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Reagan's
D-day material
the exchange of young students between their countries which will begin in 1982.

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

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

Address to Members of the British Parliament
June 8, 1982

My Lord Chancellor, Mr. Speaker:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Poland's struggle to be Poland and to secure the basic rights we often take for
Washington in 1982

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Historians looking back at our time will
note the consistent restraint and peaceful
intentions of the West. They will note that
it was the democracies who refused to use
the threat of their nuclear monopoly in the
forties and early fifties for territorial or im-
perial gain. Had that nuclear monopoly
been in the hands of the Communist world,
the map of Europe—indeed, the world—
would look very different today. And cer-
tainly they will note it was not the democ-
racies that invaded Afghanistan or su-
pressed Polish Solidarity or used chemical and toxin warfare in Afghanistan and South-east Asia.

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

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

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

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

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

What we see here is a political structure that no longer corresponds to its economic base, a society where productive forces are hampered by political ones.

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

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

Since the exodus from Egypt, historians have written of those who sacrificed and struggled for freedom—the stand at Thermopylae, the revolt of Spartacus, the storming of the Bastille, the Warsaw uprising in World War II. More recently we've seen evidence of this same human impulse in one of the developing nations in Central
America. For months and months the world news media covered the fighting in El Salvador. Day after day we were treated to stories and film slanted toward the brave freedom-fighters battling oppressive government forces in behalf of the silent, suffering people of that tortured country.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Some argue that we should encourage democratic change in right-wing dictatorships, but not in Communist regimes. Well, to accept this preposterous notion—as some
well-meaning people have—is to invite the argument that once countries achieve a nuclear capability, they should be allowed an undisturbed reign of terror over their own citizens. We reject this course.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thank you.

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

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

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

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

June 8, 1982

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

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

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

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

It is one of the ironies of World War II that while troops faced the terrors of the Normandy landings, American and other Allied soldiers in Italy were enjoying their happiest adventure.

American armor and infantry of Gen. Mark W. Clark's 5th Army entered Rome on the heels of tens of thousands of fleeing Germans on June 4, 1944. The capture of the first Axis capital took place just two days before the June 6 Normandy D-Day and served as a major morale boost for history's most spectacular amphibious operation.

Few cities can rival Rome in early June. And for various reasons, most of them military, Rome came through the war almost undamaged.

For the Allied troops who had just endured nearly five months of the war's bloodiest fighting -- at the German winter defense line pivoting on Monte Cassino and on the Anzio beachhead -- the contrast was overpowering.

After months of barren battlefield mud, Rome seemed carpeted from ancient wall to ancient wall with what the troops called "signorinas".

For the citizens of Rome who had faced near-starvation, German reprisals for partisan bomb attacks and deportations during those same five months, the relief of liberation was enormous.

For them it was the end of Fascist dictator Benito Mussolini's war, which brought them nothing but disaster. By the hundreds of thousands they mobbed the American tanks and
infantry that poured, at first warily, into the city through the San Giovanni gate in the southern city walls.

Mark Clark -- who died in Charleston, S.C., April 17 at the age of 87 -- was not really supposed to head for Rome when he did. Gen. Sir Harold Alexander, the British commander in chief of Allied armies in Italy, wanted him to strike inland from the Anzio beachhead to cut off the German divisions fleeing from the Cassino front after the British-led breakthrough there.

Alexander's strategy might have ended the war against the Germans in Italy right then. But among the American, British, Canadian, Indian, New Zealand, Free French and Polish troops who took part in the battles that led to the liberation of Rome, Clark was a hero because he spared them a murderous showdown.

It was amazing -- and vital for the preservation of order in the Italian capital -- how closely the entry of American troops into Rome followed the frantic evacuation of the city by the Germans.

German army Field Marshal Albert Kesselring ordered the evacuation of Rome on June 3. The city was untenable because it is surrounded by a coastal plain and could be easily bypassed by the Allied divisions.

A German officer's account, cited in a recent book on this phase of the war in Italy, draws a vivid picture of the hectic German withdrawal:

"On the roads we had trucks, guns, horse-drawn vehicles, anti-aircraft units -- very often in three columns, side by side, and mixed in with them soldiers from different regiments. The shambles was grotesque.

"Columns tried to overtake each other and the anti-aircraft gun crews attempted to take up firing positions," the German witness said. "Officers on motorcycles tried to get the columns into order."

At least one German battalion seeking an escape route was involved in a firefight with American troops. But in general there was no fighting in the city -- Germans out on one side and Americans in from the other.

On the day of the Normandy landings, June 6, 1944, American and other Allied troops who followed them into the city at breakneck speed were enjoying the adulation of Romans for whom the terrors of war were over.

Some toured the sights, others enjoyed the nonstop Happy Hours in city bars. And the more licentious soldiery sought female company.

As I walked down the Via Nazionale with an army friend, hard on the heels of two Roman girls in wispy summer dresses, we passed two other officers from our regiment following two
girls in the opposite direction.

"Did you hear they landed in Normandy this morning?" one of the other officers said.

"It's about time they did," we replied in chorus. The Normandy invasion had been rumored for weeks.

Many of the British troops in Italy at that time in 1944 had been in front line action since 1940 and most of the Americans and British had been fighting since the North Africa landings in November 1942.

We thought the Normandy landings would mean a quick end to the war and we might be home for Christmas.

But the U.S. 5th Army and the British 8th Army in Italy were depleted by several divisions switched to Normandy or other Allied landings in the South of France.

Another long winter was ahead in the snow of the mountains between Florence and Bologna before the war was won.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH
It began Sept. 9, 1943, with the Allied invasion of southern Italy _ "like a giant serpent coming out of the sea," as an Italian policeman remembers it _ and it ended June 4, 1944, when, Andreana Stivetti recalls, "We cried with happiness." It was the liberation of Rome in World War II. An Associated Press reporter retraces the drive of the Allies as Italians remember it.

Housing complexes and peaceful but littered beaches now mark the landing sites of the U.S. and British armies. Little is evident today of the Allied invasion that culminated nine months later in the liberation of Rome from the Germans.

Except for the graves of soldiers who fell here in 1943.

Four-lane highways running north now cover the brush and mountain passes where the U.S. 5th Army under Gen. Mark Clark and British forces led by Gen. Harold Alexander battled over the 145 miles to Rome _ a campaign that killed or wounded more than 300,000 Allied soldiers and 250,000 Germans.

But the memories of Italian men and women who lived through it remain:

MAIORI, near Salerno, Sept. 9, 1943

Police Chief Gennaro Torrelli awakes to shouts and a low rumbling from the Mediterranean shore. He pulls on his uniform and and rushes out into this fishing village of pastel-colored houses and white cliffs to see, he recalls now, "a line as long as you could imagine, like a giant serpent coming out of the sea, of tanks, boats and soldiers."
He thinks it is the Germans coming to occupy the town in the wake of Italy's surrender to the Allies even though the Nazi forces still held military control of the country.

A soldier approaches him, a youth whose face and uniform are barely visible in the dark. The soldier fumbles in his pocket and pulls out a small packet.

"Want a Lucky Strike?" he asks Torrelli in English.

They are Americans.

Torrelli is one of the first citizens on the Italian mainland to witness Operation Avalanche, the Allied landings in and around Salerno, 35 miles south of Naples, that began the drive to liberate Rome and Italy.

"We were tired, hungry and terrified," he says now, sitting at the seafront where the U.S. Rangers landed.

"Then overnight, coming out of the mist as in a dream, the Americans arrived, bringing us hope and strength – cans of meat, bars of chocolate, good cigarettes."

NAPLES, Sept. 27, 1943

Maddalena Cerasuolo, a shoemaker's daughter who is now 63, remembers the day clearly, recalling that word had reached Naples of the Allied advance toward the city.

"The Neapolitans wouldn't wait for the Allies," she says. "We threw the Germans out on our own."

She shows a photograph taken on that day of herself, her black hair pulled back, army jacket across her shoulders and a belt of cartridges around her supple waist.

On that day she helped spur Italy's only spontaneous popular uprising against the Germans and fought alongside men during the four-day battle that drove the Nazis out of the city.

She says she sounded the alarm when she overheard a group of German soldiers plotting to blow up the Ponte Della Sanita bridge, the aqueduct supplying all water to the city and site of thousands of working-class homes.

She raced toward the bridge with a group of armed men as the Germans prepared to set off the explosions and "shot those soldiers dead," she says, gesturing with her arms to simulate the attack.

Within hours, dozens, then hundreds of citizens "took to the streets, battling German tanks and machine guns with hunting rifles, stolen grenades, rocks and even furniture," she adds. "It was our victory after months of subjugation."
None of this would have happened if the people of Naples hadn't known the Allies were on their way, according to Giovanni Illuminato, who still bears the shrapnel scars he suffered as a 14-year-old during the uprising.

"We knew the Allies were coming. The sound of their gunfire was closer every day. That gave us courage," he says.

"Perhaps, if we had waited for them, the Germans would not have killed my brother," he adds. At least 600 Neapolitans, most of them children, lost their lives in the uprising before the Allies reached Naples on Oct. 1, 1943.

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ANZIO, Jan. 22, 1944

"The Americans are here!"

Ennio Silvestri says that shout was all the encouragement he needed.

He tore toward the beach from the woods where he had been hiding for four months after the Germans evacuated Anzio, a seaside resort 35 miles south of Rome.

"I was afraid I wouldn't see them before they headed north to Rome," recalls Silvestri, now Anzio's tourism director, of the day the Allies landed on the beaches of his hometown.

"Instead, the Allies stayed four months."

For Silvestri, then 25, the war offered adventure: he dressed up as an American soldier and dodged gunfire to bring wine to the Allied soldiers at the front.

But he is quick to recall that at Anzio, 22,000 British and American troops and 26,500 Germans had died.

"Each day became more grim, and each night the sound of German cannons seemed louder," he says. "After a few months we all thought the Germans might win."

For Teresa Pallombini, then a 17-year-old girl hiding in a cave near the beachhead, it meant hope and security.

"They set us up in refugee camps away from the fighting, brought us food and let us finally hope that our country would be our own again," she recalls. "When they finally left we were overjoyed for the victory. But sorry to see our new friends leave."

MONTE CASSINO, Feb. 15, 1944
The Rev. Agostino Saccomano is praying for the Allies to make it to the top of the lethal heights of Monte Cassino to the monastery where he is sheltered.

They do just that but with 500 tons of explosives that raze the 6th-century monastery founded by St. Benedict and one of the most important monasteries in the world. Three hundred people are killed.

The white-haired Roman Catholic monk is one of the few survivors of the bombing attack that day. He says now, "It was one of the greatest atrocities of the war." He returned to live at the monastery 77 miles south of Rome after it was completely rebuilt in 1964.

For Saccomano, the incident transformed the Germans into "comparative heroes."

"The Allies gave us hardly any warning," he says of the attack, designed to break the German's Gustav Line blocking the Allied advance to Rome.

Like many historians, Saccomano discounts the Allied claim of the time that Germans were using the monastery as an outpost to shoot down the advancing Allied forces, who had been staging a bloody battle to scale Monte Cassino since November 1943.

"We were there," he says. "We saw that this was not the truth."

CASSINO, March 15, 1944

Former Mayor Antonio Ferraro of Cassino, on the other hand, was jubilant when, in his words, an Allied attack one month later "blew the town sky-high."

Ferraro, like most of the men of Cassino, then a sleepy town of low houses nestled at the foot of the monastery, had been taken prisoner by the Germans.

He was put to digging trenches when British bombers and the American B-17 Flying Fortresses struck in waves that obliterated the town in hours.

"My first thought was I'd die," Ferraro recalls, sitting under a jagged cliff that the Allies had found so difficult to scale they coined it "Hangman's Hill."

"Then I became ecstatic. I realized the Allies might at last be able to drive away the Germans, who were holding the town."

Freed as the Germans fled the bombing, Ferraro remained in the rubble of Cassino to watch as Polish forces stormed the heights on May 18 and broke the Gustav Line to speed the Allied advance toward Rome.

The price for the breakthrough in and around Monte Cassino was a total of 258,000 Allied dead and missing compared with 20,000 casualties for the Germans.
AMASENO, May 19, 1944

Twenty-year-old Rosanna Leoni watched the Allies advance north of Cassino from a chicken coop.

"We wanted to rush into the streets to greet our liberators, but we remained terrified. We didn't believe it could really be them after all our waiting," she says.

Mrs. Leoni adds that she had passed the entire war in terror. A Jew, she fled toward Cassino with her husband and 7-month-old son after German forces seized Rome on Sept. 10, 1943.

"We had heard vague rumors of the concentration camps," the small, dark-eyed woman says, explaining her flight to the hamlet of Amaseno, 25 miles north of Cassino.

"Enough racial laws were in effect at that time in Italy to make it clear what would happen to the Jews."

Mrs. Leoni says the happiest moment of the war was the march to Rome, where hundreds of Italians who had hid from the Germans followed the Allies, cheering and singing, to return to their homes and families in the capital.

But the young woman was greeted in Rome with the news that her parents and sister had been seized by the Germans eight months earlier in a roundup of about 1,000 Roman Jews.

"They were exterminated," she says.

ROME, June 4, 1944

"The city was empty. We were terrified the Germans would try to hold Rome, forcing the Allies to bomb the city. But they packed up and left. In the void left by their departure, thousands of leaflets fell from Allied planes, giving the command that we had all been waiting for: to clear the way for the Allies' arrival."

Adreana Stivetti, then a 20-year-old member of the partisan movement resisting the Nazis and Italian Fascists, says now she and fellow Romans got to work quickly, removing German-built barriers that would block the Allied tanks, safeguarding railroad stations and post offices.

When the Americans swept into the city, "We cried with happiness, letting ourselves realize for the first time how scared we had been," she says.

Most Romans still look upon the Americans as "our liberators" perhaps more so than the British, since they arrived first," according to Josette Brucoleri, then a frail, dark-haired 19-year-old who helped the Vatican hide anti-German Italian partisans and escaped Allied war prisoners. Although Liberation Day was declared June 5, the U.S. 5th Army entered Rome
the night before, followed the next morning by the British.

"We went wild," she remembers. "The Americans rode through the town in jeeps, throwing Life Saver candies to the crowds. The women were screaming with joy and kissing the soldiers. As a young, sheltered girl I was shocked."

The occupation of Rome had made life "a constant game of cat and mouse, where our whole existence was to do in the Germans," Mrs. Bruccoleri says.

She recalls slipping past the Germans guarding the Vatican to smuggle in letters from relatives of the prisoners and partisans.

"Looking back, it seems foolishness to have risked my life and torture for people I didn't even know," she says. "But at the time all of us felt we had to do it."

For Vera Simone Tham, the Allies' arrival in Rome was "terrible and beautiful at the same time — we had suffered so much."

Mrs. Tham's father, Gen. Simone Simoni, the leading resistance fighter, had been among 334 Italians rounded up and brought to the Ardeatine Caves outside Rome. On March 24, 1944, the Italians were massacred there in reprisal for a partisan bombing that killed 33 German soldiers in Rome.

After the Allies took Rome, Mrs. Tham sorted through envelopes of victims' remains to ascertain that her father was among those killed in the massacre.

"I came to envelope 44 and recognized a pair of dentures," she says. "We called in my father's dentist and he placed the dentures into the cast he had made of my father's mouth.

"They fit."

GRAPHIC: With Laserphoto

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH
SENATE/HOUSE CODELS

THURSDAY, JUNE 2, 1994
5:30 P.M.
The Senate delegation has been invited to attend "The Presidents GREETINGS TO THE CITIZENS OF ROME"

8:30 P.M.
Senators Dole, Pell, Inouye, and Hollings have been invited to attend the dinner hosted by the Prime Minister at Ville Madama.

FRIDAY, JUNE 3, 1994
9:10 A.M.
The Senate delegation will be attending the Nettuno Memorial Ceremony. Senators Dole, Inouye, and Hollings will participate in a flower laying ceremony at the graves of the Unknown soldiers, before the ceremony.

SATURDAY, JUNE 4, 1994
10:00 A.M.
The House delegation will be attending the Cambridge Cemetery Ceremony. Representatives Montgomery and Michel will be part of the official greeting party.

MONDAY, JUNE 6, 1994
7:00 A.M.
A group of Senate and House Members will meet the President aboard the USS George Washington for the Sunrise Ceremony. The following Senators will attend: Senators Hollings, Nunn, Glenn, John Kerry, Mathews, Domenici, Warner Smith, and Dole. The following House Members will attend: Representative Michel, Bevill, Edwards, Myers. The Members of the House delegation may increase, depending on space aboard the helicopter.

10:00 A.M.
Both the House and Senate Delegation will attend the Utah Beach Ceremony.

2:45 P.M.
The Senate Delegation will be attending Omaha Beach Ceremony

5:00 P.M.
Both the House and Senate delegation will attend the U.S. Commemoration Ceremony, Colleville.