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SIX ARMIES  
IN  
NORMANDY

*From D-Day to the Liberation of Paris*

JUNE 6TH—AUGUST 25TH, 1944

JOHN KEEGAN

*The Viking Press*    *New York*

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were, from east and west, at St Côme-du-Mont, Chef-du-Pont and Pont l'Abbé. Thereafter the line of objectives, from Pont l'Abbé back to Exit 4, ran through the open countryside and would have to be defended, if and when captured, by grit and hope.

The danger to this open flank would come, it was believed, from the two German divisions which it was known had long been stationed in the Cotentin, the 709th on the east coast and the 243rd on the west, and the recently arrived 91st, which had unfortunately been positioned exactly astride the airborne area. Moreover, while the 709th and 243rd were static formations – what the Germans called *bodenständige*, 'ground holding', a euphemistic admission of their total lack of mechanical transport and the low physical fitness of their soldiers – the 91st was composed of young men who had actually been trained in air movement. Still, between them they fielded no more than twenty-four battalions against the eighteen which the Americans could parachute. Moreover, several of the German battalions were not German at all in composition, but manned by more-or-less willing volunteers from the army of prisoners whom the Germans had taken in the east during 1941–2. They were indeed known as East (*Ost*) Battalions, for to have called them Russian would have been inaccurate. They represented for the most part the peripheral and unassimilated peoples of the Russian empire. Cossacks, Georgians, Turkomen, Armenians, Volga Tartars, and Azerbaijanis, who had swapped a tenuous sense of citizenship for the guarantee of regular meals, and might be expected to waver in their new loyalty if pressed to fight for their supper. That prospect rather bettered the odds, which the Americans calculated to yield a more or less even fight on the first day, when most of the defenders would be pinned in their fixed positions. At worst, it was thought, the Germans would be able to find five battalions to mount a counter-attack against the parachutists, and to concentrate no armour against them until the third day. The forecast was slightly optimistic. There was also in the area a scratch panzer battalion, No. 100, equipped with old French tanks and makeshift assault guns, and the 6th Parachute Regiment, counting three battalions of highly trained soldiers, whose average age was 17½ (it was 36 in the 709th Division). But even this addition of a force so closely similar in quality to that of the American need not mean that the operation was too risky to be attempted (as Air Marshal Leigh-Mallory had argued). It did mean that the Americans would have to put forth every shred of that Red

Indian bravery which, with a last-minute sprouting of Apache haircuts and smearing of red and white warpaint, many of the young bloods in the battalions were nerving themselves to emulate if they were to come through.

The approaching moment of departure evoked other rituals, perhaps made all the more necessary by the disturbing effects on tautened nerves of the invasion's postponement from June 5th to June 6th. A rash of fights broke out, as men who had steeled themselves to leave lost their tempers over minor irritations in the resulting decrescendo. The divisional staffs hastily recalled the regimental bands which had filled the encampments with music during the recent hours, replayed over the public address systems the hit records of the moment and found new films to show. When word of the renewed order of departure came, an officer of the 377th Parachute Artillery, the gunner regiment of the Screaming Eagles, recalls that he found the men to whom he was to pass it watching a Ted Lewis movie, *Is Everybody Happy?* and reflected, as he climbed on to the stage to interrupt it, that 'this was just the way it would happen in Hollywood'. There was an element of Hollywood in the round of hand-pressings and exchange of home addresses which followed, avowals of comradeship to death and promises to bereaved relations if a friend should not return. There was Hollywood too in the parting speech of Colonel Wolverton, who was to be killed the following day, to his battalion of the 506th Parachute Infantry: 'Although I am not a religious man, I would like all of you to kneel with me in prayer – and do not look down with a bowed head, but look up, so that you can see God and ask His blessing and help in what we are about to do.'<sup>2</sup> There was even more Hollywood in the ferocious final briefing by Colonel Howard 'Skeets' Johnson of the 501st, which he concluded by whipping out his jump knife, brandishing it above his head and screaming: 'I swear to you that before tomorrow night this knife will be buried in the back of the blackest German in Normandy.'<sup>3</sup> His men screamed back in exultation. But many more sought consolation in quiet, personal religion, making their confessions if they were Catholic, as were so many from the big industrial cities of the north and east where the divisions recruited, or simply retreating into private prayer. One of those who prayed most fervently was the commander of the All American, Matthew B. Ridgway, whose calm and handsome features and soldierly bearing concealed a nature of the



deepest romanticism. June 6th was to be the day of his first combat jump. The night before, as on other nights awaiting an ordeal, he lay with his God in the dark, listening for the words spoken to Joshua, 'I will not fail thee nor forsake thee', and, 'in all humbleness, without in any way seeking to compare His trials to mine', reflected on the Agony of Our Lord in the Garden of Gethsemane and told himself that 'if He could face with calmness of soul the great suffering He knew was to be His fate, then I surely could endure any lesser ordeal of the flesh or spirit that might be awaiting me'.<sup>4</sup>

## Flight

In the days before June 6th the airfields near which the tented staging camps had been pitched had gathered in the hundreds of aeroplanes needed to drop the 13,000 parachutists into action. Eight hundred and twenty-two were needed for the first drop, all C-47s, as the army called the twin-engined DC-3 airliner with which Douglas Company had revolutionized internal air travel in the United States before the war. Painted now in khaki with three broad white stripes on each wing, which was to be the inter-Allied recognition sign for D-Day and after, each could carry eighteen fully laden parachutists, besides the pilot, co-pilot, navigator and crew chief. These, the permanent crew of the aircraft, belonged to the Army Air Force but, despite the extremely risky nature of their mission, they stood low on the totem pole of its prestige. Officially they were rated 'non-combat', because the C-47 was not armed and could not carry bombs and, as most aircrews 'would rather lay an egg or shoot a gun than fly a truck or tractor', it was in the nature of things that the least qualified were assigned to the Troop Carrier Commands rather than the Bomber or Fighter Wings. The ugly ducklings' disgruntlement was heightened by their knowledge that parachute dropping was both technically demanding and operationally hazardous, since it required the pilots to fly in tight formation at heights of 600-700 feet and at low speed - about 120 mph - which made them excellent targets both for fighters and anti-aircraft guns. The crews of the 52nd Troop Carrier Wing, which had worked with the All American since the Sicily landings, had developed none the less a close and mutually trustful relationship with the division, based on some plain speaking early on after numbers of parachutists had been dropped to drown in the Mediterranean. One of its groups, however, was inexperienced and another

had been withdrawn for nearly a year before D-Day to fly transport missions, a common experience for all 'non-combat' units. It had certainly been that of the other Wings in IX Troop Carrier Command, which as a result were undertrained, particularly in night flying. And the drop of both divisions was to be by night.

But night comes late in an English June and the trucks taking the men to the runways unloaded them besides their aircraft in daylight. Eighteen to each stick (planeload), they were tipped out with a mountain of packages which it seemed impossible to distribute about a human body. With each other's help, and then that of the aircrew, they began. Private Donald Burgett, of the 506th Parachute Infantry, 101st Airborne Division, contemplated his load.

One suit of Olive Drab, worn under my jump suit - this was an order for everyone - helmet, boots, gloves, main parachute, reserve parachute, Mae West, rifle, .45 automatic pistol, trench knife, jump knife, hunting knife, machete, one cartridge belt, two bandoliers, two cans of machine gun ammo totalling 676 rounds of .30 ammo, 66 rounds of .45 ammo, one Hawkins mine capable of blowing off the track of a tank, four blocks of TNT, one entrenching tool with two blasting caps taped on the outside of the steel part, three first-aid kits, two morphine needles, one gas mask, a canteen of water, three days' supply of K rations, two days' supply of D rations, six fragmentation grenades, one Gammon grenade, one orange and one red smoke grenade, one orange panel, one blanket, one raincoat, one change of socks and underwear, two cartons of cigarettes.<sup>5</sup>

Burgett's multiplicity of knives reflected not a particular blood-thirstiness but an anxiety, shared by all American parachutists, about ease of escape after landing from his parachute harness which, unlike the British pattern, was secured not only by a single quick release catch but by five buckles. Although in theory easily opened, in practice they all too often defeated thumbs and fingers, because the harness served not merely to support the man in descent but also to secure the enormous load of kit close to his body, was therefore strained iron-hard about him, and had to be cut if he was not to be dragged when he touched ground. Burgett was so heavily loaded this evening that he actually could not accoutre himself, even by the

German soldiers who had turned out to stand curfew guard over the volunteer fire brigade. Two, loaded with mortar bombs, had fallen into the interior of the burning house and been killed there, either by the flames or, more mercifully, by the detonation of their loads. Others had hung up on roofs or trees, to be riddled by the Germans before they could cut themselves free. Then, as those lucky enough to land unscathed were taken prisoner or made their escape, the firing had died down and the Germans had gone back to bed.

The readiness of the German defenders of Normandy to observe the normal routines of military life throughout the events of June 6th is one of the stranger features of that extraordinary day. Soldiers are incurably fond of sleep; air raids had become commonplace along the Normandy coast; but the parachuting was a novelty which makes the Germans' adherence to domestic convention inexplicable. Nevertheless, back to bed the garrison of Ste Mère-Eglise went. Thus when Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Krause, commanding the 3rd/505th, came to earth a mile west of the village, exactly in the field he had selected for his assembly, signalled the rest of his stick and took stock of his surroundings, the resistance he was expecting to encounter was already evaporating. His stick was quickly divided into four and sent in opposite directions to collect strays, with orders to be back in forty-five minutes. This netting gathered another ninety Americans, and a drunk Frenchman out after curfew, who revealed that the German infantry battalion which had garrisoned the village until a week before was now camped outside, leaving it in the hands of a transport and supply company. Krause quickly re-organized his command into two companies and marched on the village, keeping to the hedgerows. He had issued, for no good reason 'except that it sounded hard-boiled', the order that there was to be no rifle firing until daylight; 'use grenades, knives and bayonets only'. As the outline of the buildings showed through the dawn, he detached six patrols to set up blocks on all the roads out of the village except the one he planned to use himself. When he calculated that they were in place, he left what remained of his force, crept into the centre, found the cable point carrying all German communications from Cherbourg and cut it through. "That was one he wished to boast about later." Finally he called up his main body and sent them to search the buildings around the Place de l'Eglise. Thirty Germans were captured in or next to their beds, eleven were shot on the run, rather more made it into the countryside. At 5 a.m. he sent a runner

to find the regimental commander, Colonel William Ekman, with the message, 'I am in Ste Mère-Eglise' and, Napierlike, an hour later, the message 'I have secured Ste Mère-Eglise'. But the runner went astray.

So many messages went astray that morning, or remained unsent because of the lack of means to transmit them, that the misdirection of Krause's news is entirely unremarkable. It did not in truth go entirely astray since it was passed to General Ridgway. But the runner failed to tell him for whom it was intended and Ridgway did not have a radio with which to inquire of Colonel Ekman, who was less than 1,000 yards away, if he had got the word by another route. Moreover, his mind was chiefly occupied with the fight for the bridges across the Merderet. In consequence Ekman continued to believe until mid-morning that Ste Mère-Eglise was in German hands, thus distorting what might otherwise have been a smooth deployment of his three battalions.

His 2nd Battalion, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin Vandevort, had made one of the very few compact and accurate landings of the night, and by daylight had collected 575 men out of the 630 who had jumped. Vandevort had broken a leg on impact, as had so many of the senior officers whose slightly greater age made their bones vulnerable to shocks which the private soldiers' absorbed unhurt, but had commandeered a small farm-cart and, like an eighteenth-century Spanish general miraculously endowed with a lion heart, had ordered his men to wheel him on to the battlefield. His mission was to secure the northern approaches to Ste Mère-Eglise, in particular by erecting a substantial roadblock at Neuville-au-Plain, astride Route nationale 13, down which a German counter-attack was expected. At 6.15 a.m. when almost there, he got word from Ekman, with whom he was in radio contact, that he should 'halt in place'. For an hour and three-quarters he heard nothing more, until at 8 a.m. he was subjected to one of those order-counter-order-disorder episodes so characteristic of fluid operations. Ekman first signalled, 'Have heard nothing from the 3rd Battalion'; at 8.10, 'Turn back and capture Ste Mère-Eglise'; at 8.16, 'Proceed to Neuville; I think 3rd Battalion is in Ste Mère-Eglise'; at 8.17, 'Disregard the last order; move on Ste Mère-Eglise.'<sup>18</sup> Vandevort's response to this flurry of contradictions was remarkably judicious, all the more so in view of the pain he was suffering. He at once turned his force to retrace its steps, but not

*Vandevort is spelled "Vandevoort" in longest Day*

## APPENDIX

### *British, American and German Divisions in Normandy*

June 6th–August 25th, 1944

(with dates of arrival)

#### **21st (British) Army Group**

##### **Second (British) Army**

Guards Armoured Division	June 28th
7th Armoured Division	June 8th
11th Armoured Division	June 13th
79th Armoured Division (specialized armour)	D-Day
6th Airborne Division	D-Day
15th (Scottish) Division	June 14th
43rd (Wessex) Division	June 24th
49th (West Riding) Division	D-Day
50th (Northumbrian) Division	D-Day
51st (Highland) Division	D-Day
53rd (Welsh) Division	June 27th
59th (Staffordshire) Division	June 27th

##### **First Canadian Army**

4th Canadian Armoured Division	July 31st
1st Polish Armoured Division	July 31st
2nd Canadian Division	July 7th
3rd Canadian Division	D-Day

##### **12th US Army Group**

##### **First and Third US Armies**

2nd Armoured Division	July 2nd
3rd Armoured Division	July 9th

4th Armoured Division  
 5th Armoured Division  
 6th Armoured Division  
 7th Armoured Division  
 2nd French Armoured Division  
 82nd Airborne Division  
 101st Airborne Division  
 1st Infantry Division  
 2nd Infantry Division  
 4th Infantry Division  
 5th Infantry Division  
 8th Infantry Division  
 9th Infantry Division  
 28th Infantry Division  
 29th Infantry Division  
 30th Infantry Division  
 35th Infantry Division  
 79th Infantry Division  
 80th Infantry Division  
 83rd Infantry Division  
 90th Infantry Division

July 28th  
 August 2nd  
 July 28th  
 August 14th  
 August 1st  
 D-Day  
 D-Day  
 D-Day  
 June 8th  
 D-Day  
 July 16th  
 July 8th  
 June 14th  
 July 27th  
 June 7th  
 June 15th  
 July 11th  
 June 19th  
 August 8th  
 June 27th  
 June 10th

### Army Groups B and G (German)

(original divisional locations on Map 1, p. xviii)

#### Seventh Army

77th Infantry Division  
 91st Infantry Division  
 243rd Infantry Division  
 265th Infantry Division  
 266th Infantry Division  
 275th Infantry Division  
 343rd Infantry Division

352nd Infantry Division  
 353rd Infantry Division  
 709th Infantry Division  
 716th Infantry Division  
 2nd Parachute Division  
 3rd Parachute Division  
 5th Parachute Division

#### Fifteenth Army

48th Infantry Division  
 84th Infantry Division

mid-August  
 by July 30th

85th Infantry Division  
 326th Infantry Division  
 331st Infantry Division  
 344th Infantry Division  
 346th Infantry Division  
 711th Infantry Division  
 17th Luftwaffe Field Division

August 5th  
 by July 30th  
 by July 30th  
 mid-August  
 by June 29th  
 by June 29th  
 mid-August

#### Nineteenth Army

271st Infantry Division  
 272nd Infantry Division  
 277th Infantry Division  
 338th Infantry Division

July 24th  
 July 24th  
 June 29th  
 mid-August

#### First Army

276th Infantry Division  
 708th Infantry Division

June 29th  
 by July 30th

#### From outside France and Belgium

89th Infantry Division (Norway)  
 363rd Infantry Division (Denmark)  
 16th Luftwaffe Field Division (Netherlands)

early-August  
 by July 30th  
 mid-June

#### Armoured Divisions

1st SS Panzer Division  
 2nd Panzer Division  
 2nd SS Panzer Division  
 9th Panzer Division  
 9th SS Panzer Division  
 10th SS Panzer Division } from Russia/  
 12th SS Panzer Division  
 17th SS Panzergrenadier Division  
 21st Panzer Division  
 116th Panzer Division  
 Panzer Lehr Division

late June  
 in Normandy  
 late June  
 early August  
 June 25th  
 In Normandy  
 June 12th  
 In Normandy  
 July 20th  
 June 8th



## Order of Battle of the Divisions Treated Extensively in the Text

### US 82nd Airborne Division

505th Parachute Infantry Regiment  
507th Parachute Infantry Regiment  
508th Parachute Infantry Regiment  
325th Glider Infantry Regiment  
376th Parachute Field Artillery Regiment  
319th Glider Field Artillery Regiment  
307th Airborne Engineer Battalion

### US 101st Airborne Division

501st Parachute Infantry Regiment  
502nd Parachute Infantry Regiment  
506th Parachute Infantry Regiment  
327th Glider Infantry Regiment  
377th Parachute Field Artillery Regiment  
321st Glider Field Artillery Regiment  
907th Glider Field Artillery Regiment  
326th Airborne Engineer Battalion

### 3rd Canadian Division

The Royal Winnipeg Rifles  
The Regina Rifle Regiment  
1st Battalion Canadian Scottish Regiment  
The Queen's Own Rifles of Canada  
Le Régiment de la Chaudière  
The North Shore (New Brunswick) Regiment  
The Highland Light Infantry of Canada  
The Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry Highlanders  
The North Nova Scotia Highlanders  
17th Duke of York's Canadian Hussars (reconnaissance regiment)  
12th, 13th, and 14th Regiments, Royal Canadian Artillery  
3rd Anti-Tank Regiment, Royal Canadian Artillery  
The Cameron Highlanders of Ottawa (machine-gun regiment)

### 15th (Scottish) Division

8th Battalion The Royal Scots  
6th Battalion The Royal Scots Fusiliers  
6th Battalion The King's Own Scottish Borderers  
9th Battalion The Cameronians  
2nd Battalion The Glasgow Highlanders  
7th Battalion The Seaforth Highlanders  
10th Battalion The Highland Light Infantry  
2nd Battalion The Gordon Highlanders  
2nd Battalion The Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders  
15th Reconnaissance Regiment, Royal Armoured Corps  
131st, 181st and 190th Field Regiments, Royal Artillery  
97th Anti-Tank Regiment, Royal Artillery  
1st Battalion The Middlesex Regiment (machine-gun regiment)

### 11th Armoured Division

23rd Hussars  
2nd Fife and Forfar Yeomanry  
3rd Royal Tank Regiment  
8th Battalion The Rifle Brigade (motor infantry)  
3rd Battalion The Monmouthshire Regiment  
4th Battalion The King's Shropshire Light Infantry  
1st Battalion The Herefordshire Regiment  
2nd Northamptonshire Yeomanry (reconnaissance)  
13th Regiment, Royal Horse Artillery  
151st Field Regiment, Royal Artillery  
75th Anti-Tank Regiment, Royal Artillery

### 21st Panzer Division

Panzer Regiment 22  
Panzergrenadier Regiment 125  
Panzergrenadier Regiment 192  
Panzer Artillerie Regiment 155  
Panzer Aufklärung Abteilung 21 (reconnaissance)  
Panzer Jäger Abteilung 200 (anti-tank)  
Panzer Pionier Bataillon 220 (engineers)

### 1st Polish Armoured Division

1st Polish Armoured Regiment  
 2nd Polish Armoured Regiment  
 24th Lancers  
 10th Dragoons (motor infantry)  
 Podolian Light Infantry  
 8th Light Infantry  
 9th Light Infantry  
 10th Mounted Rifle Regiment (reconnaissance)  
 1st and 2nd Field Artillery Regiments  
 1st Anti-Tank Regiment

### 2nd French Armoured Division (2e Division blindée)

501e Régiment de Chars de Combat  
 12e Régiment de Chasseurs d'Afrique  
 12e Régiment de Cuirassiers  
 Régiment de marche du Tchad (motor infantry)  
 1er Régiment de marche des Spahis marocains (reconnaissance)  
 Régiment blindé de Fusiliers-Marins (anti-tank)  
 3e Régiment d'Artillerie coloniale  
 64e Régiment d'Artillerie  
 40e Régiment d'Artillerie nord-africain  
 13e Bataillon du Génie (engineers)

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Sp. of Pt. du Hoc, from  
NYT - The Longest  
Day, Time mag.

MEMO TO PRES.  
From R.C. of the  
Annotated agenda  
April 16, 1984

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: POINTE DU HOC  
WEDNESDAY, JUNE 6, 1984

We are here to mark that day in history when the Allied  
armies joined in battle to reclaim this continent to liberty.

For 4 long years, much of Europe had been under a terrible  
shadow. Free nations had fallen, Jews cried out in the camps,  
millions cried out for liberation. Europe was enslaved, and the  
world prayed for its rescue. Here, in Normandy, the rescue  
began. Here the Allies stood, and fought against tyranny in a  
giant undertaking unparalleled in human history.

ENCL. AMERICANA  
Vol. 4  
p. 488

A Pocket History of  
the U.S. p. 436

Translated Agenda

The Longest Day

see map in front  
of this day

We stand on a lonely, windswept point on the northern shore  
of France. As I speak, the air is soft and full of sunlight.

But 40 years ago at this moment, the air was dense with smoke and  
the cries of men; the air was filled with the crack of rifle fire  
and the roar of cannon. At dawn on the morning of the 6th of  
June, 1944, 225 American Rangers jumped off the British landing  
craft and ran to the bottom of these cliffs. Their mission was  
one of the most difficult [and daring of the Invasion:] to climb  
these sheer and desolate cliffs and take out the enemy guns. The  
Allies (had been told that the mightiest of those guns were here,  
and they would be trained on the beaches to stop the Allied  
advance.

Woodsfield's  
"I Climbed the  
Cliffs with the  
Rangers" in  
SAT. EVEN. POST  
Aug. 19, 1944  
p. 16-17  
225 RANGERS

The Longest Day  
by Jonathan Bryan  
p. 237

The Rangers looked up and saw the enemy soldiers at the edge  
of the cliffs shooting down at them with machine guns and  
throwing grenades. And the American Rangers began to climb.  
They shot rope ladders over the face of these cliffs and they  
began to pull themselves up. and when one Ranger would fall  
another would take his place, and when one rope was cut a Ranger

German snipers  
from the beach  
p. 237

Machine guns, per  
"I Climbed..."

Grenades -  
The Longest Day  
p. 237 and  
"I Climbed..."  
p. 17

The page  
p. 237  
p. 18-19

June 6, 1944  
1939 } May 13, 1940  
fall of France  
see below  
France)  
Netherlands  
see below  
encyclop. article  
X  
R. ... but  
does anyone else?  
X  
MILES DA  
The Longest Day  
expected  
is another of  
up to 6000  
ibid  
155 mm  
guns



Raps Cut - per  
The Longest Day  
p. 236

ibid p. 238  
ibid p. 238

see "I  
Climbed!"

make chronological

would grab another and begin his climb again. They climbed, and shot back and held their footing; ~~and in time the enemy pulled back;~~ in time the Rangers held the cliffs; and soon, one by one, the Rangers pulled themselves over the top -- and in seizing the firm land at the top of these cliffs they began to seize back the continent of Europe.

Longest Day  
pp. 136-38

"I Climbed!"  
pp. 16-19

One in Reinforcements  
D-Day Beaches  
Revisited by  
Patricia Bonnell  
Doubleday & Co  
NY, 1966  
p. 136

Forty years ago as I speak they were fighting to hold these cliffs. They had radioed back and asked for reinforcements. They were told: There aren't any. But they did not give up. It was not in them to give up. They would not be turned back; they held the cliffs.

The Longest Day - p. 139

Two hundred twenty-five came here. After a day of fighting only 90 could still bear arms.

[Behind me] is a memorial that symbolizes the Ranger daggers that were thrust into the top of these cliffs. And before me are the men who put them there.

Jim Kuhn  
NH Advance  
7/24/89

62 RANGERS  
scheduled now

These are the boys of Pointe du Hoc. These are the men who took the cliffs. These are the champions who helped free a continent; these are the heroes who helped end a war.

ibid  
Longest Day  
p. 136-38

see Time  
mag.

"I think  
Continually  
There are first  
study of real  
Stephen  
water

Gentlemen, I look at you and I think of the words of Stephen Spender's poem. You are men who in your "lives fought for life . . . and left the vivid air signed with (your) honor."

Last  
Prange

And I think I know what you're thinking right now. You're thinking, "But we were just part of a bigger effort, and everyone was brave that day."

Everyone was. The heroism of all the Allies of D Day was boundless, but there was another quality to it, not only of size but of spirit.

62  
B. 1909  
1950 British  
Communist  
unconcealed

"the  
so good  
of his day"

Just -  
changed  
color  
such  
member

you may be

192

Lord Lovat's  
Commandos

51st Highland  
Division  
Commandos 152

Do you remember the story of Bill Millin of the  
 51st (Scottish) Highlanders? Forty years ago today, British troops  
 were pinned down near a bridge, and waiting desperately for  
 reinforcements. Suddenly, they heard the sound of bagpipes, wafting  
 through the air. Some of them thought it was a dream. But they  
 looked up, and there was Bill Millin with his bagpipes, marching  
 at the head of the reinforcements, (ignoring the smack of the  
 bullets into the <sup>ground</sup> (sand) around him.) Lord Lovat was with him --  
 (Lord Lovat of England,) who calmly announced when he got to the  
 bridge, "Sorry I'm a few minutes late," As if he'd been delayed  
 by bad weather or a traffic jam. When in truth he'd just come  
 from the bloody fighting on Sword Beach, (which he and his men had  
 just taken.)

The Largest  
Day: pp. 22-  
294

ibid.

average soap  
within couldn't  
ear much.

see largest  
Day: p. 295

There was Lieutenant Colonel Benjamin Vandervoort of the All  
 American 82nd Airborne, who broke his leg when he parachuted on  
 to French soil. So he commandeered a small farm cart and ordered  
 his men to wheel him on to the battlefield.

Vandervoort  
82nd Airborne  
Long Day  
p. 143  
82nd All Ameri-  
can - par  
to Armes  
p. 78  
Story -  
ibid  
p. 95

There was the (impossible) valor of the Poles, who threw  
 themselves between the enemy and the rest of Europe as the  
 Invasion took hold. And the unsurpassed courage of the  
 Canadians, ~~the only troops who knew exactly what they would face~~  
~~when they hit the beaches. Two years before, their countrymen~~  
~~had been slaughtered at Dieppe.~~ They knew what awaited them  
 here, but they would not be deterred, and once they hit Juno  
 Beach they never looked back.

to Armes

Sir Arthur  
(1944)  
Aug

3200  
killed

2nd Canadian Div.  
landed at Dieppe in Aug.  
1942 to supply 3rd Div.  
Canadian Div. 3rd Div.  
landed in Normandy  
June 1944  
to Armes pp. 220-222

Juno Beach  
to Armes p. 246

OK per style

All of these men were part of a rollcall of honor, with  
 names that spoke of a pride as bright as the colors they bore:  
 the Royal Winnipeg Rifles, Poland's 24th Lancers, the Royal Scots

Royal Winnipeg Rifles  
to Armes p. 117  
p. 238 part of Can.  
3rd Div. - landed  
on D-Day p. 335  
Poland 24th  
Lancers, p. 335



Fusiliers -  
to ARMIES  
p. 335  
Surrey, Eng  
ibid. p. 37  
Yorkland + Ch.  
Toll p. 183  
ibid. p. 335  
Fi. France  
Chans de...  
June 6, 1944  
June 6, 1944  
39 summers  
62 Rangers  
present per  
Jim Huber - WH  
address

Fusiliers, the Screaming Eagles, the (Yeomen of England's) armoured divisions, the forces of Free France, ~~the Regiment de Chars de Combat~~ ~~the Coast Guard "Matchbox Fleet"~~ and you, the American Rangers.

~~Forty~~ ~~summers~~ have ~~(passed)~~ since the battle you fought here.

You were young the day you took these cliffs -- some of you were hardly more than boys, with the deepest joys of life before you.

Yet you risked everything here. ~~We think of that and we ask:~~

Why did you do it? What impelled you to ~~put all thought of~~ self-preservation ~~behind~~ and risk your lives to take these cliffs? What inspired all of the men of the armies that met here?

We look at you, PPP and somehow we know the answer.

It was faith and belief; it was loyalty and love.

The men of Normandy had faith that what they were doing was right, faith that they fought for all humanity, faith that a just God would grant them mercy on this beachhead -- or the next.

It was the deep knowledge (and pray God we have not lost it) that there is a profound moral difference between the use of force for liberation and the use of force for conquest. They were here to liberate, not to conquer, and so they did not doubt their cause.

And they were right not to doubt.

They knew that some things are worth dying for: ~~that~~ one's country is worth dying for, and ~~that~~ democracy is worth dying for, because it is the most deeply honorable form of Government ever devised by man. They loved liberty, and they were happy to fight tyranny. ~~And~~ they knew the people of their countries were behind them.

~~XXXX~~  
Longest Day  
pp. 136-137  
ibid. - see  
forward

Allies sought  
to liberate  
Pac + History  
of U.S. p. 437  
see  
State Dept.  
Draft: p. 2  
See - Time  
mag. article  
pp. 10-11

Allies had  
support  
Populations  
Pac' of U.S. by  
of U.S. p. 437

Boys - all  
photo on  
p. 19 "y  
Climbed  
cliffs" and  
letter from  
Mrs. Samatha  
Kerr

X

The Americans who fought here that morning knew ~~that~~ word of the Invasion was spreading through the darkness back home. ~~and~~ they ~~knew~~ in their hearts, though they could not know in fact, that in Georgia they were filling the churches at 4 a.m., and in Kansas they were kneeling on their porches and praying, and in Philadelphia they were ringing the Liberty Bell.

Invasion announced at 9:30 a.m. for 279 of Long Day  
Ibid. p. 281

Something else helped the men of D-Day: It was the rockhard belief that Providence would have a great hand in the events that would unfold here; that God was an ally in this great cause.

6 Armies p. 75

And, so, the night before the Invasion, when Colonel Wolverton asked his parachute troops to kneel with him in prayer he told them: Do not bow your heads but look up so you can see God and ask His blessing in what we are about to do. ~~And in another part of England that night, General Mathew Ridgeway tossed on his cot and talked to his God and listened for the promise made to Joshua: "I will not fail thee nor forsake thee."~~

X SPX  
XX  
Matthew Ridgway  
Bible  
to wa  
Ch. 1, v. 5

also in

82nd Comm  
Major Gen.  
Ridgway  
Long Day p. 134  
6 Armies  
pp. 75-76

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

See p. 4

When the war was over there were lives to be rebuilt and governments to be returned to the people, there were nations to be reborn, and above all, there was a new peace to be assured. These were huge and daunting tasks. But the Allies summoned strength from the faith, and belief, and loyalty and love of those who fell here. ~~and~~ they rebuilt a new Europe together.

Marshall Plan followed by EEC see Europe in the 20th Century p. 515  
See State Dept. draft p. 1-6

There was first a great reconciliation, ~~not only of those who had been enemies in the war, but also of those nations which had been torn for centuries by rivalries of territory and~~

ambas  
all of whom had suffered no

religion and power. Those rivalries were interred on these beaches.

EUROPEAN RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAM American Heritage Dictionary, p. 452

The United States did its part, by creating the Marshall Plan to help rebuild our allies and our former enemies. The Marshall Plan led to the Atlantic Alliance -- a great alliance that serves functions to this day as a shield for democracy and for peace.

initiated by Gen. G. Marshall Europe In The 20th Century by Robert O. Paxton M. Plan -> A. Alliance see State draft

In spite of our great efforts and our great successes, not all of what followed the end of the war was happy, or planned.

Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary ...

Some of the countries that had been liberated were lost. The great sadness of that loss echoes down to our own time in the streets of Warsaw, Prague, and East Berlin. The Soviet troops that came to the center of this continent did not leave when peace came. They are still there to this day, uninvited, unwanted, and unyielding almost 40 years after the war.

Political Handbook of the World 1982-1983 pp. 89-99, 117-122, 192-195 250 Russia Europe in 20th Century p. 528 Political Handbook of the World p. 392

[Because of this,] Allied forces still stand on this continent. Today, as 40 years ago, our armies are here for only one purpose -- to protect and defend democracy. The only territories we hold are the graveyards where our heroes rest.

DoD Annual Report to Cong. FY 1985, pp. 203-206

TERRITORIES - see State Dept. draft p. 3-

WW I, WW II see: State Dept. draft p. -3-

We in America have learned the bitter lessons of two world wars: that it is better to be here, and ready to preserve and protect the peace, than to take blind shelter in our homes across the sea, rushing to respond only after freedom has been lost. We have learned that isolationism never was and never will be an acceptable response to tyrannical governments with expansionist intent.



check w/ State Dept  
State Dept draft

But we try always to <sup>be</sup> prepared for peace. ~~That is why we~~ <sup>prepared to</sup>  
~~deter aggression; prepared~~ <sup>maintain our defenses</sup> and that is why we have <sup>as a result</sup> tried to negotiate  
the reduction of arms, <sup>and, yes, prepared to殊 out</sup> in the spirit of reconciliation.

In truth, there is no reconciliation we would welcome more than a reconciliation with the Soviet Union, so ~~that~~ together we can lessen the <sup>risks</sup> ~~chance~~ of <sup>war</sup> ~~conflict~~, now and forever. Insert

I tell you from my heart that we in the United States do not want war. We want to wipe from the face of the Earth the terrible weapons man now has in his hands. I tell you we are ready to seize that beachhead -- but there must be some sign from the Soviet Union that they are willing to move forward, that they share our desire and love for peace, that they will give up the ways of conquest. There must be a changing there that will allow us to turn our hope into action.

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

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

Here, in this place where the West <sup>held</sup> ~~stood~~ together, let us make a vow to our dead. Let us show them by our actions that we understand what they died for; let our actions say to them the

USSR?

who fought here?

West  
OK  
left

XX words for which Mathew Ridgeway listened: "I will not fail thee  
nor forsake thee."

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

Thank you all very much.

Book also included

some  
Key passages cited in  
source notes are here

D  
756.5  
N6R9X  
NASM

BY THE S.  
*One Minute to Ditch* (1957)

OTHER WORKS:

*Conquest of the Moon* (1953) and  
*Across the Space Frontier* (1952)  
WITH DR. WERNHER VON BRAUN *et al.*

*MacArthur* (1951) and  
*Star Spangled Mikado* (1948)  
WITH FRANK KELLEY

CORNELIUS RYAN



The Longest Day

JUNE 6, 1944

NATIONAL AIR AND SPACE  
MUSEUM-LIBRARY

SIMON AND SCHUSTER • NEW YORK • 1959

"at least if no friends were visible neither were any foes." His assistant, Brigadier General James M. "Jumpin' Jim" Gavin, who at this time was in complete charge of the 82nd's parachute assault, was miles away in the swamps of the Merderet.

Gavin and a number of paratroopers were trying to salvage equipment bundles from the marshes. In them were the radios, bazookas, mortars and ammunition Gavin so desperately needed. He knew that by dawn the heel of the airhead which his men were to hold would be under heavy attack. As he stood knee-deep in cold water, alongside the troopers, other worries were crowding in on Gavin. He was not sure where he was, and he wondered what to do about the number of injured men who had found their way to his little group and were now lying along the edge of the swamp.

Nearly an hour earlier, seeing red and green lights on the far edge of the water, Gavin had sent his aide, Lieutenant Hugo Olson, to find out what they meant. He hoped they were the assembly lights of two of the 82nd's battalions. Olson had not returned and Gavin was getting anxious. One of his officers, Lieutenant John Devine, was out in the middle of the river, stark naked, diving for bundles. "Whenever he came up, he stood out like a white statue," Gavin recalls, "and I couldn't help thinking that he'd be a dead turkey if he was spotted by the Germans."

Suddenly a lone figure came struggling out of the swamps. He was covered with mud and slime and was wringing wet. It was Olson coming to report that there was a railroad directly across from Gavin and his men, on a high embankment which snaked through the marshes. It was the first good news of the night. Gavin knew there was only one railroad in the district—the Cherbourg-Carentan track, which passed down the Merderet valley. The general began to feel better. For the first time he knew where he was.

In an apple orchard outside Ste.-Mère-Église, the man who was to hold the northern approaches to the town—the flank of the Utah invasion bridgehead—was in pain and trying not to show it. Lieutenant Colonel Benjamin Vandervoort of the 82nd had broken his ankle on the jump, but he had made up his mind to stay in the fighting no matter what happened.

Bad luck had dogged Vandervoort. He had always taken his job seriously, sometimes too seriously. Unlike many another Army officer, Vandervoort had never had a popular nickname, nor had he permitted himself the kind of close, easy relationship with his men that other officers enjoyed. Normandy was to change all that—and more. It was to make him, as General Matthew B. Ridgway later recalled, "one of the bravest, toughest battle commanders I ever knew." Vandervoort was to fight on his broken ankle for forty days, side by side with the men whose approval he wanted most.

Vandervoort's battalion surgeon, Captain Putnam, still fuming from his encounter with the strange paratrooper in the hedgerow, came across the colonel and some of his troopers in the orchard. Putnam still vividly remembers his first sight of Vandervoort: "He was seated with a rain cape over him, reading a map by flashlight. He recognized me and, calling me close, quietly asked that I take a look at his ankle with as little demonstration as possible. His ankle was obviously broken. He insisted on replacing his jump boot, and we laced it tightly." Then, as Putnam watched, Vandervoort picked up his rifle and, using it as a crutch, took a step forward. He looked at the men around him. "Well," he said, "let's go." He moved out across the field.

Like the British paratroopers, to the east, the Americans—in humor, in sorrow, in terror and in pain—began the work they had come to Normandy to do.

Across the bay, on the transport *New Amsterdam* anchored near Weymouth, Second Lieutenant George Kerchner of the 2nd Ranger Battalion was occupied with a routine chore. He was censoring his platoon's mail. It was particularly heavy tonight; everybody seemed to have written long letters home. The 2nd and 5th Rangers had been given one of the toughest D-Day assignments. They were to scale the almost sheer 100-foot cliffs at a place called Pointe du Hoc and silence a battery of six long-range guns—guns so powerful that they could zero in on Omaha Beach or the transport area of Utah Beach. The Rangers would have just thirty minutes to do the job.

Casualties were expected to be heavy—some thought as high as sixty per cent—unless the air and naval bombardment could knock out the guns before the Rangers got there. Either way, nobody expected the attack to be a breeze. Nobody, that is, except Staff Sergeant Larry Johnson, one of Kerchner's section leaders.

The lieutenant was dumfounded when he read Johnson's letter. Although none of the mail would be sent out until after D Day—whenever that would be—this letter couldn't even be delivered through ordinary channels. Kerchner sent for Johnson and, when the sergeant arrived, gave him back the letter. "Larry," said Kerchner drily, "you better post this yourself—after you get to France." Johnson had written a girl asking for a date early in June. She lived in Paris.

It struck the lieutenant as the sergeant left the cabin that as long as there were optimists like Johnson nothing was impossible.

Almost every man in the invasion forces wrote a letter to someone during the long hours of waiting. They had been penned up for a long time, and the letters seemed to give them emotional release. Many of them recorded their thoughts in a way that men seldom do.

Captain John F. Dulligan of the 1st Infantry Division, slated to land on Omaha Beach, wrote his wife: "I love these men. They sleep all over the ship, on the decks, in, on top, and underneath

the vehicles. They smoke, play cards, wrestle around and indulge in general horseplay. They gather around in groups and talk mostly about girls, home and experiences (with and without girls) . . . They are good soldiers, the best in the world . . . Before the invasion of North Africa, I was nervous and a little scared. During the Sicilian invasion I was so busy that the fear passed while I was working. . . . This time we will hit a beach in France and from there on only God knows the answer. I want you to know that I love you with all my heart. . . . I pray that God will see fit to spare me to you and Ann and Pat."

The men on heavy naval vessels or large transports, on airfields or in embarkation areas, were the lucky ones. They were restricted and overcrowded, but they were dry, warm and well. It was a different story for the troops on the flat-bottomed landing ships heaving at anchor outside nearly every harbor. Some men had been on these vessels for more than a week. The ships were overcrowded and foul, the men unbelievably miserable. For them the battle began long before they ever left England. It was a battle against continuous nausea and seasickness. Most of the men still remember that the ships smelled of just three things: diesel oil, backed-up toilets and vomit.

Conditions varied from ship to ship. On LCT 777 Signalman Third Class George Hackett, Jr., was amazed to see waves so high that they smashed over one end of the wallowing craft and rolled out the other. LCT 6, a British landing craft, was so overloaded that Lieutenant Colonel Clarence Hupfer of the U.S. 4th Division thought it would sink. Water lapped at the gunwales and at times washed over into the craft. The galley was flooded and the troops were forced to eat cold food—those who could eat at all.

LST 97, Sergeant Keith Bryan of the 5th Engineer Special Brigade remembers, was so overcrowded that men were stepping over one another, and it rolled so much that those lucky enough to have bunks had difficulty staying in them. And to Sergeant



"My dear Plus," came Ocker's airy voice over the wire, "are you still alive?"

Pluskat ignored the question. "What's happening about the ammunition?" he asked bluntly.

"It's on the way," said Ocker.

The colonel's calmness maddened Pluskat. "When?" he shouted. "When will it arrive? You people don't seem to realize what it's like up here."

Ten minutes later Pluskat was summoned to the phone. "I've got bad news," Ocker told him. "I've just learned that the ammunition convoy has been wiped out. It will be nightfall before anything gets up to you."

Pluskat wasn't surprised; he knew from bitter personal experience that nothing could move along the roads. He also knew that at the rate his guns were firing, the batteries would be out of ammunition by nightfall. The question was, which would reach his guns first—the ammunition or the Americans? Pluskat gave orders for his troops to prepare for close combat and then he wandered aimlessly through the château. He felt suddenly useless and alone. He wished he knew where his dog Harras was.

★ 8 ★

**B**Y NOW the British soldiers who had fought D Day's first battle had been holding on to their prize, the bridges over the Orne and the Caen Canal, for more than thirteen hours. Although Major Howard's glider-borne troops had been reinforced at

dawn by other 6th Airborne paratroopers, their numbers had been steadily dwindling under fierce mortar and small-arms fire. Howard's men had stopped several small, probing counterattacks. Now the tired, anxious troopers in the captured German positions on either side of the bridge eagerly awaited the link-up from the sea.

In his foxhole near the approaches to the Caen Canal bridge, Private Bill Gray looked at his watch again. Lord Lovat's commandos were almost an hour and a half overdue. He wondered what had happened back up on the beaches. Gray didn't think the fighting could be much worse there than it was at the bridges. He was almost afraid to lift his head; it seemed to him the snipers were becoming more accurate by the minute.

It was during a lull in the firing that Gray's friend, Private John Wilkes, lying beside him, suddenly said, "You know, I think I hear bagpipes." Gray looked at him scornfully. "You're daft," he said. A few seconds later, Wilkes turned to his friend again. "I do hear bagpipes," he insisted. Now Gray could hear them too.

Down the road came Lord Lovat's commandos, cocky in their green berets. Bill Millin marched at the head of the column, his pipes blaring out "Blue Bonnets over the Border." On both sides the firing suddenly ceased, as soldiers gazed at the spectacle. But the shock didn't last long. As the commandos headed across the bridges the Germans began firing again. Bill Millin remembers that he was "just trusting to luck that I did not get hit, as I could not hear very much for the drone of the pipes." Halfway across, Millin turned around to look at Lord Lovat. "He was striding along as if he was out for a walk round his estate," Millin recalls, "and he gave me the signal to carry on."

Disregarding the heavy German fire, the paratroopers rushed out to greet the commandos. Lovat apologized "for being a few minutes late." To the weary 6th Airborne troopers, it was a stirring moment. Although it would be hours before the main body

of British troops reached the farthestmost points of the defense line held by the paratroopers, the first reinforcements had arrived. As the red and green berets intermingled, there was a sudden, perceptible lightening of the spirits. Nineteen-year-old Bill Gray felt "years younger."

★ 9 ★

Now, on this fateful day for Hitler's Third Reich, as Rommel raced frantically for Normandy, as his commanders on the invasion front tried desperately to halt the storming Allied assault, everything depended on the panzers: the 21st Panzer Division just behind the British beaches, and the 12th S.S. and the *Panzer Lehr* still held back by Hitler.

Field Marshal Rommel watched the white ribbon of road stretching out ahead and urged his driver on. "*Tempo Tempo Tempo*" he said. The car roared as Daniel put his foot down. They had left Freudenstadt just two hours before and Rommel had uttered hardly a word. His aide, Captain Lang, sitting in back, had never seen the Field Marshal so depressed. Lang wanted to talk about the landings, but Rommel showed no inclination for conversation. Suddenly Rommel turned around and looked at Lang. "I was right all along," he said, "all along." Then he stared at the road again.

The 21st Panzer Division couldn't get through Caen. Colonel Hermann von Oppeln-Bronikowski, commanding the division's regiment of tanks, drove up and down the column in a Volkswagen. The city was a shambles. It had been bombed some time earlier and the bombers had done a good job. Streets were piled up with debris, and it seemed to Bronikowski that "everyone in the city was on the move trying to get out." The roads were choked with men and women on bicycles. There was no hope for the panzers. Bronikowski decided to pull back and go around the city. It would take hours, he knew, but there was no other way. And where was the regiment of troops that was supposed to support his attack when he did get through?

Nineteen-year-old Private Walter Hermes of the 21st Panzer Division's 192nd Regiment had never been so happy. It was glorious. He was leading the attack against the British! Hermes sat astride his motorcycle, weaving ahead of the advance company. They were heading toward the coast and soon they would pick up the tanks and then the 21st would drive the British into the sea. Everybody said so. Nearby on other motorcycles were his friends, Tetzlaw, Mattusch and Schard. All of them had expected to be attacked by the British before now, but nothing had happened. It seemed strange that they hadn't caught up with the tanks yet. But Hermes guessed that they must be somewhere ahead, probably attacking already on the coast. Hermes drove happily on, leading the advance company of the regiment up into the eight-mile gap that the British commandos still hadn't closed between Juno and Gold. This was a gap the panzers could have exploited to split the British beaches wide open and menace the entire Allied assault—a gap that Colonel von Oppeln-Bronikowski knew nothing whatever about.



As the commandos touched down on Sword, Lord Lovat's piper, William Millin, plunged off his landing craft into water up to his armpits. He could see smoke piling up from the beach ahead and hear the crump of exploding mortar shells. As Millin floundered toward the shore, Lovat shouted at him, "Give us 'Highland Laddie,' man!" Waist-deep in the water, Millin put the mouthpiece to his lips and splashed on through the surf, the pipes keening crazily. At the water's edge, oblivious to the gunfire, he halted and, parading up and down along the beach, piped the commandos ashore. The men streamed past him, and mingling with the whine of bullets and the screams of shells came the wild skirl of the pipes as Millin now played "The Road to the Isles." "That's the stuff, Jock," yelled a commando. Said another, "Get down, you mad bugger."

All along Sword, Juno and Gold—for almost twenty miles, from Ouistreham near the mouth of the Orne to the village of Le Hamel on the west—the British swarmed ashore. The beaches were choked with landing craft disgorging troops, and nearly everywhere along the assault area the high seas and underwater obstacles were causing more trouble than the enemy.

The first men in had been the frogmen—120 underwater demolition experts whose job it was to cut 30-yard gaps through the obstacles. They had only twenty minutes to work before the first waves bore down upon them. The obstacles were formidable—at places more densely sown than in any other part of the Normandy invasion area. Sergeant Peter Henry Jones of the Royal Marines swam into a maze of steel pylons, gates and hedgehogs and concrete cones. In the 30-yard gap Jones had to blow, he found twelve major obstacles, some of them fourteen feet long. When another frogman, Lieutenant John B. Taylor of the Royal Navy, saw the fantastic array of underwater defenses surrounding him, he yelled out to his unit leader that "this bloody job is impossible." But he did not give it up. Working under fire, Taylor, like the other frogmen, methodically set to work.

They blew the obstacles singly, because they were too large to blow in groups. Even as they worked, amphibious tanks came swimming in among them, followed almost immediately by first-wave troops. Frogmen rushing out of the water saw landing craft, turned sideways by the heavy seas, crash into the obstacles. Mines exploded, steel spikes and hedgehogs ripped along the hulls, and up and down the beaches landing craft began to flounder. The waters offshore became a junkyard as boats piled up almost on top of one another. Telegraphist Webber remembers thinking that "the beaching is a tragedy." As his craft came in Webber saw "LCTs stranded and ablaze, twisted masses of metal on the shore, burning tanks and bulldozers." And as one LCT passed them, heading for the open sea, Webber was horrified to see "its well deck engulfed in a terrifying fire."

On Gold Beach, where frogman Jones was now working with the Royal Engineers trying to clear the obstacles, he saw an LCI approach with troops standing on the deck ready to disembark. Caught by a sudden swell, the craft swerved sideways, lifted and crashed down on a series of mined steel triangles. Jones saw it explode with a shattering blast. It reminded him of a "slow-motion cartoon—the men, standing to attention, shot up into the air as though lifted by a water spout . . . at the top of the spout bodies and parts of bodies spread like drops of water."

Boat after boat got hung up on the obstacles. Of the sixteen landing craft carrying the 47th Royal Marine commandos in to Gold Beach, four boats were lost, eleven were damaged and beached and only one made it back to the parent ship. Sergeant Donald Gardner of the 47th and his men were dumped into the water about fifty yards from shore. They lost all of their equipment and had to swim in under machine gun fire. As they struggled in the water, Gardner heard someone say, "Perhaps we're intruding, this seems to be a private beach." Going into Juno the 48th Royal Marine commandos not only ran afoul of the obstacles, they also came under intense mortar fire. Lieutenant



mosphere. Here and there along the seafront little groups of elated French waved to the troops and yelled, "Vive les Anglais!" Royal Marine Signaller Leslie Ford noticed a Frenchman "practically on the beach itself who appeared to be giving a running commentary on the battle to a group of townspeople." Ford thought they were crazy, for the beaches and the foreshore were still infested with mines and under occasional fire. But it was happening everywhere. Men were hugged and kissed and embraced by the French, who seemed quite unaware of the dangers around them. Corporal Harry Norfield and Gunner Ronald Allen were astonished to see "a person all dressed up in splendid regalia and wearing a bright brass helmet making his way down to the beaches." He turned out to be the mayor of Colleville-sur-Orne, a small village about a mile inland, who had decided to come down and officially greet the invasion forces.

Some of the Germans seemed no less eager than the French to greet the troops. Sapper Henry Jennings had no sooner disembarked than he was "confronted with a collection of Germans—most of them Russian and Polish 'volunteers'—anxious to surrender." But Captain Gerald Norton of a Royal Artillery unit got the biggest surprise of all: he was met "by four Germans with their suitcases packed, who appeared to be awaiting the first available transportation out of France."

Out of the confusion on Gold, Juno and Sword, the British and the Canadians swarmed inland. The advance was businesslike and efficient and there was a kind of grandeur about it all. As troops fought into towns and villages examples of heroism and courage were all around them. Some remember a Royal Marine commando major, both arms gone, who urged his men along by shouting at them to "get inland, chaps, before Fritz gets wise to this party." Others remember the cocky cheerfulness and bright faith of the wounded as they waited for the medics to catch up with them. Some waved as the troops passed, others yelled, "See you in Berlin, mates!" Gunner Ronald Allen would never forget

one soldier who had been badly wounded in the stomach. He was propped up against a wall calmly reading a book.

Now speed was essential. From Gold troops headed for the cathedral town of Bayeux, roughly seven miles inland. From Juno the Canadians drove for the Bayeux-Caen highway and Carpiquet Airport, about ten miles away. And out of Sword the British headed for the city of Caen. They were so sure of capturing this objective that even correspondents, as the London *Daily Mail's* Noel Monks was later to recall, were told that a briefing would be held "at point X in Caen at 4 P.M." Lord Lovat's commandos marching out of the Sword area wasted no time. They were going to the relief of General Gale's embattled 6th Airborne troops holding the Orne and Caen bridges four miles away and "Shimy" Lovat had promised Gale that he would be there "sharp at noon." Behind a tank at the head of the column Lord Lovat's piper Bill Millin played "Blue Bonnets over the Border."

For ten Britishers, the crews of the midget submarines X20 and X23, D Day was over. Off Sword Beach Lieutenant George Honour's X23 threaded through waves of landing craft streaming steadily in toward the shore. In the heavy seas, with her flat superstructure almost awash, all that could be seen of the X23 were her identifying flags whipping in the wind. Coxswain Charles Wilson on an LCT "almost fell overboard with surprise" when he saw what appeared to be "two large flags apparently unsupported" moving steadily toward him through the water. As the X23 passed, Wilson couldn't help wondering "what the devil a midget sub had to do with the invasion." Plowing by, the X23 headed out into the transport area in search of her tow ship, a trawler with the appropriate name of *En Avant*. Operation Gambit was over. Lieutenant Honour and his four-man crew were going home.

The men for whom they had marked the beaches marched into France. Everyone was optimistic. The Atlantic Wall had



Cheshire, Jack, Sgt. [No. 6 Beach Grp.] *Printer*  
 Cloudsley-Thompson, John L., Capt. [7th Armoured Div.] *Lecturer, zoology, University of London*  
 Cole, Thomas A. W., Gunner [50th Div.] *Inspector, machine tools*  
 Colley, James S. F., Cpl. [4th Commando] *Occupation unknown*  
 Collins, Charles L., Cpl. [6th Airborne] *Detective sergeant*  
 Collinson, Joseph A., Lance/Cpl. [3rd Div.] *Engineering draughtsman*  
 Cooksey, Frank, Cpl. [No. 9 Beach Grp.] *Aircraft fitter*  
 Cooper, John B., Ab/Seaman [LCT 597] *Occupation unknown*  
 Corkill, William A., Signalman ["O" LCT Sqdn.] *Senior clerk, accounting office*  
 Cowley, Ernest J., Stoker/1c [LCT 7045] *Maintenance engineer*  
 Cox, Leonard H., Cpl. [6th Airborne] *Engraver*  
 Cox, Norman V., Lt. R.N.V.R. [4th Flotilla] *Civil servant*  
 Cullum, Percy E., Petty Officer [Mobile Radio Unit] *Inland Revenue officer*  
 Cutlack, Edward B., Lt. Comdr. R.N.V.R. [9th Minesweeping Flotilla] *Chief instructor, East Midland Gas Board*  
 Dale, Reginald G., Cpl. [3rd Div.] *Self-employed*  
 Deaken, B., Pvt. [6th Airborne] *Shoe repairing*  
 deLacy, James Percival, Sgt. [8th (Irish) Bn., (att. 3rd Can. Div.)] *Travel agent*  
 Devereux, Roy P., Trooper [6th Airborne] *Travel agency, branch manager*  
 Dowie, Robert A., Leading/Stoker [H.M.S. Dunbar] *Turbine operator*  
 Dunn, Arthur H., Maj. [50th Div.] *Retired*  
 Edgson, Charles L., Capt. [Royal Engrs.] *Schoolteacher*  
 Ellis, F., Pvt. [50th Div.] *Occupation unknown*  
 Emery, William H., Pvt. [50th Div.] *Van driver*  
 Emmett, Frederick W., Lance/Bombardier [50th Div.] *Chemical worker*  
 Finch, Harold, Pvt. [50th Div.] *Policeman*  
 Flood, Bernard A., Sapper [3rd Div.] *Post-office supervisor*  
 Flunder, Daniel J., Capt. [48th (Royal Marine) Commando] *Branch manager, Dunlop Ltd.*  
 Ford, Leslie W., Royal Marine Signalman 2/c [1st S.S. Brig.] *Occupation unknown*  
 Fortnam, Stanley, Driver/Mech. [6th Airborne] *Compositor*  
 Fowler, William R., Lt. [H.M.S. Halsted] *Advertising salesman*  
 Fox, Geoffrey R., Leading/Seaman [48th Landing Craft Flotilla] *Policeman*  
 Fox, Hubert C., Lt. Comdr. [Naval Assault Grp.] *Dairy Farmer*  
 Gale, John T. J., Pvt. [3rd Div.] *Post-office worker*  
 Gardner, Donald H., Sgt. [47th (Royal Marine) Commando] *Civil servant*  
 Gardner, Thomas H., Maj. [3rd Div.] *Managing director, Leather Manufacturers*  
 Gibbs, Leslie R., Sgt. [50th Div.] *Charge-hand, steel-works production*  
 Girling, Donald B., Maj. [50th Div.] *Occupation unknown*  
 Glew, George W., Gunner [3rd Div.] *Clerk*  
 Gough, J. G., Maj. [3rd Div.] *Dairy farmer*  
 Gray, William J., Pvt. [6th Airborne] *Occupation unknown*  
 Grundy, Ernest, Capt. [50th Div.] *Doctor*  
 Gunning, Hugh, Capt. [3rd Div.] *Syndication manager, Daily News Ltd.*  
 Gwinnett, John, Capt. (chaplain) [6th Airborne] *Pastor, Tower of London*  
 Hammond, William, Cpl. [79th Armoured Div.] *Sqdn. Sgt. Maj., British Army*  
 Hanneson, Hannes, Capt. [R.A.M.C., LST 21] *Specialist physician*  
 Hardie, I., Lt. Col. [50th Div.] *British Army, active service*  
 Hargreaves, Edward R., Maj. [3rd Div.] *Deputy County Medical Officer*  
 Harris, Harry, Ab/Seaman [H.M.S. Adventure] *Coal miner*  
 Harrison, Roger H., Lt. R.N.V.R. [4th LCT Flot.] *Inspection staff, bank*  
 Harvey, Adolphus J., Acting Col. [Royal Marine Armoured Support Group] *Market gardener*

Hayden, A. C., Pvt. [3rd Div.] *Laborer*  
 Hollis, Stanley E. V., Co./Sgt./Maj. [50th Div.] *Sand blaster*  
 Honour, George B., Lt. R.N.V.R. [Midget Submarine X23] *Area Sales Manager, Schweppes Ltd.*  
 Horton, Harry, Trooper [No. 3 Commando] *Cpl., H.M. Forces*  
 Humberstone, Henry F., Pvt. [6th Airborne] *Clothing factory worker*  
 Hutley, John C., S/Sgt. [Glider Pilot Regt.] *Canteen manager*  
 Hynes, William, Sgt. [50th Div.] *British Army, active service*  
 Ingram, Ronald A., Gunner [3rd Div.] *Painter and decorator*  
 James, Leonard K., Cpl. [3rd Div.] *Advertising*  
 Jankel, Herbert, Capt. [20th Beach Recovery Section] *Garage proprietor*  
 Jennings, Henry, Sapper [Royal Engrs.] *Contracting*  
 John, Frederick R., Trooper [No. 6 Commando] *Senior assistant, accounting office*  
 Johnson, Frank C., Lance/Bombardier [50th Div.] *Wood machinist*  
 Jones, Edward, Maj. [3rd Div.] *Classics master*  
 Jones, Peter H., Sgt. [Royal Marines, Frogman] *Building contractor*  
 Kendall, Hubert O., Cpl. [6th Airborne] *Shipping and forwarding agent*  
 Kimber, Donald E., Marine [609 Flotilla LCM] *Machine operator*  
 King, Gordon W., Lt. [6th Airborne] *Representative, paint firm*  
 Leach, Geoffrey, J., Pvt. [50th Div.] *Laboratory assistant*  
 Lee, Arthur W., Ab/Seaman [LCT 564] *Local government officer*  
 Lee, Norton, Sub. Lt. R.N.V.R. [550 LCA Flotilla] *Painter, interior decorating*  
 Lloyd, Desmond C., Lt. R.N. [Norwegian destroyer Svenner] *Company director*  
 Lovell, Denis, Marine [4th Commando] *Engineering*  
 Maddison, Godfrey, Pvt. [6th Airborne] *Miner*  
 March, Desmond C., Lt. [3rd Div.] *Company director*  
 Markham, Lewis S., T/O Signalman [R.N. LST 301] *Shipping clerk*  
 Mason, John T., Pvt. [No. 4 Commando] *Schoolteacher*  
 Masters, Peter F., Lance/Cpl. [No. 10 Commando] *Art director, WTOP Television, Washington, D.C.*  
 Mathers, George H., Cpl. [Royal Engrs.] *Clerk*  
 May, John McCallon, Sgt. [6th Airborne] *British Army, active service*  
 McGowan, Alfred, L/Cpl. [6th Airborne] *Packer, flour mill*  
 Mears, Frederick G., Cpl. [No. 3 Commando] *Accounting machines factory worker*  
 Millin, W., Piper [1st S.S. Brig.] *Male nurse*  
 Minnis, James C., Sub/Lt. R.N.V.R. [LCT 665] *Teacher*  
 Mitchell, John D., Cpl. [54 Beach Balloon Unit, RAF] *Company director*  
 Montgomery, Sir Bernard Law, Gen.; *Field Marshal (retired)*  
 Moore, William J. D., L/Cpl. [3rd Div.] *Male nurse*  
 Morgan, Vincent H., Pvt. [50th Div.] *Post-office worker*  
 Morris, Ernest, Cpl. [50th Div.] *occupation unknown*  
 Morrissey, James F., Pvt. [6th Airborne] *Docker*  
 Mower, Alan C., Pvt. [6th Airborne] *Security officer, research labs.*  
 Murphy, John, Leading Aircraftsman [RAF, Balloon Command] *Post-office worker*  
 Neilsen, Henry R., Capt. [6th Airborne] *Knitwear manufacturer*  
 Newton, Reginald V., Pvt. [6th Airborne] *Company director*  
 Nissen, Derek A., Lt. [3rd Div.] *Works manager*  
 Norfield, Harry T., Cpl. [3rd Div.] *British Admiralty messenger*  
 Northwood, Ronald J., Ab/Seaman [H.M.S. Scylla] *Hairdresser*  
 Norton, Gerald Ivor D., Capt. [3rd Div.] *Company secretary*  
 Oliver, Arthur E., L/Cpl. [No. 4 Commando] *Coal miner*  
 Otway, Terence, Lt. Col. [6th Airborne] *Executive, Kemsley newspapers*



shot down, and then, swimming and climbing over the wreckage, he reached the main mast. From the U.S.S. *Butler* Coxswain Dick Scrimshaw watched in amazement and admiration as the sailor, shells still falling about him, calmly tied on the flag and ran it up the mast. Then he swam away. Above the wreck of the *Corry* Scrimshaw saw the flag hang limp for a moment. Then it stretched out and fluttered in the breeze.

Rockets trailing ropes shot up toward the 100-foot-high cliff at Pointe du Hoc. Between Utah and Omaha beaches the third American seaborne attack was going in. Small-arms fire poured down on Lt. Col. James E. Rudder's three Ranger companies as they began the assault to silence the massive coastal batteries which intelligence said menaced the American beaches on either side. The nine LCAs carrying the 225 men of the 2nd Ranger Battalion clustered along the little strip of beach beneath the cliff overhang. It afforded some protection from the machine gun fire and from the grenades that the Germans were now rolling down on them—but not much. Offshore the British destroyer *Talybont* and the U.S. destroyer *Satterlee* lobbed in shell after shell onto the cliff top.

Rudder's Rangers were supposed to touch down at the base of the cliff at H Hour. But the lead boat had strayed and led the little flotilla straight toward Pointe de la Percée, three miles east. Rudder had spotted the mistake, but by the time he got the assault craft back on course, precious time had been lost. The delay would cost him his 500-man support force—the rest of the 2nd Rangers and Lieutenant Colonel Max Schneider's 5th Ranger Battalion. The plan had been for Rudder to fire flares as soon as his men had scaled the cliff, as a signal for the other Rangers waiting in their boats some miles offshore to follow in. If no signal was received by 7 A.M., Colonel Schneider was to assume that the Pointe du Hoc assault had failed and head

Omaha Beach four miles away. There, following in behind the 29th Division, his Rangers would swing west and drive for the Pointe to take the guns from the rear. It was now 7:10 A.M. No signal had been given, so Schneider's force was already heading for Omaha. Rudder and his 225 Rangers were on their own.

It was a wild, frenzied scene. Again and again the rockets roared, shooting the ropes and rope ladders with grapnels attached. Shells and 40-millimeter machine guns raked the cliff top, shaking down great chunks of earth on the Rangers. Men spurted across the narrow, cratered beach trailing scaling ladders, ropes and hand rockets. Here and there at the cliff top Germans bobbed up, throwing down "potato masher" hand grenades or firing *Schmeissers*. Somehow the Rangers dodged from cover to cover, unloaded their boats and fired up the cliff—all at the same time. And off the Pointe, two DUKWS—amphibious vehicles—with tall, extended ladders, borrowed for the occasion from the London Fire Brigade, tried to maneuver closer in. From the tops of the ladders Rangers blasted the headlands with Browning automatic rifles and Tommy guns.

The assault was furious. Some men didn't wait for the ropes to catch. Weapons slung over their shoulders, they cut handholds with their knives and started up the nine-story-high cliff like flies. Some of the grapnels now began to catch and men swarmed up the ropes. Then there were wild yells as the Germans cut the ropes and Rangers hurtled back down the cliff. P.F.C. Harry Robert's rope was cut twice. On his third try he finally got to a cratered niche just under the edge of the cliff. Sergeant Bill "L-Rod" Petty tried going up hand over hand on a plain rope but, although he was an expert free climber, the rope was so wet and muddy he couldn't make it. Then Petty tied a ladder, got thirty feet up and slid back when it was cut. He started back up again. Sergeant Herman Stein climbing another ladder, was almost pushed off the cliff face when he accidentally inflated his Mae West. He "struggled for an eternity"

with the life preserver but there were men ahead and behind him on the ladder. Somehow Stein kept on going.

Now men were scrambling up a score of ropes that twisted and snaked down from the top of the cliff. Suddenly Sergeant Petty, on his way up for the third time, was peppered by chunks of earth flying out all around him. The Germans were leaning out over the edge of the cliff, machine-gunning the Rangers as they climbed. The Germans fought desperately, despite the fire that was still raining on them from the Rangers on the fire ladders and from the destroyers offshore. Petty saw the climber next to him stiffen and swing out from the cliff. Stein saw him, too. So did twenty-year-old P.F.C. Carl Bombardier. As they watched, horrified, the man slid down the rope and fell, bouncing from ledges and rock outcroppings, and it seemed to Petty "a lifetime before his body hit the beach." Petty froze on the rope. He could not make his hand move up to the next rung. He remembers saying to himself, "This is just too hard to climb." But the German machine guns got him going again. As they began to spray the cliff dangerously near him, Petty "unfroze real fast." Desperately he hauled himself up the last few yards.

Everywhere men were throwing themselves over the top and into shell holes. To Sergeant Regis McCloskey, who had successfully brought his half-sinking ammunition boat in to the beach, the high plateau of Pointe du Hoc presented a weird, incredible sight. The ground was so pitted by the shells and bombs of the pre-H-Hour naval and air bombardment that it looked like "the craters of the moon." There was an eerie silence now as men pulled themselves up and into the protective craters. The fire had stopped for the moment, there was not a German to be seen, and everywhere men looked the yawning craters stretched back toward the mainland—a violent, terrible no man's land.

Colonel Rudder had already established his first command post, a niche at the edge of the cliff. From it his signal officer, Lieutenant James Eikner, sent out the message "Praise the

Lord." It meant "All men up cliff." But it was not quite true. At the base of the cliff the Rangers' medical officer, a pediatrician in private practice, was tending the dead and the dying on the beach—perhaps twenty-five men. Minute by minute the valiant Ranger force was being chipped away. By the end of the day there would only be ninety of the original 225 still able to bear arms. Worse, it had been a heroic and futile effort—to silence guns which were not there. The information which Jean Marion, the French underground sector chief, had tried to send to London was true. The battered bunkers atop Pointe du Hoc were empty—the guns had never been mounted.\*

In his bomb crater at the top of the cliff, Sergeant Petty and his four-man BAR team sat exhausted after the climb. A little haze drifted over the churned, pitted earth and the smell of cordite was heavy in the air. Petty stared almost dreamily around him. Then on the edge of the crater he saw two sparrows eating worms. "Look," said Petty to the others, "they're having breakfast."

Now on this great and awful morning the last phase of the assault from the sea began. Along the eastern half of the Normandy invasion coast, Lieutenant General M. C. Dempsey's British Second Army was coming ashore, with grimness and gaiety, with pomp and ceremony, with all the studied nonchalance the British traditionally assume in moments of great emotion. They had waited four long years for this day. They were assaulting not just beaches but bitter memories—memories of Munich and Dunkirk, of one hateful and humiliating retreat after another, of countless devastating bombing raids, of dark days when they

\* Some two hours later a Ranger patrol found a deserted five-gun battery in a camouflaged position more than a mile inland. Stacks of shells surrounded each gun and they were ready to fire, but the Rangers could find no evidence that they had ever been manned. Presumably these were the guns for the Pointe du Hoc emplacements.





Picture above is historic and a rarity—it has never appeared before. It shows Col. R. Ernest Dupuy, Eisenhower's press officer, rising to broadcast the news the free world had been waiting for—that Allied troops had landed in Europe. The time was 9:38 A.M. Courtesy Col. Ernest Dupuy

[RIGHT] Greatest American success on D Day was Utah Beach and the Fourth Division troops moved inland faster than anyone had anticipated. At right, troops slosh through inundated area heading for link-up with paratroopers. By roadside is sight that was to become all too common as Normandy battle progressed—bodies of Germans and Americans alike.



Bill Millin &  
Lord Lovat  
(Bagpipes)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Kim W

Draft No. 4

The President's Normandy Speech  
June 6, 1984

(NOTE: The Speech will be given according to current planning at Pointe du Hoc. This is a dramatic location on a point of land surrounded by steep cliffs. The German defensive point was captured after the cliffs were scaled by US Army Rangers. There are no graves or cemeteries within view. The land at Pointe du Hoc [like the land at the American Cemetery in Normandy some 10 miles away] has been ceded by the Government of France to the United States.)

Mr. President, Honored Guests,

The cliffs which fall away to this often rough sea witnessed extraordinary heroism. Forty years ago -- as part of a great Allied effort -- brave American Rangers scaled these heights under fire. This ceremony and this place honors them.

The Rangers who fought their way up these cliffs set an example for us all. In our lives -- and in relations among states -- we all face difficult obstacles.

For forty years, we -- the free nations of the world -- have met and surmounted the obstacles in our path. The challenge before us is to continue.

N.B. Capsule biographies/anecdotes of Rangers who died at Pointe du Hoc can be inserted if research shows such would add to the impact of the speech.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING  
E.O. 12958, Sec. 1.3(a)  
By NARA RP Date 2/20/97



This sacred site symbolizes both the tragedy of war and the hope of mankind. Out of the terrible war of four decades ago we have constructed prosperous democracies and a robust alliance of free nations. These accomplishments, as well as the cross that marks this spot, are lasting memorials to the dedication and spirit of the men who made the ultimate sacrifice in defense of freedom.

The Normandy landings were a cooperative venture unparalleled in military history. Men and women from many nations marched shoulder to shoulder in defense of freedom. Near here are cemeteries, hallowed places where lie the remains of those who fought for noble principles.

Out of the terrible war came a determination to create a better world. Adversaries were reconciled, democracy was renewed, war-torn societies were rebuilt.

The Rangers who died here sought no territories. They sought not to conquer but to liberate. The only territories the United States acquired on the continent of Europe as a result of World War II were a few quiet plots consecrated as cemeteries or as memorials like this to the brave Americans who fought for freedom. This land, on which we stand, has been ceded in perpetuity to the United States by France.

The brave fighters who gave their lives in World War II were protecting noble values and ideals: freedom and democracy. The struggle for these values did not end with

victory in that war. The need to defend these ideals -- and our liberties -- is the challenge we face today.

The protection of our values, the defense of liberty, is the challenge we face.

The troops who came ashore in Normandy marked the beginning of a U.S. commitment to the security of Europe. Through our Alliance Treaty undertakings and with the presence of 300,000 American forces here, we participate in the security of Europe, which is part of our own security.

This commitment -- this American pledge -- will remain as long as the need exists. Our experience in two wars in Europe in this century teaches that it is better to be prepared and present -- to prevent a war -- than to cross the Atlantic to fight uphill for liberty after war has broken out.

In both World War I and II our country tried to remain outside the European conflict. Twice we had to come to help our friends and defend our common values. Isolationism was no protection. It was not then and it is not now. The future of the United States is irrevocably linked to the well-being of our friends in Europe and the Pacific. That is why we choose to stand with our friends in defense of liberty.

That defense provides the freedom for our economic system. Free men and women, making their own decisions on where to live and what their lives will be, are the basis of our economy. We are recovering from a world recession.

Tomorrow in London the leaders of the industrial democracies

will meet to discuss how better we can bring prosperity to all our peoples. We will face our task strengthened by the memory of the heroes -- and true values -- we honor here today.

It is fitting here to remember also the great sacrifices made by the Soviet Union during World War II. The terrible loss of 20 million lives there tells all the world the necessity of avoiding another war.

### Post-War Cooperation

The nations which emerged from the ashes of war faced the challenge of making a new beginning.

-- There were lives to be rebuilt and communities to be reconstructed.

-- There were governments to be returned to the people and nations to be reborn.

-- Above all, there was a new peace to be assured.

This daunting set of challenges required new forms of cooperation.

This new cooperation included the nations represented by the forces which landed in Normandy. But the cooperation also embraced -- as it does today -- former adversaries both here and in Asia. Without the contribution of all these nations, a just, prosperous and secure democratic community of nations would not have been possible.

The virtues represented by those who fell here were fundamental to the new order which emerged from the war. These

virtues inspired that most unselfish act in history, the Marshall Plan. The assistance offered under that Plan made possible the reconstruction of Europe.

The new economic life fostered by the Marshall Plan paved the way to a better standard of living in the countries of Europe.

The ideals behind the Marshall Plan gave life to the idea of the North Atlantic Alliance and the European Community.

The North Atlantic Alliance to this day provides the shield behind which western civilization continues to flourish. Without the Alliance there would be no guarantee of continued peace and freedom. Because of the Alliance, democracy and political stability, the ultimate foundations of peace, are alive and well on both sides of the Atlantic.

The Atlantic Alliance provides for the defense of Europe. The deterrence which we maintain in concert with our Allies protects us all. At the same time, we share the common goal of eliminating the weapons of war, particularly weapons of great devastation. It is for that reason that we, in consultation with our Allies, have proposed genuine and significant reductions in the numbers of nuclear weapons which both sides possess as well as doing away with chemical weapons, as well as reducing -- in a mutual and balanced way -- the conventional forces facing each other in Europe.

These arms control negotiations are aimed at creating a more stable world and reducing the threat of war. Indeed, with the pace of technological progress wars have become more



destructive over the centuries. Yet, with cooperation and honest effort, countries can set aside the causes of war.

As reflected in the Alliance, the rivalries which bedeviled Western Europe for centuries have been interred. In their place we have erected a unique system of economic, political and security cooperation which embraces the democracies of Western Europe and North America. The American security guarantee remains indispensable to the continued freedom and independence of the European democracies, just as the strength and freedom of our European Allies is vital to the future of our own Republic.

The destruction of World War II left Europe weakened in the face of a Soviet Union. We saw threatening Soviet actions in Berlin, in Eastern Europe, and even as far away as Korea.

In response, men of vision on both sides of the Atlantic -- and in the Pacific -- produced a new framework of peacetime cooperation. Four decades later we find that peacetime cooperation has been successful. We believe that can continue. We believe it will continue.

There is a lesson in the events we honor here and the organization of the world which grew out of the war. Come to Normandy and see the sacrifice made. Visit Europe and North America and see the freedoms which exist. Visit Berlin or Chicago or Tokyo and see what free people can accomplish.

Walk in the cemeteries of Normandy -- in all the cemeteries -- both those of the then adversaries and of the

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-7-

Allies. Honor the dead on both sides. Let the visitor who comes as we do today be rededicated to maintain freedom and peace -- and honor the memory of those who gave their all for our liberty.

Never forget what they sacrificed -- and why. The most fitting memorial we can build to those who gave their lives for peace is a world dedicated to peace. Working together, we can bring about such a world.

Drafted:EUR:JHKelly  
4/30/84 632-1566

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Unclassified

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IMMEDIATE

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WHITE HOUSE  
SITUATION ROOM

FROM/LOCATION/

1. Tim Coyle - White House staff Bayeux

TO/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

1. White House Kim White EOB x7750

2. (speechwriters office) TOL 311905-8 x2126

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SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS:

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CLASSIFICATION

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

KIM WHITE:

ATTACHED IS A  
LIST OF O-DAY  
SOLDIERS BURIED  
NEAR WHERE  
THE PRESIDENT WILL  
BE, PER OUR  
CONVERSATION 5/29.

T. COYLE



Marion L. PARKER  
S. SGT 544 Bb Sq 384 Bb Gp H  
Calif April 27 1944

Howard J. FRIEDMAN  
Maj 4 Armd Div  
Calif Aug 19 1944

Harlan MELVIN  
Pvt 120 Inf 30 Div  
Illin July 1944

John C. MORROW  
Pfc 60 Inf 9 Div  
Illin July 24 1944

Donald E. BUCKLAND  
S/Sgt 327 Bb Sq 92 Bb Gp H  
Calif Oct 9 1942

Clarence G. SESTERHENN  
Pvt 329 Inf 83 Div  
Illin July 13 1944

William A. THOMAS  
Pvt 120 Inf 30 Div  
Illin July 7 1944

Floyd S. BREHM  
S/Sgt 330 Inf 83 Div  
Calif July 23 1944

Roland E. NEWFIELD  
Pfc 329 Inf 83 Div  
Illin July 22 1944

Michael B. WITZMAN  
Pvt 117 Inf 30 Div  
Illin July 26 1944

Joseph T. SCHOUTEN  
1Lt 671 Bb Sq 416 Bb Gp L  
Illin April 23 1944

John W. PRICE  
Sgt 505 Frcht Inf 82 AEN Div  
Calif June 15 1944

Billy SANGSTER  
Pvt 359 Inf 90 Div  
Calif July 3 1944

Richard W. MONTELL JR.  
1Lt 50 Ftr Sq 339 Ftr Gp  
Calif June 15 1944

David F. REAGAN  
Illinois

Julie, May 31  
Tim Coyle sent this  
up from Normandy today. The  
Pres. will walk by many graves  
at the St. Laurent Cemetery. Here  
are a few grave w/ names he might  
possibly recognize from California  
or his boyhood in Illinois. If he  
did know any of these it would  
be a nice gesture to point them out to  
him.  
Kim W.

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# POLITICAL HANDBOOK OF THE WORLD: 1982-1983

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*Governments and Intergovernmental Organizations  
as of January 1, 1983*

*(with major leadership changes through July 1, 1983)*

EDITED BY  
Arthur S. Banks  
AND  
William Overstreet

INTERGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION EDITORS

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AND  
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Sydney Tokyo Toronto

seek "to overthrow the government of the Republic of the Philippines or to dismember any portion thereof".

## LEGISLATURE

An interim National Assembly (*Batasang Pambansa*), sanctioned by the 1973 constitution, was convened June 12, 1978. The Assembly is a unicameral body, a majority of whose 192 members were elected on April 7 for six-year terms. At its inaugural session the distribution was as follows: New Society Movement, 151 seats; *Pusyon Visaya*, 13; Mindanao Alliance, 1; representatives of sectoral organizations, 14; cabinet ministers (appointed), 13.

*Speaker*: Querube MAKALINTAL.

## CABINET

Prime Minister  
Deputy Prime Minister

César E.A. Virata  
José A. Roño

### Ministers

Agrarian Reform  
Agriculture  
Budget  
Education and Culture  
Energy  
Finance  
Foreign Affairs  
Health  
Human Settlements  
Industry and Trade  
Justice  
Labor and Employment  
Local Government  
Muslim Affairs  
National Defense  
Natural Resources  
Public Information  
Public Works and Highways  
Social Services and Development  
Tourism  
Transportation and Communications  
Solicitor General

Conrado F. Estrella  
Arturo R. Tanco, Jr.  
Manuel S. Alba  
Onofre D. Corpuz  
Gerónimo Z. Velasco  
César E.A. Virata  
Carlos P. Romulo  
Jesus C. Azurin  
Imelda R. Marcos  
Roberto V. Ongpin  
Ricardo C. Puno  
Blas F. Ople  
José A. Roño  
Romulo M. Espaldon  
Juan Ponce Enrile  
Teodoro Q. Peña  
Gregorio S. Cendaña  
Jesus S. Hipolito  
Sylvia P. Montes  
José D. Aspiras  
José P. Dans  
Estelito P. Mendoza

## NEWS MEDIA

All newspapers and radio stations were temporarily shut down upon the imposition of martial law in September 1972. Currently, all media remain under strict government control and are expected to practice self-censorship.

**Press.** Upon easing of the press ban in 1973-1974, newspapers slowly reemerged under the supervision of the Philippine Council for Print Media. The following are English-language dailies published at Manila, unless otherwise noted: *Bulletin Today* (273,000 daily, 307,400 Sunday); *Philippine Daily Express* (260,000 daily, 275,000 Sunday), in English and Filipino; *Times Journal* (250,000); *Balita* (136,700), in Tagalog; *Bisaya* (55,000), weekly, in Cebu-Visayan; *Bannawag* (45,000), weekly, in Ilocano; *Business Day* (Quezon City, 26,250).

**News agencies.** The domestic facility is the Philippines News Agency; a number of foreign bureaus also maintain offices at Manila.

**Radio and television.** Radio and television standards are set by the Broadcast Media Council of the Philippines. The National Telecommunications Commission, a facility of the Ministry of Transportation and Communications, supervises all radio broadcasts, which in 1982 reached approximately 2.2 million sets. The principal broadcasting group is the Association of Broadcasters in the Philippines (*Kapisanan ng Mga Brod-*

*kaster sa Pilipinas*). There are approximately 270 commercial and non-commercial radio stations; the 5 principal television networks were received by over 950,000 sets in 1982.

## INTERGOVERNMENTAL REPRESENTATION

**Ambassador to the US:** Benjamin T. ROMUALDEZ.

**US Ambassador to the Philippines:** Michael Hayden ARMACOST.

**Permanent Representative to the UN:** Luis MORENO-SALCEDO.

**IGO Memberships (Non-UN):** ADB, APCC, ASEAN, CCC, CP, ICAC, ICO, Inmarsat, Intelsat, ISO, IWC.

## POLAND

Polish People's Republic  
*Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa*

**Political Status:** Independent state reconstituted 1918; Communist People's Republic established 1947; present constitution promulgated July 22, 1952; martial law declared December 13, 1981, and suspended December 31, 1982.

**Area:** 120,725 sq. mi. (312,677 sq. km.).

**Population:** 35,061,450 (1978C), 36,658,000 (1983E).

**Major Urban Centers (1980E):** WARSAW (1,577,000); Łódź (831,000), Kraków (706,000); Wrocław (609,000); Poznań (546,000); Gdańsk (449,000); Szczecin (388,000).

**Official Language:** Polish.

**Monetary Unit:** Złoty (noncommercial rate December 1982, 88.00 zlotys = \$1US).

**Chairman of the Council of State (Head of State):** Henryk JABŁOŃSKI; elected by the *Sejm* (Parliament) on March 28, 1972, succeeding Józef CYRANKIEWICZ; reelected in 1976 and on April 2, 1980.

**Chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and First Secretary of the Central Committee, Polish United Workers' Party:** Wojciech JARUZELSKI; elected by the *Sejm* to succeed Józef PIŃKOWSKI as Chairman of the Council of Ministers on February 11, 1981, and by the party's Central Committee to succeed Stanisław KANIA as First Secretary on October 18; named Chairman of the MCNS by the Council of State on December 13.

## THE COUNTRY

A land of plains, rivers, and forests uneasily situated between the German Democratic Republic in the west and the Russian, Lithuanian, Byelorussian, and Ukrainian



Soviet Socialist republics in the east, Poland has been troubled throughout its history by a lack of firm natural boundaries to demarcate its territory from that of its powerful neighbors. Its present borders reflect major post-World War II adjustments that involved both the loss of some 70,000 square miles of former Polish territory to the USSR and the acquisition of some 40,000 square miles of former German territory along the country's northern and western frontiers, the latter accompanied by large-scale resettlement of the area by Poles. These boundary changes, following upon the Nazi liquidation of most of Poland's prewar Jewish population, left the country with a populace that is 96 percent Polish in ethnic composition and 90 percent Roman Catholic in religious faith.

On October 22, 1978, Karol Cardinal Wojtyła, archbishop of Kraków, was invested as the 264th pope of the Roman Catholic Church. The first Pole ever selected for that office, Pope JOHN PAUL II was regarded as a politically astute advocate of Church independence who had worked successfully within the strictures of a Communist regime. During a June 2-10, 1979, visit by the pope to his homeland, he was greeted by crowds estimated at 6 million. In 1980 the continuing power of the Church was perhaps best demonstrated by the influence exerted by Polish primate Stefan Cardinal WYSZYŃSKI in moderating the policies of the country's newly formed free labor unions while playing a key role in persuading the Communist leadership to grant them official recognition. Cardinal Wyszyński died on May 28, 1981, and was succeeded as primate on July 7 by Archbishop Józef GLEMP, whose efforts to emulate his predecessor were jolted on December 13 by the imposition of martial law and the banning of all trade-union activity.

Poland's economy underwent dramatic changes in the years after World War II, with the majority of the work force being shifted into the industrial sector. A resource base that included coal, copper, and natural gas deposits contributed to significant expansion in the fertilizer, petrochemical, machinery, electronic, and shipbuilding industries, placing Poland among the world's dozen largest industrial nations. On the other hand, attempts to collectivize agriculture proved largely unsuccessful, with 80 percent of cultivated land remaining in private hands. Most importantly, the retention of traditional farming methods and the fragility of soil and climatic conditions led to periodic agricultural shortages which, in turn, contributed to consumer unrest.

Due in large part to work stoppages and other forms of labor protest, the country experienced an acute economic crisis during 1981, industrial production and national income falling by 19 and 13 percent, respectively, while the cost of living increased by 25 percent. During the same period, exports fell by nearly 15 percent, resulting in a trade deficit of more than \$2 billion, while the total foreign debt rose to nearly \$30 billion. Some recovery was registered in the export sector in 1982 as coal shipments improved, although overall industrial output continued to decline. Most serious, however, was the fact that nearly one-third of the external debt was due for repayment, necessitating extensive negotiations before a rescheduling agreement was reached with some 500 Western creditors on April 6.

## GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

**Political background.** Tracing its origins as a Christian nation to 966 AD, Poland became an influential kingdom in late medieval and early modern times, functioning as an elective monarchy until its liquidation by Austria, Prussia, and Russia in the successive partitions of 1772, 1793, and 1795. Its reemergence as an independent republic at the close of World War I was followed in 1926 by the establishment of a military dictatorship headed initially by Marshal Józef PIŁSUDSKI. The first direct victim of Nazi aggression in World II, Poland was jointly occupied by Germany and the USSR, coming under full German control with the outbreak of German-Soviet hostilities in June 1941.

After the war, a Communist-controlled "Polish Committee of National Liberation", established under Soviet auspices at Lublin in 1944, was transformed into a Provisional Government and then merged with a splinter group of the anti-Communist Polish government-in-exile in London to form in 1945 a Provisional Government of National Unity. The new government was headed by Polish Socialist Party (PPS) leader Edward OSÓBKA-MORAWSKI, with Władysław GÓMUŁKA, head of the (Communist) Polish Workers' Party (PPR) and minister of recovered territories, and Stanisław MIKOŁAJCZYK, chairman of the Polish Peasants' Alliance (PSL) and minister of agriculture and agricultural reforms, as vice premiers. Communist tactics in liberated Poland prevented the holding of free elections as envisaged at the Yalta Conference in February 1945, and the election that was ultimately held in 1947 represented the final step in the establishment of control by the PPR, which forced the PPS into a 1948 merger under the rubric of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR).

Poland's Communist regime has been subject to periodic crises resulting from far-ranging political and economic problems. As in many East European countries, the period immediately following the war was characterized by subservience to Moscow and the use of Stalinist methods to consolidate the regime. In 1948 Gomułka was accused of "rightist and nationalist deviations", which led to his replacement by Bolesław BIERUT and his subsequent imprisonment (1951-1954). By 1956, however, post-Stalin liberalization was generating political turmoil, precipitated by the sudden death of Bierut in Moscow and "bread and freedom" riots at Poznań, and Gomułka returned to power as the symbol of a "Polish path to socialism". The new regime initially yielded a measure of political stability, but by the mid-1960s Gomułka was confronted with growing dissent among intellectuals and students as well as with factional rivalry within the party leadership. These resulted in Gomułka-inspired anti-Semitic and anti-intellectual campaigns in 1967-1968 and the subsequent mass emigration of some 18,000 Polish Jews (out of an estimated 25,000) by 1971. Drastic price increases caused a serious outbreak of workers' riots in December 1970, which, although primarily economic in nature, provoked a political crisis that led to the replacement of Gomułka as PZPR first secretary by Edward GIEREK, with Piotr JAROSZEWICZ succeeding Józef CYRANKIEWICZ as chairman of the Council of Ministers.

On February 18, 1980, Edward BABIUCH was named to replace Jaroszewicz. The principal reason for the change appeared to be the country's worsening economic position: a program of rapid industrialization introduced in the early 1970s had combined with higher costs for fuel and raw material imports, greater competitiveness for export markets, and a series of poor harvests to produce an accelerating foreign debt and, in 1979, a drop in national income. Following a parliamentary election held March 23, Babiuch presented on April 4 a restructured Council of Ministers and announced a new austerity program that called for a reduction in imports, improved industrial efficiency, and the gradual withdrawal of food subsidies, with greater attention being paid to housing needs and increased meat supplies.

In early July the government began to implement new marketing procedures for meat that in effect raised prices by some 60 percent. In plants scattered throughout Poland, workers responded by demanding wage adjustments, with over 100 brief strikes resulting from management's initial refusal to comply. By early August, however, the stoppages had begun to assume a more overtly political character, with employees demanding that they be allowed to establish "workers' committees" to replace the PZPR-dominated, government-controlled official trade unions. Among those marshaling support for the strikers was the Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR), the largest of a number of recently established dissident groups.

On August 14 the 17,000 workers at the Lenin Shipyard at Gdańsk struck, occupied the grounds, and issued a list of demands that included the right to organize independent unions; a rollback of meat prices; higher wages, family allowances, and pensions; erection of a monument honoring the workers killed in the 1970 demonstrations; reinstatement of dismissed workers; and publication of their demands by the mass media. Three days later, workers from 21 industries in the area of the Baltic port presented an expanded list of 16 demands that called for recognition of the right of all workers to strike, abolition of censorship, and release of political prisoners. In an emergency session held the same day, the PZPR Politburo directed a commission headed by Tadeusz PYKA to open negotiations with strike committees from individual enterprises but to reject participation by "interfactory strike committees". On August 21, by which time the strikes involved 150,000 workers in the Gdańsk area and had spread elsewhere, notably to the port of Szczecin, the hard-liner Pyka was replaced by Mieczysław JAGIELSKI, who two days later agreed to meet with delegates of the Gdańsk interfactory committee headed by Lech WAŁĘSA, a former shipyard worker who had helped organize the 1970 demonstrations. On August 30 strike settlements were completed at Gdańsk as well as at Szczecin, where collateral discussions had been under way. Having been approved by the *Sejm*, the 21-point Gdańsk Agreement was signed by Jagielski and Wałęsa on August 31. While recognizing the position of the PZPR as the "leading force" in society, the unprecedented document stated, "It has been found necessary to call up new, self-governing trade unions which would become authentic representatives of the working class". Government concessions included a wage settlement; in-

creased support for medical, educational, housing, and pension needs; improved distribution of consumer goods, with the question of meat prices to be reexamined; reconsideration of censorship laws; adoption of a five-day work-week by 1982; and a commitment both to recognize the legitimacy of independent unions and to guarantee the right of workers to join them.

Although most workers along the Baltic coast returned to their jobs on September 1, strikes continued to break out in other areas, particularly the coal- and copper-mining region of Silesia, and on September 6 First Secretary Gierek resigned, Stanisław KANIA succeeding him. Earlier, on August 24, Józef PIŃKOWSKI had replaced Edward Babiuch as chairman of the Council of Ministers, with a number of individual ministries also changing hands.

On September 15 registration procedures to be followed by independent unions were announced, with authority to approve union statutes delegated to the Warsaw provincial court. Three days later, 250 representatives of new labor groups established at Gdańsk a "National Committee of Solidarity" (*Solidarność*) with Lech Wałęsa as chairman, and on September 24 the organization applied for registration as the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity. The court objected, however, to the proposed governing statutes, particularly the absence of any specific reference to the PZPR as the country's leading political force, and it was not until November 10—two days before a threatened strike by Solidarity—that the Supreme Court, ruling in the union's favor, removed amendments imposed by the lower court, the union accepting as an annex a statement of the party's role. By December, some 40 free trade unions had been registered, while on January 1, 1981, the official Central Council of Trade Unions was dissolved, virtually all of its 23 PZPR-dominated member unions having either voted to register as independents or undergone substantial membership depletion.

The unprecedented events of 1980 yielded sharp cleavages between Wałęsa and radical elements within Solidarity, and between moderate and hard-line factions of the PZPR. Fueled by the success of the registration campaign, labor unrest increased further in early 1981, accompanied by appeals from the private agricultural sector for recognition of a "Rural Solidarity", while the PZPR, which had failed to agree on a series of internal reforms necessitated by the Gierek resignation, delayed in setting a precise date for an extraordinary party congress that had been announced for late March. Amid growing indications of concern by other Eastern-bloc states, Pińkowski resigned as chairman of the Council of Ministers and was succeeded on February 11 by the minister of defense, Gen. Wojciech JARUZELSKI. Initially welcomed in his new role by most Poles, including the moderate Solidarity leadership, Jaruzelski attempted to initiate a dialogue with nonparty groups and introduced a ten-point economic program designed to promote recovery and counter "false anarchistic paths contrary to socialism". The situation again worsened following a resumption of government action against KOR and other dissident groups, although the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union for Private Farmers—Solidarity (Rural Solidarity), which claimed between 2.5 and 3.5 million members, was officially registered on May 12.



At the extraordinary PZPR congress that finally convened on July 14 at Warsaw, more than 93 percent of those attending could claim no such previous experience because of the introduction of secret balloting at the local level for the selection of delegates. As a consequence, very few renominations were entered for outgoing Central Committee members, while only four former members were reelected to the Politburo. Stanisław Kania was, however, retained as first secretary in the first secret, multicandidate balloting for the office in PZPR history.

Evidence of government displeasure at its increasingly political posture notwithstanding, Solidarity held its first National Congress at Gdańsk on September 5-10 and September 25-October 7. After reelecting Wałęsa as its chairman, the union approved numerous resolutions, including a call for wide-ranging changes in the structure of trade-union activity. Subsequently, at the conclusion of a plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee held on October 16-18 to review the party's position in light of the Solidarity congress, First Secretary Kania submitted his resignation and was immediately replaced by General Jaruzelski, who, on October 28, made a number of changes in the membership of both the Politburo and Secretariat. Collaterally, Jaruzelski moved to expand the role of the army in maintaining public order.

During the remaining weeks of 1981, relations between the government and Solidarity progressively worsened, a crisis being generated at the announcement by a union coordinating commission on December 11 that it would conduct a national referendum on January 15 that was expected to yield, in effect, an expression of no confidence in the Jaruzelski regime. The government responded by arresting most of the Solidarity leadership, including Wałęsa, while the Council of State on December 13 declared martial law under a Military Committee for National Salvation headed by Jaruzelski. Subsequently, a number of stringent decrees were promulgated that, inter alia, effectively banned all organized nongovernmental activity except for religious observances, abolished the right to strike, placed major economic sectors under military discipline, closed down all nonofficial communications media, and established summary trial courts for those charged with violation of martial law regulations.

A number of the restrictive measures were eased during 1982 as opportunities for overt opposition dissipated, the most violent confrontations occurring in late August on the approach of the anniversary of the 1980 Gdańsk accord. On October 8 the *Sejm* approved legislation that formally dissolved all existing trade unions and established guidelines for new government-controlled organizations to replace them. The measures were widely condemned by Church and other groups, and Solidarity's underground leadership called for a nationwide protest strike on November 10. However, the appeal yielded only limited public support, and Wałęsa was released from detention two days later. On December 18 the *Sejm* approved a suspension (not a lifting) of martial law that voided most of its remaining overt manifestations while empowering the government to reimpose direct military rule if it should deem such action necessary.

**Constitution and government.** As in other Eastern-bloc

countries, political authority in Poland is centered in the (Communist) Polish United Workers' Party, which holds all key posts in the government. The present constitution, adopted in 1952 to replace the so-called "Little Constitution" of 1947, vests supreme authority in the unicameral Parliament (*Sejm*). Although elections are based on a single list approved by the Communist-dominated Front of National Unity, the system differs from those of other East European countries in that it permits the election of a small group of independent and nonparty deputies. The Parliament, in turn, elects the Council of Ministers (cabinet) and a Council of State, whose chairman exercises the mainly ceremonial functions of head of state. A Supreme Chamber of Control is responsible for supervising all activities of state administration. Under a constitutional amendment passed on October 8, 1980, the Chamber became directly responsible to the *Sejm*, having previously been subordinate to the Council of State (until 1976) and then to the chairman of the Council of Ministers. The 1980 amendment was intended to facilitate the Chamber's investigation of governmental corruption. The 20-member Military Council of National Salvation, established in December 1981, continued in existence upon the suspension of martial law a year later. The judiciary has three tiers: regional courts, provincial courts, and a Supreme Court. Judges of the Supreme Court are elected for five-year terms by the Council of State; the lower courts include a magistrate and two lay judges, although three professional judges sit for cases appealed to the provincial level.

As a result of constitutional and administrative reforms in 1975, the number of provinces (voivodships, or *województwo*) was increased from 22 to 49. Subdivisions include cities and towns, districts, and communes. People's councils elected for four-year terms constitute "local organs of state authority", while "local organs of State administration" include governors (*województwie*) and mayors (*majorowie*). —

**Foreign relations.** Postwar Polish foreign policy, based primarily on a close alliance with the Soviet Union, has entailed the continued stationing of Soviet troops in Poland as well as Polish participation in the Warsaw Pact and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA). The events of the second half of 1980 elicited harsh criticism from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany while prompting expressions of concern in the West that the Warsaw Pact might intervene militarily, as it had in Hungary in 1956 and again in Czechoslovakia in 1968. At an unannounced meeting of Pact leaders at Moscow, USSR, on December 5, First Secretary Kania, according to unconfirmed reports, was able to dissuade the more hard-line members from calling for intervention. At the time, some 500,000 troops were positioned within striking distance of the Polish border, while Warsaw Pact maneuvers in the area during March and April 1981 were widely interpreted as intended to bring pressure on both the unions and the PZPR to end clashes between police and farmers demonstrating on behalf of Rural Solidarity. Predictably, the Soviet Union and most Eastern-bloc countries endorsed the Polish government's actions of the following December, Soviet President Brezhnev declaring in the course of a March 1982 state visit to Moscow by General Jaruzelski



that they were "timely measures" without which "the stability of Europe and even of the world at large would have been at risk". For its part, the United States immediately suspended food shipments to Poland and subsequently imposed a variety of economic and other sanctions against both Poland and the USSR, charging the latter with "a heavy and direct responsibility for . . . the suppression that has ensued".

**Current issues.** Many observers have viewed Solidarity's open challenge to the Jaruzelski government in December 1981 as foolhardy, arguing that the regime would have lost all remaining vestiges of credibility if it had not responded as it did, and that the alternative would almost certainly have resulted in direct Soviet intervention.

During the following year, amid sporadic but generally short-lived public disturbances, the government gradually consolidated its position in both the political and economic spheres. The major response to the passing of new trade-union legislation in October was US suspension of Poland's "most favored" trade status, while hard-line elements pressed for a purge of moderates within the PZPR, the abandonment of key features of the earlier economic reform program, and measures designed to confine the clergy to the exercise of purely religious functions. Archbishop Glemp nonetheless declared in a sermon on November 22 that Polish Catholics should attempt to increase their level of participation in public affairs, after earlier announcing that a papal visit (originally planned for August 1982) had been rescheduled for June 1983.

Prior to the suspension of martial law, a Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) was established by a number of former Solidarity moderates and representatives of other groups. However, the Movement was believed to enjoy the support of the government and, as such, was coolly received by most Church authorities.

## POLITICAL PARTIES AND GROUPS

Poland's dominant Communist party, officially known since 1948 as the Polish United Workers' Party, exercises its authority through a **Front of National Unity** (*Front Jedności Narodowej*—FJN), which also includes two nominally noncommunist groups, the United Peasants' Party and the Democratic Party, in addition to various trade-union, Catholic, women's, youth, and other mass organizations. Legislative elections are organized by the Front of National Unity on the basis of a single list which, although designed to perpetuate Communist control, offers a carefully circumscribed choice between party and independent candidates. The chairman of the Presidium of the Front's All-Poland Committee is Henryk JABŁOŃSKI.

A number of dissident organizations came into existence in the latter 1970s, the principal associations being listed below, under Former Dissident Groups. Although the free trade unions formed after August 1980 often explicitly disavowed any political intent, their implicitly political nature was clear both within and outside Poland. All such organizations are now officially banned.

### Government Parties:

Polish United Workers' Party (*Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza*

—PZPR). Formed in 1948 by merger of the (Communist) Polish Workers' Party and the Polish Socialist Party, the PZPR claimed approximately 3 million members prior to the events of 1980–1981, in the course of which much attrition occurred. At the Ninth (Extraordinary) Party Congress, held July 14–20, 1981, at Warsaw, 1,955 delegates elected a Central Committee of 200 full members and 70 candidates; a Politburo of 15 full and 5 candidate members was also named. A Party Control Commission supervises internal discipline and hears appeals related to decisions by lower party units.

The PZPR has held a position of undisputed predominance despite internal rivalries that, in conjunction with the country's economic woes and the leadership's initial inability to contain the free labor movement, contributed to changes in the Politburo membership on five separate occasions in 1980. At the end of the year, only 5 of those who had constituted the Politburo in January remained members: President of the Republic Henryk Jabłoński; Deputy Premier Mieczysław Jagielski, who was chiefly responsible for negotiating the August 31 agreement with strikers at Gdańsk; Minister of Defense Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski; Stanisław Kania, who replaced Edward Gierk as first secretary on September 6; and Stefan Olszowski, who had been dismissed from the Politburo on February 15 but was reinstated on August 24. Equally extensive changes occurred during 1980 in the administrative Secretariat.

At the reformist Ninth Congress, only four incumbent Politburo members (Jaruzelski, Kania, Olszowski, and Kazimierz Barcikowski) were retained, while a number of other changes in late 1982 reflected a resurgence of hard-line sentiment.

*First Secretary:* Gen. Wojciech JARUZELSKI.

*Other Members of Politburo:* Kazimierz BARCIKOWSKI, Tadeusz CZECHOWICZ, Józef CZYREK, Zofia GRZYB, Stanisław KAŁKUS, Stanisław KANIA, Hieronim KUBIAK, Zbigniew MESSNER, Lt. Gen. Mirosław MILEWSKI, Stefan OLSZOWSKI, Stanisław OPAŁKO, Tadeusz PORĘBSKI, Jerzy ROMANIK, Albin SIWAK, Marian WOŹNIAK.

*Candidates:* Stanisław BEJGER, Jan GŁÓWCZYK, Lt. Gen. Czesław KISZCZAK, Włodzimierz MOKRZYSCZAK, Gen. Florian SIWICKI.

*Central Committee Secretariat:* Kazimierz BARCIKOWSKI, Józef CZYREK, Jan GŁÓWCZYK, Manfred GORYWODA, Gen. Wojciech JARUZELSKI, Zbigniew MICHAŁEK, Lt. Gen. Mirosław MILEWSKI, Włodzimierz MOKRZYSCZAK, Marian ORZECZOWSKI.

**United Peasants' Party** (*Zjednoczone Stronnictwo Ludowe*—ZSL). Formed in 1949 by a merger of the Peasant Party and the Polish Peasant Party of Stanisław Mikołajczyk, the ZSL claimed a membership of 463,000 in 1981. Its activities are based on the principle of worker-peasant alliance in the construction of socialism under the leadership of the PZPR.

*Leader:* Roman MALIŃOWSKI (Chairman of the Supreme Executive of the Party).

**Democratic Party** (*Stronnictwo Demokratyczne*—SD). Recruiting its members predominantly from among professional and intellectual ranks but including white-collar workers and artisans as well, the non-Marxist SD, founded in 1939, claimed a membership of 110,000 in 1980.

*Leader:* Edward KOWALCZYK (Chairman of the Central Committee).

### Catholic Groups:

Although not officially recognized as parties, the following groups are represented in the legislature and are active politically. *Pax*, led by Ryszard REIFF, has consistently backed regime policies (including anti-Zionism) but does not enjoy the support of the Catholic Church; the **Christian Social Association** has sought to follow a middle course between church and state; *Znak*, a liberal group founded in the 1950s and currently led in the *Sejm* by Janusz ZABŁOCKI, has followed more independent policies and has served the vital function of proposing alternatives to government programs. On November 21, 1980, *Znak* deputy Jerzy OZDOWSKI was named a deputy premier of the Council of Ministers, a position that he held until being named a deputy marshal of the *Sejm* on July 21, 1982.

### Former Dissident Groups:

**Committee for Social Self-Defense**—"KOR" (*Komitet Samoobrony Społecznej*—„KOR”—KSS-KOR). Organized as the Committee for the Defense of Workers (*Komitet Obrony Robotników*—KOR) in September 1976 by 14 prominent intellectuals in order to provide legal and financial



aid to workers imprisoned during mid-1976 price-hike demonstrations, the Committee laid much of the original groundwork for the eventual emergence of Solidarity (below). It was renamed in September 1977 but continued to be known primarily by its original acronym. The group was formally disbanded on September 28, 1981, during the Solidarity National Congress to dispell government charges that it was operating as a counter-revolutionary enclave within the labor movement.

**Movement for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights** (*Ruch Obrony Praw Człowieka i Obywatela*—ROPCO). Formed in March 1977 initially to monitor compliance with the 1975 Helsinki accords, ROPCO represented no clearly defined ideology, though it tended to be more conservative and nationalistic than KOR.

**Confederation of Independent Poland** (*Konfederacja Polski Niezależnej*—KPN). The KPN, whose membership included a number of former ROPCO nationalists, was formed on September 1, 1979, with much the same purpose as the semiclandestine patriotic Polish Agreement on Independence (*Polskie Porozumienie Niepodległościowe*—PPN), established in 1977: to promote "freedom and independence" for Poland. Viewing itself as an unofficial political party, the KPN intended to contest the March 23, 1980, *Sejm* election, but its leaders were arrested and a February 27 meeting with the Western press was banned. On December 17 the Confederation announced that it was suspending its activities because of the country's crisis situation.

#### Former Free Labor Movement:

**Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity** (*Niezależny Samorząd Związków Zawodowych „Solidarność”*—NSZZ Solidarity). Originating in a conference of independent labor groups held at Gdańsk on September 17–18, 1980, at which time a national coordinating committee chaired by Lech WAŁĘSA was established, Solidarity applied for formal recognition on September 24 and accepted registration on October 24, pending appeal of changes made to its governing statutes by the provincial court at Warsaw. On November 10 the Chamber of Labor and Social Security of the Supreme Court ruled in favor of the union, which during the next 13 months continued to press for implementation by the government of all provisions of the August 31 Gdańsk Agreement.

In structure Solidarity was an interprofessional confederation of independent labor groups from throughout Poland, with a National Coordinating Committee acting as an executive. In mid-1981 its membership was estimated at 10 million workers, or some 50 percent of the Polish labor force. It was officially banned upon the imposition of martial law in December 1981.

## LEGISLATURE

The **National Assembly** (*Sejm*) is a unicameral body of 460 members elected from 72 electoral districts by universal direct suffrage for a four-year term; a single list of approved candidates is presented by the Front of National Unity, which also determines the allocation of seats among the Polish United Workers' Party, the United Peasants' Party, the Democratic Party, and nonparty members (including representatives of the Catholic groups). The most recent election was held March 23, 1980, when 646 candidates contested seats.

**Marshal:** Stanisław GUCWA.

## CABINET

Chairman, Council of  
Ministers  
Deputy Chairmen

Wojciech Jaruzelski  
Zenon Komender  
Edward Kowalczyk  
Zbigniew Madej  
Roman Maliński  
Janusz Obodowski  
Mieczysław F. Rakowski  
Zbigniew Szalajda

### Ministers

Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection	Tadeusz Hupałowski
Agriculture and Food Economy	Jerzy Wojtecki
Chemical and Light Industry	Edward Grzywa
Communications	Władysław Majewski
Construction and Construction Materials Industry	Stanisław Kukuryka
Culture and Art	Kazimierz Zygulski
Domestic Trade and Services	Zygmunt Łakomiec
Education and Upbringing	Bolesław Faron
Finance	Stanisław Niekarcz
Foreign Affairs	Stefan Olszowski
Foreign Trade	Tadeusz Nestorowicz
Forestry and Timber Industry	Waldemar Kozłowski
Health and Social Welfare	Tadeusz Szelachowski
Internal Affairs	Czesław Kiszczak
Justice	Sylwester Zawadzki
Labor, Wages and Social Affairs	(Vacant)
Maritime Economy	Jerzy Korzonek
Materials Management	Jan Antosik
Metallurgy and Engineering Industry	Edward Lukosz
Mining and Power Industry	Gen. Czesław Piotrowski
National Defense	Wojciech Jaruzelski
Office for Religious Affairs	Adam Lopatka
Price Affairs	Zdzisław Krasiński
Science, Higher Education and Technology	Benon Miśkiewicz
Trade and Union Affairs	Stanisław Ciosek
Transportation	Janusz Kamiński
Veterans' Affairs	(Vacant)
Without Portfolio	Władysław Jabłoński
	Andrzej Ornat

## NEWS MEDIA

Although then First Secretary Gierek stated in December 1977 that the Polish press is free, "the only limits being the expression of ideas contrary to Poland's unity or offensive to the Church", news media—with the notable exception of the underground press—continued under government control. For the most part, the government made little effort to halt publication of "uncensored" (*samizdat*) publications, many of which were openly distributed prior to the imposition of martial law in late 1981, when strict censorship was imposed.

**Press.** The following are Polish-language dailies published at Warsaw, unless otherwise noted: *Trybuna Ludu* (1,100,000 daily, 1,300,000 weekend), PZPR Central Committee organ; *Trybuna Robotnicza* (Katowice, 691,000 daily, 1,250,000 weekend), PZPR regional organ; *Express Wieczorny* (568,000), independent; *Gromada-Rolnik Polski* (450,000), agricultural triweekly; *Życie Warszawy* (380,000), independent; *Polityka* (290,000), independent weekly; *Sztandar Młodych* (245,000), Socialist Youth Union (ZMS) organ; *Głos Pracy* (205,000); *Kurier Polski* (170,600), SD organ; *Zielony Sztandar* (160,000), twice weekly ZSL organ; *Dziennik Ludowy* (150,000 daily, 340,000 weekend), ZSL organ; *Słowo Powszechne* (100,000), Pax organ; *Nowe Drogi* (85,000), PZPR theoretical monthly; *Życie Literackie* (Kraków, 70,000), independent literary weekly; *Tygodnik Demokratyczny* (40,000), weekly SD organ; *Więź*, *Znak* monthly. Several papers are also published in the languages of the national minorities (Byelorussian, German, Jewish, Russian, Ukrainian).

**News agencies.** The Polish Press Agency (*Polska Agencja Prasowa*—PAP), with offices in numerous Polish and foreign cities, transmits information abroad in five languages. Polish Agency Interpress (*Polska Agencja Interpress*—PAI), established to assist the PAP, issues foreign-language bulletins and aids foreign journalists. Central Press-Photo Agency (*Centralna Agencja Fotograficzna*—CAF) provides photographic services for press institutions. Numerous foreign agencies maintain bureaus at Warsaw.

**Radio and television.** Broadcasting operates under the supervision

June 28, 1981, the National Unity Party held 18 seats; the Communal Liberation Party, 13; the Republican Turkish Party, 6; the Democratic People's Party, 2; and the Turkish Unity Party, 1.

*President:* Nejat KONUK.

### C A B I N E T

Prime Minister	Mustafa Çağatay
<i>Ministers</i>	
Agriculture, Natural Resources and Energy	İrsen Küçük
Economy and Finance	Salih Coşar
Education, Culture, Youth and Sports	Ahmet Atamsoy
Foreign Affairs and Defense	Dr. Kenan Atakol
Health and Labor	Özer Taksin
Industry and Cooperatives	İsmet Kotak
Interior and Housing	Eşber Serakinci
Public Works and Communications	Mehmet Bayram
State and Social Affairs	İsmail Tezer
Trade and Tourism	Nazif Borman

### N E W S M E D I A

**Press.** The following are published daily at Nicosia in Turkish, unless otherwise noted: *Bozkurt* (5,000); *Halkın Sesi* (5,000); *Zaman* (3,000); *News Bulletin* (3,000), official publication in English.

**News agency.** The Turkish-sector facility is Turkish News Cyprus.

**Radio and television.** Broadcasting in the Turkish sector is controlled by *Radio Bayrak* and *Radio Bayrak Televizyon*. There were approximately 45,000 television receivers in the sector in 1982.

### I N T E R G O V E R N M E N T A L R E P R E S E N T A T I O N

The Turkish Federated State has not sought general international recognition and maintains no missions abroad, except for a representative at New York who is recognized by the United Nations as official spokesman for the Turkish Cypriot community; it did, however, participate in an Islamic Conference meeting on economic cooperation at Ankara, Turkey, November 4-6, 1980.

IGO Memberships (Non-UN): IC.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Czechoslovak Socialist Republic  
*Československá Socialistická Republika*

**Political Status:** Independent republic established 1918; Communist People's Republic established 1948; declared a Socialist Republic 1960; federal system established January 1, 1969.

**Area:** 49,370 sq. mi. (127,869 sq. km.).

**Population:** 15,276,799 (1980C), 15,337,000 (1983E).

**Major Urban Centers (1980E):** PRAGUE (1,193,000); Bratislava (375,000); Brno (373,000); Ostrava (325,000).

**Official Languages:** Czech, Slovak.

**Monetary Unit:** Koruna (noncommercial rate December 1982, 12.44 korunas = \$1US).

**President of the Republic, Chairman of the Central Committee of the National Front, and General Secretary of the Communist Party:** Gustáv HUSÁK; elected President by the Federal Assembly on May 29, 1975, succeeding Gen. Ludvík SVOBODA; reelected on May 22, 1980; elected Chairman of the Central Committee by the National Front Congress in 1971; elected First Secretary of the Communist Party in 1969, succeeding Alexander DUBČEK; reelected (with the title of General Secretary) in 1971, 1976, and by the Sixteenth Party Congress on April 10, 1981.

**Chairman of the Government (Prime Minister):** Lubomír ŠTROUGAL; appointed by the President in 1970, succeeding Oldřich ČERNÍK; reappointed following elections in 1971, 1976, and on June 5-6, 1981.

**Prime Minister of the Czech Socialist Republic:** Josef KORČÁK; appointed by the Czech National Council in 1970; reappointed following elections in 1971, 1976, and on June 5-6, 1981.

**Prime Minister of the Slovak Socialist Republic:** Peter COLOTKA; appointed by the Slovak National Council in 1969; reappointed following elections in 1971, 1976, and on June 5-6, 1981.

### T H E C O U N T R Y

Born from the dismemberment of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire at the close of World War I, Czechoslovakia is generally considered to be the most Western oriented among the Communist-ruled countries of Eastern Europe. As its name implies, its principal ethnic components are Czechs (65 percent) and Slovaks (30 percent), the former concentrated in the western and central regions of Bohemia and Moravia, the latter in the eastern region of Slovakia. Magyars, constituting less than 5 percent of the total population, are the only substantial minority remaining since the virtual elimination of the Jewish community during the Nazi occupation of 1939-1945, the flight and expulsion of over three million Germans after World War II, and the annexation of Ruthenia by the USSR at the close of that conflict. About three-quarters of Czechoslovakia's population was formerly listed as Roman Catholic, and most of the remainder as Protestant. Both faiths have persisted despite the antireligious policies of the Communist regime.

Among CMEA member states, Czechoslovakia ranks second only to the German Democratic Republic in terms of per capita income and industrialization, although Slovakia has long been less affluent than Bohemia and Moravia. The industrial sector, virtually all of which is run by some form of collective management, supports about one-half of the labor force and is a major producer of



machinery and machine tools, chemical products, textiles, and glassware. Agriculture is likewise highly collectivized; the principal crops are wheat, potatoes, barley, and sugar beets. A series of economic reforms aimed at greater flexibility, decentralization, and responsiveness to market forces within a framework of overall planning was cut short by the invasion and partial occupation of Czechoslovakia by forces of the Warsaw Pact in August 1968. By 1980, however, the government was calling for greater efficiency, reduced budgetary aid to state enterprises, linkage between wages and productivity, and improved quality control to make Czechoslovak goods more marketable in the West.

## GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

**Political background.** From its establishment in 1918 until its dismemberment following the Munich agreement of 1938, Czechoslovakia was the most politically mature and democratically governed of the new states of Eastern Europe. Due mainly to the preponderant role of Soviet military forces in the liberation of the country at the close of World War II, however, the Communists gained a leading position in the postwar government headed by President Eduard BENEŠ, and assumed full control in February 1948.

The trial and execution of such top Communist leaders as Vladimír CLEMENTIS and Rudolf SLÁNSKÝ during the Stalinist purges in the early 1950s exemplified the country's posture as a docile Soviet satellite under the leadership of Antonín NOVOTNÝ, first secretary of the Communist Party and (from 1957) president of the Republic. By 1967 growing unrest among intellectuals and students had produced revolutionary ferment which led in early 1968 to Novotný's ouster and his replacement by Alexander DUBČEK as party first secretary and by Gen. Ludvík SVOBODA as president. Dubček, a prominent Slovak Communist, rapidly emerged as the leader of a popular movement for far-reaching political and economic reforms.

A reformist cabinet headed by Oldřich ČERNÍK took office in April 1968 with a program that included strict observance of legality, broader political discussion, greater economic and cultural freedom, and increased Slovak autonomy under new constitutional arrangements designed in part to provide for redress of economic disadvantages. Widely hailed within Czechoslovakia, these trends were sharply criticized by the Soviet Union and some other Communist governments, which culminated on August 20-21, 1968, in an invasion and partial occupation of the country by forces of the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact nations, except Romania.

The period after the invasion was characterized by the progressive entrenchment of more conservative elements within the government and the party, and by a series of pacts which specified Czechoslovakia's "international commitments", limited internal reforms, and allowed the stationing of Soviet troops on Czech soil. For a time, the pre-August leadership was left in power, but Dubček was replaced by Gustáv HUSÁK as general secretary in 1969, removed from his position in the Presidium, and in 1970

expelled from the party. Oldřich Černík retained his post as chairman of the government until 1970, when he was replaced by Lubomír ŠTROUGAL and also expelled from the party. The actions against the two leaders were paralleled by widespread purges of other reformers during 1969-1971, some 500,000 party members ultimately being affected. President Svoboda, although reelected by the Federal Assembly to a second five-year term in 1973, was replaced on May 29, 1975, by Husák, who retained his party posts. Husák was unanimously reelected president on May 22, 1980.

**Constitution and government.** The basic principles of the 1960 constitution remain in effect, as amended in 1968 to establish a federal state. All power purports to emanate from the working people, the Communist Party being designated as the vanguard of the working class and the guiding force in society and the state.

The basic administrative division is between the federal government and the two national governments, the Czech Socialist Republic in Bohemia and Moravia, with Prague as the seat of government, and the Slovak Socialist Republic in Slovakia, with Bratislava as the seat of government. Each of the component republics has its own executive and National Council (legislature), which operate concurrently with (but within the framework of their jurisdictions, independently of) the federal organs at Prague.

Nominally, the supreme organ of state power is the bicameral Czechoslovak Federal Assembly, which consists of the House of Nations and the House of the People. The Federal Assembly elects the president, who in turn appoints a cabinet that includes the chairman of the government (prime minister); both executives remain, in theory, dependent upon the Assembly. The judicial system is headed by a Supreme Court, whose judges are also elected by the Federal Assembly. Judges for regional and district courts are elected by the National Councils; there are also military tribunals and local people's courts.

**Foreign relations.** Since 1968, Czechoslovakia has maintained the posture of an obedient Soviet satellite state, adhering to Moscow's line on such events as the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea in late 1978, the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in December 1979, and the imposition of martial law in Poland in 1981. Formal diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic of Germany were not established until December 1973, although a number of economic and cultural agreements between the two countries were subsequently concluded. For more than three decades, relations with the United States and Britain were strained by an inability to resolve compensation claims against property seized in 1948 as well as by the holding at Washington and London of 18.4 metric tons of Czechoslovak gold confiscated by Germany in World War II. Both issues appeared finally to have been resolved by agreements concluded in late 1981, whereby Prague agreed to payments totalling \$81.5 million to the United States and £24 million (about \$45 million) to Britain in return for release of the gold.

**Current issues.** No significant leadership changes resulted from the Sixteenth Congress of the Communist Party on April 6-10, 1981, or from elections to the Federal Assembly and to the Czech and Slovak national legislatures



the following June 5-6. The country's Seventh Five-Year Plan (1981-1985), presented by Prime Minister Štrougal at the party Congress, set more modest goals than had been anticipated, with a projected average annual increase in national product of 2.7-3.0 percent, as compared with the 3.7 percent rate achieved under the previous plan.

The antidissident campaign launched on the tenth anniversary of the "Prague Spring" of 1968 continued to single out leading members of the "Charter 77" movement (see Political Parties and Groups, below) during 1981-1982. Some 40 individuals were arrested in 1981 in connection with efforts by foreign nationals to smuggle money and émigré materials into Czechoslovakia, while official harassment is commonplace and stiff sentences continue to be handed down on such charges as subversion and disturbing the public order.

## POLITICAL PARTIES AND GROUPS

Despite undisputed Communist Party control since 1948, Czechoslovakia has retained some elements of a multiparty system through the institution of the **National Front of the Czechoslovakian Socialist Republic** (*Národní Fronta*), which is led by the Communist Party but includes four minor parties in addition to trade-union, farmer, and other groups. Since 1968, however, public disenchantment with authorized political institutions has remained high, the majority of the population offering little more than ritualistic support for party and government.

### Government Party:

**Communist Party of Czechoslovakia** (*Komunistická Strana Československa* - KSC). Formed in 1921, the KSC was the only Communist party in Eastern Europe to operate legally prior to World War II. The party Congress, which last met April 6-10, 1981, and normally convenes every five years, elects the Central Committee, which in turn elects its Presidium and Secretariat, both headed since April 1969 by Gustáv Husák. The membership of the KSC (including candidates) was reported in 1981 to total over 1,539,000. The **Communist Party of Slovakia** (*Komunistická Strana Slovenska* - KSS) has traditionally been permitted a separate status within the formal structure of the KSC as a concession to Slovak sentiment. The KSS holds its own congresses and has a separate Central Committee.

*Secretary General:* Gustáv HUSÁK (President of the Republic).

*Other Members of Presidium of the Central Committee:* Vasil BILÁK (Secretary, Central Committee), Peter COLOTKA (Deputy Prime Minister, Chairman, Slovak National Council), Karel HOFFMAN (Chairman, Central Council of Trade Unions), Václav HŮLA (Deputy Prime Minister), Alois INDRA (Chairman, Federal Assembly), Miloš JAKEŠ (Secretary, Central Committee), Antonín KAPEK (former First Secretary, Prague KSC Committee), Josef KEMPŇÝ (former Deputy Prime Minister), Josef KORČÁK (Deputy Prime Minister; Chairman, Czech National Council), Jozef LENÁRT (First Secretary, KSS), Lubomír ŠROUGAL (Prime Minister).

*Alternate Members:* Jan FOJTÍK, Josef HAMAN, Miloslav HRUŠKOVIČ.

*Central Committee Secretariat:* Mikuláš BEŇO, Vasil BILÁK, Jan FOJTÍK, Josef HAMAN, Josef HAVLÍN, Gustáv HUSÁK, Miloš JAKEŠ, František PITRA, Jindřich POLEDNÍK (Secretaries); Marie KABRHELOVÁ, Oldřich SVETKA (Members).

### National Front Parties:

Serving mainly as transmission belts to segments of the population that reject doctrinaire communism, the other National Front parties are the **Czechoslovak Socialist Party**; the **Czechoslovak People's Party**, a Catholic group; the **Slovak Reconstruction Party**; and the **Slovak Freedom Party**.

### Dissident Groups:

**Charter 77.** The leading Czechoslovak dissident group, Charter 77 was organized to oversee government adherence to the civil and human rights specified in the constitution and in such documents as the 1948 UN Declaration of Human Rights; the 1975 Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe; and the UN Covenants on Civil and Political Rights, and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. The group's manifesto, dated January 1, 1977, was initially signed by 242 individuals, but members currently number some 1,100, many of whom have been subject to arrest, imprisonment, and official harassment in connection with such activities as issuing statements regarding specific violations of human rights, publishing unauthorized works through the underground "padlock press", participating in the semiclandestine Jan Patočka University (named after the group's first spokesman), and forming in May 1978 the **Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted** (*Výbor pro Obranu Nespravedlive Stíhaných* - VONS). Charter 77 has also called for the withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia.

Leading members of Charter 77 include Jirí HÁJEK, foreign minister during the "Prague Spring" of 1968; Pavel KOHOUT, a well-known writer deprived of his citizenship and denied reentry from Austria in October 1979; Václav HAVEL, a noted playwright sentenced in October 1979 for activities "against the state" and "in collusion with hostile forces from abroad"; Jaroslav ŠABATA, regional leader of Moravia during the Dubček administration; and Rudolf BATTEK, a sociologist who helped found both Charter 77 and VONS and who was imprisoned in July 1981 on charges of subversion.

*Spokesmen:* Václav BENDA, Jirí DIENSTBIER, Ladislav HEJDÁNEK, Marie HROMÁDKOVÁ, Václav MALÝ, Bedřich PLAČÁK, Miloš REJCHRT, Zdena TOMÍNOVÁ.

## LEGISLATURE

The **Federal Assembly** (*Federální Shromáždění*), a bicameral body, replaced the National Assembly on January 1, 1969.

*Chairman:* Alois INDRA.

**House of Nations** (*Sněmovna Národů*). The upper house comprises 150 members (75 from each Republic) directly elected for five-year terms. The most recent election was held June 5-6, 1981.

*Chairman:* Dalibor HANES.

**House of the People** (*Sněmovna Lidů*). The lower house consists of 200 members elected on the basis of population for five-year terms. The most recent election was held June 5-6, 1981, when 136 deputies were elected from the Czech Socialist Republic and 64 from the Slovak Socialist Republic.

*Chairman:* Václav DAVID.

## CABINET

Prime Minister  
Deputy Prime Ministers

Lubomír Štrougal  
Peter Colotka  
Václav Hůla  
Josef Korčák  
Karol Laco  
Matej Lúčan  
Rudolf Rohlíček  
Svatopluk Potáč  
Ladislav Gerle

### Ministers

Agriculture and Food  
Communications  
Electrotechnical Industry  
Finance  
Foreign Affairs  
Foreign Trade  
Fuels and Power  
General Engineering

Josef Nágr  
Vlastimil Chalupa  
Milan Kubát  
Leopold Lér  
Bohuslav Chřítoupek  
Bohumil Urban  
Vlastimil Ehrenberger  
Pavol Bahyl

Interior	Jaromír Obzina
Labor and Social Affairs	Michal Štancel
Metallurgy and Heavy Engineering	Eduard Saul
National Defense	Gen. Martin Džúr
Technological and Investment Development	Ladislav Šupka
Transportation	Vladimír Blažek

## NEWS MEDIA

The media are subject to censorship by the Government Press and Information Committee; private ownership is forbidden.

**Press.** The following dailies are published in Czech at Prague, unless otherwise noted: *Rudé Právo* (1,021,000), central organ of the KSC; *Pravda* (Bratislava, 365,000), in Slovak, organ of the KSS; *Zemědělské Noviny* (360,000), organ of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food; *Práce* (350,000), organ of the Central Trade Union Council; *Mladá Fronta* (255,000), organ of the Socialist Union of Youth; *Svobodné Slovo* (229,000), organ of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party; *Práca* (Bratislava, 225,000), in Slovak, organ of the Slovak Committee of Trade Unions; *Lidová Demokracie* (220,000), organ of the Czechoslovak People's Party; *Nová Svoboda* (Ostrava, 205,000), organ of the KSC regional committee; *Rovnost* (Brno, 120,000), organ of the South Moravian Regional Committee of the KSC; *Večerní Praha* (110,000), organ of the Prague City Committee of the KSC.

**News agencies.** The government-controlled domestic service is the Czechoslovak News Agency (*Československá Tisková Kancelář*—CTK, or *Četeka*). Numerous foreign agencies also maintain bureaus at Prague.

**Radio and television.** Radio and television are under government control. Czechoslovak Radio (*Československý Rozhlas*) operates parallel broadcasting organizations in both the Czech and Slovak republics while also offering foreign broadcasts in a dozen languages. Czechoslovak Television (*Československá Televize*) and Czechoslovak Television in Slovakia (*Československá Televize na Slovensku*) are responsible for television broadcasting. There were 4.5 million radio and 4.1 million television receivers in 1982.

## INTERGOVERNMENTAL REPRESENTATION

**Ambassador to the US:** Jaroslav ZÁNTOVSKÝ.

**US Ambassador to Czechoslovakia:** Jack F. MATLOCK, Jr.

**Permanent Representative to the UN:** Stanislav ŠUJA.

**IGO Memberships (Non-UN):** BIS, CCC, CMEA, IBEC, ICCO, IIB, ILZ, INRO, PCA, WTO.

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## DENMARK

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**Kingdom of Denmark**  
*Kongeriget Danmark*

**Political Status:** Constitutional monarchy since 1849; under unicameral parliamentary system established in 1953.

**Area:** 16,629 sq. mi. (43,069 sq. km.).

**Population:** 5,072,516 (1976C), 5,154,000 (1983E). Area and population figures are for mainland Denmark; for Greenland and the Faroe Islands, see Related Territories, below.

**Major Urban Centers (1980E):** COPENHAGEN (665,000; urban area, 1,207,000); Århus (246,000); Odense (169,000); Ålborg (154,000).

**Official Language:** Danish.

**Monetary Unit:** Krone (market rate December 1982, 8.38 kroner = \$1US).

**Sovereign:** Queen MARGRETHE II; proclaimed Queen on January 15, 1972, following the death of her father, King FREDERIK IX, on January 14.

**Heir to the Throne:** Crown Prince FREDERIK, elder son of the Queen.

**Prime Minister:** Poul SCHLÜTER (Conservative People's Party); sworn in September 10, 1982, following the resignation of the government of Anker JØRGENSEN (Social Democratic Party) on September 3.

## THE COUNTRY

Comprising a low-lying peninsula and adjacent islands strategically situated at the mouth of the Baltic, Denmark has a homogeneous and densely settled population, the vast majority (95 percent) belonging to the state-supported Evangelical Lutheran Church. About three-fourths of the country's terrain is devoted to agriculture, and roughly two-thirds of the agricultural output is exported (chiefly meat, dairy products, and eggs). However, industrial expansion has been substantial since World War II, with manufactures (principally machinery and electrical equipment, processed foods and beverages, chemicals and pharmaceuticals, textiles, clothing, and ships) now accounting for about two-thirds of total exports. Fluctuating market conditions and the escalating cost of imported fuel led to severe trade deficits in the late 1970s, but despite such economic pressures the government remained committed to one of the world's most extensive social welfare systems, which absorbs over half the gross national product.

## GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

**Political background.** With a monarchical tradition extending from the Middle Ages, Denmark has lived under constitutional rule since 1849 and has long served as a model of political democracy. Its multiparty system, reflecting the use of proportional representation, has resulted since World War II in a succession of minority and coalition governments in which the Social Democratic Party held the preponderant position from 1953 to 1968 under the leadership of Jens Otto KRAG. Despite the return of Krag as head of a minority government following an early election called by Prime Minister Hilmar BAUNSGAARD in 1971, the Social Democrats momentarily declined in importance.

After overseeing the installation of Queen MARGRETHE II on January 15, 1972, and Denmark's entry into the Common Market, Krag stunned the Danes by



entity led by the Prussian House of Hohenzollern. Defeated by a coalition of powers in World War I, the German Empire disintegrated and was replaced in 1919 by the Weimar Republic, whose chronic economic and political instability paved the way for the rise of the National Socialist (Nazi) Party and the installation of Adolf HITLER as chancellor in 1933. Under a totalitarian ideology stressing nationalism, anti-Communism, anti-Semitism, and removal of the disabilities imposed on Germany after World War I, Hitler converted the Weimar Republic into an authoritarian one-party state (the so-called "Third Reich") and embarked upon a policy of aggressive expansionism that led to the outbreak of World War II in 1939 and, ultimately, to the overthrow of Nazi Germany by the Allies in 1945.

Following Germany's unconditional surrender on May 8, 1945, the country was divided into zones of military occupation assigned to forces of the United States, Britain, France, and the Soviet Union, whose governments assumed all powers of administration pending the reestablishment of a German governmental authority. Berlin, likewise divided into sectors, was made a separate area under joint quadripartite control with a view to its becoming the seat of the eventual central German government, while the territories east of the Oder and Neisse rivers were placed under Polish administration, East Prussia was divided into Soviet and Polish spheres, and the Saar was attached economically to France.

At the Potsdam Conference in July-August 1945, the American, British, and Soviet leaders agreed to treat Germany as a single economic unit and ensure parallel political development in the four occupation zones, but the emergence of sharp differences between the Soviet Union and its wartime allies soon intervened. The territories east of the Oder and Neisse were incorporated into Poland and the USSR, while Soviet occupation policies prevented the treatment of Germany as an economic unit and prompted joint economic measures in the Western occupation zones. Protesting a proposed currency reform in the US and British occupation zones, Soviet representatives withdrew from the Allied Control Council for Germany in March 1948. Three months later the USSR instituted a blockade of the land and water routes to Berlin that was maintained until May 1949, forcing the United States and United Kingdom to resort to a large-scale airlift to supply the city's Western sectors.

Having failed to agree with the USSR on measures for the whole of Germany, the three Western powers resolved to merge their zones of occupation as a step toward establishing a democratic state in Western Germany. A draft constitution for a West German federal state was approved by a specially elected parliamentary assembly on May 8, 1949, and the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), with its capital at Bonn, was proclaimed on May 23. The USSR protested these actions and on October 7 announced the establishment in its occupation zone of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), with East Berlin as its capital.

In West Germany the former occupation regime was gradually converted into a contractual relationship based on the equality of the parties involved. Under the London and Paris agreements of 1954, the FRG was granted

sovereignty and admitted to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Western European Union (WEU), while on January 1, 1957, the Saar was returned as the result of a plebiscite held in 1955. The Soviet-sponsored GDR was also declared fully sovereign in 1954 and was accorded formal recognition by Communist, though not by Western, governments. Although Berlin has remained technically under four-power control, East Berlin has been incorporated into the GDR, while West Berlin, without being granted parliamentary voting rights, has been accorded status similar to that of a *Land* (state) of the FRG. Both German regimes were admitted to full membership in the United Nations in the fall of 1973.

Until the early 1970s the FRG and its Western allies advocated reunification of Germany on the basis of an internationally supervised all-German election to choose a government empowered to conclude a formal peace treaty with the country's wartime enemies. The Soviet Union and the GDR, however, insisted that unification be based on recognition of the existence of "two German states" and achieved by negotiation between the existing German regimes, which would then form a government to conclude a treaty. A new constitution adopted by the GDR in 1968 further implied that reunification could take place only when West Germany became a "socialist" state. With regard to Germany's frontiers, the USSR, Poland, and the GDR insisted that the territorial annexations carried out at the end of World War II were definitive and irreversible, while the FRG maintained that under the 1945 Potsdam agreement Germany's territorial frontiers could be established only by a formal peace treaty. Beginning in 1967, however, the FRG gave indications of increased readiness to accept the Oder-Neisse line as Germany's permanent eastern frontier, ultimately recognizing it as such in a December 1970 treaty with Poland. The "two Germanies" concept, in turn, acquired legal standing with the negotiation in November 1972 of a "Basic Treaty" (*Grundvertrag*) normalizing relations between the FRG and the GDR. While the agreement stopped short of a mutual extension of full diplomatic recognition, it affirmed the "inviolability" of the existing border and provided for the exchange of "permanent representative missions" by the two governments, thus effectively ruling out the possibility of German reunification within the foreseeable future.

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## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.

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*Deutsche Demokratische Republik*

**Political Status:** Communist regime established in Soviet occupation zone of Germany on October 7, 1949; present constitution adopted April 9, 1968.

**Area:** 41,768 sq. mi. (108,178 sq. km.).

**Population:** 17,068,318 (1971C), 16,704,000 (1983E).

**Major Urban Centers (1981E):** (East) BERLIN (1,153,000); Leipzig (562,000); Dresden (516,500); Karl-Marx-Stadt (318,000); Magdeburg (289,500); Halle (233,000).

**Official Language:** German.

**Monetary Unit:** DDR-Mark (noncommercial rate December 1982, 2.50 marks = \$1US).

**Chairman of the Council of State and General Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party:** Erich HONECKER; designated Chairman of the Council of State by the People's Chamber on October 29, 1976, succeeding Willi STOPH; redesignated on June 25, 1981; became First Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party on May 3, 1971, succeeding Walter ULBRICHT; designated General Secretary on May 22, 1976; redesignated on April 15, 1981.

**Chairman of the Council of Ministers (Premier):** Willi STOPH; designated by the People's Chamber on October 29, 1976, succeeding Horst SINDERMAN; redesignated on June 26, 1981.

## GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

**Political background.** Communist rule was established in East Germany soon after World War II through the medium of the Socialist Unity Party (SED), a Soviet-sponsored political organization created by a forced merger of the preexisting Communist and Social Democratic parties. A faithful adherent of the Soviet political line, the SED achieved political leadership in the five East German states (*Länder*) as a result of elections held in October 1946. Its influence likewise predominated in the elected People's Congress and the Soviet-sponsored People's Council, which proclaimed the establishment of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) on October 7, 1949. While Soviet authorities retained ultimate control through a Soviet Control Commission, the powers of the Soviet military administration were nominally handed over to the new government, with Wilhelm PIECK serving as president.

The Soviet system of administration, including reorganized district and local governments, collectivized agriculture, and a revised judicial system, was introduced in 1952. Coupled with severe food shortages, the increased Sovietization led on June 17, 1953, to uprisings and strikes that were forcibly put down by the Soviet army, although the USSR subsequently ended the collection of reparations from East Germany and announced the attainment of full sovereignty by the GDR on March 25, 1954. This new status was not recognized by the Western powers, and the internal discontent that persisted produced massive emigration to West Germany until the main escape route was cut off by the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961.

After the death of Pieck in 1960, the office of president was abolished and superseded by a 23-man Council of State with Walter ULBRICHT as chairman. Otto GROTEWOHL, designated the GDR's first minister-president in 1949, held the technically subordinate position until his death and succession by Willi STOPH in 1964. In October

1972 the status and functions of the Council of Ministers were redefined and the office of minister-president became that of chairman of the Council of Ministers. Following the death of Ulbricht in August 1973, Stoph was named chairman of the State Council and Horst SINDERMAN succeeded Stoph as premier.

Even before the death of Ulbricht, a devotee of orthodox communism who long opposed the trend toward a more "liberal" order in Czechoslovakia and other Communist states, the East German regime had grown more flexible with regard to the *Ostpolitik* of West German Chancellor Willy Brandt. As a result, in 1973 a normalization treaty with the Federal Republic was concluded and the two Germanies were admitted to the United Nations as separate states (see Foreign relations, below).

On October 17, 1976, the East German leadership was reshuffled, SED Secretary Erich HONECKER becoming chairman of the State Council in place of Stoph, who returned to his former position as premier. Sinderman in turn was reassigned to the considerably less prestigious position of president of the legislature. Honecker's added designation as head of state replicated the consolidation of top party and government posts that had prevailed under Ulbricht.

**Constitution and government.** The constitution promulgated April 9, 1968, gave formal sanction to a political structure that had long ago outgrown the constitution of 1949, itself based on the Weimar Constitution of 1919. The new basic law established the GDR as a "socialist German state"; announced the socialist ownership of the means of production as the foundation of its economy; and set as its goal the union of the two German states on the basis of "democracy and socialism"—a reference that was deleted from the constitution in September 1974.

Political power is theoretically exercised by the workers, led by the National Front of the German Democratic Republic and its component parties and mass organizations. The supreme organ of state power is the unicameral legislature, the People's Chamber (*Volkskammer*), which is elected by universal suffrage. The People's Chamber elects the Council of State and its chairman, who serves as head of state, and designates the chairman of the Council of Ministers on the latter's recommendation. In practice, all political power in the GDR is wielded by the Communist-dominated Socialist Unity Party (SED). The party hierarchy parallels the state organization at all levels, while candidates for election to the People's Chamber and other nominally representative bodies are officially designated on a National Front list. The judicial system, charged with the maintenance of "socialist legality", is headed by a Supreme Court that is responsible to the People's Chamber. There are also county, district, military, social, and labor courts. A penal code based upon the Soviet model was introduced in 1968, and a new Soviet-style civil code was adopted in 1976. On June 28, 1978, the *Volkskammer* approved 48 amendments to the penal code, many in effect restricting Western access to information by stiffening criminal penalties for internal security violations or by making illegal such activities as communicating nonsecret but "treasonous" information.

Provincial administration is conducted through 14 dis-



tricts (*Bezirke*), which replaced the traditional states in 1952; district and local government is based on a system of elected assemblies, councils, and committees.

**Foreign relations.** Prior to 1969 the GDR was accorded diplomatic recognition only by other Communist governments, and its participation in multilateral organizations was limited primarily to the Soviet-backed Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and Warsaw Pact. In 1969–1970, however, the GDR was recognized by a number of Arab governments, and in August 1972, after a year of informal talks, it was announced that the East and West German regimes would enter into formal negotiations on normalization of relations. A Basic Treaty to such effect was ratified by the West German legislature on December 21, 1972, and by the East German legislature on June 13, 1973. The following September both East and West Germany were admitted to the United Nations. Although Britain and France recognized the GDR in February 1973, the United States did not agree to recognition and an exchange of ambassadors until September 5, 1974, immediately prior to the GDR's formal abandonment of reunification as a constitutional objective.

Even before the signing of the 1972 Basic Treaty, SED Secretary Honecker had asserted that "history has already made the decision" in favor of two separate German states, adding that the Berlin Wall and the heavily guarded frontier would be retained as "existing realities". Nevertheless, the GDR has refused to acknowledge any claim by the Federal Republic to authority in West Berlin, while Bonn has refused to acknowledge the GDR's national sovereignty or to remove from the FRG's Basic Law reference to the goal of reunification. Recurrent problems involving espionage and political defections have further strained relations, but the two governments have succeeded in reaching a number of agreements in such areas as road and rail transport. In addition, East Germany has benefited from West Germany's insistence that trade between the two is intranational, thus enabling the GDR to obtain duty-free access to EEC markets.

In concert with the USSR, East Germany undertook a program of military assistance to Mozambican guerrillas in 1969, subsequently extending its aid to the MPLA in Angola. While the full extent of the GDR's current involvement in Africa and the Arabian peninsula is unknown, most personnel appear to be engaged in technical support functions and the training of secret service and police. In addition, a limited number of African officers have received training in the GDR.

**Current issues.** A largely pro forma election to the East German *Volkskammer* on June 14, 1981, preceded in mid-May by a congress of the Socialist Unity Party, yielded no significant changes in GDR leadership or policy, the most important matter broached at the party conclave being a new five-year plan for 1981–1985 that projected 25–30 percent overall increases in national income, industrial production, and labor productivity. Earlier, at an East Berlin party meeting in mid-February, Chairman Honecker delivered the first official statement in a decade on the question of German unification, implying that the issue would necessarily assume renewed importance following any reorganization of the Federal Republic "on a socialist

basis". The pronouncement was widely viewed as a response to a decision by the West German Council of (Länder) Council Ministers that Germany should be construed in school texts on the basis of its 1937 borders, with the demarcation between East and West Germany being identified as a "boundary of a special kind".

On December 11, 1981, West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt traveled to East Germany for the first top-level meeting between the two governments in more than a decade. After some 15 hours of discussion at a hunting lodge north of Berlin, Chairman Honecker declared that an "open exchange of views" had "brought much closer the solution of difficult problems". However, the overt results were largely limited to an extension into 1982 of "swing" loans by West Germany to East Germany as a means of stimulating trade, and a partial relaxation of East German regulations governing travel to the West.

## POLITICAL PARTIES

The one-party system dominated by the Socialist Unity Party (SED) is partially masked by the existence of other parties and mass organizations which, though separately represented in the People's Chamber, are controlled by the SED through the instrumentality of the **National Front of the German Democratic Republic** (*Nationale Front der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*).

**Socialist Unity Party of Germany** (*Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands*—SED). Pressure exerted by Soviet occupation authorities led in April 1946 to the formation of the SED by merger of the Communist and Social Democratic parties. The executor of Communist policy, the SED controls all East German organizations except the churches and provides leadership and generates public support for government programs. During the SED's Tenth Congress, which met at East Berlin, April 11–16, 1981, the SED Central Committee was increased in size from 140 to 156, while the Politburo, reduced to 18 on April 10 by the death of Gerhard GRÜNEBERG, remained unchanged until the death of its oldest member, Albert NORDEN, in May 1982. The SED has an allotment of 110 seats in the People's Chamber.

*General Secretary:* Erich HONECKER.

*Other Members of Politburo:* Hermann AXEN, Horst DOHLUS, Werner FELFE, Kurt HAGER, Joachim HERRMANN, Gen. Heinz HOFFMANN, Werner KROLIKOWSKI, Erich MIELKE, Günter MITTAG, Erich MÜCKENBERGER, Konrad NAUMANN, Alfred NEUMANN, Horst SINDERMANN, Willi STOPH, Harry TISCH, Paul VERNER.

*Candidate Members:* Dr. Werner JAROWINSKY, Günther KLEIBER, Egon KRENZ, Ingeburg LANGE, Margarete MÜLLER, Günther SCHABOWSKI, Gerhard SCHÜRER, Werner WALDE.

*Central Committee Secretariat:* Hermann AXEN, Horst DOHLUS, Werner FELFE, Kurt HAGER, Joachim HERMANN, Erich HONECKER, Dr. Werner JAROWINSKY, Ingeburg LANGE, Günter MITTAG, Paul VERNER.

Four other parties, each with 45 representatives in the People's Chamber, are the **Christian Democratic Union of Germany** (*Christlich-Demokratische Union Deutschlands*—CDU), the **Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany** (*Demokratische Bauernpartei Deutschlands*—DBD), the **Liberal Democratic Party of Germany** (*Liberal-Demokratische Partei Deutschlands*—LDPD), and the **National Democratic Party of Germany** (*National-Demokratische Partei Deutschlands*—NDPD). These parties are Communist controlled and have nothing to do with their present-day counterparts in the Federal Republic. Also represented in the People's Chamber are four Communist-controlled mass organizations: the Confederation of Free Germany Trade Unions (*Freier Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund*), the Free German Youth (*Freie Deutsche Jugend*), the Democratic

Women's League (*Demokratischer Frauenbund Deutschlands*), and the German League of Culture (*Deutscher Kulturbund*).

## LEGISLATURE

The **People's Chamber** (*Volkskammer*) is a unicameral body elected for a five-year term by universal suffrage from a single list of candidates presented by the Communist-controlled National Front. The last election was held on June 14, 1981. The 66 previously nonvoting East Berlin delegates were incorporated into the Chamber as full members on June 28, 1979, thus raising the membership to 500.

*President of Presidium:* Horst SINDERMANN.

## CABINET

Chairman, Council of Ministers  
(Premier)

First Deputy Chairmen

Deputy Chairmen

Willi Stoph  
Werner Krolikowski  
Alfred Neumann  
Manfred Flegel  
Hans-Joachim Heusinger  
Günther Kleiber  
Wolfgang Rauchfuss  
Hans Reichelt  
Gerhard Schürer  
Rudolph Schulze  
Gerhard Weiss  
Herbert Weiz

### Ministers

Agriculture, Forestry and Foodstuffs  
Chemical Industry

Coal and Energy

Construction Industry

Construction of General Machinery,  
Agricultural Machinery and  
Vehicles

Construction of Heavy Machinery and  
Equipment

Construction of Machine Tools and  
Processing Machinery

Culture

District Managed Industry and  
Foodstuffs Industry

Electrical Engineering and Electronics

Environmental Protection and Water  
Management

Finance

Foreign Affairs

Foreign Trade

Geology

Glass and Ceramics Industry

Health

Interior

Justice

Light Industry

Materials Management

National Defense

Ore Mining, Metallurgy and Potash

Post and Telecommunications

Prices

Public Education

Science and Technology

State Security

Trade and Supply

Transportation

University and Technical School

Affairs

Bruno Lietz  
Günther Wyschofsky  
Wolfgang Mitzinger  
Wolfgang Junker

Günther Kleiber

Rolf Kersten

Rudi Georgi  
Hans-Joachim Hoffmann

Udo-Dieter Wange  
Felix Meier

Hans Reichelt  
Ernst Hoefner  
Oskar Fischer  
Horst Sölle  
Manfred Bochmann  
Werner Greiner-Petter  
Ludwig Mecklinger  
Friedrich Dickel

Hans-Joachim Heusinger  
Werner Buschmann  
Wolfgang Rauchfuss  
Gen. Heinz Hoffmann  
Kurt Singhuber  
Rudolph Schulze  
Walter Halbritter  
Margot Honecker  
Herbert Weiz  
Gen. Erich Mielke  
Gerhard Briksa  
Otto Arndt

Hans-Joachim Böhme

## NEWS MEDIA

The 1968 constitution guarantees freedom of the press, but broadcasting is under state control and all major daily newspapers are affiliated with political parties. Accordingly, they follow a Communist line.

**Press.** There are some 40 dailies and 32 weeklies, with a combined circulation of over 17 million. The following are dailies published at East Berlin, unless otherwise noted: *Neues Deutschland* (1,087,700), SED organ; *Junge Welt* (1,121,300), FDJ organ; *Frie Presse* (Karl-Marx-Stadt, 614,500), SED organ; *Freiheit* (Halle, 533,900), SED organ; *Sächsische Zeitung* (Dresden, 513,800), SED organ; *Leipziger Volkszeitung* (Leipzig, 445,400), SED organ; *Volksstimme* (Magdeburg, 412,800), SED organ; *Tribüne* (405,800), organ of Trade-Union League; *Das Volk* (Erfurt, 359,900), SED organ; *Berliner Zeitung* (342,000), SED organ; *Märkische Volksstimme* (Potsdam, 285,200), SED organ; *Ostsee Zeitung* (Rostock, 260,400), SED organ; *Lausitzer Rundschau* (Cottbus, 252,300), SED organ; *BZ am Abend* (195,600), SED organ; *Bauern Echo* (91,000), DBD organ; *Neue Zeit* (86,100), CDU organ; *National-Zeitung* (58,800), NDPD organ; *Der Morgen* (50,900), LDPD organ.

**News agencies.** The official news agency is the government-owned *Allgemeiner Deutscher Nachrichtendienst* (ADN); numerous foreign agencies, most representing Communist nations, also maintain offices at East Berlin.

**Radio and television.** State committees for radio and television broadcasting (*rundfunk* and *fernsehen*) coordinate all radio and television activity. The principal radio organizations are *Radio DDR*, *Berliner Rundfunk*, and *Stimme der DDR* for domestic broadcasts, and Radio Berlin International for foreign transmissions. There were approximately 6.3 million radio and 5.8 million television receivers in 1982.

## INTERGOVERNMENTAL REPRESENTATION

**Ambassador to the US:** Dr. Horst GRUNERT.

**US Ambassador to the German Democratic Republic:** Rozanne L. RIDGWAY.

**Permanent Representative to the UN:** Harry OTT.

**IGO Memberships (Non-UN):** CMEA, IBEC, ICCO, ICES, IIB, ISO, PCA, WTO.

## INCORPORATED TERRITORY

**East Berlin.** Following a breakdown in cooperation between the Soviet Union and the other occupying powers and the subsequent removal of Greater Berlin's municipal government to the Western sector in September 1948, a city government for East Berlin was installed in November 1948. Subsequently, on October 7, 1949, East Berlin became the capital of the newly proclaimed German Democratic Republic.

Unlike West Berlin, East Berlin has no separate constitutional status and has been administratively integrated into the GDR. It is politically controlled by the Socialist Unity Party (SED) and governed by a head of administration (*Magistrat*) and a Municipal Assembly elected for a four-year term.

In June 1979 the Soviet Union, affirming that East Berlin was a constituent part of the GDR, ceded responsibility for the city, thus violating a September 3, 1971, four-power agreement under which no change in the status of Greater Berlin could be unilaterally initiated. On June 28, East Berlin's previously nonvoting representatives to the East German People's Chamber (*Volkskammer*), all 66 of whom had been nominated by the Municipal Assembly, were incorporated into the Chamber as full delegates. At the June 1981 balloting, the representatives from East Berlin were elected under the same procedures employed throughout the rest of the country.

— June 1

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in the case I happened  
to see this in the box.  
I must be hot off the  
press -

Kim  
W.

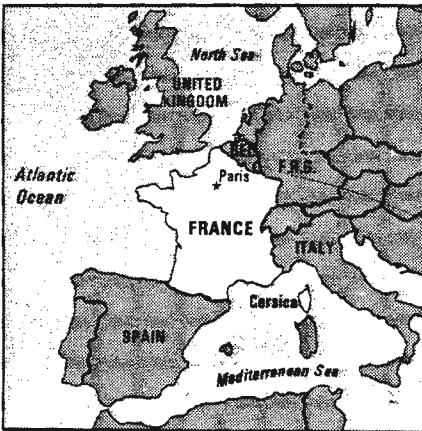
# background notes

# France



United States Department of State  
Bureau of Public Affairs

March 1984



**Official Name:**  
French Republic

## PROFILE

### People

**Population** (1983 est.): 54,748,000. **Annual growth rate** (1983 est.): 0.5%. **Ethnic groups:** Celtic and Latin with Teutonic, Slavic, North African, Indochinese, and Basque minorities. **Religion:** Roman Catholic, 90%. **Language:** French. **Education:** *Years compulsory*—10. **Literacy**—99%. **Infant mortality rate:** 9/1,000. **Work force** (24 million, 1983 est.): *Agriculture*—8.3%. *Industry and commerce*—45.2%. *Services*—46.5%. **Registered unemployment** (Dec. 31, 1983): 8.8%.

### Geography

**Area:** 551,670 sq. km. (212,668 sq. mi.); largest West European country, about four-fifths the size of Texas. **Cities:** *Capital*—Paris. *Other cities*—Marseille, Lyon, Toulouse, Strasbourg, Nice, Bordeaux. **Terrain:** Varied. **Climate:** Temperate; similar to that of eastern US.

### Government

**Type:** Republic. **Constitution:** September 28, 1958.

**Branches:** *Executive*—president (chief of state); prime minister (head of government). *Legislative*—bicameral Parliament (491-member National Assembly, 292-member Senate). *Judicial*—Court of Cassation (civil and criminal law), Council of State (administrative court), Constitutional Council (constitutional law).

**Subdivisions:** 21 administrative regions containing 95 departments (metropolitan France). Five overseas departments (Guadeloupe, Martinique, French Guiana, Reunion, and Saint-Pierre and Miquelon); five overseas territories (New Caledonia, French Polynesia, Wallis and Futuna Islands, and French Southern and Antarctic Territories); and one special-status territory (Mayotte).

**Political parties:** Socialist Party (PS), Rally for the Republic (RPR—Gauillists), Union for French Democracy (UDF—Giscardians/Centrist), Communist Party (PCF), various minor parties.

**Suffrage:** Universal over 18.

**Defense** (1984 est.): 18% of central government budget.

**Flag:** Three vertical stripes of blue, white, and red.

### Economy

**GDP** (1983): \$920 billion. **Avg. annual growth rate** (1983): 0.5%. **Per capita income** (1983): \$7,179. **Avg. inflation rate** (1983): 9.6%.

**Natural resources:** Coal, iron ore, bauxite, fish, forests.

**Agricultural products:** Beef, dairy products, cereals, sugar beets, potatoes, wine grapes.

**Industries:** Steel, machinery and equipment, textiles and clothing, chemicals, food processing, aircraft, electronics.

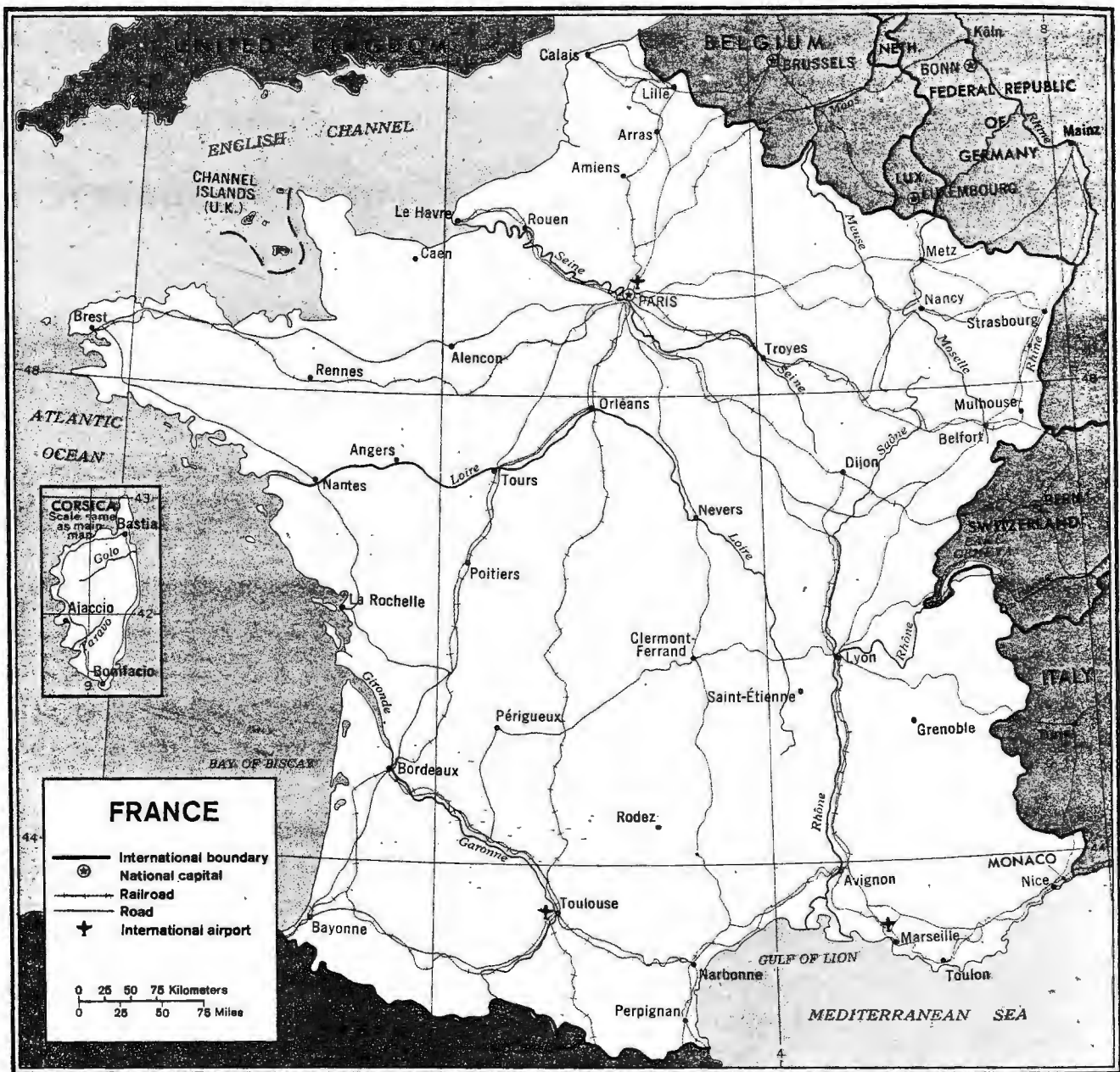
**Trade** (1983): *Exports*—\$94.9 billion: machinery, transportation equipment, foodstuffs, iron, steel, textiles, agricultural products including wine. *Imports*—\$100.6 billion: crude petroleum, machinery and equipment, chemicals, iron and steel, agricultural products, textiles. *Partners*—FRG, Belgium, Luxembourg, Italy, US, UK, Netherlands, Japan.

**Official exchange rate** (1983 avg.): 7.61 francs=US\$1; Jan.-June 1983 avg., 7.17 francs=US\$1; July-Dec. 1983 avg., 8.05 francs=US\$1.

### Membership in International Organizations

UN and most of its specialized agencies, NATO, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Western European Union, European Communities (EC), INTELSAT.





## GEOGRAPHY

France, the largest West European nation, is two-thirds flat plains or gently rolling hills; the rest is mountainous. A broad plain covers most of northern and western France from the Belgian border in the northeast to Bayonne in the southwest and rises to uplands in Normandy, Brittany, and the east. This large plain is bounded on the south by the steeply rising ridges of the Pyrenees, on the southeast by the mountainous plateau of the Massif Central, and on the east by the rugged Alps, the low ridges of the Jura, and the rounded summits of the densely forested Vosges. The principal

ivers are the Rhone in the south, the Loire and the Garonne in the west, and the Seine in the north. The Rhine River forms part of France's eastern border with the Federal Republic of Germany.

France generally has cool winters and mild summers in the west and the north. Southern France has a Mediterranean climate, with hot summers and mild winters.

## PEOPLE

Since prehistoric times, France has been a crossroads of trade, travel, and invasion. The French people are made up of elements of three basic European stocks—Celtic, Latin, and Teutonic. Over the centuries, however, these groups

have blended so that today they may be referred to only in the broadest sense.

France's birth rate was among the highest in Europe from 1945 until the late 1960s, when it began to decline. The annual net increase of births over deaths stood at 250,000–350,000 until 1974. Because of this growth and immigration, the population increased from 41 million in 1946 to 53 million in 1977. In the past few years, the level of births has continued to fall. Yet France's birth rate is still higher than that of nearly all other West European countries, except Italy. In 1983, the rate was 13.7 births per 1,000.

Traditionally, France has had a high level of immigration, and about 3 million people entered the country between the

two World Wars. After the establishment of an independent Algerian state in 1962, about 1 million French citizens returned to France. As of December 31, 1982, France's population of immigrant workers and their families was officially estimated at 4,459,068, including some 120,000 whose status was legalized in 1982. Resident aliens fall into two main groups: South Europeans (52% of total) and North Africans (26% of total), the two principal nationalities being Portuguese and Algerian.

About 90% of the people are baptized Roman Catholic, fewer than 2% are Protestant, and about 1% are Jewish. Immigration in the 1960s and early 1970s from North Africa, especially Algeria, accounts for the more than 1 million Muslims in France.

French education is free and mandatory between ages 6 and 16. The public education system is highly centralized and has a budget amounting to about 4.4% of the gross domestic product (GDP). In 1983, an estimated 17.7% of the national budget was allocated to education. Private education is primarily Roman Catholic. Higher education in France, which began with the founding of the University of Paris in 1150, enrolls about 1 million students in 69 universities in continental France and an additional 60,000 in special schools such as the *Grandes Ecoles* and technical colleges.

The French language is descended from the vernacular Latin spoken by the Romans in Gaul. Although French includes many Celtic and Germanic words, its structure and most of its words derive from Latin. Since the early Middle Ages, French has been an international language. Spoken around the world today, French is a common second language and, like English, is an official language at the United Nations. In Africa, Asia, the Pacific, and the West Indies, the French language has been a unifying factor, particularly in those countries where it serves as the only common language among a variety of indigenous languages and dialects.

Since the time of the Roman Empire, France's achievements in literature, the arts, and science have influenced Western culture. In architecture, the Romanesque basilicas, the soaring Gothic cathedrals, the formal gardens of Versailles, the imperial design of Parisian boulevards and squares, and the modern designs of masters like Le Corbusier attest to France's influence.

French painting has spanned the centuries in greatness. Some famous names include Watteau (1684-1721), who de-

scribed the polished, elegant society of his time; David (1748-1825), the neoclassical artist of the Revolution and Empire; Delacroix (1798-1863) the romantic; the naturalists and realists Corot (1796-1875), Millet (1814-75), and Courbet (1819-77), who painted realistic landscapes and scenes from rural life; and the impressionists, including Monet (1840-1926) and Renoir (1841-1919), who explored light on canvas, and Cezanne (1839-1906), whose ideas about the treatment of space and dimension are at the base of 20th century modern art. Other famous artists, such as Van Gogh and Picasso, were drawn to France from other countries.

In music, Berlioz (1803-69) in the romantic period was followed by Debussy (1862-1918) and Faure (1845-1924), who were inspired by the impressionist movement in painting. In the 19th century, Bizet (1838-75) wrote the opera *Carmen* and Gounod (1818-93) wrote *Faust* and *Romeo and Juliette*. Chopin (1810-49), though born in Poland, spent his adult life in Paris.

France has played a leading role in scientific advances. Descartes (1596-1650) contributed to mathematics and to the modern scientific method; Lavoisier (1743-94) laid the fundamentals of modern chemistry and physics; Becquerel (1854-1912) and the Curies jointly discovered radium and the principle of radioactivity; and Pasteur (1822-95) developed theories of germs and vaccinations. Several important French inventors were Daguerre (1789-1851), a theatrical scenery painter who invented the daguerrotype, an early photograph; Braille (1809-52), a blind teacher of the blind, after whom is named the system of raised lettering enabling the blind to read; and Bertillon (1853-1914), an anthropologist and criminologist who organized the fingerprint system of identification. In the 20th century, French scientists have won a number of Nobel Prizes.

French literature is renowned from the medieval romances of Marie de France and Chretien de Troyes and the poetry in Old French of Francois Villon to the 20th century novelists Colette, Proust, Sartre, and Camus. Over the intervening centuries were the Renaissance writers Rabelais (fiction), Ronsard (poetry), and Montaigne (essays); the 17th century classical dramatists Corneille, Racine, and Moliere; the 18th century rationalist philosophers Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau; the romantics Germain de Stael, Victor Hugo, Alexandre Dumas (father and son), and Alphonse de Lamartine; 19th century novelists Stendhal, George Sand, and

Balzac; realist Flaubert; naturalists Zola and Baudelaire; and 19th century poets Verlaine, Rimbaud, and Valery.

French filmmakers from Jean Renoir to Francois Truffaut have won acclaim over the past decades.

## HISTORY

France was one of the earliest countries to progress from feudalism into the era of the nation-state. Its monarchs surrounded themselves with capable ministers, and French armies were among the most disciplined and professional of their day. During the reign of Louis XIV (1643-1715), France was the preeminent power in Europe. But Louis' and his successors' overly ambitious projects and military campaigns led to chronic financial problems for the government in the 18th century. Deteriorating economic conditions and popular resentment against the complicated system of privileges granted the nobility and other favored groups were the principal causes of the French Revolution (1789-94).

Although the Revolution established republican and egalitarian principles of government, France reverted to forms of absolute rule or constitutional monarchy four times—the Empire of Napoleon, the Restoration of Louis XVIII, the reign of Louis-Philippe, and the Second Empire of Napoleon III. After the Franco-Prussian War (1870), the Third Republic was established and lasted until the military defeat of 1940.

World War I brought great losses of troops and materiel. In the 1920s, France began to rebuild its army (then the largest in Europe) and to establish an elaborate system of border defenses (the Maginot Line) and alliances to offset resurgent German strength. France was defeated, however, and occupied in 1940. Following 4 years of occupation and strife, Allied Forces liberated France in 1944. The nation emerged exhausted from World War II and faced a series of new problems.

After a short period of provisional government, initially led by General Charles de Gaulle, the Fourth Republic was established under a new constitution with a parliamentary form of government controlled by a series of coalitions. The heterogeneous nature of the coalitions and the lack of agreement on measures for dealing with Indochina and Algeria caused successive cabinet crises and changes of government. The government structure finally collapsed over the Algerian question on May 13, 1958. A threatened coup led Parliament to call on

Gen. de Gaulle to head the government and prevent civil war. He became prime minister in June (at the beginning of the Fifth Republic) and was elected president in December.

On December 5, 1965, for the first time in this century, the French people went to the polls to elect a president by direct ballot. Gen. de Gaulle defeated Francois Mitterrand with 55% of the vote.

Student dissatisfaction and unrest triggered major disturbances and nationwide strikes in May 1968. Students took over university buildings and battled police in Paris and other large cities, and workers occupied factories throughout the country. The economy was grinding to a halt, and France seemed on the brink of chaos. President de Gaulle dissolved the National Assembly, called for national elections, and announced his intention to pursue a policy of sweeping reform, based on the principle of "participation." The voters, fearing disorder and a possible Communist takeover, voted an overwhelming Gaullist majority into the National Assembly.

In April 1969, President de Gaulle's government conducted a national referendum on the creation of 21 regions with limited political powers. On April 27, the government's proposals were defeated (48% in favor, 52% opposed), and President de Gaulle resigned.

In 1969, a number of candidates presented themselves in the election for a new president. Georges Pompidou, a prime minister under de Gaulle, was supported not only by the Gaullists but also by their Independent Republic allies and some Centrists and was elected with a 58% majority of the votes.

In 1971, Francois Mitterrand assembled various Socialist groups into a new unified Socialist Party. The Socialists, led by Mitterrand, the Communist Party (PCF), headed by Georges Marchais, and a faction of the Radical Party reached agreement on a joint program on which to base their campaign for the March 1973 legislative elections. The union of the left more than doubled its assembly representation, and Mitterrand emerged from the campaign as the left's chief spokesman.

President Pompidou died in office on April 2, 1974, and the race to succeed him split the ruling Gaullist coalition. The UDR (Gaullist) Party selected former Prime Minister Chaban-Delmas as its candidate, but he was eliminated in the first round of voting. Valery Giscard d'Estaing, finance minister in the Pompidou government and head of the Gaullist-aligned Independent

Republicans, narrowly defeated Francois Mitterrand, who ran as the only candidate of the left. On assuming office, Giscard d'Estaing became the first non-Gaullist president of the Fifth Republic. He appointed Gaullist Jacques Chirac as prime minister to head a government of Gaullists, Independent Republicans, Centrists, and nonparty technicians.

Policy differences between President Giscard d'Estaing and Chirac led to the latter's resignation in August 1976, although the Gaullist Party continued to support Chirac's successor, prominent international economist Raymond Barre. Barre's appointment marked the first time under the Fifth Republic that neither the chief of state nor the head of government was a member of the Gaullist Party.

A Communist-Socialist coalition intended to confront the parties of the governing majority in the legislative elections of March 1978. The Communists, a minority within this union of the left, broke with the Socialists by demanding the right to receive key ministries should the left win and by calling for extensive nationalization of industries. The breakup of the common front contributed to the left's defeat in the March 1978 elections, with the coalition of the Giscard d'Estaing party group winning 50.49% of the popular vote and electing 291 deputies to the National Assembly compared to the left's 200.

In November 1980, Francois Mitterrand, after fending off a challenge to his leadership, captured the nomination as the Socialist Party's presidential candidate. A bruising campaign, focusing on the theme of rising unemployment, pitted four principal candidates against each other: Giscard d'Estaing, Jacques Chirac, Francois Mitterrand, and Communist Party chief Georges Marchais. Giscard and Mitterrand emerged as the finalists after a primary round on April 26, 1981, which also saw the Communist Party's electoral strength reduced to 15% from the PCF's traditional 20% of the vote. On May 18, 1981, Francois Mitterrand defeated Giscard d'Estaing and was elected president with 51.75% of the vote.

On assuming office on May 21, 1981, President Mitterrand named long-time Socialist Party leader Pierre Mauroy as his prime minister and immediately dissolved the National Assembly. New legislative elections were held in June 1981, and Socialist Party candidates and their allies captured 285 of the 491 parliamentary seats, giving them absolute majority control of the National Assembly. Communists kept only 44 of the 86 seats they had held before the June elections. Four Communist

ministers were appointed to the government.

During the first year of his presidency, Mitterrand enjoyed high public opinion ratings. As economic difficulties mounted, however, Mitterrand's popularity, along with that of the left in general, declined. Most local elections since 1981 have shown a shift in voter preferences away from the left, to the benefit of Centrist and right-wing candidates.

Legislative elections are scheduled for the spring of 1986, and the next presidential election will be in 1988.

## GOVERNMENT

The constitution of the Fifth Republic was approved by public referendum on September 28, 1958. It greatly strengthened the authority of the executive in relation to Parliament. Under the constitution, the president is elected directly for a 7-year term. Presidential arbitration assures the regular functioning of the public powers and the continuity of the state. The president names the prime minister, presides over the cabinet, commands the armed forces, and concludes treaties. The president may submit questions to a national referendum and can dissolve the National Assembly. In certain emergency situations, the president may assume full powers. The president is thus the dominant element in the constitutional system.

Parliament meets in regular session twice annually for a maximum of 3 months on each occasion. Special sessions are common. Although parliamentary powers are diminished from those existing under the Fourth Republic, the National Assembly can still force the dissolution of the government or call new elections if an absolute majority of the total assembly membership votes a censure motion.

The National Assembly is the principal legislative body. Its deputies are directly elected to 5-year terms, and all seats are voted on in each election. Senators are chosen by an electoral college for 9-year terms, and one-third of the Senate is renewed every 3 years. The Senate's legislative powers are limited, as the National Assembly has the last word in the event of a disagreement between the two houses. The government has a strong influence in shaping the agenda of Parliament. The government can also link its life to any legislative text, and unless a motion of censure is introduced and voted, the text is considered adopted without a vote.

The most distinctive feature of the French judicial system is that it is divided into two categories: a regular court system and a court system that deals specifically with legal problems of the French administration and its relation to the French citizen. The Court of Cassation is the supreme court of appeals in the regular court system; at the top of the administrative courts is the powerful Council of State.

Traditionally, decisionmaking in France has been highly centralized, with each of France's departments headed by a prefect appointed by the central government. In 1982, the national government passed legislation to decentralize authority by giving a wide range of administrative and fiscal powers to local elected officials. However, 2 years later, these laws were still in the process of being implemented.

### Principal Government Officials

President—Francois Mitterrand  
 Prime Minister—Pierre Mauroy  
 President of the National Assembly—  
 Louis Mermaz  
 President of the Senate—Alain Poher

### Ministers

Economy and Finance—Jacques Delors  
 Budget—Henri Emmanuelli (State Secretary)  
 Consumer Affairs—Catherine Lalumiere (State Secretary)  
 Social Affairs—Pierre Beregovoy  
 Employment—Jack Ralite (Junior Minister)  
 Health—Edmond Herve (State Secretary)  
 Family Affairs, Immigrants—  
 Georgina Dufoix (State Secretary)  
 Senior Citizens—Daniel Benoist (State Secretary)  
 Repatriated Citizens—Raymond Courriere (State Secretary)  
 Interior and Decentralization—Gaston Defferre  
 Public Security—Joseph Franceschi (State Secretary)  
 Overseas Departments and Territories—George Lemoine (State Secretary)  
 Transportation—Charles Fiterman  
 Maritime Affairs—Guy Lengagne (State Secretary)  
 Justice—Robert Badinter  
 External Affairs—Claude Cheysson  
 Development and Cooperation—  
 Christian Nucci (Junior Minister)  
 Defense—Charles Hernu  
 Defense—Jean Gatel (State Secretary)  
 Veterans' Affairs—Jean Laurain (State Secretary)



Alexandre Gustave Eiffel designed the 295-meter-high iron tower for the Paris exposition of 1889.

Agriculture—Michel Rocard  
 Forestry—Rene Suchon (State Secretary)  
 Industry and Research—Laurent Fabius  
 Post and Telecommunications—Louis Mexandeau (Junior Minister)  
 Energy—Jean Auroux (State Secretary)  
 Education—Alain Savary  
 Education—Roger Gerard  
 Schwarzenberg (State Secretary)  
 Commerce and Tourism—Edith Cresson  
 Tourism—Roland Carraz (State Secretary)  
 Housing and Urban Development—  
 Paul Quiles  
 Commerce and Crafts—Michel Crepeau  
 Vocational Training—Marcel Rigout  
 European Affairs—Roland Dumas

Government Spokesman—Max Gallo (State Secretary)  
 Culture—Jack Lang (Junior Minister)  
 Youth and Sports—Edwige Avice (Junior Minister)  
 Women's Rights—Yvette Roudy (Junior Minister)  
 Civil Service—Anicet Le Pors (State Secretary)  
 Environmental Affairs—Huguette Bouchardeau (State Secretary)  
 Communications—Georges Fillioud (State Secretary)  
 Planning—Jean Le Garrec (State Secretary)  
 Ambassador to the United States and OAS—Bernard Vernier-Palliez  
 Ambassador to the United Nations—Luc de la Barre de Nanteuil



France maintains an embassy in the United States at 2535 Belmont Road NW., Washington, D.C. 20008 (tel. 202-328-2600). Consulates general are located at Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Houston, Los Angeles, New Orleans, New York, San Francisco, and Miramar, Puerto Rico.

## POLITICAL CONDITIONS

Four political groups dominate the political scene. In the National Assembly the Socialist Party, led by Lionel Jospin who succeeded Mitterrand as first secretary, holds 267 seats. Nineteen center-left deputies are also affiliated with the Socialists. The Chirac-led Gaullists, also known as the Rally for the Republic (RPR) and their allies have 90 assembly seats; the UDF federation of parties that supported President Giscard has 63 seats; and the Communist Party holds 44. The remaining 9 seats are held by independents or unaffiliated deputies. The cabinet, headed by Prime Minister Mauroy, is composed of 43 ministers, junior ministers, and state secretaries, of whom 36 are Socialists, 4 (transportation, employment, vocational training, and civil service) are Communists, 2 (education and commerce-crafts) are left radicals, and 1 (environment) is independent left.

## ECONOMY

France is one of the world's foremost industrial and agricultural countries. It has substantial agricultural resources, a diversified modern industrial system, and a highly skilled labor force.

Between 1959 and 1973, the French economy grew in real terms at an average annual rate of 5.5%. In late 1974, following the energy crisis, the economy experienced a steep downturn accompanied by accelerated inflation, rising unemployment, and large balance-of-payments deficits. Real growth since 1973 has averaged 2.4%. In 1981, the election of a Socialist President and the ensuing parliamentary elections that returned a Socialist majority led to changes in economic orientation. A number of large manufacturing firms were nationalized, along with most of the commercial banking sector. The initial Socialist policies were stimulative, relying partly on income redistribution and partly on increased government spending with a view to increasing growth and holding down unemployment. These policies were out of phase with those of

France's trading partners, and the resulting increase in import demand was not offset by an increase in demand for French exports. By early 1983, the growing trade deficit and relatively high inflation rate put severe pressure on the currency. This pressure culminated in a devaluation in March 1983, which was backed up by a classical economic stabilization plan of reductions in the budget deficit, spending cuts, increased taxes, and tighter monetary and credit policies.

The short-term goals of these policies were to bring the trade and current account deficits back into balance over a 2-year period and to bring price inflation down into line with France's trading partners. The restrictive policies began to bear fruit quickly on the trade front as the deficit narrowed substantially in the fall of 1983. By the year's end, the government's goal of cutting in half the 1982 trade deficit of 92 billion francs had been marginally exceeded. The French economy, however, remains vulnerable to inflation. Although there was indication of some slowing of price rises during the second half of 1983, the government was unable to meet its inflationary targets.

Progress on inflation will depend in large part on the development of personal incomes during 1984. The progress of wage negotiations is crucial in this respect and is also of primary importance to the government's medium-term goal of improving French industrial competitiveness. The manufacturing sector is handicapped by high labor costs and overstaffing, which is particularly severe in the steel, coal, shipbuilding, and automobile sectors. The government is devoting substantial efforts to try to cushion the social impact of unemployment, while at the same time attempting to assist the streamlining and modernization of the sectors concerned.

## Industry

France's highly developed and diversified industrial enterprises generate about one-third of the GDP and employ about one-third of the work force. This distribution is similar to that of other highly industrialized nations. The government is a significant factor in the industrial sector, both in its planning and regulatory activities and in its ownership and operation of important industrial facilities. Government involvement in industry has traditionally been strong in France and was increased by the 1981 nationalizations. Government-owned or majority-owned enterprises account for 21% of industrial sales, 23% of the industrial work force, 30% of industrial exports, and 53% of industrial fixed investment. The different percentages reflect

the fact that the government-owned part of industry is concentrated in the large, capital-intensive industries. These companies are under the general supervision of the government, their majority shareholder, but function independently in terms of ongoing operations.

The most important areas of industrial production include steel and related products, aluminum, chemicals, and mechanical and electrical goods. France has been notably successful in developing dynamic telecommunications, aerospace, and weapons sectors. With virtually no domestic oil production, France has banked heavily on development of nuclear power, which now produces about 40% of the country's electrical energy.

Compared to an EC average of 43%, only 20% of the French work force is unionized. There are several competing union confederations. The largest, oldest, and most powerful union is the Communist-dominated General Labor Confederation (CGT), followed by the Workers' Force (FO) and the French Democratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT).

## Trade

France is the second largest trading nation in Western Europe (after the Federal Republic of Germany). Trade with the enlarged EC accounts for over one-half of the total. In recent years, France has sought, with some success, to expand trade with the Middle East, Eastern Europe, and the Soviet Union. It also has active economic relations with the nations of francophone Africa and North Africa.

U.S. sales to France have risen substantially in recent years, principally in machinery and electrical equipment, soybeans, chemicals, aircraft, and aerospace components. Principal French exports to the United States are iron and steel, machinery and electrical equipment, beverages, and chemicals. Cumulative U.S. direct investment in France was \$9.1 billion at the end of 1981.

## Agriculture

A favorable climate, large tracts of fertile land, and the application of modern technology have combined to make France the leading agricultural producer in Western Europe. The European Community's (EC) common agricultural policy also has created a large, easily accessible market for French products. France is one of the world's leading producers of dairy products and wheat and is basically

self-sufficient in agricultural products, except for feed compounds and tropical produce. Although more land is devoted to pasture and grain, much of France's best land is planted in wine grapes in strictly controlled, small regions.

### Balance of Payments

After recording a current account surplus in 1978 and 1979, France's external account moved into a \$4.2 billion deficit in 1980, generally due to the impact of increased energy costs prices. This deficit widened rapidly to \$4.7 billion in 1981, and to \$12 billion in 1982 under the impact of stimulative domestic economic policies and depressed foreign demand for French exports. The devaluation and economic stabilization program introduced in mid-1983 arrested the growth of the deficit, which narrowed in the second half of the year, so that the total was less than half the size of the previous year. The string of current-account deficits, however, had to be financed by capital inflows, so that by 1984, France's gross foreign debt was estimated at about \$53 billion. Interest payments on this debt will continue to add to current account outflows, implying that France will have to follow policies that ensure a trade surplus for several years.

### FOREIGN RELATIONS

A charter member of the United Nations, France holds one of the permanent seats in the Security Council and is a member of most of its specialized agencies, including the UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the International Labour Organization (ILO), and the World Health Organization (WHO).

### Europe

France is a leader in Western Europe because of its size, location, strong economy, membership in European organizations, and energetic diplomacy. Progress toward European political union has a high priority. France has made several proposals to strengthen the institutions of the EC but does not envision any significant transfers of its sovereignty to the Community in the near future. France also attaches great importance to Franco-German cooperation as the foundation of efforts to enhance European union. Both President Mitterrand and External Relations Minister Cheysson (a former EC commissioner) strongly support the Community.

### Middle East

France supports the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty and Israel's right to exist within secure boundaries. President Mitterrand made an official visit to Israel in 1982. France also believes in the necessity for a comprehensive Middle Eastern peace settlement that would include Israel's withdrawal from all occupied territories and the establishment of a Palestinian homeland. France continues its active role in efforts to bring stability to the Middle East, including a major contribution to the UN peacekeeping force in Lebanon and participation in the Sinai Multinational Force and observers. In the summer of 1982, France cooperated with the United States, the United Kingdom, and Italy in putting a multinational force into Beirut following the Israeli invasion. French policy in the Middle East takes account of the republic's interest in ensuring supplies of Arab oil and access to markets.

### Africa

France plays a significant role in Africa, especially in its former colonies, through extensive aid programs, commercial activities, military agreements, and cultural leadership. Key advisory positions are staffed by French nationals in many African countries. In those former colonies where French presence remains important, France contributes to political, military, and social stability. France and the United States cooperated in assisting the Government of Chad in halting an invasion by Libyan-Chadian opposition forces in 1983. France sent a large military force to Chad in August 1983.

### Asia

France has extensive commercial relations with Asian countries including Japan, Korea, Indonesia, and China. Japanese competition in automobiles, electronics, and machine tools is a major economic problem. France is making a large contribution to resettling Indo-Chinese refugees and is seeking to broaden its influence with Vietnam and Laos.

### Latin America

Since the left came to power in 1981, France has taken a greater interest in Latin American affairs, particularly Central America. Although France and the United States agree on the need for strengthening democratic institutions in the region, there have been important differences on specific issues. There are

large Latin American exile communities in France, notably from Argentina and Chile. French economic interests in the region are growing but remain only a small portion of France's worldwide economic activities.

### DEFENSE

France is a charter signatory to the North Atlantic Treaty and a member of the North Atlantic Council. Since 1966, it has been outside the NATO integrated military structures, although it remains a member of some Alliance military or quasi-military bodies. In addition, France maintains liaison missions with the major NATO commands and is represented in NATO political groups such as the North Atlantic Council and its subordinate bodies.

French military doctrine is based on the concept of national independence. Its armed forces are subject to national command, and any decision to cooperate with France's allies is subject to the sovereign decision of the French president. The French Army maintains one of its corps in the Federal Republic of Germany, in addition to two corps stationed in France near its eastern and northern borders.

France is linked to its European

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### Travel Notes

**Customs:** US citizens visiting for less than 3 months need only present a valid passport. No visa or vaccination is required. Travelers must declare goods carried in hand or in baggage and pass through customs inspection.

**Clothing:** Clothing needs are similar to those in Washington, DC.

**Health:** No special precautions are needed. Standards of medical care are usually acceptable. The American Hospital of Paris is located at 63 Boulevard Victor-Hugo, 9200 Neuilly sur Seine (tel. 747-5300).

**Telecommunications:** Domestic and international telephone, telegraph, and cable communications are good. Paris is six time zones ahead of the eastern US.

**Transportation:** Streetcars and buses offer good transportation in all large French cities. Paris has an excellent subway system and local rail services. Taxis are available at moderate rates in all cities. Good air and railway service is available to all parts of France and other European capitals.

**Holidays and closing hours:** July 14, Bastille Day, is the national holiday. Shops and other businesses close from 1:00 to 3:00 pm daily. Many establishments in Paris and other cities are closed during August.

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neighbors through the 1948 Treaty of Brussels and the 1954 Paris Accords. It is a member of the Western European Union and has a close bilateral security relationship with the Federal Republic of Germany based on the 1963 Elysee Treaty.

The French maintain a strategic nuclear triad of manned bombers, land-based IRBMs and SSBNs. It is modernizing its nuclear forces, and a sixth SSBN will be launched in 1985.

France is also reorganizing its army. When this reform is completed in 1985, the army will regroup five divisions into a rapid action force designed to be able to intervene rapidly in a European conflict or overseas if necessary. Its navy of 210 oceangoing ships with 200 combat aircraft is the largest in Western Europe. The French Air Force has about 972 aircraft in operational units.

France participates in the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva and in the Conference on Disarmament in Europe. France is not a signatory to the Limited Test Ban Treaty and conducts nuclear testing underground at its South Pacific test site. France has not adhered to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty but conducts itself in accordance with the terms of the treaty. The French Government endorsed the SALT II Treaty. The French strongly support the process of U.S.-Soviet nuclear arms control, but they object to inclusion of any French forces in these negotiations.

## U.S.-FRENCH RELATIONS

Relations between the United States and France are active and cordial. Since Francois Mitterrand's presidential victory, he has met with President Reagan on numerous occasions, including a 7-day state visit to the United States in March 1984. Bilateral contact at the vice presidential and cabinet level is frequent.

France and the United States are allies who share common values and have parallel policies on many political, economic, and security issues. Differences are discussed frankly when they develop and have not been allowed to impair the pattern of close cooperation that characterizes relations between the two countries.

### Principal U.S. Officials

Ambassador—Evan G. Galbraith  
Deputy Chief of Mission—John

J. Maresca

Minister-Counselor for Economic Affairs—Michael E. Ely (Gerald Rosen, due to arrive in September 1984)

Counselor for Political Affairs—Adrian A. Basora

## Further Information

These titles are provided as a general indication of material published on this country. The Department of State does not endorse unofficial publications.

Major English-language newspaper:  
*International Herald Tribune*, published in Paris.

### General Reading

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Wylie, Lawrence. *Village in the Vaucluse*. Harper & Row.

Consul General—John W. DeWitt  
(Robert E. Ezelle, September 1984)  
Counselor for Public Affairs—Terrence F. Catherman  
Counselor for Commercial Affairs—E. William Tatge  
Counselor for Administrative Affairs—Charles E. Emmons  
Defense and Army Attache—Brig. Gen. Donald C. Hilbert

### Consular Posts

Consul General, Marseille—Edward M. Sacchet (Edmund Van Gilder, August 1984)  
Consul General, Bordeaux—William A. Shepard  
Consul General, Lyon—Peter R. Chaveas  
Consul General, Strasbourg—Robert O. Homme

Consul General, Nice—William V. Newlin  
Consul General, Martinique—Timothy C. Brown

The U.S. Embassy in France is located at 2 Avenue Gabriel, Paris 8 (tel. 296-1202). The United States is also represented in Paris by its missions to the OECD and UNESCO. ■

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(Noonan/BE)  
May 25, 1984  
12:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: POINTE DU HOC  
WEDNESDAY, JUNE 6, 1984

We are here to mark that day in history when the Allied armies joined in battle to reclaim this continent to liberty. For 4 long years, much of Europe had been under a terrible shadow. Free nations had fallen, Jews cried out in the camps, millions cried out for liberation. Europe was enslaved, and the world ~~waited~~<sup>prayed</sup> for its rescue. Here, in Normandy, the rescue began. Here the West stood, and fought against tyranny in a giant undertaking unparalleled in human history.

We stand on a lonely, windswept point on the northern shore of France. As I speak, the air is soft and full of sunlight. But 40 years ago at this moment, the air was dense with smoke and the cries of men, the air was filled with the crack of rifle fire and the ~~boom~~<sup>ROAR</sup> of cannons. At dawn on the morning of the 6th of June, 1944, 225 American Rangers jumped off a British landing craft and ran to the bottom of these cliffs. Their mission was one of the most difficult and daring of the Invasion: to climb these sheer and desolate cliffs and take out the enemy guns. The Allies had been told that the mightiest of those guns were here, and they would be trained on the beaches to stop the Allied advance.

The Rangers looked up and saw the enemy soldiers at the edge of the cliffs shooting down at them with machine guns and throwing grenades. And the American Rangers began to climb. They shot rope ladders over the face of these cliffs and they began to pull themselves up. And when one Ranger would fall another would take his place, and when one rope was cut a Ranger

would grab another and begin his climb again. They climbed and shot back and held their footing; and in time the enemy pulled back; in time the Rangers held the cliffs; and soon, one by one, the Rangers pulled themselves over the top -- and in seizing the firm land at the top of these cliffs they began to seize back the continent of Europe.

Forty years ago as I speak they were fighting to hold these cliffs. They had radioed back and asked for reinforcements. They were told: There aren't any. But they did not give up. It was not in them to give up. They would not be turned back; they held the cliffs.

Two-hundred twenty-five came here. After a day of fighting only 90 could still bear arms.

I stand here today before the survivors of that battle. These are the boys of Pointe du Hoc. These are the men who took the cliffs. These are the champions who helped free a continent; these are the heroes who helped end a war.

Gentlemen, I look at you and I think of the words of Stephen Spender's poem. You are men who in your "lives fought for life . . . and left the vivid air signed with your honor."

And I think I know what you're thinking right now. You're thinking, "~~But~~ We were just part of a bigger effort, and everyone was brave that day."

Everyone was. The heroism of all the Allies of D-Day was boundless, but there was another quality to it, not only of size but of spirit.

Do you remember Bill Millin of the 51st Scottish Highlanders? Forty years ago today, British troops were pinned

down near a bridge outside Caen. They were waiting desperately for reinforcements, when suddenly they heard the sound of bagpipes wafting through the air. Some of them thought it was a dream. But they looked up, and there was Bill Millin with his bagpipes, marching at the head of the reinforcements, ignoring the smack of the bullets into the sand around him. Lord Lovat was with him -- Lord Lovat of England, leading his commandos. When he got to the bridge Lord Lovat calmly announced, "Sorry I'm a few minutes late." As if he'd been delayed by bad weather or a traffic jam. When in truth he'd just come from the bloody fighting on Sword Beach, which he and his men had just taken.

There was the young Frenchman, Michel de Vallavielle, who had been confined by the Germans in his home. When the Invasion began he defied the enemy patrols, broke the curfew, and ran to the beach to tell the Allied troops where the enemy guns were hidden.

There was Lieutenant Colonel Benjamin Vandervoort of the All American 82nd Airborne, who broke his leg when he parachuted on to French soil. So he commandeered a small farm cart and ordered his men to wheel him on to the battlefield.

There was the impossible valor of the Poles, who threw themselves between the enemy and the rest of Europe as the Invasion took hold. And the unsurpassed courage of the Canadians, <sup>who had already seen the horrors of war on this coast.</sup> ~~the only troops who knew exactly what they would face when they hit the beaches. [Two years before, their countrymen had been slaughtered at Dieppe.]~~ They knew what awaited them here, but they would not be deterred, and once they hit Juno Beach they never looked back.

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The men of Normandy were part of a roll call of honor, with names that spoke of a pride as bright as the colors they bore: the Royal Winnipeg Rifles, Poland's 24th Lancers, the Royal Scots Fusiliers, the 2nd Ranger Battalion, the Yeomen of England's armoured divisions, the forces of Free France, the Regiment de Chars de Combat, the Screaming Eagles . . .

What inspired the men of the armies that met here? What impelled them to put all thought of self-preservation behind, and risk their lives to take these beaches and hold these cliffs?

It was faith and belief; it was loyalty and love. It was faith that what they were doing was right, faith that they fought for all humanity, faith that a just God would grant them mercy on this beachhead -- or the next. It was the deep knowledge (and pray God we have not lost it) that there is a profound moral difference between the use of force for liberation and the use of force for conquest. They were here to liberate, not to conquer, and so they did not doubt their cause. And they were right not to doubt.

They knew that some things are worth dying for -- that one's country is worth dying for and that democracy is worth dying for, because it is the most deeply honorable form of Government ever devised by man. They loved liberty and they were happy to fight tyranny. And they knew the people of their countries were behind them.

The Americans who fought here that morning knew that word of the Invasion was spreading through the darkness back home. And they knew in their hearts, though they could not know in fact, that in Georgia they were filling the churches at 4 a.m., and in

Kansas they were kneeling on their porches and praying, and in Philadelphia they were ringing the Liberty Bell.

Something else helped the men of D-Day. It was the rockhard belief that Providence would have a great hand in the events that would unfold here; that God was an ally in this great cause. And, so, the night before the Invasion, when Colonel Wolverton asked his parachute troops to kneel with him in prayer he told them: Do not bow your heads but look up so you can see God and ask His blessing in what we are about to do. And in another part of England that night General Mathew Ridgeway tossed on his cot and talked to his God and listened for the promise made to Joshua: "I will not fail thee, nor forsake thee."

These are the things that impelled them; these are the things that shaped the unity of the West. And with that unity the West could not be stopped.

When the war was over there were lives to be rebuilt and governments to be returned to the people -- there were nations to be reborn and above all, there was a new peace to be assured. These were huge and daunting tasks. But the Allies summoned strength from the faith and belief and loyalty and love of those who fell here. And they rebuilt a new Europe together.

There was first a great reconciliation, not only of those who had been enemies in the war, but also of those nations which had been torn for centuries by rivalries of territory and religion and power. Those rivalries were interred on these beaches.

Inspired by the gallantry of the men who fought the war, the United States created the Marshall Plan to help rebuild our

allies and our former enemies. The Marshall Plan led to the Atlantic Alliance -- a great alliance that functions to this day as a shield for democracy and for prosperity.

In spite of our great efforts and our great successes, not all of what followed the end of the war was happy, or planned. Some of the countries that had been liberated were lost. The great sadness of that fact echoes down to our own time in the streets of Warsaw, Prague, and East Berlin. The Soviet troops that came to the center of this continent did not leave when peace came. They are there to this day, uninvited, unwanted, and unyielding almost 40 years after the war.

Because of this, Allied forces still stand on this continent. But our armies are here only to protect and defend democracy -- and never to take land that is not ours. The only land we hold is the graveyards where our heroes rest.

We in America have learned the bitter lessons of two world wars: that it is better to be here and ready to preserve and protect the peace, than to take blind shelter in our homes across the sea, rushing to respond only after freedom has been lost. We have learned that isolationism never was and never will be an acceptable response to tyrannical governments with expansionist intent.

But we try always to prepare for peace. That is why we maintain our defenses and that is why we have tried to negotiate the <sup>reduction</sup> ~~control~~ of arms.

In truth there is no reconciliation we would welcome more than a reconciliation with the Soviet Union, so that together we can lessen the chance of conflict, now and forever.

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← Insert



I tell you from my heart that we in the United States do not want war. We want to wipe from the face of the Earth the terrible weapons man now has in his hands. I tell you we are ready to seize that beachhead -- but there must be some sign from the Soviet Union that they are willing to move forward, that they share our desire and love for peace, that they will give up the ways of conquest. There must be a changing there that will allow us to turn our hope into action.

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

We are bound still by what bound us 40 years ago, bound by the same loyalties, traditions and beliefs. We are bound by reality: The strength of America's allies is still vital to the future of the United States. And the American security guarantee is still essential to the continued freedom of Europe's democracies. The Allies of 40 years ago are allies still. Your destiny is our destiny, and your hopes are our hopes.

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

Strengthened by their courage, heartened by their valor and ~~borne~~ <sup>sustained</sup> by their ~~memory~~ <sup>sacrifice</sup>, let us continue to stand for the ideals for which they lived and died.

Thank you all very much.

Clean draft  
- May 31

(Noonan/RR) <sup>King W</sup>  
May 31, 1984  
5:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: POINTE DU HOC  
WEDNESDAY, JUNE 6, 1984

We are here to mark that day in history when the Allied armies joined in battle to reclaim this continent to liberty. For 4 long years, much of Europe had been under a terrible shadow. Free nations had fallen, Jews cried out in the camps, millions cried out for liberation. Europe was enslaved, and the world prayed for its rescue. Here, in Normandy, the rescue began. Here the West stood, and fought against tyranny in a giant undertaking unparalleled in human history.

We stand on a lonely, windswept point on the northern shore of France. As I speak, the air is soft and full of sunlight. But 40 years ago at this moment, the air was dense with smoke and the cries of men, the air was filled with the crack of rifle fire and the roar of cannon. At dawn on the morning of the 6th of June, 1944, 225 American Rangers jumped off a British landing craft and ran to the bottom of these cliffs. Their mission was one of the most difficult and daring of the Invasion: to climb these sheer and desolate cliffs and take out the enemy guns. The Allies had been told that the mightiest of those guns were here, and they would be trained on the beaches to stop the Allied advance.

The Rangers looked up and saw the enemy soldiers at the edge of the cliffs shooting down at them with machine guns and throwing grenades. And the American Rangers began to climb. They shot rope ladders over the face of these cliffs and they began to pull themselves up. And when one Ranger would fall another would take his place, and when one rope was cut a Ranger

would grab another and begin his climb again. They climbed and shot back and held their footing; and in time the enemy pulled back; in time the Rangers held the cliffs; and soon, one by one, the Rangers pulled themselves over the top -- and in seizing the firm land at the top of these cliffs they began to seize back the continent of Europe.

Forty years ago as I speak they were fighting to hold these cliffs. They had radioed back and asked for reinforcements. They were told: There aren't any. But they did not give up. It was not in them to give up. They would not be turned back; they held the cliffs.

Two hundred twenty-five came here. After a day of fighting only 90 could still bear arms.

Behind me is a memorial that symbolizes the Ranger daggers that were thrust into the top of these cliffs. And before me are the men who put them there.

These are the boys of Pointe du Hoc. These are the men who took the cliffs. These are the champions who helped free a continent; these are the heroes who helped end a war.

Gentlemen, I look at you and I think of the words of Stephen Spender's poem. You are men who in your "lives fought for life . . . and left the vivid air signed with (your) honor."

And I think I know what you're thinking right now. You're thinking, "But we were just part of a bigger effort, and everyone was brave that day."

Everyone was. The heroism of all the Allies of D-Day was boundless, but there was another quality to it, not only of size but of spirit.



Do you remember the story of Bill Millin of the 51st Scottish Highlanders? Forty years ago today, British troops were pinned down near a bridge and waiting desperately for reinforcements. Suddenly they heard the sound of bagpipes wafting through the air. Some of them thought it was a dream. But they looked up, and there was Bill Millin with his bagpipes, marching at the head of the reinforcements, ignoring the smack of the bullets into the sand around him. Lord Lovat was with him -- Lord Lovat of England, who calmly announced when he got to the bridge, "Sorry I'm a few minutes late." As if he'd been delayed by bad weather or a traffic jam. When in truth he'd just come from the bloody fighting on Sword Beach, which he and his men had just taken.

There was Lieutenant Colonel Benjamin Vandervoort of the All American 82nd Airborne, who broke his leg when he parachuted on to French soil. So he commandeered a small farm cart and ordered his men to wheel him on to the battlefield.

There was the impossible valor of the Poles, who threw themselves between the enemy and the rest of Europe as the Invasion took hold. And the unsurpassed courage of the Canadians, the only troops who knew exactly what they would face when they hit the beaches. Two years before, their countrymen had been slaughtered at Dieppe. They knew what awaited them here, but they would not be deterred, and once they hit Juno Beach they never looked back.

All of these men were part of a rollcall of honor, with names that spoke of a pride as bright as the colors they bore: the Royal Winnipeg Rifles, Poland's 24th Lancers, the Royal Scots

Fusiliers, the Screaming Eagles, the Yeomen of England's armoured divisions, the forces of Free France, the Regiment de Chars de Combat . . . and you, the American Rangers.

Forty summers have passed since the battle you fought here. You were young the day you took these cliffs -- some of you were hardly more than boys, with the deepest joys of life before you. Yet you risked everything here. We think of that and we ask: Why did you do it? What impelled you to put all thought of self-preservation behind and risk your lives to take these cliffs? What inspired all of the men of the armies that met here?

We look at you . . . and somehow we know the answer.

It was faith and belief; it was loyalty and love.

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

They knew that some things are worth dying for -- that one's country is worth dying for and that democracy is worth dying for, because it is the most deeply honorable form of Government ever devised by man. They loved liberty and they were happy to fight tyranny. And they knew the people of their countries were behind them.

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There was first a great reconciliation, not only of those who had been enemies in the war, but also of those nations which had been torn for centuries by rivalries of territory and

religion and power. Those rivalries were interred on these beaches.

The United States did its part by creating the Marshall Plan to help rebuild our allies and our former enemies. The Marshall Plan led to the Atlantic Alliance -- a great alliance that functions to this day as a shield for democracy and for prosperity.

In spite of our great efforts and our great successes, not all of what followed the end of the war was happy, or planned. Some of the countries that had been liberated were lost. The great sadness of that fact echoes down to our own time in the streets of Warsaw, Prague, and East Berlin. The Soviet troops that came to the center of this continent did not leave when peace came. They are there to this day, uninvited, unwanted, and unyielding almost 40 years after the war.

Because of this, Allied forces still stand on this continent. Today, as 40 years ago, our armies are here for only one purpose -- to protect and defend democracy. The only territories we hold are the graveyards where our heroes rest.

We in America have learned the bitter lessons of two world wars: that it is better to be here and ready to preserve and protect the peace, than to take blind shelter in our homes across the sea, rushing to respond only after freedom has been lost. We have learned that isolationism never was and never will be an acceptable response to tyrannical governments with expansionist intent.



But we try always to prepare for peace. That is why we maintain our defenses and that is why we have tried to negotiate the reduction of arms.

In truth there is no reconciliation we would welcome more than a reconciliation with the Soviet Union, so that together we can lessen the chance of conflict, now and forever.

I tell you from my heart that we in the United States do not want war. We want to wipe from the face of the Earth the terrible weapons man now has in his hands. I tell you we are ready to seize that beachhead -- but there must be some sign from the Soviet Union that they are willing to move forward, that they share our desire and love for peace, that they will give up the ways of conquest. There must be a changing there that will allow us to turn our hope into action.

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

We are bound still by what bound us 40 years ago, bound by the same loyalties, traditions and beliefs. We are bound by reality: The strength of America's allies is vital to the United States, and the American security guarantee is essential to the continued freedom of Europe's democracies. The Allies of 40 years ago are allies still. Your destiny is our destiny, and your hopes are our hopes.

Here, in this place where the West stood together, let us make a vow to our dead. Let us show them by our actions that we understand what they died for; let our actions say to them the

words for which Mathew Ridgeway listened: "I will not fail thee nor forsake thee."

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

Thank you all very much.

JC

(Noonan/RR)  
June 5, 1984  
Noon

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: POINTE DU HOC  
WEDNESDAY, JUNE 6, 1984

We are here to mark that day in history when the Allied armies joined in battle to reclaim this continent to liberty. For 4 long years, much of Europe had been under a terrible shadow. Free nations had fallen, Jews cried out in the camps, millions cried out for liberation. Europe was enslaved, and the world prayed for its rescue. Here, in Normandy, the rescue began. Here the Allies stood, and fought against tyranny in a giant undertaking unparalleled in human history.

We stand on a lonely, windswept point on the northern shore of France. The air is soft, but, 40 years ago at this moment, the air was dense with smoke and the cries of men; the air was filled with the crack of rifle fire and the roar of cannon. At dawn on the morning of the 6th of June, 1944, 225 American Rangers jumped off the British landing craft and ran to the bottom of these cliffs. Their mission was one of the most difficult and daring of the Invasion: to climb these sheer and desolate cliffs and take out the enemy guns. The Allies had been told that some of the mightiest of those guns were here, and they would be trained on the beaches to stop the Allied advance.

The Rangers looked up and saw the enemy soldiers at the edge of the cliffs shooting down at them with machine guns and throwing grenades. And the American Rangers began to climb. They shot rope ladders over the face of these cliffs and ~~they~~ <sup>fell</sup> began to pull themselves up. When one Ranger ~~would~~ fall, another

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would take his place; ~~and~~ when one rope was cut a Ranger would grab another and begin his climb again. They climbed, shot back and held their footing; soon, one by one, the Rangers pulled themselves over the top -- and in seizing the firm land at the top of these cliffs they began to seize back the Continent of Europe.

Two hundred twenty-five came here. After two days of fighting, only 90 could still bear arms.

Behind me is a memorial that symbolizes the Ranger daggers that were thrust into the top of these cliffs. And before me are the men who put them there.

These are the boys of Pointe du Hoc. These are the men who took the cliffs. These are the champions who helped free a continent; these are the heroes who helped end a war.

Gentlemen, I look at you and I think of the words of Stephen Spender's poem. You are men who in your "lives fought for life . . . and left the vivid air signed with [your] honor."

I think I know what you may be thinking right now: "We were just part of a bigger effort, ~~and~~ everyone was brave that day."

*Stacy*  
X Everyone was. Do you remember the story of Bill Millin of the 51st Highlanders? Forty years ago today, British troops were pinned down near a bridge, waiting desperately for *help*

~~reinforcements~~. Suddenly, they heard the sound of bagpipes, and *It wasn't* some ~~of them~~ thought it was a dream. ~~But~~ they looked up, and *Lord's* ~~there was~~ Bill Millin with his bagpipes, ~~marching at the head of~~ the reinforcements, *and* ignoring the smack of the bullets into the ground around him. Lord Lovat was with him -- Lord Lovat of



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

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

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

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

We look at you, and somehow we know the answer.

It was ~~faith~~ faith and belief; it was ~~loyalty~~ loyalty and love.

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

They knew ~~that~~ some things are worth dying for: one's country is worth dying for; and democracy is worth dying for, because it is the most deeply honorable form of government ever devised by man. They loved liberty; they were willing to fight tyranny; they knew the people of their countries were behind them.

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

Something else helped the men of D-Day: Their rockhard belief that Providence would have a great hand in the events that would unfold here; that God was an ally in this great cause. And, so, the night before the Invasion, when Colonel Wolverton asked his parachute troops to kneel with him in prayer he told them: Do not bow your heads but look up so you can see God and ask His blessing in what we are about to do. Also ~~in England~~

that night, General Matthew Ridgway <sup>lay</sup> ~~rested~~ on his cot, <sup>resting in the</sup> ~~beseeching~~ <sup>God</sup> ~~God~~ for the promise made to Joshua: "I will not fail thee nor forsake thee."

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

When the war was over there were lives to be rebuilt and governments to be returned to the people. There were nations to be reborn. Above all, there was a new peace to be assured. These were huge and daunting tasks. But the Allies summoned strength from the faith, belief, loyalty and love of those who fell here. They rebuilt a new Europe together.

There was first a great reconciliation among those who had been enemies, all of whom had suffered so greatly.

The United States did its part, creating the Marshall Plan to help rebuild our allies and our former enemies. The Marshall Plan led to the Atlantic Alliance -- a great alliance that serves to this day as our shield for freedom, for prosperity, for peace.

In spite of our great efforts and successes, not all that followed the end of the war was happy, or planned. Some liberated countries were lost. The great sadness of this loss echoes down to our own time in the streets of Warsaw, Prague, and East Berlin. The Soviet troops that came to the center of this continent did not leave when peace came. They are still there, uninvited, unwanted, ~~and~~ unyielding, almost 40 years after the war.

Because of this, Allied forces still stand on this continent. Today, as 40 years ago, our armies are here for only

one purpose -- to protect and defend democracy. The only territories we hold are memorials like this one and the graveyards where our heroes rest.

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

But we try always to be prepared for peace; prepared to deter aggression; prepared to negotiate the reduction of arms; and, yes, prepared to <sup>rush</sup>~~rush~~ out again in the spirit of reconciliation.

In truth, there is no reconciliation we would welcome more than a reconciliation with the Soviet Union, so, together, we can lessen the risks of war, now and forever.

It is fitting to remember here the great losses also suffered by the Russian people during World War II: 20 million perished, a terrible price that testifies to all the world the necessity of avoiding war.

I tell you from my heart that we in the United States do not want war. We want to wipe from the face of the Earth the terrible weapons man now has in his hands. I tell you we are ready to seize that beachhead -- but there must be some sign from the Soviet Union that they are willing to move forward, that they share our desire and love for peace, that they will give up the

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ways of conquest. There must be a changing there that will allow us to turn our hope into action.

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

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

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

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

Thank you all very much.