only first lord of the Admiralty in Neville Chamberlain's cabinet, the British government balked at forcing the hand of a small neutral country—although at one time it considered conspiring with Finland to grab Narvik and Lulea. The course finally agreed upon, with the consent of France, was to lay mines in Narvik's waters to impede the transportation of the ore to Germany. Naturally, the British anticipated a violent reaction from the Reich, so they planned to occupy Narvik, from which they would be in a position to blockade Lulea with mines dropped by plane.

But while the Allied powers vacillated and conferred, Hitler was carefully preparing to steal their fire by occupying Denmark and Norway. The conquest of Norway would not only improve his access to Swedish iron ore, the Fuehrer reasoned, it would also give him an immense strategic and economic advantage. Alfred Rosenberg and Vidkun Quisling, the leader of Norway's Nazis, had known each other for a long time and had between them conceived the notion of including both Norway and Denmark in the "Greater Germanic Union." In Nazi hands, Norway could be the northern sector of a powerful arc stretching from Narvik in Norway to Saint-Jean-de-Luz in France, with England as its focus. Moreover, Norway's economic resources would be of considerable value to the Reich's war machine—its fisheries and the canning and other industries that had sprung up around them; its cod liver oil refineries; its production of wood, paper, cellulose, molybdenum and titanium; and its hydro-electric energy, which could contribute vitally to the development of electrochemical and electrometallurgical industries and to the production of iron alloys, ferrosilicates, aluminum, nitrates, calcium carbide, ammonium and, indirectly, "heavy water," the precious by-product of the manufacture of nitrates (see Atomic Bomb).

Attacked without a declaration of war, by the German navy, army and air forces on April 8, 1940, Norway could react with only feeble resistance. The Germans were aided by a fifth column consisting of a handful of well-organized men led by Quisling, fresh from a briefing in Berlin. The Norwegian Nazis seized

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THE HISTORICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD WAR II

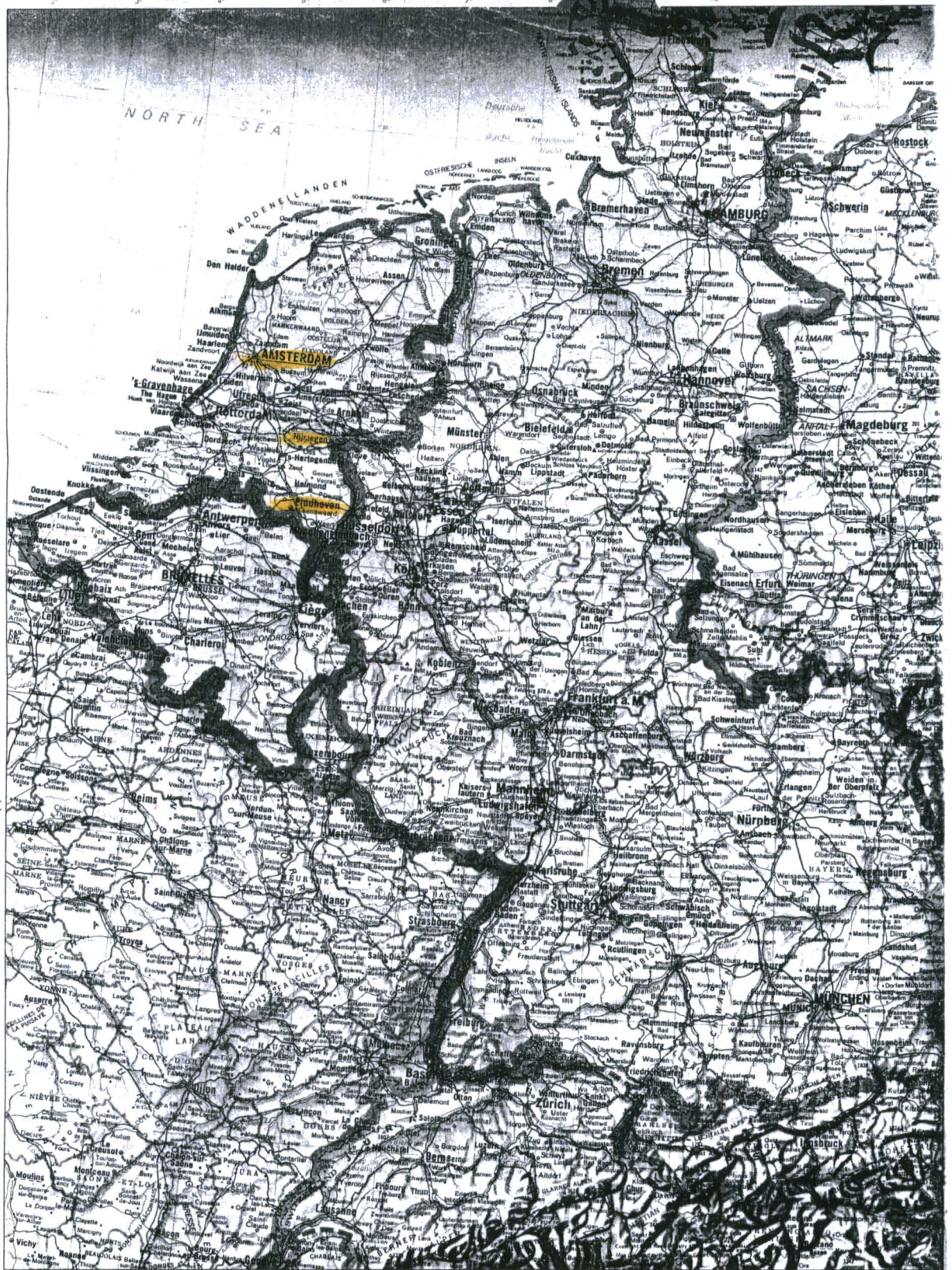
Edited by
Marcel Baudot
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Agnes

FROM:

JAMES L. HOOLEY
Deputy Assistant to the President
Director of Presidential Advance
(Ext. 2861)

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Embassy.*

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DANILOV MONASTERY

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

- Filaret, Metropolitan of Minsk and Belorussia, Head of the Foreign Church Relations Department. Rumored to be a candidate to become the next Patriarch.
- Pitirim, Metropolitan of Volokolamsk and Yur'ya, Head of the Publications Department. Also rumored to be a candidate to become the next Patriarch.
- Kirill, Archbishop of Smolensk and Vyaz'ma. Church's expert on religious legislation.
- Yuvenaly, Metropolitan of Krutiskiy and Kolomna. Member of the Holy Synod. Oversees canonization. Rumored to be a candidate to become the next Patriarch.

Names of monks engaged in restoring Icons at the monastery:

- Feofaniy
- Vladimir
- Yuvenaliy
- (other names to be added)

Background on the Danilov Monastery

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

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

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

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

Possible points for Presidential comments/questions there.

- The monastery has been restored with remarkable speed and care. Has the Soviet State been of assistance in the restoration work? Does the Church approach all restoration work with such great enthusiasm?
- I understand the Church has recently received a number of other monasteries from the State that will require extensive restorations -- the Optina Monastery, the Tolgskiy Monastery -- and might soon receive the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev. The costs of restoring them must be quite high, in the millions of rubles. How will the Church raise the funds for restoring them?
- Many Russian Icons are beautiful works of art. Most Christian denominations in the United States do not use Icons. What is the religious significance of Icons?
- I understand the Church is planning a major celebration for the Millennium of Christianity in Russia, which unfortunately will begin after I have departed. What part of the celebration will take part in the monastery? How many people are you expecting? What role has the State played in preparation for the millennial celebrations?
- The Soviet government is working on new legislation on religious organizations in the Soviet Union. What will be the key provisions of that legislation? To what extent will it be an advance over past legislation? What role has the Church played in formulating the new legislation? Is the Church satisfied?

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

How Might the President Handle the Millennium

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

400 8/20/28

MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY

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

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

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

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

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

Attachment:

Description of MGU

Moscow State University Background Notes

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

Current Head: Rector Anatoliy Alekseyevich Logunov

Vice Rector for International Relations
Vladimir Ivanovich Tropin

Founded: 1755 by the scientist M.V. Lomonosov

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

Moscow State University (pronounced in Russian as M-Geh-00) is a state financed and operated institution of higher education. It is the largest and oldest continuously operating university in the USSR.

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

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

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

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

MGU is comprised of many faculties and four research insititutes.

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

Research Institutes: Nuclear Physics
Astronomy
Mechanical
Anthropology

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

PRESIDENT'S SPEECH: SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

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

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

President's perception of Soviet Union

How it has changed since his characterization of the U.S.S.R. as "evil empire";

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

Arms control

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

Why the U.S. insists on deploying SDI.

U.S. politics

Presidential elections: who will be nominated and elected and who the President endorses.

Possibilities for continuation of Administration Soviet policy under new President.

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

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

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

U.S. - Soviet cooperation:

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

Educational exchanges: potential for expansion.

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

Phil Brown

U.S. I.A. Embassy
Cultural Community.

MOSCOW SUMMIT

Brief remarks at
presidential palace

Address on East/West Relations

1. Finlandia Hall *not stage, major human rights Helsinki*
Finland *accords signed, Garrison E & W.*

2. Remarks on Arrival
St. George's Hall, Kremlin *3-5 min*

5. Official Dinner with General Secretary Gorbachev & Mrs. Gorbachev
Hall of Facets, Kremlin *Religious paintings, references*
Toast

8. Reciprocal Dinner *Ballroom - reference to Mrs K. Gorbachev*
Spaso House *Leningrad*
Toast

9. Possible Signing Ceremony *(?) arms control START*
Kremlin *almost not possible, not enough time*
Remarks (?) *human something will be signed*
restoration book

3. Meeting with Monks *in Moscow father's monastery, museum*
Danilov Monastery
Informal Remarks (?) *millennium question - what religion*
10 - 20 Monks *means to them. (informal speech)*
Harvard has original bells in monastery. Why bells clasp?

- Meeting with Selected Soviet Citizens (Dissidents)
4. Spaso House *Rufurnits 2) tiered event. A) informal*
Remarks (?) *remarks and B) short remarks. (just in press)...*

- Meeting with Artists, Writers, etc. - cross-section of artists
6. House of Writers *well known best food, allude to the President*
Remarks *who more artist. Cutting edge of glasnost (artists)*
40 - 50 people, representing cross section of arts community

- He has kinship. 8-10 min set of remarks, not all dissidents*
Address to Soviet Citizens
Moscow State University *major speech, young people*

- The clocking ahead * 8. Address 20 - 30 minutes + Q & A*
200 students & faculty. *encouragement & hope*
Broadcast live - 4 p.m. Moscow, 8 a.m. U.S.A. *pride & students, broadcast live*

- Americans in Moscow 4 - Memorial Day - WWII stood together*
10. Possible Talk to Embassy Personnel & Families
Spaso House *- per talk > Departure remarks 3-5 min*

11. Address Foreign Affairs Organization *major speech wrap-up*
London

Dinner that Mrs. T right of Economic Summit
in history. Probably a agreement in London.
toast. > Speech following support speech -- report
the next day.

Andrews - 7 min, similar to London
to an American audience

Press Conference - Spaso House

Summit: pre-summit events

Expect drafts today or tomorrow.

1 of month (May) remarks -

Finland - Radio Talk

Camp David - following trip.

Chamber of Commerce

Coast Guard Academy? Drugs/summary
of pre-summit

23 May 88 World Net.

(2) Religious events

legislative events

(2) human rights

Am I supposed to care about traffic
and buildings? Construction is not quality.
Furthermore, what about the water, power, etc.

April 28, 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR STAFF

FROM:

CAROL *Carol*

SUBJECT:

James Madison Foundation Luncheon

I attended a lunch at the Madison Foundation with Dr. Bohdan Bociurkiw as the guest of honor. Dr. Bociurkiw is a professor of political science at Carleton University in Ottawa. A native of Ukraine, Dr. Bociurkiw is widely recognized as an eminent scholar of Soviet religious policy and practice.

Here are some interesting things that came up at the meeting:

- There is the growing feeling in Ukraine that the millenium has been "highjacked" by the state-controlled Russian Orthodox church.
- There is a growing trend of ecumenism among the repressed. Various faiths are speaking out for one another. This ecumenical attitude was spawned, in great part, in the labor camps.
- Lenin's wife drafted the first anti-religious statements to be incorporated in the Soviet constitution. The statements on religion in the constitution are sandwiched between the sections outlawing pornography and brothels. In her mind, religion is a moral evil on par with these.
- The Soviet constitution makes the practice of religion both a criminal and administrative offense.
- The laws dealing with the practice of faith are very vague: It is an administrative offence to "perform religious work." What does this mean? Answer: Almost anything. Under this prescription, priest are often fined for celebrating Mass in their homes.

- There are a few areas in which the state has loosened its repressive grip:
 - Allowing churches and religious groups to perform charitable works. Examples: volunteer and support hospitals, nursing homes, orphanages. (Read: allow the churches to use their own resources rather than burden the sagging Soviet economy).
 - Allowing restoration of certain religious properties. Example: Danilov monestery.
 - Allowing the printing of Bibles -- 100,000. It is a start, but falls tragically short of meeting the needs of 47 million believers. Dr. Bociurkiw said that sources he has within the Soviet Union say that the printing has been delayed because of a "paper shortage."
- Another loosening is the state allowing registration of religious groups. The authorities have said that if a group of 20 believers petition for registration, the state will allow for them to form a religious group. The Ukrainian Catholics, however, have been systematically denied this privileged. George Weigel of the Madison Foundation said that by denying the Ukrainians -- who meet all the official requirements -- the Soviets are going against their own stated principles.
- It has been said that the Soviet officials have offered the Ukrainian church an option: we will recognize you if you just accept the Russian Patriarch as your head. (Read: deny your faith).
- The standard punishment for practicing religion are changing. Rather than giving long prison and labor camp sentences, the authorities are opting more frequently for short sentences and frequent re-arrests; repeated fines; general harassment and discrimination. One thing that does is deny the West the opportunity of drawing up lists of jailed prisoners and following closely the cases. This type of punishment and repression is harder to track.

* (I have attached the appeal for religious freedom in Soviet Union, which was presented to the President in Oval Office on Monday. It has been signed by over 240 prominent Americans, representing the broad range of religious and political opinion in this country).

Yanda	188,900	China
Yanda	185,900	Iran
Salvador	180,200	Namibia
Western Sahara	65,000	Vietnam
Y Lanka	125,000	Guatemala
Mad	122,000	Nicaragua
Iden	111,000	
Los	90,700	

League of Arab States (The Arab League) was created in 1945, by Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Yemen. Joining later were Algeria, Bahrain, Kuwait, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates and Yemen. The Palestine Liberation Org. has been admitted as a full member. The League fosters cultural, economic, and communication ties and mediates disputes among the Arab states; it represents Arab states in certain international negotiations, and coordinates a military, economic, and diplomatic offensive against Israel. As a result of

Warsaw Pact was created May 14, 1955, as a mutual defense alliance. Members in 1987 were Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the USSR. Hq. is in Moscow. It provides for a unified military command; if one member is attacked, the others will aid it with all necessary steps including armed force.

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MEMORANDUM TO TONY DOLAN
SPEECHWRITERS
RESEARCHERS - *Rowena*

From: Tom Griscom *2*

Re: Travel Dates

Date: April 20, 1988

There are two new travel dates on President Reagan's schedule pre-summit:
May 4 and May 18.

MAY 4: this speech use use human rights as a main theme. we should reference Helsinki, the president's full agenda, the need to move forward on human rights. there should be some comparison to the way we deal with "human rights" in this country; this will take away the soviet line about oppression of the poor in the U.S.; i would hope the message is one of making progress, similar to progress being made in arms reduction and regional issues; that there have been limited successes, but much more can occur.

May 18: this speech will be at the Coast Guard Academy graduation. There should be a two-part message: drugs and summit.

On drugs, we should talk about progress being made, (I might have some additional initiatives we can use here), the role of the coast guard; i feel we should point out that it is time for bipartisan approach to this problem; note that many in congress talk about cuts in coast guard budget for this area but it was congress last year that re-ordered the priorities and took funds from coast guard for mass transit; President had a great line in the Q & A at Springfield, Mass., on Thursday on drugs and how to deal with them. Please get a copy of that as an approach to be used.

On summit, I would hope that you can trace the president's philosophy as it relates to dealing with the soviets. this is not just to hit one piece of the agenda or another, but to talk about the whole relationship; how he feels ; how things have developed, etc.

There are Uzbeks

8-1

✓

Chinghiz Aitmatov
(thought of more Soviet)

from Kirghizia
(central Asia)
contemp

mention:

Alisher Navoi
greatest

Poet 19th century
(central Asia)
poet of Uzbekistan

heart
heart

N

Ah-li-share
Na-va-i

(ee)

Islamic Spiritual Director
Grand Mufti

Grand Mufti Babakalin

contemp

of 9th

Russian

Islamic

ach

VOA

Uzbeks
Tadzhiks
Turkmen
Kirghiz
Kazakhs

Central
Asians

Georgians
Armenians
Azerbaijanis (Azeris)

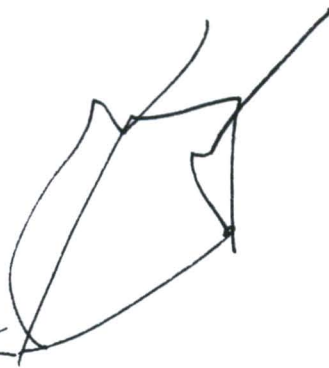
Ukrainians
Moldavians
Belorussians

Estonians,
Lithuanians, Latvians

Tech examples

Pizza &

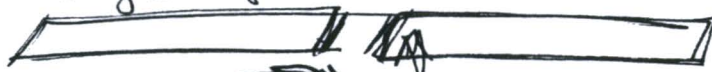
McDonalds



Our ^{technology} exhibit is in Irkutsk

Announcement of water law from
in Tashkent ^{Hydroministry}

→ Sentence on why IWF held up
Congress - Verification



ambiguity ~~was~~ from yr Gov
Were waiting to get w. verification
from your Gov, then

were all looking forward to
more peaceful world
You have more nuclear
weapons than any other countries
in world, have to w. ~~together~~

Insisted verifying each time nuclear
tests

There are legitimate concerns of my
country

MEMORANDUM TO TONY DOLAN
SPEECHWRITERS
RESEARCHERS ✓ *Rowena*

From: Tom Griscom

Re: Moscow Summit *7*

Date: April 19, 1988

Here are some additional thoughts on the religious event:

- 1) mention the right to teach all religious views
- 2) talk about moral restructuring (as Gorbachev does) and how it is rooted in traditional values (a Reagan theme); then relate how traditional values are rooted in religion
- 3) as another point on this, note that there is talk about return to traditional discipline in the Soviet Union; why not return to traditional values
- 4) as we look ahead, talk about hope for expanded opportunity in the next millenium; talk about being active in the third millenium for all Christianity
- 5) talk about concern for today; concern for the hopes of tomorrow
- 6) note that it is not right to expect government to solve all problem; much of the decision process is based in religious values and community decisions

These remarks need to make sure that there is a clear distinction in the millenium being observed; that there needs to be further change; and once the millenium is over, will the movement in the religious area continue or return as it was; are the steps taken irreversible.

Attached is also a document with some general information on the Soviet Union.

James H. Billington
The Library of Congress
March 31, 1988
Washington, D. C.

THE FACES OF RUSSIAN CULTURE

Broadly speaking Russian culture moved from 1,000 years of a primarily rural, Orthodox, Christian identity (10th to early 20th centuries) to a new and increasing urban industrial, Communist identity after three revolutions (1905, two in 1917) that led to the Soviet regime. Kiev was "the mother of Russian cities" and the great trade center on the steppe that became the original center of Orthodox Christianity among the Eastern Slavs when Prince Vladimir was baptized just 1,000 years ago in 988. The main center of this civilization moved north into the more protected forested regions in the mid-thirteenth century after the Mongols sacked Kiev. Moscow was built out of the forests to become capital of medieval, "Muscovite" Russia (13th-17th centuries); Leningrad (Petersburg) was built out of a swamp to become the capital of the most Westward-looking, multi-national empire of the Romanov Tsars, who ruled until the Revolution of February, 1917. After the Bolsheviks overthrew the provisional, democratic government in October, 1917, the capital was returned to Moscow. Both cities have since grown enormously and are now Soviet showcases, though the central, imperial city of Leningrad is virtually intact as is the older inner Kremlin and Red Square complex of Moscow.

Kiev became the center of a distinctive Ukrainian culture that was partly under Polish cultural influence, after it became part of the Moscow-centered Russian empire in the late 17th century. The Baroque extension of Santa Sophia Cathedral conceals a great Byzantine-type basilica of the earlier Kievan period. Nearby is the Monastery of the Caves, a catacomb with many preserved bodies of saints that the Orthodox Church is anxious to have returned for the Millennium celebrations this year. The Ukraine is the largest ethnic minority in the USSR.

Russian history can be understood in terms of five different forms of art in which Russians have achieved greatness. There have been only about 15 years in all Russian history in which there was a legal political opposition and freedom from censorship. So art has historically expressed both the deeper religious-philosophical concerns of the Russian people and their social-political aspirations.

Painting was the first art medium to achieve greatness on Russian soil. The Eastern Slavs chose Orthodox Christianity as their religion in the late 10th century because of the beauty of its worship. The Russians translated the mosaic and fresco art of the Eastern Mediterranean into icon painting on wood in the forested world of the Russian north. Russia developed "theology in pictures" at the time the Western Middle Ages produced "theology in words".

Icons provided cosmic consolation during the long Mongol occupation (early 13th to late 15th century). The most beautiful icons that you will see (Russian Museum Leningrad, and the Tretyakov Moscow), were painted for "meditation in color." As life became brutalized in Russia, saints on the icons became more ethereal, even abstract. Yet all icons represent only those

gifts of God that were mediated directly to the eyes of men. (There are no icons of God the Father, whom no man saw; and icons of mysteries like the Holy Trinity are represented -- as in famous Icon by Rublev in the Tretyakov museum -- in the forms of its Old Testament anticipation; the appearance of the three angels to Sarah and Abraham).

The icons are mute witnesses to the two great accomplishments of Russian culture from the 9th to the 16th century: the conquest of the frozen northern forest by these rugged pioneers and the survival and revival of their Christian civilization. The icon screen you will see in churches provides an image of order and hierarchy that was mirrored in the hierarchical, secular society as well. The rich colors and bold lines of the compositions inspired the great pioneers of modern art: Kandinsky, Chagall, etc., whose works, alas are largely relegated to the "reserve" collections of Soviet museums, which still favor the official, cheerleader style of "socialist realism."

Architecture, the second artistic medium to achieve world greatness on Russian soil, illustrates the conflict in Russian history between West and East; the palatial architectural style of Leningrad (formerly Petersburg), built out of the swamps in the 18th century as a "window to the West") and the more exotic, semi-oriental style of Moscow (preserved in the Kremlin and around Red Square).

St. Basil's Cathedral shows the characteristic Muscovite tent roofs and onion domes, translation from wood into stone and brick as Moscow became the center of expansion East. St. Basil's was seen as the "candle" before the "icon" of the New Jerusalem: the Kremlin (whose 12 gates were thought to replicate those of the city described in the Book of Revelation).

The city of Leningrad was itself Russia's first "crash program" to duplicate and surpass the West. The geometrically designed city built by Peter and Catherine the Great illustrates the attempt to introduce Western "rationality" into the exotic world typified by St. Basil's. The contrast between the Winter Palace (now part of the Hermitage Museum) and the Kremlin provides a cameo of the conflict between the westward-looking, French-speaking aristocratic world of Imperial Russia (whose capital was Petersburg-Leningrad) and the more Eastern-looking Moscow which was the medieval capital and has become the capital again in Soviet times. Moscow is on an upper tributary of the Volga, which flows into the Caspian sea, whereas Leningrad faces the Baltic sea and links Russia with Northern and Western Europe.

Most of Moscow and the outer parts of Leningrad are now, of course, dominated by the characteristic, mass reproduced Soviet style of architecture which tends to borrow motifs from the Leningrad school (spires) but also quasi-religious themes from the Muscovite school (subway mosaics, mummified saints such as the Lenin Mausoleum, etc.)

Literature came late to Russia, exploding after long silence in the 19th century, expressing the socio-political and philosophical-religious concerns of the people awakening to imperial greatness after defeating Napoleon -- yet uncertain of themselves culturally.

Petersburg, a ceremonial city built for parades not for people, became the "stage" for a literature (and a political unrest) that slowly turned the main preoccupation of Russian culture from religion to revolution. Russians idealize their poetry beginning with the aristocratic Pushkin; and still produce vast audiences for public poetry readings); they created a great stage tradition of "laughter through tears" (Gogol to Chekhov), but their greatest literary vehicle was the ideologically-charged novels of Dostoevsky and Tolstoy.

With the outlawing of political opposition and reinstitution of censorship by the Communist regime after a brief period of liberty in the early 20th century, Russian literature once again assumed the burden of a kind of surrogate political opposition and moral conscience (Pasternak's Doctor Zhivago; finally now being published in the USSR) -- as well as a valued form of entertainment in an often harsh and dull environment.

Music did not attain independent greatness in Russian until the Russian national school of Tchaikovsky, Borodin and Mussorgsky burst on the scene in the 1860's. The sung liturgy of the Orthodox Church accorded great prominence to the base voice of the priest and the large, unaccompanied chorus. Not surprisingly, the greatest Russian operas (Mussorgsky's Boris Godunov, for example) have bass rather than tenor heroes and a particularly rich chorus. Instrumental accompaniment (even organs) were considered decadent, Western intrusions into the sung liturgy; and orchestration developed latest of all musical skills in Russia. The more Westernized Rimsky-Korsakov often had to orchestrate Mussorgsky's operas; and Russia's great violin virtuosos of the 20th century have come in disproportionate numbers from the Jewish population of the cosmopolitan port city of Odessa.

Because, perhaps, music had historically been essentially a supporting medium for the ornate, dramatic worship service of the Orthodox Church, modern Russian music has also tended either to carry a message or to be linked to the stage.

Much of Tchaikovsky's (and Stravinsky's and Prokofiev's) best music was written for operas or (even better) ballets. The latter have, in the last century, provided a kind of enchanted world of fairy tale fantasy and sentimentalized heroes and heroines not only as a non-threatening form of establishment entertainment, but also more popularly for children (who are loved and indulged in Russia) and, indeed, for adults -- as a kind of idealized escape from an often harsh daily routine and an otherwise graceless official culture. The puppet theater, circus, etc. are other forms of "children's entertainment" that are also often preferred by adults to the tractors-into-the-sunset dramas of official "socialist realism."

Cinema is the last -- and the only purely Soviet -- art medium to attain greatness in Russia. Lenin thought it would be the ideal medium for indoctrinating the ideals of the new society; and the films of the great Sergei Eisenstein (Potemkin, October) did indeed codify the picture most people now have of the revolutionary struggle that led to the "storming of the winter Palace" and the establishment of Communist power.

With the coming of sound, the movies became a medium of reuniting all the arts as they had been in the liturgy of the Church (and as a late imperial composer like Scriabin had tried to do with his "symphony of sounds, sights, and smells"). In Alexander Nevsky, Eisenstein used his training as an architect, a literary epic, an original score by Prokofiev, and iconographic camera work to create a historical drama that helped inspire the resistance to Hitler.

The cinema in the post-war era has been a remarkable field or cultural ferment (Eisenstein ran afoul of Stalin by depicting the psychotic qualities of Ivan the Terrible in his last great film). Tarkovsky's film on the life of the great icon painter, Andrei Rublev, provided a spur to the greatly revived interest in old Russian religious culture. The works of the great Armenian film maker Parajanov (jailed until recently with his latest film condemned) are the best of a host of films by smaller national minority cultures in the USSR. The Georgians have often been in the lead; and cinema -- through heavily censored -- has become genuinely multi-national art form for which many of the best writers are now working. The cinema has been perhaps the most lively art medium in the Gorbachev era. Particularly remarkable is Tenghiz Abuladze's Repentance: a brilliant if surrealistic anti-totalitarian film rich in Christian symbolism.

"The Land of Hope and Glory"

Land of Hope and Glory, mother of the free,

How shall we we extol thee, who are born of thee?

Wider still and wider, shall thy bounds be set;

God who made thee mighty, make thee mightier yet."

A.C. Benson 1902

^{Natalie}
Dr. Bodnaruk
Head of Russian Dept.
939-5000
(Trinity College)

Professor Tolstoy
(USNA) Annapolis Soviet Expert

sion), and at what point was he just a very shrewd professional politician using both this new device and the nation's trauma to strengthen his own domestic political position? Was he a President or a politician? Where did you draw the line, and who could draw it, and who if anyone was permitted to answer him?

In 1936 this issue came to a head when Roosevelt gave his State of the Union speech. It was, not surprisingly for an election year, intensely political. In fact it was his campaign platform, nothing more, nothing less. It was carried by CBS as by other networks. The Republicans were appalled by it; Roosevelt had been beating them to death with radio anyway, and now here to inaugurate an election year was this nakedly political speech. John Hamilton, the chairman of the Republican National Committee, went to the networks to ask for equal time. NBC said it would give access on one of its two networks; Mutual, which was a conservative network, readily granted Hamilton what he asked. Next Hamilton went to see Paley, then in his New Deal incarnation. Paley directed Hamilton to Klauber. Klauber listened to Hamilton complain that Roosevelt's speech had been patently political, that it was possible to make a judgment on a speech like this, there was a line between national interest and political propagandizing. Then Klauber said no, he would not give Hamilton time. It was a crucial moment. Klauber, himself sympathetic to Roosevelt and the New Deal, said that this was an official message of the President, it had not been labeled as political and thus no political party, which after all had no real constitutional function, could do over radio what Roosevelt had just done. Klauber thus helped define presidential prerogative: the right of presidential access was already strong, now he was setting a precedent that made it infinitely harder for potential presidential opponents and critics to reach the airwaves.

Forty years later Klauber's precedent still held and the real questions had never been examined. The entire process had strengthened the presidency immeasurably and comparably weakened the party system. Since the President realized that he could not be effectively answered by his political opponents, the instinct to use radio and later television was greater. In the same way, as the opposition party showed that it had less and less access to the most powerful

new means of communication, its attractiveness to potential candidates and its role in American life were significantly diminished. Part of the party's job had always been to raise crowds for politicians. Now it had lost that job and been cut out of a vital part of the national dialogue.

In 1937 there was a position opening up as head of CBS's European division. It was in effect a business job, scheduling European officials for CBS broadcasts; above all, it was not journalistic. For a time it appeared likely to go to a young man named Fred Willis, who was charming, sociable, and if not actually British *seemed* to be British, which was just as good. A friend of his named Victor Ratner asked if it was true, since the job was considered something of a plum. No, said Willis, he had thought it over, but he wanted a real future in the company, and the one thing he was sure of was that you should never get that far from headquarters. So the job went instead to a young man named **Edward R. Murrow**.

Murrow. The right man in the right place in the right era. An elegant man in an up to then inelegant profession; one of those rare legendary figures who was as good as his myth. Whose presence is so strong that it still lives; because he was what he was, in many ways CBS News is today what it is. Shy and anguished and often awkward in personal conversation, but totally controlled and brilliant as a communicator, a man who spanned the oceans and who more than anyone else made broadcasting respectable for a generation of other talented broadcasters, and having done this, almost two decades later when radio was respectable and television was not, by going to television made it journalistically legitimate and honorable. A man who was in a way more an educator than a journalist and whose career and the technology which he was part of were one of the conduits of America's transformation from a sleepy post-Depression isolationist nation to a major international superpower. In effect he educated the nation as it slowly, awkwardly, entered the larger world and found itself becoming a superpower. If later he started covering the effects of that new international role on the domestic political process, and if much to the dismay of his superiors this new subject matter made him a target as well

as a reporter, well then, that was another story. What was important in the beginning was the special quality of excellence he and the men he hired set for broadcasting; men who were in his image, and who thereupon brought men to CBS and the other networks in *their* image. Though he was depressed and exhausted and professionally emasculated when he left CBS in 1961, much of what he had helped to create still lived. His legacy was a tradition of reporting from which the corporate officials, whatever their private feelings, simply could not back down.

His was a unique coming. No other broadcast journalist would ever again accumulate the prestige both inside and outside the company that Murrow had. There were many reasons for this: part of it was that it was all so new, radio broadcasting so experimental, that when he proved to be so good and the story proved to be so big there were not a lot of complicated internal systems to keep him down and limit him. Indeed it was quite the reverse, as his comet ascended, so did that of CBS; he took CBS with him, the network was the direct beneficiary of his excellence; he was, at the start, bigger than the network. So there was little desire to restrain him, to keep him within the narrow limits of objectivity, in part because of the very nature of the war he was covering. It was not the Vietnam War. It was not something complicated and divisive, rather it was seen as the story of the survival of Western civilization, the most heroic of all possible wars and stories. He was indeed reporting on the survival of the English-speaking peoples. A commentator who went as far as Murrow and who wholeheartedly supported the cause of the democracies (and who did not balance Hitler against Churchill) did not offend his audience or any large part of his audience; rather he came to symbolize and embody the passions of that audience. When it was all over, he was in his own way as much a hero and a personage of that epic era as Eisenhower himself. There was during those great years no need to see the German perspective, to report what the isolationists felt; journalists simply trusted their own intelligence and instincts (Murrow, appalled in later years by growing pressure to balance out viewpoints for the sake of an artificial fairness, compared this with balancing the views of Jesus Christ with those of Judas Iscariot).

It was a heroic time, and he was one of the certified heroes of it. In a less heroic or a more dubious war—Korea and Vietnam come to mind—where American survival was not at stake, no American commentator would make a comparable reputation either with the public or his own company. In Vietnam those correspondents who made their reputations also became controversial, respected by the elite and by their peers but anathema to the government, and often an embarrassment to their companies. What Murrow did was distinctive to that war and that era, and to Murrow. He not only earned an awesome reputation with his working colleagues (Elmer Davis would note that he was shocked that such magnificent reporting could be done by someone who had never worked in a city room); he was also an ornament to management. He opened the great doors of the English country estates for his boss, Colonel William S. Paley.

In normal times there would have been no way for Murrow to have been Murrow; excellent reporting might have pleased the intelligentsia and his colleagues but angered vast portions of the public and the government and placed him in constant confrontation with management. But World War II was special and he was special, the first great professional radio voice in the sense that Roosevelt had been the first great radio voice of a politician, a voice steeped in intelligence and civility and compassion and sensitivity. It also, and this is crucial, allowed him to accumulate enormous capital within the company. This meant that when he came back to America he was a superstar with prestige and freedom and respect within his profession and within his company. It was his subsequent, and hardly hasty, decision to spend that capital and to be an outspoken correspondent on the domestic scene that was to make him a corporate liability; it was a decision by the best of the broadcast correspondents on the best of the networks and it was to underline quickly the limits of freedom that actually existed within broadcasting. He was the same Murrow with the same high standards, but there was a great deal of difference between covering a heroic war and revealing domestic warts (as indeed the same heroic General Eisenhower of World War II was the somewhat less than heroic Candidate Eisenhower who did not defend his friend

George Marshall from the slanders of Joseph McCarthy). There are many different variations of courage. Murrow was to find that out.

He was ungodly handsome, Walter Pidgeon playing Ed Murrow, television looks before television existed; Bill Shirer, meeting him for the first time, was shaken by how handsome Murrow was, just the kind of smoothness that you would expect in a corrupt profession like broadcasting, thought Shirer. Murrow was not a trained journalist and that was an asset because there was a vast difference between the words and rhythms of print journalism and the words and rhythms of spoken English; he had nothing to unlearn. The spoken word is colloquial, print journalism when read aloud is by necessity stilted and forced. Murrow was descended from Southerners who had moved to the Far West and he and the rest of his family retained a sense of old-fashioned high English, an almost poetic language which is fast disappearing from the land. As a young man he had worked as a logger, and this had not only expedited the changing of his name from Egbert to Edward it also gave him an appreciation of the shrewdness and intelligence of ordinary people and an uncommon ability to talk with them. He learned to master simplicity and understatement. Later, in college, he studied drama and voice with excellent teachers at Washington State and this had honed his sense of timing and rhythm in language. (In particular, one speech teacher, Ida Lou Anderson, had sensed his potential; later when Murrow was in England she suggested the pause in "This . . . is London.") His spoken English was thus unusually effective; he knew, unlike most reporters, how to use pauses and the absence of words as effectively as the words themselves. He had just the right touch; enough drama in his voice to make what he was doing work but not so much as to be phony and a ham. It was a matter of taste; Murrow had perfect taste.

He was not an intellectual, and many of the men he hired—Bill Shirer, Eric Sevareid, Alex Kendrick, Howard Smith, David Schoenbrun—were far more cerebral than he, but he was a brilliant communicator; he could take something happening in one part of the world and make it comprehensible and recognizable thousands of miles away. This was a very special talent, and it does not necessarily come with brilliance, for brilliant men are often able only

to reach other brilliant men, they end up talking largely to themselves. But rooted in the middle class as he was, Murrow could make use of his own difficulties in understanding the complicated pressures of a shrinking world. Again and again he taught younger reporters at CBS to try to think of friends they had left behind in some small town, and to try to envision themselves standing at the bar after one or two drinks and explaining what they had seen that day—and use the exact same language.

If he was a communicator he was also in the best sense an educator. His passion was not for the scoop but for intelligence, for the audience to understand what was going on in the world. He had come from the world of education and his first job at CBS had been running its educational service. It was hardly a powerful job, but he had helped in bringing European intellectuals to America and he had a paramount sense of the importance of learning. Education was central to reporting. In 1945, after the war was over, he became impressed with the knowledge of French and France of a bright young interpreter at Eisenhower's headquarters. The name of the aide was David Schoenbrun, and Murrow asked Schoenbrun what he planned to do when he returned home and Schoenbrun said that he hoped to go back to teaching high school French. Murrow paused for a moment and asked him, "How would you like the biggest classroom in the world?"

Murrow was in Europe as the CBS European director when Hitler pressured the Austrians into Anschluss. He was not expected to broadcast himself but he was caught up in something which had a force of its own; the cream of American journalism was now in Europe—John Gunther, H. R. Knickerbocker, Bill Shirer, Jimmy Sheean, Dorothy Thompson—and Murrow was inevitably drawn to their world. When the Germans moved into Austria, Murrow overnight became a journalist. He was a natural for his role and he was a part of a vast change: it was the dawning of a new and sometimes terrible modern age; life had been vastly speeded up; the speed with which Hitler had come to power had been speeded up by science and technology and radio; the speed with which Hitler could move was intensified by modern weaponry, "blitzkrieg" it would be called, the name summoned visions of lightning and thunderbolts, and now the speed with which Murrow could report back

The Powers That Be

David Halberstam

A DELL BOOK

FD12 - "renomination w/ destiny" speech

Acceptance of the Renomination for the Presidency

sibilities of citizenship. The splendid record of the National Youth Administration in helping some 600,000 young men and women against the despair of idleness seems to me excellent testimony that our means of meeting that obligation are sound.

It is my sincere hope that the influence and usefulness of the National Youth Administration will continue to widen during the coming year.

Very sincerely yours,

Honorable Aubrey Williams,
National Youth Administration,
Washington, D. C.

(See Item 86A, Vol. IV, for a discussion of the National Youth Administration.)

79 ¶ "We Are Fighting to Save a Great and Precious Form of Government for Ourselves and the World" — Acceptance of the Renomination for the Presidency, Philadelphia, Pa. June 27, 1936

Senator Robinson, Members of the Democratic Convention, my friends:

HERE, and in every community throughout the land, we are met at a time of great moment to the future of the Nation. It is an occasion to be dedicated to the simple and sincere expression of an attitude toward problems, the determination of which will profoundly affect America.

I come not only as a leader of a party, not only as a candidate for high office, but as one upon whom many critical hours have imposed and still impose a grave responsibility.

For the sympathy, help and confidence with which Americans have sustained me in my task I am grateful. For their loyalty I salute the members of our great party, in and out of political life

Acceptance of the Renomination for the Presidency

in every part of the Union. I salute those of other parties, especially those in the Congress of the United States who on so many occasions have put partisanship aside. I thank the Governors of the several States, their Legislatures, their State and local officials who participated unselfishly and regardless of party in our efforts to achieve recovery and destroy abuses. Above all I thank the millions of Americans who have borne disaster bravely and have dared to smile through the storm.

America will not forget these recent years, will not forget that the rescue was not a mere party task. It was the concern of all of us. In our strength we rose together, rallied our energies together, applied the old rules of common sense, and together survived.

In those days we feared fear. That was why we fought fear. And today, my friends, we have won against the most dangerous of our foes. We have conquered fear.

But I cannot, with candor, tell you that all is well with the world. Clouds of suspicion, tides of ill-will and intolerance gather darkly in many places. In our own land we enjoy indeed a fullness of life greater than that of most Nations. But the rush of modern civilization itself has raised for us new difficulties, new problems which must be solved if we are to preserve to the United States the political and economic freedom for which Washington and Jefferson planned and fought.

Philadelphia is a good city in which to write American history. This is fitting ground on which to reaffirm the faith of our fathers; to pledge ourselves to restore to the people a wider freedom; to give to 1936 as the founders gave to 1776—an American way of life.

That very word freedom, in itself and of necessity, suggests freedom from some restraining power. In 1776 we sought freedom from the tyranny of a political autocracy—from the eighteenth century royalists who held special privileges from the crown. It was to perpetuate their privilege that they governed without the consent of the governed; that they denied the right of free assembly and free speech; that they restricted the worship

W.H. RICHMOND CENTER

Acceptance of the Renomination for the Presidency

of God; that they put the average man's property and the average man's life in pawn to the mercenaries of dynastic power; that they regimented the people.

And so it was to win freedom from the tyranny of political autocracy that the American Revolution was fought. That victory gave the business of governing into the hands of the average man, who won the right with his neighbors to make and order his own destiny through his own Government. Political tyranny was wiped out at Philadelphia on July 4, 1776.

Since that struggle, however, man's inventive genius released new forces in our land which reordered the lives of our people. The age of machinery, of railroads; of steam and electricity; the telegraph and the radio; mass production, mass distribution — all of these combined to bring forward a new civilization and with it a new problem for those who sought to remain free.

For out of this modern civilization economic royalists carved new dynasties. New kingdoms were built upon concentration of control over material things. Through new uses of corporations, banks and securities, new machinery of industry and agriculture, of labor and capital — all undreamed of by the fathers — the whole structure of modern life was impressed into this royal service.

There was no place among this royalty for our many thousands of small business men and merchants who sought to make a worthy use of the American system of initiative and profit. They were no more free than the worker or the farmer. Even honest and progressive-minded men of wealth, aware of their obligation to their generation, could never know just where they fitted into this dynastic scheme of things.

It was natural and perhaps human that the privileged princes of these new economic dynasties, thirsting for power, reached out for control over Government itself. They created a new despotism and wrapped it in the robes of legal sanction. In its service new mercenaries sought to regiment the people, their labor, and their property. And as a result the average man once more confronts the problem that faced the Minute Man.

Acceptance of the Renomination for the Presidency

The hours men and women worked, the wages they received, the conditions of their labor—these had passed beyond the control of the people, and were imposed by this new industrial dictatorship. The savings of the average family, the capital of the small business man, the investments set aside for old age—other people's money—these were tools which the new economic royalty used to dig itself in.

Those who tilled the soil no longer reaped the rewards which were their right. The small measure of their gains was decreed by men in distant cities.

Throughout the Nation, opportunity was limited by monopoly. Individual initiative was crushed in the cogs of a great machine. The field open for free business was more and more restricted. Private enterprise, indeed, became too private. It became privileged enterprise, not free enterprise.

An old English judge once said: "Necessitous men are not free men." Liberty requires opportunity to make a living—a living decent according to the standard of the time, a living which gives man not only enough to live by, but something to live for.

For too many of us the political equality we once had won was meaningless in the face of economic inequality. A small group had concentrated into their own hands an almost complete control over other people's property, other people's money, other people's labor—other people's lives. For too many of us life was no longer free; liberty no longer real; men could no longer follow the pursuit of happiness.

Against economic tyranny such as this, the American citizen could appeal only to the organized power of Government. The collapse of 1929 showed up the despotism for what it was. The election of 1932 was the people's mandate to end it. Under that mandate it is being ended.

The royalists of the economic order have conceded that political freedom was the business of the Government, but they have maintained that economic slavery was nobody's business. They granted that the Government could protect the citizen in his

Acceptance of the Renomination for the Presidency

right to vote, but they denied that the Government could do anything to protect the citizen in his right to work and his right to live.

Today we stand committed to the proposition that freedom is no half-and-half affair. If the average citizen is guaranteed equal opportunity in the polling place, he must have equal opportunity in the market place.

These economic royalists complain that we seek to overthrow the institutions of America. What they really complain of is that we seek to take away their power. Our allegiance to American institutions requires the overthrow of this kind of power. In vain they seek to hide behind the Flag and the Constitution. In their blindness they forget what the Flag and the Constitution stand for. Now, as always, they stand for democracy, not tyranny; for freedom, not subjection; and against a dictatorship by mob rule and the overprivileged alike.

The brave and clear platform adopted by this Convention, to which I heartily subscribe, sets forth that Government in a modern civilization has certain inescapable obligations to its citizens, among which are protection of the family and the home, the establishment of a democracy of opportunity, and aid to those overtaken by disaster.

But the resolute enemy within our gates is ever ready to beat down our words unless in greater courage we will fight for them.

For more than three years we have fought for them. This Convention, in every word and deed, has pledged that that fight will go on.

The defeats and victories of these years have given to us as a people a new understanding of our Government and of ourselves. Never since the early days of the New England town meeting have the affairs of Government been so widely discussed and so clearly appreciated. It has been brought home to us that the only effective guide for the safety of this most worldly of worlds, the greatest guide of all, is moral principle.

We do not see faith, hope and charity as unattainable ideals,

Acceptance of the Renomination for the Presidency

but we use them as stout supports of a Nation fighting the fight for freedom in a modern civilization.

Faith—in the soundness of democracy in the midst of dictatorships.

Hope—renewed because we know so well the progress we have made.

Charity—in the true spirit of that grand old word. For charity literally translated from the original means love, the love that understands, that does not merely share the wealth of the giver, but in true sympathy and wisdom helps men to help themselves.

We seek not merely to make Government a mechanical implement, but to give it the vibrant personal character that is the very embodiment of human charity.

We are poor indeed if this Nation cannot afford to lift from every recess of American life the dread fear of the unemployed that they are not needed in the world. We cannot afford to accumulate a deficit in the books of human fortitude.

In the place of the palace of privilege we seek to build a temple out of faith and hope and charity.

It is a sobering thing, my friends, to be a servant of this great cause. We try in our daily work to remember that the cause belongs not to us, but to the people. The standard is not in the hands of you and me alone. It is carried by America. We seek daily to profit from experience, to learn to do better as our task proceeds.

Governments can err, Presidents do make mistakes, but the immortal Dante tells us that divine justice weighs the sins of the cold-blooded and the sins of the warm-hearted in different scales.

Better the occasional faults of a Government that lives in a spirit of charity than the consistent omissions of a Government frozen in the ice of its own indifference.

There is a mysterious cycle in human events. To some generations much is given. Of other generations much is expected. This generation of Americans has a rendezvous with destiny.

In this world of ours in other lands, there are some people, who,



A Letter to Governor Herbert H. Lehman

in times past, have lived and fought for freedom, and seem to have grown too weary to carry on the fight. They have sold their heritage of freedom for the illusion of a living. They have yielded their democracy.

I believe in my heart that only our success can stir their ancient hope. They begin to know that here in America we are waging a great and successful war. It is not alone a war against want and destitution and economic demoralization. It is more than that; it is a war for the survival of democracy. We are fighting to save a great and precious form of government for ourselves and for the world.

I accept the commission you have tendered me. I join with you. I am enlisted for the duration of the war.

80 ¶ A Letter Urging Governor Herbert H. Lehman, of New York, to Become a Candidate for Reelection. June 29, 1936

Dear Herbert:

FOR some weeks, and particularly since the close of the New York State legislative session, I have been giving careful thought to some matters of grave importance to the country, and especially their relationship to the State of New York. May I repeat to you what I have already told you—that I was deeply disappointed when you stated that you would not again be a candidate for Governor; though at the same time, as you know, I fully appreciate the valid personal reasons which impelled you to make the statement and sympathized with you in those reasons.

Nevertheless I am writing frankly and with deepest sincerity to tell you what I conceive to be the other side of the picture.

For many years you and I have worked for many kinds of social legislation; much legislation of this type has been enacted, but at the same time much remains unfulfilled.

Our State was and still is among the pioneers, and today the

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Volume Five

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1936

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from customers, clients,
that you are just feeding
us last.

a great deal of trouble, think
with the most evil enemy
climb from the swamp to
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they tell us that by avoiding a
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get. Well, let us set one thing
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ery to suggest that anyone
people's sons to war. The only
the best way to avoid war.
surrender.

COURAGE? The spectre our
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urage to do what we know is
of accommodation asks us to
immorality. We are being
the threat of "the bomb" by
y our fellow human beings
tain, to tell them to give up

their hope of freedom because we are ready to make a
deal with their slave masters.

Alexander Hamilton warned us that a nation which
can prefer disgrace to danger is prepared for a master and
deserves one. Admittedly there is a risk in any course we
follow. Choosing the high road cannot eliminate that risk.
Already some of the architects of accommodation have
hinted what their decision will be if their plan fails and we
are faced with the final ultimatum. The English commen-
tator [Kenneth] Tynan has put it this way: he would rather
live on his knees than die on his feet. Some of our own
have said "Better Red than dead." If we are to believe that
nothing is worth the dying, when did this begin? Should
Moses have told the children of Israel to live in slavery
rather than dare the wilderness? Should Christ have re-
fused the Cross? Should the patriots at Concord Bridge
have refused to fire the shot heard 'round the world? Are
we to believe that all the martyrs of history died in vain?

You and I have a rendezvous with destiny. We can
preserve for our children this, the last best hope of man on
earth, or we can sentence them to take the first step into a
thousand years of darkness. If we fail, at least let our
children and our children's children say of us we justified
our brief moment here. We did all that could be done.

You to Choose
1964

A Time for CHOOSING

*The Speeches of Ronald Reagan
1961-1982*



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FAO Mr David Hart

FROST, Maj.-Gen. John Dutton, CB 1964; DSO 1943 and Bar, 1945; MC 1942; DL; farmer; b 31 Dec. 1912; s of late Brig.-Gen. R. D. Frost, CBE, MC; m 1947, Jean MacGregor Lyle; one s one d Educ: Wellington Coll.; RMC Sandhurst. Commissioned The Camerons, Sept. 1932; Capt., Iraq Levies, 1938-41; Major and Lt-Col, Parachute Regt, 1941-45 (Brunei raid 1942, Oudna 1942, Tunisian campaign, 1942-43, Primrose Bridge, 1943, Italian campaign, 1943, Arnhem Bridge, 1944); Staff Coll., Camberley, 1946; GSO2, HQ Lowland Dist, 1948-49; GSO2, Senior Officers' Sch., 1949-52; AA and QMG, 17 Gurkha Div., 1952-53; GSO1, 17 Gurkha Div., 1953-55; Comd, Netheravon, 1955-57; Comd, 44 Parachute Bde, 1958-61; Comdr 52nd Lowland Div./District, 1961-64; GOC Troops in Malta and Libya, 1964-66; Comdr Malta Land Force, 1965; retired, 1967. DL West Sussex, 1982. Cross of Grand Officer, SMO, Malta, 1966. Publications: A Drop Too Many, 1980; Two Para-Palklands, 1983. Recreations: field sports, polo, golf. Address: Northend Farm, Milland, Liphook, Hants. Club: Army and Navy.

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Public Papers of the Presidents

Costa Mesa, California

Remarks at a Republican Party Rally.

22 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1525

November 3, 1986

LENGTH: 2704 words

The President. Thank you all. And thank you, Governor Deukmejian, for that very kind and generous introduction. Senator-to-be Ed Zschau, Senator Pete Wilson, the members of your State team '86 that were just announced to you by the Governor, your Congressman, Bob Badham, others here on the platform -- Bob Dornan, Congressmen Moorhead, Dreier, Dannemeyer, and Clair Burgener; our State chairman, Congressman Lungren, and you ladies and gentlemen: It's great to be home in California. And isn't it a great time to be an American?

Well, you know -- [applause] -- please, please -- you know, having been a drum major of the YMCA Boys Band in Dixon, Illinois, I can't stand here without thanking the Estancia High School Band and the Costa Mesa High School Band. They have played such fine music in this great and wonderful amphitheater.

But -- now, shhh -- I'm going to talk about you. [Laughter] I can't help but see all of you young people here in the audience, and I have a special message for you from my roommate. My roommate said to tell you that when it comes to drugs, please, please -- for your families, for your future, and your country -- just say no. And now I have another message, and this one's from me. When it comes to George Deukmejian and Ed Zschau -- for yourselves, your families, for your future and your country -- just say yes.

Audience. Just say yes!

The President. You know, as I often say when we're taking off in Air Force One, it's great to get out of Washington and back to where the real people are. And the message I've been taking to the American people everywhere is plain and simple. I've reminded them that we turned the economy around: Inflation is down, interest rates are down, jobs and growth are up. And today we're enjoying one of the longest economic expansions in our history. Now, I have pledged that we will not be satisfied until this expansion reaches every sector of our economy and every home in America and until every American who wants a job has a job.

But on this campaign trip I have also alerted the American people that there is a threat to all we've accomplished. A threat that comes from the Democratic leadership in Congress that would rather fatten the Federal budget than protect the family budget. Will they ever learn?

Audience. No!

The President. No. We don't have a deficit because we're taxed too little; we have a deficit because they're spending too much. And how they like to raise taxes. Those folks never met a tax they didn't like. And when it comes to

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spending your hard-earned money, they act like they have your credit card in their pocket. And believe me, they never leave home without it.

You know, in illustrating the differences between the approach of the Democratic leadership and our approach, I've been found of telling a little story almost everywhere we've gone. So today I have a special message from my friends in the press who've traveled with us in the past few days and weeks. I've seen the umbrella they've opened at times, along the way, with the message: "No more puppy jokes." [Laughter] So I promise no more puppy jokes.

Audience. We want the joke!

The President. But did you hear the story about the kid who was outside the Democratic fundraiser selling kittens? When the people came out from the fundraiser, he was holding up the kittens, and he was saying, "Buy a Democrat kitten." Well, a couple of weeks later the Republicans held a fundraiser in the same place. And when they came out, there was the same kid with the kittens. And he said, "Buy a Republican kitten." And one of the members of the press who'd seen him there 2 weeks before said, "Wait a minute, kid. You were selling these kittens the last time as Democrat kittens. How come they're Republican kittens now?" Kid says, "Because now they've got their eyes open." [Laughter]

You know, in illustrating the differences between the approach of the Democratic leadership and our approach -- well, that, I figure, fits. Now, everywhere I've gone I've also spoken of my most solemn duty as President: the safety of the American people and the security of these United States. And I've also talked about how proud I am of the 2 million young men and women who are in the uniforms of the United States military today. Thanks to them every nickel-and-dime dictator around the world knows that if he tangles with the United States of America, he will have to pay a price.

Audience. U.S.A.! U.S.A.! U.S.A.!

The President. Now, most important, I've talked about our Strategic Defense Initiative against ballistic missiles, SDI, and our goal to keep America strong, to save the world from mutual nuclear terror, and to eliminate nuclear ballistic missiles from the face of the Earth and ultimately all nuclear weapons, of every kind.

Now, everywhere I've gone I've tried to have a special word for Democrats and Independents. I wanted them to know that during these past 6 years as President, I've relied again and again upon their support and told them I'm grateful. With their huge majority in the House of Representatives, had there not been many of them willing to cross over and support us, we couldn't have done any of the things that we've done.

You know, I used to be a Democrat myself.

Audience. No-o-o!

The President. Yes, wait a minute. And that's why I hope and believe there must be many here, as I've seen them across the country, patriotic Democrats who realize they could no longer follow the policies of the liberal leadership of their party; that it had become completely out of step with the hard-working and patriotic men and women who make up the mainstream of the Democratic Party.

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Now, I know how tough it can be to break with tradition, but remember what Winston Churchill said as a Member of the British Parliament. He changed parties, and he was harshly criticized for doing so. And then with one sentence he answered it all. He said, "Some men change principle for party, and others change party for principle."

That was the message I took around the country, and it's the message I bring to you today. And come to think of it, when I consider the importance of sending George Deukmejian back to Sacramento and sending Ed Zschau to help us in Washington, I think of another great statement by Winston Churchill. "Give us the tools and we will finish the job."

So, ladies and gentlemen, this, then, has been our message: a strong economy, lower taxes, a strong America. But I hope you will forgive me if, toward the end of a long campaign, I take some quiet moments now to add some final thoughts about the meaning of what we saw and did. Of course, I welcomed the chance to talk about the issues, but I think you can see I've always thought there was only one real issue in this campaign: the future. That future that all of us want: a future of prosperity, of freedom for the individual, and above all, a future where America is safe and secure and advancing the cause of world freedom while helping humanity escape from the prison of nuclear terror.

I've seen that future during this campaign. I've seen it in those faces and faces along the highway our motorcade traveled from the airports. So many Americans interrupt their day to walk out and wave a hello. Children waving flags in front of their schools, office workers standing outside in their shirt sleeves, and laborers and mechanics in their work clothes as we pass their garages and warehouses. Housewives with little ones waving flags from the front yard. And that's why, wherever we've gone -- as we flew away from Washington over the towns and neighborhoods and the baseball diamonds and football fields, shopping centers and school yards -- I always told my countrymen how grateful I was for the gift of the real America, the gift of coming home again. And now that I'm back here in California, where my career in public office started, I want to say thanks to all of you, too, for that gift of coming home.

Flying back from Iceland recently, I think you can imagine how grateful I was for that gift, the gift of returning to a land like this. But I must tell you I also thought about other faces I've seen, the faces of the people of Iceland and so many other nations -- faces filled with hope, hope that the leaders of the world might someday work together and bring to every people and every land the blessings of peace and freedom.

And I just think it's our job as Americans to work for that. You know, the other night on Air Force One we were flying from one stop to another after a long day, and I went back where a lot of our people and the staff were in the plane, and they got to reminiscing and telling stories. They know my weakness. You get along toward this time in life and you do have a lot of stories you delight in telling if there's half a chance. But there was one out of all of this that I'd like to share with you, and it isn't a joke.

Back shortly after World War II, I went to England to make a picture there called "The Hasty Heart." And it was on a weekend shortly before the Christmas of 1948 -- my first time ever in England. I hired a driver and a car to take me out to see some of the English countryside -- a couple of our people were with me. And along toward the end of the afternoon, he pulled up at a little pub.

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And he told us it was 400 years old, and we went in. And here, we'd call it a mom-and-pop store because there was an elderly couple, and they were not only the owners, they were the entire staff of this. And pretty soon, as we sat there talking a little bit, this matronly woman came over to us, one of the two owners. She said, "You're Americans, aren't you?" And we said, yes, we were, and she started to reminisce. She said, "Oh, during the war," she said, "there were a great many of your chaps just down the road here at the base." And she said, "They used to come in here of a night, and they'd hold songfests." and she said, "They began calling me mom, and they called the old man pop." And she said, "And now. . . ." By now she not looking at us. She's kind of looking off into the memory, and she said, "It was Christmas Eve." And she said, "The old man and me were here alone, and suddenly the door burst open." And she said, "In they came." By this time there's a tear on her cheek. And she said, "They had Christmas presents for the old man and me." She said, "They called us mom and pop, as I said." And then she said, "Big strappin' lads they was from a place called Ioway."

Well, you know, I think from a place called Ioway or it could have been from California or Connecticut or Vermont or Texas. Or maybe, as the song says, "from the lakes of Minnesota to the hills of Tennessee." But how wonderful it has been to see it all again.

We were just down south -- North Carolina, Georgia, the modern boomtown of Tampa in Florida, and in Alabama, with Jerry Denton. He's a Senator now, but it was back in 1973 when, after nearly 8 years in a Vietnamese prison camp, he stepped off that homebound plane and all of us were watching on television wondering what we were going to see of these men who had endured so many years of torture and imprisonment. And there he stood. He saluted the flag, and then he just said it all: "God bless America." We made it to Oklahoma, Wisconsin, Missouri, too. I got hugged there by a bear with a big tummy. The Secret Service wasn't even a little bit nervous. He was the school mascot for the Southwest Missouri State University.

Now, most recently, I've been in the Black Hills of South Dakota. Air Force One took a few passes by Mount Rushmore, and we did the same thing in Colorado over the Air Force Academy. And we could see the cadet corps down below, they had all come out to salute us as we went over. We went to Indiana, Spokane, Washington, then a big western welcome in Idaho, and on to Nevada. I was just there this morning. And now, at last, home to California.

You know, if you won't tell anyone I told you this, I told Margaret Thatcher, the Prime Minister of England, one time when I saw her that if her people had only come across this other ocean instead of the one they did, the capital of the country would be in California. But everywhere we've been, we've seen the red, white, and blue. It was good to see so many flags, and as Lee Greenwood says in his song about new patriotism: "If tomorrow all the things were gone I'd worked for all my life and I had to start again with just my children and my wife, I'd thank my lucky stars to be living here today, cause the flag still stands for freedom and they can't take that away."

You know, maybe I could finish this campaign today by telling you something about the Iceland summit that wasn't too widely known. Mr. Gorbachev told me that when I talk about how we Americans look forward to a day when all the world would know the blessings of liberty, he said the Soviet Union takes this as a kind of threat. And, of course, there's really only one answer to that: It's

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no threat, Mr. Gorbachev, it's just a dream we call it the American dream. But the truth is it's the oldest dream of humanity: the dream of peace and freedom, a dream that someday must belong to every man, woman, and child on Earth. And we find it is terrifying to the head of state of the Soviet Union, that picture of freedom for all people.

So, before leaving, I'd like to say to all of you young people today how delighted I am to see you. Wherever I've gone in the last few weeks, you've been there, and I'm grateful. Wait a minute, I've got a message for you. You see, people my age do deeply believe that it is our duty to turn over to you the same opportunity and freedom that our parents and grandparents handed on to us. And when we look at you -- when we see your openness, your enthusiasm for America and for life itself -- it gives us heart, the heart it to fight and to win this campaign.

And who knows, perhaps many years from now, when you have children or grandchildren of your own, one of them will ask you about a November day a long time ago when a former sports announcer named Dutch Reagan came to town for the last campaign. And should that happen -- and since I won't be able to myself -- I hope you'll tell them for me that I said it wasn't true, that there are really no last, no final campaigns; that each generation must renew and win again for itself the precious gift of liberty, the sacred heritage of freedom.

Please tell them for me that I always thought being an American meant never being mean or small or giving in to prejudice or bigotry; that it did mean trying to help the other fella and working for a world where every person knows freedom is both a blessing and birthright; that being an American also means that on certain special days, for a few precious moments, all of us -- black or white, Jew or gentile, rich or poor -- we are all equal, with an equal chance to decide our destiny, to determine our future, to cast our ballot. Tell them, too, of my fondest hope, my greatest dream for them: that they would always find here in America a land of hope, a light unto the nations, a shining city upon a hill. So that they would be able to say in their time as we've said in ours: I'm proud to be an American, where at last I know I'm free. And I won't forget the men who died, who gave that right to me. And I'll gladly stand up next to you and defend her still today. Cause there ain't no doubt I love this land; God bless the U.S.A.!

Audience. U.S.A.! U.S.A.! U.S.A.!

The President. God bless Governor George Deukmejian, Ed Zschau, and all this team up here that you're going to send back to office; and God bless you.

Thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 2:16 p.m. at the Pacific Amphitheater. He was introduced by Gov. George Deukmejian.

Following his remarks, the President returned to Los Angeles and the Century Plaza Hotel, where he remained overnight. The following day, the President returned to Washington, DC.

with the apparent intention of Moltke's order, Kluck reasoned that its purpose was to assure that the French were driven southeast of Paris. His own First Army

was ideally situated for this task. Accordingly, pugnacious Kluck continued southward, across the Marne, his right flank wide open, just east of Paris.

BATTLE OF THE MARNE, SEPTEMBER 5-10

Joffre's counterattack order (September 4) directed the Sixth Army to attack eastward toward Château-Thierry; the BEF was to move on Montmirail, with the Fifth Army, supported by the Ninth, prepared to conform. The Fourth Army would hold, prepared to advance, and the Third would strike westward from Verdun. On the success of this proposed double envelopment of the German right wing, as Joffre well knew, rested the fate of France. September 6 was to be D day.

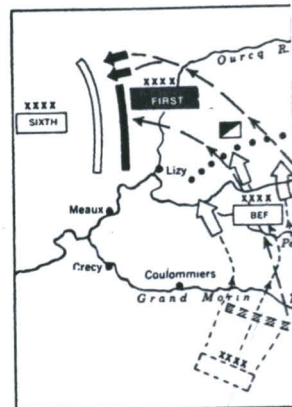
Meanwhile Maunoury's Sixth Army, temporarily under the regional command of General **Joseph S. Galliéni**, energetic military governor of Paris, had begun to carry out Joffre's warning orders by an advance from Paris toward the Ourcq River, where Kluck's right flank lay invitingly open. Only the aggressive initiative of the German right-flank corps commander, General **Hans von Gronau**, saved Kluck's army from surprise envelopment (September 5). As it was, Kluck believed that the French activity on his right was only a spoiling attack and merely detached one additional corps to help Gronau to repel it, while pressing southward with the rest of his army in pursuit of the BEF and the French Fifth Army. Not until this **Battle of the Ourcq** had raged for 2 days did Kluck realize the French intentions (September 7). By this time most of his army was south of the Marne. Pulling back north of the river, Kluck rapidly changed his front and turned his entire army westward in savage counterattacks that halted the French and forced Maunoury to fall back on the defensive (September 7-9). Only the arrival of reinforcements rushed from Paris by Galliéni—some in commandeered taxicabs—permitted Maunoury to stem the impetuous German advance.

By this time the action had become general along the entire front west of Verdun. Kluck's westward shift, undertaken on the assumption that the BEF was no longer a threat, widened the already existing gap between his army and that of von Bülow, which was still moving south. Into this gap now moved the BEF, slowly, since Marshal French underrated the recuperative powers of his troops. Franchet d'Esperey's Fifth Army (Lanrezac had been relieved) battered at part of the German Second Army along the **Petit Morin**.

Farther southeast, Foch's Ninth Army, attacking north at **St.-Gond**, found itself confronting the rest of the Second Army while Hausen's Third Army struck its right. A surprise night bayonet attack by 4 divisions of Hausen's army threw part of Foch's army into confusion (September 8). Foch's response was to order an immediate renewal of his own assault; the German advance was halted, but Foch's position was precarious.

At **Vitry-le-François**, Langle de Cary's Fourth Army battled desperately but indecisively with the Duke of Württemberg's Fourth Army and part of the Third. At Revigny in the Argonne Forest, General **Maurice Sarrail**'s Third Army (Ruffey had been relieved) stopped the Crown Prince's Fifth Army, while at **Nancy** and along the Alsace frontier the French First and Second armies—even though attenuated by drafts for Joffre's new formations to the west—clung successfully to the heights, despite a succession of attacks by the reinforced German Sixth and Seventh armies. (Schlieffen had warned against any such attacks.)

Moltke, worried by rumor and pessimistic fragmentary reports from his subordinates, sent a general staff officer, Lieutenant Colonel **Richard Hentsch**, to in-



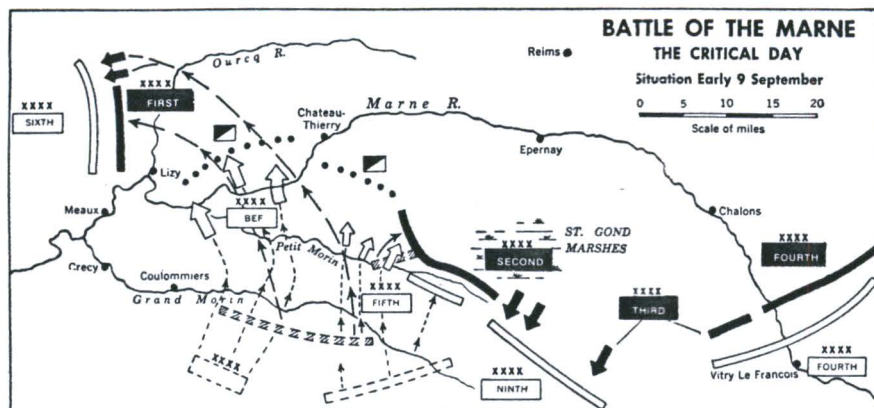
spect the front (September 9). The result was what of a mystery. He arrived to find that its right flank was threatened by d'Esperey's Fifth Army. The BEF, which had personally defeated—was attacking in the northwest against Moltke's army, threatened Kluck's own left flank.

Hentsch tacitly approved the plan. Moltke's name ordered Kluck to change that his offensive had been halted at Verdun. Within 5 days the German advance from the exhausted Allies, the Battle of the Marne thus ended as a strategic victory for France. That same day Moltke ordered him (September 14).

COMMENT. *France's initial plan was unrealistic in concept and failed because of the inefficiency of all personal touch with his subordinates. On the other hand, emerged as a successful plan. His reconnoitering initial plan was masterful, and the French Army. The BEF's presence of personalities and mutual distrust prevented better use of the attack. Casualties on both sides were heavy. German losses were somewhat less than half a million men in the first battle, tactically indecisive, was a tactical victory. It was the world's most decisive battle.*

THE "RACE TO THE SEA" SEPTEMBER 15-NOVEMBER 11

1914, September 15-18. First Battle of the Marne. Slow in their pursuit.



spect the front (September 8). Hentsch's orders were oral; they still remain somewhat of a mystery. He arrived at the Second Army's headquarters just as news was received that its right flank was being turned by a vigorous night attack by Franchet d'Esperey's Fifth Army. This was probably the turning point of the battle. Bülow—personally defeated—was about to retreat. Kluck's First Army was making headway in the northwest against Maunoury's left, but the BEF's advance through the gap threatened Kluck's own left and rear.

Hentsch tacitly approved Bülow's planned retreat and, later the same day, in Moltke's name ordered Kluck also to withdraw (September 9). Moltke, now realizing that his offensive had failed, ordered a general retirement to the line Noyon-Verdun. Within 5 days the Germans, having disengaged without serious interference from the exhausted Allies, were organizing their new positions. The Battle of the Marne thus ended as a strategic Allied victory and Joffre emerged as savior of France. That same day Moltke was relieved, General Erich von Falkenhayn replacing him (September 14).

COMMENT. France's initial offensive plan had failed because it was entirely unrealistic in concept and in execution. The German plan—sound and workable—failed because of the inefficiency of Moltke, who first emasculated the plan, then lost all personal touch with his army commanders and with their progress. Joffre, on the other hand, emerged as a strong and capable leader, who kept in close touch with his subordinates. His reconstruction of a counterattack upon the wreckage of his initial plan was masterful, its execution assisted by the marvelous resiliency of the French Army. The BEF's part was that of a sound professional soldiery. The clash of personalities and mutual distrust existing between Sir John French and Lanrezac prevented better use of the BEF, as did French's excessive caution in the counter-attack. Casualties on both sides were enormous: the Allies lost about 250,000 men; German losses were somewhat greater. In 3 weeks of war, each side had lost more than half a million men in killed, wounded, and captured. The Battle of the Marne, tactically indecisive, was a clear-cut strategic victory for the Allies. Had it ended differently, the history of the 20th century would have been altered fundamentally. It was the world's most decisive battle since Waterloo.

THE "RACE TO THE SEA,"

SEPTEMBER 15–NOVEMBER 24

1914, September 15–18. First Battle of the Aisne. Slow in their pursuit, the Allied

armies, seeking to envelop the German right, were rebuffed from the hastily prepared German field fortifications. Both sides now extended their operations northward, attempting each to outflank the

growing confidence and growing strength in the air, we shall defend our island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender.

4 June 1940

- 1 Let us therefore brace ourselves to our duties and so bear ourselves that if the British Empire and its Commonwealth last for a thousand years men will still say, 'This was their finest hour'.
18 June 1940
- 2 Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few.
20 Aug. 1940
- 3 The British Empire and the United States will have to be somewhat mixed up together in some of their affairs for mutual and general advantage. For my own part, looking out for the future, I do not view the process with any misgivings. I could not stop it if I wished; no one can stop it. Like the Mississippi, it just keeps rolling along. Let it roll. Let it roll on full flood, inexorable, irresistible, benignant, to broader lands and better days.
- 4 We are waiting for the long-promised invasion. So are the fishes.
Radio Broadcast to the French people, 21 Oct. 1940
- 5 I do not resent criticism, even when, for the sake of emphasis, it parts for the time with reality.
House of Commons, 22 Jan. 1941
- 6 Give us the tools, and we will finish the job.
Radio Broadcast, 9 Feb. 1941. (Addressing President Roosevelt.)
- 7 This whipped jackal [Mussolini], who, to save his own skin, has made of Italy a vassal state of Hitler's Empire, is frisking up by the side of the German tiger with yelps not only of appetite—that could be understood—but even of triumph.
House of Commons, Apr. 1941
- 8 Do not let us speak of darker days; let us rather speak of sterner days. These are not dark days: these are great days—the greatest days our country has ever lived; and we must all thank God that we have been allowed, each of us according to our stations, to play a part in making these days memorable in the history of our race.
Harrow School, 29 Oct. 1941
- 9 What kind of people do they [the Japanese] think we are?
To U.S. Congress, 24 Dec. 1941
- 10 When I warned them [the French Government] that Britain would fight on alone whatever they did, their Generals told their Prime Minister and his divided Cabinet: 'In three weeks England will have her neck wrung like a chicken.'
Some chicken! Some neck!
To the Canadian Parliament, 30 Dec. 1941
- 11 This is not the end. It is not even the beginning of the end. But it is, perhaps, the end of the beginning.
Mansion House, 10 Nov. 1942. (Of the Battle of Egypt.)
- 12 I have not become the King's First Minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire.
- 13 The soft under-belly of the Axis.
Report on the War Situation, House of Commons, 11 Nov. 1942
- 14 Not a seat but a springboard. (North Africa.)
Radio Broadcast, 29 Nov. 1942
- 15 There is no finer investment for any community than putting milk into babies.
21 Mar. 1943
- 16 You may take the most gallant sailor, the most intrepid airman, or the most audacious soldier, put them at a table together—what do you get? *The sum of their fears*.
On the Chiefs of Staffs system, 16 Nov. 1943. H. Macmillan, *The Blast of War*, ch. 16
- 17 There are few virtues that the Poles do not possess—and there are few mistakes they have ever avoided.
House of Commons, 16 Aug. 1945
- 18 An iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Address at Westminster College, Fulton, U.S.A., 5 Mar. 1946. The expression 'iron curtain' had been previously applied by others to the Soviet Union or its sphere of influence, e.g., Ethel Snowden, *Through Bolshevik Russia* (1920); Dr. Goebbels, *Das Reich* (25 Feb. 1945); and by Churchill himself in a cable to President Truman (4 June 1945).
- 19 Many forms of government have been tried, and will be tried in this world of sin and woe. No one pretends that democracy is perfect or all-wise. Indeed, it has been said that democracy is the worst form of Government except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time.
House of Commons, 11 Nov. 1947
- 20 To jaw-jaw is better than to war-war.
Washington, 26 June 1954
- 21 It was the nation and the race dwelling all round the globe that had the lion's heart. I had the luck to be called upon to give the roar.
Speech at Palace of Westminster on his 80th birthday, 30 Nov. 1954
- 22 Headmasters have powers at their disposal with which Prime Ministers have never yet been invested.
My Early Life (1930), ch. 2
- 23 By being so long in the lowest form [at Harrow] I gained an immense advantage over the cleverer boys... I got into my bones the essential structure of the normal British sentence—which is a noble thing. Naturally I am biased in favour of boys learning English; and then I would let the clever ones learn Latin as an honour, and Greek as a treat.
- 24 It is a good thing for an uneducated man to read books of quotations.
ch. 9
- 25 In war, resolution; in defeat, defiance; in victory, magnanimity; in peace, goodwill.
Epigram after the Great War, 1914–18. Sir Edward Marsh, *A Number of People* (1939), p. 152. Later used as the 'Moral of the Work' in each volume of *The Second World War*.
- 26 On the night of the tenth of May [1940], at the outset of this mighty battle, I acquired the chief power in the State, which henceforth I wielded in ever-growing measure for five years and three months of world war, at the end of which time, all our enemies having surrendered unconditionally or being about to do so, I was immediately dismissed by the British electorate from all further conduct of their affairs.
vol. i, *The Gathering Storm* (1948), p. 526
- 27 The loyalties which centre upon number one are enormous. If he trips he must be sustained. If he

The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations

THIRD EDITION

Oxford New York Toronto Melbourne
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

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was achieved seated causes. Richard I, and time of acute r possessions in ight to military increasingly fre- forms of taxation, more stringently, judicial prerogative financial exaction tly expanded the d and exchequer, in central and ministrators.

French (1204) efforts. In 1212 barons conspired discovered, and the were able to per- nnocent III, with t they had risen in they were restored h's settlement with red his position by papal vassalage ection for prelates March 1215). This papacy but did not opposition after the gn in Flanders and

king and the barons re inconclusive, and me. The results of roved unacceptable ed their allegiance on (May 17). This at Runnymede on n the Articles of the June 15, was part of here on June 19. ter of liberties had s found in the coro- 100), the reissue of h barons' demands. novations in govern- anciant custom, en- d the Confessor, and tain good laws and ich King John had th the pope in 1213. d become common. 1190 some counties g control over local royal forest laws. ight to establish na- a system of liberties locally by purchase on in the preceding with the privileges of

London was particularly close. The mayor of London was one of the baronial court of Twenty Five established under the Charter, and Magna Carta was secured by an oath, enforced throughout the land, which bound all together in a "commune" analogous to the "commune" of London of 1191. The charter also owed much to legal development under Henry II and his sons. A system of royal courts provided ready access and regular procedures by writ and inquest. Despite the inroads this made on the feudal jurisdiction of the barons, it was largely accepted in Magna Carta. But the king's personal jurisdiction lay outside these changes.

King John was denounced as tyrannous because he seemed to twist reasonable procedure to suit his own willful appreciation of political necessities. Magna Carta sought to impose on the crown the same constraints of lawful process that the crown's legal system required of the lords of feudal courts. It also expressed an increasing consciousness of title in property and tenant-right that had been a prominent feature of this legal development. Henry II had given his subjects security against their lords and against each other. Their descendants now demanded similar security against Henry's son.

Provisions of the Charter. Magna Carta is written continuously, in a rudimentary, uninterrupted, logical sequence, without the chapter divisions devised by later editors. It began by confirming that "the English church shall be free" and should retain the recent grant of freedom of election. It then regulated the feudal relations between the crown and its vassals: it provided a tariff of reliefs, the sum that a vassal paid on the inheritance of his land (100 pounds sterling for an earldom or barony, 5 pounds for a knight's fief), regulated the king's rights of wardship of minors and their estates, and limited royal control of the marriage of heirs and the profitable prerogative of marrying off widows. It delimited the service due from feudal vassals to the crown.

The document largely confirmed the legal developments of Henry II, requiring regular assizes and a fixed court of common pleas, but it excluded the king's officers from the administration of justice and, in its most famous chapter of all (39/29), required the king himself to conform to lawful process: "No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned or deprived or outlawed or exiled or in any way ruined, nor will we go or send against him, except by lawful judgment of his peers or by the law of the land." It also required that justice should not be sold or denied and that penalties should be assessed fairly—in the case of barons, by their peers. It confirmed the liberties of London and other towns and provided for free movement in and out of the country for merchants and others.

In addition, Magna Carta sought to control many aspects of royal administration: taxes were to be levied by common counsel, the machinery of which was defined; there was to be no increase in the regular revenues of counties; the king's bailiffs were expected to know the law of the land, and certain named foreign sheriffs were to be excluded from office; and royal bailiffs were not to take provender without payment, or horses and carts without the consent of the owner. It provided for the election of 12 knights in each shire to investigate evil practices in local government and in the administration of the royal forest. It ordered the restitution of lands and rights that

King John had seized unlawfully and the annulment of unjust agreements and compositions, concessions that it extended to the Welsh and the Scots. Finally, it stipulated that the enforcement of the Charter was to be supervised by Twenty Five elected barons empowered to receive complaints against the king and to compel him, by distraining on his lands and castles, to redress the alleged wrongs.

At Runnymede, King John swore an oath to observe these terms. When copies of the Charter were sent out to the counties, all were required to swear to its terms and to obedience to the Twenty Five.

Historical Importance. Magna Carta subsumes important ideas. Although it was much concerned with feudal matters, it was a concession to "all freemen of our realm." It stipulated that those who receive these liberties from the king shall in their term observe them toward their men. In placing all free men on the same footing, it owes much to the legal provisions of Henry II that embodied the same principle. But many of the privileges belong not to individuals but to the community as a whole. Magna Carta, through providing the community with an identity in the possession of privileges, originated the idea of the "community of the realm" on which opposition to the crown was to rely in the later Middle Ages.

The Charter failed, however, as an immediate settlement. The inquiries into local government provoked disorder. The provisions for restitution led to disputes. At King John's request the pope annulled the Charter (Aug. 24, 1215) on the ground that it had been exacted by force. The death of John in the ensuing war (Oct. 19, 1216), the fact that Henry III succeeded as a boy of nine, and the readiness of a new pope (Honorius III) to approve the Charter as a route to peace left room for a compromise. The Charter, therefore, was twice reissued, in November 1216 and in September–November 1217, under the seals of the papal legate and of William Marshal, earl of Pembroke.

In 1216 the provisions of 1215 concerning the feudal relations of crown and vassals and the administration of justice were repeated with slight amendment, but most of the sections concerning royal administration were omitted as "grave and doubtful," along with the arrangements for restitution and enforcement that lost their point when John died. Some of the administrative provisions were restored, in much reduced form, in 1217. It was this version, further amended slightly in the reissue of 1225, that came to enjoy statutory authority. In 1217 new provisions, probably drawn from the inquiries of 1215, were added concerning the session of the county courts and other legal and tenurial matters, and the sections concerning the royal forest were now expanded in a separate Charter of the Forest. In order to distinguish the two, the Charter of Liberties was soon termed "Great."

The charters were repeatedly confirmed and read publicly in the county courts in the 13th and 14th centuries at the demand of aristocratic and ecclesiastical opposition to the crown. The papal approval of the reissues (1216, 1217) was reinforced by sentences of excommunication against infringers (1225) which were formalized in 1253. Contravention of the charters was one of the charges against Henry III (1258), Edward I (1297), and Edward II (1311, 1327). Magna Car-

ta was also treated as a founding statute, enforceable in the courts. It began the practice of legislation, continued in the Provisions of Merton (1236), many of which were concerned with further elucidation of sections of the Charter, and in the Statutes of Edward I. It appears as the first item in the manuscript books of statutes common by the end of the 13th century and in the printed versions of the 16th and later centuries. As a grant made in perpetuity, it was adjusted to changing circumstances.

By six acts of Parliament (1331–1363) the restricted category of freeman of clauses 39/29 was extended to "no man of whatsoever estate or condition he may be," lawful judgment of peers came to include trial by jury (which scarcely existed in 1215), and the "law of the land" was redefined as "due process of law." In the 17th century the common-lawyer opponents of the Stuart kings, led by Sir Edward Coke, deployed the Charter and the six statutes as the main element in an ancient law that they claimed the royal prerogative had no power to infringe. Coke greatly extended the notion of liberties in Magna Carta, identifying it with individual liberty and arguing that economic monopolies were against the "liberty and freedom of the subject!" Coke was not alone in this. In the debate on the Petition of Right (1628) Magna Carta was advanced as the origin of habeas corpus, and in 1641 it was used to justify the prerogative Court of the Star Chamber.

It was this "myth" that came to America with the colonists—to Virginia where the first Charter (1606) granted settlers the liberties they would have enjoyed in England, and, through the influence of Coke's commentary in his *Second Institute*, to the foundation of the New England colonies. Magna Carta subsequently provided historical precedent for the powerful stream of thought emphasizing the natural rights of the individual expressed in the U. S. Constitution and state constitutions. "Due process" was embodied in the 5th and 14th Amendments to the U. S. Constitution. In England Magna Carta was used by the Radicals in the late 18th and early 19th centuries as a defense of the individual against parliamentary authority. Thereafter it lost political importance. Many of its provisions were repealed in the Statute Law Revision Act (1863) and subsequently. Four of its provisions (1, 9, 29, 37) still remain on the statute book.

Four surviving originals of the Charter of 1215 survive, all of equal validity. Lincoln Cathedral and Salisbury Cathedral each holds an original Charter. Two are in the British Library, London, including the Articles of the Barons.

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MAGNA GRAECIA, mag'nə grě'shə, the name given in antiquity to the coastal cities of southern Italy that had been colonized by the Greeks. Its use was extended to the Greek cities of Sicily by the geographer Strabo. Maior Graecia (Greater Greece) was sometimes used instead of Magna Graecia (Great Greece).

Origins of the Term. The Italian and later use of Graecia and Graeci, from which the words Greece and Greeks derive, for the Greek words Hellas and Hellenes seems to have resulted from the early contact of Italians with citizens of Cumae, the earliest (about 750 B. C.) of the Greek colonies in Italy. Cumae, founded by settlers chiefly from Cyme in Aeolis and from Chalcis and Eretria on Euboea, included Graeci, colonists from Graea, a small town in Euboea. The name of this small group came to be applied to all Hellenes.

The Major Cities. The other major cities of Magna Graecia (including Sicily), with their approximate founding dates and the original homes of their colonists, were: Syracuse, 733 B. C., from Corinth; Catana and Leontini, 729 B. C., from Naxos; Megara Hyblaea, 728 B. C., from Megara; Sybaris, 720 B. C., Croton, 708 B. C., and Metapontum, 7th century B. C., all from Achaea; Taras, 706 B. C., from Sparta; Poseidonia (Paestum), 700 B. C., from Sybaris; Gela, 688 B. C., from Rhodes and Crete; Locri, 673 B. C., from Locris; Selinus, 628 B. C., from Megara Hyblaea; and Acragas, 580 B. C., from Gela.

Influence on Italy. It was through these cities that the Greeks directly influenced the Italians—for example, in religion, including the establishment of specific cults; in trade; in art, especially from Corinth and Athens; and in coinage. Pythagoras of Samos settled in Croton in the 6th century B. C., and for a time he and his followers exercised great influence throughout Magna Graecia, especially in Croton, Metapontum, Rhegium, Locris, Elea, and Cumae. The exclusiveness of the Pythagoreans ultimately led to a reversal of attitude toward them, and Pythagoras himself may have been killed by the citizens of Croton. The Greek cities lost power to the Italians in the 5th century B. C., and some were depopulated.

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MAGNANI, mā-nyä'nē, **Anna** (1908–1973), Italian actress, who specialized in playing passionate, coarse, sensual women of great inner strength. She was born on March 7, 1908, in Alexandria, Egypt, but was raised in the slums of Rome. She studied at the Academy of Dramatic Art in Rome and began her career as a nightclub singer and performer in vaudeville.

Although she appeared in Italian motion pictures from the early 1930's, she did not attract worldwide attention until she starred as a passionate, defiant pregnant woman in Roberto Rossellini's neorealist film *Rome: Open City* (1946). Among her other important motion pictures are Luchino Visconti's *Bellissima* (1951) and Jean Renoir's *The Golden Coach* (1953), both comedies, the latter allowing her to parody the type of role that had made her famous.

Tennessee Williams had written the play *The Rose Tattoo* with Magnani in mind, but she had been afraid to play it on the stage. However, she agreed to do the film version (1955), her first American film, and won the 1956 Academy



Anna Magnani won the actress for her performance

Award for best actress for her earthy interpretation of

She appeared in *Mamma Roma* (1961) with Marlon Brando. She died in Santa Vittoria (1969) her last years she was television. She died

MAGNENTIUS, mag'nē-tyūs, (died 353), usurper. A German general of the Western Roman Empire. He then had the Emperor Constantine's brother Constantine II killed. He was enormous. Gra lowerers and allies, M and committed suicide

MAGNESITE, mag'nē-sīt, a naturally occurring mineral, industrially important for its use in the manufacture of refractory chemicals. The mineral is a carbonate (MgCO₃), in which the magnesium is present. It is white to gray, and ranges from translucent to opaque. It has a hexagonal crystal structure. On the Mohs scale, it has a hardness of 3.5. Magnesite occurs in various forms, resulting from the solution of magnesium silicates, (2) as veins and replacement deposits, and large deposits are found in China, and the United States (Washington). See