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Folder Title:
Oklahoma State University 5/4/90 [OA 6898] [3]

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G	26	20	5	5

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	92%	0%	73%	0%
Social	86%	0%	78%	0%
Foreign	84%	0%	81%	0%

Key Votes

1) Homeless $	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	AGN	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	AGN	11) Aid to Contras	AGN
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort $	AGN	12) Nuclear Testing	—

Election Results

1988 general	Louis Stokes (D)	148,388	(86%)	($173,534)
	Franklin H. Roski (R)	24,804	(14%)	
1988 primary	Louis Stokes (D), unopposed			
1986 general	Louis Stokes (D)	99,878	(82%)	($164,171)
	Franklin H. Roski (R)	22,594	(18%)	

OKLAHOMA

No other state was hit as hard by the Depression of the 1930s as Oklahoma. A state which had grown from 1.5 million at statehood in 1907—well within the living memory of most adult Oklahomans then—to 2.4 million in 1930 suddenly found its way of life destroyed as farm prices plummeted and the farmland itself vanished in dust storms. "On a single day, I heard, 50 million tons of soil were blown away," John Gunther reported later. "People sat in Oklahoma City, with the sky invisible for three days in a row, holding dust masks over their faces and wet towels to protect their mouths at night, while the farms blew by." The famed Okies headed westward on U.S. 66 to the green land of California—the biggest internal migration of the 1930s—and Oklahoma's population sank to 2.3 million in 1940 and 2.2 million in 1950; it did not rise above the 1930 level again until the census of 1970.

The episode was not atypical. Boom and bust has been the history of Oklahoma, over and over again. This is a state with a history as short as any, and as tragic. It was home first to the Cherokee and other Civilized Tribes driven here by Andrew Jackson's troops over the Trail of Tears. Not until 1889 was even part of Oklahoma opened up to white settlement; then, on the morning of the great land rush memorialized in the Rodgers and Hammerstein musical, an Edna Ferber novel, and half a dozen Hollywood movies, thousands of would-be homesteaders drove their wagons across the territorial line, the most adventurous or unscrupulous of them jumping the gun—the Sooners. Of course, it wasn't such attractive land in the first place, or Jackson wouldn't have given it to the Indians. Interestingly, there are many Indians left: Oklahoma has the second largest Indian population of any state, not on reservations, but assimilated into the rest of the population.

Oklahoma boomed once again in the 1970s, as the oil shocks of 1973 and 1979 sent oil prices up; the population rose from 2.5 million in 1970 to 3 million in 1980 and 3.3 million in 1983. Then, with the collapse of oil prices and the collapse of Oklahoma's farm economy as well, it was bust again. Just as the dust cloud was the symbol of Oklahoma's 1930s bust, so the auction of oil drilling equipment might be the symbol of the 1980s calamity. Alongside Oklahoma highways in the middle 1980s you could see rows of drill rigs and tractors, their still bright paint flecked with rust; in muddy lots, you could see bidders watch as yet another oil man's derrick trailers, rig-up trucks, cranes, compressors and Mercedes were auctioned off.

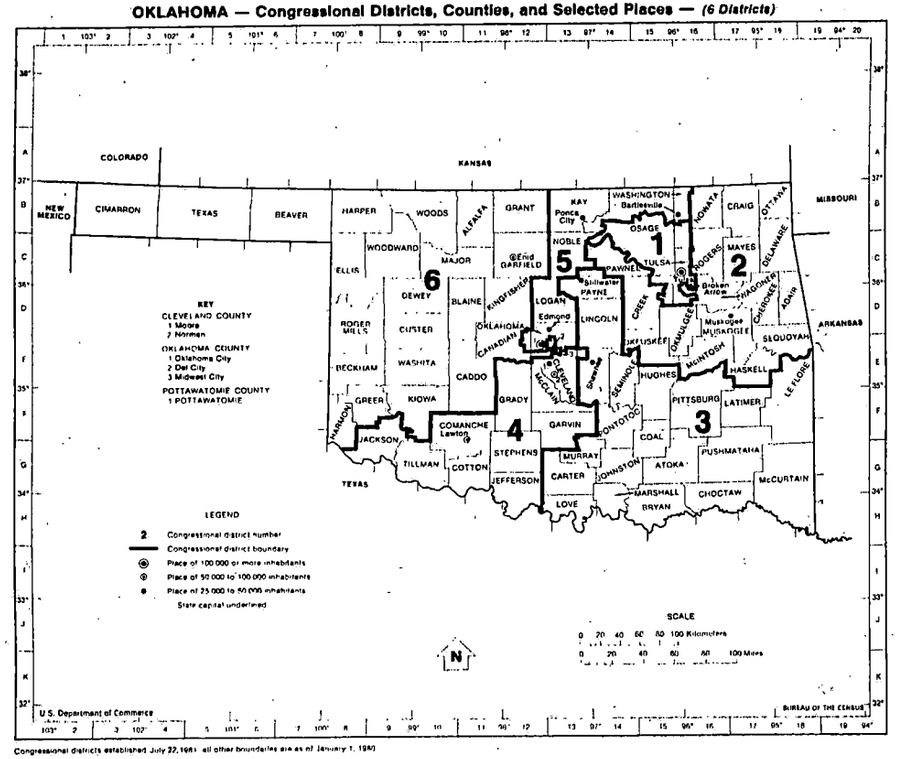
To understand how sickening Oklahoma's fall has been, you need to understand how giddy was its rise. In January 1982, the rig count was 882; in February 1983, 232, and by 1986, 128. In parallel fashion, between 1980 and 1983, 186,000 people moved into the state; between 1983 and 1986, more than that moved out. In the early 1980s, it was the scene of feverish oil drilling in established fields and of deep-well gas exploration in the Anadarko Basin which promised to take care of America's energy needs for years. In the midst of national recession in 1982, Oklahoma had the nation's lowest unemployment rate, below 4%; by 1986, it was above 8%, after the state lost 59,000 oil and gas jobs. By April of 1989, the unemployment rate had fallen back to 5.7%—though this increase in jobs was due to improvements in the service and transportation economies. Oil and gas have continued to wither; by May 1989, the rig count was 93—the lowest level since 1973. Historians may record that Oklahoma ended up after the oil bust pretty much where it was headed before the oil boom, but that ignores the human cost. Thousands of Oklahomans, many from dirt-poor backgrounds, for a fleeting moment struck it rich—and then found themselves shorn of their money and their dreams.

Governor. Governor Henry Bellmon is Oklahoma's most durable politician: he was elected governor in 1962, Senator in 1968 and 1974, and governor again as the state's economy languished in 1986. Bellmon is a taciturn wheat farmer who disliked Washington life and refuses to serve liquor in the governor's mansion, and an old-fashioned Republican who dislikes deficits and cultural conservatives. His policy has been austerity. Oil and gas revenues used to provide one-third of Oklahoma's budget, but these revenues are off by two-thirds; as a result, the sales and gas taxes have been doubled and the income tax left unadjusted after federal tax reform, but local property taxes are low (and county governments often overstaffed and corrupt) so the demand for state education spending is high. Bellmon wants to spend more for education, to insist on tobacco-free schools, to bar dropouts from getting driver's licenses, and to institute a no-pass-no-play rule for high school athletes.

In April 1989 Bellmon unexpectedly announced he would retire in 1990, stimulating long lists of candidates for the office. Republicans include current or former legislators Mike Fair, Tim Leonard and Tom Cole; Transportation department head Neal McCaleb; former Human Services chairman V. Burns Hargis and U.S. attorney Bill Price. Democrats include Congressman Wes Watkins, former Governor George Nigh, 1986 nominee and narrow loser (47%–45%) David Walters, Lieutenant Governor Robert Kerr II, Treasurer Ellis Edwards, and state Speaker Steve Lewis.

Senators. Oklahoma's Senator David Boren has become, in his second term, an important national figure. When he entered the Senate he seemed to be one of its most conservative young Democrats, a supporter of the Kemp-Roth tax cut before 1980 and a resolute backer of decontrol of oil and gas prices. He snagged a seat on the Finance Committee, where Oklahoma's Robert Kerr once reigned, and he has had considerable success in his original objectives: taxes have been cut and energy prices mostly decontrolled. But in the process of achieving these objectives, Boren has become popular with his fellow Democrats, partly because he has voted with them more often than they anticipated, partly because he is pleasant and competent. He is capable of sharp partisan maneuver: he led a filibuster of Edwin Meese's nomination for Attorney General in early 1985 until Republican leaders agreed to consideration of his farm credit proposals. He played a more nonpartisan role shaping the 1987 farm credit bill.

In the late 1980s, he has concentrated on two new issues. One was campaign finance reform. He has never accepted PAC contributions himself, and the Boren bill which he introduced with Barry Goldwater in 1985 would have limited the total amount of PAC money candidates could receive and provide the option of federal financing which would be conditioned on accepting



Congressional districts established July 22, 1981; all other boundaries are as of January 1, 1980

limits on campaign and personal spending. Boren had to struggle to get a vote on it, but finally succeeded and saw 69 Senators agree—although the number might have been inflated because it was clear it would not pass the House.

The other major area for Boren's attention is foreign policy, now that he is chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee. Boren seems likely to be a quieter chairman than David Durenberger was, less prone to go to the press with complaints and disclosures, more willing to work with the CIA which has itself seemed more willing to work with Congress. He played a part in strengthening the verification provisions of the INF Treaty but has otherwise been quiet—perhaps a sign of success in that job.

Boren has been the most popular politician in recent Oklahoma history. He has long experience in politics: his father was a congressman, and after Yale and a Rhodes scholarship he returned to Oklahoma for law school, was elected to the legislature, and was elected governor in 1974. In the Democratic primary he beat an incumbent who later went to jail; Boren's symbol was a broom. Boren was an early Carter supporter, but was disappointed when Carter didn't back total decontrol of energy prices. He ran for the Senate when Republican Dewey Bartlett retired in 1978 and won reelection easily in 1984. He has been mentioned locally as a possible favorite son candidate for President; when Oklahoma's Robert Kerr ran as a favorite son at the 1952 national convention, Boren, then 11, was a page for him. He is up for reelection in 1990,

and by early 1989 no credible opponent had surfaced.

Oklahoma's other Senator, Don Nickles, turns out to have a safer seat than many Washington observers thought. Nickles was one of the real surprise winners in 1980, a 31-year-old state senator with little command of national issues and a Catholic whose strongest support came from Protestant fundamentalists. But that is an asset here: if polls could measure intensity of religious feeling, Oklahoma would probably rank near the top of the nation. This is Southern Baptist and evangelical country: Oklahoma only recently has allowed liquor by the drink, and Tulsa is the headquarters of evangelist and Pentecostal faith healer Oral Roberts. With that support, Nickles won typically light-turnout Republican primary and runoff contests and prevailed over a not very well-known Democrat in the general. In Washington, Nickles was one of the least visible of the Republican freshmen, not coming forward with venturesome legislation or constitutional amendments, not denouncing colleagues for backing conventional policy.

This may have been shrewder than it looked. Certainly the Democrats seemed to underestimate Nickles going into 1986. His opponent was Tulsa Congressman Jim Jones, chairman of the House Budget Committee for the first four Reagan years, 14-year House incumbent from a basically Republican district, an aide when a very young man to President Lyndon Johnson. By any measure of legislative competence or raw ability, Jones was the superior candidate, but he had some liabilities which Nickles shrewdly exploited. To Oklahomans, Nickles seemed the patently sincere and plausible candidate.

Nickles has been more active legislatively than expected in the Democratic Senate, and had the satisfaction of finally seeing the 55-mile-per-hour speed limit and the windfall profits tax repealed in 1988. He serves on the Appropriations and Budget Committees—assignments that could give him real leverage in a Republican Senate—and he was chosen to chair the Republican Senate campaign committee in 1989 and 1990.

This is a tough assignment: Republicans go into the cycle behind 55–45; the Democrats probably have more obvious targets; and the early retirements of Bill Armstrong and Gordon Humphrey make holding their two seats considerably iffier. Nevertheless, Democrats who scoff at Nickles's skills should recall how he did against Jim Jones. The Republicans have long had a fine fundraising operation, and they have often done brilliantly at sending the money in the right directions. The harder part is to frame the issues in a way that works for their candidates. Nickles seems to have done that in Oklahoma better than anyone expected, or at least better than most of the Republican Senators of the class of 1980, and it will be interesting to see if he surprises the pundits once again in 1990.

Presidential politics. Curiously, neither the dust bowl nor the oil bust vastly changed Oklahoma's party politics. Historically, party preference was determined by where you came from: southern Oklahoma's Little Dixie was Democratic; the wheat country in the northwest, settled from Kansas, was Republican. Southerners and Democrats were more numerous, and Oklahoma was mostly Democratic, and became a bit more so in the bust of the 1930s. The same split remains today, in different proportions. In the close presidential race of 1976, Gerald Ford carried almost every county north of Interstate 40 and west of Tulsa and lost almost every one on the other side of that line; Republican Henry Bellmon did the same in the close gubernatorial contest of 1986. The balance favors the Republicans, however, because of their strength in the two big cities, Oklahoma City and Tulsa, which have long been Republican, and among people in the oil business, who believe they prosper from free markets and were hurt by regulation—except for regulations and tax preferences that helped them, of course.

That Republican trend in the two metropolitan areas, which between them cast 47% of the state's votes, kept Oklahoma solidly Republican despite the oil bust of the 1980s. It favored Ronald Reagan over Walter Mondale 69%–31%, and in 1986, when most of the country trended mildly Democratic, Oklahoma reelected a Republican Senator who had a strong opponent and, like its Oil Patch neighbor Texas (known here sometimes as Baja Oklahoma), replaced a

Democratic governor with a Republican. In 1988, however, it moved toward the Democrats; Oklahoma, outside the two metropolitan areas, (though nothing like Brookline, Massachusetts in its cultural attitudes) gave George Bush no better than his national margin of 53%–46%. He still carried the state smartly by winning 64% and 63% in greater Oklahoma City and Tulsa.

Congressional districting. Oklahoma's congressional districting plan is, to put it bluntly, a Democratic gerrymander. It was designed to safeguard the seats of the state's five Democratic congressmen and to place the maximum number of Republican voters in the seat of its one Republican House Member. It succeeded through 1986, when Jim Jones's decision to run for the Senate enabled the Republicans to take the Tulsa-based 1st District that always seemed likely to be theirs if Jones were not a candidate—though they didn't win it by a large margin in 1988 and it may be seriously contested in 1990.

The People: Est. Pop. 1988: 3,263,000; Pop. 1980: 3,025,290, up 7.9% 1980–88 and 18.2% 1970–80; 1.37% of U.S. total, 26th largest. 16% with 1–3 yrs. col., 16% with 4+ yrs. col.; 13.4% below poverty level. Single ancestry: 13% English, 6% German, 5% Irish, 1% French, Dutch. Households (1980): 74% family, 40% with children, 63% married couples; 29.3% housing units rented; median monthly rent: $164; median house value: $35,600. Voting age pop. (1980): 2,170,406; 6% Black, 5% American Indian, 2% Spanish origin, 1% Asian origin. Registered voters (1988): 2,199,014; 1,436,147 D (65%), 704,901 R (32%), 57,966 unaffiliated and minor parties (3%).

1988 Share of Federal Tax Burden: $9,219,000,000; 1.04% of U.S. total, 27th largest.

1988 Share of Federal Expenditures

	Total		Non-Defense		Defense	
Total Expend	$10,762m	(1.22%)	$8,434m	(1.29%)	$2,665m	(1.17%)
St/Lcl Grants	1,406m	(1.23%)	1,405m	(1.23%)	1m	(0.97%)
Salary/Wages	2,232m	(1.66%)	747m	(1.11%)	1,485m	(1.11%)
Pymnts to Indiv	5,640m	(1.38%)	5,332m	(1.37%)	308m	(1.65%)
Procurement	870m	(0.46%)	336m	(0.72%)	870m	(0.46%)
Research/Other	614m	(1.65%)	614m	(1.66%)	1m	(1.66%)

Political Lineup: Governor, Henry Bellmon (R); Lt. Gov., Robert S. Kerr, II (D); Secy. of State, Hannah Atkins (D); Atty. Gen., Robert Henry (D); Treasurer, Ellis Edwards; Controller, Clifton H. Scott (D). State Senate, 48 (33 D and 15 R); State House of Representatives, 101 (69 D and 32 R). Senators, David Lyle Boren (D) and Don Nickles (R). Representatives, 6 (4 D and 2 R).

1988 Presidential Vote

Bush (R)	678,367	(58%)
Dukakis (D)	483,423	(41%)

1988 Democratic Presidential Primary

Gore	162,584	(41%)
Gephardt	82,596	(21%)
Dukakis	66,278	(17%)
Jackson	52,417	(13%)
Hart	14,336	(4%)
Simon	6,901	(2%)

1984 Presidential Vote

Reagan (R)	861,530	(69%)
Mondale (D)	385,080	(31%)

1988 Republican Presidential Primary

Bush	78,224	(38%)
Dole	73,016	(35%)
Robertson	44,067	(21%)
Kemp	11,439	(6%)

GOVERNOR

Gov. Henry Bellmon (R)



Elected 1986, term expires Jan. 1991; b. Sept. 3, 1921, Tonkawa; home, Red Rock; OK St. U., B.S. 1942; Presbyterian; married (Shirley).

Career: USMC, WWII; Farmer; OK House of Reps., 1946–48 ; Gov. of OK, 1962–66; U.S. Senate, 1968–80.

Office: State Capitol Bldg., Rm. 212, Oklahoma City 73105, 405-521-2342.

Election Results

1986 gen.	Henry Bellmon (R)	431,762	(47%)
	David Walters (D)	405,295	(45%)
	Jerry Brown (I)	60,115	(7%)
1986 prim.	Henry Bellmon (R)	111,665	(70%)
	Mike Fair (R)	33,266	(21%)
	Three others (R)	13,968	(7%)
1982 gen.	George P. Nigh (D)	548,159	(62%)
	Tom Daxon (R)	332,207	(38%)

SENATORS

Sen. David Lyle Boren (D)



Elected 1978, seat up 1990; b. Apr. 21, 1941, Washington, D.C.; home, Seminole; Yale U., B.A. 1963, Rhodes Scholar, Oxford U., 1965, U. of OK, J.D. 1968; United Methodist; married (Molly).

Career: OK House of Reps., 1968–74; Prof. and Chmn., Dept. of Govt., OK Baptist U., 1968–74; Practicing atty.; Gov. of OK, 1975–79.

Offices: 453 RSOB 20510, 202-224-4721. Also 621 N. Robinson, Rm. 350, Oklahoma City 73102, 405-231-4381; 440 S. Houston, Tulsa 74127, 918-581-7785; and Municipal Bldg., Seminole 74868, 405-382-6480.

Committees: *Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry* (3d of 10 D). Subcommittees: Agricultural Credit; Agricultural Production and Stabilization of Prices; Domestic and Foreign Marketing and Product Promotion (Chairman). *Finance* (5th of 11 D). Subcommittees: Energy and Agricultural Taxation (Chairman); International Trade; Taxation and Debt Management. *Small Business* (6th of 10 D). Subcommittees: Government Contracting and Paperwork Reduction; Rural Economy and Family Farming. *Select Committee on Intelligence* (Chairman of 8 D).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	25	41	41	58	20	48	33	90	58	17
1987	35	—	39	42	—	63	—	—	50	33

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS	1987 LIB — 1987 CONS
Economic	35% — 63%	41% — 58%
Social	40% — 59%	29% — 70%
Foreign	48% — 51%	40% — 59%

Key Votes

1) Cut Aged Housing $	AGN	5) Bork Nomination	FOR	9) SDI Funding	FOR
2) Override Hwy Veto	FOR	6) Ban Plastic Guns	AGN	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	7) Deny Abortions	FOR	11) Aid To Contras	FOR
4) Min Wage Increase	AGN	8) Japanese Reparations	FOR	12) Reagan Defense $	AGN

Election Results

1984 general	David Lyle Boren (D)	906,131	(76%)	($1,192,026)
	William E. (Bill) Crozier (R)	280,638	(23%)	($6,925)
1984 primary	David Lyle Boren (D)	432,534	(90%)	
	Marshall Luse (D)	48,761	(10%)	
1978 general	David Lyle Boren (D)	493,953	(65%)	($751,286)
	Robert B. Kamm (R)	247,857	(33%)	($443,712)

Sen. Don Nickles (R)



Elected 1980, seat up 1992; b. Dec. 6, 1948, Ponca City; home, Ponca City; OK St. U., B.A. 1971; Roman Catholic; married (Linda).

Career: Natl. Guard, 1970–76; Vice Pres. and Gen. Mgr., Nickles Machine Co., 1976–80; OK Senate, 1979–80.

Offices: 713 HSOB, 202-224-5754. Also 215 Dean McGee Ave., Rm. 820, Oklahoma City 73102, 405-231-4941; 3310 Mid-Continent Tower, 401 S. Boston, Tulsa 74103, 918-581-7651; 1916 Lake Rd., Ponca City 74601, 405-767-1270; and 106 Fed. Bldg., 5th and E Ave., Rm. 115, Lawton 73501, 405-357-9878.

Committees: *Appropriations* (12th of 13 R). Subcommittees: Foreign Operations; Interior; Legislative Branch (Ranking Member); VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies. *Budget* (7th of 10 R). *Energy and Natural Resources* (6th of 9 R). Subcommittees: Energy Regulation and Conservation (Ranking Member); Energy Research and Development; Mineral Resources Development and Production.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	0	4	3	17	0	92	73	100	86	71
1987	5	—	3	8	—	100	—	—	94	87

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS	1987 LIB — 1987 CONS
Economic	25% — 73%	6% — 87%
Social	0% — 89%	6% — 89%
Foreign	0% — 92%	0% — 76%

Key Votes

1) Cut Aged Housing $	AGN	5) Bork Nomination	FOR	9) SDI Funding	FOR
2) Override Hwy Veto	AGN	6) Ban Plastic Guns	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	7) Deny Abortions	FOR	11) Aid To Contras	FOR
4) Min Wage Increase	AGN	8) Japanese Reparations	AGN	12) Reagan Defense $	FOR

Election Results

1986 general	Don Nickles (R)	493,436	(55%)	($3,252,965)
	James R. Jones (D)	400,230	(45%)	($2,564,982)
1986 primary	Don Nickles (R), unopposed			
1980 general	Don Nickles (R)	587,252	(53%)	($828,346)
	Andy Coats (D)	478,283	(44%)	($996,447)

FIRST DISTRICT

"A dramatic view of Tulsa from the southwest," wrote the *WPA Guide* 50 years ago, "across the vast refinery dominated by West Tulsa and the wide sand-carpeted bed of the river, shows tall, smoke-stained stacks giving way, on the skyline, to the taller modern-city group of skyscrapers that serve the office and hotel needs of its hundreds of oil companies. It is a visual summary of the city's description of itself as the oil capital of the world." The label was grandiose, but Tulsa, almost spanking new in the 1920s and 1930s (it was Indian country not long before that, within living memory) already had the character it still shows today. Its buildings may not have been air-conditioned, but its economy was based on oil; Oral Roberts had not yet built his church headquarters, his university, or his 60-story City of Faith hospital, but Tulsa was already a city inspired by the tradition of enthusiastic religion; its leading citizens did not shop then in gallerias, but they already had pretentions for culture and looked down on the mud-on-their-boots sorts in Oklahoma City.

Politically, Tulsa was then and is now one of America's most conservative cities—which means, paradoxically, that it wants to change the way a lot of things are going. Despite the collapse of oil prices in the 1980s, Tulsa is still full of a contagious enthusiasm for new business enterprises and innovations. Ordinary people here do not resent or attack the oil companies or the new rich; they identify with them. They see not class conflict, but a coincidence of economic interests. They see government as interfering with efforts to produce goods and services people want and are ready to pay for—although Tulsans are pleased that the federal government built the McClellan-Kerr Waterway that has made the Tulsa suburb of Catoosa a seaport. They are only mildly embarrassed by Oral Roberts's declaration that "God would call him home" unless he raised $4.5 million by April 1, 1987 for his plans for medical programs. (He was saved at the last minute when a Florida dog track owner gave him $1.3 million.)

Oklahoma's 1st Congressional District consists of most of Tulsa County, plus parts of several of the surrounding counties, into which Tulsa's suburban growth has just been starting to pour in the 1970s and 1980s. By all odds it should be a solidly Republican district. It has voted for nothing but Republican presidential candidates over the last 50 years. Yet the 1st was represented by a Democrat, Jim Jones, for most of the 1970s and 1980s, and its current Republican congressman, Jim Inhofe, seems in weak political shape. This can be explained partly by political skills. Jones, a onetime aide to President Lyndon Johnson, has a subtle political mind and had a successful House career, serving on the Ways and Means Committee (important always to oil interests) and serving for four years as chairman of the Budget Committee. Inhofe, in contrast, has had a rocky political (and business) career; an insurance company of which he was president left debts of $2 million, and he was hurt during the 1988

campaign by reports that in 1986 he took out a $20,000 personal loan and immediately donated it to the campaign—an end run, it seemed, around campaign finance law restrictions. He was beaten for reelection to the Oklahoma Senate in 1978 and as mayor of Tulsa in 1983; he lost the governor's race to David Boren in 1974 and the 1st District race to Jim Jones in 1976.

But Inhofe came back and won the House seat in 1986 against weak opposition in the primary and general, when Jones ran unsuccessfully for the Senate. Inhofe takes pride in being outspoken and a staunch conservative, criticizing colleagues George Crockett for supporting the Communist party line and Barney Frank for being homosexual. In 1988, he had tougher opposition from 33-year-old Kurt Glassco, who had been an aide to former Governor George Nigh. Glassco was for contra aid, against gun control, for silent school prayer and the death penalty; he said he knew people's problems from being a prosecutor while Inhofe had been on the public payroll too long. If he seemed to be singing a Republican tune, he may have been doing it more harmoniously than the incumbent Republican, who was dogged by a lawsuit brought by his brother over a family estate, which generated unfavorable publicity about the congressman's business practices, and by charges that in 1987 his campaign borrowed $20,000 from the same supporter who had illegally contributed to his 1986 campaign. Inhofe won reelection by the weak margin of 52%–48%. This may stimulate serious competition from Glassco or someone else in 1990, or after redistricting in 1992.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 552,400, up 9.7% 1980–86; Pop. 1980: 503,739, up 14.1% 1970–80. Households (1980): 71% family, 38% with children, 59% married couples; 34.3% housing units rented; median monthly rent: $204; median house value: $42,500. Voting age pop. (1980): 365,006; 8% Black, 4% American Indian, 1% Spanish origin, 1% Asian origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Bush (R)	120,873	(61%)
	Dukakis (D)	76,349	(38%)

Rep. James M. Inhofe (R)



Elected 1986; b. Nov. 17, 1934, Des Moines, IA; home, Tulsa; U. of Tulsa, B.A. 1961; Presbyterian; married (Kay).

Career: OK House of Reps., 1968–69; OK Senate, 1969–77, Repub. Ldr., 1975–77; Mayor of Tulsa, 1978–84.

Offices: 408 CHOB 20515, 202-225-2211. Also 201 W. 5th St., Tulsa 74103, 918-581-7111.

Committees: *Merchant Marine and Fisheries* (16th of 17 R). Subcommittees: Coast Guard and Navigation; Merchant Marine. *Public Works and Transportation* (12th of 20 R). Subcommittees: Aviation; Investigations and Oversight; Water Resources. *Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control* (8th of 12 R).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	10	13	17	27	19	92	87	100	92	68
1987	4	—	0	7	—	100	—	—	100	83

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS	1987 LIB — 1987 CONS
Economic	21% — 77%	0 — 89%
Social	0% — 95%	0 — 90%
Foreign	0% — 84%	0 — 80%

Key Votes

1) Homeless $	—	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort $	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	James M. Inhofe (R)	103,458	(52%)	($484,585)
	Kurt Glassco (D)	93,101	(48%)	($253,585)
1988 primary	James M. Inhofe (R), unopposed			
1986 general	James M. Inhofe (R)	78,919	(55%)	($410,286)
	Gary D. Allison (D)	61,663	(43%)	($119,550)

SECOND DISTRICT

Indian Territory—that was, literally, what northeast Oklahoma was, from the time in the 1830s the Five Civilized Tribes were driven here from Georgia and Alabama over the Trail of Tears. Oklahoma was not open to white settlement until 1889, and today 12% of the people in this part of Oklahoma report their race as American Indian; many more claim some percentage of Indian blood. The Indian percentage is highest in the hilly counties just west of the Ozarks of Arkansas, where the county names—Cherokee, Delaware, Sequoyah—recall what were called the Civilized Tribes. "Steadily there is being woven into the fabric of Oklahoma's citizenship this red thread of Indian," wrote the *WPA Guide* 50 years ago. "Through intermarriage, Indian blood in Oklahoma is becoming more widely diffused. The time may come when an Indian recognizable as such will be hard to find within the state, but perhaps through wider dissemination the influences of Indian blood may be greater in the future than they have ever been in the past." Much attention nationally is focused on the problems of Indians in states where there are large reservations. But no one seems to be asking whether the experience of the Indians in Oklahoma—where they are now relatively prosperous, assimilated and living comfortably with the white population—has any useful lessons for Indians and whites in other parts of the country.

Most of northeastern Oklahoma, minus most of Tulsa and its immediate surroundings, makes up the 2d Congressional District of Oklahoma. It is represented by a man from Muskogee, Mike Synar, who is not an ordinary Oklahoma politician. Synar is aggressive, pushy, independent to the point of cussedness, yet possessed of a self-effacing sense of humor. His record on the issues is about as liberal as that of any Oklahoma congressman, and his energy is not concentrated on parochial issues. He made headlines in 1985 when he brought a lawsuit challenging the constitutionality of Gramm-Rudman—after several colleagues who said they'd join him ducked out—and more headlines in 1986 when the Supreme Court ruled that Gramm-Rudman's trigger mechanism was indeed unconstitutional. He has fought for years to ban all forms of tobacco advertising. With David Obey of Wisconsin, he is the lead House sponsor of the campaign finance reform to limit PAC contributions, and he takes no PAC money himself. Synar sometimes seems to be a fly in every well-entrenched group's ointment—which occasionally costs him. He ran for Democratic caucus chairman in 1988, and was unwilling to make

campaign contributions to colleagues, as William Gray did, or to politick much for support; he ran far behind Gray and Mary Rose Oakar.

But he is not a down-the-line liberal either. He worked hard on the bankruptcy law in 1986 and on some issues supported the views advanced by big creditors. He has worked out compromises on such sticky issues as who should pay for state and local costs imposed by the immigration reform bill and family farm bankruptcy procedures. He was a vitriolic opponent of the Synthetic Fuels Corporation, despite its strong support from Jim Wright. On the Energy and Commerce Committee, he pushed for natural gas deregulation against the never-to-be-underestimated opposition of Chairman John Dingell. He supports the seven-day waiting period for gun purchases opposed by the National Rifle Association. In his first term, as a young member of the Judiciary Committee, he sponsored a key amendment strengthening the fair housing law the House passed in 1980, which passed by a 205–204 vote. More recently, he has been pushing for a mandatory parental leave law.

Synar has managed to combine this record of positions which are not always popular, and priorities which are not always shared in his district, with impressive popularity among the voters. He first won the seat in a fluke, beating in the 1978 Democratic primary an incumbent who had recently been divorced and was rumored to have a heart-shaped waterbed, and winning reelection by a lesser margin in 1980. After winning more than 70% against weak opponents in suceeding elections, he got stronger primary opposition in 1988. Frank Shurden, a state senator whose seat was not up, challenged him in the primary, swearing that he would vote for contra aid and against all tax increases and deficits, and boasting of his bill requiring castration of convicted sex offenders. But Synar, who returned most weekends to the district and took care to have a strong constituency service operation, won 70%–30%. In the general, Republican businessman Ira Phillips, though not very articulate, made the standard Republican case against liberalism. Synar replied, "If fighting for senior citizens, veterans, farmers and ranchers, families and the future of children is liberal, I claim proudly to be one." In a year when Michael Dukakis ran even with George Bush in most of the district, Synar carried every county in the district but Tulsa and won 65%–35%. These victories pretty well dispose of the notion that Synar is vulnerable, and as he enters his forties he has the prospect of a long House career ahead of him.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 559,400, up 10.7% 1980–86; Pop. 1980: 505,149, up 33.6% 1970–80. Households (1980): 78% family, 42% with children, 68% married couples; 23.0% housing units rented; median monthly rent: $118; median house value: $31,500. Voting age pop. (1980): 353,938; 10% American Indian, 4% Black, 1% Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Bush (R)	110,246	(53%)
	Dukakis (D)	97,194	(47%)

Rep. Michael L. (Mike) Synar (D)



Elected 1978; b. Oct. 17, 1950, Vinita; home, Muskogee; U. of OK, B.A. 1972, J.D. 1977, Northwestern U., M.S. 1973, U. of Edinburgh, Rotary Intl. Scholar, 1974; Episcopalian; single.

Career: Rancher, practicing atty., real estate broker.

Offices: 2441 RHOB 20515, 202-225-2701. Also Fed. Bldg., 125 S. Main, Rm. 2B22, Muskogee 74401, 918-687-2533.

Committees: *Energy and Commerce* (12th of 26 D). Subcommittees: Energy and Power; Health and the Environment; Telecommunications and Finance. *Government Operations* (6th of 24 D). Subcommittee: Environment, Energy, and Natural Resources (Chairman). *Judiciary* (7th of 21 D). Subcommittees: Courts, Intellectual Property, and the Administration of Justice; Economic and Commercial Law. *Select Committee on Aging* (11th of 39 D). Subcommittees: Health and Long-Term Care; Retirement Income and Employment.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	100	91	62	91	69	0	17	10	38	20
1987	84	—	60	86	—	13	—	—	13	13

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS	1987 LIB — 1987 CONS
Economic	65% — 34%	55% — 43%
Social	86% — 0%	78% — 0%
Foreign	68% — 28%	71% — 27%

Key Votes

1) Homeless $	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	AGN	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	AGN	11) Aid to Contras	AGN
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort $	AGN	12) Nuclear Testing	FOR

Election Results

1988 general	Michael L. (Mike) Synar (D)	136,009	(65%)	($358,705)
	Ira Phillips (R)	73,659	(35%)	($81,634)
1988 primary	Michael L. (Mike) Synar (D)	62,936	(70%)	
	Frank Shurden (D)	27,604	(30%)	
1986 general	Michael L. (Mike) Synar (D)	114,543	(73%)	($268,187)
	Gary K. Rice (R)	41,795	(27%)	($11,276)

THIRD DISTRICT

Fifty years ago, Little Dixie was the most backward part of Oklahoma. This southeast part of the state was settled between 1889 and 1907 by white southerners, most of them dirt poor; some county names here (Leflore, Pontotoc) were taken directly from Mississippi. The politics, too, was from the old one-party South: Little Dixie remains the most Democratic part of Oklahoma, giving even Michael Dukakis a near victory in 1988. The 3d Congressional District of Oklahoma includes most of the Little Dixie counties, and juts up into the center of the state, into the old university town of Stillwater, which is Republican territory, to include enough people to meet

the population standard.

This is the district that for 30 years elected Carl Albert to the House of Representatives. Albert was chosen by Speaker Sam Rayburn early in his career, in 1955, to be majority whip, but he did not get to be Speaker until 1971, when he seemed tired; he deferred to committee chairmen and had trouble relating to the younger Members who were potential allies for a strong Speaker. Nonetheless, as a national leader of the area's historic party, he was widely popular in Little Dixie.

The current congressman from Little Dixie succeeded Carl Albert and has a different approach. Rather than seek a national leadership post, Congressman Wes Watkins has concentrated on getting projects for the district. He is a member of the Appropriations Committee, and of two subcommittees which can do his district a lot of good: Agriculture and Energy and Water Development. He devotes much time, energy and ingenuity in snaring more water projects for Little Dixie; and he has been active as a promoter of rural areas generally, and was for three terms chairman of a Rural Caucus. He has taken a role on national issues with implications for rural America, like the farm credit bill of 1987. But he seems to devote most of his attention to local projects. He was proud to have helped create the Winding Stair Mountain National Recreation and Wilderness Area and the Robert S. Kerr Memorial Arboretum, named after the Senator who, in the 1950s and early 1960s, brought plenty of pork to Oklahoma. These projects may have done some good, too. At least the economy of Little Dixie has been growing more robustly than that of the rest of the state in the 1980s; it is less dependent on oil and more on leisure time activities, and in 1986 and 1987 it generated more than one-third of the state's new jobs.

On other issues, Watkins voted a very conservative line in his first four years in the House and since Ronald Reagan came in has been much closer to other Democrats. This probably reflects a shrewd appreciation of how the increasingly partisan House does business. Committee and subcommittee chairmen are elected by secret ballot by their fellow Democrats, and conservatives who buck the party too often lose these contests. Watkins has not caused party leaders any trouble, and in return they are happy to help him with what he cares about the most. This has proved a winning formula in 3d District elections, which have not been seriously contested since 1976, when Watkins beat Albert's longtime administrative assistant, Charles Ward, in the primary.

But Watkins may leave the 3d to run for governor. In April 1989 when Governor Henry Bellmon announced his retirement, Watkins emerged as one of the leading Democratic contenders for the office, and seemed poised to run. If he does the favorite in this district that almost voted for Michael Dukakis will be the next Democratic nominee. The most prominent early possibility was state Attorney General Robert Henry.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 536,800, up 6.5% 1980–86; Pop. 1980: 504,268, up 20.1% 1970–80. Households (1980): 74% family, 39% with children, 64% married couples; 27.6% housing units rented; median monthly rent: $113; median house value: $25,100. Voting age pop. (1980): 365,865; 6% American Indian, 4% Black, 1% Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Bush (R)	95,225	(50%)
	Dukakis (D)	94,615	(49%)

Rep. Wes Watkins (D)



Elected 1976; b. Dec. 15, 1938, DeQueen, AR; home, Ada; OK St. U., B.S. 1960, U. of MD, M.S. 1961 ; Presbyterian; married (Lou).

Career: USDA, 1963; Asst. Dir. of Admissions, OK St. U., 1963–66; Exec. Dir., Kiamichi Econ. Develop. Dist. of OK, 1966–68; Realtor and homebuilder, 1968–76; OK Senate, 1975–76.

Offices: 2348 RHOB 20515, 202-225-4565. Also 232 P. O. Bldg., Ada 74820, 405-436-1980; 118 Fed. Bldg., McAlester 74501, 918-423-5951; and 720 S. Husband, Stillwater 74074, 405-743-1400.

Committees: *Appropriations* (24th of 35 D). Subcommittees: Energy and Water Development; Rural Development, Agriculture and Related Agencies.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	50	64	46	73	38	46	19	60	57	25
1987	64	—	44	43	—	17	—	—	21	22

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS	1987 LIB — 1987 CONS
Economic	45% — 54%	57% — 40%
Social	40% — 58%	58% — 41%
Foreign	50% — 49%	49% — 51%

Key Votes

1) Homeless $	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort $	AGN	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Wes Watkins (D), unopposed			($174,437)
1988 primary	Wes Watkins (D), unopposed			
1986 general	Wes Watkins (D)	114,008	(78%)	($210,936)
	Patrick K. Miller (R)	31,913	(22%)	

FOURTH DISTRICT

The 4th Congressional District of Oklahoma starts out within a few miles of the oil-derrick-surrounded state Capitol in Oklahoma City, smack dab in the middle of the state, and proceeds south and west to cover half of Oklahoma's Red River Valley. It includes Lawton, a small city whose major industries are Goodyear and the Army's Fort Sill; Norman, home of the University of Oklahoma; and some mostly blue-collar parts of Oklahoma City itself and its suburbs of Midwest City and Moore. But the predominant tone, demographically and politically, is rural. Even in the cities and towns, the red or brown dust gets tracked indoors by your boots, and the entree of choice is still chicken-fried steak. Politically, this country is ancestrally Democratic, although Republicans, helped by Republican trends in the parts of the district with population growth like Norman, Lawton and the Oklahoma City suburbs, have carried it in recent national

elections.

The congressman from the 4th District, Dave McCurdy, has emerged as one of the national leaders of his party on several defense and foreign policy issues, even though he was first elected only in 1980, and then by a narrow margin. He occupies that position partly because of his expertise and committee assignments, but even more because he is poised at the fulcrum of opinion in the House: with a few other like-minded members, he can determine the outcome of votes on bitterly contested issues like contra aid and the MX missile. This he has gone out and done, with an adroitness hailed by his admirers or (take your choice) an opportunism denounced by his detractors.

He embarked on this course by getting a seat in his first term on Armed Services, a natural assignment for a Member from a hawkish district laden with military bases (Fort Sill, Oklahoma City's Tinker Air Force Base, Altus Air Force Base). While generally supporting increased military spending, he sparked the movement to oust the elderly Mel Price as Armed Services chairman and install Les Aspin in his place, a move that succeeded in 1984 despite the opposition of Speaker Tip O'Neill. He worked with Aspin in 1985 to fashion a compromise on the MX missile which was opposed by most House Democrats but accepted by the Administration and adopted by Congress. He also became a player on contra aid in 1985, as the lead sponsor of the proposal to give the contras $27 million in "humanitarian" aid, but no military aid. All this was premised on progress in negotiations and continuing review by Congress—and also, in practical terms, on acts of the Sandinistas; McCurdy switched to a tougher position at one point when Daniel Ortega flew off to Moscow after the House voted down military aid. McCurdy supported the Arias plan and Speaker Jim Wright's policy on the contras, and seemed pleased when the contra movement seemed to surrender in early 1988. He insists he doesn't like the Sandinistas, but clearly the Republicans are correct when they say that his first priority was blocking American military aid and they are probably right in saying that the various amendments and changes in policy he has helped to produce have weakened pressure on the Sandinistas to honor human rights.

McCurdy wanted to become chairman of the Intelligence Committee in 1989, and in December 1987 resigned from it for a year so that he would not be subject to the six-year limit on consecutive service. Jim Wright appointed him to another six-year term, but named Anthony Beilenson of California, a liberal but not a political deal-maker, to be chairman. Beilenson, however, must rotate off the committee when he reaches the six-year limit in 1990, and McCurdy, as the second ranking Democrat, is in line to become chairman. He could keep that potentially powerful position for five years, provided that he has the favor of Speaker Tom Foley and that (as everyone expects) the Democrats retain control of the House. He was also prominent in 1989 as the lead House sponsor of the Democratic Leadership Council's national service plan. Volunteers could serve in the military or in civilian service jobs and earn vouchers that could be used for college expenses or down payments on a house. McCurdy does more mundane things as well. He got himself a seat in 1987 on an Armed Services subcommittee handling military bases—obviously of importance in the 4th District.

In the midst of all this involvement in foreign and defense policy, McCurdy has transformed the 4th District from the most marginal of districts to a safe seat. In 1988, he won 83% in the primary and was unopposed in the general. He has made no move to run for the Senate and is one congressman who would have greater power if he stayed in the House.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 563,200, up 11.3% 1980–86; Pop. 1980: 505,869, up 24.3% 1970–80. Households (1980): 77% family, 44% with children, 67% married couples; 30.6% housing units rented; median monthly rent: $181; median house value: $37,200. Voting age pop. (1980): 356,658; 6% Black, 3% Spanish origin, 3% American Indian, 1% Asian origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:

Bush (R)	105,170	(58%)
Dukakis (D)	74,429	(41%)

Rep. Dave McCurdy (D)



Elected 1980; b. Mar. 30, 1950, Canadian, TX; home, Norman; U. of OK, B.A. 1972, J.D. 1975, U. of Edinburgh, Scotland, Rotary Fellow, 1977–78; Lutheran; married (Pam).

Career: OK Asst. Atty. Gen., 1975–77; Practicing atty., 1978–80.

Offices: 2344 RHOB 20515, 202-225-6165. Also P.O. Box 1265, Norman 73070, 405-329-6500; 103 Fed. Bldg., Lawton 73501, 405-357-2131; and P.O. Box 1051, Duncan 73534, 405-252-1434.

Committees: *Armed Services* (11th of 31 D). Subcommittees: Military Installations and Facilities; Research and Development. *Science, Space and Technology* (11th of 30 D). Subcommittees: Natural Resources, Agriculture Research and Environment; Transportation, Aviation and Materials. *Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence* (2d of 12 D). Subcommittees: Oversight and Evaluation (Chairman); Program and Budget Authorization.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	60	78	44	82	56	30	31	70	64	31
1987	44	—	41	50	—	27	—	—	40	25

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS	1987 LIB — 1987 CONS
Economic	46% — 52%	45% — 54%
Social	55% — 45%	57% — 43%
Foreign	50% — 50%	48% — 52%

Key Votes

1) Homeless $	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	—	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	AGN
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort $	AGN	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Dave McCurdy (D), unopposed			($251,956)
1988 primary	Dave McCurdy (D)	52,366	(83%)	
	Howard Bell (D)	10,728	(17%)	
1986 general	Dave McCurdy (D)	94,984	(76%)	($176,096)
	Larry Humphreys (R)	29,697	(24%)	

FIFTH DISTRICT

Oklahoma City, created within the memory of many then living, had an unfinished, hastily assembled look to the *WPA Guide* 50 years ago. "Downtown, on the streets, in the stores, and in lodging places that range from 25 cents a night to the luxury of fine hotel suites, fur coats and overalls, oil-field workers and clerks, farmers and their families, and sophisticates who know Europe and South America as well as they know the playgrounds of the United States—all these mingle and make Oklahoma City a truly American metropolis." Truly Oklahoman, certainly:

situated almost precisely in the middle of the state and the middle of the continent, with the oil derrick outside the state Capitol still pumping some oil, Oklahoma City is the metropolis of Oklahoma. Like many state capitals, it was not the spontaneous creation of commerce but the deliberate creation of government, built on land that is browner and more eroded by creeks than the greener, rolling Oklahoma farther east. During the 1960s, the city fathers decided that they would not let the old city limits fence them in, so Oklahoma City, unlike most American central cities, started annexing land, so that it now spills over into five counties and four congressional districts, and includes hundreds of acres which even today are farms or grazing land.

The 5th Congressional District of Oklahoma includes most of Oklahoma City, but it is a carefully chosen part: the most Democratic sections of the city, including its black areas, are chopped off and included in Democratic districts. The 5th is intended to be Republican. Besides the prosperous parts of Oklahoma City, which are heavily Republican as only prosperous parts of oil cities are, it includes wheat-growing counties to the north, and the market town of Ponca City, which is as Republican as any similar-sized town in nearby Kansas. Connected by a strip of mostly uninhabited Osage County is the well-to-do oil town of Bartlesville, headquarters of Phillips Petroleum, whose management, allied with the equally worried townspeople-employees, succeeded in warding off T. Boone Pickens, but only after saddling the firm with huge debt. The 5th District is a collection of urban Republican voting precincts stitched together by swaths of thinly populated rural territory.

The congressman from the 5th District is Mickey Edwards, a Republican regarded as far outside the national consensus when he was first elected in 1976 but today one of the leaders of his party in the House—and one of the more originally thoughtful members of either party. Edwards believes in market economics and has long believed in deregulating energy markets; he also, as one expects in the Oil Patch, favors a higher oil depletion allowance and other incentives for production, plus an oil import fee. On foreign policy, he was one of the leading and most vehement backers of military aid to the Nicaraguan contras; he is proud that he helped push through contra aid in June 1986, and he seems disgusted with the group of swing votes, evidently including his Oklahoma neighbor Dave McCurdy, who withdrew their support of military aid and, as he sees it, insured the contras' defeat in return for promises the Sandinistas are certain not to keep. The ranking Republican on the Appropriations subcommittee on Foreign Operations, he opposes giving assistance to countries like Mozambique and Peru. But he seems open to evidence of possible change in the Soviet Union, though skeptical. Will Gorbachev and perestroika produce real progress in human rights and market economics? "They're trying, but they still don't quite get it," he says.

After the 1988 election, Edwards was elected chairman of the House Republican Policy Committee, the number four position in the leadership. It was an impressive victory, all the more so because Edwards is not associated with either of the two groups symbolized by the two contenders in the 1989 contest for whip. He has little affection for the guerrilla tactics of the young Members around Newt Gingrich, and he has criticized both parties in the House for not doing more constructive legislating. His senior position on Appropriations clearly has influenced him here. Yet at the same time he is not one of the "old bulls" like Edward Madigan, devoted to getting along with the Democrats in fashioning legislation and temperamentally averse to publicizing new ideas. Edwards was chairman of the American Conservative Union for five years, and he has advanced some unorthodoxies of his own. He opposed the line-item veto, for example, after it had become a campaign staple of Republicans, because it would increase the power of the Executive Branch and diminish that of Congress; he asked his fellow conservatives how they would like it if a Democratic President could zero out weapons systems if he had the support of the one-third-plus-one of one house needed to prevent an overriding of his veto.

Edwards is now the oldest member of the youngish Oklahoma delegation and one of the most senior; he is also one of the politically most secure. He passed up his chance to run for the Senate

and seems committed to a career in the House, just as his constituents seem committed to keeping him there.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 560,700, up 11.5% 1980–86; Pop. 1980: 502,974, up 17.1% 1970–80. Households (1980): 71% family, 37% with children, 61% married couples; 30.8% housing units rented; median monthly rent: $199; median house value: $43,600. Voting age pop. (1980): 367,630; 5% Black, 3% American Indian, 2% Spanish origin, 1% Asian origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:

Bush (R)	145,247	(67%)
Dukakis (D)	68,735	(32%)

Rep. Mickey Edwards (R)



Elected 1976; b. July 12, 1937, Cleveland, OH; home, Oklahoma City; U. of OK, B.A. 1958, OK City U., J.D. 1969; Presbyterian; married (Lisa).

Career: Practicing atty.; Editor, *Private Practice* magazine; Asst. City Editor, *Oklahoma City Times*; Instr., OK City U.

Offices: 2330 RHOB 20515, 202-225-2132. Also 900 N.W. 63d St., Ste. 105, Oklahoma City 73116, 405-231-4541; 1200 S.E. Frank Phillips Blvd., Ste. 102, Bartlesville 74003, 918-336-5436; and 102 S. 5th, Ponca City 74601, 405-762-8121.

Committees: *Appropriations* (10th of 22 R). Subcommittees: Foreign Operations, Export Financing and Related Programs (Ranking Member); Military Construction.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	10	26	10	45	25	92	72	100	93	61
1987	12	—	8	14	—	90	—	—	100	77

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS	1987 LIB — 1987 CONS
Economic	24% — 74%	0% — 89%
Social	13% — 84%	27% — 73%
Foreign	16% — 78%	0% — 80%

Key Votes

1) Homeless $	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort $	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Mickey Edwards (R)	139,182	(72%)	($318,822)
	Terry J. Montgomery (D)	53,668	(28%)	($302)
1988 primary	Mickey Edwards (R)	25,311	(83%)	
	Bill Maguire (R)	5,142	(17%)	
1986 general	Mickey Edwards (R)	108,774	(71%)	($289,552)
	Donna Compton (D)	45,256	(29%)	($16,217)

SIXTH DISTRICT

Western Oklahoma 50 years ago was "fertile, but the crops are at the mercy of the elements. Wheat, broomcorn, and forage yields are large when drought and wind temper their fury. Many of the acres, particularly the broad plateaus with their terraced canyons, are used as grazing land for cattle. The flat, even terrain creates mirages on a wavering horizon. Inhabitants tell of standing in the open and being able to see towns many miles away. Tumbleweeds, which grow profusely here, are blown about by the wind and pile against houses and outbuildings. On especially windy days,"—and this is one of the windiest parts of America—"sand swirls over the fields, burying seeds and young plants deeply, and justifying the term 'dust bowl'." The western plains of Oklahoma are a demanding land, scorching hot under the summer sun, snow-blown in winter. The rural counties today have far fewer people than before the dust bowl of the 1930s (in the counties wholly within the 6th District, the population dropped from 423,000 to 282,000), and the once booming oil and natural gas exploration here in the Anadarko Basin and other fields has not done much for the region now that it has gone bust.

The western plains of Oklahoma, plus the blue-collar and black neighborhoods in Oklahoma City form Oklahoma's 6th Congressional District. Most of its acreage has long been Republican: it was settled by farmers moving south from Kansas, starting when (or a little before) the gun went off the morning of the great land rush in 1889. A few of its counties in the south are heavily Democratic, and always have been; most of the rest are heavily Republican, and always have been: these divisions are as permanent as if Oklahoma had been split down the middle during the Civil War, except that of course there were no white people settled in the state at all at that time.

Yet the 6th District elects and reelects a Democratic congressman, Glenn English. He was helped in the 1980s by redistricting, which carefully included a part of Oklahoma City which is 25% black and contains most of the city's white working-class areas; but he is by no means dependent on these votes. English was once an aide to liberal Democrats in the California Assembly, but you wouldn't know it from his voting record, which tends toward the conservative. His Oklahoma credentials are in order: he grew up here and served as executive director of the state Democratic Party before he ran for Congress in 1974. Perhaps his greatest political achievement so far was to seize a propitious moment—just four days before the showdown on the 1981 Reagan tax cut—and extract from Ronald Reagan, in a letter in his own handwriting, a commitment to veto "with pleasure" any windfall profits tax on natural gas. That promise effectively protected that otherwise vulnerable revenue source in 1982, when Republicans were scrambling around looking for politically painless ways to, in the phrase of the day, enhance revenues.

English serves on the Agriculture Committee, which of course is of great interest to this wheat-growing district, and chairs the Subcommittee on Conservation, Credit and Rural Development. In this capacity he has oversight over the commodities markets, and in early 1989 was planning an in-depth investigation in the wake of revelations of fraud. A fiscal conservative on most issues, he makes exceptions for local pork barrel projects and especially for wheat programs; a free trader generally, he is a hawk when it comes to restricting meat imports. He wants to stimulate U.S. farm exports and advocates an oil import fee. He also serves on Government Operations, which he has used to concentrate on the difficult and important, but not at all parochial, problems of government computers, individual privacy, and the Freedom of Information Act. He has also been, to the surprise and delight of many of his fellow Democrats, a tiger in preventing relaxation of the FOIA. He is one of several congressmen who have tried to reduce the federal expenditure on presidential libraries, and has authored legislation that would require private endowments to pay for their upkeep. (In early 1985, he discovered that the Administration supported his initiative, but only if it exempted the Reagan library.) National Republicans, apparently respectful of English's strength, have never targeted him, and he has won reelection by huge margins most years; in 1988 he beat a hapless Republican 73%–27%.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 532,900, up 5.9% 1980–86; Pop. 1980: 503,291, up 4.1% 1970–80. Households (1980): 73% family, 38% with children, 62% married couples; 29.1% housing units rented; median monthly rent: $152; median house value: $32,500. Voting age pop. (1980): 361,309; 9% Black, 3% American Indian, 2% Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:

Bush (R)	101,606	(58%)
Dukakis (D)	72,101	(41%)

Rep. Glenn English (D)



Elected 1974; b. Nov. 30, 1940, Cordell; home, Cordell; Southwestern St. Col., B.A. 1964; United Methodist; married (Jan).

Career: Chf. Asst., Major. Caucus, CA Assembly; Exec. Dir., OK Dem. Party, 1969–73; Petroleum leasing business.

Offices: 2206 RHOB 20515, 202-225-5565. Also 264 Old P.O. Bldg., 215 Dean A. McGee Ave., Oklahoma City 73102, 405-231-5511; Fed. Bldg., P.O. Box 3612, Enid 73702, 405-233-9224; and 1120 9th St., Woodward 73801, 405-256-5752.

Committees: *Agriculture* (5th of 27 D). Subcommittees: Conservation, Credit and Rural Development (Chairman); Tobacco and Peanuts; Wheat, Soybeans, and Feed Grains. *Government Operations* (3d of 24 D). Subcommittees: Government Information, Justice, and Agriculture; Legislation and National Security.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	40	52	32	73	44	60	40	90	71	35
1987	44	—	30	50	—	39	—	—	73	39

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS	1987 LIB — 1987 CONS
Economic	39% — 60%	40% — 60%
Social	26% — 73%	47% — 53%
Foreign	43% — 56%	43% — 57%

Key Votes

1) Homeless $	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort $	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Glenn English (D)	122,887	(73%)	($306,600)
	Mike Brown (R)	45,239	(27%)	($85,059)
1988 primary	Glenn English (D)	51,733	(84%)	
	Batch Batchelder (D)	9,490	(16%)	
1986 general	Glenn English (D) unopposed			($149,998)

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. List	Re: Distinguished alumni of Oklahoma State University; personal information redacted. (1 pp.)	04/27/90	P-6, (b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File, Backup
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Oklahoma State University 5/4/90 [3]

Date Closed: 10/18/2004	**OA/ID Number:** 06898
FOIA/SYS Case #:	
Re-review Case #: 2004-2265-S	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	
MR Case #:	**Appeal Case #:**
MR Disposition:	**Appeal Disposition:**
Disposition Date:	**Disposition Date:**

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
(b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY
212 STUDENT UNION
STILLWATER, OK 74078
(405) 744-5368

April 27, 1990

Distinguished Grads of OSU

Ms. Peggy Dooley
White House
Washington, DC

FAX: 202-456-6218

Dear Peggy:

Thank you for your request for information on OSU alumni. Listed below is information on the Class of '40 and Class of '48 graduates that you could interview:

Name	Address	Phone
CLASS OF 1940		
Mr. Hiram H. Henry	[redacted]	
Mrs. Beulah Mae Kinney		
Mr. Swede Martin		
Mr. Dail West		
CLASS OF 1948		
Mrs. Mary Arceneaux		
Mr. A.L. Bennett		
Mr. Francis Warren Pixley (he goes by Warren)		

P-6, (6)(6)

PROMINENT OSU ALUMNI LIST

NAME	POSITION	CURRENT RESIDENCE:	GRAD. YEAR
Jim Barnes	CEO MAPCO and Member, Oklahoma State Board of Regents for Higher Education	Tulsa, OK	1949
Jim Bellatti	Co-owner and Publisher, Stillwater NewsPress, and Past President of the International YMCA	Stillwater, OK	1950
Governor Henry Bellmon	Governor, State of Oklahoma	Oklahoma City, OK	1942
Lt. Gen. Max Bunyard	Deputy General, Army Materials Command and Pres., Garber Int'l Associates, Inc.	Arlington, VA	1954
Mr. Choong Shik Cho	Pres., Hanil Development Co., Ltd.	Seoul, Korea	1959
Margaret Edsel Fitch	Retired Extension Home Economist, Member (since 1968) Int'l Federation for Home Economics, also was President from 1980-84; Member (since 1969) American Home Economics Association, also was President from 1974-75	El Reno, OK	1942
Edward Clark Gallagher	Deceased, OSU Athletic Director and first Wrestling Coach at OSU; won numerous NCAA Wrestling Championships		
Dave Hentschel	President & CEO, Occidental Oil & Gas Co.	Tulsa, OK	1958
Eugene Jackson	Chairman of the Board, Springhouse Corporation	Meadowbrook, PA	1950
Ed Joullian	Owner/President, Mustang Fuel Corp.	Okla. City, OK	1951
Ed Malzahn	President, Charles Machine Works (Ditchwitch)	Perry, OK	1943
Frank McPherson	Chairman & CEO, Kerr-McGee Corp.	Okla. City, OK	1957
Paul Miller	Retired Chairman & Director, Gannett Co., Inc.	Palm Beach, FL	1933
Frank Morsani	Owner, President, Precision Enterprises, Inc., and former Chairman, National Chamber of Commerce	Tampa, FL	1957

Dr. Duck Woo Nam	Chairman of the Korea-U.S. Economic Council and former Prime Minister of Korea; also Chairman, Korean Traders Assn.	Korea	1960
Don Nickles	U.S. Senator	Ponca City, OK	1972
Yoshiro Utake Obata	Exec. Dir./Owner, New Miyako Hotel Co.; two time Olympic gold medal winner	Japan	1967
T. Boone Pickens	Chairman & CEO, Mesa Petroleum Co.	Dallas, TX	1951
Allie Reynolds	President, Atlas Mud Co.; major league pitcher for New York Yankees	Okla. City, OK	1942
Tamnoon Ridtimani	Vice Rector, Institute of Tech. and Vocational Education	Bangkok, Thailand	1964
Otto Sturzenegger	Chairman of the Board, CIBA-GEIGY Corp.	New York, NY	1950
Wes Watkins	U.S. Congressman	Ada, OK	1960
Myron Wright	Engineer, Cameron Iron Works	Houston, TX	1933
Raymond Young	Former Chairman of the Board and CEO, TG&Y	Okla. City, OK	1924
Jack Zinc	President, Zeeco Inc.	Tulsa, OK	1951

Peggy, if you need any further information, please give me a call at (405)744-8716.

Sincerely,

Rhonda E. Lyon

Rhonda E. Lyon
Unit Assistant

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mark –

It's 8:15 Friday & I'm outta here. Wanted to let you know that I'm psyched for this speech... I miss college! Anyway, I started thinking about my school & ~~called~~ all the stuff that is student life...

So, I called the Sr. Class Prez @ OSU & got great stuff.

I called Gamble to pass it on, and he is happy.

I think some of this stuff would be great to use in the speech (the stuff gamble doesn't use) to draw a vignette of their college years – "Remember this ---!" etc

A brief recap: →

Y KIM's 2-pages? COLOR

--The Student Union is THE place on campus. (It's like 600,00 square feet and has everything under the sun in it...stores, cafes, bookstore, eateries, pool, bowling alley, hair salon...)
Everyone hangs out there and it's called "The Union"

--Eskimo Joe's is THE bar there. They are second to the Hard Rock in paraphenelia sold; people of all ages come from all over the country to buy the Tshirts, caps, etc. It's quite the landmark in OSU student life. The thing to get there is a beer and cheese fries.

--When the school was founded, you could buy all your books for $2. Today, geez, you can't even buy those Xeroxed class supplements from Kinko's for that price!

--Theta Pond is a popular place on campus. Frat boys are thrown in it on initiation.

--The library tower chimes keep the time for people going to classes.

--The Iba/Gallagher Arena is the victory site in wrestling and basketball. (OSU is THE wrestling school)

**every semester, there are hell-like lines to get your classes. They have to go the fourth floor of the Union and stand in line for hours to enroll and drop/add. There are probably 6 computers for the whole school, manned by little old ladies. There are signs posted all over that say "NO WHINING".

**after each class hour, the main sidewalks are congested "as the dickens" and you can barely walk. There is a certain sidewalk etiquette there. The Golden Rule is to stay to the RIGHT going INTO campus and the LEFT going OUT. This is the easiest way to spot freshmen because they're all tangled up in the wrong direction.

Whatever topics Gamble doesn't use, or what's left of his material that we don't choose,...I think it would be a good idea to draw a vignette. You know,
"as you're leaving here...now that youv'e finally learned to maneuver on the sidewalks...just think!...no more enrollment lines at the Union...I know you'll miss hitting Eskimo Joe's for those cheese fries. These years were some of the greatest of your life...now onward, and don't forget the new paradigm!"

Just wanted to let you know about this stuff — I've got a copy to be included in my packet for you on Monday. Don't worry about keeping this copy. It's just FYI.

1990 COMMENCEMENT
PLATFORM PARTY

OSU PRESIDENT:
Dr. John R. Campbell

SPEAKER/HONORARY DEGREE RECIPIENT:
U.S. President George Bush

HENRY G. BENNETT RECIPIENTS:
Mrs. Barbara Bush
Mr. H. P. Donnelley
Chief Wilma Mankiller

SECRETARY OF EDUCATION:
Lauro Cavazos

OKLAHOMA GOVERNOR:
Governor Henry Bellmon

OKLAHOMA CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION:
The Honorable Jim Inhofe, 1st Congressional District
The Honorable Wes Watkins, 3rd Congressional District
The Honorable Don Nickles, U. S. Senator

OSU BOARD OF REGENTS:
Mr. L. E. "Dean" Stringer, Chairman,
(Attorney, Crowe & Dunlevy, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma)
Mr. Ed Malzahn, Vice Chairman
(Businessman/Farmer, Perry, Oklahoma)
Mrs. Carolyn Savage
(Ranching & Business Enterprises, Hominy, Oklahoma)
Mr. Jack Craig
(President, State Board of Agriculture, Oklahoma City)
Dr. John Montgomery
(Retired Veterinarian, Poteau, Oklahoma)
Mr. Robert "Robbie" Robbins IV
(Farmer, Altus, Oklahoma)
Mr. Jimmie C. Thomas
(Rancher/Businessman, Ada, Oklahoma)
Mr. Jerrell Chesney
(Chief Exec. Officer, OSU Board of Regents, Shawnee, Oklahoma)

STATE REGENTS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION:
Mr. James Barnes, Chairman of the Board and President and Chief Executive Officer of MAPCO, Inc., a Tulsa-based energy company.
Dr. Donald Halverstadt, Physician, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Mr. George Weyerhaeuser, Vice President and Mill Manager of the Weyerhaeuser Paper Company, Valliant, Oklahoma
Mr. Bob Allse, Rancher, Elk City, Oklahoma
Mr. J. D. Helms, Attorney, Linn & Helms, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Dr. Ed Calhoon, Physician, Beaver, Oklahoma
Ms. Avalon Reece, Counselor, Muskogee High School, Muskogee, Oklahoma
Mrs. Ann Woolley, Owner of a commercial cow/calf ranch, Ada, Oklahoma
Dr. Hans Brisch, Chancellor

(Platform Party cont.)

OSU DEANS:
Dr. Joe Alexander, Dean, College of Veterinary Medicine
Dr. Charles Browning, Dean, College of Agriculture
Dr. Norman Durham, Dean, Graduate College
Dr. Smith Holt, Dean, College of Arts and Sciences
Dr. Ken King, Dean, College of Education
Dr. Patricia Knaub, Dean, College of Home Economics
Dr. Karl Reid, Dean, College of Engineering, Architecture and Technology
Dr. Robert Sandmeyer, Dean, College of Business Administration

Need To Acknowledge:
- OSU Pres. campbell ✓
- ((Award Recipients??))
- Cavazos ✓
- Gov. Bellmon ✓
- OK Congressional Delegation ✓

Should we acknowledge?
alumni

OSU Bd. of Regents
State Regents
OSU Deans
Student Rep's.
OSU VP's
etc. etc.

...College of Business Administration

Dr. Edward Johnson, Dean of Libraries

STUDENTS REPRESENTING EACH COLLEGE:

Deborah Ragland, Ph.D. Environmental Science, Graduate College
Paul Chapman, M.S., Forest Resources, Graduate College
John Otto, Doctor of Veterinary Medicine
Diane K. Hufnagel, B.S. Agricultural Economics, College of Agriculture
Kimberly McCoy, B.A. History, College of Arts and Sciences
Theresa Marie Seres, B.S., Accounting, College of Business Administration
Hue Tran, B.S., Elementary Education, College of Education
Jennifer Robinson, B.S., Industrial Engineering, College of Engineering, Architecutre and Technology
Claire Marie Ripley, B.S., Clothing, Textiles, and Merchandising, College of Home Economics

OSU VICE PRESIDENTS:

Dr. Ron Beer, Vice President for Student Services
Dr. Harry Birdwell, Vice President for University Relations and Public Affairs
Dr. Jay Boggs, Vice President for Academic Affairs and Research
Dr. Gene Satterfield, Interim Vice President for Business and Finance
Dr. Robert Klabenes, Vice President and Director, OSU Technical Branch, Okmulgee, Oklahoma

COM PRESIDENT:

Dr. Clyde Jensen, President, OSU College of Osteopathic Medicine, Tulsa, Oklahoma

OSU FOUNDATION PRESIDENT:

Mr. Charles Platt, President, OSU Foundation, Stillwater, Oklahoma

OSU ALUMNI ASSOCIATION NATIONAL PRESIDENT:

Bruce Benbrook, Vice President, Stock Exchange Bank of Woodward, Oklahoma

FACULTY COUNCIL CHAIRMAN:

Dr. John Thornton, Professor of Zoology, OSU, Stillwater, Oklahoma

IMMEDIATE PAST PRESIDENT OF PHI KAPPA PHI

Dr. Neil Luebke, Professor of Philosophy, OSU, Stillwater, Oklahoma

(Platform Party continued)

SGA OUTGOING PRESIDENT: (benediction)
Ms. Kimberly McCoy, student, Outgoing President of the OSU Student Government Association

INVOCATION:
Dr. Margaret Nelson, Associate Professor of English, OSU, Stillwater, Oklahoma

CENTENNIAL COMMENCEMENT

Oklahoma State University

Friday, May 4, 1990

Stillwater

PROGRAM

Dr. John R. Campbell, President, Oklahoma State University, Presiding

Processional
"Pomp and Circumstance" ..... Elgar
University Wind Ensemble and Symphonic Band
Professor Joseph P. Missal, Conductor

The National Anthem
"Star Spangled Banner" ..... Key
Ensemble and Audience
Ms. E. Lucile McCoy, Soloist

The Invocation
"Cherokee Prayer" ..... Anonymous
Read by Dr. Margaret Nelson

Introduction of Commencement Speaker — Gov. Bellmon

The Commencement Address
George Bush
President of the United States

Conferring of Honorary Degree
Doctor of Economics
George Bush, President of the United States

Conferring of the Henry G. Bennett Distinguished Service Awards

Greetings from the OSU Board of Regents
Mr. L.E. "Dean" Stringer, Chairman

Conferring of Degrees*

Recognition of Graduates who are members of Phi Kappa Phi

Recognition of Newly-Commissioned Officers

Greetings from the OSU Alumni Association
Mr. Bruce Benbrook, National President

Alma Mater Hymn
"OSU Alma Mater" .....McCulloh
Ensemble and Audience
Professor Glenn Dowlen, Soloist

The Benediction
Ms. Kimberly McCoy, President
Oklahoma State University Student Government Association

Recessional for Platform Guests
University Wind Ensemble and Symphonic Band
Professor Joseph P. Missal, Conductor

(Graduates and guests will remain in their seats until members of the Platform Party have recessed.)

*All persons whose names appear in this program are candidates for the respective degrees. These degrees are conferred subject to the completion of the requirements thereof.



Mrs. Bush is one →

The Henry G. Bennett Distinguished Service Award

The award is named for the former president of Oklahoma State University (1928-51) who made countless contributions to the university, to higher education, and to the benefit of humankind as the first director of America's Point Four program for technical assistance to nations around the world.

The award recognizes persons of outstanding citizenship and leadership. Selection is made by a committee representing the faculty, administration, board of regents and alumni of the university, and the general public.

Bennett is generally credited as being the originator of technical assistance which used teams of specialists from American colleges and universities to teach natives of other countries how to improve food production, housing, health and education "with the tools at hand."

Mrs. Barbara Pierce Bush

The life and countless contributions of Mrs. Barbara Pierce Bush reflects her high level of energy and commitment to a wide variety of timely community projects, to the betterment of society, as well as her devotion to family.

As the nation's 38th First Lady, Mrs. Bush has chosen the promotion of literacy and the importance of reading as special areas of focus. She serves as Honorary Chairperson of the Barbara Bush Foundation for Family Literacy, an organization whose mission it is to establish literacy as an all-important value in every family in America, to support the development of family literacy programs, and to bring about major reductions in the rate of illiteracy at home and abroad.

Mrs. Bush is a sponsor of the Laubach Literacy Volunteers, which is a world-wide program committed to eradicating illiteracy. She is the Honorary Chairperson for the National Advisory Council of Literacy Volunteers of America, Inc., and she is the Honorary Chairperson for the National Committee on Literacy and Education of the United Way. She also serves on the Board of Directors of "Reading is Fundamental."

Being particularly encouraging of volunteer, community, and corporate support of schools, Barbara Bush serves as the Honorary Chairperson of the National Association of Partners in Education. She has taken a particular interest in the problem of learning disabilities, and has provided important encouragement for many national organizations that seek to bring about greater public awareness and effective treatment for the learning disabled.

Reflecting her own years as an active volunteer, Mrs. Bush encourages widespread volunteerism and the giving of an individual's time and energies for the betterment of others.

Through her promotion of literacy and encouragement of volunteerism to benefit others, Mrs. Barbara Pierce Bush has brought great prestige and high honor to herself, to her family, to the nation, and to the universe.

Mr. H. F. Donnelley

Mr. H. F. Donnelley enrolled at Oklahoma State University in 1918—and 70 years later—at age 88—continues to be actively involved with the OSU Community Education Center, as well as continuing to be an enthusiastic alumni and contributing community leader.

H. F. Donnelley is known as one of Oklahoma's great educational and youth service pioneers, and serves as an inspiration to young and old alike. He has served as a volunteer and professional scouting executive, and as a classroom teacher. He founded an insurance company, served on school boards, and has distinguished himself on the local, state, national, and international levels as an advocate of education and social services. Indeed, numerous social service programs have flourished under Mr. Donnelley's leadership, particularly noteworthy is the IOA Youth Ranch, currently known as the Lion's Boys' Ranch. Mr. Donnelley's visionary efforts on prevention strategies for youth, including the project of "Hidden Treasure," involved more than 7,000 people of all ages from 77 communities in an intergenerational project of discovering their heritage. The "History Alive!" program, cosponsored by the Oklahoma Historical Society and the Community Education Center, was stimulated through the work of H. F. Donnelley and centers on the development of partnerships of youth and family in serving institutions, businesses, and community organizations.

To recognize his philosophy of and contributions to "persons helping themselves and their community," the National Community Education Association presented him with their prestigious Distinguished Service Award in 1989. Through his tireless efforts and personal dedication to educational, social, and humanitarian issues, priorities, and concerns, H. F. Donnelley has brought great prestige and honor to himself, to his family, and to Oklahoma State University.

Chief Wilma P. Mankiller

Chief Wilma P. Mankiller, Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation, was born in the Indian Hospital in Tahlequah, Oklahoma. She has deep roots in the rural community of Rocky Mountain in Adair County. She learned early the hardships of poverty in rural America, and also learned about the difficulties of urban poverty when, in 1957, she and her family were forced to move to San Francisco, California, as part of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Relocation Program. In 1983, Wilma Mankiller was the first woman elected as Deputy Principal Chief for the Cherokee Nation. Following the resignation of the Principal Chief in 1985, she was selected for that high position of leadership—the first woman to ever hold such an office in any Indian Tribe. In 1987, she was elected to the position by the members of the Cherokee Nation.

Through her commitment to rural community development, Chief Mankiller was instrumental in establishing the Cherokee Community Development Department, and she has been responsible for obtaining funding for the Cherokee Gardens commercial horticulture operation, the Bell Community project, as well as many other high priority important social services. She has become known as a quiet, but effective advocate for her people and for Oklahoma.

Chief Mankiller has been recognized and honored by various organizations for her distinguished work with the public and for her basic philosophy of the empowerment of people at the local level. Representative honors she has received include: American Indian Woman of the Year, 1985; Oklahoma Women's Hall of Fame, Governor's Advisory Committee, 1986; Woman of Year, *Ms. Magazine*, 1987; John W. Gardner Leadership Award, Independent Sector, 1988; and the Indian Health Service Award, U.S. Public Health Service, 1989.

Through her commitment to service organizations, as well as her work and dedication to the improvement of the Cherokee people, Chief Wilma P. Mankiller has brought great prestige and honor to herself, to her family, to those who comprise the distinguished Cherokee Nation, and to Oklahoma.

April 30, 1990

MEMORANDUM

TO: MARK LANGE

FROM: CAROLYN CAWLEY

RE: OSU COMMENCEMENT

EVENT: Oklahoma State University Commencement
May 4, 1990
2:00 p.m.
Lewis Stadium
TelePrompted

ON STAGE WITH POTUS/ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:
57 people total (4,000 graduates at the ceremony)
- OSU President Campbell
- Other administrators/deans/etc
- The OK Congressional Delegation
  - --Senator Don Nickles (OSU grad)
  - --Rep. Wes Watkins (D-Stillwater's Rep., OSU grad)
  - --Rep. Inhoff (R-Tulsa)
- Governor Bellmon
  - --one of the first Republican Governors to enthusiastically support POTUS in the campaign;
  - INTRODUCES THE PRESIDENT
- 3 special award recipients
  - --one of them (If attending) is Mrs. Bush who will receive the University's highest non-academic award for service
- Mr. H.F. Donnelly, industrialist
- Chief Wilma Mankiller, Chief of the Cherokee Nation, who is very well known for her work on behalf of all Native Americans
- Distinguished students from each college

THE PROGRAM

They are faxing a complete program. What I have now:

The Processional (POTUS in hold)
The National Anthem
The Invocation, which will be a Cherokee prayer
Governor Bellmon, introduces POTUS
POTUS speaks
POTUS is conferred an honorary doctorate in economics from the College of Business Administration. This is the very first honorary degree ever in the State of OK because the State Board of Regents just OK'ed it

POTUS will also receive the first volume of a 22 volume set of the collected works of Will Rogers (native son of Oklahoma) for the Presidential Library.

CENTENNIAL YEAR FOR OSU

In 1980 OSU launched a three-phased Centennial Program. They are currently in the second phase of the Centennial Year Celebration. The theme is "Celebrating the Past -- Preparing for the Future." A larger theme has to do with the fact that the state and the University have grown up together.

PROGRAMS

OSU recently announced a space education program of $3.5 million, in cooperation with the Nat'l Science Foundation

They are opening the first center for International Trade Development. (Got $5 million form USDA for it)

They are a national leader in distance learning and satellite transmission of educational programming and coursework. They are the Headquarters of the National University Teleconference Network (NUTN).

The NUTN is housed at OSU and reaches 300 colleges and universities throughout the US, bringing in speakers and experts on a variety of issues.

OSU is also the hub of "Star Schools", an educational TV program broadcast to 400 schools in 30 states. They mainly broadcast college prep (language, math, sciences) to rural highschools. The students watching can interact through the screens with the professors at OSU and when the program, there is an 800 phone number the students can call to ask questions of proctors and teachers.

They wanted to broadcast the commencement speech on this teleconferencing network, but didn't receive the OK from the White House in time. So, they are saving it and will broadcast it later.

They are one of the top 70 research institutions in the nations. Nationally competitive and internationally recognized.

Their accounting school is in the Top 10.

SPORTS
They are #3 in total NCAA titles.
Wrestling, national champs for 2 years
Golf in Big 8

PAST GRADUATES
Governor Bellmon; retiring this year; OSU Cowboy in Class of '42
Senator Don Nickles
Rep. Wes Watkins (D-Stillwater's Rep.)

(list of additional distinguished alumni to come)

THEMES FOR OKLAHOMA
boom/bust
triumph/tragedy

OKLAHOMAN HISTORY AND THE TOWN ESTABLISHED IN A DAY

Oklahoma just achieved statehood in 1907, so it is one of the five youngest states.

It was hard hit by the Depression. People have written of the vicious dust storms and 50 million tons of soil being blown away; entire farms blew away. The sky was invisible for 3 days and the hardy people wore dust masks and held wet towels to their mouths. This is the stuff of Steinbeck's The Grapes of Wrath.

President Benjamin Harrison announced that on April 22, 1889 a big chunk of territory in central Oklahoma -- the "Unassigned Lands" -- would be opened for white settlement.

Oklahoma histories glow with excitement when they talk of that day. Thousands of hardy young settlers and their families surrounded the Unassigned Lands. Federal troops formed a fence between the homeseekers and the land, but even so some settlers ventured out earlier, thus giving birth to the nickname "Sooner".

At noon, a cannon was fired and the legal Boomers went rushing across the lines. On foot they cam, or on race horses, or driving two-wheeled racing sulkies or farm wagons or high bicycles -- or jumping off the steps of the special Santa Fe Railway train. Quickly the flagged stakes, marking out homesteads or plots, formed their patterns.

That morning the Unassigned Lands had an official population of zero; that night, it was some 20,000. Among the cities that sprouted from the prairie in a single day: Stillwater.

Education was opportunity to the early settlers of the Oklahoma Territory. In 1884, the boomers who arrived as Stillwater Creek built a school house as one of the first things they did.

Early day citizens worked and schemed to locate the college and corresponding experiment station in Stillwater. They were so convinced of the importance of the school for the future, its establishment became a "life and death" matter. They were even accused of being a "damned shrewd bunch of horsetraders" in the process.

MORE FOR HUMOR

...we have to do a joke on Eskimo Joe's. The VP of OSU, who I just spoke with has guaranteed that this will bring down the house. We should say that he just over at Eskimo Joe's for a pitcher of beer and some cheese fries, buying Tshirts for the grandkids.

--The school newspaper is called the Daily O'Collegian. The students refer to is as the "O'Colley". The students would really love it if POTUS referred to it.

...Thank y'all for that warm welcome -- especially for fellow from **Texas**, or as y'all call it here...Baja Oklahoma.

...The town established in a day

...Will Rogers (POTUS to receive collected works, published by OSU)

...Barry Sanders...Heisman Trophy winner; ran back opening day for a TD, two years in a row. Same endzone as POTUS will be standing.

...Hank Iba; legendary Basketball coach. The fieldhouse is named for him.

...promo items and pitcher/cheese fries from Eskimo Joe's.

...school colors are orange and black. The Cowboys. The mascot is "Pistol Pete" (named after a real US marshal).

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Germany, In NATO Only

By Fareed Zakaria

CAMBRIDGE, Mass.

As the "2 plus 4" talks on Germany's future approach, the proposal that a united Germany remain a member of both NATO and the Warsaw Pact is gaining momentum. However ingenious, the proposal is ill-advised both for American interests and European peace.

German membership in both alliances could backfire in one of two ways.

First, Germany could become effectively neutral, as the two alliances cancel each other out. Further, Bonn could play one pact against the other, giving itself even more room for maneuver. A freewheeling Germany in the center of Europe might unnerve its neighbors.

Second, Germany could resent being locked into two alliances. It might come to regard foreign troops on its soil as occupying armies, and the alliance structures as a mechanism to keep Germany down. An angry Germany in the center of Europe most decidedly *would* unnerve its neighbors.

Nevertheless, some sort of restraint is needed. No nation wants to see Germany rush unilaterally into Eastern Europe to fill the widening power vacuum there. This check would be better exercised by a strong NATO than by the disintegrating Warsaw Pact. (Indeed, if Moscow fails to turn it into an anti-German alliance, the Warsaw Pact may well collapse entirely.)

This solution raises an awkward question, assiduously avoided by the Bush Administration: what is NATO's purpose now that the Soviet military threat has receded? It is not an unfamiliar problem.

A British Prime Minister, Viscount Castlereagh, faced a similar dilemma 175 years ago. England, Prussia, Austria and Russia had defeated Napoleon's France. Castlereagh wanted to keep this Quadruple Alliance intact, but his cabinet — isolationist by temper — was skeptical. What was the alliance's purpose, with France now vanquished?

Designs for Europe
An Occasional Series

Castlereagh's response was familiar. It would maintain stability. The cabinet scoffed at the notion of an alliance that policed Europe to maintain law and order. Despite Castlereagh's best efforts, his cabinet was right. The Quadruple Alliance collapsed within 10 years.

Mr. Bush explains that the threat to ally against now is "unpredictability" and "instability." But these are normal features of world politics; one cannot keep a large alliance together for this purpose.

However, a smaller, more cohesive group of nations may be held together even in the absence of a common enemy. In the mid-19th century, Austria, Prussia and Germany came together out of ideological solidarity. Britain and France, unlikely allies, joined together for similar reasons.

Today, Germany should maintain its alliance with the democratic, industrialized West. The security alliance dovetails nicely with the strengthening European Community, each reinforcing the other. The free and prosperous nations of the West can best provide the stability and the support that the East needs.

The Western alliance also has strategic purposes. It must keep its guard modestly raised against the Soviet Union, which is and will remain a formidable military power.

The alliance would also act as a check on German unilateralism, although it will be difficult to keep Bonn in an alliance whose purpose, among others, is to contain Germany.

But similar alliances have been made before. The great Austrian Chancellor, Metternich, for example, thought it best to restrain Alexander I of Russia by allying with him. It is no secret that among France's motives for joining NATO was a desire to keep a watch on Germany.

None of these reasons to ally are equivalent to the overriding threat the Soviet Union posed to Europe from 1945 to 1989. Therefore, NATO cannot maintain its past structure.

It needs to reduce its military capabilities. In particular, most — but not all — American troops must be taken off German soil. U.S. troops were protecting West Germany, not policing it. It now makes neither strategic nor political sense to keep them there.

NATO should also be transformed into a more equitable alliance with a stronger West European focus. It might even be renamed Enato (European and North American Treaty Organization), to reinforce the change psychologically.

The Bush Administration, which rightly fears a return of American isolationism, should seek to transform NATO from a military to an ideological alliance. Making Germany a member of the Warsaw Pact, however, would not help this transformation.

Fareed Zakaria is a fellow at Harvard's Center for Science and International Affairs.

NATO

No nukes, please, they're German

QUIETLY, the United States has begun orchestrating a policy which could result in the biggest change in the Atlantic alliance since France left the integrated military command in 1966: the denuclearisation of Germany. The policies, which have yet to be made public, will be discussed at the meeting of NATO's Nuclear Planning Group in Canada next month. A new arms-control proposal is expected before the NATO summit planned for this summer, probably accompanied by an announcement of a unilateral withdrawal of some American nuclear weapons from Germany.

The proposal will be to open early talks on land-based nuclear weapons with a range of less than 500 kilometres (the upper limit allowed after the treaty banning medium-range missiles). West Germans are strongly in favour of such negotiations, but Britain, France and the United States were at first opposed. Last May NATO struck a compromise: it would agree to talks, but only after a treaty cutting non-nuclear forces had begun to take effect. The signing of that treaty is expected later this year, but the swift march of events has convinced President Bush that he must move even faster on the short-range nuclear weapons.



Auf Wiedersehen, friend?

The main weapons in this category are artillery shells and short-range missiles. Most military experts agree that the artillery shells are dangerous and expensive to store, would be troublesome to protect in wartime and should probably be scrapped in favour of missiles. The only short-range missiles now available are some 88 aging 110-kilometre Lances, which are scheduled to be replaced as part of a modernisation plan agreed upon in 1983.

But in the past few months it has become apparent that West Germany is unlikely ever to agree to the deployment of a Lance replacement. It did not like the idea of new short-range missiles even before German unity looked imminent (the shorter the range, it was said, the deader the Germans). It likes it even less now.

The American Congress has advised the Bush administration that it is unlikely to grant the money requested in this year's budget to build a successor to Lance. With the artillery shells in trouble anyway and the Lance replacement about to be given the chop, the Bush administration apparently reckons it has little to lose by starting negotiations right away on the eventual scrapping of the short-range weapons based on land.

This would leave only airborne nuclear weapons to contribute to the policy of forward defence. Under this policy (which arms-cutting could make obsolete) NATO is committed to defend Germany at the frontier, increasing the level of violence to whatever it takes, including nuclear strikes, to stop the attack. At the moment all NATO's air weapons are gravity bombs. Part of the nuclear modernisation plan was to produce "stand-off" missiles (ones that aircraft fire a long way from the target) in order to increase their range and to avoid the need for aircraft to fly over heavily defended targets.

These missiles are being developed, but

Alas, Lafontaine

POLITICAL murder is not new to West Germany. Senior civil servants, bankers and industrialists have over the years been victims left-wing terrorists. But the attempted assassination of a top politician is a grisly novelty.

It happened in Cologne on the evening of April 25th. Mr Oskar Lafontaine, the opposition Social Democrats' candidate for chancellor in the general election due in December, had just finished his speech at a rally for next month's local elections in the state of North Rhine-Westphalia. A woman with a bunch of flowers went up to the platform apparently to ask Mr Lafontaine for his autograph. Instead, she took out a knife concealed in the flowers, and stabbed him in the neck.



Fallen campaigner

On Thursday morning Mr Lafontaine was still seriously ill in hospital. Though apparently out of immediate danger, his ability to recover for the December elections must be in doubt. The Social Democrats have been trailing in national opinion polls, not least because the chancellor, Mr Helmut Kohl, has been making all the running on the key issue of German unification. The Social Democrats have been hoping to catch up, partly by exploiting Mr Lafontaine's personal popularity—the polls suggest that Germans like him better than Mr Kohl. Now, though, they will have to start thinking about who might replace him if that is necessary. The party leader, Mr Hans-Jochen Vogel, would be a possible choice. A livelier bet might be Mr Walter Momper, the mayor of Berlin and thus a man at the heart of the unity issue.

Who was behind the attack on Mr Lafontaine? Perhaps nobody other than a crazy woman carrying flowers. The clumsy stabbing was not the style of Germany's ruthlessly efficient terrorists.

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Major Shift Due in U.S. NATO Role

Baker Expected to Take First Steps in Talks on German Unification

By Al Kamen
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Bush administration, under pressure from its Western allies and Congress to revamp the United States's security strategy for Europe, is preparing major changes in the 40-year-old policy of stationing large numbers of U.S. troops there and keeping nuclear-tipped missiles and artillery in Germany.

While the administration officially has insisted on maintaining what President Bush calls a "vigorous" NATO force, U.S. officials and foreign policy experts acknowledge that the administration must articulate a new role for the United States in Europe.

Secretary of State James A. Baker III, leaving today for the first round of the "Two-Plus-Four" talks in Bonn on German unification, will focus on the critical short-term goal of resolving strong Soviet objections to a united Germany remaining in NATO.

The talks are expected to be largely exploratory, a senior State Department official said, to set an agenda for future meetings, with "each side turning over its first card. There will be no effort to come to a deal."

But the larger questions of defining the roles of NATO and the United States in Europe after the Cold War—matters under major public debate in Europe—form the backdrop for the trip even if they are not addressed in detail.

Academic experts and U.S. officials are in broad agreement that the likely departure of Soviet troops from Germany and Eastern Europe, budget pressures here and public opinion in Germany are almost certain to force eventual withdrawal of most U.S. troops and nuclear weaponry from Germany.

Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman Sam Nunn's (D-Ga.) proposal to reduce U.S. troops in Europe to between 75,000 and 100,000 is drawing bipartisan support. Other experts think the numbers will be even lower.

"It is likely . . . the U.S. military

See NATO, A18, Col. 1

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U.S. Planning Major Changes in Its European Security Strategy

NATO, From A1

presence in [West Germany] will be down to 100,000 within the next three to five years," Stephen F. Szabo, associate dean at the National War College argues in a study to be published this summer, "and to 50,000 or even to zero" shortly thereafter.

European leaders are proposing various new political and security frameworks to replace NATO and the collapsing Warsaw Pact and new proposals for political union and security arrangements were adopted last weekend by the 12-nation European Community.

Other proposals call for expanding NATO or for the 35-nation Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) to assume many NATO functions. That idea is viewed skeptically by U.S. officials as a call for another ineffectual League of Nations.

While the administration has praised the search for new structures, it has advanced few of its long-term proposals, while emphasizing NATO's role in future structures.

Baker, in Berlin on Dec. 12, called for "construct[ing] a new security architecture that maintains the common defense" and said NATO's role in Europe would "evolve. NATO will become the forum where Western nations cooperate."

The administration's objective of "getting a united Germany in NATO in the next six months," said Gregory Flynn of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, "is almost beside the point in terms of the real underlying issue" of developing new security structures in Europe and finding a U.S. role there.

One reason for U.S. insistence on maintaining NATO is that the United States has traditionally dominated NATO, something it would not be guaranteed in a wider European entity. In addition, a senior U.S. official said, "there is not a single conventional wisdom" among U.S. planners on what place the United States wants—or can get—in the new Europe.

"We are wrestling with how to make sense of events and how to get ahead of them. We are hedging our bets until we see which train leaves the station first. That's the kind of bind we are in," the official said, speaking anonymously.. "It's relatively certain that NATO is not going to be [the same] a year or two from now."

"It will become increasingly a forum where we will talk out things. There will be less maneuvers, less coordination on defense spending. And it will be harder and harder to sustain nuclear weapons in Europe."

"There are a lot of ideas out there," said another senior U.S. official. "Some of them are quite stupid. The way to counter them is to have solid ideas of our own," he said, but the administration has not advanced any. "We are getting close to decision time," he said. The senior State Department official acknowledged that there has been a feeling among U.S. allies that "the United States is holding back" and not engaging in the debate over Europe's future.

A hallmark of the Bush presidency has been to let pressure build and react only when forced to do so.

Some analysts see powerful disadvantages to such an approach. "It risks letting other people set the agenda and steamroller us," said Michael Mandelbaum, director of the Project on East-West Relations at the Council on Foreign Relations. "Maybe we'll like the result and maybe we won't. As the saying goes, if you don't know where you are going, any road will take you there."

But West European diplomats here, praising the administration's performance so far, suggest no substantial new proposals be made until major questions on German unification are resolved and treaties on conventional and strategic force reductions are signed later this year. There is broad support among NATO and even some Warsaw Pact members for a continued U.S. military presence in Europe, not specifically to deter a shrinking Soviet threat, but to help ensure stability on the continent.

NATO and U.S. troops would be seen by Germany as insurance against any future Soviet threat, by the Soviets as insurance against a potential German threat and by the rest of Europe as an insurance policy against both countries.

A U.S. military presence or "tripwire" of about 50,000 troops in Germany, equipped with air-launched nuclear missiles is seen by analysts as large enough to convince all sides of a viable U.S. commitment to stability and peace on the continent.

But this is not expected to be debated during Baker's consultations with NATO and European Community foreign ministers in Brussels on Thursday, with German leaders and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in Bonn on Friday and the Two-Plus-Four meeting on Saturday.

Those meetings will focus on more immediate issues, the State Department official said. Baker is likely to probe the Soviets on their concerns on German unification, and continue preparations with Shevardnadze for the Bush-Mikhail Gorbachev summit meeting here at the end of May "with arms control a heavy focus." Baker will also urge the Soviets to end their blockade of Lithuania and allow Lithuanian self-determination, the official said.

At the Two-Plus-Four talks, the foreign ministers of East and West Germany will meet with the ministers of the World War II victors—the United States, England, France and the Soviet Union—to set an agenda for discussing how the allies divest themselves of their residual rights in Germany. But much of the discussion will focus on Soviet concerns about unification.

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THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MILITARY HISTORY

from 3500 B.C. to the present

R. ERNEST DUPUY and TREVOR N. DUPUY

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"THE FORESTS OF ARGONNE"



Lieutenant Frank Luke, American ace, with his Spad

FOCH'S FINAL OFFENSIVES

The Concept

Foch planned a double penetration, in 2 major assaults. One of these was to be a Franco-American drive from the Verdun area toward Mézières, a vital German supply center and railroad junction. The other was to be a British offensive between Péronne and Lens, with the railroad junction of Aulnoye as its objective. Seizure of these 2 vital railroad junctions would jeopardize the entire German logistical situation on the Western Front. Supplemental assaults would be made in Flanders by a combined British-Belgian-French army group, and between La Fère and Péronne by another Franco-British force.

The Meuse-Argonne Offensive, September 26–November 11

1918, September 26–October 3. First Phase. Having efficiently shifted by night more than a million men with tanks and guns over an inadequate road and rail net, Pershing launched the First Army—3 corps abreast—in attack at 5:25 A.M. On its left the French Fourth Army (**H. J. E. Gouraud**) attacked also. The American zone lay astride the Meuse Valley, including the Argonne Forest on its left, the Aire Valley, and the heights on both sides of the Meuse. The German defenses (Gallwitz's army group to the east, the Crown Prince's to the west) consisted of 3 heavily fortified lines taking clever advantage of the rugged and heavily wooded terrain. Initial rapid advance was finally slowed in the Argonne Forest and in front of **Montfaucon** as the Germans rushed in reinforcements. The American drive lost momentum on the line **Apremont-Brieulles** (October 3), having penetrated the first 2 German positions.

1918, October 4–31. Second Phase. Replacing a number of his assault divisions by veteran troops from the St.-Mihiel operation, Pershing renewed the offensive. There was no room for maneuver; the First Army battered its way slowly forward in a series of costly frontal attacks, and the actual combat zone was widened to include the east bank of the Meuse, where the Germans had excellent observation from the Heights of the Meuse. The Argonne Forest was cleared, facilitating the advance of the French Fourth Army, on the left, to the Aisne River. Pershing regrouped his forces into a group of 2 armies (October 12). The newly constituted Second Army, commanded by Bullard,

1918, September 28–October 14. Offensive in Flanders. British-Belgian troops of King Albert's army group swept over the Ypres Ridge, but then slowed down as swampy country choked all supply, and Rupprecht's army group fought back grimly.

1918, October 17–November 11. Advance to the Sambre and the Scheldt. Because of American progress in the Meuse-Argonne, a German retreat all along the line became necessary. Ludendorff hoped that he could re-establish a new line west of the German border and by a determined defense through the winter force the Allies to grant generous terms. But his hopes were foiled by the pressure being maintained all along the Allied lines. In a renewed British assault, Rawlinson's Fourth Army broke through German defenses on the Selle River (October 17). Byng's Third Army forced a crossing lower down (October 20). The drive threw back Boehn's army group with the loss of 20,000 prisoners. At the same time the Belgians and British began to move again in Flanders. The German Army began to crack.

The German Collapse

1918, October 6. Request for an Armistice. As the front lines began to crumble, the new German chancellor, Prince **Max of Baden,** sent a message to President Wilson, requesting an armistice on the basis of Wilson's Fourteen Points (see p. 977). An exchange of messages concluded (October 23) with Wilson's insistence that the U.S. (and the Allies) would not negotiate an armistice with the existing military dictatorship.

1918, October 27. Resignation of Ludendorff. Just before formal dismissal, Ludendorff resigned to permit the desperate German government to comply with Wilson's demand. Hindenburg, however, retained his post as German commander in chief, with General **Wilhelm Groener** replacing Ludendorff as Quartermaster General (Chief of Staff).

1918, October 29–November 10. Revolution in Germany. Inspired by the Communists and sparked by a mutiny of the High Seas Fleet, disorders, revolts, and mutinies flared inside Germany. A new Socialist government took power and proclaimed a republic (November 9). The Kaiser fled to Holland (November 10).

1918, November 7–11. Armistice Negotiations. A German delegation, headed by a civilian, **Matthias Erzberger,** negotiated an armistice with Foch in his railway coach headquarters on a siding at Compiègne. Agreement was finally reached at 5 A.M., November 11, 1918. The terms, which were in effect a German surrender, provided that the German Army must immediately evacuate all occupied territory and Alsace-Lorraine; immediately surrender great quantities of war matériel (including 5,000 guns and 25,000 machine guns); evacuate German territory west of the Rhine, and three bridgeheads over the Rhine, to be occupied by the Allies; surrender all submarines; intern all other surface warships as directed by the Allies.

1918, November 11. The Armistice. Hostilities ceased at 11 A.M.; the terms of the armistice immediately became effective.

COMMENT. *Comparisons are invidious. The American Expeditionary Force was the vital factor in the final Allied victory; the Meuse-Argonne offensive was decisive; 6 other American divisions played important spearhead roles elsewhere on the front during the final Allied advances. But the question whether Allied victory could have been achieved without the Americans should not be debated. The American role was to add a final increment of numbers and fresh initiative, permitting the much larger, and more experienced, Allied armies to achieve equally spectacular successes in the final weeks of the war.*

The Italian Front

1918, June 15–22. Austrian Offensive. Germany during the spring transferred her troops in Italy to the Western Front, insisting that the Austrians crush Italy singlehanded. The argument had weight, since Russia was out of the war. Both Conrad (now commanding on the Trentino front) and Borojevic, on the Piave, demanded command of the decisive effort. A compromise decision by Archduke **Joseph** permitted them to attack simultaneously. Since the mountainous terrain and lack of lateral communications would prevent mutual support, the available re-

ment the kind of austerity that Mondale's tax increase would impose on American families.

Too often in Washington the test of a spending program is how many votes will it buy. In the Reagan budgets, I've asked a different question. Considering each program, I thought about the hard-working men and women of my district, about people like Dickie Flat, a printer in Mexia, Texas, who works at night and on Saturdays, and whether you see him at the Boy Scouts, where he's a scoutmaster; or at the schoolhouse, where he's active in the PTA; or at church, where he passes the offering plate on Sunday, he never quite gets that blue ink off the ends of his fingers. I've asked a simple question: Will the benefits to be derived by spending money on this program be worth taking the money away from Dickie Flat to pay for it? Let me tell you something, there are not a lot of programs that will stand up to that test. That's the test of the Reagan budgets, and that's the test we intend to apply on behalf of those who do the work, pay the taxes, and pull the wagon for the next four years. (Applause and cheers.)

On November the sixth, Americans will decide whether we want to go forward with a program that has brought jobs, hope and opportunity to our people or whether we want to go back to a policy which penalizes incentive, stifles growth and promotes dependency.

If we do our job in putting the record of the Reagan Administration before the American people, I'm confident that on November the sixth, when voters go to the polls and ask themselves: Are the prospects for my children and the people I love brighter today than they were four years ago? Am I prouder to be an American today than I was before Ronald Reagan went to the White House? I'm confident that the answer will be a resounding yes. (Applause and cheers.)

Thank you very much and God bless you. (Applause and cheers.)

(The Honorable Jeane Kirkpatrick, United States Ambassador to the United Nations, was introduced by a film. She was the first woman to hold that position and the first woman to serve in President Reagan's Cabinet. She was shown with Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister of Great Britain, and President Duarte of El Salvador. President Reagan spoke of her courage and statesmanship; her patriotism. He said she was a splendid asset to his Administration. Ambassador Kirkpatrick was shown in scenes of her life as a wife, mother, university professor and writer, a woman of many high achievements.)

(Applause, cheers and music.)

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE JEANE KIRKPATRICK UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS

JEANE KIRKPATRICK. — Thank you very much. Thank you very much for that warm welcome. Thank you for inviting me. This is the first Republican Convention I have ever attended. (Applause and cheers.)

I am grateful that you should invite me, a life-long Democrat. On the other hand, I realize that you are inviting many life-long Democrats to join this common cause. (Applause and cheers.)

I want to begin tonight by quoting the speech of a president whom I very greatly admire — Harry Truman, who once said to the Congress: "The United States has become great because we as a people have been able to work together for great objectives even while differing about details."

He continued, "The elements of our strength are many. They include our democratic government, our economic system, our great natural resources, but the basic source of our strength is spiritual. We believe in the dignity of man." (Applause and cheers.)

That's the way Democratic Presidents and Presidential candidates used to talk about America. (Applause and cheers.)

Those were the men who developed NATO, who developed the Marshall Plan, who devised the Alliance for Progress. They were not afraid to be resolute nor ashamed to speak of America as a great nation. They didn't doubt that we must be strong enough to protect ourselves and to help others. They didn't imagine that America should depend for its very survival on the promises of its adversaries. They happily assumed the responsibilities of freedom. (Applause and cheers.)

I am not alone in noticing that the San Francisco Democrats took a very different approach. A recent article in the *New York Times* noted that the foreign policy line that emerged from the Democratic Convention in San Francisco is a distinct shift from the policies of such Democratic Presidents as Harry S Truman, John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson. I agree. I shall speak tonight of foreign affairs, even though the other party's convention barely touched the subject. When the San Francisco Democrats treated foreign affairs as an afterthought, as they did, they behaved less like a dove or a hawk than like an ostrich — (Applause and cheers.)

— like an ostrich convinced it could shut out the world by hiding its head in the sand. Today, foreign policy is central to the security, to the freedom, to the prosperity, even to the survival of the United States. And our strength, for which we make many sacrifices, is essential to the independence and freedom of our allies and our friends.

Ask yourself, what would become of Europe if the United States withdrew? What would become of Africa if Europe fell under Soviet domination? What would become of Europe if the Middle East came under Soviet control? What would become of Israel if surrounded by Soviet bloc states? What would become of Asia if the Philippines or Japan fell under Soviet domination? What would become of Mexico if Central America became a Soviet satellite? (Applause and cheers.)

What then could the United States do? These are questions the San Francisco Democrats have not answered. These are questions they haven't even asked.

The United States cannot remain an open, democratic society if we are left alone, a garrison state in a hostile world. We need independent nations with whom to meet, to consult and to cooperate. We need friends and allies with whom to share the measures and the protection of our civilization. We cannot, therefore, be indifferent to the subversion of others' independence or to the development of new weapons by our adversaries or of new vulnerabilities by our friends. Yet the last Democratic administration didn't seem to notice much or care much or do much about these matters and at home and abroad, our country slid into real deep trouble. North and south, east and west, our relations deteriorated. The Carter Administration's motives were good but their policies were inadequate, uninformed and mistaken. They made things worse, not better.

Those who had least suffered most. Poor countries grew poorer, rich countries grew poorer, too. The United States grew weaker; meanwhile, the Soviet Union grew stronger. The Carter Administration's unilateral restraint in developing and deploying weapons systems was accompanied by unprecedented Soviet buildup, military and political. The Soviets, working on the margins and through the loopholes of SALT I developed missiles of stunning speed and accuracy and targeted the cities of our friends in Europe. They produced weapons capable of wiping out our land-based missiles and then, feeling strong, the Soviet leaders moved with boldness and skill to exploit their new advantages. Facilities were completed in Cuba during those years that permit Soviet nuclear submarines to roam our coast, that permit planes to fly reconnaissance missions over the eastern United States and that permit Soviet electronic surveillance to monitor our telephone calls and our telegrams.

Those were the years that the Ayatollah Khomeini came to power in Iran, while in Nicaragua, the Sandinistas developed a one-party dictatorship on the Cuban model. From the fall of Saigon in 1975 till January 1981, Soviet influence expanded dramatically into Laos, Cambodia, Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, South Yemen, Libya, Syria, Aden, Congo, Madagascar, Seychelles, Nicaragua and Grenada. Soviet bloc forces and advisors sought to guarantee what they call the irreversibility of their new-found influence and to stimulate insurgencies in a dozen other places. During this period, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, murdered its president and began a ghastly war against the Afghan people.

The American people were shocked by these events. We were greatly surprised to learn of our diminished economic and military strength. We were demoralized by the treatment of our hostages in Iran. And we were outraged by the harsh attacks on the United States in the United Nations. As a result, we lost confidence in ourselves and in our government. Jimmy Carter looked for an explanation for all these problems and thought he found it in the American people. But the people knew better. It wasn't malaise we suffered from. (Applause and cheers.)

The people knew better. It wasn't malaise we suffered from, it was Jimmy Carter — (Applause and cheers.)

— and Walter Mondale. (Applause and cheers.)

And so in 1980, the American people elected a very different President. (Applause and cheers.)

The election of Ronald Reagan marked an end to the dismal period of retreat and decline. His inauguration, blessed by the simultaneous release of our hostages signaled an end to the most humiliating episode in our national history. The inauguration of President Reagan signaled a reaffirmation of historic American ideals. Ronald Reagan brought to the presidency confidence in the American experience, confidence in the legitimacy and success of American institutions, confidence in the decency of the American people and confidence in the relevance of our experience to the rest of the world. (Applause and cheers.)

That confidence has proved contagious. Our nation's subsequent recovery in domestic and foreign affairs, the restoration of our military and economic strength has silenced the talk of inevitable American decline and reminded the world of the advantages of freedom. President Reagan faced a stunning challenge and he met it. (Applause and cheers.)

In the three and a half years since his inauguration, the United States has grown stronger, safer, more confident and we are at peace. (Applause and cheers.)

The Reagan Administration has restored the American economy. It is restoring our military strength. It has liberated the people of Grenada from terror and tyranny. (Applause and cheers.)

With NATO, it has installed missiles to defend the cities of Europe. The Reagan Administration has prevented the expulsion of Israel from the United Nations. (Applause and cheers.)

It has developed flexible new forms of international cooperation with which to deal with new threats to world order. The Reagan Administration has given more economic assistance to developing countries than any other Administration or any other government and has encouraged the economic freedom needed to promote self-sustaining economic growth.

The Reagan Administration has helped to sustain democracy and encourage its development elsewhere, and at each step of the way, the same people who were responsible for America's decline have insisted that the President's policies would fail. They said we could never deploy missiles to protect Europe's cities, but today European cities enjoy that protection.

They said it would never be possible to hold an election in El Salvador because the people were too frightened and the country too disorganized, but the people of El Salvador proved them wrong. (Applause and cheers.)

And today, President Napoleon Duarte has impressed the democratic world with his skillful, principled leadership. They said we could not use America's strength to help others — Sudan, Chad, Central America, the Gulf

States, the Caribbean nations — without being drawn into war. But we have helped others resist the Soviets, Libyans, Cuban subversion and we are at peace. (Applause and cheers.)

They said saving Grenada from terror and totalitarianism was the wrong thing to do. They didn't blame Cuba or the communists for threatening American students and murdering Grenadians, they blamed the United States. But then, somehow they always blame America first.

When our Marines who were sent to Lebanon on a multi-national peacekeeping mission, with the consent of the United States Congress, were murdered in their sleep, the blame-America-first crowd didn't blame the terrorists who murdered the Marines, they blamed the United States, but then they always blame America first.

When the Soviet Union walked out of arms control negotiations and refused even to discuss the issues, the San Francisco Democrats didn't blame Soviet intransigence, they blamed the United States, but then they always blame America first.

When Marxist dictators shoot their way into power in Central America, the San Francisco Democrats don't blame the guerrillas and their Soviet allies, they blame United States policies of 100 years ago, but then they always blame America first.

The American people know better. They know that Ronald Reagan and the United States didn't cause Marxist dictatorship in Nicaragua, or the repression in Poland, or the brutal new offenses in Afghanistan, or the destruction of the Korean airliner, or the new attacks on religious and ethnic groups in the Soviet Union, or the jamming of Western broadcasts, or the denial of Jewish immigration, or the brutal imprisonment of Anatoly Sharansky and Ida Nudel, or the obscene treatment of Andrei Sakharov and Elena Bonner, or the re-Stalinization of the Soviet Union.

(These statements were interrupted after each one with cheers and applause.)

The American people know that it's dangerous to blame ourselves for terrible problems we didn't cause. They understand, just as the distinguished French writer Jean Francois Ravel understands, the dangers of endless self-criticism and self-denigration. He wrote: "Clearly, a civilization that feels guilty for everything it is and does will lack the energy and conviction to defend itself."

With the election of Ronald Reagan, the American people declared to the world that we have the necessary energy and conviction to defend ourselves. (Applause and cheers.)

And that we have as well a deep commitment to peace.

And now the American people, proud of our country, proud of our freedom, proud of ourselves will reject the San Francisco Democrats and send

Ronald Reagan back to the White House. Thank you very much. (Applause and cheers.)

Thank you very much. That's very nice. (More cheers and applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. — Ladies and gentlemen, the Chair now recognizes for the purpose of addressing our convention a woman who has dedicated her career to assisting others. By her career choices to prepare individuals for their retirement years, Dr. Virginia Boyack from Valencia, California, is another scholar, lecturer and author in her field. Recently she served as a member of the Executive Committee on the White House Conference on Aging.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is a great pleasure to present to you Dr. Virginia Boyack.

REMARKS BY DR. VIRGINIA BOYACK
VALENCIA, CALIFORNIA

VIRGINIA BOYACK. — Thank you, Frank.

I appreciate your introduction. I am indeed honored to address our Party's convention and to bring greetings to you from the President's home state, California.

I'm here tonight to talk to you about a truly significant group of people, twenty-six million senior Americans.

As a gerontologist, I constantly receive mail dealing with aging issues. You can imagine my interest when I recently received a letter headed, "Seniors For Mondale."

If one didn't know better, one might get the impression from this letter that senior Americans are helpless, living in abject poverty and totally dependent upon the government. Not so.

I never cease to be amazed by the tactics used to exploit the vulnerability of our older people. In fact, recent studies are indeed challenging such traditional negative stereotypes of older people as poor, sick, senile, lonesome, immobile and bored. By far, the overwhelming majority of our older Americans are involved, vigorous and independent. (Applause.)

This Mondale letter also tries to create the impression that President Reagan does not care about this important segment of our society. Do you know that it even accuses him of planning a brutal assault on our senior citizens, and in San Francisco, we heard the same line from Mario Cuomo, Tip O'Neill and Ted Kennedy, and yes, even Walter Mondale.

Now, security is an important concern for all of us, but especially for our older citizens, and I can tell you that these scare tactics based on unsubstantiated accusations create an unnecessary feeling of threat to their sense of security.

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Presidential Addresses and State Papers of

Theodore Roosevelt

PART THREE

WITH PORTRAIT FRONTISPIECE

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New York
1970

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given me the chance to
to say a word of greet-
ı Godspeed with all my

ADDRESS TO THE GRADUATING CLASS OF THE NAVAL ACADEMY AT ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND, JAN. 30, 1905

Captain Brownson, Members of the Graduating Class, Governor Warfield, and to the other Midshipmen and their friends and kinsmen here gathered together:

I fail to see how any good American can be other than a better American when he comes here to Annapolis and sees the Academy as it is and as it soon will be, thanks to the wise munificence of Congress; and I am not surprised that you who graduate from this institution should make the kind of men that as a rule you do make afterward; should show the qualities of courage, of lofty fidelity to duty, of devotion to the flag, and of farsighted preparedness to meet possible future emergencies; should show the traits which I think, Captain Brownson, I can say without flattery, characterize the service to which you belong. I am not surprised that you should show those traits, for I should be heartily ashamed of you if you did not. More than any other people in this country, with the sole exception of those in the sister service who have had your advantages, you owe a peculiar fealty to the Nation which has trained you, which has given you a career in after-life, a career in which, if you do your duty, you are sure to lead honorable lives, and to deserve well of the Republic; and a career in which there

is always the chance that you may spring into one of those few places to be occupied by the men of the Nation who win deathless fame for themselves by the way in which they serve the Nation in the hour of the Nation's need. On the one hand we have the right to expect a peculiar measure of self-sacrificing service from you. On the other hand we have the right to expect from the representatives of the people a peculiar care for your interests. It is well that every public man should feel under a particular obligation to see to the welfare of the Army and the Navy. Governor Warfield, if you will pardon the personal allusion, I want to thank you for the way in which you have made evident your feeling toward this institution, for the reception you gave just the other night to these very men about to graduate. It is well that they should understand that because of the position they hold the Governor of the great State in which the institution is situated recognizes their possibilities of usefulness to the country, the obligations due them, and the obligations we have a right to feel that they will recognize to the whole Nation in return.

There are a good many baseless alarms which some worthy people feel from time to time in this country, and which other less worthy people affect to feel, but of all foolish crimes, of all baseless figments of a disturbed imagination, the cry of militarism in this country is the most foolish and the most baseless. Not only there does not exist now, but there never has existed in recent times, any nation so wholly free as this is from any danger of excessive militarism, so wholly free from any danger of an undue growth of the military spirit. The danger is now, will be, and always has been, the exact reverse; the danger is lest we do not take sufficient thought in preparing the men and material which will make our attitude in claiming to be a great nation respectable. I would be sorry to see us content to assume the position of a nation unwilling and unable to play a great part in the world, unable to hold its own in the shock of arms, should it be ever necessary, which I most earnestly hope that in the lifetime of no man here present it will be necessary. Should it ever be necessary, and I hope it will not be, to appeal to arms, I should be sorry to see us take the position of avowed weakness, take the position that we did not intend to rank ourselves among the great powers of the earth. I should be sorry to see that; but I would a great deal rather see that than see us insist upon taking such a position and refuse to provide the means which would make such a position other than a sham. If this country believes in the Monroe Doctrine; if this country intends to hold the Philippines; if it intends, besides building, to police the Isthmian Canal; if it intends to do its duty on the side of civilization, on the side of law and order, and that duty can be done only by the just man armed; if this country intends to do that, then it must see to it that it is able to make good, if the necessity arises to make good. It is idle to talk of our faith in

tion on a better footing, must go the steady upbuilding of the Army and the Navy; above all the Navy, so that our national honor may be sure of an adequate safeguard should our national honor ever be actively menaced.

I want to say a word to you boys here in particular. I am about to have the good fortune to present a sword to the best gunner and certain medals also for gunnery. The sword is given by the class of '71, given annually, so as to put a premium upon markmanship; and, Captain Brownson, I would like through you to thank the members of that class for the patriotic service they have done in making such a gift.

The one thing that you graduates here, and all of the others in this school, must remember, is that you ought to bend your entire energies to fitting yourselves as you can only be fitted by the most careful training in advance for the possible supreme day when upon your success or your failure will depend not only whether your own lives will be crowned with triumph or blasted with ruin, but whether the Nation will or will not write a page of glory or a page of shame on her history. There is not one of you who is not derelict in his duty to the whole Nation if he fails to prepare himself with all the strength that in him lies to do his duty should the occasion arise; and one of your great duties is to see that shots hit. The result is going to largely depend upon whether you or your adversary hits. I expect you to be brave. I rather take that for

granted. It is not that you are to be commended much for bravery. You would be condemned forever if you lacked it. If you lacked it in the highest form, courage physical and moral, the courage that will assume responsibility, no less than the courage that without a thought will face death, that we have a right to expect from every one of you, and I say that you are less to be commended for having it than to be condemned for failure to have it. But, in addition, you have got to prepare yourselves in advance. Every naval action that has taken place within the last twenty years in which our own ships have been engaged or in which any foreign ships have been engaged has shown, as a rule, that the defeated party has suffered not from lack of courage, but because it could not make the best use of its weapons, or had not been given the right weapons. Occasionally, of course, if the victor happened to be matched against people who did not show courage, the courage counted. But I want every one here to proceed upon the assumption that any foe he may meet will have the courage. Of course, you have got to show the highest degree of courage yourself or you will be beaten anyhow, and you will deserve to be; but in addition to that you must prepare yourselves by careful training so that you may make the best possible use of the delicate and formidable mechanism of a modern warship. The reason that you are trained here, the reason that you are put through this academy, the reason that your training goes on in the service is because without that train-

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study of Celtic literature. A century and over ago the civilized world, which had been looking down upon old Norse poetry as the production of a barbarous race, suddenly awoke to the wealth of beauty contained in the Scandinavian sagas. If I am not greatly in error we are now about to see a similar awakening to the wealth of beauty contained in the Celtic sagas; and I wish to see American institutions of learning take the lead in that awakening.

Theodore Roosevelt

AT WILLIAMS COLLEGE, WILLIAMSTOWN, MASS., JUNE 22, 1905

Mr. President, and you of Williams:

It is a high honor that I have received at your hands, and I deeply appreciate it. I appreciate it particularly because it is my good fortune to find on the platform with me so many men to whom I am knit by the bonds of personal friendship and of work for a common end. I have listened with real pleasure to the three discourses to-day; and of course the first was in my line of business.

Before speaking of what I had intended to say here to-day, I want to say a word just suggested by that address on "idealism in politics." I wish to see every graduate of this college, and every graduate of every other college in the land, feel (and I thank the speaker for the way he emphasized it) the need of ideals in business and in law, quite as much as in politics. I wish to see every graduate do all that in him lies to uphold a standard of practical idealism in after life. I was struck and amused by the sentence in which the speaker said that at present if you spoke of ideals, you met with the answer, "Oh, yes, that is very pretty in theory, but it won't work in Troy!" There are two sides to that. In the first place, it is a bad thing for Troy if Troy will not stand idealism; and in the next place it is a poor type of ideal that is of no use in Troy. I want you to remember the last just as much as the first. I want you to have high ideals, but practical ideals. I do not want you ever to get into a frame of mind which we see pretty often in the world at large, which believes that you can only have either high or fantastic ideals, or else low and practical ones. If you have to choose, of course I would a great deal rather see you choose high and fantastic ideals than low and practical ones, because the last are a detriment to the Nation at large, while the first are merely of no earthly consequence. If you have to choose between being noxious and being merely harmless, of course, choose to be harmless. But do not expect very great gratitude from any person interested in the country if you choose merely to be harmless. If you choose to have high ideals so fantastic that they are of no use when you try to apply them in practical life, do not for one moment delude yourself into the belief that to have these fantastic ideals shows that you are more virtuous than the man who has not got them. It merely shows that you are more foolish. Have a high ideal and try to realize it, measurably, within

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your powers, as, immeasurably and with tremendous power, Abraham Lincoln and George Washington strove to realize their ideals. Have high ideals, and then try to realize them in practical shape. I do not want to see you go out of this institution of learning with an ideal impossible to put into effect, because I am afraid if you leave it with such an ideal and find that this ideal does not work, then instead of realizing that the fault lies in you for having chosen that kind of an ideal, you will think it lies with idealism itself, and will abandon idealism. What I desire to see you feel is that you must have a high ideal; that you must also apply that ideal in practice; and above all things to avoid the state of mind in which you preach an impossible idealism, and make amends for it by not practicing any idealism at all.

It is perfectly true that you want to avoid improper compromises, but you will not get any other, if you are not able to compromise in non-essential matters. I do not suppose there is one of these men on this platform—Mr. Root, Mr. Choate, Senator Crane—who has not disagreed with me on some pretty important points, ranging from the navy to corporations. But we have been able to come to a working agreement. We have been able to establish a basis for common action, not by surrendering on matters of principle, but by agreeing each to subordinate his views on certain points, so that we could secure the efficiency of action that can only come from united effort. I want you to feel that to

accomplish anything in after life, you men who are just going out into the great world, you must keep ever before your minds both the desire to work for betterment, and the power to work in combination with your fellows (who will not on all points agree with you) practically to achieve that betterment.

In striving to solve the immediate governmental problems that are before us, we have a right to expect leadership from the men who come out of Williams, who come out of the other colleges and universities of the land; we have a right to expect that leadership to be shown with practical efficiency, in seeing that this Nation does its duty abroad and at home. I wish to see this Nation not merely talk for peace and righteousness, but act for peace and righteousness; but I wish to see this Nation stand for righteousness first and then for peace. I wish to see the Nation stand for the peace of justice, for the righteousness in the attainment of which peace is normally a potent instrument, but for which we must stand, whether peace comes or not. In 1861, there were men who cried peace, peace, when there was no peace; and we have peace now combined with righteousness, and have secured it, as I believe, for ages to come on this continent, because men then dared to draw the sword for righteousness. We have no such terrible crisis as that of 1861 facing us now. On the contrary, we have a series of rather humdrum little crises which it is sometimes exasperating to have to face, but which we must.

The particular small crisis of which I am think-

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ing is that in Santo Domingo last year. I had done everything that in me lay to prevent that crisis coming. All I asked, on behalf of the people of the United States, of Santo Domingo was that it should be good and happy. Without entering into the ethical question, I shall merely say that it was not happy. Finally affairs grew into such shape down there that it was evident that the bonds of society were on the point of dissolution; and the Government of Santo Domingo made an earnest appeal to the Government of the United States and asked that this Nation, out of the abundance of its strength, should strive to help a weaker brother. Now do not forget that that was the appeal, and that it was because of this appeal that we took action. There were of course two motives that influenced us. One was the desire to help the people of Santo Domingo for their own sakes, and the other, and a legitimate one, was to try to fend off the possibility of trouble coming to Santo Domingo, which might bring the United States itself into trouble. The debts of Santo Domingo were so great and the impossibility of paying all those debts so patent that there was a threat of imminent interference by foreign nations to collect the debts due their own citizens. And as the only way of guaranteeing the collection of those debts was to seize the custom houses, it inevitably meant the seizure nominally, temporarily, of a certain amount of Santo Domingo territory, which would almost inevitably produce a conflict between us and those foreign governments So, in the interest of

the peace of the world, and in the interest of justice to Santo Domingo, we yielded to Santo Domingo's request and have started to try to help her so to carry on her finances that she may be able to pay all that she can of what she justly owes. In taking that action the Government has proceeded upon the theory that you can not formulate a right, individual or national, without impliedly formulating a responsibility and obligation to go with that right.

We say that in our own interest and in the interest of the peoples of the Western Hemisphere we adhere to the Monroe Doctrine. With the promulgation of that doctrine must go the responsibility that ought by right to accompany it. We can not say that other peoples shall not do what ought to be done, unless we do it ourselves. People answer that trouble and bother will come if we do it. If this Nation refuses to do its duty because it thinks the duty will necessitate encountering some trouble, some bother, then let this Nation cease to claim to be great. I demand that the Nation do its duty, and accept the responsibility that must go with greatness. I ask that the Nation dare to be great, and that in daring to be great it show that it knows how to do justice to the weak no less than to exact justice from the strong. In order to take such a position of being a great Nation, the one thing that we must not do is to bluff. It is perhaps defensible, although I think improper, to say that we will not try to be a big Nation, will not try to play the part of a big Nation or act as such in the world. But the unpar-

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donable thing is to say we will act as a big Nation and then decline to take the necessary steps to make the words good. Therefore, gentlemen, see to it that the navy is built up, and kept at the highest point of efficiency. I ask that, not in the interest of war, but as a guarantee of peace. I believe in the Monroe Doctrine; I believe in the building and maintaining as an open highway for the nations of mankind the Panama Canal. But I had a great deal rather see this country abandon the Monroe Doctrine and give up all thought of building the Panama Canal than to see it attempt to maintain the one and construct the other while refusing to provide the means which can alone render our attitude as a Nation worthy of the respect of the other nations of mankind. Keep on building and maintaining at the highest point of efficiency the United States navy, or quit trying to be a big Nation. Do one or the other.

Now for our internal affairs. I am particularly glad to speak to an audience like this, because I do not know that I shall have the unqualified assent of everybody here. If I address an audience merely of men of very small means or wage-workers, then what I want to tell them, as the most important thing for them to learn, is to avoid an attitude of rancorous envy or hostility toward men of wealth, and above all to remember that the well-being of our social structure rests upon obedience to the law, upon the immediate suppression of mob violence, mob rule, in any form. There can be and must be

no paltering with any manifestation of that spirit. Any attempt to override the law by action of individuals or by the action of mobs, whether the attempt comes in connection with labor difficulties or in any other way, must in the interest of the Nation be met fearlessly at the earliest opportunity, and the lawlessness put down.

On the other side, just as we must never allow this Government to be changed into government by a mob, so we must never allow it to be changed into government by a plutocracy. The growth of our modern industrialism has resulted in an altogether disproportionate reward to the man who goes into money-making as his only career. Two evil results follow. One is the result to himself, for, unless he is a man of very strong character, there almost inevitably comes a certain arrogance, or at least a certain carelessness toward the rights of others. The other result is to breed in the minds of poor people an attitude of sullen envy toward men of wealth, which is infinitely more damaging to the people who hold it than any action of the man of wealth could be.

There must be a closer supervision by the Government of great industrial combinations, for of course wealth at present finds its expression through these great industrial combinations. I think it has been a mistake to act on the theory which has shaped most of our legislation, National and State, for the last thirty years, that it is possible to turn back the hands of the clock, to forbid combinations and to restore business to conditions which have absolutely

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passed away. That can not be done. What we can do is to exercise an efficient supervision over the combinations, so as to see as far as possible that they are used in the interest of and not against the interest of the general public. I do not believe that such supervision can come effectively through the State, nor that it can effectively come through the municipality. Ultimately in the great majority of cases to be effective it must be exercised by the National Government. I trust that in the end means will be found by which the exercise of such control over all the great industrial corporations which are really engaged in and doing an interstate business will be lodged in the hands of the National Government. As the first step to that I hope to see the passage of legislation which will give as an executive, not as a judicial function, to the National Government the supervision of the railroads of the United States which are engaged in interstate commerce, with the power, when a rate is complained of as improper and unjust, to examine that rate, and if the rate should be changed to change it to a given rate, and to have that given rate take practically immediate effect. Now, I am perfectly well aware that there are objections to the proposed change, but in my judgment they are far outweighed by the objections attendant upon not making the change. The fear expressed by excellent people, who no doubt feel it genuinely, that we could not get a commission who would fix all the rates of the railroads of the country, is to my mind much as if they should express fear that

you could not get Supreme Court Justices who would be able to fix all the laws. I expect that the commission will be able to pass upon a given rate brought before it, just as the Supreme Court passes upon a given question of law brought before it; and one will prove to be as feasible as the other has proved feasible. That system should be, and in my judgment will be introduced. I believe it will work a measurable betterment for the public. Listen to what I say—a measurable betterment for the public. I do not believe that it will produce the millennium, or anything approaching it; and I am quite certain that some of its most ardent advocates will be disappointed with the results. But I think measurable good will come. It can only come if the officers intrusted with the administration of the law remember that it is exactly as much their duty to protect the railroad from the public as to protect the public from the railroad; to remember that when we say we want justice from the railroad we must, if we are honest, add also a pledge to do justice to the railroad.

AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY, JUNE 28, 1905

The Harvard Spirit

Bishop Lawrence, Brothers, Men of Harvard:

We have just heard from a Harvard man speaking in behalf of the class of '55. I now speak to you in behalf of the class of '80. Mr. Choate, you can afford to be generous. A man whose life has been

① The US entered
WWI on April 6, 1917

② The US entered WW II
on Dec. 8, 1941

③ still looking on WWI battles that are "___ of ___". Some notable battles are: Belleau Woods, & the Argoine, but they're not "the ___ of ___".

④ Normandy: June 6, 1944

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THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MILITARY HISTORY

from 3500 B.C. to the present

R. ERNEST DUPUY and TREVOR N. DUPUY

Revised Edition



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Mexico City, São Paulo, Sydney

Unity of command was nonexistent. Nivelle, planning a giant joint Anglo-French offensive, to be carried out with "violence, brutality, and rapidity," clashed with Haig on their command relationship. The French government supported Nivelle and the British were divided. British Prime Minister Lloyd George, who distrusted Haig and admired charming, English-speaking Nivelle, placed the BEF under Nivelle's command, to the horror of Haig and of Sir **William Robertson,** the new Chief of the Imperial General Staff. Through this bickering, and Nivelle's own imprudent announcements, secrecy was lost.

Ludendorff, aware of the Allied preparations and particularly fearing for overextended German lines in the west, deliberately chose a defensive attitude on both major fronts while forcing Austria (with German assistance) to take decisive action against Italy, which he believed could be defeated in 1917. The Kaiser approved this strategic concept, and also concurred in the inauguration of unrestricted submarine warfare, regardless of American opinion. He virtually granted unlimited authority to the military high command.

United States Entry

1917, January 31. Germany Proclaims Unrestricted Submarine Warfare. To offset growing hostility in the U.S., covert negotiations were already in process by German diplomats for a German-Mexican-Japanese alliance.

1917, February 3. The U.S. Severs Relations with Germany. This was a protest against unrestricted submarine warfare. Brazil, Bolivia, Peru, and other Latin American nations followed suit, as did China (March 14).

1917, March 1. Zimmermann Note. Publication of a proposed German defensive alliance with Mexico in case of war between Germany and the U.S., with the proviso "that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona" caused a wave of American fury. **Alfred Zimmermann,** German Foreign Secretary, had sent the coded proposition, which contained the further suggestion that Mexico urge Japan to join the Central Powers, to **von Eckhardt,** German Minister to Mexico (January 19). British naval intelligence, intercepting and decoding it, gave a copy (February 24) to **Walter Hines Page,** U.S. ambassador to Britain. He immediately turned it over to the State Department, which released it to the press (March 1). U.S. intelligence sources later verified the authenticity of the note.

1917, March 13. U.S. Merchantmen Armed. President Wilson's decision to arm for self-defense all vessels passing through war zones was announced by the State and Navy departments.

1917, April 6. The U.S. Declares War against Germany. This followed the sinking of several American ships and President Wilson's war message to Congress (April 2). War against Austria-Hungary was not declared until 8 months later (December 7).

1917, April–June. U.S. Preparations. The Army would have to be built. Major General **John J. Pershing** was selected to command the American Expeditionary Force (AEF) and the 1st Division (an amalgamation of existing Regular Army units) was shipped to France (June). Pershing's plan called for a 1-million-man army overseas by May, 1918, with long-range provision for 3 million men in Europe later. A draft law—the Selective Service Act—was passed (May 19) and the nation went into high gear. The Navy was ready (see p. 975).

The Western Front

1917, February 23–April 5. German Withdrawal. Ludendorff had prepared a much shorter, highly organized defensive zone—the Hindenburg Line, or Siegfried Zone—some 20 miles behind the winding, overextended line from Arras to Soissons. Hindenburg approved, and decided to withdraw to the new line, which could be held with fewer divisions, thus providing a larger and more flexible reserve. Behind a lightly held outpost line heavily sown with machine guns lay 2 successive defensive positions, heavily fortified. Behind these again lay the German reserves concentrated and prepared for counterat-

tack. Each successive
so spaced in depth th
taken, the attackers' ar
to displace forward
against the next. Betwe
and the new zone, th
been devastated; towns
razed, forests levelec
contaminated, and roa
actual withdrawal, con
crecy, began February
pleted by April 5.

1917, April 9–15. Battle o
the British preliminary
fensive. The British Fi
Horne) and Third (Ge
Allenby) armies, follow
bardment and gas attac
positions of the Gerr
(General **L. von Falk**
air supremacy was rapi
dian troops stormed and
the first day. The Br
(**Hubert Gough**), assist
made little progress. Th
was finally slowed do
days of battle. Althoug
ish tactical victory, the
through. British casual
German, about 75,000.

1917, April 16–20. Nivell
ond Battle of the Aisne
Champagne). The Fre
Group (**Alfred Michele**
forced, assaulted on a
tween Soissons and Re
Chemin des Dames, a
rocky ridges paralleling
Sixth (Mangin) and Fift
armies were closely su
Tenth (**Denis Duchêne**)
the First (**M. E. F**
strength in the attackin
1,200,000 men and 7,000
man Seventh (**Max v**
First (**Fritz von Below**)
sector, fully cognizant
as a result of Nivelle's
boasts of victory. Just b
German flyers swept th
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THE HISTORICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD WAR II

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

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

NIGHT AND FOG.
See *Nacht und Nebel*.

NIMITZ, Chester W. (1885-1966).
American admiral. Appointed commander in chief of the United States Pacific Fleet shortly after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, he was responsible for the U.S. victory at Midway in June 1942 and for the subsequent undermining of Japanese naval power. He was among those receiving Japan's surrender aboard the USS *Missouri* on September 2, 1945.

NKVD.
See *Narodnyy Kommissariat Vnutrennikh Del*.

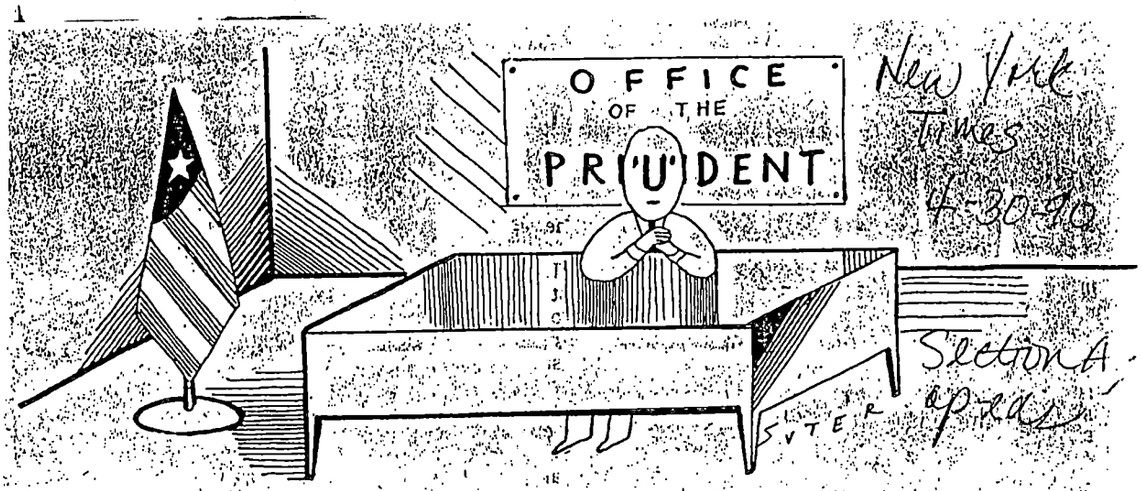
NOMURA, Kichisaburo (1877-1964).
An admiral, diplomat and Japanese ambassador to the United States at the time of Pearl Harbor, Nomura abrogated Japan's treaty of commerce with the U.S. as foreign minister in late 1939. Together with Saburo Kurusu, he negotiated with Cordell Hull, the American secretary of state, from April through November 1941. He tried earnestly to avert war without compromising Japan's position on the Asian mainland. Both Hull and Nomura wanted to turn Japan away from the Axis and toward an accommodation with the United States. Nomura's ambiguity and vacillation, which greatly imperiled the negotiations, were caused by his imperfect English, his diplomatic inexperience and the uncertain political climate in Tokyo, and also by his hope of forestalling war by letting the talks drag on as long as possible. This tactic failed when the Japanese government took the Hull note of November 26 as an ultimatum. Through confusion and communications delays that were symbolic of the entire negotiations, Nomura met with Hull to announce the impending attack on Pearl Harbor more than an hour after it had already begun.

NORDPOL.
See *Englandspiel*.

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

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

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



New York Times 4-30-90 Section A

Bush's Unrealpolitik

By Elliott Abrams

WASHINGTON

Is there a "Bush approach" to the conduct of foreign affairs? Watching the President struggle with the crisis in Lithuania, the answer appears to be yes: the President's approach is an attempt to combine a form of "realpolitik" with heavy reliance on personal relations among national leaders.

A pattern has emerged strongly in the Administration's first 15 months, in response to events in China, Nicaragua and Lithuania.

First, business is usually conducted between a small group within our Government and a small group of foreign leaders. The importance of personal relations among these leaders is inevitably magnified, and "maintaining our ties" to "build good will" with Deng Xiaoping, Mikhail Gorbachev and others becomes critical. Indeed, the building and retaining of those personal ties seems to be the main policy goal, and the substance of policy becomes secondary to the personal side.

The dangers of this approach are clear. We are dealing with unelected, precariously placed, sometimes aged individuals whose political or physical lifespans are in doubt.

When we define our Soviet policy as little more than backing Mr. Gorbachev, we run the risk of a massive policy defeat if he should fall. Realizing this, the Administration's investment in him becomes larger and larger, perversely giving him more and more leverage over us the weaker he gets. Eventually we find ourselves at the point of self-censorship, as the deputy national security adviser, Robert Gates, found out when he was prevented from stating the obvious about Mr. Gorbachev's shaky future.

It may have been sensible for the President to believe that his personal acquaintance with China's leaders would enable him to encourage reforms unattainable through a policy of public criticism. Nevertheless, he has failed; China is more repressive now than when he started.

The tough old Communists who rule China have none of our sentimentality when it comes to friendships among leaders. It would never occur to them to temper a policy on purely personal grounds. Pulling our punches after Tiananmen Square has served only to dishearten and weaken the democratic opposition, while comforting the party bosses.

It cannot be correct policy to muffle our support for those who represent our true interest in China — its modernization and democratization — in order to maintain smooth relations with an elderly party elite dedicated to preserving their monopoly on power.

To this excessive personalization of foreign affairs is added a peculiar return to "realpolitik" — the view that the international system revolves around the unprincipled use of power by nation states. It is peculiar because it comes at a moment of staggering success for the ideas that America represents. As democracy triumphs, and the thirst for it around the globe is more and more manifest, we waffle about supporting freedom movements in Lithuania and China.

> He conducts foreign policy as if having a policy were a mistake.

Most striking is the joylessness of the Administration's reaction to democratic pressures in both countries. Instead we see a thin smile and a public stance conveying as much solicitude for our "friends" in the Soviet and Chinese hierarchies as enthusiasm for the marchers in the streets. Occasionally the White House evinces a "them and us" attitude that displays more solidarity with rulers beset by 'troublemakers' than with democrats East and West struggling against oppression.

The Nicaraguan situation is different, but here as well we are reluctant to commit ourselves to policy principles. The President's absolute silence about the contras was deafening: not a word of gratitude to the men who fought and died advancing the policy he actively supported for eight years.

What lessons have we learned from Nicaragua? Did backing an armed rebellion pay off in democracy, or was it all a big mistake? The President's answer to this question is not academic, for it will tell Jonas Savimbi in Angola, Son Sann in Cambodia and others similarly situated a good deal about their future. Yet the Administration will not speak to the point. It's as if policy itself were a mistake, likely to get in the way of the flexibility needed to conduct foreign relations.

Similarly, the President seems to believe that "realpolitik" requires him to resist moral judgments on other international actors. This principle extends beyond Lithuania and Tiananmen Square to even the recent case of Iraq's aggressive actions — including the threat to conduct chemical warfare once again. This elicited from him no condemnation tougher than the word "bad."

Conversely, nations such as Israel, whose ties with the U.S. are based precisely on moral judgments, find themselves in hot water if their behavior gets in the way of an Administration maneuver. It's as if moral judgments of nations and leaders are thought juvenile or unprofessional, blunders to be avoided because they get in the way of tactical flexibility.

In truth, this is not "realpolitik," which requires both realism and policy. The Administration has borrowed from "realpolitik" an evasion of principle, but has substituted personalized diplomacy for the concrete approach realpolitik demands.

So there is a double mistake: no clear policies, no clear principles. When realpolitik is defined as avoiding consistent and principled policy approaches almost as a matter of principle, it is a formula for trouble. When American support for democracy is compromised by investments in the fate of foreign autocrats, our greatest asset is being sold short at the moment when the market for it is at a historic high.

After over a year in office, the Administration has yet to draw its actions together into a logical whole. Leaders will come and go, but we still face the new world scene without a coherent and principled foreign policy. We have neither defined the world we want to see emerge, nor said how we plan to get there. □

Elliott Abrams was an Assistant Secretary of State in the Reagan Administration.

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THEODORE ROOSEVELT CYCLOPEDIA

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AND
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FOREWORD BY
WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

REVISED SECOND EDITION

NEW INTRODUCTION, BIBLIOGRAPHY, CHRONOLOGY,
HISTORY OF THE THEODORE ROOSEVELT ASSOCIATION
BY
JOHN ALLEN GABLE

THEODORE ROOSEVELT ASSOCIATION
and
MECKLER

sumably concerned. (1907.) -- VIII, 180; *Nat. Ed.* VII, 157.

DEMOCRACY, AMERICAN—OPPORTUNITY FOR. Here in America we the people have a continent on which to work out our destiny, and our faith is great that our men and women are fit to face the mighty days. Nowhere else in all the world is there such a chance for the triumph on a gigantic scale of the great cause of Democratic and popular government. If we fail, the failure will be lamentable, and our heads will be bowed with shame; for not only shall we fail for ourselves, but our failure will wreck the fond desires of all throughout the world who look toward us with the fond hope that here in this great Republic it shall be proved from ocean to ocean that the people can rule themselves, and thus ruling can gain liberty for and do justice both to themselves and to others. We who stand for the cause of the uplift of humanity and the betterment of mankind are pledged to eternal war against wrong whether by the few or by the many, by a plutocracy or by a mob. We believe that this country will not be a permanently good place for any of us to live in unless we make it a reasonably good place for all of us to live in. The sons of all of us will pay in the future if we of the present do not do justice to all in the present. Our cause is the cause of justice for all in the interest of all. (At Chicago, June 17, 1912.) *Mem. Ed.* XIX, 316; *Nat. Ed.* XVII, 230.

DEMOCRACY, AMERICAN—PRINCIPLES OF. We stand against all tyranny, by the few or by the many. We stand for the rule of the many in the interest of all of us, for the rule of the many in a spirit of courage, of common sense, of high purpose, above all in a spirit of kindly justice toward every man and every woman. We not merely admit, but insist, that there must be self-control on the part of the people, that they must keenly perceive their own duties as well as the rights of others; but we also insist that the people can do nothing unless they not merely have, but exercise to the full, their own rights. The worth of our great experiment depends upon its being in good faith an experiment—the first that has ever been tried—in true democracy on the scale of a continent, on a scale as vast as that of the mightiest empires of the Old World. Surely this is a noble ideal, an ideal for which it is worth while to strive, an ideal for which at need it is worth while to sacrifice much, for our ideal is the rule of all the people in a spirit of friendliest brotherhood toward each and every one of the people. (At Carnegie Hall, N. Y. C., March 20, 1912.) *Mem. Ed.* XIX, 223; *Nat. Ed.* XVII, 171.

————. Our nation was founded to perpetuate democratic principles. These principles are that each man is to be treated on his worth as a man without regard to the land from which his forefathers came and without regard to the creed which he professes. If the United States proves false to these principles of civil and religious liberty, it will have inflicted the greatest blow on the system of free popular government that has ever been inflicted. (Before Knights of Columbus, New York City, October 12, 1915.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 453; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 389.

DEMOCRACY, AMERICAN—RESPONSIBILITY OF. Our country—this great Republic—means nothing unless it means the triumph of a real democracy, the triumph of popular government, and, in the long run, of an economic system under which each man shall be guaranteed the opportunity to show the best that there is in him. That is why the history of America is now the central feature of the history of the world; for the world has set its face hopefully toward our democracy; and, O my fellow citizens, each one of you carries on your shoulders not only the burden of doing well for the sake of your own country, but the burden of doing well and of seeing that this nation does well for the sake of mankind. (At Osawatomie, Kan., August 31, 1910.) *Mem. Ed.* XIX, 10; *Nat. Ed.* XVII, 5.

————. Our country offers the most wonderful example of democratic government on a giant scale that the world has ever seen; and the peoples of the world are watching to see whether we succeed or fail. We believe with all our hearts in democracy; in the capacity of the people to govern themselves; and we are bound to succeed, for our success means not only our own triumph, but the triumph of the cause of the rights of the people throughout the world, and the uplifting of the banner of hope for all the nations of mankind. (Before New York Republican State Convention, Saratoga, September 27, 1910.) *Mem. Ed.* XIX, 37; *Nat. Ed.* XVII, 28.

————. The existence of this nation has no real significance, from the standpoint of humanity at large, unless it means the rule of the people, and the achievement of a greater measure of widely diffused popular well-being than has ever before obtained on a like scale.

FREEDOM—NEGATION OF. No person should by contract be permitted to impose substantial restraints upon his liberty. Freedom to impose these restraints, if given to weak and needy people, simply amounts to defeating the very end of freedom. Academic freedom is the absolute negation of real freedom. Academic individualism defeats itself, whereas freedom in the fact makes for a rational individualism. (*Outlook,* March 11, 1911.) *Mem. Ed.* XIX, 133; *Nat. Ed.* XVII, 94.

FREEDOM—PRESERVATION OF. If freedom is worth having, if the right of self-government is a valuable right, then the one and the other must be retained exactly as our forefathers acquired them, by labor, and especially by labor in organiation; that is, in combination with our fellows who have the same interests and the same principles. (Before the Liberal Club, Buffalo, N. Y., January 26, 1893.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 65; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 282.

FREEDOM, INDIVIDUAL. The distinguishing feature of our American governmental system is the freedom of the individual; it is quite as important to prevent his being oppressed by many men as it is to save him from the tyranny of one. (1887.) *Mem. Ed.* VIII, 92; *Nat. Ed.* VII, 80.

————. The one great reason for our having succeeded as no other people ever has, is to be found in that common sense which has enabled us to preserve the largest possible individual freedom on the one hand, while showing an equally remarkable capacity for combination on the other. We have committed plenty of faults, but we have seen and remedied them. Our very doctrinaires have usually acted much more practically than they have talked. (1888.) *Mem. Ed.* VIII, 373; *Nat. Ed.* VII, 323.

FREEDOM AND EQUALITY. Fundamentally, our chief problem may be summed up as the effort to make men, as nearly as they can be made, both free and equal; the freedom and equality necessarily resting on a basis of justice and brotherhood. It is not possible, with the imperfections of mankind, ever wholly to achieve such an ideal, if only for the reason that the shortcomings of men are such that complete and unrestricted individual liberty would mean the negation of even approximate equality, while a rigid and absolute equality would imply the destruction of every shred of liberty. Our business is to secure a practical working combination between the two. *Outlook,* September 3, 1910, p. 21.

FREEDOM. *See also* CONTRACT; DEMOCRACY; EQUALITY; FREE SPEECH; INDIVIDUALISM; LIBERTY; RELIGIOUS FREEDOM; SELF-GOVERNMENT; SLAVERY; TOLERANCE.

FREIGHT RATES. *See* RAILROAD RATES.

FRENCH IN AMERICA. *See* PARKMAN, FRANCIS.

FRENCH REVOLUTION. The French Revolution was in its essence a struggle for the abolition of privilege, and for equality in civil rights. . . . To the downtrodden masses of Continental Europe, the gift of civil rights and the removal of the tyranny of the privileged classes, even though accompanied by the rule of a directory, a consul, or an emperor, represented an immense political advance; but to the free people of England, and to the freer people of America, the change would have been wholly for the worse. (1888.) *Mem. Ed.* VIII, 403; *Nat. Ed.* VII, 347-348.

————.There was never another great struggle, in the end productive of good to mankind, where the tools and methods by which that end was won were so wholly vile as in the French Revolution. Alone among movements of the kind, it brought forth no leaders entitled to our respect; none who were both great and good; none even who were very great, save, at its beginning, strange, strong, crooked Mirabeau, and at its close the towering world-genius who sprang to power by its means, wielded it for his own selfish purposes, and dazzled all nations over the wide earth by the glory of his strength and splendor. (1888.) *Mem. Ed.* VIII, 404-405; *Nat. Ed.* VII, 349.

————. The excesses of the French Revolution were not only hideous in themselves, but were fraught with a menace to civilization which has lasted until our time and which has found its most vicious expression in the Paris Commune of 1871 and its would-be imitators here and in other lands. Nevertheless, there was hope for mankind in the French Revolution, and there was none in the system against which it was a protest, a system which had reached its highest development in Spain. Better the terrible flame of the French Revolution than the worse than Stygian hopelessness of the tyranny—physical, intellectual, spiritual—which brooded over the Spain of that day. (*Outlook,* December 2, 1911.) *Mem. Ed.* XIV, 422; *Nat. Ed.* XII, 116.

FRENCH REVOLUTION. *See also* MORRIS, GOUVERNEUR.

FRIENDS. *See* LOYAL

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...November 12, 1913.) *American Ideals. Speeches . . . of Dr. Emilio Frers and of Col. Theodore Roosevelt.* (Buenos Aires, 1914), p. 22.

INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES. *See also* ARBITRATION; FORCE; WAR.

INTERNATIONAL DUTIES. An American who is loyal to this great American nation has two duties, and only two, in international matters. In the first place, he is bound to serve the honor and the interest of the United States. In the second place, he is bound to treat all other nations in accordance with their conduct at any given time, and in accordance with the ultimate needs of mankind at large; and not in accordance with the interests of the European nation from which some or all of his ancestors have come. If he does not act along these lines, he is derelict in his duty to his fellow citizens and he is guilty of betraying the interests of his country. (*Metropolitan,* October 1915.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 330; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 283.

INTERNATIONAL DUTIES — AVOIDANCE OF. We must clearly grasp the fact that mere selfish avoidance of duty to others, even although covered by such fine words as "peace" and "neutrality," is a wretched thing and an obstacle to securing the peace of righteousness throughout the world. (New York *Times,* November 8, 1914.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 84; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 73.

INTERNATIONAL DUTIES—PERFORMANCE OF. It is impossible for us much longer to blind ourselves to the fact that we have international relations, and that we have no choice save to perform our international duties. We may perform them well or badly, but perform them we must; we may meet the problems that we have to face either wisely or foolishly, but meet them we have to. All that we can decide is whether we shall do our work well or ill. (*Outlook,* May 31, 1913.) *Mem. Ed.* XIV, 225; *Nat. Ed.* XII, 242.

INTERNATIONAL DUTIES AND RIGHTS. Whether we desire it or not, we must henceforth recognize that we have international duties no less than international rights. (First Annual Message, Washington, December 3, 1901.) *Mem. Ed.* XVII, 135; *Nat. Ed.* XV, 117.

INTERNATIONAL DUTY. The other type of duty is the international duty, the duty owed by one nation to another. I hold that the laws of morality which should govern individuals in their dealings one with the other, are just as binding concerning nations in their dealings one with the other. (At Oxford University, England, June 7, 1910.) *Mem. Ed.* XIV, 105; *Nat. Ed.* XII, 58.

————. There can be no higher international duty than to safeguard the existence and independence of industrious, orderly states, with a high personal and national standard of conduct, but without the military force of the great powers; states, for instance, such as Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries, Uruguay, and others. (*Outlook,* September 23, 1914.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 14; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 12.

————. I believe in International Duty. I hold that we cannot assert that we are entirely guiltless of responsibility for the outrages committed on well-behaved nations, particularly on Belgium, and on non-combatants, particularly on women and children, in the present war. Prior to the war we had become parties to the various conventions and treaties designed to mitigate the horrors of war, and to limit the offenses that can, with impunity, be committed by belligerents either on neutrals or non-combatants. When we declined to take any action under these conventions and treaties we ourselves treated them as "scraps of paper." Such being the case while our guilt is not as great as that of the strong and ruthless nations who committed the misdeeds, we nevertheless occupy, in some respects, an even meaner position. For we possess strength, and yet we refuse to make ready this strength and we refuse to use it for righteousness. We possess strength, and yet we decline to put it behind our plighted word when the interests and honor of others are involved.

Performance of international duty to others means that in international affairs, in the commonwealth of nations, we shall not only refrain from wronging the weak, but shall, according to our capacity, and as opportunity offers, stand up for the weak when the weak are wronged by the strong. Most emphatically it does not mean that we shall submit to wrongdoing by other nations. To do so is a proof not of virtue, but of weakness, and of a mean and abject national spirit. To submit to wrongdoing is to encourage wrongdoing; and it is, therefore, itself, a form of iniquity—and a peculiarly objectionable form of iniquity, for it is based on cowardice. (At Kansas City, Mo., May 30, 1916.) *The Progressive Party; Its Record from January to July 1916.* (Progressive National Committee, 1916), p. 58.

It is therefore perfectly plain that the remedy lies in changing the system. For honest politicians to refrain from meddling with patronage, while leaving dishonest politicians full liberty to do so, is in the long run to work harm rather than good. The offices must be taken out of reach of all politicians, good or bad, by some permanent system of law. (*Century,* February 1890.) *Mem. Ed.* XVI, 167, 168; *Nat. Ed.* XIV, 107.

————————. I have done all I could, and I think I may say more than any other President has ever done, in the direction of getting rid of the system of appointing and removing men for political considerations. But enough remains to cause me many hours of sordid and disagreeable work, which yet must be done under penalty of losing the good-will of men with whom it is necessary that I should work. (To Sir George Otto Trevelyan, May 13, 1905.) *Mem. Ed.* XXIV, 174; Bishop II, 149.

————————. The use of government offices as patronage is a handicap difficult to overestimate from the standpoint of those who strive to get good government. Any effort for reform of any sort, national, State, or municipal, results in the reformers immediately finding themselves face to face with an organized band of drilled mercenaries who are paid out of the public chest to train themselves with such skill that ordinary good citizens when they meet them at the polls are in much the position of militia matched against regular troops. Yet these citizens themselves support and pay their opponents in such a way that they are drilled to overthrow the very men who support them. . . . Patronage does not really help a party. It helps the bosses to get control of the machinery of the party—as in 1912 was true of the Republican party—but it does not help the party. On the average, the most sweeping party victories in our history have been won when the patronage was against the victors. All that the patronage does is to help the worst element in the party retain control of the party organization. (1913.) *Mem. Ed.* XXII, 158; *Nat. Ed.* XX, 135, 136.

PATRONAGE. *See also* APPOINTMENTS; CIVIL SERVICE REFORM; OFFICE; SPOILS SYSTEM.

PAUNCEFOTE, SIR JULIAN. *See* HAY-PAUNCEFOTE TREATY; PANAMA CANAL.

PEACE. Peace is generally good in itself, but it is never the highest good unless it comes as the handmaid of righteousness; and it becomes a very evil thing if it serves merely as a mask for cowardice and sloth, or as an instrument to further the ends of despotism or anarchy. *Outlook,* May 7, 1910, p. 19.

————————. Work for peace will never be worth much unless accompanied by courage, effort, and self-sacrifice. (*Independent,* January 4, 1915.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 179; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 154.

————————. Scant attention is paid to the weakling or the coward who babbles of peace; but due heed is given to the strong man with sword girt on thigh who preaches peace, not from ignoble motives, not from fear or distrust of his own powers, but from a deep sense of moral obligation. (1900.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 286; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 335.

————————. Our business is to create the beginnings of international order out of the world of nations as these nations actually exist. We do not have to deal with a world of pacificists and therefore we must proceed on the assumption that treaties will never acquire sanctity until nations are ready to seal them with their blood. We are not striving for peace in heaven. That is not our affair. What we were bidden to strive for is "peace on earth and good-will toward men." To fulfil this injunction it is necessary to treat the earth as it is and men as they are, as an indispensable prerequisite to making the earth a better place in which to live and men better fit to live in it. It is inexcusable moral culpability on our part to pretend to carry out this injunction in such fashion as to nullify it; and this we do if we make believe that the earth is what it is not and if our professions of bringing good-will toward men are in actual practice shown to be empty shams. Peace congresses, peace parades, the appointment and celebration of days of prayer for peace, and the like, which result merely in giving the participants the feeling that they have accomplished something and are therefore to be excused from hard, practical work for righteousness, are empty shams. (New York *Times,* November 29, 1914.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 199; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 171.

————————. Peace is not a question of names. It is a question of facts. If murders occur in a city, and if the police force is so incompetent that no record is made of them officially, that does not interfere with the fact that murders have been committed and that life is unsafe. In just the same way, if lives are taken by violence between nations, it is not of the slightest consequence whether those responsible

for the government of the nation whose citizens have lost their lives do or do not assert that the nation is at peace. During the last three years we have been technically at peace. But during those three years more of our citizens have been killed by Mexicans, Germans, Austrians, and Haytians than were killed during the entire Spanish War. (1916.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 244; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 210.

————————. Peace, like Freedom, is not a gift that tarries long in the hands of cowards, or of those too feeble or too short-sighted to deserve it, and we ask to be given the means to insure that honorable peace which alone is worth having. (To Guy Emerson, Spring 1916.) Corinne Roosevelt Robinson, *My Brother Theodore Roosevelt,* 293.

PEACE—ACQUISITION OF. Remember that peace itself, that peace after which all men crave, is merely the realization in the present of what has been bought by strenuous effort in the past. Peace represents stored-up effort of our fathers or of ourselves in the past. It is not a means—it is an end. You do not get peace by peace; you get peace as the result of effort. If you strive to get it by peace you will lose it, that is all. If we ever grow to regard peace as a permanent condition; if we ever grow to feel that we can afford to let the keen, fearless, virile qualities of heart and mind and body be lost, then we will prepare the way for inevitable and shameful disaster in the future. (At Lincoln Club dinner, New York City, February 13, 1899.) *Mem. Ed.* XVI, 475; *Nat. Ed.* XIV, 315.

————————. No paper scheme designed to secure peace without effort and safety without service and sacrifice will either make this country safe or enable it to do its international duty toward others. (August 4, 1918.) *Roosevelt in the Kansas City Star,* 195.

PEACE—AMERICAN INFLUENCE FOR. Last summer the United States had the honor to take what was on the whole the leading part in the Peace Conference at The Hague. We were able to play that part solely because during the preceding year we had fought to a victorious conclusion the most righteous foreign war in which any nation has been engaged for half a century.

Our power to further the cause of peace as among the civilized nations of the world has been immeasurably increased because we have shown ourselves able and willing to do our part in policing the world, in keeping order in the world's waste spaces. . . . When a coward or a weakling preaches peace but little good results; but, as was shown at The Hague last year, when a mighty people, not afraid to do its duty in the world, stands up for peace, the good result is immediately manifest. (At Cincinnati, O., October 21, 1899.) *Mem. Ed.* XVI, 501; *Nat. Ed.* XIV, 338.

————————. We are glad indeed that we are on good terms with all the other peoples of mankind, and no effort on our part shall be spared to secure a continuance of these relations. And remember, gentlemen, that we shall be a potent factor for peace largely in proportion to the way in which we make it evident that our attitude is due, not to weakness, not to inability to defend ourselves, but to a genuine repugnance to wrongdoing, a genuine desire for self-respecting friendship with our neighbors. The voice of the weakling or the craven counts for nothing when he clamors for peace; but the voice of the just man armed is potent. We need to keep in a condition of preparedness, especially as regards our navy, not because we want war, but because we desire to stand with those whose plea for peace is listened to with respectful attention. (At banquet of Chamber of Commerce, New York City, November 11, 1902.) *Mem. Ed.* XXIII, 265; Bishop I, 230.

————————. Our voice is now potent for peace, and is so potent because we are not afraid of war. But our protestations upon behalf of peace would neither receive nor deserve the slightest attention if we were impotent to make them good. (Fourth Annual Message, Washington, December 6, 1904.) *Mem. Ed.* XVII, 303; *Nat. Ed.* XV, 260.

PEACE—ATTAINMENT OF. The one permanent move for obtaining peace, which has yet been suggested, with any reasonable chance of attaining its object, is by an agreement among the great powers, in which each should pledge itself not only to abide by the decisions of a common tribunal but to back with force the decisions of that common tribunal. The great civilized nations of the world which do possess force, actual or immediately potential, should combine by solemn agreement in a great World League for the Peace of Righteousness. (New York *Times,* October 18, 1914.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 64; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 54.

————————. I very sincerely believe in peace. I hold the man, who, in a spirit of levity or wantonness or brutality or mere fancied self-interest, goes to war, to be an abhorrent brute.

ness; but it is righteousness and not peace which should bind the conscience of a nation as it should bind the conscience of an individual; and neither a nation nor an individual can surrender conscience to another's keeping. (Sixth Annual Message, Washington, December 3, 1906.) *Mem. Ed.* XVII, 472; *Nat. Ed.* XV, 402.

————. It is one of our prime duties as a nation to seek peace. It is an even higher duty to seek righteousness. It is also our duty not to indulge in shams, not to make believe we are getting peace by some patent contrivance which sensible men ought to know cannot work in practice, and which if we sought to make it work might cause irretrievable harm. (*Outlook,* September 9, 1911.) *Mem. Ed.* XVIII, 416; *Nat. Ed.* XVI, 310.

————. There is one thing in connection with this war [Spanish-American] which it is well that our people should remember, our people who genuinely love the peace of righteousness, the peace of justice—and I would be ashamed to be other than a lover of the peace of righteousness and of justice. The true preachers of peace, who strive earnestly to bring nearer the day when peace shall obtain among all peoples, and who really do help forward the cause, are men who never hesitate to choose righteous war when it is the only alternative to unrighteous peace. (1913.) *Mem. Ed.* XXII, 304; *Nat. Ed.* XX, 260.

————. There can be no nobler cause for which to work than the peace of righteousness; and high honor is due those serene and lofty souls who with wisdom and courage, with high idealism tempered by sane facing of the actual facts of life, have striven to bring nearer the day when armed strife between nation and nation, between class and class, between man and man shall end throughout the world. Because all this is true, it is also true that there are no men more ignoble or more foolish, no men whose actions are fraught with greater possibility of mischief to their country and to mankind, than those who exalt unrighteous peace as better than righteous war. (1913.) *Mem. Ed.* XXII, 604; *Nat. Ed.* XX, 519.

————. Peace is worthless unless it serves the cause of righteousness. Peace which consecrates militarism is of small service. Peace obtained by crushing the liberty and life of just and unoffending peoples is as cruel as the most cruel war. (*Outlook,* September 23, 1914.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 14; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 12.

————. I abhor war. In common with all other thinking men I am inexpressibly saddened by the dreadful contest now waging in Europe. I put peace very high as an agent for bringing about righteousness. But if I must choose between righteousness and peace I choose righteousness. Therefore, I hold myself in honor bound to do anything in my power to advance the cause of the peace of righteousness throughout the world. (New York *Times,* October 4, 1914.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 41; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 35.

————. Let us as a nation understand that peace is worth having only when it is the handmaiden of international righteousness and of national self-respect. (Statement to press, May 1915.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 444; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 381.

————. Washington loved peace. Perhaps Lincoln loved peace even more. But when the choice was between peace and righteousness, both alike trod undaunted the dark path that led through terror and suffering and the imminent menace of death to the shining goal beyond. We treasure the lofty words these men spoke. We treasure them because they were not merely words, but the high expression of deeds still higher; the expression of a serene valor that was never betrayed by a cold heart or a subtle and selfish brain. (At Cooper Union, New York City, November 3, 1916.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 519; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 445.

PEACE-AT-ANY-PRICE. There is . . . no more utterly useless and often utterly mischievous citizen, than the peace-at-any-price, universal-arbitration type of being, who is always complaining either about war or else about the cost of the armaments which act as the insurance against war. (1913.) *Mem. Ed.* XXII, 245; *Nat. Ed.* XX, 210.

————. It is we ourselves, it is the American people, who are responsible for the public sentiment which permits unworthy action on the part of our governmental representatives. The peace propaganda of the past ten years in this country has steadily grown more noisy. It received an enormous impetus when five years ago, by the negotiation of peace-at-any-price or all-inclusive arbitration treaties, and in the last year by the ratification of the thirty-odd peace-at-any-price arbitration-commission treaties, it was made part of our national governmental policy. It is the literal truth to say that this peace-at-any-price propaganda has probably, on the whole, worked more mischief to the United States than all the crookedness in business and politics combined during the same

a prominence that makes it difficult to judge of the distance at which they are. A mile off one can see, through the strange shimmering haze, the shadowy white outlines of something which looms vaguely up till it looks as large as the canvas top of a prairie wagon; but as the horseman comes nearer it shrinks and dwindles and takes clearer form, until at last it changes into the ghastly staring skull of some mighty buffalo, long dead and gone to join the rest of his vanished race. (1885.) *Mem. Ed.* I, 183; *Nat. Ed.* I, 151.

PRAIRIE. *See also* CATTLEMAN; COWBOYS; HUNTERS.

PREACHERS. *See* JESUITS; MISSIONARIES; PIONEER PREACHERS; RELIGIOUS TEACHERS.

PREHISTORIC MAN. *See* NATURE; PRIMITIVE SOCIETY.

PREJUDICE. *See* ANTI-SEMITISM; BIGOTRY; RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION; TOLERANCE.

PREPAREDNESS. Unjust war is to be abhorred; but woe to the nation that does not make ready to hold its own in time of need against all who would harm it; and woe thrice over to the nation in which the average man loses the fighting edge, loses the power to serve as a soldier if the day of need should arise. *Outlook,* May 14, 1910, p. 73.

————. I advocate that our preparedness take such shape as to fit us to resist aggression, not to encourage us in aggression. I advocate preparedness that will enable us to defend our own shores and to defend the Panama Canal and Hawaii and Alaska, and prevent the seizure of territory at the expense of any commonwealth of the western hemisphere by any military power of the Old World. I advocate this being done in the most democratic manner possible. (New York *Times,* November 15, 1914.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 121; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 104.

————. In this country there is not the slightest danger of an overdevelopment of warlike spirit, and there never has been any such danger. In all our history there has never been a time when preparedness for war was any menace to peace. On the contrary, again and again we have owed peace to the fact that we were prepared for war; and in the only contest which we have had with a European power since the Revolution, the War of 1812, the struggle and all its attendant disasters were due solely to the fact that we were not prepared to face, and were not ready instantly to resent, an attack upon our honor and interest; while the glorious triumphs at sea which redeemed that war were due to the few preparations which we had actually made. (Address as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Naval War College, June 1897.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 240; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 182.

————. Our people as a whole are unquestionably very short sighted about making preparations. Under such circumstances it is always possible that we may find ourselves pitted against a big military power where we shall need to develop fighting material at the very outset. (To General Frederick Funston, March 30, 1901.) *Mem. Ed.* XXIII, 125; Bishop I, 108.

————. The indispensable thing for every free people to do in the present day is with efficiency to prepare against war by making itself able physically to defend its rights and by cultivating that stern and manly spirit without which no material preparation will avail.

The last point is all-essential. It is not of much use to provide an armed force if that force is composed of poltroons and ultrapacifists. Such men should be sent to the front, of course, for they should not be allowed to shirk the danger which their braver fellow countrymen willingly face, and under proper discipline some use can be made of them; but the fewer there are of them in a nation the better the army of that nation will be. (*Everybody's,* January 1915.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 158; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 136.

————. I am, as you know, a most ardent believer in national preparedness against war as a means of securing that honorable and self-respecting peace which is the only peace desired by all high-spirited people. But it is an absolute impossibility to secure such preparedness in full and proper form if it is an isolated feature of our policy. The lamentable fate of Belgium has shown that no justice in legislation or success in business will be of the slightest avail if the nation has not prepared in advance the strength to protect its rights. But it is equally true that there cannot be this preparation in advance for military strength unless there is a solid basis of civil and social life behind it. There must be social, economic, and military preparedness all alike, all harmoniously developed; and above all there must be spiritual and mental preparedness.

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ington, December 8, 1908.) *Mem. Ed.* XVII, 589-590; *Nat. Ed.* XV, 501-502.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT—CONSTITUTIONALITY OF. A typical case [of the triumph of legalism over justice] was the decision rendered but a few months ago by the court of appeals of my own State, the State of New York, declaring unconstitutional the Workmen's Compensation Act. In their decision the judges admitted the wrong and the suffering caused by the practices against which the law was aimed. They admitted that other civilized nations had abolished these wrongs and practices. But they took the ground that the Constitution of the United States, instead of being an instrument to secure justice, had been ingeniously devised absolutely to prevent justice. They insisted that the clause in the Constitution which forbade the taking of property without due process of law forbade the effort which had been made in the law to distribute among all the partners in an enterprise the effects of the injuries to life or limb of a wage-worker. In other words, they insisted that the Constitution had permanently cursed our people with impotence to right wrong, and had perpetuated a cruel iniquity; for cruel iniquity is not too harsh a term to use in describing the law which, in the event of such an accident, binds the whole burden of crippling disaster on the shoulders least able to bear it—the shoulders of the crippled man himself, or of the dead man's helpless wife and children. (Before Ohio Constitutional Convention, Columbus, February 21, 1912.) *Mem. Ed.* XIX, 191; *Nat. Ed.* XVII, 143.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LAWS—NEED FOR. We should have in the national law-books and on the statute-books of every State . . . a far-reaching and thoroughgoing compensation act by which there should be paid automatically a certain specified sum to any man who is crippled in any industry such as railroading and to the kinsfolk of any man who loses his life therein. It should not be left to lawsuits. Lawsuits are objectionable on three different grounds. In the first place, there is always a chance that an excessive amount of damages may be recovered—more than the railroad ought to pay. In the next place, there is always a chance that no damages will be recovered, and, therefore, the man on whose behalf the suit is brought will get nothing; and, finally, the only person certain to benefit from the suit is the lawyer, who is the only person who ought not to have any interest in it. (At Freeport, Ill., September 8, 1910.)

Mem. Ed. XVIII, 209-210; *Nat. Ed.* XVI, 159-160.

————————. In nation and State alike there should be far-reaching and comprehensive legislation to guarantee safe and healthy conditions for the workmen while at work. In both these regards the workman should not be left to fight for his own interests, and should be explicitly forbidden from making contracts which would imperil these interests. His protection in the place where he works, and his right to compensation if injured, should be guaranteed by the laws of the land. If one of the machines owned by an employer is damaged, the employer has to pay for the damage; and if the man who runs it is hurt, it is just as much the duty of the employer to compensate him as it is to repair the machine. In each case those who use the product will in the end, and quite properly, pay for the damage. (*Outlook*, February 4, 1911.) *Mem. Ed.* XIX, 106; *Nat. Ed.* XVII, 70.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LAWS—PURPOSE OF. When laws like workmen's compensation laws and the like are passed, it must always be kept in mind by the legislature that the purpose is to distribute over the whole community a burden that should not be borne only by those least able to bear it—that is, by the injured man or the widow and orphans of the dead man. (1913.) *Mem. Ed.* XXII, 570; *Nat. Ed.* XX, 490.

WORLD COURT. *See* INTERNATIONAL COURT.

WORLD LEAGUE. *See* LEAGUE FOR PEACE; LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

WORLD WAR. It is idle to say that this is not a people's war. The intensity of conviction in the righteousness of their several causes shown by the several peoples is a prime factor for consideration, if we are to take efficient means to try to prevent a repetition of this incredible world tragedy. . . . To each of these peoples the war seems a crusade against threatening wrong, and each man fervently believes in the justice of his cause. Moreover, each combatant fights with that terrible determination to destroy the opponent which springs from fear. It is not the fear which any one of these powers has inspired that offers the difficult problem. It is the fear which each of them genuinely feels. Russia believes that a quarter of the Slav people will be trodden under the heel of the Germans, unless she suc-

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ceeds. France and England believe that their very existence depends on the destruction of the German menace. Germany believes that unless she can so cripple, and, if possible, destroy her western foes, as to make them harmless in the future, she will be unable hereafter to protect herself against the mighty Slav people on her eastern boundary and will be reduced to a condition of international impotence. Some of her leaders are doubtless influenced by worse motives; but the motives above given are, I believe, those that influence the great mass of Germans, and these are in their essence merely the motives of patriotism, of devotion to one's people and one's native land. (New York *Times,* October 11, 1914.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 54, 56; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 46, 48.

————————. This year we are in the presence of a crisis in the history of the world. In the terrible whirlwind of war all the great nations of the world, save the United States and Italy, are facing the supreme test of their history. All of the pleasant and alluring but futile theories of the pacifists, all the theories enunciated in the peace congresses of the past twenty years, have vanished at the first sound of the drumming guns. The work of all The Hague conventions, and all the arbitration treaties, neutrality treaties, and peace treaties of the last twenty years has been swept before the gusts of war like withered leaves before a November storm. In this great crisis the stern and actual facts have shown that the fate of each nation depends not in the least upon any elevated international aspirations to which it has given expression in speech or treaty, but on practical preparation, on intensity of patriotism, on grim endurance, and on the possession of the fighting edge. (New York *Times,* November 29, 1914.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 214; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 183.

————————. This war is the greatest the world has ever seen. The vast size of the armies, the tremendous slaughter, the loftiness of the heroism shown and the hideous horror of the brutalities committed, the valor of the fighting men and the extraordinary ingenuity of those who have designed and built the fighting machines, the burning patriotism of the peoples who defend their hearthstones and the far-reaching complexity of the plans of the leaders —all are on a scale so huge that nothing in past history can be compared with them.

The issues at stake are elemental. The free peoples of the world have banded together against tyrannous militarism and government by caste. It is not too much to say that the outcome will largely determine, for daring and liberty-loving souls, whether or not life is worth living. A Prussianized world would be as intolerable as a world ruled over by Attila or by Timur the Lame. (Preface dated May 1, 1917.) Mrs. Humphry Ward, *Towards the Goal.* (Scribner's, N. Y., 1917), pp. vii-viii.

————————. At the outbreak of the war our people were stunned, blinded, terrified by the extent of the world disaster. Those among our leaders who were greedy, those who were selfish and ease-loving, those who were timid, and those who were merely short-sighted, all joined to blindfold the eyes and dull the conscience of the people so that it might neither see iniquity nor gird its loins for the inevitable struggle. The moral sense of our people was drugged into stupor by the men in high places who taught us that we had no concern with the causes of this war, that all the combatants were fighting for the same things, that it was our duty to be neutral between right and wrong, that we should look with tepid indifference on the murder of our unarmed men, women, and children, that we ought to be too proud to fight for our just rights, that our proper aim should be to secure peace without victory for the right. (1917.) *Mem. Ed.* XXI, 3; *Nat. Ed.* XIX, 3.

————————. In this great war for righteousness, we Americans have a tremendous task ahead of us. I believe the American people are entirely willing to make any sacrifice, and to render any service, and I believe that they should be explicitly shown how great the service is they are called upon to render, how great the need is that they should unflinchingly face any sacrifice that is made. (*Metropolitan,* September 1917.) *Mem. Ed.* XXI, 32; *Nat. Ed.* XIX, 27.

————————. This is the people's war. It is not the President's war. It is not Congress's war. It is America's war. We are in honor bound in conducting it to stand by every official who does well, and against every official who fails to do well. Any other attitude is servile and unworthy of an American freeman. (*Metropolitan,* January 1918.) *Mem. Ed.* XXI, 282; *Nat. Ed.* XIX, 260.

WORLD WAR—AMERICAN RESPONSIBILITY DURING. All of the terrible iniquities of the past year and a half, including this crowning iniquity of the wholesale slaughter of the Armenians, can be traced directly to the initial wrong committed on Belgium by her

invasion and subjugation; and the criminal responsibility of Germany must be shared by the neutral powers, headed by the United States, for their failure to protest when this initial wrong was committed. In the case of the United States additional responsibility rests upon it because its lack of influence for justice and peace during the last sixteen months has been largely due to the course of timid and unworthy abandonment of duty which it has followed for nearly five years as regards Mexico. (To Samuel T. Dutton, Chairman of Committee on Armenian Outrages, November 24, 1915.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 447; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 384.

WORLD WAR — AMERICAN RIGHTS DURING. Submission to an initial wrong means that all protests against subsequent and lesser wrongs are hypocritical and ineffective. Had we protested, in such fashion that our protest was effective, against what was done in Belgium by Germany, and against the sinking of the *Lusitania* by Germany, we could have (and in such case we ought to have) protested against all subsequent and minor infractions of international law and morals, including those which interfered with our commerce or with any other neutral rights. But failure to protest against the first and worst offenses of the strongest wrong-doer made it contemptible, and an act of bad faith, to protest against subsequent and smaller misdeeds; and failure to act (not merely speak or write notes) when our women and children were murdered made protests against interference with American business profits both offensive and ludicrous. (1916.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 239; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 206.

WORLD WAR—AMERICA'S DUTY IN. A deputation of Belgians has arrived in this country to invoke our assistance in the time of their dreadful need. What action our Government can or will take I know not. It has been announced that no action can be taken that will interfere with our entire neutrality. It is certainly eminently desirable that we should remain entirely neutral, and nothing but urgent need would warrant breaking our neutrality and taking sides one way or the other. Our first duty is to hold ourselves ready to do whatever the changing circumstances demand in order to protect our own interests in the present and in the future; although, for my own part, I desire to add to this statement the proviso that under no circumstances must we do anything dishonorable, especially towards unoffending weaker nations. Neutrality may be of prime necessity in order to preserve our own interest, to maintain peace in so much of the world as is not affected by the war, and to conserve our influence for helping toward the re-establishment of general peace when the time comes; for if any outside Power is able at such time to be the medium for bringing peace, it is more likely to be the United States than any other. But we pay the penalty of this action on behalf of peace for ourselves, and possibly for others in the future, by forfeiting our right to do anything on behalf of peace for the Belgians in the present. We can maintain our neutrality only by refusal to do anything to aid unoffending weak powers which are dragged into the gulf of bloodshed and misery through no fault of their own. Of course it would be folly to jump into the gulf ourselves to no good purpose; and very probably nothing that we could have done would have helped Belgium. We have not the smallest responsibility for what has befallen her, and I am sure that the sympathy of this country for the suffering of the men, women, and children of Belgium is very real. Nevertheless, this sympathy is compatible with full acknowledgment of the unwisdom of our uttering a single word of official protest unless we are prepared to make that protest effective; and only the clearest and most urgent National duty would ever justify us in deviating from our rule of neutrality and non-interference. *Outlook,* September 23, 1914, p. 173.

———. I have been in a very difficult position. I am in opposition to the Administration, and to say how I myself would have acted, when I am not in power and when the action I would have taken is the reverse of that which the present Administration takes, would do harm and not good. This is especially so because the bulk of our people do not understand foreign politics and have no idea about any impending military danger. When I was President, I really succeeded in educating them to a fairly good understanding of these matters, and I believe that if I had been President at the outset of this war they would have acquiesced in my taking the stand I most assuredly would have taken as the head of a signatory nation of the Hague Treaties in reference to the violation of Belgium neutrality. But, of course, I should not have taken such a stand if I had not been prepared to back it up to the end, no matter what course it necessitated; and it would be utterly silly to advocate the Administration taking such a position unless I knew that the Administration would proceed to back up its position. In my

articles I spoke very plainly, but I believe with proper reserve and courtesy. (To Sir Edward Grey, October 3, 1914.) *Twenty-Five Years,* by Viscount Grey of Fallodon. (Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1925), II, 139-140.

————. As a nation, during the past eighteen months we have refused to prepare to defend our own rights by our own strength. We have also refused to say one word against international wrong-doing of the most dreadful character. We have refused to carry out the promises we made in The Hague conventions. We have been guilty of all these mean sins of omission, we are officially told, in the hope that the Administration may secure the empty honor of being a go-between when the belligerents decide to make peace. The actions of the Administration have tended to create such conditions that the "peace" shall be in the interest of the wrong-doer, and at the expense of his helpless victim. It is not right that this nation should be asked thus to shirk its duty to itself and to others in order to secure such a worthless function for any person whatsoever. Our plain duty was to stand against wrong, to help in stamping out the wrong, to help in protecting the innocent who had been wronged. This duty we have ignobly shirked. (*Metropolitan,* October 1915.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 330; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 284.

————. In this crisis I hold that we have signally failed in our duty to Belgium and Armenia, and in our duty to ourselves. In this crisis I hold that the Allies are standing for the principles to which Abraham Lincoln said this country was dedicated; and the rulers of Germany have, in practical fashion, shown this to be the case by conducting a campaign against Americans on the ocean, which has resulted in the wholesale murder of American men, women, and children, and by conducting within our own borders a campaign of the bomb and the torch against American industries. They have carried on war against our people; for wholesale and repeated killing is war—even though the killing takes the shape of assassination of non-combatants, instead of battle against armed men. (1916.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 255; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 220.

————. Our country has shirked its clear duty. One outspoken and straightforward declaration by this government against the dreadful iniquities perpetrated in Belgium, Armenia, and Servia would have been worth to humanity a thousand times as much as all that the professional pacifists have done in the past fifty years. (*Metropolitan,* January 1916.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 306; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 262.

————. We Americans are not, and must not permit ourselves to become, swayed by question of material gain in this war. We must think primarily of our duties. We must keep our minds fixed on what we owe to others, and what we owe to ourselves. We owe a service to humanity. Our sons and brothers at the front pay this service in blood. The rest of us must pay it in money. (September 17, 1918.) *Roosevelt in the Kansas City Star,* 217.

WORLD WAR — AMERICA'S PART IN. For the sake of our own souls, for the sake of the memories of the great Americans of the past, we must show that we do not intend to make this merely a dollar war. Let us pay with our bodies for our souls' desire. Let us, without one hour's unnecessary delay, put the American flag at the battle-front in this great world war for Democracy and civilization, and for the reign of Justice and fair-dealing among the nations of mankind. (To Senator George E. Chamberlain, Spring 1917.) C. R. Robinson, *My Brother Theodore Roosevelt,* 326.

————. Along many lines of preparation the work here is now going fairly fast—not much of a eulogy when we are in the ninth month of the war. But there cannot be much speed when military efficiency is subordinated to selfish personal politics, the gratification of malice, and sheer wooden-headed folly. (Letter of October 14, 1917.) Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., *Average Americans.* (G. P. Putnam's Sons, N. Y., 1919), p. viii.

————. America played in the closing months of the war a gallant part, but not in any way the leading part, and she played this part only by acting in strictest agreement with our Allies and under the joint high command. She should take precisely the same attitude at the Peace Conference. We have lost in this war about two hundred and thirty-six thousand men killed and wounded. England and France have lost about seven million. Italy and Belgium and the other Allies have doubtless lost three million more. Of the terrible sacrifice which has enabled the Allies to win the victory, America has contributed just about two per cent. At the end, I personally believe that our intervention was decisive because the combatants were so equally matched and were so weakened by the terrible strain that our money and our enthusiasm and the million fighting men whom we got to the front, even

although armed substantially
French field-cannon, tanks, machine-guns, and airplanes, was decisive in the scale. But we could render this decisive aid only because for four years the Allies, in keeping Germany from conquering their own countries, had incidentally kept her from conquering ours. (Kansas City *Star,* November 26, 1918.) *Mem. Ed.* XXI, 442; *Nat. Ed.* XIX, 398.

WORLD WAR—AMERICA'S PURPOSE IN. We are fighting this war for others. But we are also, and primarily, fighting it for ourselves. We wish to safeguard to all civilized nations which themselves do justice to others, the right to enjoy their independence, and therefore to enjoy whatever governmental system they desire. But rightly and properly our first concern is for our own country. Our own welfare is at stake. Our own interests are vitally concerned. We are fighting for the honor of America and for our permanent place among the self-governing nations of mankind. We are fighting for our homes, our freedom, our independence, our self-respect and well-being. We are fighting for our dearest rights, and to avert measureless disaster in the future from the land in which our children's children are to dwell when we are dead. (1917.) *Mem. Ed.* XXI, 5; *Nat. Ed.* XIX, 4.

————. We fight for our own rights. We fight for the rights of mankind. This great struggle is fundamentally a struggle for the fundamentals of civilization and democracy. The future of the free institutions of the world is at stake. The free people who govern themselves are lined up against the governments which deny freedom to their people. Our cause is the cause of humanity. But we also have bitter wrongs of our own which it is our duty to redress. Our women and children and unarmed men, going about their peaceful business, have been murdered on the high seas, not once, but again and again and again. With brutal insolence, after having for well nigh two years persevered in this policy, Germany has announced that she will continue it, at our expense and at the expense of other neutrals, more ruthlessly than ever. . . .

I ask that we send a fighting force over to the fighting line at the earliest possible moment, and I ask it in the name of our children and our children's children, so that they may hold their heads high over the memory of what this nation did in the world's great crisis. I ask it for reasons of national morality no less than for our material self-interest. I ask it for the sake of our self-respect, our self-esteem. *Speech*

oosevelt, Stock Yards Pavilion, Chicago, April 28, 1917. (National Security League, N. Y., 1917), pp. 5-6.

————. We are fighting for humanity; but we are also, and primarily, fighting for our own vital interests. Our army in France will fight for France and Belgium; but most of all it will be fighting for America. Until we make the world safe for America (and incidentally until we make democracy safe in America), it is empty rhetoric to talk of making the world safe for democracy; and no one of these objects can be obtained merely by high-sounding words, or by anything else save by the exercise of hard, grim, common sense in advance preparation, and then by unflinching courage in the use of the hardened strength which has thus been prepared. (*Metropolitan,* September 1917.) *Mem. Ed.* XXI, 22; *Nat. Ed.* XIX, 19.

WORLD WAR — CAUSES OF. Looking back at the real and ultimate causes rather than at the temporary occasions of the war, what has occurred is due primarily to the intense fear felt by each nation for other nations and to the anger born of that fear. Doubtless in certain elements, notably certain militaristic elements, of the population other motives have been at work; but I believe that the people of each country, in backing the government of that country, in the present war have been influenced mainly by a genuine patriotism and a genuine fear of what might happen to their beloved land in the event of aggression by other nations. (New York *Times,* October 18, 1914.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 60; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 51.

WORLD WAR — CONSEQUENCES OF. Unless all history is valueless as a guide, we are going, sooner or later, to have to pay for the enormous destructions of capital in this war. We cannot hope to evade some period of depression. How severe that will be depends largely upon ourselves. We cannot avoid it, but we can make it less severe than it otherwise might be. In this labor and capital must work together—must realize that their problems are alike, and that unless the employer is prosperous, the employee cannot be. Equally so, unless the employee is treated fairly, the employer and the community cannot be prosperous. The partners in the enterprise must realize their responsibilities to each other and act accordingly. (Fall 1917; reported by Leary.) *Talks with T. R.* From the diaries of John J. Leary, Jr. (Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1920), p. 154.

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WORLD WAR—ENTRANCE INTO. We did not go to war to make democracy safe, and we did go to war because we had a special grievance. We went to war, because, after two years, during which, with utter contempt of our protests, she had habitually and continually murdered our noncombatant men, women, and children on the high seas, Germany formally announced that she intended to pursue this course more ruthlessly and vigorously than ever. This was the special grievance because of which we went to war, and it was far more than an empty justification for going to war. As you know, my own belief is that we should have acted immediately after the sinking of the *Lusitania.* (At Johnstown, Pa., September 30, 1917.) *Mem. Ed.* XXIV, 511; Bishop II, 436.

WORLD WAR — INTERVENTION IN. The first thing I would like to do . . . would be to interfere in the world war on the side of justice and honesty, by exactly such a league [of neutrals] as you mention. I do not believe in neutrality between right and wrong. I believe in justice. (To Baron Rosen, August 7, 1915.) *Mem. Ed.* XXIV, 461; Bishop II, 392.

————. The storm that is raging in Europe at this moment is terrible and evil; but it is also grand and noble. Untried men who live at ease will do well to remember that there is a certain sublimity even in Milton's defeated archangel, but none whatever in the spirits who kept neutral, who remained at peace, and dared side neither with hell nor with heaven. They will also do well to remember that when heroes have battled together, and have wrought good and evil, and when the time has come out of the contest to get all the good possible and to prevent as far as possible the evil from being made permanent, they will not be influenced much by the theory that soft and short-sighted outsiders have put themselves in better condition to stop war abroad by making themselves defenseless at home. (New York *Times,* November 29, 1914.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 216; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 185.

WORLD WAR — PARTICIPATION IN. France and England have been fighting the battle of this nation as certainly as they have been fighting for themselves. Every consideration of honor, of self-respect, of self-interest, and self-preservation demand that we Americans throw our full force into this war immediately, without reservation, with entire loyalty to our allies, and with the stern and steadfast determination to fight the war through to a victorious finish. Moreover, we should act at once. We have to atone for three years of folly and indecision.

We are a nation of a hundred millions of people, richer in wealth and resources than any other on the earth. Yet we were so utterly unprepared that although Germany declared war on us seven months ago we are still merely getting ready our strength, we still owe our safety exclusively to the fleets and armies of our hard-pressed and war-worn allies, to whose help we nominally came. (1917.) *Mem. Ed.* XXI, 5; *Nat. Ed.* XIX, 5.

————. I am certain that as rapidly as possible the various units should be transferred to France for intensive training; that as soon as possible an American force, under the American flag, should be established on the fighting line, should be steadily fed with new men to keep its members to the required point, and steadily reinforced by other units, so that it would be playing a continually more important part in the fighting. It is an ignoble thing for us not to put our men into the fighting line at the earliest possible moment. Such failure will excite derision and may have a very evil effect upon our national future. (To Newton D. Baker, April 22, 1917.) *Mem. Ed.* XXI, 214; *Nat. Ed.* XIX, 202.

————. In my judgment, the way to render help to the Allies is primarily to wake America to its own shortcomings as regards its own effort, to enlighten it as to the need of making that effort quickly and formidably felt; or in other words, to struggle as hard as possible to increase our weight in the war. It would be a far more difficult thing for me to get our country speeded to action by knowledge of England's effort than to get it speeded to action by knowledge of its own shortcomings and duties. (To Sir Arthur Lee, February 21, 1918.) *Mem. Ed.* XXIV, 514; Bishop II, 439.

WORLD WAR—PEACE SETTLEMENT OF. There are multitudes of professional pacifists in the United States, and of well-meaning but ill-informed persons who sympathize with them from ignorance. There are not a few astute persons, bankers of foreign birth, and others, who wish to take sinister advantage of the folly of these persons, in the interest of Germany. All of these men clamor for immediate peace. They wish the United States to take action for immediate peace or for a truce, under conditions designed to leave Belgium with her wrongs unredressed and in the possession of Germany. They strive to bring about a peace which would contain within itself the elements

of frightful future disaster, by making no effective provision to prevent the repetition of such wrong-doing as has been inflicted upon Belgium. All of the men advocating such action, including the professional pacifists, the big business men largely of foreign birth, and the well-meaning but feeble-minded creatures among their allies, and including especially all those who from sheer timidity or weakness shrink from duty, occupy a thoroughly base and improper position. (*Independent*, January 4, 1915.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 183; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 157.

———. If the United States enters . . . a congress with nothing but a record of comfortable neutrality or tame acquiescence in violated Hague conventions, plus an array of vague treaties with no relation to actual facts, it will be allowed to fill the position of international drum-major and of nothing more; and even this position it will be allowed to fill only so long as it suits the convenience of the men who have done the actual fighting. The warring nations will settle the issues in accordance with their own strength and position. Under such conditions we shall be treated as we deserve to be treated, as a nation of people who mean well feebly, whose words are not backed by deeds, who like to prattle about both their own strength and their own righteousness, but who are unwilling to run the risks without which righteousness cannot be effectively served, and who are also unwilling to undergo the toil of intelligent and hard-working preparation without which strength when tested proves weakness. (New York *Times*, November 29, 1914.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 202; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 173.

———. Peace in Europe will be made by the warring nations. They and they alone will in fact determine the terms of settlement. The United States may be used as a convenient means of getting together; but that is all. If the nations of Europe desire peace and our assistance in securing it, it will be because they have fought as long as they will or can. It will not be because they regard us as having set a spiritual example to them by sitting idle, uttering cheap platitudes, and picking up their trade, while they have poured out their blood like water in support of the ideals in which, with all their hearts and souls, they believe. For us to assume superior virtue in the face of the war-worn nations of the Old World will not make us more acceptable as mediators among them. Such self-consciousness on our part will not impress the nations who have sacrificed and are sacrificing all that is dearest to them in the world, for the things that they believe to be the noblest in the world. (New York *Times*, November 29, 1914.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 215; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 185.

———. What is needed at this time is not the compounding of felony by the discussion of terms with the felons, but the concentration and speedy development of our whole strength so as to overwhelm Germany in battle and to dictate to her the peace of unconditional surrender. . . . Our present business is to fight, and to continue fighting until Germany is brought to her knees. Our next business will be to help guarantee the peace of justice for the world at large, and to set in order the affairs of our own household. (1918.) *Mem. Ed.* XXI, 256, 257; *Nat. Ed.* XIX, 238, 239.

———. The one absolute essential for our people is to insist that this war be seen through at no matter what cost, until it is crowned with the peace of overwhelming victory for the right.

There are foolish persons who still say we ought to make peace now, a negotiated peace, and then be good friends with Germany. These persons with all the lessons of the last four years fresh in their minds still cling pathetically to the belief that if only we will show that we are harmless Germany will begin to love us. (*Metropolitan*, January 1918.) *Mem. Ed.* XXI, 284; *Nat. Ed.* XIX, 261.

———. We must win the war as speedily as possible. But we must set ourselves to fight it through no matter how long it takes, with the resolute determination to accept no peace until, no matter at what cost, we win the peace of overwhelming victory. The peace that we win must guarantee full reparation for the awful cost of life and treasure which the Prussianized Germany of the Hohenzollerns has inflicted on the entire world; and this reparation must take the form of action that will render it impossible for Germany to repeat her colossal wrong-doing. (Lafayette Day exercises, New York City, September 6, 1918.) *Mem. Ed.* XXI, 408; *Nat. Ed.* XIX, 370.

———. When the American people speak for unconditional surrender, it means that Germany must accept whatever terms the United States and its Allies think necessary in order to right the dreadful wrongs that have been committed and to safeguard the world for at least a generation to come from another attempt by Germany to secure world dominion. Unconditional surrender is the reverse of a ne-

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Theodore Roosevelt

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1970

practice and made the best record at target practice that had been made by any ship in our fleet at that time. The men aboard her were not rattled; what had happened merely keyed them to a higher pitch of effort.

I feel that too much can not be said to impress upon you the all-importance of the work that you are doing. Even if you yourselves never go into battle, you create the spirit which makes those who come after you on the ships able to do their duty in battle. The time of peace is the time when we must make ready for war, should war come. I do not think we will have any war if we have a good enough navy; and I could appeal to any peace society in the land for support upon the ground that every first-class record of target practice in the American navy is a positive provocative of peace and not of war. I am speaking to the men who, more than any others in this country, do most for peace. You are doing it and you will continue to do it only by fitting yourselves in every way to be ready for war, if war should come.

AT THE GRADUATING EXERCISES OF THE COLLEGIATE DEPARTMENT OF CLARK UNIVERSITY, WORCESTER, MASS., JUNE 21, 1905

While it is incumbent upon every citizen of this country to do the best that is in him, not only for his own sake, and the sake of those immediately connected with him, but for the sake of the people as

a whole, it is especially incumbent upon the graduates of such an institution of learning as this. Every man that graduates here has received something, and something big, for which he has made no return, and for which he can never make any return to the men giving it. It is given in part by those who are dead and in part by those who are living, but who can not ever receive any reward for that they have themselves done. You graduates can not pay back directly to the founder, to the trustees, to the president, to the professors, what they have done in money and effort for you. There is just one way and only one way in which you can give back to the college, to the university, what you have received from the college, from the university, and that is by so leading your lives in point of purpose and in point of efficiency as to reflect honor upon those who did so much for you, to show that they were right in doing what they did, and that their effort was not wasted when they gave you this great chance. Every college man owes a debt of gratitude to his college, which he can pay in but one way, and that is by the way in which through his life he makes that college stand in the estimation of the public.

It is true of the Nation, as of the individual, that the greatest doer must also be a great dreamer. Of course, if the dream is not followed by action, then it is a bubble; it has merely served to divert the man from doing something. But great action, action that is really great, can not take place if the man has it not in his brain to think great thoughts,

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to dream great dreams. As has been so well pointed out to-day, the marvelous rise of Germany in the world of industry and of commerce, no less than of art and of letters, has been due to the fact that the German is trained to have high ideals, and yet to treat these ideals in practical fashion. I was immensely struck, as I think all of us must have been struck, by the way in which, a few weeks ago, our fellow-citizens of German birth or descent took part in commemorating the life and writings of Schiller. I feel strongly, as the president of Amherst has phrased it, that here in this country, where we are amalgamating into one people many different peoples of many different tongues, one of the great works to which we should devote our attention is trying to keep what each of these peoples can give of value to our composite national life. Each race that comes here, each element, can contribute something of value, can usually contribute very much of value; and it would be a good thing for all of our people if we should shape our development so that it would seem as natural to us as it does to the people of Germany to recognize the incalculable debt of a nation to a writer like Schiller, to a man who has done work for the public, for the nation, for all mankind, upon which no price can be put. From Germany this country has learned much. Germany has contributed a great element to the blood of our people, and it has given the most marked trend ever given to our scholastic and university system, to the whole system of training stu-

dents and scholars. In taking what we should from Germany, from this great kindred nation, I wish that we could take especially the idealism which renders it natural to them to celebrate such an event as Schiller's life and writings; and also the keen, practical common-sense which enables them to turn their idealistic spirit into an instrument for producing the most perfect military and industrial organizations that this world has ever seen.

Mr. Mabie has said that character counts most; of course it counts most. I believe in a sound body, I believe in a sound mind. I believe in character a great deal more than in either; and I believe in both the body and the mind chiefly as the foundation for the character. I remember when I was Governor, and had some correspondence with President Hall, I found to my great pleasure that he took the views that I did on the subject of boxing, he feeling as strongly as I felt that we did not want to produce in institutions of learning a race of nice, clever, well-bred young men, who can not hold their own in the rough work of the world. I do not give a snap of my finger for the young fellow who is afraid of being hurt physically, or in any other way; he is not going to amount to anything in after life. Each of you as you lead your lives will be hurt a good deal; if you have any pluck in you at all you will face the punishment, take it, and win out in spite of it. I want to see the physical development, more because of its moral side than for any other reason. I want to see the intellect developed only in so far as it

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is controlled by conscience, by a sense of right and wrong. The better educated a man is the more dangerous he is if he has no conscience. In these universities the benefit comes from the education of a man's character as well as of his intellect.

I hope most earnestly for the day when we shall see peace prevail among the nations of mankind; and peace, industrial as well as military, prevail within the nations themselves. No man in public position can, under penalty of forfeiting the right to the respect of those whose regard he most values, fail as the opportunity comes to do all that in him lies for peace. But peace of a valuable type comes not to the man who craves it because he is afraid, but to the man who demands it because it is right. The peace granted contemptuously to the weakling and the coward is but a poor boon after it has been granted.

We must keep our minds upon the essentials and not upon the non-essentials. In 1861 there were people who cried peace, peace, who said that any peace, no matter how shameful, was preferable to the worst of all wars—a fratricidal war; and if those people had had their way we should now be hanging our heads in shame. We should now be feeling that the country founded by Washington, the country that at that time was perpetuated by Lincoln, had gone down in the wreck of irretrievable disaster. We got peace then, peace forever, as I believe, in this country, because there were a sufficient number of men who felt as President Wright

felt and went to the war to fight for permanent peace. I have scant patience with the brawler, the quarreler, the swashbuckler, and I have a little less for the anæmic person, either of body or soul, who believes that a nation any more than an individual can afford to put peace before justice. Put justice first; it will generally lead to peace; but follow it wherever it leads.

In closing, let me say just one more thing. The same homely virtues apply in managing the life of a nation as in managing an individual's life. All the statesman needs to do is to exercise common-sense and stick as close to the Decalogue and the Golden Rule as imperfect human nature will permit. In other words, he needs to carry himself in public life as he would in private life, and never permit the mistake being made of divorcing public from private morality any more than of divorcing domestic from business morality. The man is a poor citizen, no matter how high he stands in the church, whose allegiance to the teachings of the church is limited to his home and to Sunday, and is not carried into his work or his business. The man is a poor citizen who does not do his best to see that the affairs of his country, both as regards the country's attitude to other nations, and as regards the country's dealings with matters vital to its own citizens within its limits, are managed along the same lines —the old simple lines of honesty, courage, and common-sense.

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Theodore Roosevelt

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ADDRESS TO THE GRADUATES OF THE UNITED STATES NAVAL MEDICAL SCHOOL, WASHINGTON, D. C., MARCH 25, 1905

Ladies and Gentlemen; and especially the Members of the Graduating Class:

I am glad to have the chance of saying a word of greeting to you this morning. You represent two professions, for you are members of the great medical body and you are also officers of the Navy of the United States, and therefore you have a double standard of honor up to which to live. I think that all of us laymen, men and women, have a peculiar appreciation of what a doctor means; for I do not suppose there is one of us who does not feel that the family doctor stands in a position of close intimacy with each of us, in a position of obligation to him under which one is happy to rest to an extent hardly possible with any one else; and those of us, I think most of us, who are fortunate enough to have a family doctor who is a beloved and intimate friend, realize that there can be few closer ties of intimacy and affection in the world. And while, of course, even the greatest and best doctors can not assume that very intimate relation with more than a certain number of people (though it is to be said that more than any other man, the doctor does commonly assume such a relation to many people)—while it is impossible this relation in its closest form shall obtain between a doctor and more than a certain num-

ber of people, still with every patient with whom the doctor is thrown at all intimately he has this peculiar relation to a greater or less extent. The effect that the doctor has upon the body of the patient is in very many cases no greater than the effect that he has upon the patient's mind. Each one of you here has resting upon him not only a great responsibility for the care of the body of the officer or enlisted man who will be under his supervision, but a care—which ought not to be too consciously shown, but which should be unconsciously felt—for the man's spirit. The morale of the entire ship's company, of the entire body of men with which you are to be thrown, will be sensibly affected by the way in which each of you does his duty.

Just as the great doctor, the man who stands high in his profession in any city, counts as one of the most valuable assets in that city's civic work, so in the Navy or the Army the effect of having thoroughly well-trained men with a high and sensitive standard of professional honor and professional duty is wellnigh incalculable upon the service itself. I want you now, as you graduate, to feel that on your shoulders rests a great weight of responsibility; that your position is one of high honor, and that it is impossible to hold a position of high honor and not hold it under penalty of incurring the severest reprobation if you fail to live up to its requirements.

I am not competent to speak save in the most general terms of your professional duties. I do want, however, to call your attention to one or two

features connected with them. In the first place: In connection with the work you do for the service you have certain peculiar advantages in doing work that will be felt for the whole profession. For instance, it will fall to your lot to deal with certain types of tropical diseases. You will have to deal with them as no ordinary American doctor, no matter how great his experience, will have to deal with them, and you should fit yourselves by most careful study and preparation, so that you shall not only be able to grapple with the cases as they come up, but in grappling with them to make and record observations upon them that will be of permanent value to your fellows in civil life. You can there do what no civilian doctor can possibly do. There probably is not a branch of the profession into which, during your career, you will not have to go; no type of disease that you will not have to treat. But there are certain diseases you will have to treat that the ordinary man who stays at home, of course, does not; and it is of consequence to the entire medical profession that you should so fit yourself by study, by preparation, that you shall not only be able to deal with those cases, but to deal with them in a way that will be of advantage to your stay-at-home brethren.

There is one other point. Every effort should, of course, be made to provide you with ample means to do your work. Every effort ought to be made to persuade the National Legislature to take that view of the situation; to remember that in case of war

it is out of the question to improvise a great medical service for the Army and the Navy. The need of the increase would be more keenly felt in the Army than in the Navy, because it is always the Army that undergoes the greatest expansion in time of war. But it is felt in both services. And when, as is perfectly certain to be the case if ever a war comes, and if we have made no greater preparation than at present, there is fever in the camps, there is sickness among the volunteer forces, it will be mere dishonest folly for the public men, and especially for the public press, to shriek against the people who happen to be in power at that time. Let them, if ever such occasion arises, solemnly think over and repent of the fact that they have not made their representatives provide adequately in advance for the medical system in its personnel and its material, for the organization, and for the physical instruments necessary to make that organization effective. Only adequate preparation in advance will obviate the trouble which otherwise is certain to come if we have a war. Let critics remember not to blame the people in power when such a breakdown comes, but to blame themselves, the people of the United States, because they have not had the forethought to take the steps in advance which would prevent such breakdown from occurring.

Means ought to be provided in advance. That is part of our duty. If we fail in it then it is our responsibility, not yours. But now for your duty. I want to impress, with all the strength

that in me lies, upon every medical man in either the Army or the Navy, to remember always that in any time of crisis the chances are that you will have to work with imperfect implements. And your conduct will then afford a pretty good test of your worth. If you sit down and do nothing but say you could have done excellently if only you had had the right implements to work with, you will show your unfitness for your position. Your business will be to do the very best you can do, if you have nothing in the world but a jack-knife to do it with. Keep before your minds all the time that when the crisis occurs it is almost sure to be the case that you will have to do no small part of your work with make-shifts; to do it, as I myself saw at Santiago the Army physicians do their work, roughly and hastily, when worn out with fatigue and having but one-fourth or one-fifth of the appliances that they would expect normally to have. Make up your mind that while you will do all you can to get the best material together in advance, you will not put forward the lack of that material as an excuse for not doing the best work possible with imperfect tools. Make it a matter of pride to do your utmost, without regard to the inadequacy of your instruments.

I am sure that all of us outsiders here realize the weight of responsibility resting upon those who now join the great and honorable body of men who in the Navy and in the Army have by their actions upheld not only the standard of honor of the

medical profession, but the standard of honor of the officers of the Army and the Navy of the United States.

I greet you on your entrance into the service. I welcome you as servants of the Nation, and I wish you every success in the great and honorable calling which you have chosen as yours.

AT OUTDOOR MEETING AT DALLAS, TEX., APRIL 5, 1905

Mr. Mayor; and you, My Fellow-Americans:

It has been indeed a pleasure for me to come today within the limits of your mighty and beautiful State. This afternoon I have been traveling through a veritable garden of the Lord. It is only a few weeks ago that I did my part in helping on the growth here when I signed the bill under which the Trinity River will be improved, which I was mighty glad to do. For I think that we Americans have learned the lesson that whatever is good for some of us is good for all of us. We are all going to go up, and not down, because we are going to go together. I have been impressed even more than by the beauty and fertility of your State by the character of its people. Surely no President could be more touched by any greeting than by a greeting such as this; and above all (I know the others of you will not mind my saying) to be greeted by the men who, when the hour of trial came in 1861, sprang to arms, and whether they wore the blue, or whether they wore the gray, proved the sincerity



UBLIC SPEECH

ific as in the Atlantic, in the Hawaiian as in the West Indies, and we tect those interests"

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Presidential Addresses and State Papers of

Theodore Roosevelt

PART ONE

WITH PORTRAIT FRONTISPIECE

Published with the Permission of the President
Through Special Arrangement

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New York
1970

train them in character means to train them not only to possess, as they must possess, the softer and gentler virtues, but also the virile powers of a race of vigorous men, the virtues of courage, of honesty —not merely the honesty that refrains from doing wrong, but the honesty that wars aggressively for the right—the virtues of courage, honesty, and, finally, hard common-sense.

TO THE GRADUATING CLASS, NAVAL ACADEMY, ANNAPOLIS, MD., MAY 2, 1902

Gentlemen of the Graduating Class:

In receiving these diplomas you become men who above almost any others of the entire Union are to carry henceforth ever-present with you the sense of responsibility which must come if you are worthy of wearing the uniform; which must come with the knowledge that on some tremendous day it may depend upon your courage, your preparedness, your skill in your profession, whether or not the nation is again to write her name on the world's roll of honor or is to know the black shame of defeat. We all of us earnestly hope that the occasion for war may not arise, but if it has to come then this nation must win; and as Dr. Winston has pointed out, in winning the prime factor must of necessity be the United States Navy. If the navy fails us then we are doomed to defeat. It should therefore be an object of prime importance for every patriotic American to see that the navy is built up; and that it is

kept to the highest point of efficiency both in personnel and material. Above all, it can not be too often repeated to those representatives of the nation in whose hands the practical application of the principle lies, that in modern naval war the chief factor in achieving triumph is what has been done in the way of thorough preparation and training before the beginning of the war. It is what has been done before the outbreak of war that counts most. After the outbreak, all that can be done is to use to best advantage the great war engines, and the seamanship, marksmanship, and general practical efficiency which have already been provided by the forethought of the national legislature and by the administrative ability, through a course of years, of the Navy Department. A battleship can not be improvised. It takes years to build. And we must learn that it is exactly as true that the skill of the officers and men in handling a battleship aright can likewise never be improvised; that it must spring from use and actual sea service, and from the most careful, zealous, and systematic training. You to whom I am about to give these diplomas now join the ranks of the officers of the United States Navy. You enter a glorious service, proud of its memories of renown. You must keep ever in your minds the thought of the supreme hour which may come when what you do will forever add to or detract from that renown. Some of you will have to do your part in helping construct the ships and the guns which you use. You need to bend every energy toward making these

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ships and guns in all their details the most perfect of their kind throughout the world. The ship must be seaworthy, the armament fitted for best protection to the guns and men, the guns in all their mechanism fit to do the greatest possible execution in the shortest possible time. Every detail, whether of protection to the gun-crews, of rapidity and sureness in handling the ammunition and working the elevating and revolving gear, or of quickness and accuracy in sighting, must be thought out far in advance, and the thought carefully executed in the actual work. But after that has been done it remains true that the best ships and guns, the most costly mechanism, are utterly valueless if the men have not been trained to use them to the best possible advantage. From now on throughout your lives there can be no slackness in the performance of duty on your part. Much has been given you, and much will be expected from you. Your duty must be ever present with you, waking and sleeping. You must train yourselves, and you must train those under you, in the actual work of seamanship, in the actual work of gunnery. If the day for battle comes you will need all that you possess of boldness, skill, determination, ability to bear punishment, and instant readiness in an emergency. Without these qualities you can do nothing, yet even with them you can do but little if you have not had the forethought and set purpose to train yourselves and the enlisted men under you aright. Officers and men alike must have the sea habit; officers and men alike must realize

that in battle the only shots that count are the shots that hit, and that normally the victory will lie with the side whose shots hit oftenest. Of course you must have the ability to stand up to the hammering; the courage, the daring, the resolution to endure; but I take it for granted you will have those qualities. It is less to be thought to your credit to have them than it would be eternally to your discredit to lack them. I take it for granted you will have the courage we have a right to expect to go with American seamanship; that you will have the daring and the resolution. And I ask that you make it from now on your object to see that if ever the day should arise, your courage, your readiness, your eager desire to win fresh renown for the flag be made good by the training you have given yourselves and those under you in the practical work of your profession in seamanship and gunnery.

AT THE BANQUET OF THE SOCIETY OF THE SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 2, 1902

Mr. Toastmaster; Mr. President; Compatriots; and fellow-Americans:

It is a pleasure to take part in greeting you this evening. Societies that cultivate patriotism in the present by keeping alive the memory of what we owe to the patriotism of the past, fill an indispensable function in this Republic. You come here to-night from every quarter—from every State of the Repub-

A response to Lt. Koenig
has been prepared by Correspondence.
These letters will be included
in POTUS' mail sample
this week.

Teresa Donovan
1/11/90

29 December, 1989

lstLt George A. Koenig
Administrative Officer
Amphibious Warfare School
Marine Corps Combat Development
Command
Quantico, Virginia 22134-5051

Dear President Bush,

I know what a busy man you are, but I wanted to write you about my friend First Lieutenant Rob Paz, who was killed in Panama, and ask you to do something in his memory.

Rob was one of the best friends I've made in the Marine Corps. There were two things, beside the pleasure of his company, that I particularly admired about him: His "Gentlemanly" forcefulness and his great intellect.

Although Rob was small in physical stature and extremely well-mannered, he was one of the most forceful and aggressive officers I've served with. The amazing thing about him though, was that he could be forceful without making unnecessary enemies. He was admired by all for his hard-work and ability to keep his cool. This was especially evident when he served as the Battalion Embarkation Officer. Being the Embarkation Officer is very similar to your job, Mr. President; people blame you for things that go wrong that you have absolutely no control over. But like you, he always kept his cool and got the job done. He avoided a lot of unnecessary problems by insisting on people's cooperation and he got it. Being forceful in the Marine Corps is an absolute must and Rob was.

The other virtue that Rob possessed was a first class intellect and more importantly an ability to see both sides of an issue. But yet, Rob never suffered from the horrible modern-day blight of moral relativism. When he had considered a matter and made up his mind about it, his views were unshakable except by force of reason. I think he had strongly held views because of the values that his family instilled in him, his reading, and a strong faith in God.

He spoke fondly of his family. I know they were very close. He told me about some of the tough times they had. I remember one day at a wetting down, celebrating the promotion of several officers, we went off to the side away from the group to talk. Rob suddenly became very emotional. He was very concerned about his family and felt helpless being in Okinawa. His family was torn between staying in Texas or moving back to Colombia. His love and concern was so evident on his face it was quite moving. I wish his family could have heard and seen him at that moment. They would have seen for themselves, as I'm sure they knew in their hearts, what a wonderful son they had raised.

Rob was constantly reading. He was extremely knowledgeable about the Greek philosophers. In fact, he gave me a copy of Plato's Republic to read. I'm sure Vice President Quayle would be glad to hear that. Rob thought there were so many relevant lessons to be learned from the Greeks. He read many books from his South American cultural heritage. He also read the Bible frequently.

Rob had a quiet, but bedrock faith in God. He studied the Bible and attended church regularly. We often had interesting discussions about God and religion (we agreed that there was a huge difference between the two). He taught me about "liberation theology" and why unfortunately it was so successful in South America.

Rob's unique position of having ties to both Colombia and the United States, coupled with his great mind, persuaded me to look at our southern friends in a different light. That is a favor I will never be able to return! In two years we were both going to be getting out of the Marine Corps and we were going to meet in Cali, Colombia. Rob was going to teach me firsthand about South America. I may still make the trip, but it will be without my friend and teacher!

Now, Mr. President, I'd like to ask a favor on Rob's behalf. When I went home for Christmas, I had my parents read the two enclosed letters from Rob. The last letter dated 10 December was sent days before his death and I received it the day of the intervention. Eerily, it was unsigned. Both my parents were very moved, and like me, felt that a man with enormous potential had his life snuffed out too early. They felt you should read his letters because they were written by a man who had unique insights into the drug problem. A man who had spent half of his life in Colombia and half in the United States. An honest man whose opinions are unvarnished by political concerns, but is calling it as he sees it. Mr. President, I know that if there is a man in public life today who would appreciate that, it is you.

Semper Fidelis,

GEORGE AUGUST KOENIG
1stLt USMC

10 DEC 89

DEAR GEORGE,

DEVIL DOG! GOOD TO HEAR FROM YOU. IM AT WORK NOW, ON WATCH. IT'S LIKE STANDING OOD BUT A LOT BUSIER. I MIGHT BE ABLE TO GET A FEW LINES OFF WITHOUT MUCH INTERRUPTION NOW THAT IT'S THE LUNCH HOUR.

I AGREE WITH YOU ON YOUR ANTI-DRUG OPINION FOR THE MOST PART. THE PRIMARY REASON THAT THE COLOMBIANS ARE FIGHTING THE DRUG CZARS IS TO SAVE THEIR GOVERNMENTAL AND DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTION. HOWEVER, THAT IS NOT THE ONLY REASON. MANY PEOPLE ARE ANGRY AT THE CARTELS; THEY HAVE ASSASSINATED GOOD CITIZENS, PROMINENT YET UNINVOLVED PEOPLE; THEY HAVE CORRUPTED PEOPLE IN ALL LEVELS OF SOCIETY; THEY HAVE RUINED THE COUNTRY'S IMAGE ABROAD; THEY DESTROYED THE AGRARIAN REFORM THAT WAS INITIATED IN THE EARLY 60'S; THEY HAVE DISRUPTED THE ECONOMY; THEY HAVE MADE THE STREETS UNSAFE AT NIGHT; THEY HAVE FINANCED GUERRILLAS WHO UP TO 5 YEARS AGO WERE VIRTUALLY DESTROYED BY COLOMBIAN GOVERNMENT FORCES AND NOW ARE WELL EQUIPPED AND STRONG; IN SHORT, THEY HAVE RAPED COLOMBIA AND DISHONORED HER. THE COLOMBIAN PRESIDENT DID TRAVEL TO THE U.S SEEKING HELP; WHAT IS SO BAD ABOUT HELPING ONE OF THE LONGEST STANDING DEMOCRACIES IN LATIN AMERICA MAINTAIN HER DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT? ONE THING IS TO SUPPORT GUYS LIKE SOMOZA, NORIEGA, AND THE THE PINHEAD IN GUATEMALA, ANOTHER IS TO HELP TRUE AND LEGITIMATE DEMOCRACIES. BUT ASK YOURSELF, WAS THE AID PACKAGE THAT COLOMBIA RECEIVED REALLY THAT GREAT? MOST OF IT WAS OFF-THE-SHELF SURPLUS MILITARY EQUIPMENT, YET LOOK AT THE HELP POLAND IS GETTING. ARE WE IN THE U.S. SERIOUS ABOUT DRUGS? I THINK NOT. ALTHOUGH THE SUPPLY SIDE SHOULD BE ATTACKED, THE MAIN "FRONT" SHOULD BE DEMAND. AND DEMAND IS NOT JUST CATCHING THE GUY WHO BUYS AND USES THE STUFF, IT IS, AS YOU WELL KNOW, FAR MORE INVOLVED THAN THAT. I VENTURE TO SAY THAT THE LACK OF COHESION AMONGST AMERICAN FAMILIES, ie. HIGH DIVORCE RATES, AND THE LOSS OF STRONG MORAL VALUES AS A SOCIETY ARE THE PRINCIPLE REASONS FOR THE DRUG PROBLEM. EDUCATION, POVERTY, STRESS, ETC, ARE ALL REASONS BUT I BELIEVE THEM TO BE SECONDARY ONES. LOOK AROUND; PRO-CHOICE (WHAT A BULLSHIT WAY OF SAYING BABY KILLER) ACTIVISTS, GAY RIGHTS GROUPS, LAWYERS DEFENDING CHILD PORNOGRAPHY; WHAT IS THIS WORLD COMING TO? WE HAVE BECOME WHAT WAS KNOWN IN ANCIENT GREECE AS SOPHISTS. LAWYERS DON'T CARE IF SOMETHING IS RIGHT OR WRONG BUT WHETHER THEY CAN WIN AN ARGUMENT NO MATTER WHAT IT IS; WOMEN JUSTIFYING ABORTION SO THAT THEY DON'T HAVE TO CARRY ON WITH THE RESPONSABILITY OF RAISING A CHILD THAT THEY CONCEIVED (GRANTED THERE ARE CASES OF RAPE THAT ARE NOT THE FEMALES FAULT, BUT NEITHER IS IT THE CHILD'S FAULT), TAKING PRAYER OUT OF SCHOOLS, ETC,ETC,ETC,...GETTING BACK ON TRACK, I BELIEVE THAT UNTIL WE STRENGTHEN OUR MORAL VALUES AS A NATION, UNTIL WE CEASE TO THINK THAT FREEDOM IS A LICENSE TO DO THINGS THAT ARE NOT NATURAL, UNTIL WE HUMBLE OURSELVES BEFORE GOD AGAIN, ANTI-DRUG EFFORTS WILL PROVE FRUITLESS AND VERY COSTLY. YES WE CAN CAPTURE GUYS LIKE RODRIGUEZ GACHA, AND DESTROY CROPS HERE OR THERE, BUT IN THE LONG RUN THIS WILL BE INEFFECTIVE IF WE DON'T CLEAN HOUSE AT HOME BECAUSE NEW RODRIGUEZ'S WILL APPEAR AND DIFFERENT COUNTRIES WILL GROW THE CROPS. AND DESPITE OUR TECHNOLOGY, THE WORLD IS TOO VAST FOR US TO CONTROL ENTIRELY.

A FEW LINES ABOUT OUR CURRENT POLICIES. WE ARE DOING IT AGAIN. WE ARE TRYING TO MEASURE SUCCESS IN QUANTITATIVE TERMS; IN VIET NAM IT WAS BODY COUNTS, HERE IT IS KG OF COCAINE CAPTURED. WHAT WE ARE NOT MEASURING IS THE EFFECTS OF OUR POLICIES IN THE FUTURE. FOR EXAMPLE, TRYING TO FORCE THE BOLIVIANS TO ERRADICATE PEASANT COCA CROPS SAYING THEY NEED TO INTRODUCE SUBSTITUTION CROPS. LIKE WHAT? WHAT KIND OF MARKETING INFRASTRUCTURE WILL SURPASS WHAT THE DRUG LORDS HAVE SET UP ALREADY? ARE WE GOING TO MAKE PEASANTS TAKE LOANS TO ESTABLISH NEW CROPS FURTHER BURDENING ALREADY OVER INDEBTED LATIN ECONOMIES AND THEN WATCH THE PRICES OF A SPECIFIC CROP THAT THE GOVERNMENT FORCED ON THEM PLUMMET? WHOEVER SAYS THAT SUBSTITUTION CROPS IS THE ANSWER IS HIGH AND HAS NO CONCEPT OF POVERTY OR THE REALITY OF LATIN AMERICA. LETS LOOK AT COLOMBIA. SLOWLY BUT SURELY WE ARE STARTING TO BUILD U.S.PRESENCE IN THAT COUNTRY WHICH IS ONE OF THE MOST NATIONALISTIC AND PROUD OF THE HEMISPHERE. THAT COUNTRY IS JUST BEGGINING TO GET OVER THE FACT THAT ROOSEVELT TOOK PANAMA FROM THEM AND NOW WE WANT TO DICTATE HOW THEY FIGHT A DRUG WAR. WE WILL PISS OFF THE PEOPLE THERE BEFORE THE DRUG LORDS DO. TO MAKE THINGS WORSE THE U.S. DID NOT COME TO AN AGREEMENT ON COFFEE PRICES LAST SUMMER WITH COLOMBIA WHICH SENT THE PRICES DOWN AND THAT COUNTRY'S ECONOMY INTO TURMOIL. AND WHO DID THE COLOMBIANS TURN TO? THE JAPANESE. FUNNY HOW INTERNATIONAL POLITICS WORK. I BELIEVE THE COLOMBIAN CONSERVATIVE PARTY WILL WIN THE MARCH ELECTIONS RESULTING IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIALOGUE WITH THE DRUGIES, DISENGAGEMENT OF THE ARMED FORCES FROM THE DRUG WAR, DE-EMPHASIZING THE EXTRADITION TREATIES WITH THE U.S., COMMITTING THE ARMED FORCES TO THE TRADITIONAL BUT MORE POWERFUL GUERRILLA FORCES, AND INCREASING ECONOMIC TIES WITH EUROPE AND JAPAN AND BECOMING LESS DEPENDENT ON THE U.S. THAT IS WHAT I WOULD DO.

I'VE BABLED ENOUGH. SORRY MY THOUGHTS AND WRITING ARE NOT WELL ORGANIZED BUT THIS WATCH DOESN'T GIVE ME A CHANCE TO DO IT ALL AT ONCE IN A SEQUENTIAL AND THOROUGH MANNER. IN OTHER WORDS, MY TRAIN OF THOUGHT WAS BROKEN SEVERAL TIMES WHILE WRITING THIS. BUT IT'S FOOD FOR THOUGHT.

ON A MORE POSITIVE SIDE, IT'S GOOD TO SEE EASTERN EUROPE EMBRACE THE IDEALS OF DEMOCRACY. I HOPE WE DON'T LET OUR GUARD DOWN THOUGH, THE BEAR COULD STRIKE WHILE THE EAGLE SLEEPS.

WELL, I HOPE YOU HAVE A GREAT CHRISTMAS AND A NEW DECADE FULL OF SUCCESS. I'D LIKE TO ASK A FAVOR OF YOU, IF YOU CAN FIND A BOOK ON THE STRUCTURE AND LIFE OF THE JESUITS I'D APPRECIATE IT, I WILL PAY YOU LATER.

SEMPER FI,

10 NOV, 1989

DEAR GEORGE,

FIRST I SHOULD START BY SAYING HAPPY BIRTHDAY! HOW THE HELL ARE YOU? I'M ON DUTY NOW IN THE SOUTHCOM JOINT OPERATIONS CENTER IN THE COUNTERNARCOTICS CELL. GUESS WHO'S ON WATCH WITH ME? AN OLD 2/9 GUNNY BY THE NAME OF WATERHOUSE, I'M SURE PAT LOONEY WOULD GET A KICK OUT OF THAT.

SO FAR I CAN'T REALLY SAY I HAVE HAD A GOOD TIME. WE HAVE HAD TO WORK LONG HOURS TRYING TO GET THIS COUNTERNARCOTICS THING GOING, AND BESIDES THAT WE HAVE BEEN UNDER STRICT PERSONNEL MOVEMENT LIMITATIONS, IN OTHER WORDS WE CAN'T DO SQUAT. BUT I HAVE MANAGED TO GO ON ONE DATE, AND TONIGHT I'M TAKING THIS PANAMANIAN GIRL TO THE BALL AT RODMAN, WE'LL SEE HOW THAT GOES.

I HAVEN'T BEEN EXERCISING AS MUCH AS I HAD HOPED TO, BUT I DO GET ON THE BIKE ONCE IN A WHILE AND IN THE POOL WHEN IT DOESN'T RAIN. HOW ABOUT YOU?

POLITICS, YOUR FAVORITE SUBJECT; I HAVE TO SAY THAT I DO NOT AGREE WITH OUR CURRENT POLICIES IN SOUTH AMERICA IN THE COUNTERDRUG FIELD. WE, AS WE DID IN VIET NAM, ARE TRYING TO PUT EVERYTHING IN A QUANTITATIVE PERSPECTIVE RATHER THAN LOOKING AT THE HUMAN ASPECT OF THIS WHOLE DEAL. AND THE HUMAN ASPECT SAYS THAT UNLESS CONDITIONS FOR THE CAMPESINOS IMPROVE, THEY WILL CONTINUE TO GROW COCA BECAUSE THEY CAN EARN A RELATIVELY "GOOD" LIVING OFF IT AND BECAUSE THAT IS WHAT THEY HAVE BEEN GROWING FOR THE LAST 3000 YEARS. THE PROBLEM FOR THE BOLIVIAN CAMPESINO IS THAT HE DOES NOT HAVE A POWERFUL LOBBYING GROUP IN DC CONVINCING CONGRESSMEN WHAT IS BEST FOR THEM. FURTHERMORE, GOING AFTER THE COLOMBIAN NARCOS IS NOT GOING TO WORK EITHER; THEY HAVE BEEN AROUND SINCE 1970, THEY ARE TOO POWERFUL, AND THE COLOMBIAN GOVERNMENT WAS CONTENT WITH LETTING THEM EXIST IN THAT NATION AS LONG AS THEY DID NOT MEDLE IN POLITICS. THE COLOMBIAN GOVERNMENT IS NOT FIGHTING A WAR AGAINST DRUGS, IT IS FIGHTING A WAR FOR ITS INSTITUTIONAL EXISTENCE. END COMMENT.

PLEASE SEND GENE SOLES' ADDRESS IF YOU GOT IT. THE GUNNY WOULD LIKE TO DROP HIM A LINE.

HOW IS LIFE TREATING YOU? HOW IS ALL IN QUANTICO? WHEN ARE YOU STOPPING BY PANAMA?

HAVEN'T DONE MUCH READING LATELY. I READ A BOOK ON THE HISTORY OF PANAMA (ONE OF TEDDY'S BLUNDERS) AND AM READING A PHILOSOPHICAL ONE TITLED "THE VOICES OF TIME".

NOT MUCH ELSE TO SAY. TAKE CARE.

SEMPER FI,

Rob

The Changing U.S.-Soviet Strategic Balance



January 24-26, 1990
Moscow, USSR

Co-sponsored by the
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and the
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in collaboration with the
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RECORD OF PROCEEDINGS

Introduction

A highly unusual — indeed, unprecedented — conference, whose participants *Pravda* described as unofficial senior "representatives of USSR and U.S. military circles," met at a Soviet government facility outside Moscow during January 24-26, 1990. The theme of the conference was *The Changing U.S.-Soviet Strategic Balance*. The participants on the U.S. side were fourteen retired U.S. military leaders and civilian experts, headed by Dr. William R. Van Cleave, Senior Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution and Director of the Center for Defense and Strategic Studies, Southwest Missouri State University. Among the other participants were the Honorable Donald H. Rumsfeld, former U.S. Secretary of Defense, Admiral Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr., former Chief of Naval Operations; General Paul X. Kelley, 28th Commandant, U.S. Marine Corps; General George B. Crist, former Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Central Command; General Michael S. Davison, former Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Army, Europe; Admiral Harry D. Train II, former Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Atlantic Command; and Dr. Joseph Churba, President of the International Security Council.

The composition of the Soviet delegation kept changing until the opening of the conference. Shortly prior to the conference, the ISC was informed that the Soviet delegation would be led by Marshal N. V. Ogarkov, former Chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, and would include Marshal V. G. Kulikov, former Commander-in-Chief of the Warsaw Pact Forces, as well as Admiral of the Fleet G. M. Yegorov, current chairman of DOSAAF, (the mass paramilitary Volunteer Society for Assistance to the Army, Aviation and Navy). A meeting was also planned with Army General M. A. Moiseyev, present Chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces.

Upon arriving in Moscow on January 23, however, the U.S. delegation was informed, without explanation, that neither Ogarkov nor Kulikov nor Yegorov would attend. The decision was reportedly made at the last minute by the Chief of the General Staff. The explanation was that General Moiseyev had Marshal Ogarkov on an important assignment from which he could not be spared. The rumor was that there had been a dispute between the two. As to General Moiseyev, who had shown a personal interest in the conference, and reportedly approved the list of Soviet participants, he was busy with the crisis in Azerbaijan. In the end, the Soviet delegation was made up of fifteen senior retired and active-duty officers of the General Staff, military academics, and two civilians. General Major Nikita A. Chaldymov, head of the Military-Philosophical Department of the Voroshilov General Staff Academy, acted as host, and General Lieutenant Viktor P. Starodubov, division chief of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, co-chaired the conference. The most senior Soviet officer present was Admiral Nikolai N. Amelko, former Deputy Chief of the General Staff.

One unusual feature of the conference was the Soviet decision to shift its location from Moscow to an exclusive resort hotel for senior officials of the USSR Council of Ministers, the CPSU Central Committee, and the Soviet military, some forty kilometers outside the city. This facility had never before been used by foreigners, or for international meetings, and appears to be in a restricted area. The members of both delegations were housed there for the duration of the conference. Special permission was given by the Soviets to military attaches from the U.S. Embassy to attend the conference as observers, in addition to those on the U.S. delegation's list. Several observers were also present on the Soviet side, among them deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Another feature of the conference was the successful negotiation by the ISC of a specific agenda for the discussion which included such topics as: military doctrine, policies and concepts, and their operational implications; force postures and programs; strategic offensive and defensive forces and programs; military expenditures; and regional conflicts. Of course, the Soviets occasionally departed from the agenda, seeking to bring up topics that were to have been avoided, such as arms control, and to avoid topics that had been agreed, such as regional security issues.

The U.S. participants declined to have both sides make formal presentations on these topics, arguing instead for a more free-flowing discussion. Ultimately, the Soviet participants opened topics with ten minute summaries of papers, while the Americans introduced discussions with shorter commentaries, after which they were then opened to discussion by all.

From the very beginning of the conference, the American participants made it clear that they were seeking clarifications and elucidations on a number of key areas of Soviet policies, concepts, and programs. These included the question of possible fundamental changes in the ideological underpinnings of Soviet foreign and defense policies and world outlook. Essentially, the question was whether belief in Marxist-Leninist dogma, in particular in dialectical materialism and class conflict as the dynamic forces in history and international relations, has or has not been abandoned or dampened in accordance with the proclaimed Soviet "new thinking" in foreign and defense policies. Equally important questions dealt with the Soviet concept and view of the correlation of forces, the military balance, and strategic stability. Other questions dealt with the Soviet meaning of military "sufficiency," "defensive doctrine," or "non-provocative" defense, the role and scale of offensive operations, and specific evidence of such changes. U.S. participants probed into the future structure of Soviet forces, the Soviet programs of modernization and qualitative improvements of nuclear and conventional systems, strategic defense, and Soviet views on the implication of political changes in Eastern Europe for the Warsaw Pact and Soviet military planning.

The Americans pointed out that while American defense policies, programs, and budgets were matters of verifiable open record and debate in the United States, those of the USSR remained cloaked in secrecy and deception. *Glasnost* has not yet meant open and reliable information about Soviet programs; and, in the view of the U.S. participants, Soviet words were often not supported by corresponding

deeds. The Americans were blunt: When we listen to Soviet rhetoric about new thinking, reasonable sufficiency, and a purely defensive doctrine, in the light of information we have about Soviet force capabilities, continuing production and modernization programs, and the real magnitude of likely Soviet military spending, we cannot place confidence in the rhetoric. For our part, it looked very much as if allegedly new policies were matters of declared intent rather than reality. And for that matter, the impact of past practices cannot be changed overnight: weapons produced under "old thinking," for example, hardly become defensive-only simply by the declaration of a new defensive doctrine.

To summarize the results of the conference, it can be said that the responses of the Soviet participants failed to convince the Americans that fundamental Soviet change in military policy has yet taken place. Rather, they showed that, in fact, many of the long-standing Soviet ideological and military precepts appear to remain in force, or at least that there is a great deal of ambiguity in the definition of "new" Soviet concepts and their implementation. In a considerable number of instances, no responses were made to questions raised by the American participants. In other instances, Soviet statements and characterizations of their own and U.S. military doctrines and programs were manifestly untrue.

After a period of argument about the two sides past policies and practices, the Soviet delegation essentially maintained simply that all preceding disagreements and issues between the U.S. and the USSR could be dismissed because the Soviet Union was now engaged in "new thinking" and had adopted a "new" military doctrine and new concepts of "sufficiency" and strategy. The Soviet participants suggested that Soviet acknowledgement of past mistakes, and aggressive behavior, wipes the slate clean, and that earlier Soviet behavior and policies, therefore, should cast no shadow of mistrust on current ones.

In this context, the Soviet representatives were reminded by the American participants that only by understanding the past can one evaluate the present and anticipate the future. The Free World has heard the Soviet Union proclaim before many of the slogans of its current "new thinking." There have been several periods of detente and "peaceful coexistence"; war has often been pronounced to be unthinkable and Soviet military policy and strategy to be purely defensive. Peaceful cooperation and mutual dampening of crises have been said to be the only form of rational international behavior; arms control and disarmament have been a long-standing subject for negotiations, and so on. Yet, all these instances of past Soviet "new" thinking have proved short-lived, or have been deceptions intended to acquire Western economic aid or to slow Western security programs. They have, in fact, concealed different and less benign Soviet policies and objectives. Experience has revealed the persistence of old thinking, of efforts to alter the "correlation of world forces" and the military balance in favor of the Soviet Union; of continuing antagonism to the world of democracies, market economics, and political diversity; and of relentless striving to undermine that world. The presently proclaimed version of Gorbachev's "new thinking" is undoubtedly appealing, and changes reflecting it — or necessitating it — are taking place in the Soviet Union

and Eastern Europe, if not elsewhere. However, these have not yet significantly affected Soviet military capabilities or programs. And the evidence of a lasting, fundamental change in the Soviet world outlook, doctrine, and policies is as yet either lacking or too ambiguous to do away with legitimate American skepticism, all the more so given the uncertainties of political developments in the Soviet Union.

A summary of the discussions of specific topics follows:

"New Thinking" and Ideology

American participants repeatedly pointed out that the issues of Soviet ideology and of foreign policy aims are fundamental to any discussion of military doctrine, mutual security and trust, and future relations. The Soviet participants were asked whether and, if so, to what extent, Marxist-Leninist dogma — which, for the past 70 years, saw the world in terms of a bipolar system of two irreconcilably opposed socialist and capitalist or "imperialist" camps — has now been altered or abandoned. The matter concerned Soviet views on "class" conflict and warfare as a driving force in international relations.

The Soviet representatives gave the official version of Gorbachev's "new thinking," which postulates or proclaims, *inter alia*: the non-use of force in international relations; non-export of revolution or of national systems; cooperation for war prevention, settlement of regional conflicts, and economic development; economic and political pluralism and the preeminence of "common human interests." Indeed, the Soviet participants insisted that the concept of "class struggle" was part of an old Soviet policy which now "smells of mothballs" and is no longer worth discussing. The destructiveness of modern weapons, especially nuclear ones, leaves no alternative to "peaceful coexistence" and cooperation in building a "non-violent civilization" in the world.

In response to specific questions concerning changes in Soviet dogma and views on the dynamics of international relations, the Soviet participants insisted that Marxism-Leninism and the principles of historical materialism remained valid, but needed to be purged of some of the "distortions" introduced by past errors in the building of socialism and re-adjusted to fit current circumstances. These ideological tenets were more in the nature of long-term, ideal goals than operational or policy guidelines, and are no threat to others. A number of Soviet participants argued that ideological differences should not preclude agreements on issues of security, arms control and cooperation.

The Soviet participants asked why the American participants were not impressed and persuaded by the evidence of Soviet "new thinking." This evidence was said to include the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan; announced Soviet reductions in the armed forces, in armaments production, and in military spending; the claimed de-ideologizing of foreign policy and non-interference in the political changes in Eastern Europe; the INF Treaty and the START and CFE

negotiations, and so on. Put another way by one of the Soviet participants, these developments are proof that a true "strategic" shift in Soviet outlook, doctrine, and policy has taken place and that "tactical" inconsistencies should be ignored. The latter apparently included the concerns expressed by American participants about the paucity or lack of military implementation of "new thinking," including the continuation of heavy emphasis on strategic offensive and defensive programs that can only reflect a nuclear war strategy; the continuation of large-scale Soviet military assistance to revolutionary movements or bellicose regimes in Central America, the Caribbean, the Middle East, Africa, and Asia; and the military strikes still being conducted against the Afghan people.

Some changes have taken place, the Americans acknowledged, but, basically, change remains mainly a matter of declared intentions rather than actual fact. Explanations for many of the changes that have occurred can be found within traditional Soviet thinking, or in "objective realities" to which the Soviets have little choice but to adapt or to pay a high price to resist. Reductions in Soviet forces and weapons production are of course welcome; but these remain mostly promises and may only reflect an effort to trade quantity for qualitative improvement: military *perestroika.* Changes in force structure might be steps toward military modernization. These changes, which remain minor, do not yet demonstrate changed military concepts or objectives, the Americans argued.

Obviously, while professing not to seek political or military victory over the West, the Soviets had not abandoned the policy of strategic competition with the United States. Soviet participants avoided answering questions about the objectives of this competition, preferring only to emphasize the need for good relations.

Military Doctrine, Offense, Defense, and Sufficiency

The American participants in the conference sought to obtain clarification about the allegedly new defensive doctrine, including planned Soviet organizational changes, qualitative changes in military forces and equipment, changes in offensive and defensive operational concepts, and the specific implications and implementation of a new Soviet doctrine of "defensive sufficiency."

As expected, the Soviet participants pointed to the Soviet announcement of unilateral reductions in conventional forces, and the withdrawal of some Soviet troops, tanks and artillery from Central Europe. They also cited planned removal of Operational Maneuver Groups (OMGs), *spetsnaz* and assault-bridging units from the Soviet forces in Central Europe as evidence of their seriousness in implementing the new doctrine of "defensive sufficiency."

Americans pointed out that Soviet writings distinguished between political doctrine (defensive) and military-technical doctrine where offense and defense were sides of the same coin. Furthermore, a number of questions exist about the Soviet concept of "defensive sufficiency." Soviet writings suggest various views of it, in which offensive operations are still emphasized, and in which the concept

of "victory" in war is not rejected. Often, what could objectively be described as offensive operations are termed defensive actions, including preemptive strikes.

The Soviet responses to the questions posed to them can be summarized as follows:

(1) On the military-technical level, doctrine is now also defensive, and purely so, excluding tactical offensive operations. (Initially, defensive doctrine was defined as "forces capable of repulsing aggression," or "forces capable of defending the nation, but not threatening to others, or capable of offensive operations." Later this was changed to "offensive actions on a wider scale.") According to the "new" doctrine, counteroffensive actions are only tactical or operational, and the objective of the counteroffensive is to reestablish the pre-aggression border. As explained by a general officer of the Military-Political Directorate, the concept of "victory" in the traditional, military-political sense is no longer an objective under conditions of "new thinking." The Soviets no longer believe in political or military victory.

(2) Implementation of these changes, however still lags behind political "new thinking," and the new doctrine. Due to this and to normal secrecy, the U.S. lacks convincing information on how the "new" doctrine is being implemented, but this evidence is forthcoming.

(3) Because of rapid changes in the military doctrine, materials discussing Soviet concepts and views, published even as recently as 1989, are already obsolete and do not necessarily reflect present thinking. This applies to Marshal Ogarkov's writings (and apparently, also to General Yazov's earlier public call for a capability to totally defeat the enemy in the course of a Soviet counteroffensive).

(4) Twenty-two basic documents of the General Staff have been thoroughly revised to bring them in line with the "new" thinking, but are not yet published. They will be published in 1990 as part of thorough reindoctrination of the military. These documents contain new chapters on defense, counteroffensive, theory of strategic defensive operations, and so on.

(5) Concerning the details of Soviet operational concepts, organization, force requirements and tactics in planning for the conduct of defensive and offensive operations on the tactical-operational level, it was indicated that these were still in the process of being developed; consequently, the Soviet participants could not adequately answer the Americans' questions on these issues. At this point there appeared to be either some confusion or some disagreement within the Soviet delegation, particularly with the more operational officers contradicting others on the role and scope of offensive operations. It was suggested by some that while Soviet planners know how to access and plan for the effectiveness of offensive actions, no equivalent measures of effectiveness yet exist for the defense. Thus,

in introducing the shift to a "defensive defense," the Soviet Union has to do new planning and accept risks.

(6) The Soviets would not, or could not, reply to questions about how and in what areas the Soviets anticipated carrying out qualitative improvements in their armed forces, the types of new technologies being given priority, or how these technologies were expected to make up for reductions in the overall number of Soviet troops and weapons.

(7) There was very little discussion of the implications of political changes in Eastern Europe for the Warsaw Pact and the "new" Soviet military doctrine. To the extent that this was mentioned by some Soviet participants, it was said that the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Eastern Europe, including the GDR, to USSR territory, would take place, although there would be conditions. From the Soviet perspective, the real question is whether a similar withdrawal of foreign forces from West Germany could be negotiated, and whether Germany would be denuclearized. No reply was made to the question whether the Soviet Union would also withdrawal its forward deployed stocks of ammunition, equipment, POL, etc.

They complained about the continued reliance by NATO on a "flexible response" strategy, on the AirLand Battle and FOFA "offensive" concepts, the threat of first use of weapons, and the absence of NATO force reductions in response to those of the Soviet Union. At least one Soviet participant pointed out that given that the use of strategic nuclear weapons is essentially mutually deterred, the more likely form of armed conflict would be a conventional war. Such a war, however, would pose a threat to the Soviet Union but not to the United States. This asymmetry needs to be taken into account when considering the question of U.S.-Soviet equal security. "Remember," the speaker said, "we cannot threaten you, (i.e., with conventional forces), thereby attempting to delink the U.S. from Western Europe.

The American participants described the massive Soviet superiority in conventional forces in Europe as well as the great Soviet superiority in tactical nuclear missiles and artillery. They also mentioned that Soviet military leaders, among them the former chief of the General Staff, Marshal N.V. Ogarkov, had emphasized Soviet offensive operations, and that the present USSR Minister of Defense, Army General D.T. Yazov, had asserted that the defeat of an enemy can only be achieved by means of "crushing" offensive operations.

Strategic Balance, Deterrence, and Stability

The American participants also raised specific questions about Soviet concepts of "strategic sufficiency." They pointed out that strategic sufficiency has been a

long-standing U.S. concept and policy alternative to pursuit of strategic superiority, and that there are specific U.S. criteria for sufficiency.

The United States had attempted to persuade the Soviet Union to adopt a true concept of sufficiency and to settle for strategic nuclear parity throughout most of the past twenty-five years, but, whatever their words, in fact, the Soviets had rejected these proposals and sought strategic superiority based upon nuclear warfighting doctrine and concepts.

During this same period, the Soviets frequently enunciated strategic slogans of an apparently non-threatening nature, usually employing Western terms, which merely served to mask true Soviet principles and objectives. "Equal security," for example, meant in reality that the Soviets should have military forces at least equal to the forces of any conceivable anti-Soviet alliance of powers — in fact, military superiority over the United States.

What does the term "reasonable sufficiency," now being used by the Soviets particularly with reference to strategic nuclear forces, really mean? And why has there been no change in Soviet strategic force programs — production and modernization, offensive and defensive — to reflect such an allegedly new standard? The relative priorities given by the two sides to strategic arms production and modernization are well-known and demonstrable.

U.S. defense budgets, never large percentages of GNP, have been declining for five years, and the U.S. devotes a very low share of its defense budget to its strategic forces — in fact, under ten percent this year including SDI. Modernization of U.S. strategic forces has been modest and uncertain. Fewer than 100 ICBMs have been produced since 1977, and the U.S. has yet to deploy mobile, land-based ICBMs. By contrast, the Soviet Union devotes a far larger share of its defense resources to its strategic forces; it continues to produce new and more capable systems at very high rates and in a number of varieties. Indeed, the Soviet Union does not even complete the deployment of one system before starting work on a follow-on system. For example, during the past year the Soviet Union has flight-tested or introduced into its stockpile new modifications of the SS-18, SS-24, and SS-25 ICBMs. The so-called "Mod-5" SS-18 is actually a new ICBM with better accuracy and greater throw-weight than earlier versions of the SS-18. Over the past eight years the Soviets have produced as many as 900 ICBMs in several types. It is producing three different heavy or strategic bombers. Even in the area that the Soviets insist there is U.S. advantage — sea-launched ballistic missiles and their submarines — the Soviets have outproduced the U.S. more than 2:1 in SLBMs, are producing both the modern SS-N-20 and SS-N-23, and flight-testing new modifications of both, and are deploying new D-4 and Typhoon submarines annually. And, moreover, the USSR continues to expend an equal amount of effort and money on strategic defense capabilities, including ABM.

How can U.S. and Soviet concepts of "sufficiency" possibly be similar, in light of these disparities, the Americans asked?

According to the Soviets participants, there is rough parity between the U.S. and USSR in strategic forces which contributes to stability. The number of

weapons, however, is too high and both sides can reduce substantially as has been generally agreed in START (although there remain issues of disagreement where the Americans seek to maintain an advantage).

Given that resort to nuclear forces would inflict unacceptable damage on both sides, nuclear war is unwinnable and unthinkable. The Soviet Union recognizes this and in view of its mission to save humanity from a nuclear war, has publicly pledged, even before Gorbachev became General Secretary of the CPSU, not to be the first to resort to nuclear weapons. The U.S. has yet to make the same commitment and is, therefore, accused of still hoping to find ways to use such weapons to its advantage.

Nevertheless, the Soviet participants insisted that force reductions to a minimum deterrence level were unacceptable. Contrary to what some Soviet and Western civilian analysts have urged, the Soviet speakers condemned both a MAD posture and any strategic force reduction to levels that would leave the U.S. and USSR no other option than to target cities. Such postures were characterized as "anti-people" and "immoral." (This obviously poses a dilemma for future arms reductions, which might leave small forces with few other capabilities.)

The Americans argued that this is another area in which Soviet capabilities and programs invalidate Soviet words. At the same time that the Soviet participants insist that the Soviets rule out the use of nuclear weapons in warfare, the Soviets continue to design, produce, and deploy the same kinds of weapons that they did when Soviet military writings acknowledged that the aim was to be able to wage nuclear war successfully, to fight and hopefully win nuclear wars. New Soviet counterforce weapons and Soviet emphasis on strategic defense, including the construction of very large and very deep underground shelters for war management, underscore continuity in doctrine.

As for deterrence, the Soviet participants gave a good demonstration of the Soviet semantic and political manipulation of this concept as it applies to their own and U.S. policies. In the former case, the Russian term used for deterrence is *sderzhivaniye* (restraint) and is given a positive evaluation; in the latter case, the term *ustrashenive* (intimidation) is used, connoting a concept to be condemned. The American participants had mentioned that Soviet condemnation of the U.S. deterrence policy raised questions about the Soviet Union's own attitudes towards stability and primary reliance on a war-fighting posture. When it was informally pointed out to some Soviet participants that the semantic distinction only reinforced U.S. suspicions of Soviet policies, one Soviet speaker characterized the U.S. deterrence policy as *sderzhivaniye* by means of *ustrasheniye*.

The official Soviet line is that nuclear deterrence is unreliable and dangerous and that peace must be insured not by means of mutual deterrence but by cooperation in the prevention of war. It was noted that war prevention is primarily the function of politics and diplomacy, but that the military can contribute to it by its doctrine and non-threatening posture.

Concerning strategic sufficiency or "reasonable sufficiency," the Soviet meaning remained elusive. Soviet participants kept emphasizing a balance based on

qualitative factors — comparable efficacy — rather than on numerical counts, but were not specific. They stated that there could and should be large reductions in the size of strategic nuclear forces. The Soviet Union, they said has demonstrated its willingness to accept all reasonable forms of verification and inspection which, it was noted, is a change from the earlier Soviet position on verification.

In response to the American citation of continuing large-scale Soviet strategic offensive programs, the Soviet participants merely argued that the SS-18 was not different from the U.S. MX, and that the sole reason for the SS-24 and SS-25 missiles is to enhance the survivability of Soviet strategic retaliatory forces, and, consequently, that the SS-24s and SS-25s were "stabilizing." No direct response was made to an American observation that while the U.S. strategic forces never could execute an effective disarming strike against Soviet land-based missiles, the Soviet SS-18s alone are capable of destroying all U.S. silo-based ICBMs, as well as SSBN bases. The Soviets again did not respond when it was pointed out to them that their position claiming that Soviet mobile ICBMs are stabilizing, but that U.S. strategic nuclear forces are destabilizing, was inconsistent.

Another topic for discussion were factors affecting the strategic balance and its stability. In general, the Soviets agreed that first-strike forces, which the Soviets denied having, were destabilizing; but so is the American SDI (but not Soviet BMD, which the Soviets also denied having). Not surprisingly, the Soviets emphasized those factors they claimed favor the U.S. as destabilizing, i.e., SDI, U.S. overseas bases, cruise missiles, naval forces, and the military application of new and more advanced technologies. It was repeatedly asserted that the global base system of the U.S. was perceived as giving it a significant strategic advantage and as posing a serious threat to the Soviet Union. The Soviets produced a map of the world showing only U.S. and NATO bases, but not Soviet ones. The Soviet participants did not respond to questions by the American participants concerning Soviet forward bases in various regions of the world. As to the matter of new technologies, the Soviet participants argued that while the ongoing "scientific-technological revolution" could not be stopped, ways had to be found to control or halt its military applications. Note was taken of the U.S. "competitive strategy" which was said to be intended to apply unacceptable technological pressure on the Soviet Union. It was said that while the U.S. may solve more new scientific-technological problems than the Soviet Union, one cannot predict which of these discoveries will be militarily decisive. The Soviet speakers claimed that Soviet responses need not be symmetrical, and they repeatedly used the phrase "asymmetrical response" to SDI. The Soviet Union has the capability to compete with the U.S. in science, but to do so would simply exacerbate the arms race. Uncontrolled military-technological development is destabilizing and, therefore, poses a threat. The Soviet Union does not wish to compete with the U.S. in such technologies, but wants to cooperate in arms control and reductions.

American participants pointed out that the Soviets have a real military-industrial complex that converts technology into military systems far more rapidly and certainly than the United States, and in greater quantities.

Strategic Defenses

Early in the conference, American speakers had pointed out that unlike the Soviet Union, the United States did not have an extensive war management/leadership protection system, had not developed a large civil defense program for the wartime protection of its population, did not have a deployed surface-to-air-missile defense system, and had not exercised its option under the 1972 ABM Treaty to deploy ABM defenses at a single site. By contrast, the USSR has a multi-faceted defense, including against ballistic missiles, and further, the U.S. has long been concerned about a rapid Soviet breakout in the deployment of strategic defenses. As evidence, one American cited the long Soviet lead in research on various anti-missile defense technologies, the deployment of a national network of large modern phased-array radars, the modernization of the Moscow ABM system, the existence of production lines for anti-missile missiles, and the capability of the SA-10 and SA-12 missiles to be used in an ABM role, and so on. One participant pointed out that it is in fact the USSR that has had the true strategic defense initiative from the standpoints of longevity, resources, and magnitude. The Soviet discussion of the strategic defense issue focused predictably on criticism of the U.S. SDI, while ignoring, downplaying, or even simply denying programs of the Soviet Union.

The question of the Soviet civil defense program and passive defense measures for the protection of the leadership elements was completely ignored, as was the Moscow ABM, and Soviet SDI. The Soviet participants denied that the SA-10s and SA-12s had any ABM capabilities. The mainline of their arguments was based on the obviously false contention that only the U.S. would deploy anti-missile defenses; consequently, such defenses were condemned as destabilizing, as increasing the threat of an American attack because the defenses could be used to protect the U.S. against a Soviet retaliatory strike after the U.S. had executed a first counterforce strike, and as leading to a dangerous militarization and arms competition in space. The Soviet participants did not try to explain the inconsistency between their assertion that anti-ballistic missile defenses were dangerously destabilizing and their retention and further modernization of Moscow's ABM system. Similarly, the Soviets depicted U.S. ASAT and U.S. laser programs (insisting that the MIRACL laser is ready for deployment) as destabilizing, but would not discuss their own programs.

Concerning the Krasnoyarsk radar and the Soviet government's acknowledgement that it constitutes a violation of the ABM Treaty, it was asserted by Soviet speakers that it could *not* be considered a treaty violation. The Soviet participants dismissed their government's admission as a purely political act to appease the West, and returned to the long discredited contention that it is only a space-track radar. The Soviets also stated that an American Congressional delegation had visited Krasnoyarsk and determined the radar not to be a treaty violation — a statement that caused considerable humor on the U.S. side.

The main reason asserted for Soviet concern about SDI was that its deployment will force the Soviet Union to respond. It cannot afford to appear to lag behind the U.S. It may build its own SDI or a different system, but in either case, this will be very expensive and open the way for a new arms race with unpredictable results. The other concern is that weapons in space will pose a major threat to deployed satellite systems and, thereby, threaten "command stability."

The Naval Balance

As had been expected by the American participants, the Soviet side raised the question of the need to include the issue of naval forces in U.S.-Soviet arms control and arms reduction negotiations. The Soviet participants echoed the official line that U.S. naval superiority, the nuclear attack capability of carrier aircraft, and SLCMs destabilized the strategic balance. This is particularly so when equal levels of strategic arms and conventional land forces are being established while naval forces are excluded. It was claimed that according to Soviet computations, the U.S. naval forces make up 30% of total U.S. military power and reference was made to the "Lehman strategy" to prove the U.S. Navy's offensive doctrine. At the same time, Soviet speakers denied that the 65,000-ton *Tbilisi* or the *Riga,* now under construction, are aircraft carriers, insisting that they were only aircraft-carrying heavy cruisers with no attack aircraft on board. The mission of the Soviet navy, like that of all of its armed forces, is defensive and in that context, may be used to attack U.S. troop carriers. Indeed, the Soviet participants denied that the former commander-in-chief of the Soviet Navy, Admiral Gorshkov, had ever contemplated an offensive role for the Soviet navy against U.S. and allied lines of maritime communications.

During the discussion, U.S. naval officers explained at considerable length the wide-ranging roles and missions of the U.S. Navy in support of U.S. global commitments and interests, quite apart from the navy's role in the event of a war with the Soviet Union. It is noteworthy that the Soviet participants repeatedly offered as obvious bait the assertion that American acquiescence to the inclusion of the subject of U.S. naval forces in the negotiations would not mean that the Soviet Union would demand the reduction or destruction of all "existing naval forces." All the Soviet Union was alleged to want was to equalize more fairly and "regulate the behavior" of the opposing navies.

The Soviet Defense Budget

Attempts by the American participants to obtain accurate information on the Soviet defense budget and to clarify its accounting, or to establish thereby the actual dimensions of announced reductions, failed to elicit any useful response from the Soviet side. In fact, Soviet stubborn insistence upon using grossly

unrealistic figures for their defense spending helped undermine the credibility of other positions.

A presentation was made by one of the Americans to explain the methods used by the CIA to calculate the actual Soviet defense budget, and defense expenditures, in ruble values as well as in U.S. dollars. The Americans repeatedly pointed out that in light of Soviet deployments of weapons and equipment, and the extent of Soviet military power, actual Soviet defense expenditures clearly greatly exceed the absurd amount of 77.3 billion rubles announced in 1988 and the 70.9 billion rubles announced for 1989, let alone the 21 billion rubles previously officially claimed.

There is a real question as to whether Gorbachev's announced reductions of 14% in the defense budget are to be from current levels of expenditures or only from increases in them planned earlier. But if the base amount for a 14% reduction is to be 77 billion rubles, then 14% is a contrived percentage and the resultant decrease is minor. A statement made in December 1989 in the USSR Supreme Soviet by Academician Georgi Arbatov, director of the Institute of the USA and Canada of the USSR Academy of Sciences, was cited in which he said: "As far as I can tell from the sparse information available, the reduction so far, set against the enormous levels, is really 10% of the growth plans for the current five-year plan which means only a very slight reduction in absolute terms." Indeed, it was pointed out, a reduction in the Soviet defense budget over two years of only 10 billion rubles, is merely equal to the annual Soviet cost of operating the fleet of official cars.

The Soviet participants, however, insisted that the official Soviet military budget figures announced by Gorbachev were correct in all respects. They simply ignored the explanation of U.S. estimates of the Soviet budget and sought to explain the enormous differences between U.S. and Soviet defense budgets on the simple grounds that the cost of Soviet manpower, weapons and equipment was much less than equivalent American costs. Arbatov's statement was dismissed as not credible and as based on Western sources. It was however suggested that in time, the Soviet Union will provide more detailed information on its defense expenditures and actual costs as a part of the process of greater *glasnost*.

Conclusion

At the end of the conference, the Soviet participants appeared to agree that more *glasnost* and discussions are needed to remove old impressions and to clear up differences and mutual suspicions. The American participants reminded their Soviet opposites that many people in the U.S. worry that the real objective of the Soviet military *perestroika* is to build smaller but more modern, capable, and hard-hitting armed forces for not only defensive but also offensive operations. The Americans, therefore, need to see more evidence of changes in the reduction of the Soviet threat to the Free World in the near future. The Soviet participants

claimed that such proof will become more apparent in the course of the implementation of Soviet reforms and of "new thinking" in foreign and defense policies. They also thought that continuing the dialogue between these two groups of active and former senior officers would be useful, and they proposed another meeting of the groups in a few months.

A possibly constructive aspect of the dialogue was that the Soviet participants cited a number of concrete examples of what might qualify as evidence of fundamental change in policy. Among them: detailed accountability of Soviet defense spending; significant cuts in such spending, and in arms production and military-industrial capacity; redeployment and restructuring of Soviet armed forces that will demonstrate emphasis on defense — e.g., elimination of Operational Maneuver Groups, reduction of airborne and *spetsnaz* special force units, and removal to the rear of other capabilities that are especially offensive in character; thorough reindoctrination of the Soviet armed forces in 1990; observable declines in the pace and magnitude of Soviet strategic force modernization; an end to chemical weapons production and significant cuts in nuclear weapons production; conversion of a substantial portion of military industry to the production of consumer goods; and reductions of Soviet forces at such "out-of-area" bases as Cam Ranh Bay.

Any or all of these actions would indeed constitute welcome evidence of fundamental change — *if they are carried out.* The burden of proof is on them.

REPORTS FROM THE SOVIET PRESS

An Unofficial Dialogue

by N. Soutin, *Pravda*, January 25, 1990, p. 5

Today begins near Moscow a meeting-dialogue between representatives of the U.S. and USSR military circles. The topic of the meeting is "The Soviet-American Strategic Balance: Trends and Changes."

The initiator of the unofficial dialogue is the International Security Council led by its president Joseph Churba. The American delegation includes many political and military personalities who in their positions in relation to the Soviet Union, only yesterday, still had the reputation of being "hawks." However, times change...The guests of Soviet generals and admirals are the former U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, retired Vice Admiral Elmo Zumwalt, retired generals Paul Kelley, William Odom and others. *

The president of the Soviet association "Army and Society," General Major Professor N. Chaldymov has observed that: "If one were to attempt to characterize in one word the present state of our relations, including those in the sphere of military policy, one would think that this word would be 'dialogue.' Previously such art forms as the ability to listen and understand each other was least of all popular among the military, for whom tactics and strategy of combat actions replaced the diplomacy of the 'roundtables' and international symposiums. The present contacts between representatives of Soviet and American armed forces contribute to the policy of peace."

* [This *Pravda* article contains two material errors of fact: Lt. Gen. William Odom, USA, (Ret), was *not* a participant in this conference and Elmo Zumwalt, Jr., is a retired *full* admiral.]

Soviet-U.S. Military 'Meeting-Dialogue' Ends

(translation by FBIS)

Moscow, January 26, TASS—By TASS correspondents Leonid Timofeyev and Sergey Postanogov:

The meeting-dialogue between Soviet and American military men drew to a close in Petrovo-Dalneye near Moscow today. The topic of the dialogue was "Soviet-American Strategic Balance: Tendencies of Changes".

"We did not set the goal to solve all problems faced by us," Admiral Nikolay Amelko, former deputy chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, who attended the meeting, told TASS. "We found, however, what issues generate concern to both sides, formed a good contact and laid down the groundwork for its development."

Admiral Amelko said that he and U.S. Admiral Elmo Zumwalt had known each other for many years but it was only now that they got an opportunity to meet each other and discuss the role of navies in modern armed forces, the more so that this aspect has not been the topic of negotiations as yet.

"The talks revealed differing approaches. Nevertheless, the sides have formed the basis for a subsequent discussion during which they can find ways to dispel mutual mistrust at seas and oceans," Amelko stressed.

"This meeting has met my expectations. We discussed strategic balance and the two countries' policy in the field of security," William Van Cleave, a leading researcher at Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, told a news conference held upon the completion of the meeting.

The American side heard with great interest the report on the essence of the Soviet military doctrine. The U.S. delegation believes that the European continent is at the state of dynamic instability. This is why all opportunities should be used to achieve mutual understanding.

Evaluating the results of the meeting, Joseph Churba, president of the International Security Council organisation, said: "Our dialogue is only the beginning of the process which needs to be controlled and pushed forward. The stakes are very high and we will do everything to promote mutual understanding in the search for a better world."

Lieutenant-General Viktor Starodubov, a co-chairman of the meeting, emphasized the same idea. He said that, possibly, each of the sides remained to be standing on its own opinion, but, nevertheless, they found common ground on many problems under discussion. "The very fact of the dialogue demonstrates that Soviet and American military men are aspiring for mutual understanding and continued peace policy."

Touching on the content of the Soviet military doctrine, Starodubov underlined its defensive nature. He said it contained the proposals that call for renouncing the first issue of nuclear weapons and shifting from the prin-

ciple of over-armament to the principle of reasonable sufficiency.

Speakers at the meeting stressed that many of its participants have already retired but continued a vigorous political activity and statesmen pay heed to the opinion of authoritative military men. The American delegation intends to acquaint U.S. Administration officials with the results of the discussions in Petrovo-Dalneye and to organise television debates with the public.

"The materials of the dialogue will be thoroughly analysed in Moscow and its results will be brought to the knowledge of Soviet foreign policy agencies," Starodubov said.

Soviet, U.S. Militarists Engage in Debate

Jan. 27, 1990, *Krasnaya Zvezda* [Red Star], p.5
(translation by FBIS)

[Colonel V. Markushin report: "'Ten by Ten': More Questions Than Answers"]

An informal dialogue-meeting of Soviet and U.S. generals is taking place in Moscow on the topic "Soviet-U.S. Military-Strategic Balance: Tendencies Toward Change."

"Ten by Ten"—this is the code name for the meeting of 10 Soviet and 10 U.S. generals and admirals organized on the initiative of the International Security Council. Not that all the discussion participants have the rank of general. Donald Rumsfeld, for example, as he himself admitted, reached only the rank of junior lieutenant. One the other hand, he has been a U.S. defense secretary. Nor is Stanislav Golovin, who was invited to the meeting, a general; he is a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security Questions.

Probably the most characteristic feature of the current debate is its pointedness. There is the sincere desire of both sides to obtain answers to acute, painful questions. There is the lack of any attempts whatsoever to conduct this "function" smoothly and calmly or to observe, so to speak, the rules of good form in discourse between attentive hosts and grateful guests. True, it sometimes seemed that the argument was taking place not in the nineties but in the seventies, because arguments smelling of mothballs, as retired Lieutenant General M. Milshteyn put it, were being dredged up. But still, on the whole, a constructive spirit predominated. This, in particular, is the belief of Lieutenant General V. Starodubov, who is chairing the meeting.

There really were more questions than answers. On both sides, probably. What does the Soviet General Staff understand by defense sufficiency? Is there not a contradiction in the fact that Soviet military doctrine, being defensive, presupposes a combination of defensive and offensive actions on the military-technical plane? Why do the Americans still not want, even in the new situation, to abandon the "flexible response" strategy? Why does Washington refuse to understand Moscow's concern at the might of the U.S. Navy, which exceeds tenfold the might of the Soviet Ground Forces?

I would like to dwell on one of the shifts in the debate. It happened on the Americans' initiative. The essence of their premise is this: Gorbachev has declared that he remains a committed communist. This means one thing — we remain in class conflict. And cooperation in other spheres is inconceivable without overcoming this fundamental divergence. Such is the logic borrowed, let us state bluntly, from the cold war epoch.

Voicing disagreement with this way of formulating the question, Major General N. Chaldymov emphasized that adherence to communist principles today certainly does not mean the

preservation of old dogmas and stereotypes.

In the interval I approached D. Rumsfeld and asked: "On what would you place emphasis in your activity if you were once again to head the Pentagon?"

"The task of the U.S. defense secretary," D. Rumsfeld said, "is to ensure the prevention of conflict with the Soviet Union. What would I endeavor to do? Obviously, I would promote the reduction of armed forces and their potential, since it is precisely the potential that poses a military threat."

I think it is also worth citing another statement by D. Rumsfeld, which was heard during the debate. In his opinion, East and West will reach agreement in the talks not because "hordes of negotiators" are participating in them but because the sides will make up their mind to take steps toward each other.

Our parliamentarian S. Golovin also spoke in similar vein. In his opinion, the sides can achieve positive results only when they try to listen to each other and to look together to the future. This applies to the present informal meeting.