

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library Digital Library Collections

This is a PDF of a folder from our textual collections.

Collection: Speechwriting, Office of: Research Office:
Records, 1981-1989

SERIES: I: SPEECHES, 1981-1989

Folder Title: 05/21/1984 D-Day Taping for French TV

Box: 157

To see more digitized collections visit:

<https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/digitized-textual-material>

To see all Ronald Reagan Presidential Library Inventories, visit:

<https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/white-house-inventories>

Contact a reference archivist at: **reagan.library@nara.gov**

Citation Guidelines: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/archives/research-support/citation-guide>

National Archives Catalogue: <https://catalog.archives.gov/>

Last Updated: 04/26/2024

(ROBINSON)

MAY 22, 1984

TAPING: NORMANDY STATEMENT FOR FRENCH TELEVISION



THIS YEAR, THOUSANDS OF
AMERICANS ARE RETURNING
TO THE NORMANDY SHORES TO
REVISIT THE SCENE OF THAT
MOMENTOUS LANDING
40 YEARS AGO. THIS WEEK,
HUNDREDS ARE, LIKE MYSELF,
GUESTS IN YOUR COUNTRY AS
WE JOIN IN REMEMBERING
THAT DAY. ON BEHALF OF
ALL AMERICANS, I THANK
YOU FOR YOUR GRACIOUS
HOSPITALITY.

FRANCO-AMERICAN
FRIENDSHIP HAS A LONG AND
PROUD PAST. INDEED, ONE
OF THE GREAT HEROES OF
AMERICAN HISTORY IS A
FRENCHMAN. MANY TOWNS,
STREETS, AND SQUARES --
EVEN A COLLEGE -- IN

AMERICA BEAR HIS NAME.
A BEAUTIFUL PARK THAT I
LOOK OUT UPON EACH DAY --
DIRECTLY ACROSS THE
STREET FROM THE WHITE
HOUSE IN WASHINGTON --
IS NAMED IN HONOR OF HIM.
HE WAS THE
MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE,
AND HE SERVED WITH
GEORGE WASHINGTON AS A
GENERAL IN THE AMERICAN
REVOLUTIONARY ARMY. YET
DESPITE THE IMPORTANCE OF
LAFAYETTE'S MILITARY
SKILL, HE TOOK A STEP AS
A LEGISLATOR THAT HAD
PERHAPS EVEN GREATER
SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE
TWO CENTURIES OF
FRIENDSHIP AND ALLIANCE
BETWEEN YOUR COUNTRY AND
MINE.

ON JULY 11TH, 1789,
AS A DEPUTY IN THE FRENCH
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY,
LAFAYETTE INTRODUCED A

BILL CALLING FOR THE
PASSAGE OF A DECLARATION
OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN,
FORMALLY ADOPTED BY THE
ASSEMBLY 6 WEEKS LATER,
THE DECLARATION APPEARED
AS THE PREAMBLE TO THE
FRENCH CONSTITUTION OF
1791. THIS DECLARATION
OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN
EMBODIED THE SAME
FUNDAMENTAL BELIEFS ABOUT
HUMAN LIBERTY AS THOSE
EXPRESSED IN THE AMERICAN
DECLARATION OF
INDEPENDENCE AND BILL OF
RIGHTS. TOGETHER, THOSE
FRENCH AND AMERICAN
DOCUMENTS PROCLAIM THAT
ALL MEN ARE ENDOWED WITH
EQUAL AND SACRED RIGHTS,
THAT AMONG THESE, IN THE
WORDS OF THE AMERICAN
DECLARATION ARE, "LIFE,
LIBERTY, AND
THE PURSUIT OF
HAPPINESS." IT IS

THIS SHARED COMMITMENT TO
HUMAN FREEDOM THAT HAS
FORMED THE BEDROCK ON
WHICH OUR FAST FRIENDSHIP
HAS BEEN BUILT. AND IT
WAS IN THE NAME OF THIS
HUMAN FREEDOM THAT SO
MANY BRAVE MEN RISKED
THEIR LIVES ON THE
BEACHES OF NORMANDY
40 YEARS AGO.

THOSE COURAGEOUS
MEN, LIVING AND DEAD,
GAVE US A PRICELESS
LEGACY OF PEACE AND
PROSPERITY IN EUROPE --
A LEGACY THAT HAS ENDURED
NOW FOR TWO GENERATIONS.
TO PRESERVE THAT LEGACY
OF PEACE, THOSE OF US WHO
CHERISH LIBERTY MUST
CONTINUE TO LABOR
TOGETHER.

YOUR COUNTRY AND
MINE BELONG TO AN
ALLIANCE COMMITTED TO
DEMOCRACY, INDIVIDUAL

LIBERTY, AND THE RULE OF
LAW. OF COURSE,
MEMBERSHIP IN THE
ALLIANCE IMPOSES ITS
BURDENS. TO DEMONSTRATE
THE AMERICAN COMMITMENT
TO THIS CONTINENT,
THOUSANDS OF AMERICAN
TROOPS ARE STATIONED HERE
IN EUROPE, FAR FROM THEIR
HOMES AND FAMILIES.
FRANCE, THE UNITED
STATES, AND ALL THE
ALLIANCE NATIONS, MUST
SPEND MORE ON DEFENSE
THAN ANY OF US LIKE TO DO
IN PEACETIME. BUT THE
BURDENS WE BEAR IN
DEFENDING OUR FREEDOM ARE
FAR LESS THAN THE HORRORS
WE WOULD HAVE TO ENDURE
IF WE LOST THAT FREEDOM.

I BELIEVE THAT THE
BEST WAY WE CAN HONOR
THOSE WHO GAVE SO MUCH
40 YEARS AGO, IS BY
REDEDICATING OURSELVES

TODAY TO THE CAUSE FOR
WHICH THEY FOUGHT:
FREEDOM -- FREEDOM FOR
OURSELVES, FREEDOM FOR
OUR CHILDREN, AND FREEDOM
FOR GENERATIONS YET
UNBORN.

THANK YOU AND GOD
BLESS YOU.

#

(Robinson/BE Edit)
May 21, 1984
7:00 p.m. → SS, RR

Julie

PRESIDENTIAL TAPING: D-DAY REMARKS FOR FRENCH TELEVISION
TUESDAY, MAY 22, 1984

TIME-5/28/84-
PP 28-32
Thousands-DOD-
Col Grant
694-9213/9212
40 yrs ago-Info Please-
P. 117 (6/6/94)

This year, thousands of Americans are returning to the Normandy shores to revisit the scene of that momentous landing 40 years ago. This week ~~Tonight~~, hundreds are, like myself, guests in your country as we join in remembering that day. On behalf of all Americans, I thank you for your gracious hospitality.

Dick of Amer Dip Hist-
Appendix A Chron-
Enc Brit 1982-V.II
P 985
Towns-8 U.S.-per
and McNally/Kidder-
P. 224
D. 1000 Wheel Kitro-
SS/SGS

Franco-American friendship has a long and proud past. Indeed, one of the great heroes of American history is a Frenchman. Many Scores of towns, streets, and squares -- even a college -- in America bear his name. A beautiful park that I look out upon each day -- directly across the street from the White House in Washington -- is named in honor of him. He was the Marquis ~~(Marie Joseph)~~ de Lafayette, and he served with George Washington as a General in the American Revolutionary Army. Yet despite the importance of Lafayette's skill, he took a step as a legislator that had perhaps even greater significance for the two centuries of friendship and alliance between your country and mine.

Col. Webster's P. 1508
Park - The Outcrop
signature of Wash, R
P. 371
Enc Brit-82-V.II
P 985

Since 1789 - Dict. of Amer
D.D. Hist. - Appendix A
Enc Brit 1982-Vol. II
P. 985 - July 11, 1789
Introduced -
Aug 27 adopted
b.west 5 days
later
d. 1000 - Enc Am v.8
Enc Brit. Vol VII
P. 585 also
Enc Amer - Vol. II -
P 729
Enc Amer v.8 -
D. 545 - Dict of Rts of Man

On July 11th, 1789, as Deputy in the French National Assembly, Lafayette introduced a bill calling for the passage of a declaration of the rights of man. Formally adopted by the Assembly 5 weeks later, the declaration appeared as the preamble to the French Constitution of 1791. This Declaration of the Rights of Man embodied the same fundamental beliefs about human liberty as those expressed the American Declaration of

July 11-
Aug 27
= 20 days
+ 27 P?
= 47 615 da
7/17
42

John Sandstrom 485-8644

A Documentary
History of the US
Decl. of Indep. pp 13
Bill of Rights pp 32-33

Independence and Bill of Rights. Together, those French and

American documents proclaim that all men are endowed with equal ^{in the words of the American Declaration} and ~~God given~~ rights, that among these are, Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness. It is this shared commitment to human

freedom that has formed the bedrock on which our fast friendship has been built. And it was in the name of this human freedom

that so many brave men ^{risked} gave their lives on the beaches of Normandy 40 years ago.

Info phase
P. 117 6/6/44

Those courageous men, living and dead, gave us a priceless legacy of peace and prosperity in Europe -- a legacy that has endured now for ^{more than} two generations. To preserve that legacy of peace, those of us who cherish liberty must continue to labor together.

Europe Yearbook
P. 237 (NATO)

^{belong to} Your country and mine ~~are members of~~ an Alliance committed to the liberty of Western Europe. Of course, membership in the

Alliance imposes its burdens. To demonstrate the American commitment to this continent, thousands of American troops ^{are} must be stationed here in Europe, far from their homes and families.

DOD 405 Rept -
P 39
DOD-OK-Mag.
0115 697-8191

France, the United States, and all the Alliance nations, must spend more on defense than any of us like to do in peacetime. But the burdens we ~~must~~ bear in defending our freedom are far less than the horrors we would have to endure if we lost that freedom.

I believe that the best way we can honor those who gave so much 40 years ago, is by rededicating ourselves today to the cause for which they fought: Freedom -- freedom for ourselves, freedom for our children, and freedom for generations yet unborn.

Thank you and God bless you.

DECLARATION OF PARIS, a code of law in time of war, accepting liberal principles of neutral rights that had long been opposed by Britain. It was proposed by the representatives of France in 1856 at the Conference of Paris, which met to end the Crimean War. The substance of the declaration was as follows:

- (1) Privateering is and remains abolished.
- (2) The neutral flag covers the enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war.
- (3) Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under the enemy's flag.
- (4) Blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective—that is, they must be maintained by a force sufficient to prevent access to the enemy's coastline.

In addition to France, the declaration was accepted by Britain, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Turkey, and Sardinia. The United States, although it had long supported the last three rules in the declaration, declined to accept it in 1856 on the ground that unless all capture of private property at sea were abolished, the United States would have to utilize privateers in case of war because it had no navy. On the outbreak of the Civil War, however, the United States wished to adhere to the declaration; but as the other parties had recognized the belligerency of the South, they would not permit such action during the war because in the circumstances it would have discriminated against the South. Nevertheless, during the Spanish-American War, both belligerents declared their acceptance of the declaration. Its rules were considered binding in customary international law during World War I and World War II.

QUINCY WRIGHT
Professor Emeritus of International Law
University of Chicago

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS, a document presented to William of Orange and his wife Mary on Feb. 13, 1689, which contained the conditions on which the English Parliament would recognize the Prince and Princess of Orange as king and queen of England. It declared illegal a number of James II's practices, such as suspending legislation, dispensing individuals from the provisions of laws, maintaining a standing army without the consent of Parliament, and instituting prerogative courts and extraparliamentary taxations. Parliament, it declared, should be summoned often and should have its privileges of free speech and debate confirmed. Its elections should be free from royal attempts to secure partisan members. All Protestants in England were to be guaranteed the right to bear arms, and the new monarchs were to promise that no excessive bails or fines would be exacted or cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

James II had fled to France on Dec. 21, 1688. On the following February 1, the Convention Parliament assembled at Westminster to determine the succession to the throne, which James was declared to have abdicated by his flight from the kingdom, and to end the abuses that had led to the Glorious Revolution. William and Mary accepted the Declaration of Rights on February 23, and it was subsequently embodied with minor changes in the Bill of Rights and passed through Parliament to become the Act of Rights.

JOHN FERGUSON
Smith College

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS AND GRIEVANCES, a document drawn up by the Stamp Act Congress of 1765, denying the authority of the British Parliament to tax American colonists. Nine colonies sent 27 delegates to New York in October 1765 to register their opposition to the Stamp Act recently passed by Parliament, levying an "internal" tax on all printed or formally written matter in the colonies. In their Declaration of Rights and Grievances the delegates denied that Parliament had the right to tax the colonies at all. The power to tax, they declared, lay exclusively in the hands of the elected colonial assemblies. They also denied the contention that the colonies were "virtually" represented in Parliament by English delegates and opposed the notion of giving America seats in the House of Commons, where the colonial representatives would be a small minority.

Generally, the constitutional position that emerged in the declaration was this: although Parliament might "legislate" for the empire (supervise external affairs and regulate trade), it should otherwise leave the colonies alone, particularly as to taxation. The claims of the declaration were elaborated in the Declaration of Rights issued by the Continental Congress in 1774 and in the Declaration of Independence.

DON HIGGINBOTHAM
University of North Carolina

DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN AND THE CITIZEN, the "bill of rights" of the French Revolution, was decreed by the revolutionary National Assembly after heated public debate, on Aug. 27, 1789. This document has been called the death certificate of the old regime and the symbol of the new.

The declaration was rooted in the philosophy of natural rights, which held that all men were entitled to a basic measure of liberty and equality and that a government that did not assure it was illegitimate. Enlightened Frenchmen throughout the 18th century had discussed the unwritten principles that should govern their state and society, and grievance petitions and pamphlets in 1789 had demanded an affirmation of natural rights. The American Declaration of Independence and state bills of rights served as compelling examples.

But in July and August 1789 few of the deputies to the National Assembly had time to look abroad. The Assembly was confronted with popular uprisings in the cities and countryside. The legislators were compelled to catch up with events and to affirm that this popular use of force was in harmony with the rights of man. The constitution of 1791 would later spell out these rights in detail; meanwhile, the Declaration of Rights stood as a statement of intention.

The principles of the declaration were considered to be universal in scope by its authors. At the same time, the authors were taking aim against particular aspects of the old regime in France. The rights enumerated by the declaration included (1) equality before the law in taxation and in opportunity for employment—to replace the system of aristocratic privilege; (2) self-determination and representative government—to replace royal absolutism; (3) individual liberty and the rule of law—to replace the arbitrary judicial practices of the monarchy.

ISSER WOLOCH
University of California at Los Angeles

DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS
OF MAN AND THE CITIZEN

The representatives of the French people, constituted as a National Assembly, considering that ignorance, disregard or contempt of the rights of man are the sole causes of public misfortunes and governmental corruption, have resolved to set forth a solemn declaration of the natural, inalienable and sacred rights of man; in order that this declaration, by being constantly present to all members of the social body, may keep them at all times aware of their rights and duties; that the acts of both the legislative and executive powers, by being liable at every moment to comparison with the aim of all political institutions, may be the more fully respected; and that demands of the citizens, by being founded henceforward on simple and incontestable principles, may always redound to the maintenance of the constitution and the general welfare.

The Assembly consequently recognizes and declares, in the presence and under the auspices of the Supreme Being, the following rights of man and the citizen:

- i. Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinctions may be based only on common utility.
- ii. The aim of all political association is to preserve the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, security and resistance to oppression.
- iii. The principle of all sovereignty rests essentially in the nation. No body and no individual may exercise authority which does not emanate from the nation expressly.
- iv. Liberty consists in the ability to do whatever does not harm another; hence the exercise of the natural rights of each man has no limits except those which assure to other members of society the enjoyment of the same rights. These limits can only be determined by law.
- v. Law may rightfully prohibit only those actions which are injurious to society. No hindrance should be put in the way of anything not prohibited by law, nor may any man be forced to do what the law does not require.
- vi. Law is the expression of the general will. All citizens have the right to take part, in person or by their representatives, in its formation. It must be the same for all whether it protects or penalizes. All citizens being equal in its eyes are equally admissible to all public dignities, offices and employments, according to their capacity, and with no other distinction than that of their virtues and talents.
- vii. No man may be indicted, arrested or detained except in cases determined by law and according to the forms which it has prescribed. Those who instigate, expedite, execute or cause to be executed arbitrary orders should be punished; but any citizen summoned or seized by virtue of the law should obey instantly, and renders himself guilty by resistance.
- viii. Only strictly necessary punishments may be established by law, and no one may be punished except by virtue of a law established and promulgated before the time of the offense, and legally put into force.
- ix. Every man being presumed innocent until judged guilty, if it is deemed indispensable to keep him under arrest, all rigor not necessary to secure his person should be severely repressed by law.
- x. No one may be disturbed for his opinions, even in religion, provided that their manifestation does not trouble public order as established by law.
- xi. Free communication of thought and opinion is one of the most precious of the rights of man. Every citizen may therefore speak, write and print freely, on his own responsibility for abuse of this liberty in cases determined by law.
- xii. Preservation of the rights of man and the citizen requires the existence of public forces. These forces are therefore instituted for the advantage of all, not for the private benefit of those to whom they are entrusted.
- xiii. For maintenance of public forces and for expenses of administration common taxation is necessary. It should be apportioned equally among all citizens according to their capacity to pay.
- xiv. All citizens have the right, by themselves or through their representatives, to have demonstrated to them the necessity of public taxes, to consent to them freely, to follow the use made of the proceeds and to determine the shares to be paid, the means of assessment and collection and the duration.
- xv. Society has the right to hold accountable every public agent of administration.
- xvi. Any society in which the guarantee of rights is not assured or the separation of powers not determined has no constitution.
- xvii. Property being an inviolable and sacred right, no one may be deprived of it except for an obvious requirement of public necessity, certified by law, and then on condition of a just compensation in advance.

DECLARATORY ACT, a statement of the British Parliament's authority over the American colonies, passed in 1766 simultaneously with the repeal of the Stamp Act. An economic recession in England, coinciding with the colonists' boycott of English goods, had led British merchants to demand repeal of the Stamp Act. The new prime minister, the Marquess of Rockingham, opposed taxing America, and he called to the attention of the legislators petitions for repeal from various British sources.

Before Parliament would retreat, Rockingham had to formulate the Declaratory Act, which asserted Parliament's power to make laws and statutes binding on the colonists "in all cases whatsoever." This broadly worded statement—without specific reference to taxation—was designed to satisfy the majority of legislators, who believed Parliament had the right to tax America, without offending the followers of William Pitt, who held the opposite opinion. The colonists made different interpretations of the act. Many erroneously believed that Parliament had recognized their argument of no taxation without representation.

DON HIGGINBOTHAM
University of North Carolina

DECLARATORY JUDGMENT, in law, a statutory remedy that allows an individual to have his rights and duties or his status judicially declared, after a controversy has arisen but before actual and irreparable damage has occurred. It differs from other judgments only in that it is not followed by an award of damages or an injunctive or other coercive decree; the court merely declares the rights of the parties. The remedy is mostly employed in cases that involve contracts, deeds, leases, and wills—and for the determination of rights under regulatory or criminal legislation. For example, a woman uncertain about the legality of her marriage and fearing a loss of inheritance might seek a declaratory judgment as to her marital status.

The impetus for a declaratory judgment remedy arose from the recognized need for a procedure that would inform a person of his rights, so that he would not be acting at his peril by (1) breaching a contract or violating the criminal law, or (2) abandoning his rights out of a fear of incurring damages. For some time it was doubtful whether the declaratory judgment remedy could be reconciled with Article III, section 2, of the U. S. Constitution—and its state counterparts—which limits judicial power to the resolution of actual cases and controversies. These limitations had been construed to forbid the judiciary to decide hypothetical cases and render advisory opinions. However, the federal Declaratory Judgments Act of 1934 was sustained by the U. S. Supreme Court in *Aetna Life Insurance Co. v. Haworth* (1937). The court ruled that, because of the statutory restriction to "cases of actual controversy," this act did not give relief inconsistent with the exercise of the judicial function. The court said that the controversy must be "real and substantial . . . admitting of specific relief through a decree of conclusive character, as distinguished from an opinion advising what the law would be upon a hypothetical state of facts."

LINDA ALDEN RODGERS
School of Law, Columbia University

DECLINATION. See CELESTIAL SPHERE.

Consultative Assembly, speaking for the council rather than as an instrument of individual governments, and enjoying broad representation, has little power but is very articulate. Clashes between the two bodies seem both perpetual and inevitable.

The position of the United States regarding the security of western Europe on a regional basis became abundantly clear. On the day that the Brussels Treaty was signed, President Harry S. Truman pledged that the consolidated effort of the free countries of Europe to protect themselves would be matched by United States determination to help them do so. Even more impressive was the resolution sponsored by Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, which was passed by the Senate on June 11, 1948, by a vote of 64 to 4. It urged that the president pursue the "progressive development of regional and other collective arrangements for individual and collective self-defense" in keeping with the provisions of the United Nations Charter, and called for the "association of the United States, by constitutional process, with such regional and other collective arrangements as are based on continuous

and effective self-help and mutual aid, and to affect its national security." These presidential and legislative expressions of approval cleared the way for immediate negotiation.

North Atlantic Treaty.—Preliminary negotiations in advance of the North Atlantic Treaty were conducted among the five Brussels powers, the United States, and Canada, who agreed unanimously on certain principles: (1) that the treaty should be within the framework of the United Nations; (2) that, while promoting peace and security, it should positively resist aggression; (3) that it should be based on mutual aid and self-help; (4) that it should include non-military features; and (5) that it should be supplemented by a formal organization. It was also desired to bring other countries of western Europe into the defense group. At length, on April 4, 1949, the North Atlantic Treaty was signed in Washington by the Brussels powers (the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg), the United States, Canada, Portugal, Denmark, Norway, Italy, and Iceland.

On Oct. 22, 1951, the member nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY

PREAMBLE

The Parties to this Treaty reaffirm their faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all governments.

They are determined to safeguard the freedom, common heritage, and civilization of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law.

They seek to promote stability and well-being in the North Atlantic area.

They are resolved to unite their efforts for collective defense and for the preservation of peace and security.

They therefore agree to this North Atlantic Treaty:

ARTICLE 1

The Parties undertake, as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, to settle any international disputes in which they may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered, and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 2

The Parties will contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being. They will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and will encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them.

ARTICLE 3

In order more effectively to achieve the objectives of this Treaty, the Parties, separately and jointly, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, will maintain and develop

their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack.

ARTICLE 4

The Parties will consult together whenever, in the opinion of any of them, the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the Parties is threatened.

ARTICLE 5

The Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defense recognized by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area.

Any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result thereof shall immediately be reported to the Security Council. Such measures shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security.

ARTICLE 6¹

For the purpose of Article 5 an armed attack on one or more of the Parties is deemed to include

¹ This article was modified by the Greece-Turkey protocol of Oct. 22, 1951, to read as follows: "For the purpose of Article 5, an armed attack on one or more of the Parties is deemed to include armed attack—

"(i) on the territory of any of the Parties in Europe or North America, on the Algerian Departments of France, on the territory of Turkey or on the islands under the jurisdiction of any of the Parties in the North Atlantic area north of the Tropic of Cancer;

"(ii) on the forces, vessels, or aircraft of any of the Parties, when in or over these territories or any area in Europe in which occupation forces of any of the Parties were stationed on the date when the Treaty entered into force or the Mediterranean Sea or the North Atlantic area north of the Tropic of Cancer."

and mutual aid, and security." These presidential decisions of approval cleared the way for the negotiation.

Treaty.—Preliminary negotiations were held among the five Brussels states, and Canada, which agreed to certain principles: (1) that the treaty should be within the framework of the United Nations; (2) that, while promoting collective security, it should be based on mutual self-help; (3) that it should include non-aligned states; (4) that it should be based on the principles of the Organization for European Co-operation (O.E.C.E.). At length, on April 4, 1949, the Atlantic Treaty was signed by the twelve member states (the United States, Canada, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, the United Kingdom, Portugal, Italy, and Iceland). The member nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO),

agreed to a protocol that would admit Greece and Turkey, and on Feb. 18, 1952, the two countries were admitted to the treaty. A second protocol was signed in Paris on Oct. 22, 1954, approving West Germany's membership in NATO. The 15 member countries represented some 500 million people and comprised, exclusive of dependencies, almost 8 million square miles.

Organization of NATO.—The organization of NATO is both complicated and elaborate. It serves well the purposes of the Atlantic Community and performs the functions of the organization with comparative effectiveness.

On the civilian and policy-making side is the North Atlantic Council with delegates from each member nation, generally made up of the respective foreign, defense, and finance ministers. Each member state is also represented by a permanent ambassador. Acting together, these ambassadors form a continuing body. The council determines major NATO policies, assumes financial and administrative responsibility for NATO on behalf of the member states, and supplies necessary linkages between the civilian and military bodies constituting the organization.

The International Secretariat is headed by the secretary-general, who is the administrative and planning head of NATO. An international staff that serves under him is recruited on the basis of merit and represents NATO as an international body.

The military structure of NATO is determined by the North Atlantic Council. A Military Committee advises the council on military affairs and directs the subordinate military bodies. A Standing Group, speaking for the chiefs of staff of the United States, the United Kingdom, and France, located in Washington, is at the head of all military planning and military commands. A larger Military Representatives Committee supplements the work of the Standing Group. The head NATO command is the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe (SACEUR). The other leading commands are: Supreme Headquarters, Allied Powers, Europe (SHAPE); Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic (SACLANT); and the Channel Command, which is composed of two subordinate commands.

Other military bodies function under the Standing Group. A NATO Defence College

collective capacity to resist

ARTICLE 4

consult together whenever, in the event of a threat to their security or of a threat to the security of any of the Parties.

ARTICLE 5

That an armed attack against one or more of the Parties in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all, and that, if such an attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence, shall assist the Party or Parties so attacked, individually and in common with the other Parties, such action including the use of armed force, to maintain the security of the North Atlantic area.

Attack and all measures taken in connection therewith shall be immediately reported to the Security Council. Such measures shall be taken until the Security Council has taken action to restore and maintain international peace and security.

ARTICLE 6

Article 5 shall apply to an armed attack on the Parties which is deemed to be

modified by the Greece-Turkey Protocol, to read as follows:

Article 5, an armed attack on the Parties is deemed to include

any of the Parties in Europe or North America, or the Algerian Departments of France, or on the islands under the jurisdiction of any Party in the North Atlantic area north of the Tropic of Cancer, or on the vessels, or aircraft of any of the Parties, or on the occupation forces of any of the Parties, or on the date when the Treaty was signed, the Mediterranean Sea or on the Tropic of Cancer.

shall be deemed an armed attack on the territory of any of the Parties in Europe or North America, on the Algerian Departments of France, on the occupation forces of any Party in Europe, on the islands under the jurisdiction of any Party in the North Atlantic area north of the Tropic of Cancer or on the vessels or aircraft in this area of any of the Parties.

ARTICLE 7

This Treaty does not affect, and shall not be interpreted as affecting, in any way the rights and obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, or the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security.

ARTICLE 8

Each Party declares that none of the international engagements now in force between it and any other of the Parties or any third state is in conflict with the provisions of this Treaty, and undertakes not to enter into any international engagement in conflict with this Treaty.

ARTICLE 9

The Parties hereby establish a council, on which each of them shall be represented, to consider matters concerning the implementation of this Treaty. The council shall be so organized as to be able to meet promptly at any time. The council shall set up such subsidiary bodies as may be necessary; in particular it shall establish immediately a defense committee which shall recommend measures for the implementation of Articles 3 and 5.

ARTICLE 10

The Parties may, by unanimous agreement, invite any other European state in a position to further the principles of this Treaty and to contribute to the security of the North Atlantic area to accede to this Treaty. Any state so invited may become a party to the Treaty by depositing an instrument of accession with the Government of the United States of America. The Government of the United States of America will inform

each of the Parties of the deposit of each such instrument of accession.

ARTICLE 11

This Treaty shall be ratified and its provisions carried out by the Parties in accordance with their respective constitutional processes. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited as soon as possible with the Government of the United States of America, which will notify all the other signatories of each deposit. The Treaty shall enter into force between the states which have ratified it as soon as the ratifications of the majority of the signatories, including the ratifications of Belgium, Canada, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States, have been deposited and shall come into effect with respect to other states on the date of the deposit of their ratifications.

ARTICLE 12

After the Treaty has been in force for ten years, or at any time thereafter, the Parties shall, if any of them so requests, consult together for the purpose of reviewing the Treaty, having regard for the factors then affecting peace and security in the North Atlantic area, including the development of universal as well as regional arrangements under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security.

ARTICLE 13

After the Treaty has been in force for twenty years, any Party may cease to be a party one year after its notice of denunciation has been given to the Government of the United States of America, which will inform the Governments of the other Parties of the deposit of each notice of denunciation.

ARTICLE 14

This Treaty, of which the English and French texts are equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States of America. Duly certified copies thereof will be transmitted by that Government to the Governments of the other signatories.



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—Gaullists), 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.

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

Ardagh, John. *France in the 1980s*. Penguin Paperback, 1982.

Cobban, Alfred. *A History of Modern France*. Pelican Paperback, 3d ed.

Zeldin, Theodore. *France, 1848-1945*. 5 paperback vols.: *Ambition and Love; Politics and Anger; Intellect and Pride; Anxiety and Hypocrisy; Taste and Corruption*. Oxford University Press, 1981.

_____. *The French*. Pantheon Books, 1982.

Historical Classics

De Gaulle, Charles. *War Memoirs; Memoirs of Hope*. Simon & Schuster, 1972.

De Tocqueville, A. *The Old Regime and the French Revolution*.

Contemporary French Politics and Society

Berger, Suzanne. *The French Political System*. Random House, 1980.

Crozier, Michel. *The Bureaucratic Phenomenon*. Chicago, 1963.

Duroselle, Jean Baptiste. *France and the United States: From the Beginning to the Present*. Chicago University Press, 1978.

Gilpin, Richard. *France in the Age of Scientific State*. Princeton, 1968.

Harrison, Michael. *The Reluctant Ally: France and Atlantic Security*. Johns Hopkins Press, 1981.

Hoffman, Stanley, et al. *In Search of France*. Harvard University Press, 1963.

Hoffman and Andrews. *The Fifth Republic at*

Twenty. State of New York University Press, 1981.

Mitterrand, Francois. *The Wheat and the Chaff*. New York, 1982.

Suleiman, Ezra. *Elites in French Society: The Politics of Survival*. Princeton, 1978.

Thomson, David. *Democracy in France Since 1870*.

Economics

Caron, Francois. *An Economic History of Modern France*. London: Methuen, 1979.

Cohen, Stephen, and P. Gourevitch. *France in the Troubled World Economy*. London: Butterworth, 1982.

Kuisel, Richard F. *Capitalism and the State Economy in Modern France*. Cambridge, 1981.

Historical Studies

Aron, Raymond. *France Steadfast and Changing: From the Fourth to the Fifth Republic*. Harvard University Press, 1960.

Bloch, Marc. *Strange Defeat*. Norton Paperback.

Lichtheim, George. *Marxism in France*. Columbia University Press, 1966.

Paxton, Robert. *Vichy France*. Columbia University Press, 1982.

Remond, Rene. *The Right Wing in France*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964.

Soltan, Roger. *French Political Thought in the 19th Century*.

Weber, Eugene. *Peasants Into Frenchmen: The Modernization of France*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1976.

"Anthropological" Studies

Helias, Pierre Jakes. *The Horse of Pride*. Yale University Press, 1980.

Morin, Edgar. *The Red and the White*. Translation of *Commune en France*.

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. ■

Published by the United States Department of State • Bureau of Public Affairs • Office of Public Communication • Editorial Division • Washington, D.C. • March 1984
Editor: Juanita Adams

Department of State Publication 8209.
Background Notes Series • This material is in the public domain and may be reproduced without permission; citation of this source would be appreciated.

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANISATION— NATO

1110 Brussels, Belgium

Telephone: 241.00.40.

Founded in 1949 as an international collective defence organization linking a group of European states with the U.S.A. and Canada. France withdrew from the integrated military structure of NATO in 1966 although remaining a member of the Atlantic Alliance. Following the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974, Greece also announced a partial withdrawal from the integrated military structure of NATO; it re-joined in October 1980. Spain joined NATO in May 1982.

MEMBERS

Belgium
Canada
Denmark
France

Federal Republic of Germany
Greece
Iceland
Italy

Luxembourg
Netherlands
Norway
Portugal

Spain
Turkey
United Kingdom
U.S.A.

ORGANIZATION

(October 1982)

NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL

The highest authority of the alliance, composed of representatives of the fifteen member states. It meets at the level of Ministers or Permanent Representatives. Ministerial meetings, attended by Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Defence, Finance or Economic Affairs, are held at least twice a year. At the level of Permanent Representatives it meets at least once a week.

The Secretary-General of NATO is chairman of the Council. Annually, the Foreign Minister of a member state is nominated honorary President, following the English alphabetical order of countries.

The Council also gives political guidance to the military authorities.

Decisions are taken by common consent and not by majority vote. The Council is a forum for wide consultation between member governments on major issues, including political, military, economic and other subjects.

PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES

Belgium	MICHEL VAN USSEL
Canada	JOHN G. H. HALSTEAD
Denmark	ANKER SVART
France	JEAN-MARIE MERILLON
Federal Republic of Germany	HANS-GEORG WIECK
Greece	STYLIANOS VASSILICOS
Iceland	HENRIK SV. BJÖRNSSON
Italy	VINCENZO TORNETTA
Luxembourg	PIERRE WÜRTH
Netherlands	J. G. N. DE HOOP SCHEFFER
Norway	KJELD VIBE
Portugal	JOSÉ MANUEL P. DE VILLAS-BOAS
Spain	NUÑO AGUIRRE DE CARCER
Turkey	OSMAN OLÇAY
United Kingdom	SIR JOHN GRAHAM
U.S.A.	W. TAPLEY BENNETT

DEFENCE PLANNING COMMITTEE (DPC)

Composed of the member countries taking part in NATO's Integrated Defence System. It is the highest forum for discussion of military policy. Like the Council

it meets in both Ministerial and Permanent Representative sessions.

NUCLEAR PLANNING GROUP (NPG)

Meets regularly at the level of Permanent Representatives, and twice yearly with Defence Ministers; 12 countries participate.

OTHER COMMITTEES

Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society (CCMS): f. 1969 to examine methods of improving allied co-operation in creating a better environment; undertakes pilot studies of relevance to the member countries; submits reports.

There are also committees for political affairs, economics, armaments, defence review, science, infrastructure, logistics, communications, civil emergency planning, information and cultural relations, and civil and military budgets. In addition other committees deal with specialized subjects such as NATO pipelines, European air space co-ordination, etc.

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT

The Secretary-General is Chairman of the North Atlantic Council, the Defence Planning Committee, the Nuclear Planning Group, and the Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society. He is the head of the International Secretariat, with staff drawn from the member countries.

He has the right to propose items for NATO consultation and is generally responsible for promoting consultation. He is empowered to offer his help informally in cases of disputes between member countries, to facilitate procedures for settlement.

✓ **Secretary-General:** JOSEPH LUNS (Netherlands).

Deputy Secretary-General: ERIC DA RIN (Italy).

PRINCIPAL DIVISIONS

Division of Political Affairs: maintains political liaison with national delegations and international organizations. Prepares reports on political subjects for the Secretary-General and the Council. Asst. Sec.-Gen. Dr. FREDO DANNENBRING (Federal Republic of Germany).

Far East, where he (1847) upon the port (g) on the pretext of tholic mission there, rebuked by his gov- rized intervention in ively in the siege of an War, and by 1854 of rear admiral, took command of nina and Cochinchina with the British, who claring war on China. vice admiral, he once he was told to secure disposal and he was the Vietnamese. On e city and would have at Hue, but his ships shallow river inland; h to conquer Saigon, with the help of Span- 9. With his men debili- d disease, his supplies nents forthcoming, he ate his conquests nor to surrender. The fol- asked to be relieved of

Rigault de Genouilly (1800), was promoted to ad- named minister of the colonies (1867). In the (1870-71) he rejected mmander in chief of an c Sea and went to Spain

ee Eastlake, Sir Charles

), British mathemati-

inciples 7:1101g

, Feb. 19, 1793, Piny 14, 1876, Friendship, to Mormonism (1830) to its founder, Joseph mons moved to Missoua auvoo, Ill. (1839), Rig- d from Smith. But when (1844), he attempted to e church. Defeated by as excommunicated. He gh and in 1845 was de- ader of a small group of ormally organized as the it (Bickertonites) by Wal- 62. Some historians be- ther than Smith, wrote but proof is lacking. luence and minority

BETA ORIONIS, one of the sky, intrinsically as well blue-white supergiant minosity class Ia) in the Rigel is probably about the Sun and is about ous. A companion star. of the sixth magnitude es from an Arabic term of the giant," referring to

ible 1 17:585

ounding rocket. table 5 15:941

ists, booms, yards, stern g vessel, or its outrigger

ging is the mast (p. 1) posed of one or more tal. The mast is support- ds that are known as the use they are made from e as ladders to permit the The masts and foremast The ropes by which are gers, the booms of four

and-aft sails, and sails, such as jibs, are manipulated for trimming to the wind and for making or shortening sail, are known as the running rigging. The running rigging is subdivided into the lifts, jeers, and halyards (haul- yards), by which the sails are raised and low- ered, and the tacks and sheets, which hold down the lower corners of the sails. The histo- ry of the development of rigging over the cen- turies is obscure, but the combination of square and fore-and-aft sails in the full-rigged ship created a highly complex, interdependent set of components.



standing and running rigging showing mainmast, blocks, and junctions with shrouds and ratlines

1 2:229g—Photo Researchers

Steam and motor ships commonly carry rig- ging in the form of masts for supporting dex- cks, carrying radio antennae, providing lookout mounts, and for lights and visual sig- nals.

Chinese, European, and Arab rigging 16:678b sailing ship design evolution 16:157b; illus. 160

right, fundamental notion in all of the moral centres, especially in an ethics or a politics that regards duty as of prime importance. The concept "rightness" or "right action," howev- er, will also find an appropriate place in an ethics of virtue or of utility.

right's view of freedom and duty 8:731b natural law in various conceptions 12:863e

right, human (law): see human rights.

right ascension, in astronomy, the east-west coordinate by which the position of a celestial body is ordinarily measured; more precisely, the angular distance of a body's hour circle east of the vernal equinox, measured along the celestial equator. It is often expressed in units of time rather than degrees of arc. Right ascension and declination define the position of a celestial object. The symbol for right as- cension is the Greek letter α (alpha). Cf. hour angle.

seasonal coordinate system 2:225c; illus. for mapping within constellations 2:229b seasonal circle and star positions 18:101b

Rigvedic Sufferer, Poem of the: see Rigvedic Sufferer.

right-hand path, Sanskrit DAKṢINĀCĀRĀ, southern of two branches of Tantrism, wor- shipping the female principle Śakti like the left-hand path (vāmācārā) but more "ortho- dox" in ritual.

right-hand path on yoga 8:896e

right-heart catheterization, the passage of a catheter, tubular medical device inserted to withdraw a fluid, into the right heart. catheter techniques and diagnosis 3:885f

right-guided caliphs: see khulafā' ar-rāshidīn.

Right Opposition, opponents of Stalin with- in the Central Committee of the Communist Party, 1928-29.

Stalin ideological dispute 16:74b passim to 76f

Rights of Man (1791-92), defense of the French Revolution and of republicanism by the English-American radical Thomas Paine.

British reaction to French Revolution 3:259b

censorship in 18th-century England 3:1088g

inspiration and reception 13:868g

Rights of Man and of the Citizen, Decla- ration of the, one of the basic charters of hu- man liberties, containing the principles that in- spired the French Revolution. Its 17 articles, adopted from Aug. 20 to Aug. 26, 1789, by France's National Assembly, served as a pre- face to the Constitution of 1791.

The basic principle of the Declaration was that "all men are born free and equal in rights" (Article 1), which were specified as the rights of liberty, private property, the inviola- bility of the person, and resistance to oppres- sion (Article 2). All citizens were equal before the law and were to have the right to partici- pate in legislation directly or indirectly (Ar- ticle 6); no one was to be arrested without a judicial order (Article 7). Freedom of religion (Article 10) and freedom of speech (Article 11) were safeguarded within the bounds of "public order" and "law."

While containing many of the political ideas of the 18th century (natural rights, sovereign- ty of the nation, separation of the executive, legislative, and judicial powers), the Declara- tion is explicable basically as an attack on the pre-Revolutionary monarchical regime. Equality before the law was to replace the system of privileges that characterized the old regime. Judicial procedures were insisted upon to prevent abuses by the king or his adminis- tration, such as the *lettre de cachet*, a private communication from the king, often used to give summary notice of imprisonment.

Although it was believed that the Declara- tion expressed universal principles, the docu- ment reflected the interests of the bourgeois who wrote it; property was given the status of an inviolable right, which could be taken by the state only if an indemnity were given (Ar- ticle 17); offices and position were opened to the middle class (Article 6).

Despite the limited aims of the framers of the Declaration, its principles (especially Article 1) could be extended logically to mean polit- ical and even social democracy. The Declara- tion of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen came to be, as was recognized by the 19th- century historian Jules Michelet, "the credo of the new age."

censorship in 18th-century France 3:1087e

freedom and equality discussion 7:650g

Louis XVI's refusal to sanction 11:124f

Robespierre's philosophical roots 15:908d

separation of powers interpretation 1:93g

state as expression of general will 17:611f

tax law history 17:1084d

right-to-work laws, in the United States, state laws forbidding various union security measures, particularly the union shop (*q.v.*), under which workers are required to join a union within a specified time after they begin employment. The Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 outlawed not the union shop but the closed shop (which can hire union members only) everywhere in the U.S. But section 14(b) of the act did encourage the passage of state right-to-work laws by allowing state laws against union security measures to supersede the federal law.

The strongest support of right-to-work laws generally has come from small business; the 19 states with right-to-work laws in 1966 were concentrated in the South and West and did not include any major industrial state. Indiana was the only industrial state to pass a right-to- work law, but it repealed it in 1965.

Right-to-work laws have periodically be- come important political issues; in 1966 the

Johnson administration attempted to elimi- nate such laws by repealing section 14(b); the effort was thwarted in the Senate with a fili- buster led by the Illinois senator Everett Dirksen.

Supporters of right-to-work laws maintair that they guarantee a person's right to work without being forced to join a union. In addi- tion, they argue that such laws do not weaken the bargaining power of unions but merely permit a worker to bargain on an individual basis if he so chooses. Opponents contend that the name right-to-work law is misleading because such laws do not guarantee employ- ment to anyone. On the contrary, they main- tain, such laws tend to reduce workers' job security by weakening the bargaining power of unions.

Virginia's low unionization 19:156d

right whale, any of three species of baleen whales of the genera *Balaena* and *Caperea*, family Balaenidae. Right whales are stout- bodied animals with enormous heads. Their upper jaws are strongly arched, and their lower lips curve upward along the sides, giving the lower jaw a scooplike form. There is no dorsal fin except in the pygmy right whale (*Caperea marginata*), a small, seldom-seen whale of the Southern Hemisphere.



Black right whale (*Balaena mysticetus*)

Painting by Richard Ellis

The name right whale originally referred to the Greenland, or bowhead, and black right whales (*Balaena mysticetus* and *B. glacialis*); both were once considered the "right" whales to hunt because of their value, slowness, and buoyancy after death.

The Greenland right whale, an inhabitant of Arctic and north temperate waters, is black with a white chin, throat, and, sometimes, underparts. It grows to a length of about 18 metres (60 feet), about one-third of which is head. The black right whale, found in the northern and southern latitudes, is estimated to reach a maximum length of about 18 to 21 metres (60 to 70 feet). It is black, with or without white on the undersides, and is similar to the Greenland form but has a smaller, less strongly arched head. It may also have a "bonnet," a horny growth infested with parasites, on its snout. It is placed by some au- thorities in the genus *Eubalaena*. It is often considered as three species: *B. glacialis* of the North Atlantic, *B. sieboldii* of the North Pa- cific, and *B. australis* of the Southern Hemi- sphere.

The Greenland and black right whales were once of considerable value because of their oil and long, strong, elastic baleen. They were virtually exterminated by uncontrolled hunt- ing and are now rare. They have been com- pletely protected by international agreement since 1946.

classification and general features 19:810d

Right You Are (1954), translation of *così è (se vi pare)* (first performed 1917); play by Luigi Pirandello, a symbolic fable illustrating the problem of illusion and truth, its action precipitated by village gossips determined to learn the truth about a "mystery."

theme of a mystery 19:810d

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE FIFTH REPUBLIC

Adopted by referendum, September 28th, 1958; promulgated October 6th, 1958.

Preamble

The French people hereby solemnly proclaims its attachment to the Rights of Man and to the principles of national sovereignty as defined by the Declaration of 1789, confirmed and complemented by the Preamble of the Constitution of 1946.

By virtue of these principles and that of the free determination of peoples, the Republic hereby offers to the Overseas Territories that express the desire to adhere to them, new institutions based on the common ideal of liberty, equality and fraternity and conceived with a view to their democratic evolution.

Article 1. The Republic and the peoples of the Overseas Territories who, by an act of free determination, adopt the present Constitution thereby institute a Community.

The Community shall be based on the equality and the solidarity of the peoples composing it.

Chapter I.—On Sovereignty

Article 2. France shall be a Republic, indivisible, secular, democratic and social. It shall ensure the equality of all citizens before the law, without distinction of origin, race or religion. It shall respect all beliefs.

The national emblem shall be the tricolour flag, blue, white and red.

The national anthem shall be the "Marseillaise".

The motto of the Republic shall be "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity".

Its principle shall be government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

Article 3. National sovereignty belongs to the people, which shall exercise this sovereignty through its representatives and through the referendum.

No section of the people, nor any individual, may attribute to themselves or himself the exercise thereof.

Suffrage may be direct or indirect under the conditions stipulated by the Constitution. It shall always be universal, equal and secret.

All French citizens of both sexes who have reached their majority and who enjoy civil and political rights may vote under the conditions to be determined by law.

Article 4. Political parties and groups may compete for votes. They may form and carry on their activities freely. They must respect the principles of national sovereignty and of democracy.

Chapter II.—The President of the Republic

Article 5. The President of the Republic shall see that the Constitution is respected. He shall ensure, by his arbitration, the regular functioning of the public powers, as well as the continuity of the State.

He shall be the guarantor of national independence, of the integrity of the territory, and of respect for Community agreements and for treaties.

Article 6. The President of the Republic shall be elected for seven years by direct universal suffrage. The method of implementation of the present article shall be determined by an organic law.

Article 7. The President of the Republic shall be elected by an absolute majority of the votes cast. If such a majority

is not obtained at the first ballot, a second ballot shall take place on the second following Sunday. Those who may stand for the second ballot shall be only the two candidates who, after the possible withdrawal of candidates with more votes, have gained the largest number of votes on the first ballot.

Voting shall begin at the summons of the Government. The election of the new President of the Republic shall take place not less than twenty days and not more than thirty-five days before the expiration of the powers of the President in office. In the event that the Presidency of the Republic has been vacated for any reason whatsoever, or impeded in its functioning as officially declared by the Constitutional Council, after the matter has been referred to it by the Government and which shall give its ruling by an absolute majority of its members, the functions of the President of the Republic, with the exception of those covered by Articles 11 and 12 hereunder, shall be temporarily exercised by the President of the Senate and, if the latter is in his turn unable to exercise his functions, by the Government.

In the case of vacancy or when the impediment is declared to be final by the Constitutional Council, the voting for the election of the new President shall take place, except in case of force majeure officially noted by the Constitutional Council, not less than twenty days and not more than thirty-five days after the beginning of the vacancy or of the declaration of the final nature of the impediment.

If, in the seven days preceding the latest date for the lodging of candidatures, one of the persons who, at least thirty days prior to that date, publicly announced his decision to be a candidate dies or is impeded, the Constitutional Council can decide to postpone the election.

If, before the first ballot, one of the candidates dies or is impeded, the Constitutional Council orders the postponement of the election.

In the event of the death or impediment, before any candidates have withdrawn, of one of the two candidates who received the greatest number of votes in the first ballot, the Constitutional Council shall declare that the electoral procedure must be repeated in full; the same shall apply in the event of the death or impediment of one of the two candidates standing for the second ballot.

All cases shall be referred to the Constitutional Council under the conditions laid down in paragraph 2 of article 61 below, or under those determined for the presentation of candidates by the organic law provided for in article 6 above.

The Constitutional Council can extend the periods stipulated in paragraphs 3 and 5 above provided that polling shall not take place more than thirty-five days after the date of the decision of the Constitutional Council. If the implementation of the provisions of this paragraph results in the postponement of the election beyond the expiry of the powers of the President in office, the latter shall remain in office until his successor is proclaimed.

Articles 49 and 50 and Article 89 of the Constitution may not be put into application during the vacancy of the Presidency of the Republic or during the period between the declaration of the final nature of the impediment of the President of the Republic and the election of his successor.

Article 8. The President of the Republic shall appoint the Premier. He shall terminate the functions of the

Ladislav III (or VI). 1424-1444. Son of Ladislav II Jagello and Sophia; king of Poland (1434-44) and of Hungary as Ladislav V (1440-44); faced with internal troubles in both Poland and Hungary; led crusade against Turks (1443), terminated by peace of Szeged (1444); broke treaty immediately; killed at Varna while invading Balkans. See János Hunyadi at HUNYADI family.

Ladislav IV (or VII). 1595-1648. Son of Sigismund III; served as youth in Muscovite campaigns (1610-12 and 1617-18); succeeded father as king (1632-48); on accession fought war with Russia, winning victorious peace (1634); made favorable settlement with Turks (1634) and with Sweden (1635); involved in serious internal troubles, esp. from acts of the Sejm; renewed attempt in last years of reign to establish order, but died unsuccessful; lost part of Ukraine to Russia following revolt of Cossacks (1648) under Bogdan Chmielnicki (q.v.). See JAGELLON.

Lad'mi'rault' (lād'mē'rō'), Louis René Paul de. 1808-1898. French general at battle of Solferino (1859); commanded 4th corps at outbreak of Franco-Prussian War, and was engaged at Rezonville; commanded 1st corps suppressing Commune of Paris (1871); military governor of Paris (1871-78).

La'dré' (lā'drā'). Late 18th-century French street singer, reputed author of the words of *Ca Ira*, the Revolutionary war song.

Lae'li-us (lē'li-ūs), Gaius. Roman general and statesman; served with Scipio Africanus in Spain and in Africa, and commanded the cavalry in battle of Zama (202 B.C.). Plebeian aedile (197); praetor of Sicily (196); consul (190); ambassador to Transalpine Gaul (170). His son Gaius Laelius, surnamed *Sa'pi-ens* (sā'pī-ēnz; sāp'ī-ēnz); friend of Panaetius and the younger Scipio and named as one of the speakers in Cicero's essays *De Senectute*, *De Amicitia*, and *De Republica*; tribune (151 B.C.); served against the Carthaginians in Africa (147) and Spain (145); consul (140); helped introduce Greek culture in Rome.

Laemm'le (lēm'lē), Carl. 1867-1939. German-born American motion-picture producer; to U.S. (1884); organized and headed Universal Pictures Corp. (to 1936, when he sold his holdings). Produced first full-length photoplay, *Traffic in Souls* (1912), and first million-dollar picture, *Foolish Wives* (1922).

Laën'nec' (lā'nēk'), René Théophile Hyacinthe. 1781-1826. French physician; introduced practice of auscultation with the stethoscope, which he invented (c. 1819).

Laer, Pieter van. See Pieter van LAAR.

Laer'mans (lār'māns), Eugène. 1864-1940. Belgian painter and etcher; works include expressionistic paintings of poor, simple people at work, at prayer, and in sorrow.

Laess'le (lē's'lē), Albert. 1877-1954. American sculptor; studio in Philadelphia. His bronzes *Billy* and *The Bronze Penguins* are in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia.

La Farge (lā fārzh'), Christopher. 1897-1956. American poet; author of *Hoxsie Sells his Acres* (novel in verse, 1934), *Each to the Other* (novel in verse, 1939), *Poems and Portraits* (1940).

La Farge, John. 1835-1910. American artist, b. New York City. Painted chiefly landscapes (1860-76). Commissioned for mural decoration of Trinity Church, Boston (1876-77), his success leading to other work of similar nature, including panels in St. Thomas's Church, New York City, *The Ascension* in the Church of the Ascension, New York City, and lunettes in the supreme court room of the Minnesota State Capitol at St. Paul. Interested himself in production of stained glass; de-

veloped opalescent glass; wrote pamphlet, *The American Art of Glass* (1893). Examples of his painting: *Christ and Nicodemus*, in Trinity Church, Boston; *The Three Kings*, in Boston Art Museum; *The Muse of Painting*, in Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City; *The Arrival of the Magi*, in Church of the Incarnation, New York City. Examples of his work in stained glass are in Second Presbyterian Church, Chicago; Memorial Hall, Harvard U.; Columbia U. Chapel, New York City. Father of:

(1) **Christopher Grant** (1862-1938), architect, b. Newport, R.I.; practiced, New York City (1886-1910); designed Protestant Episcopal cathedral of Saint John the Divine, in New York City; Fourth Presbyterian church and parsonage, New York City; Roman Catholic cathedral, Seattle, Wash.; Packard Memorial Library, Salt Lake City; Morgan Memorial Building, Hartford, Conn.; etc.

(2) **Oliver Hazard Perry** (1869-1936), businessman and amateur artist.

(3) **John** (1880-1963), Roman Catholic priest; editor (1942-48) of Jesuit weekly *America*; author of *The Jesuits in Modern Times* (1928), *Interracial Justice* (1937).

Oliver Hazard Perry (1901-1963), sometimes known as **Oliver II**; son of Christopher Grant La Farge; author, b. New York City; member of archaeological expeditions to Mexico, Guatemala, and Arizona; president, American Association on Indian Affairs (1933-42; 1948-63); wrote *Tribes and Temples* (with Frans Blom, 1927), *Laughing Boy* (awarded Pulitzer prize for 1929), *Sparks Fly Upward* (1931), *Long Pennant* (1933), *All the Young Men* (1935), *The Enemy Gods* (1937).

La'farge' (lā'fārzh'), Marie Fortunée, nee Cap'pelle' (kā'pēl'). 1816-1853. Frenchwoman convicted of poisoning her husband (1840) and condemned to life imprisonment at hard labor; persisted in asserting her innocence; pardoned (1852); regarded by many as victim of circumstantial evidence and judicial prejudice.

La'fargue' (lā'fārg'), Paul. 1842-1911. French Socialist politician and writer; son-in-law of Karl Marx. Associated with Jules Guesde (q.v.) in organizing Marxian Socialist movement in France.

La Fa-ri'na (lā fā-rē'nā), Giuseppe. 1815-1863. Italian statesman and historian; exiled from Sicily (1837-48) for participation in revolution; took part in Tuscan movement (1848); elected deputy and minister on return to Sicily (1848-49); again fled Sicily after Revolution of 1848. Associated with Cavour (from 1855) in National Italian Society, its president (1859); aided in deposition of Bourbons in Sicily (1860); sent to Sicily by Cavour as representative of Victor Emmanuel (1860); deputy from Messina in Italian parliament (1861-63). Author of *Storia della Rivoluzione Italiana 1821-48* (1849), *Storia d'Italia 1815-50* (6 vols., 1851), etc.

La'fa-yette' (lā'fi-ēt'; lāf'ī; Fr. lā'fā'yēt'), Marquis de. Marie Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert du Mo'tier' (dū mō'tyā'). 1757-1834. French statesman and officer; entered French military service (1771); withdrew (1776) to enter American service in Revolutionary War (1777); commissioned by Congress major general in Continental army (July 31, 1777). Became intimate associate of George Washington. Spent furlough in France, advancing American cause (1778-80). Served in Virginia (1781). Returned to France (Dec., 1781). Visited U.S. (1784; 1824-25). Member of French National Assembly (1789); showed liberal sympathies; aided in organizing National Guard; instrumental in bringing about adoption of tricolor flag; a founder of the Club of the Feuillants, conservative liberals who sought to establish a constitutional

chair; go; sing; then, thin; verdure (15), nature (54); k=ch in Ger. ich, ach; Fr. bon; yet; zh=z in nature.

For explanation of abbreviations, etc., see the page immediately preceding the main vocabulary.

monarchy (1790). In command of force that fired on the mob in the Champ de Mars (1791). Commanded an army in war with Austria. Opposed further advance of Jacobin party; was declared a traitor by National Assembly; fled to Flanders and was imprisoned by Austrians (1792-97). Returned to France (1799); took no part in politics, being opposed to Napoleonic policies. Member, Chamber of Deputies (1815, 1818-24); leader of opposition (1825-30). Commander of the National Guard, Revolution of 1830.

La Fayette (lā'fē-ēt'; lā'fē-; Fr. lā'fā'yēt'), Comtesse de. *Née Marie Madeleine Pioche de La Vergne* (pyōsh' dē lā vēr'ny'). 1634-1693. French novelist; m. François Motier, Comte de La Fayette (1655; d. 1683). Friend of La Rochefoucauld. Among her novels are *La Princesse de Montpensier* (1662), *Zayde* (1670), and *La Princesse de Clèves* (1678).

La Fayette, Gilbert Motier de (mō'tyā' dē). 1380?-1463. French soldier; served under Marshal Bouciquaut and later under John I, Duc de Bourbon; created marshal of France (1420).

La-fé-nés'tre (lā'fē-nā'tr'), Georges. 1837-1919. French writer; author of collections of verse (*Idylles et Chansons*, 1874, etc.) and art criticism.

La-fér'rière (lā'fē-ryār'), Louis Firmin Ju'llen'- (zhū'lyān'). 1798-1861. French jurist. His son Édouard (1841-1901) was also a jurist.

Laf'fan (lā'fān), William Mack'ay (māk'āy). 1848-1909. Journalist and art connoisseur, b. Dublin, Ireland; to U.S. (1868). Publisher, *New York Sun* (from 1884); founded *Evening Sun* (1887). Trustee, Metropolitan Museum of Art (from 1905). Author of *Oriental Ceramic Art* (1897), etc.

Laf'fite' or La-fitte' (lā'fēt'; Fr. lā'-), Jean. c. 1780-c. 1826. Pirate, b. prob. Bayonne, France. In New Orleans, La. (c. 1809). Head of band of privateers and smugglers (1810); when British sought his aid in attack on New Orleans (1814) he revealed their plans to American authorities, many of his band serving on American side in battle of New Orleans. Returned to piracy after War of 1812, with headquarters at Galveston, Texas; captured and scuttled American merchant ship (1820); his headquarters raided and destroyed by American warship; continued piracy on Spanish main; disappeared from view about 1825.

Laf'fite' (lā'fēt'), Jacques. 1767-1844. French financier and statesman; regent (1809), and governor (1814-19), of the Bank of France; member of Chamber of Deputies (from 1816). Partisan of Louis Philippe; premier and finance minister (1830-31); failed to reconcile parties with his policies.

Laffitte, Pierre. 1823-1903. French philosopher; disciple of Auguste Comte.

La-fī'tau' (lā'fē-tā'), Joseph François. 1670-1740. French Jesuit; missionary among the Iroquois in Canada (1712-17).

La-fleur' (lā'flūr'; Fr. lā'-), Eugène. 1856-1930. Canadian lawyer; professor of international law, McGill (1880-1908).

La Fol'lette (lā'fōl'ēt'; -lēt'), Robert Marion. 1855-1925. American political leader, b. Primrose, Wis. Adm. to bar (1880); practiced, Madison, Wis. Member, U.S. House of Representatives (1885-91). Interested himself in reform of Wisconsin State politics; elected governor of Wisconsin (1900); re-elected (1902, 1904); became known as leader among progressives. U.S. senator (from 1906); leader of progressives and radicals. Opposed U.S. entrance into World War; critical of Wilson's policies during World War; opposed ratification of Covenant of the League of Nations and admission of U.S. to World

Court; sponsored resolution authorizing senatorial investigation into Teapot Dome and other naval oil leases. Candidate of League for Progressive Political Action, for U.S. presidency (1924); defeated. Founded *La Follette's Weekly Magazine* (1909); an organizer of National Progressive Republican League (1911). His son Robert Marion, Jr. (1895-1953), American legislator; private secretary to his father (1919-25). U.S. senator from Wisconsin, succeeding his father (1925-47). Another son, Philip Fox (1897-1965), a lawyer and politician, practiced law in Madison, Wis. (from 1922); governor of Wisconsin (1931-33; 1935-39).

La'fon'taine' (lā'fōn'tēn'), August Heinrich Julius. 1758-1831. German clergyman and novelist; canon of Magdeburg Cathedral. Author (often under pseudonyms, as Gustav Freier [fri'ēr], Mil'ten-berg [mil'tēn-bērk], Sel'chow [zēl'kō]) of about 200 volumes of novels and sketches chiefly of middle-class domestic life. **La'fon'taine'** (lā'fōn'tēn'), Henri. 1854-1943. Belgian lawyer and politician; senator (1895); strong advocate of international arbitration, and of the Permanent Court of International Justice; awarded Nobel prize for peace (1913).

La Fon'taine' (lā'fōn'tēn'), Jean de. 1621-1695. French fabulist, b. Château-Thierry. Friend of Racine, Boileau, and Molière. The first six books of his *Fables* (pub. 1668) were dedicated to the dauphin; the next five books (pub. 1678-79) were prefaced with a eulogy of Mme. de Montespan; the twelfth book (pub. 1694) was dedicated to the duke of Burgundy. Author also of *Contes* (1664-74), poems, and with Champmeslé of opera librettos and plays.

Lafontaine, Sir Louis Hypolite. 1807-1864. Canadian statesman; supported Papineau in opposition to administration of governor in chief, but disapproved Papineau's extreme measures; leader of French Canadians; refused solicitor generalship but on death of Sydenham formed a first administration with Robert Baldwin (1842-43), and a second, acting as premier and attorney general for Lower Canada (1848-51); passed amnesty bill, which provoked riots in Montreal; chief justice of Lower Canada (1853-64); settled question of land tenure in Canada. **La Forge** (lā'fōrh'), Frank. 1879-1953. American pianist and composer of many songs, including *Before the Crucifix*, *Song of the Open, Retreat*.

La'forgue' (lā'fōrg'), Jules. 1860-1887. French writer; identified with the symbolists.

La'fosse' (lā'fōs'), Charles de. 1636-1716. French historical painter. His nephew Antoine de Lafosse, Sieur d'Au'bi'gny' [dō'bē'nyē'] (1653-1708), was a poet.

La'fren'sen (lā'frēn'sēn), Nils. Called by the French **Nicolas La'vreince'** (lā'vrāns'). 1737-1807. Swedish painter. He painted, in gouache and rococo style, social gatherings, ballet scenes, scenes from everyday life, portraits, etc.

La-fuen'te or La Fuen'te (lā'fwān'tā), Modesto. 1806-1866. Spanish historian and satirist; chief work, *Historia General de España* (30 vols., 1850-66); satires published under pseudonyms of Fray Gerun'di-o (fri'ā hā-rōn'dyō) and Tira-be'que [tē'rā-bā'kā] (1844-50).

La-gue' (lā'gā'), Jules. 1862-1931. Belgian sculptor. **La Gan'da'ra'** (lā'gān'dā'rā'), Antonio de. 1862-1917. French painter of English-Mexican descent; renowned for his portraits.

La-garde' (lā'gārd'), Paul Anton de. Father's surname **Böt'ti-cher** (būt'tī-kēr). 1827-1891. German Orientalist. Called (from 1854) after his adoptive mother's surname de Lagarde. Edited Italian works of Giordano Bruno (2 vols., 1888-89); worked on books of the Bible

and church fathers; e. Chaldean, Arabic, Syriac. **La'ger-kvist** (lā'gēr-kvi) Swedish author, playwright the novels *Barabbas* (1933) the play *Let Man Live* (1951).

La'ger-löf' (lā'gēr-lūv'), 1940. Swedish novelist a (1885-95); honorary de Nobel prize for literatu Legion of Honor (1930); ish Acad. (1914). Aut *Berling* (1891), *The Mir* *salem* (2 vols., 1901-02), *Emperor of Protugallia* (the trilogy *The Ring of t* *eral's Ring*, 1925; *Char* *Svärd*, 1928); collections *Links* (1894), *From a Su* *Legends* (1904), the child *ventures of Nils* (2 vols. *Marsh Croft* (1908), *Troi* autobiographical works, *Diary of Selma Lagerlöf*.

La Gorce (lā'gōrs'), Pier torian; among his works *publique Française* (2 vo *Empire* (7 vols., 1898-190 **La Grange** (lā'grānz') (vār'lē'). 1639?-1692. company; collaborated w

portant edition of Molièr **La'grange'** (lā'grānz') French geometer and asti Turin Coll. At age of mathematics at artillery to Euler method of solvi from which grew the ca dents, founded society Sciences; awarded prize essay on libration of the satellites of Jupiter (1766 Great to succeed Euler Sciences, a position he h (1787) at invitation of I for reform of weights a École Normale, Paris (1 (1797); under Napoleon Publications include *Mé* *orie des Fonctions Analy* *Calcul des Fonctions* (180

La'grange'-Chan'cel' (lā'grānz'-chān'sel') surname Chancel. 167

La Guar'di-a (lā'gwā (fē'ō-rē'l'ō) Henry. 1882 tician, b. New York Cit (from 1910). Member, (1917-21; 1923-33). Ser War I. Mayor of New Office of Civilian Defens **la Guard'ia** (lā'gwār'te) GUARDIA.

La'guerre' (lā'gār'), Edr ematician; known for w of equations.

La Halle, Adam de. S **La Harpe** (lā'ārp'), Fr Swiss politician; to Fran part in establishing th

chair; go; sing; then, t For explanation

āle, chāotic, cāre (7), ādd, āccount, ārm, āsk (11), sofā; ēve, hēre (18), ēvent, ēnd, silēnt, makēr; īce, īll, charity; ōld, ōbey, ōrb, ōdd (40), sōft (41), cōnnect; fōōd, fōōt; out, oil; cūbe, ūnite, ūrn, ūp, circūs, ū = u in Fr. menu;

to Messina and took up literary work, founding four liberal journals that were all quickly suppressed. In 1839 he worked to organize Italian patriots in Naples, and a year later he served as a delegate to a revolutionary assembly at Palermo.

In Florence after 1841, La Farina lived by his pen; in 1847 he founded the political journal *L'Alba*. At the outbreak of revolution in 1848, he returned to Messina, served successively as deputy and secretary to the chamber of communes at Palermo, and was made minister of public instruction and public works that August. Between September 1848 and February 1849 he acted as minister of war and the navy. But he was exiled again in April, when the revolution failed, and he remained in Paris until 1853, when he returned to Turin and in 1856 founded a journal, *Il Piccolo Corriere d'Italia*, which became the official organ of the Italian National Society, a nationalist organization that he helped found in 1857. La Farina ultimately became president of the Society, which acted as both a pressure group and a political organization supporting nationalist aims. In 1858 he wrote the *Credo Politico*, which demanded Italian independence and unity. After 1857 he was in frequent secret contact with the unification leader Count Cavour, planning annexation demands and policy and organizing military moves. Although he helped to furnish Sicilian funds for Giuseppe Garibaldi's conquest of Sicily and Naples in the name of unification in 1860, La Farina lost favour with Garibaldi when he began circulating an annexationist paper in Palermo called *L'Anessione*, and he was arrested and deported to Genoa in July 1860. Despite his unpopularity in southern Italy, La Farina was elected to the Chamber of Deputies in the spring of 1860, and in January 1863, several months before his death, he took over direction of the *Rivista Contemporanea* ("Contemporary Review").

La Farina's greatest literary work was the *Storia d'Italia dal 1815 al 1850* (1851-52), which included a discussion of Italy's future as a nation, either under a republic or a monarchical form of government. In 1856 he published a pamphlet entitled "Murat and National Unity," and he wrote several political pamphlets in 1857-58. His writings indicate a disillusionment among revolutionaries, after their semireligious tone of 1848, and a turn toward a more realistic emphasis, on military and political force. His letters have been collected and edited by Ausonio Franchi in the two-volume *Epistolario di Giuseppe La Farina* (1869). La Farina's other works include the two-volume *Studi sul secolo XIII* (1841; "Study of the 13th Century"), the 10-volume *Storia d'Italia* (1846), and *Rivoluzione siciliana nel 1848 e 49* (1851). Further information on La Farina may be found in Raymond Grew's *A Sterner Plan for Italian Unity* (1963) and George Martin's *The Red Shirt and the Cross of Savoy* (1969).

Lafayette, city, seat of Tippecanoe County, west central Indiana, U.S., on the Wabash River. Laid out by William Digby on May 24, 1825, it was named for the French general the marquis de Lafayette, who was making his last visit to America. It is 4 mi (6 km) northeast of the first white settlement in Indiana (Ft. Ouiatenon), built by the French in 1717 to exploit their fur trade with the Indians. Lost to the English in 1763 and then to the Americans in 1779, it was a centre of Indian agitation. The fort was destroyed by the Scott and Wilkinson expeditions in 1791. Tippecanoe County was named in memory of the battle fought Nov. 7, 1811, when Gov. William Henry Harrison and his small army defeated an Indian confederacy under the leadership of the Prophet, brother of Tecumseh. The site of the battleground, now a state park, is 7 mi north of the city. It is an industrial city and an agricultural market. West Lafayette, across the river, is the seat of Purdue University (1869), a state institution and land-

grant college named for a Lafayette businessman, John Purdue, whose gift secured its establishment there. Inc. 1853. Pop. (1980) city, 43,011; metropolitan area (SMSA), 121,702. 40°25' N, 86°53' W
·map, United States 18:908

Lafayette, city, seat (1824) of Lafayette Parish, south central Louisiana, U.S., on Vermilion River. The area was first settled by exiled Acadians from Nova Scotia in the late 18th century. The earliest village, Vermilionville,



Bald cypresses on the campus of the University of Southwestern Louisiana, Lafayette

Charles May—Shostal

was established in 1824 but was renamed Lafayette in 1884. Until World War II the economy was dependent upon the intensive cane, cotton, and corn production of the area. After the war it became the office and supply centre for much of the booming oil and gas industry of south Louisiana. Heymann Oil Center, headquarters for many companies, has its own post office and shopping facilities. Before the oil boom Lafayette was primarily a French Creole town and the older culture is evident in the prevalence of the French Creole language. A growing population attracted by the oil industry has created a more cosmopolitan community. Although many of the older customs have disappeared, the Live Oak Society still functions for the preservation of these noble trees, and the Camellia Show and Mardi Gras are still celebrated. The University of Southwestern Louisiana (1898) is located there, as is the seat of a Roman Catholic diocese. Inc. 1836. Pop. (1960) city, 40,400, (1980) city 81,961; metropolitan area (SMSA) 150,017.

30°14' N, 92°01' W

·map, United States 18:908

Lafayette, class of U.S. ballistic missile submarines.

·nuclear submarine development in U.S. 17:751a

Lafayette, (Marie-Joseph-Paul-Yves-Roch-Gilbert du Motier), marquis de (b. Sept. 6, 1757, Chavaniac, Fr.—d. May 20, 1834, Paris), French noble who fought with the American colonists against the British in the American Revolution; by allying with the revolutionary bourgeoisie, he became one of the most powerful men in France during the first two years of the French Revolution.

Born into an ancient noble family, Lafayette had already inherited an immense fortune by the time he married the daughter of the influential Duc d'Ayen in 1774. He joined the circle of young courtiers at the court of King Louis XVI but soon aspired to win glory as a soldier. Hence, in July 1777, 27 months after the outbreak of the American Revolution, he arrived in Philadelphia. Appointed a major general by the colonists, he quickly struck up a lasting friendship with the American commander in chief, George Washington. Lafayette fought with distinction at the Battle of Brandywine, Pennsylvania, on Sept. 11, 1777, and, as a division commander, he conducted a masterly retreat from Barren Hill on May 28, 1778. Returning to France early in 1779, he

helped persuade the government of Louis XVI to send a 6,000-man expeditionary army to aid the colonists. Lafayette arrived back in America in April 1780 and was immediately given command of an army in Virginia. After forcing the British commander Lord Charles Cornwallis to retreat across Virginia, Lafayette bottled him up at Yorktown in late July. A French fleet and several additional American armies joined the siege, and on October 19 Cornwallis surrendered. The British cause was lost. Lafayette was hailed as "the Hero of Two Worlds," and on returning to France in 1782 he was promoted *maréchal de camp* (brigadier general). He became a citizen of several states on a visit to the United States in 1784.

During the next five years, Lafayette became a leader of the liberal aristocrats who sought to resolve France's deepening political and economic crisis by restricting the hitherto absolute power of the king. At the same time, he became an outspoken advocate of religious toleration and the abolition of the slave trade. Elected as a representative for the nobility to the States General that convened in May 1789, Lafayette supported the manoeuvres by which the bourgeois deputies of the Third Estate (the unprivileged classes) gained control of the States General and converted it into a revolutionary National Assembly. On July 11 he presented to the Assembly his draft of a Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. After extensive revisions, the document was adopted on August 27. Meanwhile on July 15, the day after a crowd stormed the Bastille, Lafayette was elected commander of the newly formed national guard of Paris. By admitting only persons of bourgeois background into the guard, he created a force capable of controlling the rebellious lower classes and the scheming royalists. His troops saved Louis XVI and Queen Marie-Antoinette from the fury of a crowd that invaded Versailles on October 6, and he then carried the royal family to Paris, where they became hostages of the Revolution.

For the next year, Lafayette's popularity and influence were at their height. He supported measures that transferred power from the aristocracy to the bourgeoisie, but he feared that further democratization would encourage the lower classes to attack property rights. Hence he became alarmed as republicans began to assail the new system of constitutional monarchy. When a crowd of petitioners gathered on the Champ de Mars in Paris (July 17, 1791) to demand the abdication of the King, Lafayette's guards opened fire, killing or wounding about 50 demonstrators. The incident destroyed his popularity, and in October he resigned from the guard.



Marquis de Lafayette, lithograph by François-Séraphin Delpech (1778-1825) after a portrait by Maurin

By courtesy of the trustees of the British Museum; photograph, J.R. Freeman & Co. Ltd.

ese imposts re-
to World War
tax on income
the Franco-
ent of progres-
In 1913, 18.3%
et taxes, mostly
taxes; 12% from
es); and 2.2%
s income from

d for increased
g-discussed and
for an income
nally put into
ffaires tax was
was a charge
ownership, and
ect, or, as the
t. It was espe-
ne cumbersome
iled within the

xes had a pro-
of the nation.
revenues came
out 17% of the
ent came from
12.5% from the
revised version
% from customs
soline, 2% from
ies, and 20.9%
place, taxes on
ere used almost
ranches of gov-
vernments were
ntage additions
central govern-

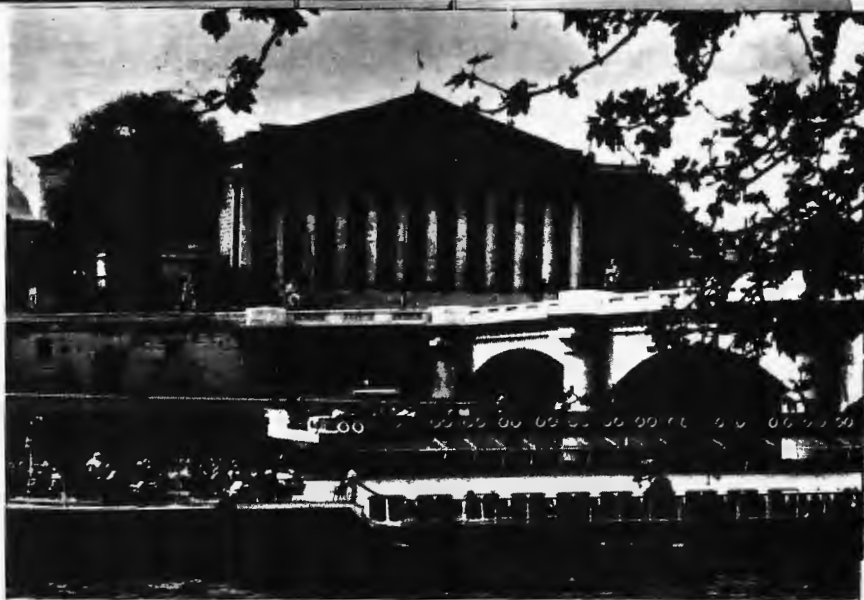
new taxes in-
creased, and so
the fluctuations
eclined in times
left the govern-
tage of the new
isted to achieve
iving rebates to
in allowing de-
stly, these taxes
of tax evasion,
ries but is re-
France.

ARD B. CLOUGH
mbia University

tion (New York
poraine, Librairie
my and the State
story of National
usiness in France

Marie, *Economic*
ass., 1963).
ie French Worker
(1967).
des Études Éco-
la France (Paris,
spectif).
rowth in France
s, Mass., 1964).
l of Industry in
1963).
France (Stanford.

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, the lower house of parliament, is directly across the Seine River from the Place de la Concorde. Known as the Palais-Bourbon, it was begun in 1722 as a house for the Duchess de Bourbon. The Greek facade was built in 1807 under direction of Napoleon I.



FRENCH GOVERNMENT TOURIST OFFICE

FRANCE: Government

Since the Revolution of 1789, France has had 16 constitutions, two of which were never put into effect and most of which were short-lived. Even during the Third Republic, which had the longest life-span of all modern French regimes (1871-1940), proposals for far-reaching constitutional reforms were put forward. Only four years after the Fifth Republic was instituted in 1958, a major constitutional amendment was enacted. The rejection of another amendment by the electorate led in 1969 to the resignation of Gen. Charles de Gaulle as president of the republic. But though constitutional changes have been numerous, the first French constitutional text, the Declaration of the Rights of Man of 1789, is still solemnly referred to in the preamble to the present constitution.

The writing of a new constitution has often appeared to Frenchmen as the appropriate solution of a major political crisis. Military defeats have invariably led to constitution making, as after the fall of the First and the Second Empire in 1814 and 1870, respectively, after the surrender of the Third Republic to Nazi Germany in 1940, and after the downfall of the Vichy government in 1945. In 1958 the long war in Algeria directly caused yet another constitutional upheaval.

The very frequency of constitutional change has deprived any particular form of government of special legitimacy. As a result, Frenchmen regard the fundamental laws under which they live as little more than technical rules, provided the constitution does not negate the broad principles that swept away absolutism in the 18th century. Whenever a constitution has failed to meet either the test of battle or the demand for reasonable efficiency at home, a modification of the rules has appeared justified.

In their search for adequate institutions, Frenchmen have tried many systems, some inspired by foreign models, others unprecedented. Frequently they have sought an equilibrium between the powers of the executive and the will of the people, whether expressed directly or by

representation in parliament. Under the two Napoleonic dictatorships a strong executive ruled with the organized support of approving plebiscites. The ease with which these two dictators swayed the people discredited for a long time proposals for direct participation by the citizens in the legislative process or for the direct election of the chief executive.

The Third Republic. Authentic republican tradition usually calls for a legislative branch strong enough to limit executive prerogatives. The constitutional laws of the Third Republic, promulgated in 1875, strove to reach that end by a close imitation of British parliamentary government. The place of the monarch was taken by a president of the republic, elected by both houses of parliament and constitutionally prevented from exercising a strong personal influence. As in Britain, the premier and his cabinet could stay in power only as long as they were assured of majority support in the lower house, the Chamber of Deputies. But during the 70 years of the Third Republic, Britain was ruled by only 17 governments, while more than 100 cabinets succeeded one another in France, with an average tenure in office of less than eight months. The main cause of ministerial instability was the lack of disciplined parties, which in Britain provided steady support for the government between elections. In France the lines between government and opposition were seldom drawn clearly. Most of the members of the Chamber of Deputies made and unmade governments, approved of or rejected legislation, in line with their personal views about the interests of their small constituencies.

When the Depression of the 1930's and the international tension caused by the rise of Hitler called for forthright government action, the fluctuating majorities in parliament could not provide it. The cabinet, resorting to expedients, enacted legislation by decrees fashioned in government bureaus. Its own expansiveness forced parliament to entrust part of its functions to the civil service. But the bureaucracy was also unable to carry out the innovating reforms that were needed in a time of crisis, because no government stayed in power long enough to prescribe a coherent policy that the civil servants could have implemented. During World War II, Vichy France was governed by the authoritarian regime

(Robinson Edit)
May 21, 1984
6:00 p.m.

A

PRESIDENTIAL TAPING: D-DAY REMARKS FOR FRENCH TELEVISION
TUESDAY, MAY 22, 1984

TIME - This year, thousands of Americans are returning to the Normandy shores to revisit the scene of that momentous landing 40 years ago. (Tonight,) hundreds are, like myself, guests in your country as we join in remembering that day. On behalf of all Americans, I thank you for your gracious hospitality. 10

Franco-American friendship has a long and proud past. Indeed, one of the great heroes of American history is a Frenchman. Scores of towns, streets, and squares in America bear his name. A beautiful park that I look out upon each day -- directly across the street from my house in Washington -- is named in honor of him. He was the Marquis (Marie Joseph) de Lafayette, and he served with George Washington as a General in the American Revolutionary Army. Yet despite the importance of Lafayette's skill, he took a step as a legislator that had even greater significance for the two centuries of friendship and alliance between your country and mine. P? (Gen?)

The Outdoor Sculpture of West DC
p.371
Webster's Big Dict. - On July 11th, 1789, as Deputy in the French National Assembly, Lafayette introduced a bill calling for the passage of a declaration of the rights of man. Formally adopted by the Assembly 5 weeks later, the declaration appeared as the preamble to the French Constitution of 1791. This Declaration of the Rights of Man embodied the same fundamental beliefs about human liberty as those expressed the American Declaration of

Independence and Bill of Rights. Together, those French and American documents proclaim that all men are endowed with equal, God-given rights, that among these are, "Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness." It is this shared commitment to human freedom that has formed the bedrock on which our fast friendship has been built. And it was in the name of this human freedom that so many brave men gave their lives on the beaches of Normandy 40 years ago.

Those courageous men, living and dead, gave us a priceless legacy of peace and prosperity in Europe -- a legacy that has endured now for more than two generations. To preserve that legacy of peace, those of us who cherish liberty must continue to labor together.

Your country and mine are members of an Alliance committed to the liberty of Western Europe. Of course, membership in the Alliance imposes its burdens. To demonstrate the American commitment to this continent, thousands of American troops must be stationed here in Europe, far from their homes and families. France, the United States, and all the Alliance nations, must spend more on defense than any of us like to do in peacetime. But the burdens we must bear in defending our freedom are far less than the horrors we would have to endure if we lost that freedom.

I believe that the best way we can honor those who gave so much 40 years ago, is by rededicating ourselves today to the cause for which they fought: Freedom -- freedom for ourselves, freedom for our children, and freedom for generations yet unborn.

Thank you and God bless you.

1	34.17 E	34	43.35 N 80.34 W	Lakewood Center	42	48.04 N 98.56 W	La Plata Peak	44	39.62 N 108.22 W	Lawrence, Ind., U.S.	38	39.50 N 88.02 W	Le Moule
2	55.50 N 78.03 E	35	32.54 N 85.24 W	Lakewood Park	43	26.37 N 80.03 W	La Pociatiere	30	47.22 N 105.08 W	Lawrence, Kans., U.S.	42	38.58 N 95.14 W	Lena, Ill., U.S.
3	51.42 N 78.03 E	36	37.54 N 122.07 W	Lake Worth	40	32.49 N 97.27 W	Laporte, Colo., U.S.	44	40.38 N 105.08 W	Lawrence, Mass., U.S.	32	42.42 N 71.09 W	Lena, Wis., U.S.
4	18.07 N 31.33 E	42	40.10 N 105.05 W	Lake Worth Village	102	27.57 N 80.47 E	La Porte, Ind., U.S.	32	41.36 N 96.43 W	Lawrence, Mo., U.S.	42	40.17 N 98.16 W	Lenakel
5	19.36 N 155.04 W	36	34.42 N 85.17 W	Laknimpur	42	37.56 N 101.15 W	Laporte, Pa., U.S.	32	42.19 N 92.12 W	Lawrence, Nebr., U.S.	38	39.06 N 84.51 W	Lenchois
6	27.28 N 23.28 E	38	40.25 N 86.53 W	Lakinskij	86	56.01 N 39.57 E	La Porte City	22	58.50 N 74.24 W	Lawrenceburg, Ind., U.S.			Lenhug
7	33.19 N 130.31 E	38	30.74 N 92.01 W	Lakota, Iowa, U.S.	42	43.23 N 94.06 W	La Potherie, Lac	68	61.04 N 28.11 E	Lawrenceburg, Ky., U.S.			Lenina, Pik J
8	54.18 N 110.12 E	34	44.27 N 94.24 W	Lakota, N. Dak., U.S.	42	48.02 N 98.21 W	Lappenranta	44	42.50 N 105.30 W	Lawrenceburg, Tenn., U.S.	38	38.02 N 84.54 W	Leninabad
9	7.29 N 80.22 E	38	36.32 N 86.01 W	LaLiberal	108	12.02 N 39.02 E	La Prie Creek	40	28.57 N 99.51 W	Lawrenceville, Ill., U.S.	38	35.15 N 87.20 W	Leninograd
10	55.20 N 59.29 E	32	40.10 N 113.38 W	La Libertad, Guat.	52	16.47 N 90.70 W	La Pryor			Lawrenceville, N.J., U.S.	32	40.18 N 74.44 W	Leninsk
11	60.20 N 136.15 W	40	26.09 N 97.50 W	La Libertad, Mex.	52	29.55 N 112.43 W	Lapteev Sea			Lawrenceville, Va., U.S.	36	36.45 N 77.51 W	Leninsk-Kuz
12	42.58 N 144.23 E	114	8.30 N 8.30 E	La Liga	62	32.27 S 71.14 W	Laptevch, More			Lawson	36	36.28 N 94.12 W	Leniskorje
13	23.55 N 89.07 E	74	47.42 N 0.05 W	La Lima	52	15.24 N 87.56 W	Laptevch, More (Laptev Sea)			Lawton, Mich., U.S.	34	42.10 N 85.50 W	Lenkoran
14	42.11 N 94.25 E	74	47.42 N 0.05 W	La Linea	100	24.42 N 78.25 E	Lapw			Lawton, N. Dak., U.S.	42	48.18 N 98.22 W	Lennox
15	35.16 N 62.20 E	1231	21.43 S 165.50 W	Lalitpur, Bharat	100	27.41 N 85.20 E	Lapw			Lawton, Okla., U.S.	104	28.40 N 35.18 E	Lennoxville
16	34.00 N 62.40 E	36	26.23 N 84.07 W	Lalitpur, Nepal	28	56.29 N 109.27 W	La Quiaca			Lawtz, Jabal al-	558	13.12 N 61.17 W	Lenoir
17	60.17 N 162.27 W	38	40.10 N 85.43 W	La Loche	122n	14.55 N 145.38 E	Lar			Layou	544	15.23 N 61.26 W	Lenoir City
18		38	29.05 N 90.14 W	La Luz	44	32.59 N 105.54 W	Larache			Layou	44	11.04 N 111.58 W	Lenora, Ga.
19		106	37.32 N 8.56 E	Lama, Ozero	34	69.30 N 90.30 E	Larache			Layton	48	39.41 N 123.29 W	Lenora, Iowa
20		68	56.33 N 12.56 E	La Maddalena	78	41.13 N 9.24 E	Larache			Laytonville	84	52.13 N 141.32 E	Lenox, Ma.
21		68	61.08 N 10.25 E	La Madrid	62	27.38 S 65.15 W	Larache			Lazare	86	54.14 N 23.31 E	Lenox, Tenn
22		68	33.50 N 2.59 E	Lama-Kara	114	9.33 N 1.12 E	Larache			Lazdziej	38	35.56 N 90.15 W	Lenz
23		106	21.50 N 77.40 W	La Malbaie	30	47.39 N 70.10 W	Larache			Lazdziej	42	50.21 N 103.46 W	Lenz
24		54	6.27 N 3.24 E	La Manche (English Channel)	70	50.20 N 1.00 W	Larache			Lazdziej	28	44.53 N 99.31 W	Lentini
25		72	21.21 N 101.55 W	Lamandau	52	2.42 S 111.34 E	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
26		74	44.13 N 4.02 E	Lamap	1231	16.26 S 167.43 E	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
27		46	45.20 N 118.05 W	Lamar, Colo., U.S.	42	38.05 N 103.77 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
28		22	53.50 N 79.00 W	Lamar, Mo., U.S.	38	37.29 N 94.17 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
29		118	18.41 S 121.45 E	Lamar, S.C., U.S.	36	34.10 N 80.04 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
30		34	0.00 0.00	Lamarque	46	44.56 N 110.24 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
31		38	41.39 N 85.25 W	Lamas	40	29.22 N 94.58 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
32		38	38.24 N 85.23 W	Lambaréné	56	6.25 S 76.35 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
33		32	45.10 N 68.51 W	Lambasa	110	0.42 S 10.13 E	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
34		32	40.03 N 91.35 W	Lambayeque	123n	16.26 S 179.24 E	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
35		36	35.19 N 77.47 W	Lambert	56	6.42 S 79.55 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
36		40	29.54 N 96.52 W	Lambert	38	34.12 N 90.24 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
37		60	5.30 N 61.30 W	Lambert's Bay	42	44.14 N 95.16 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
38		38	34.05 N 91.10 W	Lambertville	116	32.05 S 18.17 E	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
39		38	34.05 N 91.10 W	Lambeth	32	40.22 N 74.57 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
40		32	45.10 N 70.56 W	Lambertville	32	42.54 N 81.18 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
41		32	45.10 N 70.56 W	Lame Deer	22	71.05 N 123.10 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
42		60	10.36 N 66.56 W	Lamentin	46	55.37 N 106.40 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
43		60	12.00 N 71.40 W	Lamentin, Cohé du	54e	14.36 N 61.02 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
44		62	28.29 S 48.47 W	Lamenu	1231	16.34 S 168.11 E	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
45		44	35.02 N 107.23 W	La Mesa, Calif., U.S.	48	32.46 N 117.01 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
46		56	1.40 S 51.00 W	La Mesa, N. Mex., U.S.			Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
47		48	33.31 N 117.51 W	Lamesa, Tex., U.S.	44	32.07 N 106.42 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
48		54p	23.08 N 82.22 W	Lamia	80	38.44 N 101.57 E	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
49		48	30.52 N 156.41 W	Lamin	40	32.54 N 22.26 E	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
50		42	47.35 N 90.58 W	Lamine	84	61.18 N 11.48 E	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
51		42	30.55 N 95.18 W	Lamine	38	38.58 N 92.51 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
52		96	3.48 S 103.32 E	Lamin	122p	41.32 N 89.17 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
53		122w	21.02 S 175.11 W	Lamotte, Mont A	34	41.42 N 115.29 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
54		100	13.02 N 44.54 E	La Moille, Ill., U.S.	32	44.04 N 115.29 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
55		104	37.12 N 50.01 E	Lamoille, Nev., U.S.	32	44.35 N 73.10 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
56		102	31.35 N 74.18 E	Lamolle	38	39.59 N 90.31 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
57		68	48.58 N 25.40 E	La Moine			Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
58		40	32.27 N 104.13 W	La Moine, East Fork	38	40.24 N 90.56 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
59		68	50.38 N 25.40 E	Lamont Bay C	98	14.25 N 122.00 E	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
60		116	33.12 N 20.51 E	Lamoni	34	40.37 N 93.56 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
61		34	42.54 N 84.21 W	Lamont, Calif., U.S.	48	35.15 N 118.55 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
62		66	67.22 N 23.39 E	Lamont, Iowa, U.S.	34	42.36 N 91.39 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
63		38	32.21 N 94.54 W	Lamont, Okla., U.S.	40	36.41 N 97.33 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
64		96	33.22 S 102.03 E	La Monte	38	38.46 N 93.18 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
65		88	36.58 N 120.44 E	La Moure	42	46.21 N 98.18 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
66		88	37.36 N 119.30 E	La Moustique	550	16.11 N 61.35 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
67		44	36.50 N 107.30 W	Lampang	54	18.18 N 99.31 E	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
68		56	5.41 S 36.14 W	Lampasas	42	31.04 N 98.11 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
69		62	27.48 S 50.19 W	Lampazos de Naranjo	52	27.01 N 100.31 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
70		42	47.02 N 19.34 E	Lampadusa, Isola di	78	35.31 N 12.35 E	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
71		38	32.59 N 103.33 W	Lampertheim	72	49.35 N 8.28 E	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
72		32	32.21 N 89.20 W	Lamu	110	2.16 S 40.54 E	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
73		32	28.05 N 98.32 W	Lanai	49a	20.50 N 156.55 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
74		38	30.05 N 92.41 W	Lanai City	49a	20.50 N 156.55 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
75		30	33.01 N 82.20 W	Lanark	34	42.06 N 89.50 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
76		118	33.18 N 146.23 W	Lanbi Kyun I	94	10.50 N 98.15 E	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
77		32	41.27 N 73.10 W	Lancaster, Eng., U.K.	74	54.03 N 2.48 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
78		38	30.13 N 93.42 W	Lancaster, Calif., U.S.	48	34.42 N 118.58 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
79		38	35.49 N 90.26 W	Lancaster, Ky., U.S.	36	37.37 N 94.38 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
80		38	38.02 N 102.38 W	Lancaster, Minn., U.S.			Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
81		36	30.12 N 94.44 W	Lancaster, Mo., U.S.	42	48.52 N 96.48 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
82		42	44.20 N 85.13 W	Lancaster, N.H., U.S.	38	40.31 N 92.32 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
83		32	42.07 N 92.16 W	Lancaster, N.Y., U.S.	32	44.29 N 71.34 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
84		32	42.01 N 80.21 W	Lancaster, Ohio, U.S.	42	42.54 N 78.40 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
85		38	33.52 N 79.45 W	Lancaster, Pa., U.S.	32	39.43 N 82.36 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
86		36	36.13 N 84.09 W	Lancaster, S.C., U.S.	32	40.02 N 76.19 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
87		26	48.50 N 124.03 W	Lancaster, Tex., U.S.	36	34.43 N 80.46 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
88		34	44.06 N 94.13 W	Lancaster, Va., U.S.	40	32.36 N 96.46 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
89		34	43.07 N 97.02 W	Lancaster, Wis., U.S.	36	37.46 N 76.28 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
90		34	43.05 N 89.47 W	Lance Creek	34	42.51 N 90.43 W	Larache			Lazdziej	46	44.41 N 113.21 W	Leo
91		48	33.46 N 117.20 W	Lance Creek									

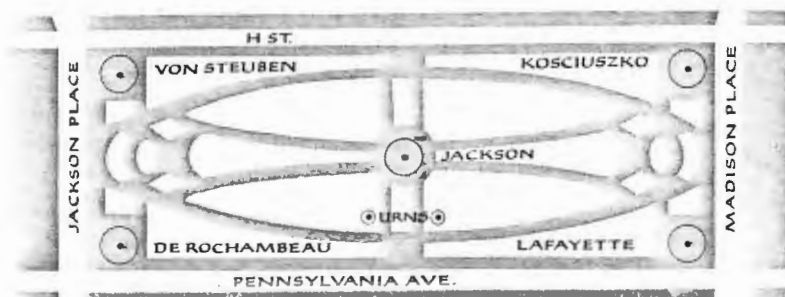
Lafayette Park

J11-16

Lafayette Park is located on Pennsylvania Avenue between Jackson and Madison Places, directly across from the White House. Rectangular in shape, it has an area of approximately seven acres. Originally it had been designated part of the President's Park, but was soon given over to public use. A barren common, it was neglected for many years. A race course was laid out along its west side in 1797, and workmen's quarters were thrown up on it during the construction of the White House in the 1790s. A market occupied the site later and, during the War of 1812, soldiers were encamped there. In 1824, upon General Lafayette's triumphant return to the United States, the area was named Lafayette Square, plantings were made, and walks were laid.

In 1851, as plans were being made for the installation of Clark Mills's equestrian statue of General Andrew Jackson, a prominent landscape gardener named Andrew Jackson Downing was commissioned by Congress to design the grounds. He planned meandering gravel paths leading among trees and flowers to the statue of General Jackson, located in an elliptical area at the center of the square. An axial path led to the statue from the midpoints of the north and south sides of the park, on a line with the White House entrance. The design, after the manner of Englishman Humphrey Repton, combined the elements of both formal and informal planning thought suitable for an important public park. Downing's death, on July 28, 1852, prevented his carrying out the scheme, and the Civil War further delayed matters. Finally, in 1872, as Alexander Robey Shepherd and the Board of Public Works were transforming Washington with their civic improvements, the federal government began to implement the Downing plan. Plantings were made, and the ornamental bronze urns which are still there were set in place, as were lampposts and drinking fountains. In 1889, an iron fence, which had been erected after the dedication of the Jackson statue, was removed to Culp's Hill on the battlefield at Gettysburg, thus allowing freer public use of the park.

In 1890, preparations began for the erection of the Lafayette memorial on a site at the center of the south side of the Park, facing the White House. The pedestal was already under construction when it was noticed that it would block the view of the statue of General Jackson from the White House. A public outcry forced its removal to its present site at the southeast corner of the Park. In 1902, the memorial to the Comte de Rochambeau was erected in the southwest corner of the Park, followed in 1910 by that to General Kosciuszko in the northeast corner and to General Steuben in the northwest corner. In 1936-1937, under the Works Progress Administration, Lafayette Square, since renamed Lafayette Park, was redesigned: the paths were widened and straightened, and the whole area was made more formal, in sympathy with the increasingly monumental character of the neighborhood. More recently, in the late sixties, Lafayette Park has again been redesigned. Fountains, brick paving, and more diversified and informal landscaping, akin to the original Downing plan, have been introduced to enhance the more intimate human scale of John Carl Warnecke's plan for the redevelopment of the Lafayette Park neighborhood.



James M. Goode

THE

OUTDOOR

Smithsonian

SCULPTURE

Institution Press

OF

Washington, D.C.

WASHINGTON,

1974

D.C. *A Comprehensive Historical Guide*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

5/21/84

MEMORANDUM

TO: BEN ELLIOTT/JANN DUVAL (Coordinate with Robert Kimmitt)

FROM: FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR. *FJR*

SUBJ: APPROVED PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY

MEETING: Tape statement to be used in connection with the President's Visit to Normandy

DATE: May 22, 1984

TIME: 1:30 pm

DURATION: 5 minutes

LOCATION: Diplomatic Reception Room

REMARKS REQUIRED: Yes

MEDIA COVERAGE:

FIRST LADY
PARTICIPATION: No

NOTE: PROJECT OFFICER, SEE ATTACHED CHECKLIST

cc: R. Darman
R. Deprospero
B. Elliott
D. Fischer
C. Fuller
W. Henkel
E. Hickey
G. Hodges
C. McCain
B. Oglesby

J. Rosebush
R. Scouten
B. Shaddix
W. Sittmann
L. Speakes
WHCA Audio/Visual
WHCA Operations
A. Wroblewski
Nell Yates

A. Lang
R. Kimmitt
C. McCaslin

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

4016

RECEIVED
MAY 18 1984
SCHEDULING

May 18, 1984

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

TO: FRED RYAN, DIRECTOR
PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS AND SCHEDULING

FROM: ROBERT M. KIMMITT *Rm*

REQUEST: Two-minute statement to be taped.

PURPOSE: The statement would be used in connection
with the President's visit to Normandy.

BACKGROUND: Mike Deaver has approved this taping which
will be used in connection with the Normandy
stop, and provided to the French TV channel
FR-3.

PREVIOUS
PARTICIPATION: None.

DATE AND TIME: Week of May 21, anytime.

LOCATION: Map Room.

PARTICIPANTS: The President.

OUTLINE OF EVENT: Two-minute taping.

REMARKS REQUIRED: Text will be provided.

MEDIA COVERAGE: None.

RECOMMENDED BY: State, NSC, USIA

PROJECT OFFICER: Jim Rentschler, Bob Sims

APPROVED FOR
Date 5/21/84 5/22
Time 1:30
Length 5 min
Date 5/20/84 EJR

Unclass

CLASSIFICATION

CIRCLE ONE BELOW

MODE

PAGES

5

IMMEDIATE

SECURE FAX #

RELEASER

PRIORITY

NON-SECURE FAX #

DTG

05

181940Z May 84

ROUTINE

TTY #

FROM/LOCATION/

1. C. Henze

TO/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

1. AMB Reutschler

2.

3.

TOR 181939Z May 84

4.

INFORMATION ADDRESSEES/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

2.

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS:

84 MAY 18 P 3: 48

WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

Unclass

CLASSIFICATION

Counselor



FOR: AMBASSADOR RENTSCHLER

FROM: CHRISTOPHER HENZE--USIA

SUBJ: ATTACHED--DRAFT REMARKS FOR FRENCH
TV ON D-DAY

1. Attached please find subject draft to be delivered to AMBASSADOR RENTSCHLER, ROOM 389, TELEPHONE: 395-4614.

If there are any problems please call Chris Henze, 485-8618. Thank you.

①

Draft Remarks for French TV on D-Day

While contemplating what I could say today to honor those thousands of brave men who gave their lives in the largest landing of troops from the sea in the history of warfare, I recalled the words of another American President on another battlefield whose name will echo forever in American memory.

"The world will little note nor long remember what we say here", said Abraham Lincoln on the field at Gettysburg in 1863, "but it can never forget what they did here."

And so it is today. There is no escaping the obligation which those heroic men created—again in Lincoln's words: "...that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain...and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

The troops who fought their way ashore forty years ago today were the signal of an American commitment to the freedom and security of Europe which endures to this day. That commitment will endure as long as it is needed. The presence of more than three hundred thousand American troops on European soil today testifies to that commitment.

The priceless legacy of those brave men—the dead and the living—has been two generations of peace and prosperity in Europe. Try to think of a comparable period in modern history. The preservation of that legacy has been assured by the continuing

Possible
excision
C.H. 5/21

cooperation of that grand coalition of men and nations which made possible the ultimate victory in that great war.

Abraham Lincoln believed, although he did not live to implement that belief, in the necessity of reconciliation with former adversaries. The wisdom of that policy has been amply demonstrated both in Europe and in the Pacific where adversaries have become friends and allies.

Your country and mine are members of an Atlantic Alliance whose founding document contains a pledge that the military forces created under its auspices will never be used except in defense of the territories of its members. But we have not forgotten an important lesson of the second World War—a war which must one day be known as the "last" world war. Temporizing with tyranny can be a very costly business. That cost is measured, not in the tattered reputations of politicians and statesmen, but in the precious lives of their countrymen.

Neither should we forget that on that day forty years ago, thousands of kilometers to the East, some were dying of the twenty million Soviet people who gave their lives in an heroic defense of their homeland. Would that the memory of those Soviet citizens, who gave their last full measure of devotion, could be honored—in this year of remembrance—by a return to the bargaining tables in Geneva.

In those discussions, which unfortunately have been unnecessarily interrupted for a number of months, we are committed to an honest attempt to reduce, together with the Soviet leaders, the levels of nuclear weapons—and thus, the risk of a catastrophic war. We have

5 Peter
Sommer

offered, and continue to offer, a negotiation at the conclusion of which—if we cannot yet exchange a handshake of friendship—we can at least signal mutual respect for the vital interests of both sides.

Each year thousands of American veterans return to the Normandy shores to revisit the scene of that momentous day. Many thousands of them have returned today. Many hundreds of them are, tonight, guests in the homes of French families who also remember that day. On their behalf, and on mine, I thank you for your gracious hospitality.

One of the great heroes of American history is a Frenchman. That my countrymen and I continue to revere and honor his memory is made plain by the scores of towns and streets and squares in America which bear his name. A beautiful park upon which I look out each day—directly across the street from my house in Washington—is named in honor of the Marquis Marie Joseph de Lafayette, who served as a General in the American Revolutionary Army. Valuable as his military contribution was, perhaps even more important to the more than two centuries of friendship and alliance between your country and mine was another act somewhat less well known in America.

On 11 July 1789, as a Deputy in the French National Assembly, Lafayette introduced a bill calling for the passage of a declaration of the rights of man. Formally adopted by the Assembly five weeks later, it appeared as the preamble to the French Constitution of 1791.

The congruence of philosophy and commitment between the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the American Declaration of Independence and Bill of Rights has provided the bed-rock on which

(4)

our long friendship and alliance was founded and has been sustained. Those documents proclaim that all men are born, and always continue, free and equal in respect of their rights. That among these rights are Life, Liberty, and Pursuit of Happiness. These historic documents also charge governments with the obligation to govern only with the informed and continuing consent of the governed.

Properly understood, these theses have the potential to attain the universal assent of all mankind. The vitality and continuing validity of these concepts is demonstrated every day in the free nations of the world. Our joint commitment to these ideals has endured and will endure.

Wang #4384G

drafted by: USIA/PG/JSandstrom

cleared: STATE/EUR/JEKelly

Appendix A

CHRONOLOGY OF AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC HISTORY

This appendix lists in chronological order major events in American diplomatic history between 1775 and 1778. Items that are entries in the main body of this volume are indicated by an asterisk. Wherever possible, as precise a date as can be determined has been given; important sources for this information are Richard B. Morris (ed.), *Encyclopedia of American History* (1953 and 1976 eds.), William L. Langer (ed.), *An Encyclopedia of World History* (1948), and Richardson Dougall and Mary Patricia Chapman, *United States Chiefs of Mission, 1778-1973* (1973).

- 1776 (Sept. 17) Plan of 1776,* model treaty, devised by John Adams.*
(Sept. 26) Diplomatic commission appointed by Continental Congress to seek treaties in the European nations.
- 1778 (Feb. 6) Franco-American Alliance* signed.
- 1779 (Apr. 12) Convention of Aranjuez* concluded between Spain and France.
- 1781 (June 14) U.S. peace commission appointed by Congress.
(Aug. 10) Robert Livingston* named first Secretary of Foreign Affairs by Congress.
- 1783 (Apr. 15) Peace of Paris,* in provisional form, ratified by Congress.
(Sept. 3) Peace of Paris,* ending the American Revolution and securing U.S. independence, signed by the United States and Great Britain.
- 1784 (May 7) John Jay* appointed Secretary of Foreign Affairs by Congress.
(Aug. 30) Opening of China trade with arrival of *Empress of China* in Canton.
- 1785 (June 1) Beginning of diplomatic relations with Great Britain.
- 1786 (Aug. 29) Jay-Gardoqui Treaty* negotiations broken off.
- 1791 (May 13) Beginning of diplomatic relations with Portugal.
- 1793 (Apr. 22) Neutrality Proclamation* issued by President Washington.
(Aug. 2) Recall of French envoy "Citizen" Genet demanded by the Washington administration.
- 1794 (Nov. 19) Jay's Treaty* with Great Britain signed in London.
- 1795 (Aug. 3) Treaty of Greenville,* adjusting the northwest boundary, signed by the United States and several Indian tribes under British protection.
- (Oct. 27) Pinckney's Treaty* signed by the United States and Spain.
- 1796 (Sept. 19) Washington's Farewell Address* published.

"Boston Massacre" of March, 1770) popular resentment increased tremendously. Non-importation agreements, "Committees of Correspondence" (which Samuel Adams of Massachusetts organized to inform patriots throughout the colonies of current affairs), the "Boston Tea Party" of December, 1773, and finally the First Continental Congress that met in Philadelphia in September, 1774—all of these actions marked a growing sentiment for independence and separation from the mother country. And though there were many who long opposed the final break with England, the Revolution began in earnest in April, 1775 at Lexington and at Concord bridge, where "embattled farmers stood and fired the shot heard round the world."

In June, 1776, a resolution that "these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states" was offered before the Second Continental Congress by Richard Henry Lee of Virginia. And on July 4 the Congress formally adopted (with modifications) Thomas Jefferson's draft of the Declaration of Independence. The Declaration expressed certain fundamental precepts: that all men are equally endowed with the self-evident natural rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, that civil government is merely an instrument to guarantee these rights within the framework of social order, that when government becomes tyrannical the social compact is broken and it is the "right of the people to alter or to abolish it." These were precepts which clearly embodied the political tenets of the European Enlightenment. And thus for Americans whose intellectual heritage was largely European, and whose free environment as well was conducive to libertarian ideas, the Declaration (as Jefferson himself later wrote) expressed not "new ideas altogether," but rather the "common sense of the matter . . . the harmonizing sentiment of the day." Pre-eminently it was an eloquent "expression of the American mind," and to those who cherished the democratic faith of their fathers it was to remain for all times the fountainhead of American ideology.

The Declaration of Independence, 1776

In Congress, July 4, 1776

*The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen
United States of America*

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of

large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws of naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of and superior to the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury:

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at once an

example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments:

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow citizens taken captive on the high seas to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by authority of the good people of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British

Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

JOHN HANCOCK.

New Hampshire

JOSIAH BARTLETT,
WM. WHIPPLE,
MATTHEW THORNTON.

Massachusetts Bay

SAML. ADAMS,
JOHN ADAMS,
ROBT. TREAT PAINE,
ELBRIDGE GERRY.

Rhode Island

STEP. HOPKINS,
WILLIAM ELLERY.

Connecticut

ROGER SHERMAN,
SAM'EL HUNTINGTON,
WM. WILLIAMS,
OLIVER WOLCOTT.

Georgia

BUTTON GWINNETT,
LYMAN HALL,
GEO. WALTON.

Maryland

SAMUEL CHASE,
WM. PACA,
THOS. STONE,
CHARLES CARROLL of
Carrollton.

Virginia

GEORGE WYTHE,
RICHARD HENRY LEE,
TH. JEFFERSON,
BENJA. HARRISON,
THS. NELSON, JR.,
FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE,
CARTER BRAXTON.

New York

WM. FLOYD,
PHIL. LIVINGSTON,
FRANS. LEWIS,
LEWIS MORRIS.

Pennsylvania

ROBT. MORRIS,
BENJAMIN RUSH,
BENJA. FRANKLIN,
JOHN MORTON,
GEO. CLYMER,
JAS. SMITH,
GEO. TAYLOR,
JAMES WILSON,
GEO. ROSS.

Delaware

CAESAR RODNEY,
GEO. READ,
THO. M'KEAN.

North Carolina

WM. HOOPER,
JOSEPH HEWES,
JOHN PENN.

South Carolina

EDWARD RUTLEDGE,
THOS. HEYWARD, JUNR.,
THOMAS LYNCH, JUNR.,
ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

New Jersey

RICHD. STOCKTON,
JNO. WITHERSPOON,
FRAS. HOPKINSON,
JOHN HART,
ABRA. CLARK.

In 17
secur
probl
erstwl
Engla
constr
libriur
tion,
provec
single
agreen
the mo
Inst
throug
compo
chants,
to be f
able bu
part th
within
mainta
power
cated,
mechar
radical
Englan
revolut
upon p
was to
the col
Larg
of their
the fina
tories d
servatis
viewpoi
a limite
generall
charters

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE U.S.

THE LAW OF THE LAND

The conservative cause the radical movement dissipated after its initial victory in the weak Articles of Confederation. Now it was time to organize political victory, and when the new government proved incapable of preventing an insurrection in Western Massachusetts, they took bold steps towards counter-revolution. Conservatives had very early called for the election of delegates, and preliminary meetings had been held in 1785 and at Annapolis in 1786 to discuss means of furthering state cooperation on these matters. Then at the Annapolis Convention called by Alexander Hamilton for a new constitution of the federal government, he said: "The agencies of the Union." And in February, 1787, he invited all of the states to send delegates to Philadelphia in the spring of that year for the purpose of revising the Articles of Con-

stitution. The Convention was predominantly conservative, saying, for determined men of property. State legislatures had chosen representatives and economic persuasion. None of the old present and of the fifty-five delegates who attended the Convention most were personally interested in creating a new government. That the delegates wrote large conservative views into the Constitution was the document which became the "supreme law" met most of the propertied classes' objection and supposedly inadequate Articles of Confederation powers (including those to regulate interstate commerce and to tax) were conferred upon the national government. The powers of the individual states were reduced. And the entire national political structure was guarded against an "excess of democracy" by a system of checks and balances, the separation of powers, the amending process, the indirect election of the President, the equal representation of the small states in the Senate, and by the presidential veto.

It remained, however, for the Constitution to be approved by the necessary nine of the thirteen states. The radicals were thoroughly aroused as they worked the Convention whose instructions

The Constitution of the United States

21

had been simply to revise the old Articles of Confederation. To a majority of Americans, the poorer classes generally, the consolidating character of the proposed federal Constitution smacked of despotism and class rule. But with certain outstanding exceptions such as Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee of Virginia the anti-Federalists were mostly inarticulate, and their strength in the state ratifying conventions was minimized by lack of systematic organization no less than by undemocratic restrictions upon voting. The Federalists, of course, were superbly organized and they numbered amongst their most effective arguments for the Constitution a series of brilliant essays by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay. The *Federalist Papers* were read widely throughout the nation, and none more effectively defended the new government than Madison's Federalist Number Ten—a masterful statement of the founders' realistic appraisal of politics.

The skill and organization of the Federalists prevailed and the Constitution was ratified, but only after the first ten amendments, the "Bill of Rights," had been submitted to satisfy the demands of the majority of the people. Because of the radicals' fear of tyranny under the conservative constitution, bitter conflict between Federalists and anti-Federalists carried over into the early years of the Republic. Soon, however, popular victories at the polls proved these fears unfounded and demonstrated that the founding fathers had in fact possessed the vision and wisdom to create "a more perfect union" which did in time become truly a government "of the people, by the people, for the people."

The Constitution of the United States, 1787

We the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I

Sec. 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Sec. 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifica-

tions requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Sec. 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice-President of the United States shall be President

of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States: but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

Sec. 4. The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Sec. 5. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each house may provide.

Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behaviour, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

Sec. 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all

cases, except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

Sec. 7. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Sec. 8. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish post-offices and post-roads;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; and

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

Sec. 9. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

No capitation, or other direct, tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another: nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince or foreign State.

Sec. 10. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws: and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II

Sec. 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State

may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said house shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and

he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation: 'I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.'

Sec. 2. The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Sec. 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Sec. 4. The President, Vice-President and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III

Sec. 1. The judicial power of the United States, shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The

judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behaviour, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Sec. 2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States, between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Sec. 3. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV

Sec. 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Sec. 2. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive authority of the State

from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

Sec. 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new States shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Sec. 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI

All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United

States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII

The ratification of the conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in convention by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names,

Go WASHINGTON—Presid^t and deputy from Virginia

New Hampshire

JOHN LANGDON
NICHOLAS GILMAN

Massachusetts

NATHANIEL GORHAM
RUFUS KING

Connecticut

W^m SAM^l JOHNSON
ROGER SHERMAN

New York

ALEXANDER HAMILTON

New Jersey

WIL^l LIVINGSTON
DAVID BREARLEY

W^m PATERSON
JONA^s DAYTON

Pennsylvania

B. FRANKLIN
THOMAS MIFFLIN

ROB^t MORRIS
GEO. CLYMER

THO^s FITZSIMONS
JARED INGERSOLL

JAMES WILSON
GOUV MORRIS

Delaware

GEO^r READ
GUNNING BEDFORD jun
JOHN DICKINSON
RICHARD BASSETT
JACO^b BROOM

Maryland

JAMES M^cHENRY
DAN OF S^t THO^s JENIFER
DAN^l CARROLL

Virginia

JOHN BLAIR
JAMES MADISON JR.

North Carolina

W^m BLOUNT
RICH^d DOBBS SPAIGHT
HU WILLIAMSON

South Carolina

J. RUTLEDGE
CHARLES COTESWORTH
PINCKNEY
CHARLES PINCKNEY
PIERCE BUTLER

Georgia

WILLIAM FEW
ABR BALDWIN

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION

ARTICLES I-X (the Bill of Rights) 1791.

ARTICLE I

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II

A well regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III

No soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to

have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI (1798)

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII (1804)

The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted; The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then

(Robinson/BE Edit)
May 21, 1984
7:00 p.m.

(B)

PRESIDENTIAL TAPING: D-DAY REMARKS FOR FRENCH TELEVISION
TUESDAY, MAY 22, 1984

This year, thousands of Americans are returning to the Normandy shores to revisit the scene of that momentous landing 40 years ago. Tonight, hundreds are, like myself, guests in your country as we join in remembering that day. On behalf of all Americans, I thank you for your gracious hospitality.

Franco-American friendship has a long and proud past. Indeed, one of the great heroes of American history is a Frenchman. Scores of towns, streets, and squares -- ~~indeed~~ even a college -- in America bear his name. A beautiful park that I look out upon each day -- directly across the street from the White House in Washington -- is named in honor of him. He was the Marquis Marie Joseph de Lafayette, and he served with George Washington as a General in the American Revolutionary Army. Yet despite the importance of Lafayette's skill, he took a step as a legislator that had even greater significance for the two centuries of friendship and alliance between your country and mine.

On July 11th, 1789, as Deputy in the French National Assembly, Lafayette introduced a bill calling for the passage of a declaration of the rights of man. Formally adopted by the Assembly 5 weeks later, the declaration appeared as the preamble to the French Constitution of 1791. This Declaration of the Rights of Man embodied the same fundamental beliefs about human liberty as those expressed the American Declaration of

Independence and Bill of Rights. Together, those French and American documents proclaim that all men are endowed with equal, God-given rights, that among these are, "Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness." It is this shared commitment to human freedom that has formed the bedrock on which our fast friendship has been built. And it was in the name of this human freedom that so many brave men gave their lives on the beaches of Normandy 40 years ago.

Those courageous men, living and dead, gave us a priceless legacy of peace and prosperity in Europe -- a legacy that has endured now for more than two generations. To preserve that legacy of peace, those of us who cherish liberty must continue to labor together.

SPC Your country and mine are members of an Alliance committed to the liberty of Western Europe. Of course, membership in the Alliance imposes its burdens. To demonstrate the American commitment to this continent, thousands of American troops must be stationed here in Europe, far from their homes and families. France, the United States, and all the Alliance nations, must spend more on defense than any of us like to do in peacetime. But the burdens we must bear in defending our freedom are far less than the horrors we would have to endure if we lost that freedom.

I believe that the best way we can honor those who gave so much 40 years ago, is by rededicating ourselves today to the cause for which they fought: Freedom -- freedom for ourselves, freedom for our children, and freedom for generations yet unborn.


Thank you and God bless you.

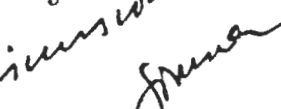
PRESIDENTIAL TAPING: D-DAY REMARKS FOR FRENCH TELEVISION
TUESDAY, MAY 22, 1984

This year, thousands of Americans are returning to the Normandy shores to revisit the scene of that momentous landing 40 years ago. Tonight, hundreds are, like myself, guests in your country as we join in remembering that day. On behalf of all Americans, I thank you for your gracious hospitality.

Franco-American friendship has a long and proud past. Indeed, one of the great heroes of American history is a Frenchman. Scores of towns, streets, and squares in America bear his name. A beautiful park that I look out upon each day -- directly across the street from ^{the White} my house in Washington -- is named in honor of him. He was the Marquis Marie Joseph de Lafayette, and he served with George Washington as a General in the American Revolutionary Army. Yet despite the importance of Lafayette's skill, he took a step as a legislator that had even greater significance for the two centuries of friendship and alliance between your country and mine.

On July 11th, 1789, as Deputy in the French National Assembly, Lafayette introduced a bill calling for the passage of a declaration of the rights of man. Formally adopted by the Assembly 5 weeks later, the declaration appeared as the preamble to the French Constitution of 1791. This Declaration of the Rights of Man embodied the same fundamental beliefs about human liberty as those expressed the American Declaration of

tx, 
jmr

TO Jim
Per our discussion.


Unclass

CLASSIFICATION

CIRCLE ONE BELOW

MODE

PAGES 5

IMMEDIATE

SECURE FAX #

RELEASER

PRIORITY

NON-SECURE FAX # 05

DTG 181940Z May 84

ROUTINE

TTY #

FROM/LOCATION/

1. C. Henze

TO/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

1. AMB Reutschler

2.

3.

TOR 181939Z May 84

4.

INFORMATION ADDRESSEES/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

2.

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS:

84 MAY 18 P 3: 48

WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

Unclass

CLASSIFICATION

Counselor



FOR: AMBASSADOR RENTSCHLER

FROM: CHRISTOPHER HENZE--USIA

SUBJ: ATTACHED--DRAFT REMARKS FOR FRENCH
TV ON D-DAY

1. Attached please find subject draft to be delivered to AMBASSADOR RENTSCHLER, ROOM 389, TELEPHONE: 395-4614.

If there are any problems please call Chris Henze, 485-8618. Thank you.

①

Draft Remarks for French TV on D-Day

While contemplating what I could say today to honor those thousands of brave men who gave their lives in the largest landing of troops from the sea in the history of warfare, I recalled the words of another American President on another battlefield whose name will echo forever in American memory.

"The world will little note nor long remember what we say here", said Abraham Lincoln on the field at Gettysburg in 1863, "but it can never forget what they did here."

*Possible
excision
C.H. 5/61*

And so it is today. There is no escaping the obligation which those heroic men created—again in Lincoln's words: "...that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain...and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

The troops who fought their way ashore forty years ago today were the signal of an American commitment to the freedom and security of Europe which endures to this day. That commitment will endure as long as it is needed. The presence of more than three hundred thousand American troops on European soil today testifies to that commitment.

The priceless legacy of those brave men—the dead and the living—has been two generations of peace and prosperity in Europe. Try to think of a comparable period in modern history. The preservation of that legacy has been assured by the continuing

cooperation of that grand coalition of men and nations which made possible the ultimate victory in that great war.

Abraham Lincoln believed, although he did not live to implement that belief, in the necessity of reconciliation with former adversaries. The wisdom of that policy has been amply demonstrated both in Europe and in the Pacific where adversaries have become friends and allies.

Your country and mine are members of an Atlantic Alliance whose founding document contains a pledge that the military forces created under its auspices will never be used except in defense of the territories of its members. But we have not forgotten an important lesson of the second World War—a war which must one day be known as the "last" world war. Temporizing with tyranny can be a very costly business. That cost is measured, not in the tattered reputations of politicians and statesmen, but in the precious lives of their countrymen.

Neither should we forget that on that day forty years ago, thousands of kilometers to the East, some were dying of the twenty million Soviet people who gave their lives in an heroic defense of their homeland. Would that the memory of those Soviet citizens, who gave their last full measure of devotion, could be honored—in this year of remembrance—by a return to the bargaining tables in Geneva.

In those discussions, which unfortunately have been unnecessarily interrupted for a number of months, we are committed to an honest attempt to reduce, together with the Soviet leaders, the levels of nuclear weapons—and thus, the risk of a catastrophic war. We have

5 Peter
Sommer

offered, and continue to offer, a negotiation at the conclusion of which--if we cannot yet exchange a handshake of friendship--we can at least signal mutual respect for the vital interests of both sides.

Each year thousands of American veterans return to the Normandy shores to revisit the scene of that momentous day. Many thousands of them have returned today. Many hundreds of them are, tonight, guests in the homes of French families who also remember that day. On their behalf, and on mine, I thank you for your gracious hospitality.

One of the great heroes of American history is a Frenchman. That my countrymen and I continue to revere and honor his memory is made plain by the scores of towns and streets and squares in America which bear his name. A beautiful park upon which I look out each day--directly across the street from my house in Washington--is named in honor of the Marquis Marie Joseph de Lafayette, who served as a General in the American Revolutionary Army. Valuable as his military contribution was, perhaps even more important to the more than two centuries of friendship and alliance between your country and mine was another act somewhat less well known in America.

On 11 July 1789, as a Deputy in the French National Assembly, Lafayette introduced a bill calling for the passage of a declaration of the rights of man. Formally adopted by the Assembly five weeks later, it appeared as the preamble to the French Constitution of 1791.

The congruence of philosophy and commitment between the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the American Declaration of Independence and Bill of Rights has provided the bed-rock on which

(4)

our long friendship and alliance was founded and has been sustained. Those documents proclaim that all men are born, and always continue, free and equal in respect of their rights. That among these rights are Life, Liberty, and Pursuit of Happiness. These historic documents also charge governments with the obligation to govern only with the informed and continuing consent of the governed.

Properly understood, these theses have the potential to attain the universal assent of all mankind. The vitality and continuing validity of these concepts is demonstrated every day in the free nations of the world. Our joint commitment to these ideals has endured and will endure.

Wang #4384G

drafted by: USIA/PG/JSandstrom

cleared: STATE/EUR/JHKelly

JS

JHK

117-171

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

5/21/84

gc

MEMORANDUM

TO: BEN ELLIOTT/JANN DUVAL (Coordinate with Robert Kimmitt)

FROM: FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR. *FR*

SUBJ: APPROVED PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY

MEETING: Tape statement to be used in connection with the President's Visit to Normandy

DATE: May 22, 1984

TIME: 1:30 pm

DURATION: 5 minutes

LOCATION: Diplomatic Reception Room

REMARKS REQUIRED: Yes

MEDIA COVERAGE:

FIRST LADY
PARTICIPATION: No

NOTE: PROJECT OFFICER, SEE ATTACHED CHECKLIST

cc: R. Darman	J. Rosebush	A. Lang
R. Deprospero	R. Scouten	R. Kimmitt
B. Elliott	B. Shaddix	C. McCaslin
D. Fischer	W. Sittmann	
C. Fuller	L. Speakes	
W. Henkel	WHCA Audio/Visual	
E. Hickey	WHCA Operations	
G. Hodges	A. Wroblewski	
C. McCain	Nell Yates	
B. Oglesby		

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

4016

RECEIVED
MAY 18 1984
SCHEDULING

May 18, 1984

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

TO: FRED RYAN, DIRECTOR
PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS AND SCHEDULING

FROM: ROBERT M. KIMMITT *RM*

REQUEST: Two-minute statement to be taped.

PURPOSE: The statement would be used in connection with the President's visit to Normandy.

BACKGROUND: Mike Deaver has approved this taping which will be used in connection with the Normandy stop, and provided to the French TV channel FR-3.

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION: None.

DATE AND TIME: Week of May 21, anytime.

LOCATION: Map Room.

PARTICIPANTS: The President.

OUTLINE OF EVENT: Two-minute taping.

REMARKS REQUIRED: Text will be provided.

MEDIA COVERAGE: None.

RECOMMENDED BY: State, NSC, USIA

PROJECT OFFICER: Jim Rentschler, Bob Sims

APPROVED FOR
Date 5/21/84 5/22
Time 1:30
Length 5 min
Date 5/20/84 EJR

Unclass

CLASSIFICATION

CIRCLE ONE BELOW

MODE

PAGES

5

IMMEDIATE

SECURE FAX #

RELEASER

PRIORITY

NON-SECURE FAX #

DTG

ROUTINE

TTY #

05

181940Z May 84

FROM/LOCATION/

1. C. Henze

TO/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

1. AMB Rewtschler

2.

3.

TOR 181939Z May 84

4.

INFORMATION ADDRESSES/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

2.

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS:

84 MAY 18 P 3: 48

WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

Unclass

CLASSIFICATION

Counselor



FOR: AMBASSADOR RENTSCHLER

FROM: CHRISTOPHER HENZE--USIA

SUBJ: ATTACHED--DRAFT REMARKS FOR FRENCH
TV ON D-DAY

1. Attached please find subject draft to be delivered to AMBASSADOR RENTSCHLER, ROOM 389, TELEPHONE: 395-4614.

If there are any problems please call Chris Henze, 485-8618. Thank you.

①

Draft Remarks for French TV on D-Day

While contemplating what I could say today to honor those thousands of brave men who gave their lives in the largest landing of troops from the sea in the history of warfare, I recalled the words of another American President on another battlefield whose name will echo forever in American memory.

"The world will little note nor long remember what we say here", said Abraham Lincoln on the field at Gettysburg in 1863, "but it can never forget what they did here."

And so it is today. There is no escaping the obligation which those heroic men created—again in Lincoln's words: "...that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain...and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

The troops who fought their way ashore forty years ago today were the signal of an American commitment to the freedom and security of Europe which endures to this day. That commitment will endure as long as it is needed. The presence of more than three hundred thousand American troops on European soil today testifies to that commitment.

The priceless legacy of those brave men—the dead and the living—has been two generations of peace and prosperity in Europe. Try to think of a comparable period in modern history. The preservation of that legacy has been assured by the continuing

*Possible
excision
C.H. 5/21*

cooperation of that grand coalition of men and nations which made possible the ultimate victory in that great war.

Abraham Lincoln believed, although he did not live to implement that belief, in the necessity of reconciliation with former adversaries. The wisdom of that policy has been amply demonstrated both in Europe and in the Pacific where adversaries have become friends and allies.

Your country and mine are members of an Atlantic Alliance whose founding document contains a pledge that the military forces created under its auspices will never be used except in defense of the territories of its members. But we have not forgotten an important lesson of the second World War—a war which must one day be known at the "last" world war. Temporizing with tyranny can be a very costly business. That cost is measured, not in the tattered reputations of politicians and statesmen, but in the precious lives of their countrymen.

Neither should we forget that on that day forty years ago, thousands of kilometers to the East, some were dying of the twenty million Soviet people who gave their lives in an heroic defense of their homeland. Would that the memory of those Soviet citizens, who gave their last full measure of devotion, could be honored—in this year of remembrance—by a return to the bargaining tables in Geneva.

In those discussions, which unfortunately have been unnecessarily interrupted for a number of months, we are committed to an honest attempt to reduce, together with the Soviet leaders, the levels of nuclear weapons—and thus, the risk of a catastrophic war. We have

5 Peter
Sommer

offered, and continue to offer, a negotiation at the conclusion of which—if we cannot yet exchange a handshake of friendship—we can at least signal mutual respect for the vital interests of both sides.

Each year thousands of American veterans return to the Normandy shores to revisit the scene of that momentous day. Many thousands of them have returned today. Many hundreds of them are, tonight, guests in the homes of French families who also remember that day. On their behalf, and on mine, I thank you for your gracious hospitality.

One of the great heroes of American history is a Frenchman. That my countrymen and I continue to revere and honor his memory is made plain by the scores of towns and streets and squares in America which bear his name. A beautiful park upon which I look out each day—directly across the street from my house in Washington—is named in honor of the Marquis Marie Joseph de Lafayette, who served as a General in the American Revolutionary Army. Valuable as his military contribution was, perhaps even more important to the more than two centuries of friendship and alliance between your country and mine was another act somewhat less well known in America.

On 11 July 1789, as a Deputy in the French National Assembly, Lafayette introduced a bill calling for the passage of a declaration of the rights of man. Formally adopted by the Assembly five weeks later, it appeared as the preamble to the French Constitution of 1791.

The congruence of philosophy and commitment between the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the American Declaration of Independence and Bill of Rights has provided the bed-rock on which

(4)

our long friendship and alliance was founded and has been sustained. Those documents proclaim that all men are born, and always continue, free and equal in respect of their rights. That among these rights are Life, Liberty, and Pursuit of Happiness. These historic documents also charge governments with the obligation to govern only with the informed and continuing consent of the governed.

Properly understood, these theses have the potential to attain the universal assent of all mankind. The vitality and continuing validity of these concepts is demonstrated every day in the free nations of the world. Our joint commitment to these ideals has endured and will endure.

Wang #4384G

drafted by: USIA/PG/JSandstrom

cleared:

STATE/EUR/JEKelly