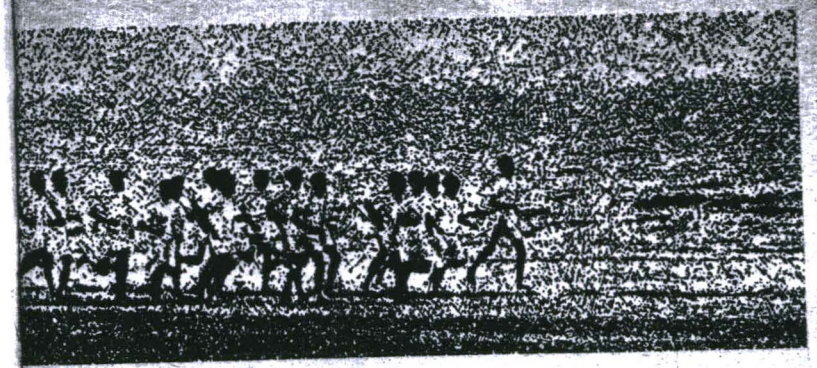
Research 111½

The praise is unparalleled for

CHARIOTS OF FIRE



bear. " '. . . . All nations before Him are as nothing. They are counted to Him less than nothing . . . and vanity. . . . He bringeth the princes to nothing; He maketh the judges of the earth as a vanity. . . .' " The starter's pistol would go off at any moment. The runners, including Harold Abrahams, would be poised ready for a fast start. " '. . . . Hast thou not known? Hast thou not heard that the everlasting God, the Lord, the Creator of the ends of the earth, fainteth not, neither is weary. . . .' "

At that moment, the starter's pistol cracked at the Olympic Stadium. Moments before, the American Charles Paddock had rocked forward deliberately and Harold, watching him, rocked with him, then realizing his mistake, quickly shifted back. But as he did so, the pistol went off. Paddock was ready and off to a great start, but Harold, conned, lost a precious moment and was left a yard behind. The power within Harold surged, giving him an agonized expression as he strained to catch Paddock.

From the church pulpit, Eric continued to read from the Old Testament: " 'He giveth power to the faint, and to them that have no might, He increaseth strength. . . . But they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength. . . . They shall mount up with wings as eagles. They shall run and not be weary. . . .' "

But weary he was. Harold couldn't gain back the yard he had lost at the start. Bitterly disappointed, he wanted to see only one person—Sam Mussabini.

"Juvenile, Mr. Abrahams," Sam snorted, furious with Harold for allowing himself to be psyched out by Paddock. "You lost your concentration like a kid." He began to massage Harold's exhausted body without saying any more. Harold lay on the table in Sam's room running the race again in his mind. It had been like the race against Liddell. He had allowed himself to be distracted. Sam was right. He had lost his concentration for one vital moment.

Aubrey Montague had run in the 3,000 meter steeplechase, had injured his knee at the top of the water jump, and had come in sixth. Looking for some consolation, he joined Harold and Sam. The little man's expert, oiled hands dug into Harold's taut muscles. The bands playing in the Olympic stadium could be heard faintly through the window. Aubrey sat down with a gloomy, defeated expression, not speaking. Harold understood Aubrey's mood from the way he felt himself. Remembering how much Aubrey had encouraged him, Harold tried to raise his friend's spirits.

to a fast start. A Frenchman took the lead, with Eric Liddell close behind him. Suddenly as Eric drew even, the French runner elbowed him off the track. Caught completely by surprise, Eric stumbled on the grass and fell over. A gasp went up from the great Scottish crowd at the collapse of their hero. Harold sat forward, horrified. He had wasted his time coming up to Edinburgh. Liddell wouldn't have a chance to show anything now. The race was over for him.

Yet Harold was wrong. For a few seconds that seemed an eternity to the watching crowd, Eric lay on his back. The other runners were already far down the track. But then, suddenly, as if a surge of new power had passed through him, Eric sprang to life again. In one quick leap, he was on his feet and was off down the track in pursuit of the others. The crowd applauded his courage, but he had lost so much ground he could never catch up. Yet that clearly wasn't Eric's view. He ran like a man inspired, his head thrown back, his feet pounding wildly, his arms whirling with the intensity of his effort. It still seemed hopeless and yet he began to gain on the other runners. They were still twenty yards in front. Then only nineteen, eighteen, seventeen. . . . Relentlessly Eric cut the distance separating him from the pack, until he reached those at the back and swept past them. By the time

the home stretch was reached, Eric was running fourth, about ten yards behind the leader —the Frenchman who had elbowed him off the track.

The crowd roared encouragement. Harold sat on the edge of his seat, marvelling at Eric's superb running. It still seemed impossible that he could catch up ten more yards, but Eric's head thrust farther back, his arms rose higher, his legs flashed over the ground. Forty yards from the finish, he was third and seemed about to collapse, his mouth wide open gasping for air, but he refused to give up. Then, from somewhere within, he found a fresh burst of energy that carried him into second place. The crowd rose to its feet in excitement. He had a chance, a definite chance of winning.

Harold watched with astonishment as Eric swept into the lead and breasted the tape two yards ahead of the Frenchman—and then fell exhausted into the arms of officials. They half-carried him to the side of the track and laid him gently on the grass, his eyes closed, only half-conscious. He had spent everything he had and hardly heard the great roars of his fellow Scots.

A little man in a baggy suit with a straw hat at a rakish angle knelt down beside Eric. He was Sam Mussabini, half Italian, half Arab, and probably the best trainer of sprin-

lost about 40,000 men. Despite his success, Rommel's logistical situation was worsening as Allied naval and air strength in the Mediterranean again increased (see p. 1087), and Hitler—obsessed with the Russian invasion—urged him to advance to the capture of the Suez Canal, yet failed to provide adequate reinforcement or supply. Meanwhile British strength was rebuilding.

1942, August 31–September 7. Battle of Alam Halfa. Rommel assaulted to try to gain another victory before British strength became too great. His plan, as at Gazala, was envelopment of the British left by the Afrika Korps. Montgomery was prepared. The Panzers, initially successful despite skillful delay by the British 7th Armored Division, reached the left rear of the British position and then thrust north, to be repulsed by a tank brigade dug in on the Alam Halfa ridge. Short of fuel and harassed by punishing British aerial attacks, Rommel began withdrawing his tanks (September 2). Montgomery refused to risk counterattack and the line stabilized again. But Rommel's failure had been a disaster—he had no further hope of offense; all he could do was defend.

1942, September–October. Preparations. Montgomery prepared methodically for attack. The Mediterranean situation had improved (see p. 1087). By October, the Eighth Army had been built up to an impressive strength—150,000 men organized in 3 army corps—7 infantry and 3 armored divisions, with 7 additional armored brigades (1,114 tanks in all), plus corps and army troops; fuel and ammunition were plentiful. Rommel at this time had 96,000 men (half of them Italians) in 8 infantry and 4 armored divisions (nearly 600 tanks); shortages in fuel, ammunition, and other supplies were severe. Rommel, ill, had temporarily flown back to Germany for medical treatment, leaving General **Hans Stumme** in command. The opponents, each with unturnable flanks, were separated by a broad zone of mine fields. On the north was the Mediterranean, and 40 miles to the south was the Qattara Depression, impassable for either wheeled or tracked vehicles. Montgomery's plan was to effect a penetration, hold off Rommel's armor while eliminating the German infantry, and only then engage in a tank battle. The RAF's Desert Air Force had gained complete air superiority, and subjected Axis forces to intensifying punishment.

1942, October 23–November 4. Battle of El Alamein. At 9:40 P.M., 1,000 British guns opened along a 6-mile front near the sea. Twenty minutes later—under a full moon—the XXX Corps struck the Axis left, while to the south the XIII Corps began a diversionary effort near the Qattara Depression. Four hours later, the X Armored Corps advanced through 2 corridors in the mine fields opened by the XXX Corps infantry. Despite initial surprise, the Italian infantry put up obstinate resistance; an almost immediate counterattack by the 15th Panzer Division nearly stopped British progress. Nor did the diversionary attack of XIII Corps make much gain. Stumme died of a heart attack; Rommel, flying back at first word of the battle, resumed command (October 25). Next day Montgomery, halting further effort on the south, threw his weight against the coastal area, where the 9th Australian Division threatened to pin the German 164th Division against the sea. For a week a ferocious tank battle raged in the mine fields south of the coastal road and railroad, as both sides brought their armored units up from the south. The Axis armor, necessarily thrown in piecemeal, and under continuous aerial bombardment, shrank rapidly. Lack of replacements for damaged vehicles, together with shortages of fuel and ammunition, combined to take cruel toll. Meanwhile the Australians had almost surrounded the German 164th Division along the coast. Rommel, whose existence depended on holding the coast road, committed his last reserve, extricated his infantry from encirclement, and dug in again 3 miles to the west (November 1). Montgomery quickly regrouped, then renewed his attempted breakthrough south of fortified Kidney Hill. The 2nd New Zealand Division, behind a rolling barrage, cleared a corridor through the mine fields for the British tanks (November 2). A desperate Panzer counterattack momentarily snubbed the breakthrough, but by the day's end only 35 German tanks remained in action, while British artillery and aerial bombardment neutralized the deadly German 88-mm. antitank guns.

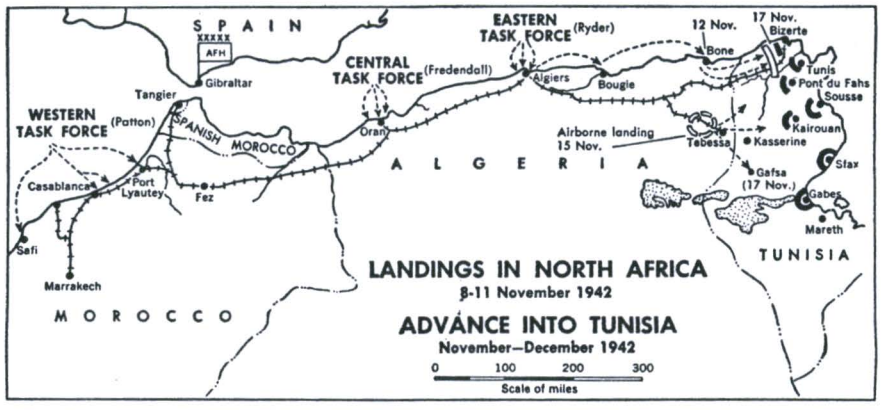
Rommel, his fuel and ammunition having reached the vanishing point, decided to withdraw, but was halted for 48 hours by Hitler's categorical and senseless command to hold at all costs. Montgomery hurled another assault against the Kidney Hill area, scoring a clean breakthrough. Rommel, disregarding Hitler's order, now disengaged the Afrika Korps, leaving the Italians behind. The entire Axis front crumbled. Cautious Montgomery delayed pursuit for 24 hours. Rommel's losses were enormous: some 59,000 men killed, wounded, and captured (34,000 of them German); 500 tanks, 400 guns, and a great quantity of other vehicles lost. The Eighth Army lost 13,000 killed, wounded, and missing, and 432 tanks had been put out of action.

COMMENT. *Strategically and psychologically, El Alamein ranks as a decisive battle of World War II. It initiated the Axis decline. The victory saved the Suez Canal, was a curtain raiser for the Anglo-American invasion of North Africa 4 days later, and was a prelude to the debacle of Stalingrad. Allied morale soared, particularly in the British Empire, proud to have at long last a victorious army and general; Axis morale correspondingly dipped. Hitler's order that Rommel should stand fast (rescinded 48 hours later, after the "Desert Fox" had already started to withdraw) contributed to the ruin of Rommel's army.*

1942, November 5–December 31. Pursuit. Montgomery's slightly delayed, methodical pursuit, planned to keep unremitting pressure on Rommel's forces, fell somewhat short of its goal. Although forced to stand several times, the Afrika Korps made good its escape. The RAF in particular has been criticized for lackadaisical operation. At **Mersa Matruh** (November 7), the 21st Panzer Division, lacking fuel, made a hedgehog stand, then abandoned its last tanks. At El Agheila (November 23–December 13), Montgomery stopped to open the port of Benghazi and establish a supply line, Rommel withdrawing when again threatened by encirclement. The year ended with another delaying action at the **Wadi Zem Zem,** near Buerat. Again Rommel skillfully evaded entrapment while Montgomery wrestled with the logistical problems of his long communications line.

INVASION OF NORTH AFRICA, 1942

1942, August–November. Preparations for Operation "Torch." This invasion was planned for the purpose of seizing Morocco, Algeria, and Tunis as bases for further operations. It was a compromise between widely differing British and American military strategical concepts (see p. 1082). Roosevelt finally resolved the matter in favor of North Africa. It was the largest amphibious operation attempted to that time. Supreme commander was Lieutenant General **Dwight D. Eisenhower,** then commanding American troops in England. British Admiral Cunningham was Allied naval commander, and Eisenhower had an integrated American-British staff. The operation was divided into 3 main elements. Direct from the U.S. came Major General **George S. Patton**'s Western Task Force—35,000 men in 39 vessels,



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from 3500 B.C. to the present

R. ERNEST DUPUY and TREVOR N. DUPUY

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1817

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Mexico City, São Paulo, Sydney

had driven a beloved American ally out of his homeland?

It was a question that would never be answered. Foster Dulles was taking no chances. Chou En-lai held out his hand in full view of the world's press, cameramen, and all the delegates, and it stayed there, empty.

Johnson, a Chinese expert at the State Department, was only too well aware of the significance for Chou En-lai.

"[The incident] deeply wounded Chou over the years, and it deeply affected his attitude," he said later. "This was a loss of face and a deep wound as far as Chou En-lai was concerned. This had some effect and I could see it reflected through the rest of the Conference."

Foster seemed unworried by the fuss he had caused. He stayed on at the conference for a few days, but made it plain that neither he nor the Americans were interested in taking any part in it, and certainly would accept no responsibility for any settlement reached. Someone asked Carl McCardle, his press spokesman, whether the Secretary planned to have any contact at all with Chou En-lai during the proceedings, since it would be the first opportunity the Americans had had to exchange views with the new régime in China.

"Not unless their limos crash into each other leaving the hall," McCardle replied.

One suspects that Foster's brother Allen would have handled the encounter with more finesse. But it was Winston Churchill who remarked: "Foster Dulles is the only case I know of a bull who carries his china shop with him."

The conference went on without the Americans. Foster returned to the United States, and refused to go back to Geneva. Eventually, a new French government came to power and its premier, Pierre Mendès-France, pledged himself to end the war in Indochina and get out no matter what the cost. He pleaded with Foster to come back to Geneva and put the weight of American power behind him. Foster refused, but did consent to go to Paris and talk with the new premier. As a result, Beetle Smith was shipped to Geneva as a substitute, but with no power to make any decisions.

A Final Declaration was issued on July 21, 1954, bringing the war in Indochina to an end, dividing the country in two, and ending French influence in Hanoi and North Vietnam. The eventual fate of the whole

DULLES:

A Biography of Eleanor, Allen, and John Foster Dulles and Their Family Network

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by Leonard Mosley

The Dial Press/James Wade
New York 1978

5TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of the United Kingdom at the Dinner Honoring the President

1981 Pub. Papers 172

February 27, 1981

LENGTH: 2291 words

The Prime Minister. Mr. President, Mr. Vice President, ladies and gentlemen:

Mr. President, an earlier visitor to the United States, Charles Dickens, described our American friends as by nature frank, brave, cordial, hospitable, and affectionate. That seems to me, Mr. President, to be a perfect description of the man who has been my host for the last 48 hours. And it's not surprising, therefore, that I've so much enjoyed all our talks together, whether the formal discussions in the Oval Office -- and how very much it suits you, sir, to be there -- or in the Cabinet Room or those less formal at the dinner table.

Mr. President, Henry David Thoreau once said that it takes two to speak the truth, one to speak and another to hear. Well, sometimes one of us has spoken and sometimes the other. But together, Mr. President, I would like to think that we have spoken the truth.

During the visit to which I've already referred, Charles Dickens, like me, also visited Capitol Hill. He described the Congressmen he met there as "striking to look at, hard to deceive, prompt to act, lions in energy, Americans in strong and general impulse." Having been there and agreeing with Dickens as I do, i'm delighted to see so many Members of Congress here this evening. And if Dickens was right, relations between the legislative and executive branches should be smooth indeed over the next 4 years. After all, "prompt to act and lions in energy" should mean, Mr. President, you'll get that expenditure-cutting program through very easily indeed. [Laughter]

In any event I hope, Mr. President, that in serving this evening wine from your own State of California, we British have done something to advance the cause of harmony. [Laughter] And I hope also that you'll think we've chosen well. I must confess that the Californian berries I've never seen growing on any tree, but of course they are none the worse for that. [Laughter] You see how much we try to attend to what has customarily become called "the supply side" in all aspects of life -- [laughter] -- not simply in economics.

California, of course, has always meant a great deal to my countrymen from the time, almost exactly 400 years ago, when one of our greatest national heroes, Sir Francis Drake, proclaimed it New Albion, in keeping with the bravado of the Elizabethan Age. This feeling of community and curiosity that we have about California exists in the present age when another of our household names made his career there, one of he greatest careers in show business.I refer to Mr. Bob Hope, who is here this evening, and whom we like to claim is partly ours because he was born in the United Kingdom, though he decided to leave when he was only 4 years old -- [laughter] -- presumably because he thought the golf courses in the United States were better than those in the United Kingdom.

[Laughter] I'm glad, that my husband, Denis, did not agree with him.

It's a great privilege, Mr. President, to welcome you this evening to this Embassy, and we're very sensible of the honor that you do us in coming here. I hope you didn't feel ill at ease as you came up the stairs and passed under the gaze of George III. [Laughter] I can assure you that we British have long since come to see that King George was wrong and that Thomas Jefferson was right when he wrote to James Madison that "a little rebellion now and then is a good thing." [Laughter]

Leaving history aside, I hope we've succeeded in making you feel at home. The Embassy has been described as being like a Queen Anne country house. At any rate, it's our own version of a Rancho del Cielo. [Laughter] It is, as they say, in a good neighborhood. After all, the Vice President and Mrs. Bush live next door. [Laughter] I'm told that they occasionally cast predatory glances on our excellent tennis court. But I fear there's little chance of persuading Nico and Mary Henderson to give it up. Too much useful business gets done on it, or so they claim. [Laughter]

It's a singular honor for me and, no less important, a great pleasure for all the other guests this evening that you should be here, Mr. President, not just because you are the free world's leading statesman but because you are a person who has got there by your own efforts and who retains that wonderful personality -- natural, forthcoming, and wise, whatever the pomp and circumstance in which you find yourself surrounded. Emerson wrote that nothing astonishes men as much as common sense and plain dealing, but in you, Mr. President, to find these qualities is only what one would expect.

It's not the time, Mr. President, for me to talk at any length about the relations between our two countries, except to say that they are profoundly and deeply right. And beyond that, we perhaps don't have to define them in detail. But after these 2 days of talks with you and meetings with many of the United States ministerial and congressional leaders, I have realized what at any rate to me is exceptional about the dealings we two countries have with each other.

We honor the same values. We may not always have identical interests, but what we do have in common is the same way of looking at and doing things. We don't seek to score off the other. We don't seek to involve the other in some commitment against his will. We try rather, in discussing the whole range of world problems that affect us both, to find common ground and to find the way which protects for humanity that liberty which is the only thing which gives life dignity and meaning.

There will, of course, be times, Mr. President, when yours perhaps is the loneliest job in the world, times when you need what one of my great friends in politics once called "2 o'clock in the morning courage." There will be times when you go through rough water. There will be times when the unexpected happens. There will be times when only you can make a certain decision. It is at that time when you need the 2 o'clock in the morning courage. By definition it means courage. It requires also conviction. Even that is not enough. It requires wisdom. It requires a capacity to evaluate the varying advice that comes your way, the advice from those who say, "Yes, go on, go on, this is your great opportunity to prove what you're made of;" the advice which says, "This is the time to make a dignified retreat," and only you can weigh up that advice. Only you can exercise that judgment, and there's no one else. And it is the

most lonely job, and what it requires is the most wonderful, profound understanding of human nature and the heights to which it can rise. And what it requires is a knowledge on your part that whatever decision you make, you have to stick with the consequences and see it through until it be well and truly finished.

Those of us who are here realize what this 2 o'clock in the morning courage means, what a lonely job it is, and how in the end only one thing will sustain you, that you have total integrity and at the end of the day you have to live with the decision you've made.

I want to say this to you, Mr. President, that when those moments come, we have, in this room, on both sides of the Atlantic, have in you total faith that you will make the decision which is right for protecting the liberty of common humanity in the future. You will make that decision which we as partners in the English-speaking world know that, as Wordsworth wrote, "We must be free or die, who speak the tongue that Shakespeare spake."

I'd like to thank you, Mr. President, for the hospitality you and your government have given to me, to my family, and to my party on this memorable visit. It's very early days in your administration, and you've very heavy preoccupations. But if these meetings have meant a tithe as much to you as they have meant to me and to my team, I shall leave with a pang of sorrow, but happy and contented, eager soon to see you on the shores of Britain.

It's in this spirit, Mr. President, that I would ask all our guests this evening to rise and drink a toast with affection, respect, and admiration to the President of the United States and Mrs. Reagan. The President of the United States.

The President. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Mr. Vice President:

Prime Minister, Bob Hope will know what I mean when I speak in the language of my previous occupation and say you are a hard act to follow. [Laughter]

Nancy and I want to thank you for the warmth of those words that you spoke, as well as your gracious hospitality. And may I say that I do know something about that 2 o'clock courage, but I also know that you have already shown that 2 o'clock courage on too many occasions to name.

It's been delightful for Nancy and me to be here and with the Thatcher family in these 48 hours and to know them better, to know Mr. Thatcher, to know your daughter, Carol. I would also like to thank Sir Nicholas and Lady Henderson, who have made this house such a gracious center of hospitality in this city.

Winston Churchill is believed to have said that the three most difficult things a man can be asked to do is to climb a wall leaning toward him, kiss a woman leaning away from him, and give a good after-dinner speech. [Laughter]

This evening marks the first steps I've taken as a President on foreign soil. [Laughter] What an honor to visit Great Britain first and how symbolic of the close relationship between our two nations that I only had to go 15 city blocks to do it. I wonder if this is what is meant by the saying that the Sun never sets on the British Empire. [Laughter] I do hope you agree, Prime Minister,

that this city is an excellent vantage point from which to see the brilliant sunlight that still falls upon the Empire.

I don't mean the empire of territorial possessions. I mean the empire of civilized ideas, the rights of man under God, the rule of law, constitutional government, parliamentary democracy, all the great notions of human liberty still so ardently sought by so many and so much of mankind. These are the enduring grandeur of the British heritage.

And you know, Prime Minister, that we have a habit of quoting Winston Churchill. Tell me, is it possible to get through a public address today in Britain without making reference to him? [Laughter] It is increasingly difficult to do so here, not just because we Americans share some pride in his ancestry but because there's so much to learn from him, his fearlessness. And I don't just mean physical courage; I mean he was, for instance, unafraid to laugh. I can remember words attributed to Churchill about one somber, straitlaced colleague in Parliament. Churchill said, "He has all the virtues I dislike and none of the vices I admire." [Laughter] He once said of one of our best known diplomats that he was the only case he knew of a bull who carries his own china closet with him. [Laughter]

The gift of humor can make a people see what they might ordinarily overlook, and it supplements that other gift of great leaders -- vision. When he addressed Parliament in the darkest moments after Dunkirk, Churchill dared to promise the British their finest hour and even reminded them that they would someday enjoy "the bright, sunlit uplands" from which the struggle against Hitler would be seen as only a bad memory. Well, Madam Prime Minister, you and I have heard our share of somber assessments and dire predictions in recent months. I do not refer here to the painful business of ending our economic difficulties. We know that with regard to the economies of both our countries we will be home safe and soon enough. I do refer, however, to those adversaries who preach the supremacy of the state.

We've all heard the slogans, the end of the class struggle, the vanguard of the proletariat, the wave of the future, the inevitable triumph of socialism. Indeed, if there's anything the Marxist-Leninists might not be forgiven for, it is their willingness to bog the world down in tiresome cliches, cliches that rapidly are being recognized for what they are, a gaggle of bogus prophecies and petty superstitions. Prime Minister, everywhere one looks these days the cult of the state is dying, and I wonder if you and I and other leaders of the West should not now be looking toward bright, sunlit uplands and begin planning for a world where our adversaries are remembered only for their role in a sad and rather bizarre chapter in human history.

The British people, who nourish the great civilized ideas, know the forces of good ultimately rally and triumph over evil. That, after all, is the legend of the Knights of the Round Table, the legend of the man who lived on Baker Street, the story of London in the Blitz, the meaning of the Union Jack snapping briskly in the wind. Madam Prime Minister, I'll make one further prediction, that the British people are once again about to pay homage to their beloved Sir Winston by doing him the honor of proving him wrong and showing the world that their finest hour is yet to come. And how he would have loved the irony of that. How proud it would have made him.

So, ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to join me in a toast to the memory of that great leader of free people, to his vision of bright, sunlit uplands, a toast to his Britannia and all that she's been, all that she is, and all that she will be, and to her finest hour, yet to come. Ladies and gentlemen, to Her Majesty, the Queen.

Note: The exchange of toasts began at 10:33 p.m. in the British Embassy ballroom.

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The New York Times

May 28, 1988, Saturday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section 1; Page 1, Column 5; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 936 words

HEADLINE: TOWARD THE SUMMIT;
Hanoi Move Raises U.S. Hope For Regional Gains at Summit

BYLINE: By BILL KELLER, Special to the New York Times

DATELINE: MOSCOW, May 27

BODY:

American officials said today that Vietnam's pledge to withdraw 50,000 troops from Cambodia had raised their hopes for progress on a range of regional disputes at the Moscow summit talks.

Vietnam, an ally of the Soviet Union, has been fighting for 10 years against a coalition of opposition forces seeking to overthrow the Vietnamese-installed Government in Phnom Penh.

Americans preparing for the summit meeting said the unexpected Vietnamese announcement on Thursday, coming after the beginning of the Soviet disengagement from Afghanistan and stepped-up Soviet-American discussions on ending the war in Angola, had created a promising climate for productive superpower talks on decreasing tensions in several trouble spots.

Focus on Africa and Mideast

The officials said that they did not foresee any major breakthroughs on resolving regional conflicts, but that they expected the most intense discussions to center on southern Africa and the Middle East.

President Reagan is also expected to urge Mikhail S. Gorbachev to use Soviet influence in Ethiopia to gain access for international aid donors worried about impending famine.

Regional disputes have been one of the most contentious categories on the Soviet-American agenda. The period of detente in the 1970's succumbed to what the United States viewed as Soviet expansionism, especially the move by Soviet troops into Afghanistan in December 1979.

But recently the two superpowers have shown a common interest in transforming their contest for global influence from military to political and economic competition. Soviet and American officials have said the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, which began May 15, could be a turning point in the handling of other regional disputes.

The announcement Thursday in Hanoi that Vietnam will remove 50,000 soldiers from Cambodia this year has suddenly focused new attention on the conflict in Indochina.

While cautioning that past troop withdrawals announced by Vietnam proved to be rotations of forces rather than actual reductions, American officials generally welcomed the move as a step that could lead to serious peace negotiations.

Economic Motives Seen

The American officials said they believed that Vietnam was motivated primarily by its tottering economy and the hope that a partial withdrawal might open the way for economic aid from Japan and other nations.

But the officials said the timing of the announcement, three days before Mr. Reagan's scheduled arrival in Moscow, suggested that Soviet pressure or blandishments were a factor in the decision. The Vietnamese Foreign Minister visited Moscow last week.

''The timing is certainly fortuitous,'' an American official said.

The officials said the President would urge Mr. Gorbachev to press the Vietnamese to follow through on their withdrawal promise, and to prod Hanoi into direct negotiations with Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the nominal head of the opposition coalition.

American officials said another promising area for discussion during the summit meeting was southern Africa, where the United States has been trying for seven years to arrange a solution linking the withdrawal of 40,000 Cuban troops from Angola with the removal of South African forces from South-West Africa, widely known as Namibia.

Chester A. Crocker, the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, has met three times since March with a Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, Anatoly L. Adamishin, and they are expected to meet again at the summit talks.

To Discuss Middle East

Soviet and American officials have said the Middle East will also be a focus of discussions between Mr. Reagan and Mr. Gorbachev.

Moscow has been pressing for an international conference that would serve as an umbrella for talks between Israel and its Arab neighbors. Israel has so far rejected the idea because of fears the conference would amount to an international forum to force it into territorial concessions.

Secretary of State George P. Shultz is scheduled to return to the Middle East to resume talks with Arab and Israeli leaders after the summit meeting, and American officials hope the Moscow meeting might produce greater agreement on the exact nature of a peace conference.

''The Soviets have indicated they have a lot of flexibility on the Middle East,'' an American official said. ''But so far it's been hard to pin them down.''

Mr. Reagan is also expected to renew his appeal to Mr. Gorbachev to support an arms embargo as a way of curtailing the Iran-Iraq war. Moscow has said it doubts an arms embargo would work. Washington contends the Soviet reluctance

stems in large part from reluctance to offend Iran.

Complaint on Nicaragua Aid

American officials said the President would certainly urge Mr. Gorbachev to cut the flow of Soviet military aid to Nicaragua.

A few days after the last summit talks, in Washington in December, Mr. Reagan said Mr. Gorbachev had told him that the Russians would be willing to end virtually all arms shipments to Nicaragua. But a Soviet official and the President's aides said Mr. Reagan did not pursue the offer.

Marlin Fitzwater, the White House spokesman, said at the time: ''This statement apparently was made as they were walking to lunch. I don't know the circumstances of that moment, but it seems to me that there could have been a lot of human factors as to why it wasn't followed up.''

Despite complaints from Soviet officials about the continued flow of arms to Afghan guerrillas, American officials said they do not expect Afghanistan to be an important summit issue.

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LEVEL 1... 40

5TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

The Reuter Library Report

May 18, 1988, Wednesday, AM cycle

LENGTH: 273 words

HEADLINE: U.N. HEAD TO SEE THATCHER ON WAY TO O.A.U. SUMMIT

DATELINE: UNITED NATIONS, May 18

KEYWORD: PEREZ

BODY:

Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar will confer in London next week with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher on his efforts to end the Gulf war, the United Nations announced on Wednesday.

Perez de Cuellar will visit the British capital on his way to Addis Ababa for the annual summit meeting of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), customarily attended by the U.N. Secretary General.

U.N. press secretary Francois Giuliani said the Afghanistan settlement and the continuing talks with Iran and Iraq led the list of topics the Secretary General wished to discuss with Thatcher and her foreign secretary, Geoffrey Howe.

Giuliani said it was for the British side to say what matters they wanted to raise.

Perez de Cuellar is to address the OAU delegates on May 26 and discuss U.N. relief efforts in Ethiopia. Giuliani said he would also confer with government leaders from Algeria and Mauritania and the Polisario National Front leadership about the Western Sahara question.

Morocco withdrew from the OAU after it recognized Polisario's claim to the former Spanish Sahara territory.

This strained relations also with Algeria, which this week re-established relations with Rabat. Reacting to that decision, Giuliani said on Wednesday Perez de Cuellar was satisfied by the development, believing it could foster and strengthen neighbourly rerlations in the Maghreb.

"He hopes that this positive move will help promote the mission of good offices entrusted jointly to him and the current chairman of the OAU by the U.N. General Assembly to achieve a just and lasting solution to the Western Sahara conflict," Giuliani said.

SUBJECT: UNITED NATIONS

2ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

May 26, 1988, Thursday, AM cycle

LENGTH: 672 words

HEADLINE: SURPRISE MOVES ON CHAD OVERSHADOW OAU SUMMIT

BYLINE: By Jonathan Wright

DATELINE: ADDIS ABABA, May 26

KEYWORD: OAU

BODY:

The heads of state of 29 African countries met in the Ethiopian capital on Thursday for an Organization of African Unity (OAU) summit overshadowed by developments in the border dispute between Chad and Libya.

An OAU attempt to settle Libya and Chad's long-standing claims over the Aouzou border strip collapsed on Wednesday when the chief mediator, President Omar Bongo of Gabon, decided only a face-to-face meeting between Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi and Chadian President Hissene Habre could resolve the issue.

Within hours Gaddafi, who is absent from the summit in protest at the alleged maltreatment of Libyan prisoners of war in Chad, announced that his country was recognizing Habre's government and invited the Chadian leader to visit Tripoli with Chadian opposition leader Goukoni Oueddei.

Habre told reporters in Addis Ababa on Thursday that Gaddafi's move was a positive step.

But he added that he was cautious of what he called Gaddafi's contradictory statements and that the Libyan leader had no business trying to reconcile him and Goukoni.

African leaders speaking at a session of the three-day summit were apparently unaware of the developments and continued to assume that the mediation was still being handled by Bongo's ad hoc committee on the Chad-Libya dispute.

The outgoing OAU chairman, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, said both sides had given Bongo's committee maximum co-operation and were committed to an African solution.

Speakers welcomed the April peace agreement between Somalia and Ethiopia and the resumption of relations between Morocco and Algeria earlier this month.

Meanwhile, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak left Addis Ababa a few hours after the summit openned without meeting President Chadli Benjedid of Algeria, Egyptian officials said.

News reports in the Gulf and diplomatic sources in Algeria had said the two Arab presidents might meet in the Ethiopian capital to agree on a resumption of relations between the two countries. An Arab summit begins in Algiers on June 7.

U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, who visited Morocco and Algeria this year to discuss the Western Sahara conflict, said he hoped the United Nations could submit proposals on a referendum in the territory within a few weeks.

"The practical arrangements for a referendum organised and conducted by the United Nations in cooperation with the OAU can commence without difficulty," he added.

The long-awaited referendum would ask the people of the Western Sahara if they want to remain part of Morocco or would prefer independence under the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic. Guerrillas of the Polisario front have been fighting Morocco to establish the republic since 1976.

South Africa and Africa's external debt of more than 200 billion dollars were the other main issues at a summit which has attracted more heads of state than any recent OAU meeting, since it coincides with the 25th anniversary of the founding of the 50-nation organization.

OAU foreign ministers have already recommended intensifying the armed struggle against white rule in South Africa and against South Africa's occupation of neighbouring Namibia.

Sam Nujoma, president of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), which is fighting South African forces in Namibia, said there was now a revolutionary situation in the two countries and the days of apartheid were numbered.

"The state of emergency, the killings in the townships, the assassinations of militant leaders, the destabilization of neighboring countries are indications of a desperate regime," he added.

There was less criticism of Western countries for opposing sanctions against South Africa than at previous OAU summits and Mengistu, usually among Africa's most anti-Western leaders, instead blasted African states for failing to set an example.

"Is it not only fair that we ourselves implement the measure of economic sanctions which we are requiring the rest of the world to impose? Surely we should set the pace," he said.

Howard Perlow
647-8027

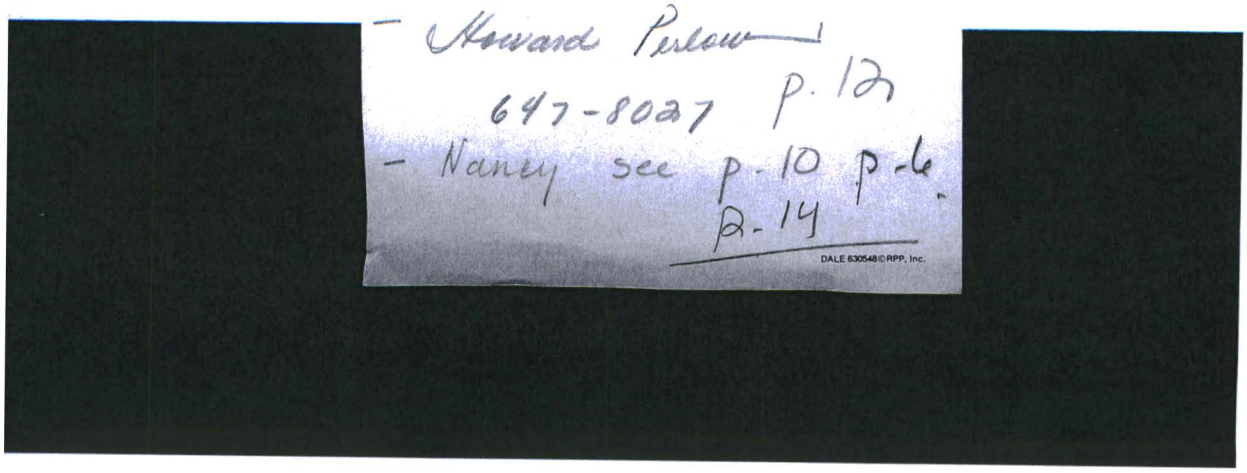
(Dolan)
May 24, 1988
5:00 p.m.

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

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

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

Marne British Expeditionary Force, Battle of the, 1914 p 938-9
El Alamein p. 1084 British



trip -- are glad to be in England once again. After a long journey, we feel among friends; and with all our hearts we thank you for having us here.

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

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

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

So there has always been, as there should be among friends, an element of fun about our differences. I gained a lesson in

this point from an English army officer in ~~1947~~ 1949 when I was on location here for a film. He explained to me that one day during the war, he was standing in a pub with some of his comrades when a group of American airmen entered nosily, set up a round or two, got a bit rowdy and started making some toasts that were less than complimentary to certain members of the British royalty.

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

Well, whatever I learned here about our differences, let me also assure you I learned more about how much we have in common...and the depth of our friendship. And, you know, I have often mentioned this in the States but I have never had an opportunity to tell a British audience how during that first visit here I was, like most Americans, anxious to see some of those 400-year-old inns I had been told abound in this country. Well, a driver took me and a couple of other people to an old inn, a pub really, what we would call a "mom and pop place." This quite elderly lady was waiting on us, and finally, hearing us talk to each other, she said, "You're Americans, aren't you?" We said we were. "Oh," she said, "there were quite a lot of your young chaps down the road during the war, based down there." And

she added, "They used to come in here of an evening, and they'd have songfest. And they called me Mom, and they called the old man Pop." Then her mood changed and she said, "It was Christmas Eve. And, you know, we were all alone and feeling a bit down. And, suddenly, in they came, burst through the door, and they had presents for me and Pop." And by this time she wasn't looking at us anymore. She was looking off into the distance and with tears in her eyes remembering that time. And she said, "Big strapping lads they was, from a place called Ioway."

From a place called Ioway; and Oregon, California, Texas, New Jersey, Georgia. Here with other young men from Lancaster, Hampshire, Glasgow and Dorset -- all of them caught up in the terrible paradoxes of that time: that young men must wage war to end war; and die for freedom so that freedom itself might live.

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

It was for these causes of peace and freedom that the people of Great Britain, the United States and other allied nations have for 44 years made enormous sacrifices to keep our military ready and our alliance strong. And for these causes we have in this decade embarked on a new post-war strategy, a strategy of public candor about the moral and fundamental differences between statism and democracy but a strategy also of vigorous diplomatic engagement. A policy that rejects both the inevitability of war or the permanence of totalitarian rule; a policy based on realism

that seeks not just treaties for treaties' sake but the recognition of fundamental issues and their eventual resolution.

The pursuit of this policy has just now taken me to Moscow and let me say: I believe this policy is bearing fruit. Quite possibly, we are beginning to take down the barriers erected during the post-war era; quite possibly, we are entering a new time in history, a time of real change in the Soviet Union. Only time will tell. But if so; it is because of the steadfastness of the allied democracies over the past 40 years and especially in this decade.

I saw evidence of this change at the Kremlin. But before I report to you on events in Moscow, I hope you will permit me to say something that has been much on my mind for several years now but most especially over the past few days while I was in the Soviet Union.

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

These same voices ridiculed the notion of going beyond arms control -- the hope of doing something more than merely establishing artificial limits within which arms build-ups could continue almost unabated. Arms reduction would never work, they

said, and when the Soviets left the negotiating table in Geneva for 15 months, they proclaimed disaster.

National Press Club

And yet it was our zero-option plan, ~~much maligned when first proposed here in my address at Westminster~~, that is the basis for the I.N.F. treaty [the instruments of ratification of which Mr. Gorbachev and I exchanged just ~~24~~ 48 hours ago;] the first treaty ever that did not just control offensive weapons but reduced them and, yes, actually eliminated an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles. Similarly, just as these voices urged retreat or slow withdrawal at every point of Communist expansion, we have seen what a forward strategy for freedom and direct aid to those struggling for self-determination in Afghanistan can achieve.

This treaty and the development in Afghanistan are momentous events. Not conclusive. But momentous.

And that is why although history will, as it has about the skeptics and naysayers of any time, duly note that we too heard voices of denial and doubt, it is the voices of hope and strength that will be best remembered. And here I want to say that through all the troubles of the last decade, one such voice, a voice of eloquence and firmness, a voice that proclaimed proudly the cause of the Western Alliance and human freedom, has been heard. And even as that voice never sacrificed its anti-Communist credentials or realistic, hard-headed appraisal of change in the Soviet Union, it did, because it came from the longest-serving leader in the Alliance, become one of the first

to suggest that we could, as that voice put it, "do business" with Mr. Gorbachev.

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

And while your leadership and the vision of the British people have been an inspiration not just to my own people but to all of those who love freedom and yearn for peace, I know you join me in a deep sense of appreciation for the efforts and support of the leaders and peoples of all the democratic allies. Whether deploying crucial weapons of deterrence, standing fast in the Persian Gulf, combating terrorism and aggression by outlaw regimes or helping freedom fighters around the globe, rarely in history has any grouping of free nations acted with such firmness and dispatch, and on so many fronts. In a process reaching back as far as the founding of NATO and the Common Market, the House of Western Europe, the House of Democracy has stood as one; and, joined by the United States and other democracies such as Japan, moved forward with diplomatic achievement and a startling growth of democracies and free markets all across the globe -- in short, an expansion of the frontiers of freedom and a lessening of the chances of war. I believe history will record our time as the time of the renaissance of the democracies; a time when faced

with those twin threats of nuclear terror and totalitarian rule that so darkened this century, the democracies ignored the voices of retreat and despair and found deep within themselves the resources for a renewal of strength and purpose.

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

Yesterday, at ____ Greenwich time, Mr. Gorbachev and I [exchanged instruments of ratification of the I.N.F. treaty.] (Report on INF and START and other negotiations.)

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

So equally important items on the agenda dealt with critical issues like regional conflicts, human rights and bilateral exchanges. With regard to regional conflicts, here too, we can see important progress. We are now in the third week of the pull-out of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. The importance of this step cannot be underestimated. (Report on Afghanistan, and other regional conflicts.)

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

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

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

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

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

But let us be confident too. Prime Minister, perhaps you remember that upon accepting ~~Her Majesty's~~ Your gracious invitation to address the members of the Parliament in 1982, I suggested then that the world could well be at a turning point when the two great threats to life in this century -- nuclear war and totalitarian rule -- might now be overcome. I attempted then to give an accounting of the Western Alliance and what might lie ahead -- including my own view of the prospects for peace and freedom. I suggested that the hard evidence of the totalitarian experiment was now in and that this evidence had led to an uprising of the intellect and will, one that reaffirmed the dignity of the individual in the face of the modern state and could well lead to a worldwide movement towards democracy.

I suggested, too, that in a way Marx was right when he said the political order would come into conflict with the economic order -- only he was wrong in predicting which part of the world this would occur in. For the crisis came not in the capitalist west but in the Communist east. I noted the economic difficulties now reaching the critical stage in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe; and I said that at other times in history the ruling elites had faced such situations and, when they encountered resolve and determination from free nations, decided to loosen their grip. It was then I suggested that tides of history were running in the cause of freedom but only if we as free men and women worked together in a crusade for freedom, a crusade that would be not so much a struggle of armed might, not so much a test of bombs and rockets but a test of faith and will.

Well, that crusade for freedom, that crusade for peace is well underway. We have found the will. We have kept the faith. And, whatever happens, whatever triumphs or disappointments ahead, we must hold fast to our strategy of strength and candor -- our strategy of hope, hope in the eventual triumph of freedom. Let us take further, practical steps. I am hopeful that our own National Endowment for Democracy, which has helped democratic institutions in many lands, will spark parallel organizations in European nations. I praise the Council of Europe which, in conjunction with the European Parliament, has held two international democracy conferences, including one on Third World democracy. The latest conference has called for establishment of an International Institute of Democracy; the United States heartily endorses this proposal.

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

It is in this sense that the best indicator of how much we care about freedom is what we say about freedom; it is in this sense, that words truly are actions. And there is one added and quite extraordinary benefit to this sort of realism and public candor: This is also the best way to avoid war or conflict. Too often in the past the adversaries of freedom forgot the reserves of strength and resolve among free nations, too often they interpreted conciliatory words as weakness, too often they miscalculated by underestimating willingness of free men and women to resist to the end. Words for freedom remind them otherwise.

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

Just a few years ago, Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth and I stood at the Normandy beaches to commemorate the selflessness that comes from such pride and faith. And, I wonder if you might permit me to recall this morning another such moment, one that took place 3 months after OVERLORD and the rescue of Europe.

Operation MARKET GARDEN, it was called. A plan to suddenly drop one British and two American airborne divisions on the Netherlands and launch a great attack in the flanks of the Siegfried Line to open up a drive into the heart of Germany. A battalion of British paratroopers was given the great task of seizing the bridge deep in enemy territory at Arnhem. For a terrible, terrible 10 days, in one of the most valiant exploits

in the annals of war, they held out against hopeless odds. Some years ago, a reunion of those magnificent veterans, British, Americans and other of our allies was held in New York City. From the dispatch by New York Times reporter Maurice Carroll there was this paragraph: "'Look at him,' said Henri Knap an Amsterdam newspaperman who headed the Dutch Underground's intelligence operation in Arnhem. He gestured toward General John Frost, a bluff Briton who had commanded the battalion that held the bridge. 'Look at him...still with that black moustache. If you put him at the end of a bridge even today and said 'keep it,' he'd keep it.'"

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

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

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

The dispatch concluded with this quote from Colonel Frost about his visits to that bridge at Arnhem. "'We've been going back ever since. Every year we have a -- what's the word -- reunion. No, there's a word.' He turned to his wife, 'Dear

what's the word for going to Arnhem?' 'Reunion,' she said. 'No,' he said, 'there's a special word.' She pondered, 'Pilgrimage,' she said. 'Yes, pilgrimage,'" Colonel Frost said.

As those veterans of Arnhem view their time, so we must view ours; we also are on a pilgrimage, a pilgrimage towards those things we honor and love: human dignity, the hope of peace and freedom for all peoples and for all nations. And I have always cherished the belief that all of history is such a pilgrimage and that our Maker, while never denying us free will nor altering its immediate effects, over time guides us with a wise and provident hand, giving direction to history and slowly bringing good from evil -- leading us ever so slowly but ever so relentlessly and lovingly to a time when the will of man and God are as one again.

I also cherish the belief that what we have done together in Moscow and throughout this decade has helped bring mankind along the road of that pilgrimage. If this be so, it is due to prayerful recognition of what we are about as a civilization and a people. I mean, of course, the great steps forward, the great civilized ideas that comprise so much of your greatness: the development of law embodied by your constitutional tradition, the idea of restraint on centralized power and the notion of human rights as established in your Magna Carta, the idea of representative government as embodied by your mother of all parliaments.

But we go beyond even this. It was your own Evelyn Waugh who reminded us that "civilization -- and by this I do not mean talking cinemas and tinned food nor even surgery and hygienic

houses but the whole moral and artistic organization of Europe -- has not in itself the power of survival." It came into being, he said, through the [Judeo-]Christian tradition and "without it has no significance or power to command allegiance. It is no longer possible," he wrote, "to accept the benefits of civilisation and at the same time deny the supernatural basis on which it rests...."

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

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

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

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

"He giveth power to the faint, and to them that have no might, he increased their strength...but they that wait upon the

Lord shall renew their strength...they shall mount up with wings as eagles. They shall run and not be weary...."

Here then is our formula, our ultra secret for the years ahead, for completing our crusade for freedom. Here is the strength of our civilization and the source of our belief in the rights of humanity. Our faith is in a higher law, a greater destiny. We believe in -- indeed, we see today evidence of -- the power of prayer to change all things. And like the founding fathers of both our lands, we posit human rights; we hold that humanity was meant not to be dishonored by the all-powerful state but to live in the image and likeness of him who made us.

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

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

INF

INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES

CHRONOLOGY

1977 - 1987

1977

Early 1977
Soviet Union begins deployment of the SS-20 intermediate-range nuclear missile in the European U.S.S.R.

The SS-20 is a modern, mobile ballistic missile with three independently targetable warheads and a range covering all of Western Europe from bases well inside the U.S.S.R.

October 28, 1977
West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt brings the Soviet SS-20 threat to the forefront of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO's) attention in a speech at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London. He warns that strategic nuclear parity between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. means "magnification of the significance of the disparities between East and West as regards tactical and conventional weapons," and cites deployment of the SS-20 as increasing such disparity between NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

Late 1977
NATO's Nuclear Planning Group (NPG) directs that a High Level Group (HLG) be established to study Alliance long-term INF modernization needs, consistent with its doctrine of flexible response.

There are two categories of INF missiles: longer-range (LRINF) and shorter-range (SRINF).

1979

Spring 1979
A NATO Special Group on Arms Control and Related Matters (SG) is established to formulate guiding principles for future arms control efforts involving INF. (The SG was renamed the Special Consultative Group, or SCG, following the NATO decision of December 1979.)

Summer 1979
The work of NATO's High Level Group and Special Group converge in the Integrated Decision Document, which sets forth the basic aims of Alliance INF policy as "deterrence and stability based upon a triad of forces, the coupling between these forces, and the important political principle of the strategic unity of the Alliance." The Document calls for complementary supporting programs of force modernization and arms control.

October 6, 1979
Soviet General Secretary Brezhnev proposes a freeze on Soviet SS-20 deployments if NATO deploys no counterpart systems because "a balance now exists."

One hundred thirty SS-20s, with 390 warheads, are now deployed.

No U.S. INF missiles are deployed.

December 12, 1979
NATO unanimously adopts a "dual track" strategy to counter Soviet deployments of SS-20 missiles.

One track calls for arms control negotiations with the U.S.S.R. to restore the balance in INF at the lowest possible level.

In the absence of an arms control agreement, NATO's second track is to modernize its INF with the deployment in Western Europe of 464 single-warhead U.S. ground-launched cruise missiles (GLCM) and 108 single-warhead U.S. Pershing II ballistic missiles, beginning in December 1983.

1980

Early 1980
The U.S. offers—but the Soviets refuse—to negotiate on INF.

July 1980
During Chancellor Schmidt's visit to Moscow, the Soviets announce agreement in principle to participate in INF negotiations with the U.S.

October 1980
The Soviet Union claims "a balance now exists" in INF missiles.

Approximately 200 Soviet SS-20s, with 600 warheads, are now deployed.

No U.S. INF missiles are deployed.

October-November 1980
No agreement is reached in preliminary discussions on what the focus should be in INF talks between U.S. and Soviet negotiators.

1981

January 1981
The Reagan Administration takes office, and begins a review of U.S. arms control policy.

Spring 1981
At a meeting of NATO's North Atlantic Council (NAC), foreign ministers reaffirm the 1979 "dual track" decision, and allied consultations proceed in preparation for negotiations later in the year.

November 18, 1981
In a major policy address calling for a framework of negotiations on reductions in all types of arms, President Reagan proposes the "zero option," agreeing to the cancellation of planned U.S. INF missile deployments, if the Soviet Union agrees to eliminate all its SS-4, SS-5, and SS-20 missiles.

November 31, 1981
Formal negotiations on INF begin in Geneva. The U.S. seeks global elimination of U.S. and Soviet LRINF missiles and collateral constraints on SRINF missiles.

December 11, 1981
The U.S. formally presents the "zero option" proposal to the Soviets in Geneva.

December 1981
The Soviets propose an agreement that would establish an eventual ceiling of 300 "medium-range" missiles and nuclear-capable aircraft in Europe for each side, and that would include British and French independent nuclear forces in the U.S. count.

1982

March 1982
The Soviets announce a "moratorium" on their SS-20 deployments in the European U.S.S.R. Soviet deployments, however, continue as missile sites under construction in the European U.S.S.R. are finished and activated, and new sites are begun in the Asian U.S.S.R. from which missiles can reach NATO targets.

June 1982
U.S. and Soviet negotiators develop an informal package of elements to be included in a possible INF agreement.

This so-called "Walk in the Woods" proposal would:
1. Set equal levels of INF missile launchers in Europe.
2. Preclude deployment of U.S. Pershing IIs.
3. Freeze Soviet SS-20 deployments in the Asian part of the U.S.S.R.

Moscow subsequently rejects the package.

August 1982
Soviet Defense Minister Dmitri Ustinov states: "Approximate parity of forces...continues to exist today."

Over 300 Soviet SS-20s, with more than 900 warheads, are now deployed.

No U.S. INF missiles are deployed.

December 1982
The U.S.S.R. publicly proposes an INF missile sub-ceiling in Europe, tied explicitly to the level of British and French missiles and designed to preclude U.S. INF missile deployment in Europe.

The Soviet demand to include the independent nuclear deterrent forces of the United Kingdom and France would grant the U.S.S.R. a legally sanctioned "right" to have nuclear forces equal to those of all other nuclear powers combined. This is tantamount to a Soviet demand for global military superiority and political hegemony.

The U.S.S.R. also mounts a propaganda campaign centered on an alleged "moratorium" on its SS-20 deployments in the European region of the Soviet Union. The Soviet proposal would permit unlimited SS-20 deployments in the Asian U.S.S.R.

1983

January 31, 1983
Vice President George Bush, in Berlin, reads an "open letter to Europe from President Reagan proposing to Soviet leader Yuri Andropov that they meet and sign an agreement banning U.S. and Soviet land-based INF missiles from the face of the earth.

February 1983
The U.S. reiterates criteria, set forth in November 1981 after consultation with and approval by the allies, for reaching agreement with the Soviets in INF negotiations:
1. Equality of rights and limits between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.
2. Exclusion of independent third country, i.e. British and French, nuclear deterrent forces from any agreement.
3. Agreed-upon limits must be applied on a global basis; no s

of Soviet longer-range INF missiles from the European U.S.S.R. to the Asian U.S.S.R.
4. No weakening of NATO's conventional deterrent forces.
5. Effective verification measures.

March 29, 1983
The U.S. formally presents an interim agreement proposal at the INF talks in Geneva.

March 30, 1983
President Reagan announces publicly that the U.S. and the allies are prepared to accept an interim agreement on INF missiles that would establish equal global levels of U.S. and Soviet warheads on INF missile launchers at the lowest possible number, with zero still the ultimate goal.

April 1983
Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko terms the U.S. "interim solution" unacceptable. He reiterates the Soviet position that there must be no U.S. deployments, and that Soviet deployments be tied to the number of British and French strategic systems.

May 3, 1983
General Secretary Andropov indicates willingness to count INF warheads as well as missiles at INF talks. He reiterates that the number of Soviet SS-20s in the European U.S.S.R. would be keyed to a Soviet count of British and French strategic systems. He refuses to address Soviet deployments in the Asian U.S.S.R., where Soviet missiles withdrawn from the European U.S.S.R. could be moved, threatening U.S. friends and allies in Asia and Europe. Mobile SS-20s in the Asian U.S.S.R. would also have the potential for a quick return to the European U.S.S.R.

May 19, 1983
The U.S. tables a draft treaty embodying the interim agreement proposal of March 29.

August 1983
General Secretary Andropov proposes to reduce INF missiles and launchers to the Soviet count of British and French levels, provided the U.S. cancels deployment of its Pershing II and cruise missiles.

September 22, 1983
At the Geneva negotiations, the U.S. offers three new elements to its proposed interim agreement:
1. The U.S. would entertain the idea of not offsetting all Soviet global INF deployments by U.S. deployments in Europe. The U.S. would keep the right, however, to deploy elsewhere to reach an equal global ceiling.
2. The U.S. is prepared to apportion its reductions of Pershing IIs and ground-launched cruise missiles (GLCMs) in an appropriate manner.
3. The U.S. is prepared to consider proposals involving land-based aircraft.

September 26, 1983
President Reagan reiterates the three new elements of his proposed interim agreement in a speech before the United Nations General Assembly.

October 1983
General Secretary Andropov proposes a modified version of his December 1982 proposal, by announcing that the "U.S.S.R. is willing to reduce the number of its SS-20s in the European U.S.S.R. to 140, with 420 warheads, to match the Soviet count of British and French warheads."

General Secretary Andropov offers to freeze the number of Soviet SS-20s deployed in the Asian U.S.S.R., once an INF agreement limiting European-based systems is implemented—as long as the U.S. deploys no similar weapons in that region. Andropov also announces "additional flexibility" on the issue of counting intermediate-range nuclear aircraft, although details are not provided.

Andropov announces that the start of deployment of U.S. INF missiles "will make it impossible to continue the INF talks."

The Soviet Defense Ministry states that the U.S.S.R. is preparing to deploy "operational-tactical" missiles in the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia as part of "planned countermeasures" to U.S. deployments.

The U.S. states that the Andropov proposal contains shortcomings because it still insists that the U.S.S.R. be compensated for British and French strategic forces through its INF deployments and that there be no U.S. deployments.

The Soviet proposal to freeze INF deployments in the Asian U.S.S.R. appears to recognize the U.S. view that INF missiles must be treated on a global basis. The U.S. seeks details of the Soviet proposal on aircraft.

The U.S. notes that the Soviet threat to end negotiations if the U.S. deploys missiles in Europe is unjustified because the U.S. has negotiated for two years while Soviet SS-20 levels rose dramatically.

October 27, 1983
At Montebello, Canada, the U.S. and the allies agree to maintain NATO's nuclear capability at the lowest level consistent with security and deterrence. This would include withdrawing 1,400 U.S. nuclear warheads from Europe over a period of several years. This is in addition to the 1,000 warheads withdrawn following NATO's December 1979 "dual track" decision.

November 15, 1983
While reaffirming its preference for the "zero option," the U.S. proposes that both sides agree to an equal global ceiling of 420 warheads on INF missiles.

November 23, 1983
Deliveries of the first U.S. ground-launched cruise missile components begin in Great Britain and West Germany. This begins implementation of INF deployment in accordance with the second track of NATO's 1979 decision.

The Soviet delegation walks out of the INF negotiations.

The U.S. offers to resume the talks whenever the Soviets are willing to return.

November 31, 1983
Three hundred sixty Soviet SS-20s, with 1,080 warheads, are now deployed.

November 1983 - January 1985
Formal INF negotiations remain suspended in the absence of the Soviet delegation.

1984

November 24, 1984
President Reagan announces on Thanksgiving Day that the U.S. and the Soviet Union have agreed to enter into new negotiations, known as the Nuclear and Space Talks (NST), concerning nuclear offensive arms and defense and space issues.

1985

January 7-8, 1985
Secretary of State George Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko meet in Geneva to set an agenda for new comprehensive arms control negotiations, covering strategic nuclear arms (START), INF, and Defense and Space.

March 12, 1985
The U.S. and the U.S.S.R. begin the NST Talks in Geneva. The U.S. seeks the elimination or reduction of INF to the lowest possible number, with equal global limits.

March-April 1985
At the beginning of the new INF talks, the U.S. reaffirms its approach and its draft treaties of 1982 on the global elimination of INF missiles, and of 1983 for an interim agreement on equal INF limits at the lowest possible number.

In the new NST talks, the U.S.S.R. maintains its 1983 position, opposing U.S. INF deployment, and insisting on linkage of Soviet SS-20s with British and French strategic forces.

The Soviet delegation tables a proposal for a bilateral moratorium on INF deployments and a proposal for subsequent "reductions" that would result in zero U.S. INF missiles, but allow Soviet INF missiles at levels equivalent to British and French strategic forces.

General Secretary Gorbachev also announces a unilateral Soviet moratorium on INF missile deployments in the U.S.S.R. Soviet deployments nonetheless continue at sites already under construction.

May-July 1985
The U.S. continues its effort to engage the Soviet Union substantively and constructively, indicating flexibility on any outcome that achieves equal U.S.-Soviet global INF limits.

The U.S.S.R. continues to demand a halt to, and withdrawal of, U.S. INF deployments, and insists that INF limits on Soviet forces take into account British and French strategic forces.

October 3, 1985
During a visit to Paris, General Secretary Gorbachev announces elements of a counterproposal to the U.S. proposals of March 1985 in the NST. He calls for a freeze in U.S. and Soviet INF missile deployments, followed by the "deepest possible" reductions, and he announces that Soviet SS-4's are being phased out and some SS-20's are being removed from combat status.

October 31, 1985
President Reagan announces that the U.S. is presenting a new arms control proposal at the Geneva talks. This proposal includes INF and builds on "positive elements" of the Soviet counterproposal of October 3, 1985, e.g., the possibility of a separate INF agreement independent of strategic or defense and space issues.

November 1, 1985
The U.S. response to the Soviet counterproposal contains the following points on INF:

1. While preferring the total elimination of U.S. and Soviet INF, the U.S. proposes—as an interim step—limiting U.S. INF missile launcher deployments in Europe to 140 Pershing IIs and ground-launched cruise missiles. (Each GLCM launcher has four missiles.) This is the number to be deployed by December 31, 1985. This proposal also calls for reductions in the Soviet force of SS-20 missile launchers within range of NATO Europe to 140. (Each SS-20 missile has three warheads.)
2. Within that launcher limit, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. could have an agreed equal number of between 420 and 450 warheads in Europe.
3. To achieve equal global U.S. and Soviet INF warhead limits, the Soviets must reduce SS-20 launchers in Asia (that are outside the range of NATO Europe) by the same proportion as the reduction of launchers within the range of NATO Europe.
4. Appropriate constraints on shorter-range INF (SRINF) should be agreed, so that the Soviets cannot circumvent an agreement on longer-range INF (LRINF) with a buildup of their SRINF.

November 21, 1985
At the Geneva Summit, President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev agree to focus on several issues in arms control, including the "idea of an interim INF agreement."

1986

January 15, 1986
General Secretary Gorbachev sends a letter to President Reagan containing an arms control proposal which, in the context of completely eliminating nuclear weapons over a 15-year period, includes the call to eliminate U.S. and Soviet LRINF in Europe over the next 5-to-8 years.

The Gorbachev letter proposes that British and French nuclear forces not be counted against U.S. LRINF in Europe, but that they be frozen at present levels, and that U.S. transfers of nuclear systems to third parties be barred. The Soviet proposal to dismantle its SS-20s deployed in Europe does not address Soviet LRINF missiles stationed east of the Ural Mountains nor constraints on Soviet SRINF.

February 24, 1986
President Reagan issues a statement making it known that certain aspects of the Soviet January 1986 arms control

proposal are not appropriate at this time. One area in which he hopes "immediate progress" will be made is in the INF negotiations. The President notes that the U.S. already has on the table in Geneva a concrete plan calling for the elimination of U.S. Pershing IIs and GLCMs, as well as Soviet SS-20 missiles, not only in Europe but also in Asia.

March 2, 1986
U.S. Arms Control Adviser Paul Nitze publicly criticizes and rejects Soviet proposals to include limits on British and French independent nuclear forces in a bilateral agreement between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. He reiterates the main elements of the U.S. proposal for equal global limits on LRINF and collateral constraints on SRINF.

September 30, 1986
The U.S. and the U.S.S.R. announce that President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev will meet at Reykjavik, Iceland, on October 11-12.

October 11-12, 1986
At Reykjavik, the U.S. and the Soviet Union agree to equal global ceilings of 100 LRINF missile warheads for each side, with none in Europe.

The Soviets also offer to freeze their SRINF missile systems, pending negotiation of reductions, but they would require U.S. SRINF missile systems to be "frozen" at the current level of zero. They also agree in principle to some key verification elements. However, the Soviets link an INF agreement to U.S. acceptance of constraints on its Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). These constraints go beyond those of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty.

October 23, 1986
The U.S. tables a proposal reflecting the areas of agreement reached at Reykjavik.

November 7, 1986
The U.S.S.R. presents a new INF proposal which backtracks from the 1985 Geneva Summit commitment to conclude a separate interim agreement on INF. It also refuses to accept the Reykjavik understandings on INF as separate from those on strategic arms control issues. The Soviets also maintain linkage between an INF agreement and constraints on SDI.

November 15-16, 1986
President Reagan and Prime Minister Thatcher of Great Britain agree at Camp David that priority should be given, with effective verification, to an INF agreement with constraints on SRINF.

1987

January 15, 1987
The U.S. proposes at the INF talks in Geneva:
1. Phased reduction of LRINF warheads to a global ceiling of 100 LRINF warheads for each side by the end of 1991, with remaining Soviet LRINF warheads permitted in Soviet Asia, and U.S. LRINF warheads permitted in U.S. territory, including Alaska.
2. Reduction of U.S. and Soviet LRINF warheads in Europe to zero by the end of 1991.
3. Agreement on INF reductions not contingent on the resolution of other issues outside of the INF negotiations, as agreed at the November 1985 Geneva Summit.
4. Global constraints limiting U.S. and Soviet SRINF within the range band of the Soviet SS-23 to SS-12 (Scaleboard) missiles to the current Soviet global level.
5. Ban on development and deployment of SRINF missiles in the range between the U.S. Pershing II (the shortest-range LRINF missile) and the Soviet Scaleboard (the longest-range SRINF missile).
6. Subsequent negotiations on additional SRINF constraints or reductions would begin within six months after an initial INF agreement is reached.
7. Exchange of data before and after reductions take place.
8. On-site observation of elimination of weapons and an effective monitoring arrangement for facilities, including on-site inspection, following elimination of weapons.
9. Negotiations on the details of verification to take place in parallel with negotiations on reduction of weapons.

February 28, 1987
General Secretary Gorbachev announces Soviet willingness to sign a separate agreement to eliminate Soviet and U.S. INF missiles in Europe within five years, dropping once again Soviet insistence that these missiles be considered part of a comprehensive arms control package.

These Soviet terms appear nearly identical to those agreed to at Reykjavik. Each side would be permitted to keep only 100 warheads outside of Europe—the Soviet Union in Soviet Asia and the United States within its territory.

March 3, 1987
President Reagan says that Gorbachev's February 28th statement indicating Soviet willingness to conclude an agreement on INF missile reductions separately from agreements in the two other areas of NST negotiations "removes a serious obstacle to progress toward INF reductions."

He adds that: "To seize this new opportunity, I have instructed our negotiators to begin the presentation of our draft INF treaty text in Geneva tomorrow. I hope that the Soviet Union will then proceed with us to serious discussion of the details which are essential to translate areas of agreement in principle into a concrete agreement. And I want to stress that of the important issues which remain to be resolved, none is more important than verification. Because we are committed to genuine and lasting arms reductions and to ensuring full compliance, we will continue to insist that any agreement must be effectively verifiable."

March 4, 1987
The United States presents its draft U.S.-Soviet INF treaty, which provides for the reduction of LRINF missile warheads on each side to 100 globally, with zero in Europe, as agreed to by U.S. and Soviet leaders at Reykjavik. The U.S. makes clear, however, that global elimination of U.S. and Soviet INF missiles remains its preference.

March 12, 1987
At the INF negotiations in Geneva, the U.S. presents a treaty article providing for a comprehensive approach to verification of an INF agreement. The basic elements of the U.S. approach to verification are:
1. Provision for the use of and non-interference with National Technical Means (NTM), a requirement for the broadcast of engineering measurements on missile flights, a ban on encryption and a ban on concealment measures that impede verification.

2. Specification of areas and facilities where treaty-limited systems must be located and prohibition against having them elsewhere.
3. Reciprocal exchange of a specified comprehensive set of data on related treaty-limited systems and their support facilities and equipment.
4. Reciprocal updating of this data.
5. Specialized procedures for destruction, dismantlement and conversion of LRINF systems, including on-site inspection.
6. On-site inspection and monitoring initially when the treaty goes into effect, and subsequently to ensure compliance with the treaty limitations.

March 26, 1987
The extended session of the U.S.-Soviet NST negotiations concludes. The U.S. objects to a Soviet proposal to separate the negotiations on SRINF from an initial INF agreement, saying it is a step backward from agreements reached in principle during the U.S.-Soviet INF negotiations of 1981-1983 and reaffirmed at Reykjavik. The Soviet proposal would allow the U.S.S.R. a virtual monopoly of these systems and leave the Soviets free to increase their existing SRINF missile force, thereby circumventing any agreement on LRINF.

April 15, 1987
Secretary of State George Shultz concludes three days of meetings with General Secretary Gorbachev and Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in Moscow.

Shultz says that, with hard negotiations, the prospect of reaching an agreement on INF is close at hand: "The basic structure of that agreement would be, first, the Reykjavik formula of 100 LRINF warheads on each side to be deployed on the Soviet side in Asia and on the U.S. side in the United States."

The two sides agree that the INF missile reductions should be accomplished in approximately four-to-five years and that an agreement "must contain provisions for very strict and intrusive verification."

On SRINF missiles, Shultz says the two sides agree that there should be global limits, and that the U.S. believes any constraints must be set up on "the principle of equality."

Shultz notes that the Soviets say they intend, upon signing an INF agreement, to withdraw and destroy the SRINF they now have stationed in the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia, and that, in negotiations over remaining missiles, the U.S.S.R. will propose that SRINF be reduced to zero within one year.

April 23, 1987
President Reagan calls on the Soviet Union to speed progress in the INF negotiations by responding to U.S. verification proposals. The President says that Soviet agreement to eliminate INF systems altogether would facilitate verification of compliance with the proposed pact.

The two sides currently agree to reduce land-based LRINF systems to 100 warheads on each side with none in Europe. Reagan says "a zero LRINF outcome—the elimination of this entire class of missiles—" remains the preferred solution for the United States and its allies.

April 27, 1987
The Soviet Union presents a draft INF treaty, which reflects basic agreements on land-based LRINF missiles reached at Reykjavik.

The Soviet proposal would reduce each side's LRINF in Europe to zero by the end of five years, and would limit Soviet LRINF missile warheads in Soviet Asia to 100 warheads deployed beyond a striking distance of the United States. It also would limit U.S. LRINF missile warheads in U.S. territory to 100 missile warheads deployed beyond a striking distance of the Soviet Union, thus precluding deployments in Alaska.

June 12, 1987
In a communique issued following a meeting in Reykjavik of NATO's North Atlantic Council, the foreign ministers express support for global and effectively verifiable elimination of all U.S. and Soviet land-based SRINF missiles with a range of 500 to 1,000 km as an integral part of an INF agreement.

The communique calls on the Soviet Union to drop its demand to retain a portion of its SS-20 capability and reiterates the wish to see all U.S. and Soviet longer-range, land-based INF missiles eliminated in accordance with NATO's long-standing objective.

The ministers say an INF agreement would be an important element in a coherent and comprehensive concept of arms control and disarmament which, while consistent with NATO's doctrine of flexible response, would include:
1. A 50 percent reduction in the strategic offensive nuclear weapons of the United States and the Soviet Union, to be achieved during current Geneva negotiations.
2. The global elimination of chemical weapons.
3. The establishment of a stable and secure level of conventional forces by eliminating disparities in the whole of Europe.
4. In conjunction with the establishment of a conventional balance and the global elimination of chemical weapons, tangible and verifiable reductions of U.S. and Soviet land-based, short-range nuclear missile systems, leading to equal ceilings.

June 16, 1987
The United States formally presents its position on SRINF missile systems at the INF talks in Geneva. The position calls for the global elimination of all U.S. and Soviet SRINF missile systems.

July 23, 1987
Secretary General Gorbachev announces a change in the Soviet position on INF. The Soviets essentially accept the "double global zero" proposal, indicating:
1. Readiness, as part of an agreement with the U.S., to eliminate all "medium-range missiles" in Soviet Asia, including the 100 LRINF warheads on such missiles, provided the U.S. also gives up all such missiles and warheads.
2. Readiness to eliminate "operational and tactical missiles" (SRINF), if the U.S. does the same.

July 28, 1987
In response to the Soviet announcement that the U.S.S.R. is willing to accept the global zero proposal for INF missiles, originally tabled by the U.S., President Reagan says: "The proposal put forward today [by our negotiators in Geneva

would make provision for strict and effective verification measures and reject the transfer of existing U.S. and Soviet INF missiles and launchers to a third country. Two vital new elements are also included: the destruction of missiles and launchers covered by the treaty and no conversion of these systems and launchers to other types of weapons."

August 3, 1987
Soviet arms negotiator Aleksei A. Obukhov says the U.S.S.R. will consider a compromise to resolve U.S.-Soviet differences over West Germany's Pershing 1A missiles. The Soviets had called the missiles "the main barrier" to an INF agreement and had demanded elimination of these missiles.

U.S. arms negotiator Max Kampelman says: "We will not, in a bilateral relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union, have a provision in that agreement which affects our allies."

August 7, 1987
Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, in a speech to the 40-nation Conference on Disarmament, accuses the U.S. and West Germany of blocking an INF agreement by using a "legal sham" to justify excluding 72 Pershing 1A nuclear warheads from such an agreement.

August 26, 1987
With Soviet acceptance of the U.S. proposal that both countries eliminate all their ground-based LRINF and SRINF missiles, U.S. negotiators in Geneva offer a revised proposal for verification of an INF agreement.

The new American plan differs from the older plan:
1. It drops a provision that inspectors be based outside missile production and assembly sites to count the missiles that leave the factory. This provision is no longer needed because production, flight testing and modernization would be banned under "double global zero."
2. The new plan also limits challenge inspections to facilities where medium- and shorter-range missiles are kept to make sure that they are being eliminated, as required.
3. There could also be suspect-site inspections at facilities in the United States and Soviet Union that are used for long-range, ground-based ballistic missiles to ensure that no medium-range or shorter-range missiles are hidden there.

August 26, 1987
Chancellor Kohl of the Federal Republic of Germany announces that West Germany will dismantle its 72 shorter-range INF Pershing 1A missiles, and will not replace them with more modern weapons, if the United States and the Soviet Union:
1. Eliminate all of their own LRINF and SRINF missiles as foreseen under the proposed INF treaty.
2. Adhere to whatever schedule is agreed to for eliminating their missiles.
3. Comply with the terms of the treaty.

August 27, 1987
The Soviet Union welcomes Chancellor Kohl's statement. A spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry says the possibility of concluding a new superpower arms agreement is now "realistic," and he welcomes the latest American proposal on verifying such a treaty. He adds that the Soviet Union now sees "no problems" in assuring that both sides comply.

September 14, 1987
At the INF negotiations in Geneva, the U.S. presents an Inspection Protocol detailing the procedures it considers necessary to effectively verify compliance with an INF treaty that provides for the elimination of all U.S. and Soviet INF missiles.

The new U.S. proposals call for the most stringent verification regime in arms control history. Key elements of the proposal include:
1. The requirement that all INF missiles and launchers be geographically fixed in agreed areas or in announced transit between such areas during the reductions period.
2. A detailed exchange of data, updated as necessary, on the location of missile support facilities and missile operating bases, the number of missiles and launchers at those facilities and bases, and technical parameters of those missile systems.
3. Notification of movement of missiles and launchers between declared facilities.
4. A baseline on-site inspection to verify the number of missiles and launchers at declared missile support facilities and missile operating bases prior to elimination.
5. On-site inspection to verify the destruction of missiles and launchers.
6. Follow-on, short-notice inspection of declared facilities during the reductions period to verify residual levels until all missiles are eliminated.
7. Short-notice, mandatory challenge inspection of certain facilities in the U.S. and U.S.S.R. at which banned missile activity could be carried out.
8. A requirement for a separate "close out" inspection to ensure that when a site is deactivated and removed from the list of declared facilities, it has indeed ended INF-associated activity.

September 18, 1987
Following a meeting in Washington, Secretary of State Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze announce that the U.S. and the Soviet Union have reached agreement in principle to conclude an INF treaty.

The U.S. and Soviet Geneva delegations are instructed to work intensively to resolve remaining technical issues and to complete promptly a draft INF treaty text.

It is announced that—in order to sign a treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles and to cover the full range of issues in the relationship between the two countries—a summit between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev will be held in the fall of 1987. Exact dates are to be determined during talks in October.

October 22-24, 1987
At a meeting in Moscow between senior U.S. and Soviet officials, progress is made on concluding an INF treaty. General Secretary Gorbachev refuses to set a date for a U.S.-Soviet summit.

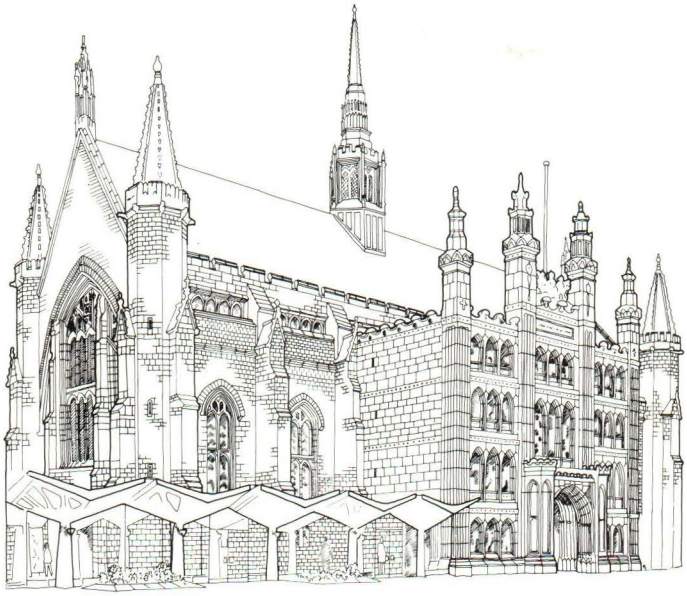
October 29, 1987
Reversing its position, the Soviet Union announces that it has agreed with the U.S. on the terms of a summit meeting to take place before the end of the year.

Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze arrives in Washington for talks with President Reagan and Secretary of State Shultz

October 30, 1987

During meetings between Secretary Shultz and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, the United States and the Soviet Union agree that General Secretary Gorbachev will visit Washington beginning December 7, 1987, and that he and President Reagan will sign a treaty which would eliminate an entire class of U.S. and Soviet INF missiles.

Shultz and Shevardnadze also agree to keep in close touch with their respective delegations in Geneva to ensure rapid progress toward completion of the INF treaty.



GUILDHALL

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Centre of civic government for more than a 1000 years, Guildhall has been the scene of far more than elections and civic activity. It has witnessed the trials of traitors, remonstrances to kings and parliaments, clamours for reform, brilliant receptions to Emperors, Presidents and Royalty, Lord Mayors' banquets and international gatherings and the conferment of the Freedom on statesmen, heroes and patriots.

Local government has developed in the City of London from the ancient Court of Husting to the modern Common Council, and the pattern of municipal government at Guildhall has served as a model upon which the civic administration of many cities and towns has been based. The installation of the Mayor first took place here in 1192 and the Lord Mayor and sheriffs are still elected and admitted to office each year within its walls. The foundation of the present Guildhall, as seen in the crypt, was begun about the year 1411 and was completed by 1440.

Two major fires have devastated large areas of the City, In 1666 and 1940, but the crypt, porch and medieval walls of Guildhall emerged from the flames on both occasions

without irreparable damage. The roof has twice collapsed, a mass of burning timber on to the floor beneath. In 1940 walls, monuments, windows and galleries were damaged and Gog and Magog destroyed, but the Guildhall, protected from the weather by a temporary roof, continued to be the centre of civic activity. Since the destruction in 1940 of the council chamber the Court of Common Council holds its meeting every three weeks in Guildhall, the original meeting place of the early administrative assemblies of citizens.

Restoration of Guildhall was completed to the designs of Sir Giles Gilbert Scott in 1954, the west end being remodelled and the west crypt restored in 1972.

THE CORPORATION OF LONDON

The Corporation is the local authority for the Square Mile of the City of London. It is governed by the Court of Common Council, which consists of the Lord Mayor,
24 other Aldermen and 133 Common Councilmen, each representing one of the City's 25 Wards.

There are no political parties in the Court and each Common Councilman must be re-elected in December every year. Meetings of the Court are held at Guildhall every three weeks. It was at Guildhall that the first truly independent local government emerged, free from the control of the monarch. The Common Council came into existence in the 12th Century as an informal consultation with the Mayor and Aldermen on "common affairs"; became elective in 1384 and gained its real powers in the 17th Century. The Local Government Act 1894 enfranchised certain non-resident ratepayers in the City, as elsewhere in the country. In 1969 this voting right was abolished by the Government everywhere with the exception, in recognition of the special electoral needs of the Square Mile, of the City of London.

FUNCTIONS OF THE CORPORATION

In addition to having all the functions of a London Borough the Corporation:

- Is the Police Authority for the Square Mile.
- Is the Health Authority for the Port of London.
- Has health control of animal imports throughout Greater London including the Quarantine station at Heathrow Airport.
- Owns and manages 8,000 acres of public open space around London.

- Runs the Central Criminal Court and the Old Bailey.
- Runs the three wholesale markets – Billingsgate, Smithfield and Spitalfields.

Although the City is within the area for which educational provision is made by the Inner London Education Authority and indeed in 1987/88 is contributing £212m to that authority (22 per cent of the entire ILEA precept for the year), the Corporation runs four schools of its own. These are all maintained out of funds other than the rates. The same is true of the cost of maintaining the four road bridges over the Thames built and owned by the Corporation. The Barbican Centre owned, funded and managed by the Corporation, is the largest complex of its kind in Western Europe.

PRINCIPAL ACTIVITIES

The following describe the major activities of the Corporation carried out by its 3000 employees. The set of cards "The Corporation's Responsibilities" provides more detailed information.

PLANNING

The Corporation seeks balance between conserving the best of our architectural heritage, unspoilt by advertising, and the requirements of the financial and commercial City for buildings capable of housing modern technology. Last year the Planning and Communications Committee made decisions on over 917 planning applications.

Balance planning control in a non-party political area is crucial for the City to maintain its position as one of the nation's most productive areas.

CITY OF LONDON POLICE

The Square Mile is patrolled 24 hours a day. In 1987/88 £19.3m is provided from rates expenditure for the Police, including the specialised Fraud Squad.

HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICES

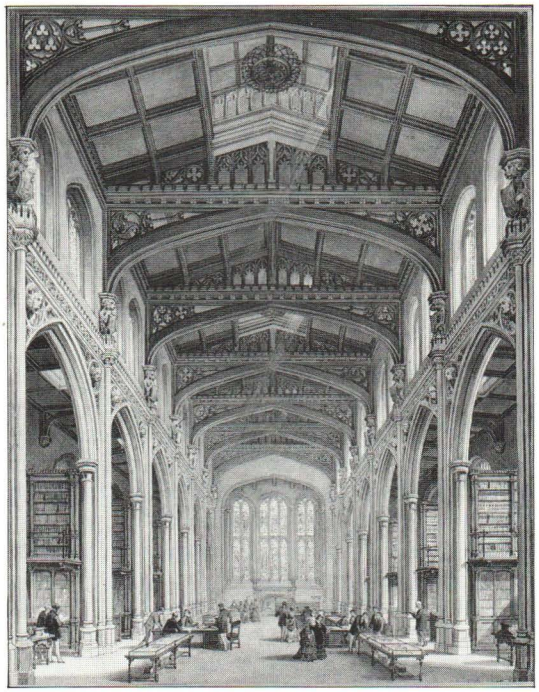
Responsible for environmental health, trading standards, food hygiene and public health in the City: maintenance of the Clean Air programme; and provision of personal social services for City residents and for patients in St Bartholomew's and St Mark's Hospitals.

PORT HEALTH AUTHORITY

Responsible for 94 miles of the River Thames and its estuary; preventing the spread of infectious diseases and checking imported foodstuffs to ensure their fitness for human consumption.

ANIMAL QUARANTINE STATION

Opened at Heathrow Airport in 1977; vital in preventing rabies entering Britain.



LIBRARIES AND ART GALLERIES

Guildhall Library is one of the leading public reference libraries in the country. Among its several specialised collections is one devoted to the history and development of London. The City Busiess Library provides an unrivalled service to the financial and commercial City. The St Bride Printing Library is a reference collection on all aspects of printing, with an international reputation. There are lending libraries at Bishopsgate, Shoe Lane and the Barbican, which also operates a children's library and a music department.

The Barbican Art Gallery mounts exhibitions of international standing. The Guildhall Art Gallery has a permanent collection of some 3000 items, begun in the 17th century. The Corporation of London Records Office contains the finest collection of municipal archives in the country, spanning nine centuries.

Following the abolition of the GLC in April 1986, the Corporation assumed responsibility for the offical archives of the Greater London Record Ofice.

BARBICAN ARTS CENTRE

Opened in 1982; it is the largest development of its kind in Western Europe. Provides theatres, concert halls, cinemas, art gallery, library, bars, restaurants, exhibition and conference facilities. The annual cost of the centre, the "City's Gift to the Nation", for the current year (1987/88) is estimated at £22.3m.

HOUSING

Has been provided in the City and adjacent boroughs since 1884. Estimated expenditure on housing for 1987/88 is £3.4m.

BARBICAN ESTATE

"A City within a City", this 35 acre bomb-devastated site now provides over 2,000 homes accommodating up to 6,500 people.

SCHOOLS

Estimated expenditure for the four schools provided by the Corporation out of non-rateable funds for 1987/88 is £1.9m. There are 800 boys at the City of London School, 660 girls at the City of London School for Girls, 540 pupils at the City of London Freemen's School in Surrey and 713 full-time students at the Guildhall School of Music and Drama (founded in 1880, the first municipal school of music in the country).

STREET CLEANSING

Refuse collection, street cleansing, waste disposal and provision of public conveniences account for £7.1m. The City's 50 miles of roadways are cleansed at least once every day and all refuse (some 51,600 tonnes annually) is collected daily, a frequency unequalled by any other local authority.

ROAD MAINTENANCE

Maintenance and improvement to the roads including the Metropolitan roads taken on post GLC, pedestrian subways and roadbridges, the walkways network and street lighting account for £5.6m.

1,550 metered public car parking spaces are available in the City with a further 1,500 in five multi-storey car parks.

THAMES BRIDGES

The first four road bridges up the Thames (Tower; London; Southwark; Blackfriars) were all built by and are owned by the Corporation. Maintenance costs averaging £1m per year are also borne by the Corporation – at no cost to the ratepayer.

These four bridges form the main arteries for the flow of commuters from south of the river to the heart of the business City.

8,000 ACRES OF PARKS AND OPEN SPACES

An invaluable contribution to the "green belt". An estimated £1.9m will be spent in 1987/88 from the City's PRIVATE FUNDS to maintain Epping Forest, Burnham Beeches, Kent and Surrey Commons, Highgate Wood and Queen's Park. Within the Square Mile, over 190 open spaces and 2,500 trees are maintained by the Corporation.

SMITHFIELD MARKET

Approximately 150,000 tons of meat, poultry and allied products are handled each year, and the market provides direct employment for about 1,000 people.

BILLINGSGATE FISH MARKET

The largest inland fish market in Europe moved to Docklands from its City site in 1982. The site covers 13 acres and is leased from the London Borough of Tower Hamlets. 34,238 tonnes of fish were handled in 1986.

LEADENHALL MARKET

The site has been in the Corporation's ownership since 1411. The current market building was rebuilt in 1881. Although part of the market still sells wholesale poultry, game and eggs, the market is now a prime shopping area.

SPITALFIELDS MARKET

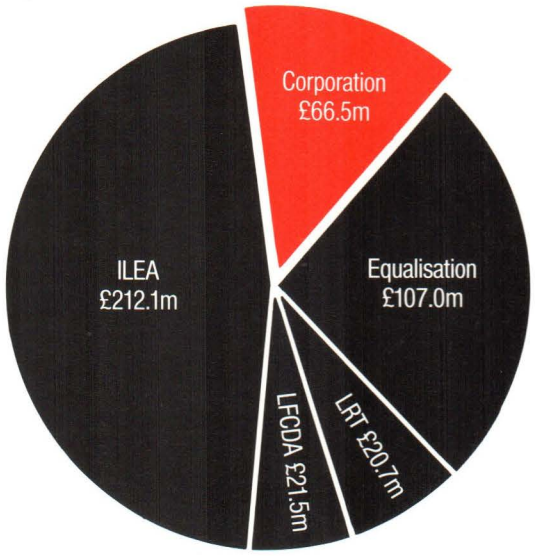
The Corporation acquired market rights in 1920. The market covers 12 acres east of Liverpool Street Station. There were 117 market tenancies at 31st March 1987, and 139 tenancies in the London Fruit Exchange building.

FINANCE

Of the £427.8m to be raised in rates by the Corporation this year, some £66.5m will be retained to be spent on services in the City. The diagram below shows how income from ratepayers in the City is distributed.

HOW LONDON BENEFITS FROM THE CITY RATES

The City of London Poor and General Rates, year ended 31st March 1988.



Total: £427.8m
I.L.E.A. : Inner London Education Authority
L.R.T. : London Regional Transport
L.F.C.D.A.: London Fire and Civil Defence Authority
Equalisation: Money paid to London Boroughs under Govt. Scheme

CITY'S CASH

A substantial proportion of the Corporation's expenditure is not charged to the ratepayer, but is funded by City's Cash, an ancient fund whose income is derived from rents from land, property, and investments. It is from this fund that the Corporation pays for the National and International hospitality that it carries out for Government. It is also from this fund that the Mayoralty and related costs are paid. A second fund, Bridge House Estates, was originally created in medieval times to maintain London Bridge – the upkeep of the four City bridges is among the purposes to which income from the fund is devoted today.

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Guildhall

The Guildhall of the City of London

Published by the Corporation of London

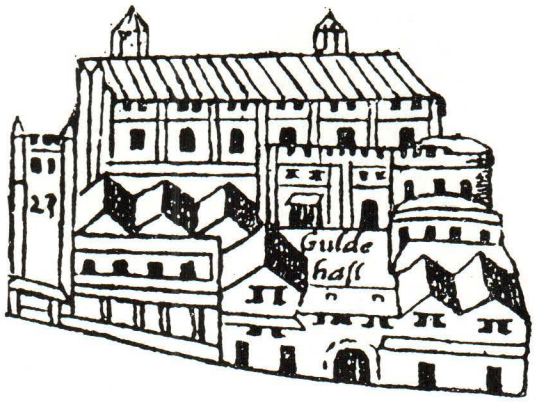
The Guildhall of the City of London

Civic activity and proud ceremonial have been centred at Guildhall for more than a thousand years. Local government has developed in the City of London from the ancient Court of Husting to the modern Common Council, and the pattern of municipal government at Guildhall has served as a model upon which the civic administration of many cities and towns has been based. The first Mayor was installed here in 1191 or 1192 and the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs are still elected and admitted to office each year within its walls. But the Hall has been the scene of far more than local elections and civil government; it has witnessed the trials of traitors and clamours for reform, remonstrances to Kings and Parliaments, protests and joyful acclaims, brilliant receptions of royal personages, presidents and emperors, Lord Mayor's Banquets and international hospitality, conferences and the ceremonial conferment of the Freedom of the City on statesmen, heroes and patriots. All these have clothed this building with far deeper interest than any description of masonry, glass, timber, sculpture and architecture could inspire. Guildhall has always been the heart of the City – a heart from which the national constitution has drawn many of its potent characteristics.

The First Guildhall

The first incidental reference to a Guildhall is to be found in a survey made about the year 1128 of properties belonging to St. Paul's, but the house in which the Court of Husting was held must have existed at least a century earlier. When Guildhall was rebuilt in 1411 the arms of Edward the Confessor, 1041–1066, accompanied those of Henry IV, the then reigning sovereign. The combination of these arms suggests that at the time of rebuilding the original foundation of the Hall was attributed to the reign of Edward the Confessor. The derivation of the name Guildhall is obviously the hall of some guild but scholars have been loath to identify the guild. It is possible that it was the hall of the knighten guild which undoubtedly enjoyed privileges granted by Edward the Confessor.

Her Majesty the Queen replies to the loyal toast at a Luncheon given in Guildhall to celebrate her Silver Jubilee on 7th March 1977



Guildhall from the Agas map of London 1570, showing the two louvres on the roof and a single storey porch, with Guildhall Gate and St Lawrence Jewry Church in the foreground

The Great Fire 1666

The burning of Guildhall in the Great Fire of London in 1666 was vividly described in the following words:

"That night the sight of Guildhall was a fearful spectacle, which stood, the whole body of it together in view, for several hours together after the fire had taken it, without flames (I suppose because the timber was such solid oake), in a bright shining coale as if it had been a palace of gold or a great building of burnished brass."

Although much irreparable damage was done, the old walls were left standing. The rebuilding of Guildhall, as with most of the City, was done quickly, and relied for finance ultimately upon the duties on coal brought to the City. In the case of Guildhall repairing, rather than rebuilding, would be the more correct description, for the surviving walls were utilized and the roof and interior reconstructed. The western crypt, which had collapsed, was not rebuilt but bricked up to support the floor above. The walls of the Hall were heightened by 20 feet to allow for the introduction of a line of Roman windows above the medieval cornice level. A flat roof, built by William Pope, carpenter, and plastered by Henry Hodsdon, has been attributed, though doubtfully, to Sir Christopher Wren, who was exercising oversight at least of so much City rebuilding. As it is certain that Wren was asked to approve drawings for additional buildings to the Porch in 1671 it seems most probable that he would also have been asked to approve, if not to design, the

This guild was not a military association and at the time of its dissolution in the twelfth century it had a mainly religious character. At this time it is believed that the Hall was situated somewhat to the west of the present site and had an entrance from Aldermanbury. The name "Aldresmaneberi" (1128), signifies the bury, enclosure, or Court, of the Alderman and, it is possible that, the hall, on the dissolution of the guild, became the common hall for the Aldermen's secular work. Stow, writing in 1598, observed "this olde Bery Court or hall continued and the Courts of the Maior and Aldermen were continually holden there until the new Bery Court, or Guildhall that now is, was builded and finished" and "I my selfe have seene the ruines of the old Court Hall in Aldermanbury streete". It is certain that from its earliest mention Guildhall has been the centre of City law and administration.

The Medieval Rebuilding

Robert Fabyan, an Alderman of the City, records in his chronicle that in 1411 the "Guylde Halle of Lodon begon to be newe edyfied, and of an olde and lytell cotage made into a fayre and goodly house". The site was enlarged and it is significant that the normal use of the Hall and chambers seems to have continued without interruption. The pious alms, gifts and bequests of the citizens which originally financed the work soon proved insufficient. In 1413 the Common Council, meeting in the upper chamber of the Guildhall, imposed various new duties and assigned old fines and fees to the work. The renewal of these duties from time to time indicates that the works continued till 1439 and were even then followed by the building of a chapel adjoining the Hall which was dedicated on 30 October 1444. Towards the rebuilding Henry V allowed free passage of boats and carts with lime, ragstone and freestone, John Beamond and William Middleton each contributed £60, and the executors of Richard Whittington glazed some of the windows and paid £35 in 1422 towards paving the Hall with hard stone of Purbeck (glass at this time was a somewhat expensive luxury, and floors were frequently of concrete or hardened clay and not paved.) Two louvres were constructed on the roof in 1491 to provide ventilation, and kitchens were erected at the rear for the convenience of the Mayor's Feast in 1501. The Hall, thus completed, stood in all essential respects until the Great Fire of 1666.

Hollar's drawing of the damaged Guildhall after the Great Fire, 1666

roof of the Hall itself. Reconstruction, begun in 1667, was sufficiently complete for the Lord Mayor's Banquet to be held in the Hall in October 1671. Interior decoration, including a new long gallery, and the rebuilding of adjoining chambers seem to have been completed by 1673 and the total cost amounted to about £35,000. Opportunity was taken to purchase land to enlarge Guildhall Yard, to provide further accommodation to the north west of the Hall, and to improve the gateway into Basinghall Street.

Reconstruction 1862-1863

The Hall, as rebuilt after the Great Fire, subject only to slight interior innovations, continued in use until 1862. In that year, following a report from the City Architect, J. B. Bunning, the Court of Common Council resolved that the flat roof should be replaced by an open roof conforming to the medieval architecture of the building. The design of Mr. Bunning was subsequently amended by his successor, Horace Jones, in order to achieve what he termed a true open hammerbeam roof with timber arch. It has been suggested that the design was influenced by Westminster Hall and its beauty, warmth and grandeur were generally acclaimed. Whether it was a true restoration is a subject still open to debate. It was contended in 1865, before the Royal Institute of British Architects, that moulded stones found on the capitals of one of the columns, which corresponded in section to the great arches over the east and west windows, proved that the original roof consisted of stone arches from column to column, similar to the

roof of the Archbishop's Palace at Mayfield, in Sussex. The immense buttresses of the walls it was said, were necessary only for the support of a stone roof with a great lateral thrust. Such technical questions in no way detracted from the praise accorded to the design and workmanship of the restoration, but interest in them revived when still another restoration was contemplated following the destruction of Jones's roof in 1940.

Sir Horace Jones was also responsible for extensive alterations to the interior of the Hall; he constructed a minstrel's gallery at the west end and designed a dark oak screen for the east end; he repaved the floor, patterned with marble tiles, and introduced incised quatrefoils and arms in lead. Externally he built four turrets at the corners of the hall and two pinnacles at the apex of each end wall; the louvre or lantern he surmounted by a fleche. Most of the innovations were retained when Guildhall was reconstructed in 1953–54.

Interior view of Guildhall, 1671-1862, showing the flat roof and "Roman" windows, erected after the Great Fire

Interior view of Guildhall, 1868-1940, showing the roof designed by Sir Horace Jones

"Destruction"—29th December 1940

The 1939–45 war demanded the destruction of cities as arteries of the militant body of a nation, and the danger to Guildhall, as to many historic buildings in London, was fully appreciated. A comprehensive scheme for the protection of Guildhall was prepared before the outbreak of war. On December 29 1940 the City was subject to an intense attack, mainly by incendiary bombs, and huge fires were started in the vicinity of Guildhall, with the flames fanned by a gale force wind. Although all the incendiaries that fell upon Guildhall were extinguished, the building was showered by fragments of burning debris from neighbouring fires. A dormer window in the roof proved vulnerable and to fight this outbreak only stirrup pumps and sand were available. The destruction of

water mains by high explosive bombs and the demands of the Fire Brigades elsewhere so reduced the pressure at the hydrants near Guildhall that hoses could not be brought to bear upon the roof. The fire soon spread, as the inner and outer boarding of the roof acted as a vast flue. The roof collapsed, a mass of burning timber, on the floor beneath. The medieval eastern crypt bore for the second time the weight and heat of a major conflagration.

Steps were taken at once to remove the debris and safeguard the ruins, but a vivid memory remains of the statue of Lord Mayor Beckford, a few days after the calamity, with snow upon his head, seemingly addressing a remonstrance not to the King, but to the King's enemies, for the havoc around him. Although the hand of Peace was broken, fate dealt kindly with the monuments, Guildhall,

The Guildhall in ruins, 1940

cleared, open to the sky was amazingly beautiful, bringing to mind the remains of a fifteenth-century monastery of rural England.

Sir Giles Scott, who was engaged to survey the ruins, reported. "It is a remarkable fact that, in spite of the devastating effect of the fire upon Guildhall buildings generally, the medieval portions of the old Hall remain intact and practically uninjured. This medieval work, both in the walls of the Hall and in the crypt below, formed by far the most valuable architectural treasure in the whole group of buildings, and to find this old work bravely standing up in the midst of such destruction is still more remarkable when it is remembered that exactly the same fate overtook it in the Great Fire of London." Within three months a temporary flat-pitched steel roof, covered in asphalt, had been erected over the whole of Guildhall which enabled it to become again the centre of considerable activity. From October 1941 the Common Council met in Guildhall, and beneath the temporary roof Winston Churchill received the Freedom of the City in 1943. Peace was celebrated in 1945 with honours to the victorious Generals and Chiefs of Staff.

It was fortunate that by the time of the Banquet to celebrate the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II, which was held in Guildhall on 12th June 1953, much of the interior restoration had been completed. The panelling at the east end, the main gallery and the musicians' gallery, with Gog and Magog at the west end, the Lady Mayoress's Gallery and the Lord Mayor's canopy had all been restored in a warm grey, and a new press gallery constructed opposite the main entrance. The restoration of the roof began immediately after Lord Mayor's Day 1953 and was completed within a year.

Guildhall Reconstruction since 1960

After the death of Sir Giles Scott in 1960, his son took over the design and planning of the Guildhall Precincts, and the early sixties were spent determining the form which the major reconstruction of the land surrounding Guildhall should take. (An office block had already been constructed on the north side of Guildhall in 1958.) Protracted discussions relating to planning permission delayed the start of work until 1967 when the first stage north of Guildhall was started.

This consisted of an exhibition hall, two new justice rooms replacing those formerly west of Guildhall Yard, underground record storage and car park. Also, an open patio was created.

However, the major part of the then planned reconstruction affected the site west of Guildhall, replacing blackened war-damaged buildings with a new office block which also contains new premises for Guildhall Library and Committee rooms. This west wing, which was opened in 1974 is an L-shaped block in four floors and is connected both to the existing North Office block and to Guildhall itself.

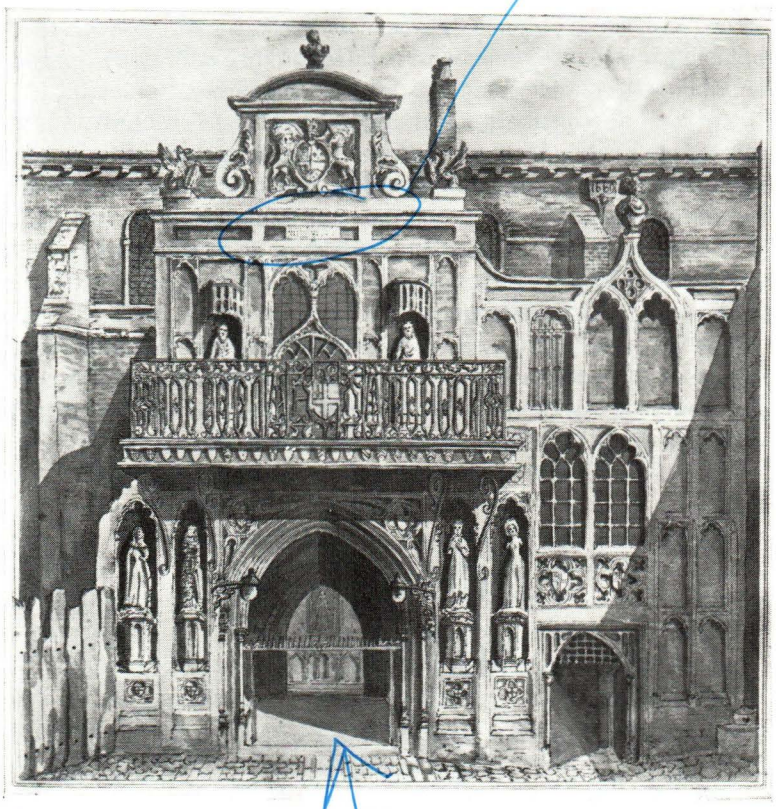
Separate from, but linked to, the east side of the building is the polygonal Alderman's Court. Guildhall Yard, which was formerly very cramped, was dramatically extended to reveal Guildhall better, while retaining the sense of a square or courtyard.

Guildhall Today

The Porch

The entrance to the Hall from Guildhall Yard is through a Gothic Porch which was built in the years 1425–1430. Although externally it has been remodelled from time to time, much of the interior is medieval. The Porch was at first flanked on either side by low Gothic buildings which gave access on the right to the eastern crypt and on the left to the western crypt and behind which the upper windows of the Hall could be seen. The original exterior of the Porch was "beautified with images of stone"—statues in niches under canopies representing Aaron, Moses, Discipline, Justice, Fortitude and Temperance, with the figure of Christ surmounting the whole. The superstructure was redesigned after the Great Fire and a balcony added for use on ceremonial occasions. The statues and balcony were removed by George Dance in 1789 and the general characteristics of the exterior of the Porch were simplified as we see them today. Dance continued his design in the flanking buildings. The southern aspect of Guildhall on the yard is therefore modern and masks the ancient walls of the Hall itself which lie behind the facade.

Much of the interior of the Porch, which consists of two bays of groined vaulting, is medieval. On the intersections of the ribs are seventeen emblazoned and gilt bosses, the two principal bearing



Porch, as reconstructed after the Great Fire, 1666

the arms of Edward the Confessor and Henry VI. The other bosses include the eagle of St. John, the ox of St. Luke, the lion of St. Mark, the angel of St. Matthew and the monogram IHS. The walls are divided by moulded stone panelling of Gothic design, which was severely cut away to form the entrance to the old Library and varied to provide doorways to the Secondary's former Office and to the crypt. Some of the fifteenth-century steps leading down to the crypt and a stairway leading up to the room over the porch can be seen within the small doorway on the right of the Porch. In fact the last mentioned room is still entered through the medieval doorway. The large oak doors into the Hall are modern and the walls of the Porch next to the doorway have been reconstructed. External entrance doors within a glazed screen were erected in 1957 with the City Arms in the centre light over the transom.

Further restoration of the Porch took place under the direction of Richard Gilbert Scott in the late 1960s. Included in this was the

restoration of the medieval stone screen above the entrance to the East Crypt, together with the creation of a new staircase leading into the Crypt.

The Hall

The survival of the medieval walls of Guildhall shows that the present Hall occupies exactly the same site as the building erected in 1411. It is 152 feet long and 49 feet 6 inches between the walls. Seven medieval columns to north and south, each formed by three clustered shafts, divide the hall into eight bays. The top five or six feet of some of these columns were apparently damaged and rebuilt after the Great Fire and the difference in the colour of the stone can be seen. The columns, with massive buttresses, stand on plinths, which a raised floor has foreshortened, and rise 34 feet to a main cornice. Much of the walling, where not cut away at some time for entrances and monuments, and the lower portions of the buttresses are original. The core of the whole structure remains although the surfaces in many places have been renewed following damage by fire and decay by time and atmosphere. Perhaps the most interesting medieval survival is the window on the south wall, in the second bay on the left of the main entrance. The two window seats are notable, as well as the rebate and hooks for the shutters and the latch to the iron casement. The opposite recess in the north wall, now occupied by a statue of Sir Winston Churchill, contained a similar window of which only indications remain. It should be remembered that Guildhall was once on an island site with an alley around it, but soon became encumbered by offices, courts, stables and other buildings, and the lower lights, and even some of the upper, became useless as windows. The large east and west windows remain substantially as first built, although the old cills, mullions and transoms have been repaired, renewed or rendered in cement.

The Roof

The present roof is the fifth to rest on the medieval shafts. Little is known of the first, built soon after 1411 and destroyed in 1666,

and controversy still persists between theories of simple hammer-beam and stone arch. Hollar's drawing of the ruins after the Great Fire seems to indicate a timber arched roof of simple design. While the massive piers may have been intended to carry a stone roof, oak timber would have been cheaper and more accessible and economics were a potent factor even in the later middle ages. From old prints it is at least certain that the roof was pitched.

However, the second roof, attributed to Wren, was flat and raised upon brickwork 20 feet above the old cornice level. Its character is well illustrated by prints and paintings, and it served from 1668 to 1864.

The restoration, envisaged by J. B. Bunning and executed by Horace Jones in 1864, presupposed an original hammerbeam roof and was based on a drawing of somewhat doubtful validity published in 1787. If not a restoration, this roof was a valid representation of the work of the medieval period when the Hall was built. The large post-fire clerestory Roman windows were replaced by smaller dormer windows in the roof, and the end walls were again raised to an apex, 89 feet high. This was the roof destroyed at the end of December 1940.

The fourth roof, of factory type, steel and asphalt, served from 1941 till 1953.

The design for a new roof was the subject of long debate before the proposals of Sir Giles Scott were accepted in 1953. The Royal Fine Arts Commission, on the evidence before them, supported in principle Sir Giles Scott's preference for a roof with stone arches. In his report Sir Giles had observed that Horace Jones failed to appreciate the significance of the bold moulded shafts or responds of the existing old walls of Guildhall and how illogical it was to bring a timber truss on to so large a shaft. As an example of a stone arched roof he cited the Archbishop's Palace at Mayfield in Sussex, which was visited before a decision was taken. The stone arches of the new roof, continuing the lines of the ribs of the columns, carry the eye upward and give a greater effect of height and dignity. Within the stone arches are hidden steel trusses which carry the weight of the roof, placing it upon the ancient piers with a minimum of outward thrust. The piers and buttresses were reinforced and their load transferred to a concrete base set upon piles. All new stonework was toned and tooled to match the medieval walls. Clerestory windows were reintroduced above the battlement course of the cornice, with five lights in each bay in place of the single post-fire Roman window. These lights are hooded by a shallow stone arch above which the oak roof is decorated by a

series of shields bearing the arms of the City Livery Companies. The apex of the roof is ceiled in for ventilation trunks and the flat ceiling is narrower and about three feet higher than the ceiling attributed to Wren. A fleche of teak surmounted by a lead crocketed spire rises from the centre of the roof, replacing a former louvre. The roof is covered by Collyweston stone tiles which were laid by local craftsmen.

The Great Hall

The Windows

The fire of December 1940 destroyed or substantially damaged all but four of the eighteen stained glass windows formerly in Guildhall. They were heavy and almost ecclesiastical in appearance and were set up in the period 1866–1874. The present glass, to the design of Sir Giles Scott, is light in character and colour, and incorporates the names and dates of all the Mayors of London, interspersed with the monograms and supporters of the reigning sovereigns. The names of earliest Mayors are in the great west window and the most modern at the south west corner (the names circle the Hall clockwise). The windows north and south are of two lights divided by a transom, and the upper and lower divisions have traceried and cusped heads. The great east and west windows, medieval in design, are divided into three panels by large moulded mullions, the centre consisting of two tiers each of five lights and the sides of double lights. The heads of the windows are filled with arched and cusped tracery and at the apex of each arch moulding a shield bears the arms of Edward the Confessor. To either side on the tracery of the west window are the arms of the Plantagenet and Lancastrian kings.

The Walls

The wall surfaces are relieved with Gothic panelling in stone and divided into upper and lower compartments by a high dado, consisting of a series of heads, shields, animals and foliage beneath an embattled crest. This has been raised above the main entrance and cut away to allow space for monuments, but the decoration is continued in miniature on the oak panelling at the east end. The main cornice, below battlements at clerestory level, is enriched by a frieze consisting of the arms of England, the City, and the twelve principal Livery Companies, with mottoes and supporters. The Arms are emblazoned and the mottoes stand in raised gilt Gothic letters on a vermilion background. The hood mouldings of the great east window spring from two dwarf pillars, the bases of which are set upon the lower cornice. Near the pillars, on either side of the window, is a canopied niche containing a three-panelled pedestal for a statue. The tracery and cresting of

the canopy is rather exceptional and remains somewhat damaged. Below the window and encircling the husting or dais on three sides was a rich arched cornice with parapet of stone. In the centre was a large canopy and recess, either for a statue or as a throne, and on either side two of smaller size. Having suffered considerable damage the elaborate stone cornice was not repaired and is hidden behind the head of the new oak panelling. The large recesses are suggested in the panelling by tall niches for the display of plate. Originally the space beneath the cornice and canopy was hung with tapestry and provided a dignified background for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen.

The Floor

The present floor was designed and laid by Horace Jones and relaid in 1954 after the installation of a new system of floor heating. It is principally of Portland stone, arranged in panels, divided by bands of black and buff tiles. The centre panels contain the arms of Henry IV at the east end and then alternately the arms of the City of London and the Royal Arms. The side panels are filled with the arms of Mayors – on the north Henry Fitz Eylwin, Richard Whittington, Sir Richard Gresham, Sir Edward Osborne, Sir Henry Tulse and William Beckford ; on the south Sir William Walworth, Thomas Knolles, Sir Thomas White, Sir Thomas Myddleton, Sir Richard Hoare and Sir Thomas Gabriel. Official standards of length of 100 feet and 66 feet are marked on brass plates set in the floor in 1878. Lengths of one foot, two feet and one yard are on a tablet on the south wall.

The Galleries

On the north side of the Hall, and nearer the dais, is the Lady Mayoress's gallery, which was erected in 1900 and rebuilt in 1953. It is for the use of the Lady Mayoress and other ladies on occasions when they are not officially present at functions in Guildhall. Below this gallery is an entrance to the ambulatory leading to the Livery Hall and beside the entrance is a tablet recording the more important trials held in the Hall between 1548 and 1615.

The other gallery on this wall was constructed in 1953 for the use of photographers and to assist the broadcasting and televising of ceremonial occasions. Opposite, in the bay next to the Porch doors, is an oak Buffet, with shelves for plate and brackets for the City's Sword and Mace. At the banquets the Lord Mayor and principal guests sit immediately in front of this buffet. The arms displayed are those of the Lord Mayors, Sheriffs and Chief Commoners at the date of its construction, 1892-1893. The main gallery and screen at the west end was erected in 1866, but as a result of war damage the parapet was renewed and the musicians' gallery rebuilt in 1953. As part of the second stage of reconstruction alterations were made in 1972 to the main gallery which is now cantilevered, freeing additional space on the floor below. The clock in the centre of the projecting parapet was the gift of Alderman Sir Noel Bowater, Bt., M.C.

Gog and Magog

The ancestors of the present giants of Guildhall have welcomed Kings and Queens to London for five and a half centuries. A giant greeted Henry V on London Bridge in 1413, and two giants welcomed him after his triumph at Agincourt in 1415. The giants were a popular and significant feature of the Lord Mayor's Show and for three centuries they have watched over ceremonies, banquets and proceedings from a lofty perch within the Hall. Doubtless they represented the history and power of the City. To Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth I in 1554 and 1558 they were known as Gogmagog and Corineus, the former an ancient inhabitant of Britain armed with arrows and a globe of spikes, the latter a Trojan invader with spear and shield, attired in Roman costume. The popularity of these giants required neater names, and without any official cognizance Gog and Magog served the purpose and Corineus was forgotten. The giants destroyed in 1940 had been carved in 1708 by Captain Richard Saunders and stood 14 feet 6 inches high. Their hands and faces were gory, resulting from the battles they had fought, and their costumes gaudy to suit the pageant master. The new giants, the gift of Alderman Sir George Wilkinson, Bt., who was Lord Mayor when their predecessors were destroyed, stand 9 feet 3 inches high and were carved by David Evans, FRBS. While their habit, weapons and posture are conventional, the decoration in gold and buff is intended to tone with the decoration of the Hall

Gog

Magog

and represents a break with tradition. They stand now on pedestals in the west gallery, Gog to the north and Magog to the south. A phoenix has been added to the shield of the latter to recall destruction by fire and re-erection.

The Monuments

Although Guildhall is essentially the centre of civic affairs, the Corporation in comparatively modern times has honoured a few national figures of outstanding achievement by monuments within its walls. Nevertheless the first to be erected was to one of its own Lord Mayors, William Beckford. It was voted by the Common Council in 1770 and is the work of Francis J. Moore. Beckford is represented addressing a remonstrance to the King who had returned a curt and unfavourable reply to an address by the Corporation. The Lord Mayor's words to His Majesty are inscribed on the monument. The figures on either side represent the City of London in mourning and trade in decline.

The first monument of a national character was erected in 1782 to William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, and was the work of John Bacon, R.A. The City was mindful of the benefits it had received in the general prosperity brought to the nation by this "eminent statesman, powerful orator, and supreme disposer of events". The monument on the south wall nearest the dais is to his son, William Pitt the younger; it was executed in 1813 by J. G. Bubb. Pitt appears in his robes as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and his abilities are characterised by Apollo and Mercury. Below, Britannia is seated triumphantly upon a sea-horse. The inscription surveys the difficulties he overcame, the merit of his achievements, and offers his life to the imitation of posterity.

On the north side of the Hall are two monuments to Britain's foremost military and naval heroes. That to Admiral Lord Nelson was erected in 1810 and was executed by James Smith. The battle of Trafalgar is depicted on the front of the pedestal, and above, Neptune and Britannia grieve at the death of the Admiral, while the City of London records his great victories. The monument to Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, by John Bell, R.A., was executed in 1857. The pedestal depicts the last charge at Waterloo. The Duke holds in one hand his field-marshal's baton and in the other the Peace of 1815. He stands between Peace, looking up gratefully, and War, with sheathed sword and victor's wreath.

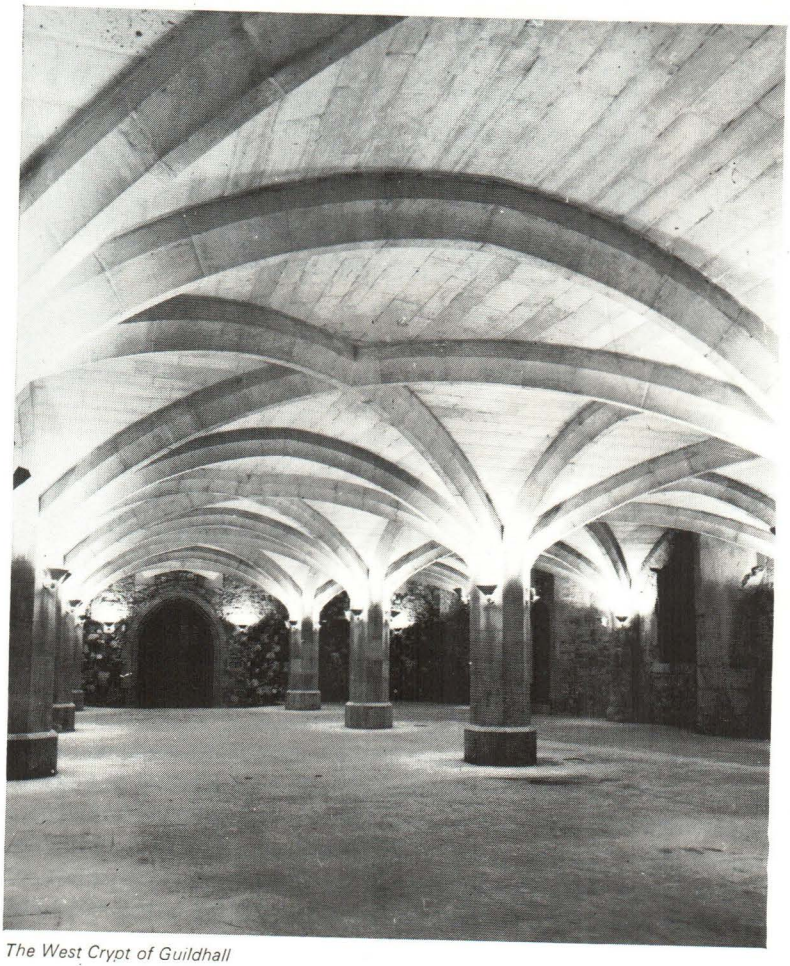
Statue of Sir Winston Churchill by Oscar Nemon

Also on the north wall is a bronze statue of Sir Winston Churchill by Oscar Nemon. It depicts the elderly statesman reclining in an armchair and was cast in 1958.

On the south wall to the west of the entrance door is a memorial to the officers and men of the Royal Fusiliers (the City of London Regiment), who died in the South African War, 1899–1902. It is a bronze bas relief, designed by F. W. Pomeroy to fit in with the Gothic arcading. Two similar memorials to members, sons of members, and officers of the Corporation who fell in the 1914–18 and 1939–45 Wars are in the Porch.

The Crypts

Underneath Guildhall is the largest medieval Crypt in London. It is divided into two parts which do not quite correspond, and there are good reasons for believing that the West Crypt, destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666, is the oldest part of Guildhall, going back to the second half of the 13th century. Firstly the styles of the two Crypts are quite different, the west side being much earlier and comparable to vaulting elsewhere which can be dated to the 13th century. Secondly the parish boundary runs through the present Guildhall, but to the east of the West Crypt. The vaulting of



The West Crypt of Guildhall

the West Crypt was largely destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666 when the floor of Guildhall collapsed. After the Great Fire Sir Christopher Wren built "temporary" brick cross-walls to support the floor above. In 1973 these walls were carefully removed while supporting the floor, section by section, on steel frames, and the vaulting was restored in its original style. The West Crypt now has one of the finest vaulted ceilings in London, resting upon four pairs of stone columns. The columns and ribs of the vaulting itself are in Daulting stone with infill panels of Portland stone. The 4,500 sq. ft. of floor area is York stone. The nineteen stained glass windows were presented individually by City Livery Companies: The Guild of Air Pilots and Air Navigators, Armourers and Brasiers Company, Blacksmiths Company, Broderers Company, Carmens Company, Clockmakers Company, Farmers Company, Farriers Company, Fletchers Company, Founders Company, Furniture Makers Company, Gardeners Company, Masons Company, Honourable Company of Master Mariners, Painter Stainers Company, Paviors Company, Spectacle Makers Company, Company of Tin Plate Workers, Woolmen's Company. They were designed by Brian Thomas OBE.

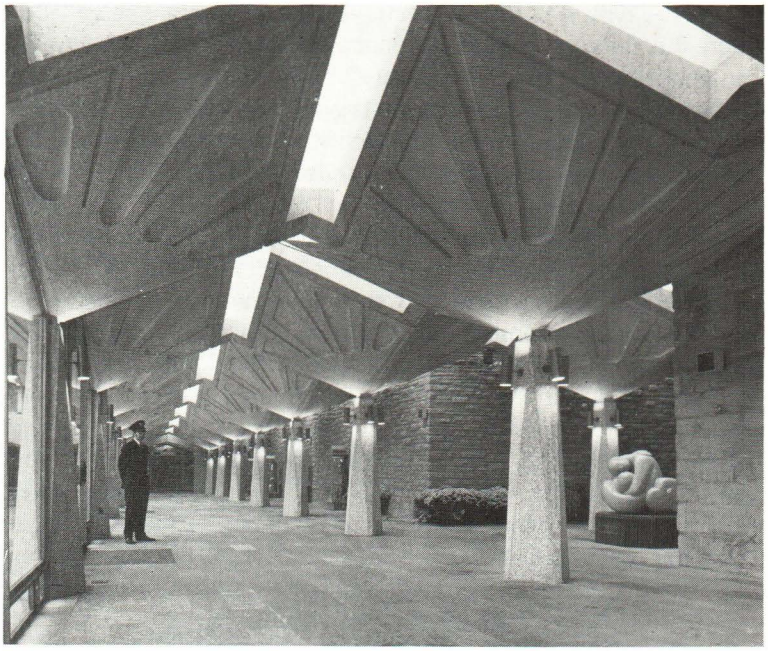
The East Crypt which was restored in 1961 is divided into twelve bays by six clustered pillars of blue Purbeck marble. Other stonework is ragstone and Reigate stone with chalk infilling.

The arms at the intersections of the vaulting are: Sir Bernard Waley-Cohen (Lord Mayor in 1960-61), H.M. Queen Elizabeth II (in whose reign the Crypt was restored), the City of London, the See of London, Henry IV (Sovereign when the East Crypt was built in 1411) and Edward the Confessor.

Six windows designed by Brian Thomas OBE were donated by the Clothworkers Company and four Common Councilmen. The windows show the Great Fire, Chaucer, Caxton, More, Wren and Pepys.

The Ambulatory

A covered ambulatory constructed in 1957 on the north side of the Hall corresponds to the open passage that originally encircled the building to give light to the Hall and Crypt windows. The present panelled ambulatory on the north side of the Great Hall leads to the Livery Hall, the Guildhall offices and the kitchens. The columns



The south ambulatory

dividing the panelling are capped by motifs representing the craftsmen engaged on the reconstruction commenced in 1953, from the architect to the sculptor, the electrician to the acetylene-welder. As part of the latest phase of reconstruction the architects returned in part to the old concept of a walkway around the hall, and a new south and west ambulatory was opened in 1974. The south section consists of shallow inverted concrete pyramids on columns with a glass screen on the Guildhall Yard side.

Guildhall Library

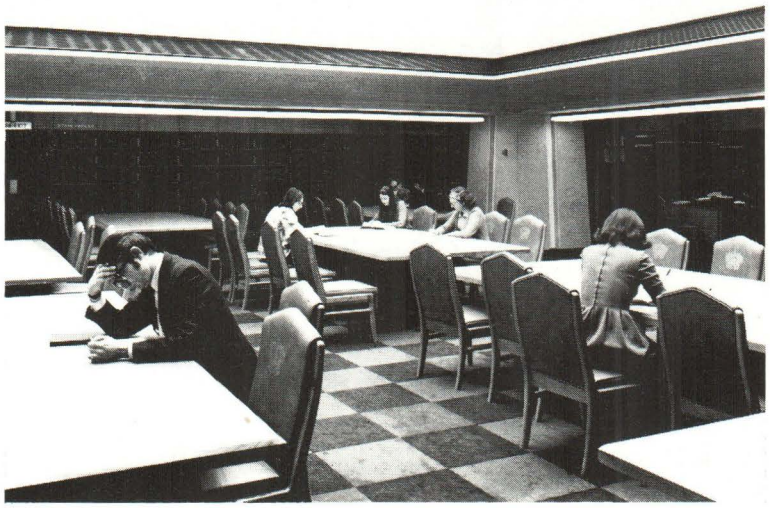
There was a library in Guildhall in medieval times founded with money left by two wealthy City merchants, the famous Richard Whittington and William Bury. The library existed from the early fifteenth century until the mid-sixteenth century, when, according to Stow's Survey of London, it was despoiled by the Duke of Somerset Protector in the reign of Edward VI.

From that time there was no library in Guildhall until 1824 when the Corporation established the present library. Originally it was a reference library of material to illustrate the history and development of London. In the succeeding decades, however, this purely local collection was extended to cover most fields of knowledge. Today Guildhall Library is the largest public general reference library in London but its particular strength is still its unrivalled London collection.

The Library, which was transferred to new premises in 1974, is approached from Aldermanbury and is open for reference from 9.30 a.m. to 5.0 p.m. each week day including Saturdays.

On the left of the main entrance is the Museum of the Worshipful Company of Clockmakers. The museum illustrates the development of the clock and watch from the earliest days to the present time. Some of the more interesting exhibits are:

A fifteenth century German wall clock, which is a fine example of the earliest type of house clock; the long-case clock by Thomas Tompion, the famous seventeenth century clock and watchmaker; the late sixteenth century "skull" watch said to have belonged to Mary Queen of Scots; the marine chronometer made by John Harrison in 1790 by which, for the first time, a ship's longitude could be determined with some accuracy; the modern wrist watch which Sir Edmund Hillary wore when



The Reading Room of Guildhall Library

climbing Everest in 1953. Also worthy of note are the many beautifully enamelled watch cases.

Also in this room is an exhibition showing early playing cards from the Phillips Collection belonging to the Worshipful Company of Makers of Playing Cards.

On the other side of the entrance hall of the Library is the Whittington Room which contains many of the more important early books of the Library and a display of rare treasures and prints.

The West Wing Guildhall

The Old Library

From 1873 to 1974 Guildhall Library was housed in a hall which is now used for ceremonial purposes. Approach to the old Library is by a corridor from the porch of Guildhall. In this corridor are paintings depicting many of the ceremonial occasions at Guildhall or the City.

The Library was built in 1870–1872 from the designs of Sir Horace Jones, then architect to the Corporation. The style of

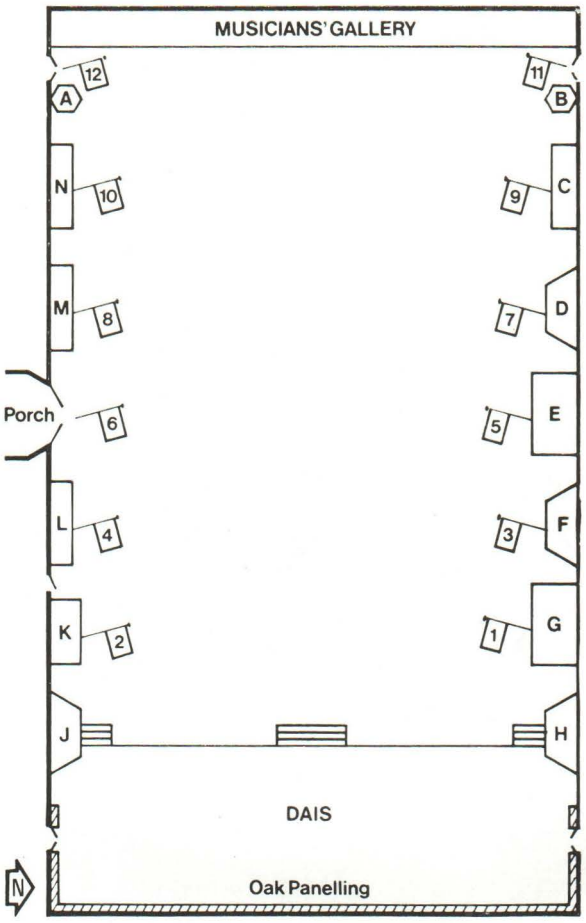
architecture is perpendicular Gothic in harmony with that of the Guildhall itself, and the building measures 100 feet in length, 65 feet in width and 50 feet in height. The stained glass window at the north end was given by the Ward of Aldersgate at the time of the erection of the building. It depicts in the three upper centre lights the introduction of printing into England and represents Caxton at his printing press at Westminster. The subject of the three lower centre lights is Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham, purchasing the Library of the Abbot of St. Albans. The figures in the side lights are, from top left, Gutenburg, Wynkyn de Worde, Pynson, Coverdale, Whittington, Gresham, Stow and Milton.

Guildhall Art Gallery

The Art Gallery is in the north-east corner of Guildhall Yard. It is a temporary building, the original gallery having been burned in the fire of 1941. Plans for a new gallery are under consideration.

This temporary gallery is used for exhibiting selections from the Corporation's permanent collection, special loan exhibitions, and the annual exhibitions of various art societies.

The piazza behind Guildhall



Key to Plan

A Magog
B Gog
C Sir Winston Churchill Statue
D Admiral Viscount Nelson Monument
E Press Gallery
F Duke of Wellington Monument
G Lady Mayoress's Gallery
H William Pitt, Earl of Chatham Monument
J William Pitt the Younger Monument
K Lord Mayor Beckford Monument
L Oak Buffet and Canopy
M Royal Fusiliers Memorial, 1899-1902
N 15th Century Window and Standards of Length

Banners of the 12 Principal Livery Companies

1 Mercers
2 Grocers
3 Drapers
4 Fishmongers
5 Goldsmiths
6 Skinners
7 Merchant Taylors
8 Haberdashers
9 Salters
10 Ironmongers
11 Vintners
12 Clothworkers

Guildhall Open to Visitors

Weekdays ..... 10 a.m. to 5 p.m.

Sundays (May to September ..... 2 p.m. to 5 p.m.

Easter Monday, Spring Bank Holiday
and Autumn Bank Holiday ..... 2 p.m. to 5 p.m.

Admission Free

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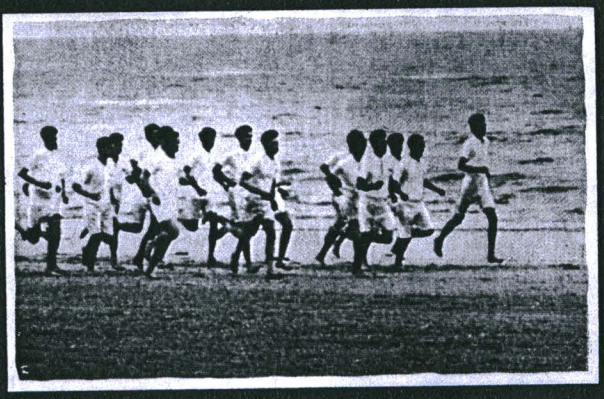

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would lead to the necessary cooperation. The step taken was yet a modest one, but it brought out the political will of the 22 attending chiefs of state and government to pursue global negotiations within the framework of the United Nations.

Upon your return from Mexico you said that the efforts and constructive spirit which characterized the discussions at Cancún must continue. And the American Ambassador to the United Nations declared recently that every one of us bears the responsibility for transplanting the spirit of Cancún to all the forums of the United Nations system. This time we cannot fail. These words bring optimism to the developing world, which trusts the understanding and the good disposition of the United States.

Mr. President, Venezuela projects democracy and freedom in its foreign policy and has made its energetic wealth act as a concrete instrument of negotiation, cooperation, and international solidarity. A great many coincidences with the United States enable us to march side by side on the road of human freedom.

In your two speeches today, Mr. President, you referred first to Venezuelans such as Simón Bolívar, and in your speech tonight to young compatriots of mine who are in this world of sports, who, at a time not too far away nor too near this day, were people that were of interest to you and me when we were sports journalists.

You have called our compatriots, David Concepcion and Tony Armas, who today are excellent players in the big leagues. And if you allow me this association of ideas, perhaps you might have believed in the talks I had today with you and with high representatives of your government that my position as was stated on Central America and the Caribbean is too optimistic. But I am an optimist, and I believe you are one, too.

When you were a candidate for the Presidency, on our television we saw many of the films in which you acted years ago, and I remember one very specially which is related to baseball.

You were playing the role of a pitcher, a great pitcher, who suddenly felt, let's say, a drop in his physical conditions, and it was the trust of his friends and his moral conviction that he had to play to have his team win that made the team win.

And I am sure that your quarry of optimism has not run dry. And although perhaps the situation might seem sometimes dramatic, we can be certain that it is people—men and people like those of the United States and Venezuela who love freedom—those are the ones that will win.

To reiterate, allow me to reiterate my gratitude and that of Betty and the persons who accompany me for all your kindness, and as I do so, I raise my glass in a toast to your personal happiness, that of your distinguished wife, to the democratic success of your government, and the prosperity and happiness of the people of the United States, a people forever committed to liberty.

Note: President Reagan spoke at 9:44 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House. President Herrera spoke in Spanish, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

Remarks to Members of the National Press Club on Arms Reduction and Nuclear Weapons

November 18, 1981

Officers, ladies and gentlemen of the National Press Club and, as of a very short time ago, fellow members:

Back in April while in the hospital I had, as you can readily understand, a lot of time for reflection. And one day I decided to send a personal, handwritten letter to Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev reminding him that we had met about 10 years ago in San Clemente, California, as he and

President Nixon were concluding a series of meetings that had brought hope to all the world. Never had peace and good will seemed closer at hand.

I'd like to read you a few paragraphs from that letter. "Mr. President: When we met, I asked if you were aware that the hopes and aspirations of millions of people throughout the world were dependent on the decisions that would be reached in those meetings. You took my hand in both of yours and assured me that you were aware of that and that you were dedicated with all your heart and soul and mind to fulfilling those hopes and dreams."

I went on in my letter to say: "The people of the world still share that hope. Indeed, the peoples of the world, despite differences in racial and ethnic origin, have very much in common. They want the dignity of having some control over their individual lives, their destiny. They want to work at the craft or trade of their own choosing and to be fairly rewarded. They want to raise their families in peace without harming anyone or suffering harm themselves. Government exists for their convenience, not the other way around.

"If they are incapable, as some would have us believe, of self-government, then where among them do we find any who are capable of governing others?

"Is it possible that we have permitted ideology, political and economic philosophies, and governmental policies to keep us from considering the very real, everyday problems of our peoples? Will the average Soviet family be better off or even aware that the Soviet Union has imposed a government of its own choice on the people of Afghanistan? Is life better for the people of Cuba because the Cuban military dictate who shall govern the people of Angola?

"It is often implied that such things have been made necessary because of territorial ambitions of the United States; that we have imperialistic designs, and thus constitute a threat to your own security and that of the newly emerging nations. Not only is there no evidence to support such a charge, there is solid evidence that the United States, when it could have dominated the world with no risk to itself, made no effort whatsoever to do so.

"When World War II ended, the United States had the only undamaged industrial power in the world. Our military might was at its peak, and we alone had the ultimate weapon, the nuclear weapon, with the unquestioned ability to deliver it anywhere in the world. If we had sought world domination then, who could have opposed us?

"But the United States followed a different course, one unique in all the history of mankind. We used our power and wealth to rebuild the war-ravished economies of the world, including those of the nations who had been our enemies. May I say, there is absolutely no substance to charges that the United States is guilty of imperialism or attempts to impose its will on other countries, by use of force."

I continued my letter by saying—or concluded my letter, I should say—by saying, "Mr. President, should we not be concerned with eliminating the obstacles which prevent our people, those you and I represent, from achieving their most cherished goals?"

Well, it's in the same spirit that I want to speak today to this audience and the people of the world about America's program for peace and the coming negotiations which begin November 30th in Geneva, Switzerland. Specifically, I want to present our program for preserving peace in Europe and our wider program for arms control.

Twice in my lifetime, I have seen the peoples of Europe plunged into the tragedy of war. Twice in my lifetime, Europe has suffered destruction and military occupation in wars that statesmen proved powerless to prevent, soldiers unable to contain, and ordinary citizens unable to escape. And twice in my lifetime, young Americans have bled their lives into the soil of those battlefields not to enrich or enlarge our domain, but to restore the peace and independence of our friends and Allies.

All of us who lived through those troubled times share a common resolve that they must never come again. And most of us share a common appreciation of the Atlantic Alliance that has made a peaceful, free, and prosperous Western Europe in the post-war era possible.

But today, a new generation is emerging on both sides of the Atlantic. Its members were not present at the creation of the North Atlantic Alliance. Many of them don't fully understand its roots in defending freedom and rebuilding a war-torn continent. Some young people question why we need weapons, particularly nuclear weapons, to deter war and to assure peaceful development. They fear that the accumulation of weapons itself may lead to conflagration. Some even propose unilateral disarmament.

I understand their concerns. Their questions deserve to be answered. But we have an obligation to answer their questions on the basis of judgment and reason and experience. Our policies have resulted in the longest European peace in this century. Wouldn't a rash departure from these policies, as some now suggest, endanger that peace?

From its founding, the Atlantic Alliance has preserved the peace through unity, deterrence, and dialog. First, we and our Allies have stood united by the firm commitment that an attack upon any one of us would be considered an attack upon us all. Second, we and our Allies have deterred aggression by maintaining forces strong enough to ensure that any aggressor would lose more from an attack than he could possibly gain. And third, we and our Allies have engaged the Soviets in a dialog about mutual restraint and arms limitations, hoping to reduce the risk of war and the burden of armaments and to lower the barriers that divide East from West.

These three elements of our policy have preserved the peace in Europe for more than a third of a century. They can preserve it for generations to come, so long as we pursue them with sufficient will and vigor.

Today, I wish to reaffirm America's commitment to the Atlantic Alliance and our resolve to sustain the peace. And from my conversations with allied leaders, I know that they also remain true to this tried and proven course.

NATO's policy of peace is based on restraint and balance. No NATO weapons, conventional or nuclear, will ever be used in Europe except in response to attack. NATO's defense plans have been responsible and restrained. The Allies remain strong, united, and resolute. But the momentum of the continuing Soviet military buildup threatens both the conventional and the nuclear balance.

Consider the facts. Over the past decade, the United States reduced the size of its Armed Forces and decreased its military spending. The Soviets steadily increased the number of men under arms. They now number more than double those of the United States. Over the same period, the Soviets expanded their real military spending by about one-third. The Soviet Union increased its inventory of tanks to some 50,000, compared to our 11,000. Historically a land power, they transformed their navy from a coastal defense force to an open ocean fleet, while the United States, a sea power with transoceanic alliances, cut its fleet in half.

During a period when NATO deployed no new intermediate-range nuclear missiles and actually withdrew 1,000 nuclear warheads, the Soviet Union deployed more than 750 nuclear warheads on the new SS–20 missiles alone.

Our response to this relentless buildup of Soviet military power has been restrained but firm. We have made decisions to strengthen all three legs of the strategic triad: sea-, land-, and air-based. We have proposed a defense program in the United States for the next 5 years which will remedy the neglect of the past decade and restore the eroding balance on which our security depends.

I would like to discuss more specifically the growing threat to Western Europe which is posed by the continuing deployment of certain Soviet intermediate-range nuclear missiles. The Soviet Union has three different type such missile systems: the SS–20, the SS–4, and the SS–5, all with the range capable of reaching virtually all of Western Europe. There are other Soviet weapon systems which also represent a major threat.

Now, the only answer to these systems is a comparable threat to Soviet threats, to Soviet targets; in other words, a deterrent preventing the use of these Soviet weapons by the counterthreat of a like response

against their own territory. At present, however, there is no equivalent deterrent to these Soviet intermediate missiles. And the Soviets continue to add one new SS–20 a week.

To counter this, the Allies agreed in 1979, as part of a two-track decision, to deploy as a deterrent land-based cruise missiles and Pershing II missiles capable of reaching targets in the Soviet Union. These missiles are to be deployed in several countries of Western Europe. This relatively limited force in no way serves as a substitute for the much larger strategic umbrella spread over our NATO Allies. Rather, it provides a vital link between conventional shorter-range nuclear forces in Europe and intercontinental forces in the United States.

Deployment of these systems will demonstrate to the Soviet Union that this link cannot be broken. Deterring war depends on the perceived ability of our forces to perform effectively. The more effective our forces are, the less likely it is that we'll have to use them. So, we and our allies are proceeding to modernize NATO's nuclear forces of intermediate range to meet increased Soviet deployments of nuclear systems threatening Western Europe.

Let me turn now to our hopes for arms control negotiations. There's a tendency to make this entire subject overly complex. I want to be clear and concise. I told you of the letter I wrote to President Brezhnev last April. Well, I've just sent another message to the Soviet leadership. It's a simple, straightforward, yet, historic message. The United States proposes the mutual reduction of conventional intermediate-range nuclear and strategic forces. Specifically, I have proposed a four-point agenda to achieve this objective in my letter to President Brezhnev.

The first and most important point concerns the Geneva negotiations. As part of the 1979 two-track decision, NATO made a commitment to seek arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union on intermediate range nuclear forces. The United States has been preparing for these negotiations through close consultation with our NATO partners.

We're now ready to set forth our proposal. I have informed President Brezhnev that when our delegation travels to the negotiations on intermediate range, land-based nuclear missiles in Geneva on the 30th of this month, my representatives will present the following proposal: The United States is prepared to cancel its deployment of Pershing II and ground-launch cruise missiles if the Soviets will dismantle their SS–20, SS–4, and SS–5 missiles. This would be an historic step. With Soviet agreement, we could together substantially reduce the dread threat of nuclear war which hangs over the people of Europe. This, like the first footstep on the Moon, would be a giant step for mankind.

Now, we intend to negotiate in good faith and go to Geneva willing to listen to and consider the proposals of our Soviet counterparts, but let me call to your attention the background against which our proposal is made.

During the past 6 years while the United States deployed no new intermediate-range missiles and withdrew 1,000 nuclear warheads from Europe, the Soviet Union deployed 750 warheads on mobile, accurate ballistic missiles. They now have 1,100 warheads on the SS–20s, SS–4s and 5s. And the United States has no comparable missiles. Indeed, the United States dismantled the last such missile in Europe over 15 years ago.

As we look to the future of the negotiations, it's also important to address certain Soviet claims, which left unrefuted could become critical barriers to real progress in arms control.

The Soviets assert that a balance of intermediate range nuclear forces already exists. That assertion is wrong. By any objective measure, as this chart indicates, the Soviet Union has developed an increasingly overwhelming advantage. They now enjoy a superiority on the order of six to one. The red is the Soviet buildup; the blue is our own. That is 1975, and that is 1981.

Now, Soviet spokesmen have suggested that moving their SS–20s behind the Ural Mountains will remove the threat to Europe. Well, as this map demonstrates, the SS–20s, even if deployed behind the Urals, will have a range that puts almost all of Western Europe—the great cities—Rome,

Athens, Paris, London, Brussels, Amsterdam, Berlin, and so many more—all of Scandinavia, all of the Middle East, all of northern Africa, all within range of these missiles which, incidentally, are mobile and can be moved on shorter notice. These little images mark the present location which would give them a range clear out into the Atlantic.

The second proposal that I've made to President Brezhnev concerns strategic weapons. The United States proposes to open negotiations on strategic arms as soon as possible next year.

I have instructed Secretary Haig to discuss the timing of such meetings with Soviet representatives. Substance, however, is far more important than timing. As our proposal for the Geneva talks this month illustrates, we can make proposals for genuinely serious reductions, but only if we take the time to prepare carefully.

The United States has been preparing carefully for resumption of strategic arms negotiations because we don't want a repetition of past disappointments. We don't want an arms control process that sends hopes soaring only to end in dashed expectations.

Now, I have informed President Brezhnev that we will seek to negotiate substantial reductions in nuclear arms which would result in levels that are equal and verifiable. Our approach to verification will be to emphasize openness and creativity, rather than the secrecy and suspicion which have undermined confidence in arms control in the past.

While we can hope to benefit from work done over the past decade in strategic arms negotiations, let us agree to do more than simply begin where these previous efforts left off. We can and should attempt major qualitative and quantitative progress. Only such progress can fulfill the hopes of our own people and the rest of the world. And let us see how far we can go in achieving truly substantial reductions in our strategic arsenals.

To symbolize this fundamental change in direction, we will call these negotiations START—Strategic Arms Reduction Talks.

The third proposal I've made to the Soviet Union is that we act to achieve equality at lower levels of conventional forces in Europe. The defense needs of the Soviet Union hardly call for maintaining more combat divisions in East Germany today than were in the whole Allied invasion force that landed in Normandy on D-Day. The Soviet Union could make no more convincing contribution to peace in Europe, and in the world, than by agreeing to reduce its conventional forces significantly and constrain the potential for sudden aggression.

Finally, I have pointed out to President Brezhnev that to maintain peace we must reduce the risks of surprise attack and the chance of war arising out of uncertainty or miscalculation.

I am renewing our proposal for a conference to develop effective measures that would reduce these dangers. At the current Madrid meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, we're laying the foundation for a Western-proposed conference on disarmament in Europe. This conference would discuss new measures to enhance stability and security in Europe. Agreement in this conference is within reach. I urge the Soviet Union to join us and many other nations who are ready to launch this important enterprise.

All of these proposals are based on the same fair-minded principles—substantial, militarily significant reduction in forces, equal ceilings for similar types of forces, and adequate provisions for verification.

My administration, our country, and I are committed to achieving arms reductions agreements based on these principles. Today I have outlined the kinds of bold, equitable proposals which the world expects of us. But we cannot reduce arms unilaterally. Success can only come if the Soviet Union will share our commitment, if it will demonstrate that its often-repeated professions of concern for peace will be matched by positive action.

Preservation of peace in Europe and the pursuit of arms reduction talks are of fundamental importance. But we must also help to bring peace and security to regions now torn by conflict, external intervention, and war.

The American concept of peace goes well beyond the absence of war. We foresee a flowering of economic growth and individual liberty in a world at peace.

At the economic summit conference in Cancún, I met with the leaders of 21 nations and sketched out our approach to global economic growth. We want to eliminate the barriers to trade and investment which hinder these critical incentives to growth, and we're working to develop new programs to help the poorest nations achieve self-sustaining growth.

And terms like "peace" and "security", we have to say, have little meaning for the oppressed and the destitute. They also mean little to the individual whose state has stripped him of human freedom and dignity. Wherever there is oppression, we must strive for the peace and security of individuals as well as states. We must recognize that progress and the pursuit of liberty is a necessary complement to military security. Nowhere has this fundamental truth been more boldly and clearly stated than in the Helsinki Accords of 1975. These accords have not yet been translated into living reality.

Today I've announced an agenda that can help to achieve peace, security, and freedom across the globe. In particular, I have made an important offer to forego entirely deployment of new American missiles in Europe if the Soviet Union is prepared to respond on an equal footing.

There is no reason why people in any part of the world should have to live in permanent fear of war or its spectre. I believe the time has come for all nations to act in a responsible spirit that doesn't threaten other states. I believe the time is right to move forward on arms control and the resolution of critical regional disputes at the conference table. Nothing will have a higher priority for me and for the American people over the coming months and years.

Addressing the United Nations 20 years ago, another American President described the goal that we still pursue today. He said, "If we all can persevere, if we can look beyond our shores and ambitions, then surely the age will dawn in which the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved."

He didn't live to see that goal achieved. I invite all nations to join with America today in the quest for such a world.

Thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 10 a.m. at the National Press Club Building. His address was broadcast live on radio and television.

Remarks of President Reagan and President Luis Herrera Campíns of Venezuela Following Their Meetings

November 18, 1981

President Reagan. President Herrera and I have just concluded a series of productive meetings in which we reviewed the relations between our two countries and the international situation.

The overall relations between the United States and Venezuela are excellent, and we've discovered that both nations share similar concerns about the international situation. We took a close look at development in the Caribbean Basin Region and discussed what can be done to promote peace, freedom, and representative government in that part of the world.

We agreed to pursue the initiative begun by Venezuela, Mexico, Canada, and the United States for the Caribbean Basin Region. We will continue, and strengthen where possible, our individual assistance programs and encourage other states to do likewise. And furthermore, we agreed that we must promote the economic and social development of the hemisphere through international cooperation. We can be expected to continue our opposition to any interference in the internal affairs of Western Hemisphere countries.

4TH DOCUMENT of Level 2 printed in KWIC format.

PAGE: Vol. I, p. 692

LENGTH: 110 words

HEADING: Aylesbury,

TEXT:

Aylesbury, borough (1916) and market town, Buckinghamshire, England, at the centre of a rich clay vale. Its importance as a market town has been enhanced by the growth of modern administrative ...

... market square in the centre of the old town is surrounded by such historic buildings as the county hall (1720) and the King's Head Inn (15th century) . The old grammar school building (1598) is now part of the County Museum. Pop. (1971) 40,569. 51 degree 50' ...

6TH DOCUMENT of Level 2 printed in KWIC format.

PAGE: Vol. IV, p. 579

LENGTH: 411 words

HEADING: Gloucester,

TEXT:

Gloucester, borough, county town (seat), and former county borough of Gloucestershire, England, lying on the River Severn between the Cotswolds (on the east) and the northern part of the Forest of Dean. A 16-mi (...

... work being especially noteworthy.

Gabled and timbered houses are still preserved and there are some terraces from the Regency period of the early 19th century. The New Inn dates from the 15th century, the Bell Inn from 1650, while the Fleece Hotel has a galleried courtyard (16th century) and a 12th-century vaulted cellar. Bishop John Hooper's lodging (16th century) is now a folk museum. Of ...

9TH DOCUMENT of Level 2 printed in KWIC format.

PAGE: Vol. V, p. 217

LENGTH: 270 words

HEADING: Huntingdon and Godmanchester,

TEXT:

Huntingdon and Godmanchester, borough, Cambridgeshire, England; it was the [pg. 218]administrative headquarters of the county of Huntingdon and Peterborough until that county's absorption in Cambridgeshire in 1974. It was formed ...

... Georgian. Its most notable buildings are grouped around the market place and include the town hall (1745), Walden House (17th century) , Falcon Inn (18th century) , Wycombe House, and All Saints' Church. The remains of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist (1160 - 90) is now the Cromwell Museum (England's Lord Protector was born in the community in 1599).

Godmanchester, in contrast to Huntingdon, is essentially agricultural in character, with ...

15TH DOCUMENT of Level 2 printed in KWIC format.

PAGE: Vol. VIII, p. 740

LENGTH: 162 words

HEADING: Rye,

TEXT:

Rye, ancient borough and former English Channel port, county of East Sussex, England, on a hill by the River Rother. The community's cobbled streets and timber-framed and Georgian houses attract many ...

... century clock. Other buildings of special interest include the old grammar school (1636), the town hall (1742), and the Mermaid Inn (c. 1420). From the 15th century the port declined as silting proceeded (the river mouth is now 2 mi away), and the town has grown comparatively little outside its ...

18TH DOCUMENT of Level 2 printed in KWIC format.

PAGE: Vol. IX, p. 914

LENGTH: 313 words

HEADING: Tewkesbury,

TEXT:

Tewkesbury, an ancient market town and borough, Gloucestershire, England, at the confluence of the Severn and Warwickshire Avon rivers. The town's name reputedly derives from that of the Saxon monk Theoc (Theuk), who ...

... Roses, the Battle of Tewkesbury was of great significance.

Among Tewkesbury's buildings of architectural interest is the Black Bear, 1308, which is perhaps the oldest inn in Gloucestershire; another inn, the Hop Pole, is mentioned in The Pickwick Papers of the 19th- century novelist Charles Dickens. There are also many fine old houses, ranging from half-timbered Tudor and Jacobean, with overhanging upper storys, to ...

RD

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 24, 1988

TO: TONY DOLAN

FROM **RHETT B. DAWSON**
Assistant to the President for Operations

Attached is the Guildhall speech with edits that were not taken from NSC and Griscom, that both feel are important and should be made before the President reviews the speech. Please have these changes made and a final sent back to my office for the President to see today. Thanks.

(Dolan)
May 23, 1988
9:00 p.m.

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

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

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

historic trip -- are glad to be in England once again. After a long journey, we feel among friends; and with all our hearts we thank you for having us here.

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

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

Not that we Americans haven't had our moments. I once dared to remind you of your own youthful and rambunctious days when an English king angrily asked one of the Dukes whether it was true that he had just burned down the local cathedral. Yes, replied the Duke, "but only because I thought the archbishop was inside." And then we do hear stories from the French about your famous

absorption with all things British, they even claim this headline actually appeared in a British newspaper: "Fog Covers Channel. Continent cut off."

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

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

Well, whatever I learned here about our differences, let me also assure you I learned more about how much we have in common...and the depth of our friendship. And, you know, I have often mentioned this in the States but I have never had an opportunity to tell a British audience how during that first visit here I was, like most Americans, anxious to see some of those 400-year-old inns I had been told abound in this country. Well, a driver took me and a couple of other people to an old

inn, a pub really, what we would call a "mom and pop place." This quite elderly lady was waiting on us, and finally, hearing us talk to each other, she said, "You're Americans, aren't you?" We said we were. "Oh," she said, "there were quite a lot of your young chaps down the road during the war, based down there." And she added, "They used to come in here of an evening, and they'd have songfest. And they called me Mom, and they called the old man Pop." Then her mood changed and she said, "It was Christmas Eve. And, you know, we were all alone and feeling a bit down. And, suddenly, in they came, burst through the door, and they had presents for me and Pop." And by this time she wasn't looking at us anymore. She was looking off into the distance and with tears in her eyes remembering that time. And she said, "Big strapping lads they was, from a place called Ioway."

From a place called Ioway; and Oregon, California, Texas, New Jersey, Georgia. Here with other young men from Lancaster, Hampshire, Glasgow and Dorset -- all of them caught up in the terrible paradoxes of that time: that young men must wage war to end war; and die for freedom so that freedom itself might live.

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

It was for these causes of peace and freedom that the people of Great Britain, the United States and other allied nations have for 44 years made enormous sacrifices to keep our military ready and our alliance strong. And for these causes we have in this

decade embarked on a new post-war strategy, a strategy of public candor about the moral and fundamental differences between statism and democracy but a strategy also of vigorous diplomatic engagement. A policy that rejects both the inevitability of war or the permanence of totalitarian rule; a policy based on realism that seeks not just treaties for treaties' sake but the recognition of fundamental issues and their eventual resolution.

The pursuit of this policy has just now taken me to Moscow and let me say: I believe this policy is bearing fruit. Quite possibly, we are ~~breaking out of~~ beginning to take down the barriers created during the post-war era; quite possibly, we are entering a new time in history, ~~one made possible by authentic~~ a time of real change in the Soviet Union. ~~and its ideology, a change that itself results from~~ But if so, it is because of the steadfastness of the allied democracies over the past 40 years and especially in this decade. Only time will tell.

I saw evidence of this change at the Kremlin. But before I report to you on events in Moscow, I hope you will permit me to say something that has been much on my mind for several years now but most especially over the past few days while I was in the Soviet Union.

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

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

And yet it was our zero-option plan, much maligned when first proposed here in my address at Westminster, that is the basis for the I.N.F. treaty [the instruments of ~~verification~~ ratification of which Mr. Gorbachev and I exchanged just 24 hours ago;] the first treaty ever that did not just control offensive weapons but reduced them and, yes, actually eliminated an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles. Similarly, just as these voices urged retreat or slow withdrawal at every point of Communist expansion, we have seen what a forward strategy for freedom and direct aid to those struggling for self-determination in Afghanistan can achieve.

This treaty and the development in Afghanistan are momentous events. Not conclusive. But momentous.

And that is why although history will, as it has about the skeptics and naysayers of any time, duly note that we too heard voices of denial and doubt, it is the voices of hope and strength that will be best remembered. And here I want to say that through all the troubles of the last decade, one such voice, a voice of eloquence and firmness, a voice that proclaimed proudly the cause of the Western Alliance and human freedom, has been heard. And even as that voice never sacrificed its

anti-Communist credentials or realistic, hard-headed appraisal of change in the Soviet Union, it did, because it came from the longest-serving leader in the Alliance, become one of the first ~~to recognize real change when real change was underway, and~~ to suggest that we could, as that voice put it, "do business" with Mr. Gorbachev.

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

And while your leadership and the vision of the British people have been an inspiration not just to my own people but to all of those who love freedom and yearn for peace, I know you join me in a deep sense of appreciation for the efforts and support of the leaders and peoples of all the democratic allies. Whether deploying crucial weapons of deterrence, standing fast in the Persian Gulf, combating terrorism and aggression by outlaw regimes or helping freedom fighters around the globe, rarely in history has any grouping of free nations acted with such firmness and dispatch, and on so many fronts. In a process reaching back as far as the founding of NATO and the Common Market, the House of Western Europe, the House of Democracy has stood as one; and, joined by the United States and other democracies such as Japan, moved forward with diplomatic achievement and a startling growth

of democracies and free markets all across the globe -- in short, an expansion of the frontiers of freedom and a lessening of the chances of war. I believe history will record our time as the time of the renaissance of the democracies; a time when faced with those twin threats of nuclear terror and totalitarian rule that so darkened this century, the democracies ignored the voices of retreat and despair and found deep within themselves the resources for a renewal of strength and purpose.

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

Yesterday, at ____ Greenwich time, Mr. Gorbachev and I [exchanged instruments of ~~verification~~ ratification of the I.N.F. treaty.] (Report on INF and START and other negotiations.)

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

So equally important items on the agenda dealt with critical issues like regional conflicts, human rights and bilateral exchanges. With regard to regional conflicts, here too, we can see important progress. We are now in the third week of the pull-out of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. The importance of

this step cannot be underestimated. (Report on Afghanistan, and other regional conflicts.)

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

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

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

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

But let us also remember the strategy we have adopted is one that provides for setbacks along the way as well as progress, indeed, just as our strategy anticipated positive change, it provides for the opposite as well. So, let us never engage in

self-delusion; let us remember that the jury is not yet in; let us be ever vigilant. And while we embrace honest change when it occurs; let us also be wary.

But let us be confident too. Prime Minister, perhaps you remember that upon accepting Her Majesty's gracious invitation to address the members of the Parliament in 1982, I suggested then that the world could well be at a turning point when the two great threats to life in this century -- nuclear war and totalitarian rule -- might now be overcome. I attempted then to give an accounting of the Western Alliance and what might lie ahead -- including my own view of the prospects for peace and freedom. I suggested that the hard evidence of the totalitarian experiment was now in and that this evidence had led to an uprising of the intellect and will, one that reaffirmed the dignity of the individual in the face of the modern state and could well lead to a worldwide movement towards democracy.

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

free men and women worked together in a crusade for freedom, a crusade that would be not so much a struggle of armed might, not so much a test of bombs and rockets but a test of faith and will.

Well, that crusade for freedom, that crusade for peace is well underway. We have found the will. We have kept the faith. And, whatever happens, whatever triumphs or disappointments ahead, we must hold fast to our strategy of strength and candor -- our strategy of hope, hope in the eventual triumph of freedom. Let us take further, practical steps. I am hopeful that our own National Endowment for Democracy, which has helped democratic institutions in many lands, will spark parallel organizations in European nations. I praise the Council of Europe which, in conjunction with the European Parliament, has held two international democracy conferences including one on Third World democracy. The latest conference has called for establishment of an International Institute of Democracy; the United States heartily endorses this proposal.

But as we move forward with these steps, let us not fail to note the lessons we have learned along the way in developing our over-all strategy. We have learned the first objective of the adversaries of freedom is to make free nations question their own faith in freedom, to make us think that adhering to our principles and speaking out against foreign aggression or human rights abuses is somehow an act of belligerence. Over the long run such inhibitions make free peoples taciturn, then silent and ultimately confused about their first principles and half-hearted about their cause. This is the first and most important defeat a

free people can ever suffer. For truly, when free peoples cease telling the truth about and to their adversaries, they cease telling the truth to themselves.

It is in this sense that the best indicator of how much we care about freedom is what we say about freedom; it is in this sense, that words truly are actions. And there is one added and quite extraordinary benefit to this sort of realism and public candor: This is also the best way to avoid war or conflict. Too often in the past the adversaries of freedom forgot the reserves of strength and resolve among free nations, too often they interpreted conciliatory words as weakness, too often they miscalculated by underestimating willingness of free men and women to resist to the end. Words for freedom remind them otherwise.

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

Just a few years ago, Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth and I stood at the Normandy beaches to commemorate the selflessness that comes from such pride and faith. And, I wonder if you might permit me to recall this morning another such moment, one that took place 3 months after OVERLORD and the rescue of Europe.

Operation MARKET GARDEN, it was called. A plan to suddenly drop one British and two American airborne divisions on the Netherlands and launch a great attack in the flanks of the Siegfried Line and into the heart of Germany. A battalion of

British paratroopers was given the great task of seizing the bridge deep in enemy territory at Arnhem. For a terrible, terrible 10 days, in one of the most valiant exploits in the annals of war, they held out against hopeless odds. A few years ago, a reunion of those magnificent veterans, British, Americans and other of our allies was held in New York City. From the dispatch by New York Times reporter Maurice Carroll there was this paragraph: "'Look at him,' said Henry Knap an Amsterdam newspaperman who headed the Dutch Underground's intelligence operation in Arnhem. He gestured toward General John Frost, a bluff Briton who had commanded the battalion that held the bridge. 'Look at him...still with that black moustache. If you put him at the end of a bridge even today and said 'keep it,' he'd keep it.'"

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

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

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

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

As those veterans of Arnhem view their time, so we must view ours; we also are on a pilgrimage, a pilgrimage towards those things we honor and love: human dignity, the hope of peace and freedom for all peoples and for all nations. And I have always cherished the belief that all of history is such a pilgrimage and that our Maker, while never denying us free will nor altering its immediate effects, over time guides us with a wise and provident hand, giving direction to history and slowly bringing good from evil -- leading us ever so slowly but ever so relentlessly and lovingly to a time when the will of man and God are as one again.

I also cherish the belief that what we have done together in Moscow and throughout this decade has helped bring mankind along the road of that pilgrimage. If this be so, it is due to prayerful recognition of what we are about as a civilization and a people. I mean, of course, the great steps forward, the great civilized ideas that comprise so much of your greatness: the development of law embodied by your constitutional tradition, the idea of restraint on centralized power and the notion of human rights as established in your Magna Carta, the idea of

representative government as embodied by your mother of all parliaments.

But we go beyond even this. It was your own Evelyn Waugh who reminded us that "civilization -- and by this I do not mean talking cinemas and tinned food nor even surgery and hygienic houses but the whole moral and artistic organization of Europe -- has not in itself the power of survival." It came into being, he said, through the [Judeo-]Christian tradition and "without it has no significance or power to command allegiance. It is no longer possible," he wrote, "to accept the benefits of civilisation and at the same time deny the supernatural basis on which it rests...."

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

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

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

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

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

Here then is our formula, our ultra secret for the years ahead, for completing our crusade for freedom. Here is the strength of our civilization and the source of our belief in the rights of humanity. Our faith is in a higher law, a greater destiny. We believe in -- indeed, we see today evidence of -- the power of prayer to change all things. And like the founding fathers of both our lands, we posit human rights; we hold that humanity was meant not to be dishonored by the all-powerful state but to live in the image and likeness of him who made us.

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

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