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Folder Title:
Presidential Lecture Series (Truman) 7/28/92 [OA 7577] [1]

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Internal Transcript July 28, 1992

INTERVIEW OF THE PRESIDENT
BY WILLIAM PEARCE, WXXI-TV (PBS), ROCHESTER, NEW YORK
FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL LECTURE SERIES

The Truman Balcony

6:35 P.M. EDT

Q Mr. President, where were you on April 12, 1945, when President Roosevelt died and Harry Truman took over the reins of this country?

THE PRESIDENT: I was a Lieutenant Junior Grade in the United States Navy. Barbara and I were stationed up at Lewiston-Auburn, Maine. I remember it very, very well. We both heard the news over our radio. We both cried. My family was lifelong Republicans but he was our Commander-in-Chief. And I'll never forget that day. It was a very emotional day for us. But, of course, for the entire nation it was a day of great trauma and sadness.

Q As President Truman took over the reins of this country, what was your impression of him? Did you know him at all?

THE PRESIDENT: I didn't know him and I must say that I did not have a particularly high regard for him. I didn't know much about him. I had been off fighting overseas in the war and had not -- did not remember much about the political process. We were overseas when the Democratic Convention went on, for example, in 1944 -- I was, fighting in the Pacific. And so I started with a prejudice, not particularly high regard but respect since he was our Commander-in-Chief certainly, and respect for him for having been elected to the Senate and being chosen and elected as Vice President. But there wasn't any personal connection. And, again, probably -- the opposite political party.

Q Mr. President, did you ever meet President Truman later on?

THE PRESIDENT: Never did meet him. Never had the honor of shaking his hand. And I wish I had, particularly after hearing about him in such marvelous tones as historian David McCullough lecture portrayed.

Q You and President Truman, Mr. President, were both Vice Presidents at one time.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q Do you think you had a shared experience in that role?

THE PRESIDENT: To some degree, although his experience was much shorter than mine. I was Vice President for eight years. He was Vice President for 80 days, something like that. And I guess there's always a -- when you've had the same job at that level of politics there's a sharing. But the job is very different today than it was in those days. I'm particularly impressed by the fact that he was not informed of some very momentous events. He had to be briefed

MORE

on them after he became President. That's changed now under Republican presidents and Democratic presidents. The vice president is clued in much more closely. So if a modern-day vice president had to come in as president, he would not have to be briefed as much, there wouldn't be gaps in his knowledge about where things stood.

Q What were the qualities about President Truman that you came to appreciate or that you most respected?

THE PRESIDENT: I have great respect for him as I look back on it. And I think telling it as it is, courage, facing adversity with a coolness and a calmness. And then, of course, in terms of foresight, the things he did in terms of NATO, the things he did in terms of the Marshall Plan. These were big decisions and very important decisions. And he just clicked them off with a certain calmness and resolve.

So I respect his decision-making and his -- I respect who he was, what kind of a person. It never went to his head living in this beautiful house; always loved his little family, went home to his roots. All of that I have great respect for.

Q Speaking of this beautiful house, Mr. President, we're sitting now on a balcony that was here when Mr. Truman was here. Was this part of his renovation of the White House?

THE PRESIDENT: It was part of the renovation. Actually, when he came into the White House -- I've got to check my history -- but I don't believe the balcony was actually here. Going back into the planning of this marvelous building, there had been plans for such a balcony. But I think Truman -- it's called the Truman Balcony. I believe it was put in when he was President, when they did the renovation of the whole house. And it's a marvelous addition, as you can see. Barbara and I sit out here at night and it is sheer heaven. I think it's the best view in Washington.

Q The view is spectacular, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q I'll vouch for that.

Back to President Truman, what do you think his reaction would be today with the end of the Cold War and the lifting of the Iron Curtain while you've been President?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, historian McCullough pointed out that in taking the steps he took to stand up against the international communist menace, he looked down the road to the day the Cold War would be over. And this eminent historian stated very clearly that Truman predicted the demise of the Soviet Union, the falling apart of it. And he didn't -- that was a long, long time ago and quite clearly he never lived to see anything other than the Cold War during and after his presidency.

But I think he would probably say, well, it was worth making the tough decisions. It was worth standing up to this then-international menace. It was worth keeping our country strong. And he had clear vision on the communist threat.

Q President Truman reputedly had on his desk a message that said "the buck stops here." Is that message still valid today?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, and that rings loud and clear. And there is no question about it. And the President must make tough decision, must take the responsibility for those decisions. And there's no other job like it. And Truman was right; it's a wonderful

way to put it. And you can't and you shouldn't try to shift the blame when things don't go well. I think it's plenty appropriate to give credit to others when your decisions work out right. But there is a finality to the decision-making process that descends upon the desk in the Oval Office. And Truman is right, the buck does stop here. And it's a wonderful way to put it. Wonderful way to put it.

Q Mr. President, this presidential lecture series has been marvelous. Did you have any one in mind for number six, seven or eight?

THE PRESIDENT: No, we haven't gone that far. We've had five. I think it's a joy to think that they're shared by people across the country. And I can speak for those -- (plane flying by; inaudible) --

So I just salute the lecture, I salute the series and say we will definitely continue it. It is wonderful. It's not partisan. It's not political. It's simply looking back and learning more about those who have occupied this White House.

Q It's been a wonderful educational experience for all of us, Mr. President. And I thank you very much for helping us to participate.

THE PRESIDENT: Delighted to see you. I'm delighted.

Q Thank you.

END 6:41 P.M. EDT

FIFTH PRESIDENTIAL LECTURE \ EAST ROOM
TEUSDAY, JULY 28, 1992 \ 6:00 P.M.

MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS, AND OF MY CABINET. LYNNE CHENEY, CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES. SPECIAL GUESTS -- FORMER AND PRESENT MEMBERS OF WHITE HOUSE STAFF, SOME OF WHOM FIRST REPORTED FOR WORK DURING THE TRUMAN ERA: YOU ARE PART OF THE HISTORY OF THIS HOUSE. // MRS. MCCULLOUGH AND CHILDREN.

ALL OF OUR DISTINGUISHED GUESTS: IT'S MY PLEASURE TO WELCOME ALL OF YOU TO THE WHITE HOUSE, FOR THE FIFTH IN OUR SERIES OF PRESIDENTIAL LECTURES.

TONIGHT OUR SUBJECT IS THE MAN FROM MISSOURI, HARRY TRUMAN. IT'S HARD TO BELIEVE, BUT WHEN SENATOR HARRY TRUMAN CAME TO THE CONGRESS, HE SEEMED DESTINED FOR ANYTHING BUT A PLACE ON CENTER STAGE OF ONE OF THE WORLD'S EPIC DRAMAS.

COMING UP THROUGH THE KANSAS CITY POLITICAL MACHINE ... RIDICULED AS THE "SENATOR FROM PENDERGAST" ... LEGEND HAS IT TRUMAN WAS SENT TO WASHINGTON WITH THIS INSTRUCTION: "WORK HARD, KEEP YOUR MOUTH SHUT AND ANSWER YOUR MAIL." //

HE TOOK THAT ADVICE.

A DECADE LATER, AS VICE-PRESIDENT, TRUMAN WAS ANYTHING BUT A MEMBER OF FDR'S INNER CIRCLE.

HE FIRST LEARNED ABOUT THE MANHATTAN PROJECT ON HIS 12TH DAY AS PRESIDENT. BUT HE GRASPED IMMEDIATELY THE IMMENSE IMPORTANCE OF THE ATOM BOMB -- AND KNEW AMERICA MUST HAVE IT FIRST. //

COMMON-SENSE WAS HIS PHILOSOPHY. "IF YOU CAN'T STAND THE HEAT, GET OUT OF THE KITCHEN." "I JUST TOLD THE TRUTH -- AND THEY THOUGHT IT WAS HELL." THOSE ARE THE WORDS OF A FIGHTER -- SOMEONE YOU COULD NEVER COUNT OUT.

AND YOU'RE LOOKING AT SOMEONE WHO LEARNED THAT THE HARD WAY, WHEN I BET $10 BUCKS ON PRESIDENT DEWEY BACK IN '48.

I'M REMINDED OF ALL THIS BY THE WORK AND WORDS OF OUR GUEST LECTURER'S FASCINATING NEW BIOGRAPHY OF HARRY S TRUMAN. AND AS I MAKE MY WAY THROUGH THIS PORTRAIT, I PARTICULARLY ENJOY THE ACCOUNT OF THE CAMPAIGN OF '48 -- FROM A PURELY OBJECTIVE VIEW, OF COURSE. THE BATTLE AGAINST THE "DO NOTHING CONGRESS" -- NOW, WAIT:

THAT'S TRUMAN SPEAKING. // THAT STUNNING COME-FROM-BEHIND VICTORY. / NOTHING LIKE A STORY WITH A HAPPY ENDING. // SOMETHING ELSE STRIKES ME ABOUT THAT PIVOTAL YEAR: 1948 WAS THE YEAR OF THE MARSHALL PLAN / THE BERLIN BLOCKADE / THE YEAR STALIN'S ACTIONS TURNED THE SOVIET UNION FROM ALLY TO ENEMY. ONCE AGAIN, TRUMAN ROSE TO THE OCCASION -- TOOK A NATION WEARY OF WAR -- READY FOR PEACE -- AND RALLIED IT TO LEAD A CRUSADE FOR THE FREE WORLD.

THE VICTORY WE CELEBRATE TODAY -- FREEDOM'S TRIUMPH AND THE DEATH OF IMPERIAL COMMUNISM -- BRINGS US CLOSER TO THE KIND OF PEACE AMERICAN PRESIDENTS ... AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ... HAVE LONGED FOR SINCE TRUMAN'S TIME. //

TONIGHT, OUR GUIDE TO THE LIFE AND TIMES OF HARRY TRUMAN IS DAVID MCCULLOUGH -- ONE OF AMERICA'S PREMIER HISTORIANS.

MR. MCCULLOUGH IS THE AUTHOR OF SIX BOOKS -- REPEAT WINNER OF THE NATIONAL BOOK AWARD -- AND NO STRANGER TO THE PRESIDENTIAL LECTURE SERIES. / ONE MORE VISIT, AND WE MAY SIMPLY RENAME THIS EVENT THE MCCULLOUGH LECTURE. //

OVER THE NEXT HOUR, MR. MCCULLOUGH WILL TAKE US AS FAR AS WE HAVE TIME TO GO INTO THE MAN FROM SMALL TOWN AMERICA, WHOSE CRITICS SCORNED HIM AS THE "SON OF A HABERDASHER."

THE MAN OF WHOM CHURCHILL WROTE -- AND I QUOTE -- "MORE THAN ANY OTHER MAN, HAS SAVED WESTERN CIVILIZATION."
//

NOW, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: THE FIFTH PRESIDENTIAL LECTURE, ON OUR 33RD PRESIDENT, HARRY S TRUMAN. MR. MCCULLOUGH, THE FLOOR IS YOURS.

# # #

CATHY FENTON - IMMEDIATE -
THANKS JEANNIE 2930

McGroarty/Bunton
July 23, 1992
1:00 pm
[lecture]

carly copy of on disk
ground over to Usher's office
4:40pm

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: FIFTH PRESIDENTIAL LECTURE
THE EAST ROOM
JULY 28, 1992
6:00 P.M.

Members of the Congress, and of my Cabinet. Lynne Cheney, Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities. Special guests -- former and present members of White House staff, some of whom first reported for work during the Truman era: you are part of the history of this House. // Mrs. McCullough and children. All of our distinguished guests: It's my pleasure to welcome all of you to the White House, for the fifth in our series of Presidential Lectures.

Tonight our subject is the man from Missouri, Harry Truman. It's hard to believe, but when Senator Harry Truman came to the Congress, he seemed destined for anything but a place on center stage of one of the world's epic dramas. Coming up through the Kansas City political machine ... ridiculed as the "Senator from Pendergast" ... legend has it Truman was sent to Washington with this instruction: "Work hard, keep your mouth shut and answer your mail." //

He took that advice.

A decade later, as Vice-President, Truman was anything but a member of FDR's inner circle. He first learned about the Manhattan Project on his 12th day as President. But he grasped

Cathy Fenton

Date _____ Time _____

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

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Message
- re Truman remarks
1. Clark Clifford
former staff Truman Era
2. ~~GOOD~~ ELSE!
Operator
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 24, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DAN MC GROARTY

SUBJECT: PROPOSED REMARKS AT THE PRESIDENTIAL LECTURE SERIES

I. SUMMARY

On Tuesday, July 28 at 6 p.m., in the East Room, you will deliver brief remarks to an audience of 200 distinguished guests, including former and current White House staff from the Truman Era.

II. DISCUSSION

Your remarks (approximately 5 minutes / cards), introduce the topic of the lecture, President Harry S Truman, and the guest lecturer, Mr. David McCullough.

• No members of Truman family (FAX - 6255)

2662

Barbara and I . . .

McGroarty/Bunton
July 23, 1992
1:00 pm
[lecture]

* Mrs. McCullough and children (family) Florus

■ General - former and present from Truman Era

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: FIFTH PRESIDENTIAL LECTURE
THE EAST ROOM
JULY 28, 1992
6:00 P.M.

Sec. Kemp / mrs. Paul Darnians

Members of the Congress, and of my Cabinet. Lynn Cheney, Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities. Special guests -- former White House Maitre'd Alonzo Fields and Eugene Allen: you are part of the history of this House. // All of our distinguished guests: It's my pleasure to welcome all of you to the White House, for the fifth in our series of Presidential Lectures.

Mr. McCullough with ack - Johnny Mussler - Electrician / Helen Donaldson - Scheduler / Lilian Parks long 5-6 others

Cathy Fenton (Social 7064)

Tonight our subject is the man from Missouri, Harry Truman. It's hard to believe, but when Senator Harry Truman came to the Congress, he seemed destined for anything but a place on center stage of one of the world's epic dramas. Coming up through the Kansas City political machine ... ridiculed as the "Senator from Pendergast" ... legend has it Truman was sent to Washington with this instruction: "Work hard, keep your mouth shut and answer your mail." //

Man from Mo. p. 45, 59

Man from Mo. p. 66, 67

Bio

Bio

McCullough p. 213 + conv's

He took that advice.

A decade later, as Vice-President, Truman was anything but a member of FDR's inner circle. He first learned about the Manhattan Project on his 12th day as President. But he grasped immediately the immense importance of the atom bomb -- and knew America must have it first. //

Convs w/ McCullough 24 July 1992

McCullough/Truman p. 664

1960 Mr. Citizen

Common-sense was his philosophy. "If you can't stand the heat, get out of the kitchen." ["I just told the truth -- and they thought it was hell."] Those are the words of a fighter -- someone you could never count out. [And you're looking at someone who learned that the hard way, when I bet $10 bucks on President Dewey back in '48.] — POTUS MARCH 31, 1989 Q&A / Apr. 24, 89 remarks

I'm reminded of all this by the work and words of our guest lecturer's fascinating new biography of Harry S Truman. And as I make my way through this portrait, I particularly enjoy the account of the Campaign of '48 -- from a purely objective view, of course. The battle against the "Do Nothing Congress" -- now, wait: that's Truman speaking. // That stunning come-from-behind victory. / Nothing like a story with a happy ending. //

campaign of '48 is in McCullough book

Something else strikes me about that pivotal year: 1948 was the year of the Marshall Plan / the Berlin Blockade / the year Stalin's actions turned the Soviet Union from ally to enemy. Once again, Truman rose to the occasion -- took a nation weary of war -- ready for peace -- and rallied it to lead a crusade for the Free World.

actually passed

The victory we celebrate today -- freedom's triumph and the death of imperial communism -- brings us closer to the kind of peace American Presidents ... and the American people ... have longed for since Truman's time. //

Tonight, our guide to the life and times of Harry Truman is David McCullough -- one of America's premier historians. Mr. McCullough is the author of six books -- repeat winner of the

Mr. McCullough

National Book Award -- and no stranger to the Presidential Lecture Series. / One more visit, and we may simply rename this event the McCullough Lecture. //

Over the next hour, Mr. McCullough will take us as far as we have time to go into the man from small town America, whose critics scorned him as the "son of a haberdasher." The man of whom Churchill wrote -- and I quote -- "more than any other man, has saved Western Civilization." //

Now, ladies and gentlemen: the fifth Presidential Lecture, on our 33rd President, Harry S Truman. Mr. McCullough, the floor is yours.

# # #

McGroarty/Bunton
July 22, 1992
5:00 pm
[lecture]

1.- Lincoln
2.- Jackson
3.- Teddy Roos.
4.- Geo. Wash.
5.- Truman

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: SIXTH PRESIDENTIAL LECTURE
THE EAST ROOM
JULY 28, 1992
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245 59
Man from Missouri
64-67

He took that advice.

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McGroarty/Bunton
July 23, 1992
1:00 pm
[lecture]

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RE-WORK SECTION

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(Bio) (Bio) from Bio

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'49 campaign is in McCullough book

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Mentioned to him night took oath, Stimson didn't come around until later to see him

→ First real explanation of Manhatt project came on the 12th day as Pres. from Sec. of War Stimpson (Apr. 25th 45)

McCullough p. 664 Truman

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# # #

Sam Rayburn:

"He always
got the big
things right".

he was generally right on the
big things but he wasn't
perfect. not even close

WXXI tv 21 am 1370 fm 91.5 Reachout Radio

William J. Pearce
President

7/27 CC: Jeanie Benton
11:20 A.M. DAN McGroarty
FYI

July 21, 1992

Via FAX & U.S. Mail

Mr. Dorrance Smith
Assistant to the President for Media Affairs
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Dorrance:

It was great getting acquainted with you last Friday as we discussed the upcoming presidential lecture. I'm sending along with this note a "draft" of introductory remarks for the President. Of course, you and other White House staff can edit and mark it up in any way you see fit. If I could get a copy of the final piece before the lecture it would be very helpful to our producer and director.

I'll also be sending along a letter today with some proposed questions for my interview with the President, and a summary of the project itself.

Please call me if you need any additional information. I'll keep in touch right up until the 28th. Once again, it is a pleasure to be working with you and Cathy and Paul. All the best.

Sincerely,

Bill

William J. Pearce

WJP:mmg
Enclosure
cc: Cathy Fenton, Deputy Social Secretary, The White House
Paul Luthringer, Associate Director of Media Affairs
Mark Leonard, Producer, WXXI
John Overlan, Director, WXXI

WXXI Public Broadcasting Council
280 State Street P.O. Box 21 Rochester, N.Y. 14601 (716) 325-7500

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D R A F T

PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH INTRODUCTORY REMARKS
FOR THE FIFTH LECTURE IN THE PRESIDENTIAL SERIES
ON HARRY S. TRUMAN BY DAVID McCULLOUGH

Welcome to the White House, Honored guests, members of Congress. A special welcome to the members of the Truman family, and to Mrs. Rosalee McCullough. It is my pleasure this evening to introduce the fifth in a series of Presidential Lectures, this time featuring our 33rd President, Harry S. Truman.

Bank clerk, "shirt" salesman, farmer, a battle-proven veteran of World War I, Harry S. Truman would rise from the frontiers of Missouri to become President of the United States of America. Young Harry would learn that work was the key to success. "If you don't work, you don't make it," was the common philosophy, "You may do a lot of work and not make it, too, but you've got to do it or you won't make it." His work ethic would see him through some of the United State's most trying times.

He began his political career under the shadows of "Big Tom" Pendergast, the political boss of Kansas City. He would rise from county judge to State Senator and ultimately prove himself as a man of his word, a man of character and

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On April 12, 1945, Truman was summoned to the White House...at 5:25 PM he entered the private quarters...Mrs. Roosevelt stepped forward, placing her arm on Truman's shoulder..."Harry, the President is dead." Truman was unable to speak. "Is there anything I can do for you?" he said at last. "Is there anything we can do for you." she said. "For you are the one in trouble now."

This quiet, unassuming Senator from Missouri would define the course of American politics and diplomacy for the next forty years. In David McCullough's words..."..he is the President responsible for the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, NATO, the amazing Berlin Air Lift. It was Truman who first recognized Israel, who established the Defense Department, started the CIA, who decided to proceed with the hydrogen bomb. He sent the first civil rights message ever to Congress and desegregated the armed forces....He was also, of course, the peppery, plainspoken "Give 'Em Hell Harry" of popular memory, and a great deal more besides, more

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Our guide to the life and time of Harry S. Truman is the renowned historian David McCullough. Mr. McCullough's 1,117-page biography of Truman held me enthralled through many plane rides this summer, and I eagerly await his personal reflections this evening.

This is David McCullough's second visit to the East Room as a Presidential Lecturer. Two years ago, we were regaled with anecdote, fiction and fact about another great White House resident, Teddy Roosevelt. At that time, Mr. McCullough was immersed in completing his most ambitious biography, TRUMAN, which he had begun eight years before. Tonight, we shall enjoy the fruits of that effort.

In addition to his award-winning scholarship, you also know David McCullough as Host of the respected Public Television series SMITHSONIAN WORLD AND AMERICAN EXPERIENCE.

AND NOW, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, THE FIFTH IN OUR PRESIDENTIAL LECTURE SERIES, DAVID McCULLOUGH ON PRESIDENT HARRY S. TRUMAN.

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DAN: WOULD THIS BE OF HELP?

DRAFT

DAVE

PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH INTRODUCTORY REMARKS
FOR THE FIFTH LECTURE IN THE PRESIDENTIAL SERIES
ON HARRY S. TRUMAN BY DAVID McCULLOUGH

For File.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

JULY 18, 1992

TO: JEANIE BUNTON

FM: CATHY FENTON, SOCIAL OFFICE, X7064

RE: BACKGROUND FOR THE PRESIDENT'S REMARKS/JULY 28 PRESIDENTIAL LECTURE ON HARRY S. TRUMAN

As we discussed Jeanie, I am forwarding over a bio on our guest lecturer, Mr. David McCullough, as well as the copy we will include in our program on President Truman. (I have sent this to Mr. McCullough to edit, and update however.) Am also including the President's remarks from the last time Mr. McCullough was here.

The article on "Making the White House Work" might also provide insight into the lives of some of the residence staff that was here and who we are trying to include as guests. (Alonzo Fields and Eugene Allen, both former maitre d's.)

92 yrs. old

Many thanks. Please do not hesitate to call the contacts I gave you at the Truman Library, Library Institute, and WXXI in New York who will be taping the lecture.

POTUS IS / HAS BEEN READING McCULLOUGH'S NEW TRUMAN BOOK

Jeanie - for files

DAVID McCULLOUGH

Historian and biographer David McCullough was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania and was graduated from Yale University. He is known to millions of television viewers as the host of two award-winning PBS series, "Smithsonian World" and "The American Experience." Mr. McCullough is also the narrator of a series on the Civil War to be broadcast on public television this fall. He has been awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship for his current work on a biography of Harry Truman.

Mr. McCullough's earlier works include **The Johnstown Flood** *and* **The Great Bridge,** *the story of the building of the Brooklyn Bridge.* **The Path Between the Seas,** *Mr. McCullough's chronicle of the creation of the Panama Canal, won numerous awards, including the National Book Award for History.* **Mornings on Horseback,** *his biography of young Theodore Roosevelt, also won the National Book Award, this time for biography.*

Mr. McCullough is married to the former Rosalee Barnes. They have five children.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

Harry S. Truman was born May 8, 1884, at the family farm in Lamar, Missouri. Unwilling to disappoint either the Shipp or Solomon sides of the family, Truman's parents gave him the middle name "S."; presumably both families were happy with the compromise.

Truman's father was a self-educated farmer active in the Democratic party. Young Harry was drafted early into party service, celebrating the Cleveland-Stevenson victory at age 8 and serving as a page at the Democratic National Convention at 16.

A decent student, Truman was severely nearsighted and wore thick glasses for most of his life. He often lamented that poor eyesight made it impossible for him to gain admittance to West Point. Truman was nonetheless a superb pianist and encouraged to pursue a musical career.

In 1901, however, when his father suffered major financial difficulties, Truman gave up any such plans. For the next 16 years, he held a series of jobs--timekeeper, mailroom clerk, bank clerk, bookkeeper and farmer--until he volunteered for World War I, in what was a defining period in his life.

Upon his return from war, Truman married his childhood sweetheart Elizabeth "Bess" Wallace in 1919, and established a haberdashery in Kansas City which flourished until the 1922 recession. Rather than declare bankruptcy, Truman repaid store creditors over the next 12 years.

Backed by the Pendergast Machine, Truman was elected judge of Jackson County in 1922. Thereafter, he held a number of political positions until he was elected U.S. Senator in 1935. Although dubbed the "Senator from Pendergast," Truman revealed an integrity and independence that belied such a posture. As chairman of the Special Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program during World War II, he achieved national attention by exposing some $15 billion in waste.

In 1945, Truman relinquished the Senate seat to accept Roosevelt's invitation to serve as vice president. He was rarely consulted by Roosevelt, knew nothing about the development of the atomic bomb, and later described the vice presidency as "about as useful as a cow's fifth teat." While visiting with House Speaker Sam Rayburn, he was called to the White House on April 12, 1945, to learn that the President was dead. With typical rustic candor, Truman told reporters:

> I don't know whether you fellows ever had a load of hay fall on you, but when they told me what had happened, I felt like the moon, the stars, and all the planets had fallen on me.

Over the next three years, Truman oversaw the conclusion of World War II, ordered the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, supported U.S. entry into the United Nations, and implemented the Truman Doctrine "to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation."

In 1948, however, the Democratic Party looked vigorously for an alternative. Only after Dwight Eisenhower and William O. Douglas had rebuffed party requests, did the party nominate Truman to face then New York Governor Thomas Dewey in what was expected to be a sure defeat.

Undertaking a grueling 30,000-mile whistlestop campaign and delivering more than 300 speeches to more than 5 million people, Truman defied political pundits to win the four-way Presidential race with 49 percent of the vote.

The Marshall Plan, the Fair Deal, the Korean War, the firing of MacArthur--all happened under Truman's watch. And in 1950, he survived an assassination attempt by armed Puerto Rican nationalists. Through it all, Truman embodied a candor, a humor, a self-assurance and humility that endeared him then and now to the American people. After it all, Churchill wrote Truman, "You, more than any other man, have saved Western civilization."

Making the White House Work

Marjorie A. Hunt

"I didn't feel like a servant to a man. I felt I was a servant to my government, to my country."

— Alonzo Fields, maitre d'

For nearly two centuries, since the time of John Adams, the White House has been the home of American presidents. A powerful national symbol, it is a uniquely private and public place — at once a family residence, a seat of the government, a ceremonial center and an historic building and museum.

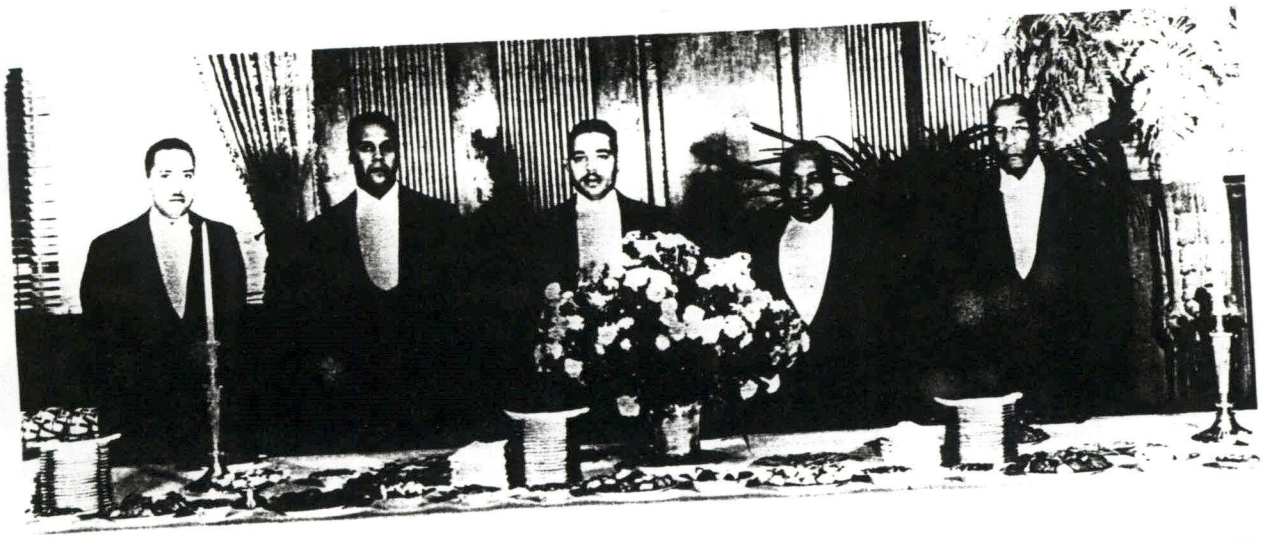
Over the years, hundreds of people have worked behind the scenes to make the White House function, preparing family meals, serving elaborate State Dinners, polishing floors, tending the grounds and welcoming visitors. Today, a household staff of 96 full-time domestic and maintenance employees — including butlers, maids, engineers, housemen, chefs, electricians, florists, ushers, doormen, carpenters and plumbers — work together under one roof to operate, maintain and preserve the 132-room Executive Mansion.

In celebration of the 200th anniversary of the White House, the "Workers at the White House" program explores the skills and folklife of former White House workers — their occupational techniques, customs, values, experiences and codes of behavior. It examines the distinctive ways in which the White House, as a unique occupational setting, shapes work experience.

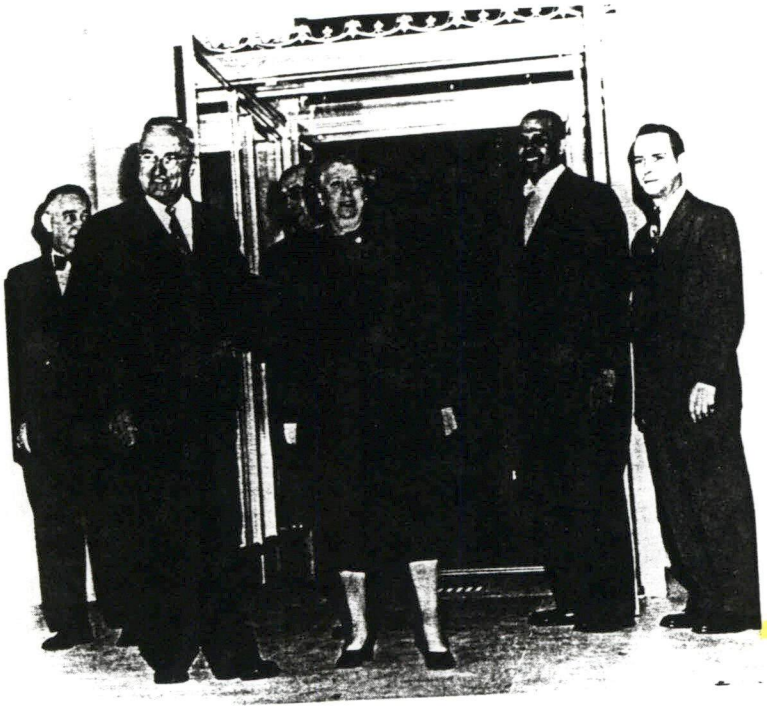
The living memory and firsthand experiences of the workers participating in this program span almost a century, 15 presidential administrations, from the presidency of William Taft to that of George Bush. Several have worked at the White House for over 30 years, serving as many as ten first families. Lillian Parks, a 95-year-old former maid and seamstress, started working for President Hoover in 1929 and served through the Eisenhower administration; her memory of the White House goes back to 1909, when her mother, Maggie Rogers, joined the staff as a maid for President Taft. "I was 12 years old when I first started going to the White House with my mother," she says, "and I've been in and out of the White House ever since."

The oral histories and personal experiences of these workers offer valuable insights into how larger patterns of social change in the nation affected employees' daily routines and work relationships. Alonzo Fields, a 92-year-old former maitre d' who joined the staff in 1931, comments eloquently on what it was like to encounter segregation in the White House and how this situation changed over his 21 years of service. "They had separate dining rooms — Black and White. We all worked together, but we couldn't eat together....Here in the White House, I'm working for the President. This is the home of *the* democracy of the world and I'm good enough to handle the President's food — to handle the President's food and do everything — but I can not eat with the help." Preston Bruce, a share-

Workers at the White House has been made possible through the collaboration of the White House Historical Association which has received funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the support of the Johnson Foundation (Trust) and the Smithsonian Institution Special Exhibition Fund.



Maitre d' Alonzo Fields and his staff of butlers, including Samuel Ficklin, John Pye and Armstead Barnett, stand ready to serve a tea during the Roosevelt administration. ***Photo courtesy Alonzo Fields***



Maitre d' Alonzo Fields greets President and Mrs. Truman. ***Photo courtesy Harry S. Truman Library***

cropper's son from South Carolina who worked as a doorman for 22 years, tells of the thrill he felt in seeing the struggle for civil rights from inside the White House. Others speak of how the various approaches of first families affected their ways of serving guests, conducting social events and interacting with staff.

All of the employees describe working at the White House as a unique experience where work, with its variety of staged events and backstage support for them, has a strong "performative" element. Butlers and chefs, for example, talk about how it is different from working in a luxury hotel or for a wealthy family, citing everything from security concerns to the high standards demanded by the realization that one's performance reflects on the president and the nation. "This is the president's house. You are serving the world, entertaining the world. It's got to be right," said Alonzo Fields. "You're working for the highest office in the land," said doorman Preston Bruce. "You know that whatever you do is going to affect the family upstairs." To work at the White House was to serve as a guardian of the national honor — this ethos informed work performances and behavior at every level.

While first families are only temporary residents at the White House, the household staff

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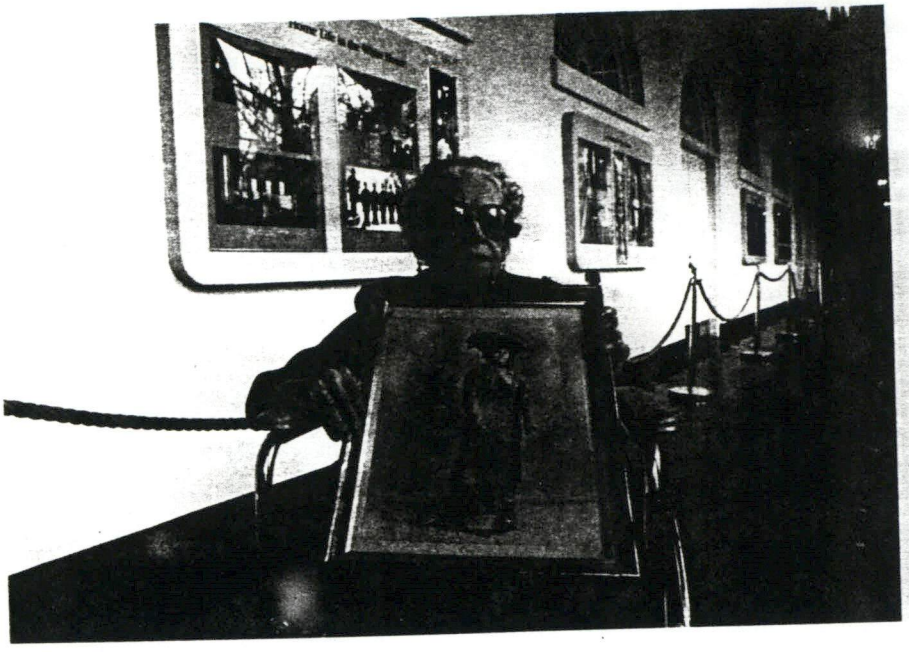
Marjorie Hunt is curator of the "Workers at the White House" program. She is a folklorist and research associate with the Center for Folklife Programs and Cultural Studies.

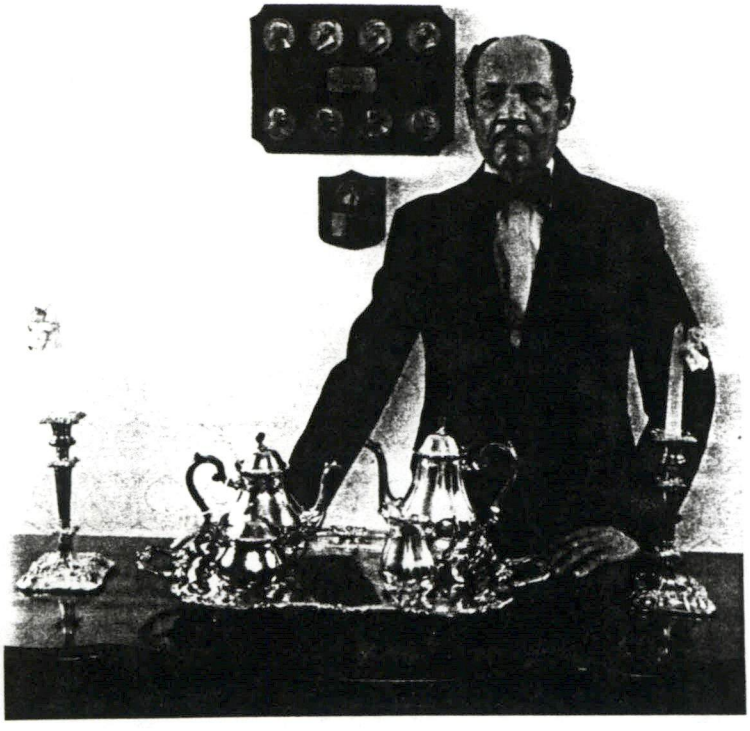
"I grew up in the White House. I was 12 years old when I first started going there with my mother, and I've been in and out of the White House ever since."



Lillian Rogers Parks, a 95-year-old former maid and seamstress, first began working in the White House with her mother in 1909, during the Taft administration.

Alonzo Fields, age 92, served as the chief butler and maitre d' at the White House for 21 years from the Hoover to the Eisenhower administration.

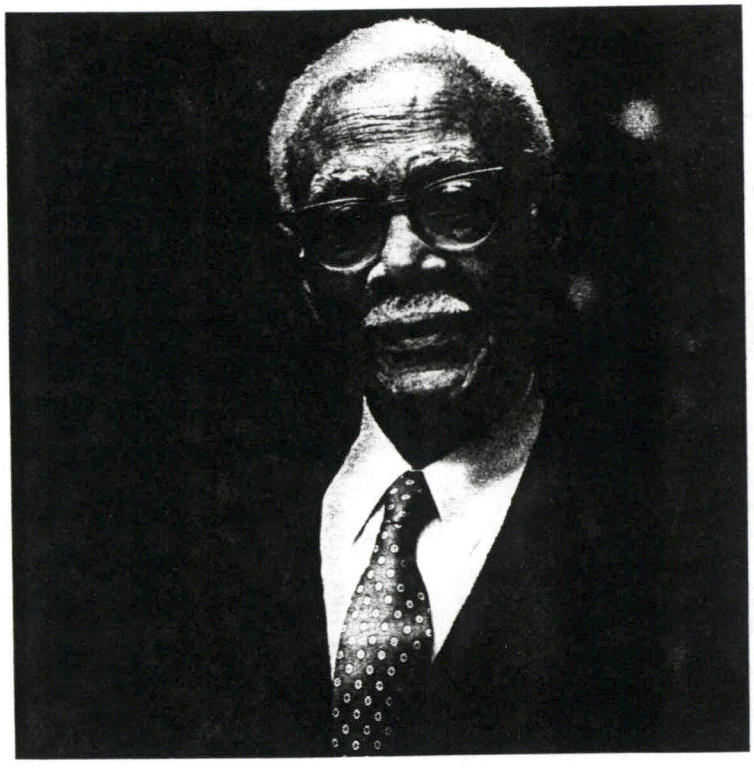
"When I was directing a dinner, I'd seat the President and step back and then give a nod to the men to start the service. From then on I was directing an orchestra. I had my strings here and my wind instruments in the back and I was directing. And people would watch and they'd marvel at it, they really did."



Eugene Allen started working in the White House as a pantryman for President Truman in 1952 and rose through the ranks to become chief butler and maitre d'. He retired in 1986 after serving 34 years with eight first families.

"I thought I knew how to serve, but the White House is different. Other places you can make mistakes and you don't feel so bad, but you don't feel like making mistakes for the President and First Lady.... All that was in the back of your mind when you were setting up for any activity."

"The word doorman is a misnomer. I didn't run outside and open doors and that was it. I greeted you and welcomed you to the White House. I made a show that I knew everyone that came in. And that made them feel a lot better."



Preston Bruce, a sharecropper's son from South Carolina, served as a White House doorman from the Eisenhower to the Ford administration.

Cobb

Document No. 137398 FYI

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/4/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ----------

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: SECOND PRESIDENTIAL LECTTURE

SUBJECT:

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☑	MCCLURE	☐	☑
SUNUNU	☐	☐	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☐	☐	PORTER	☐	☑
DARMAN	☐	☐	ROGICH	☐	☑
BATES	☐	☑	UNTERMEYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☑	ROGERS	☐	☑
CICCONI	☐	☑	WINSTON	☐	☑
DEMAREST	☐	☑	PINKERTON	☐	☑
FITZWATER	☐	☑	FIRESTONE		☑
GRAY	☐	☑	_____	☐	☐
HAGIN	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

McGroarty/Dooley
May 3, 1990
6:00 pm
[lecture]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: SECOND PRESIDENTIAL LECTURE
EAST ROOM
MAY 6, 1990
5:00 P.M.

Members of the Congress, and of my Cabinet. Lynne Cheney, Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities. Members of the Roosevelt family, and our many distinguished guests: It's my pleasure to welcome all of you to the White House, for the second in our series of Presidential Lectures.

Some of you were with us back in January, when we opened the series with our first lecture on the great Abraham Lincoln. // Tonight, our subject is a man who has always been a favorite of mine -- a man who helped shape the modern Presidency: **the inexhaustible TR -- Theodore Roosevelt.** //

We are, at this very moment, under TR's watchful eye. / Here to my left, moved to the East Room for this occasion, the portrait that hangs in the Roosevelt Room. Teddy Roosevelt, rough-rider, on horseback -- advocate of what he called "the strenuous life." // Our second portrait, on permanent display here in the East Room -- painted by John Singer Sargent -- captures the serious side of Theodore Roosevelt. It captures his decisiveness -- the quality he had that made him look as if he were in action -- moving forward -- even while standing still. // We have to put our imaginations to work, to **picture TR**

standing in this room -- watching his children roller skate on these parquet floors, or play hide and seek behind the potted plants and curtains.

That was TR. A man for whom the great political questions, the great discoveries and inventions of his day -- did not crowd out the great joys of his children and the pack of playmates he called the White House Gang.

Theodore Roosevelt was at once a man of action -- and a man of intellect. A man of the outdoors -- one of America's first great conservationists -- and a man of quiet pursuits, who regularly read a book, or even two, per day -- and wrote well over 20 in his lifetime. A man of tremendous energy -- and a love of life as boundless as the continents he explored.

And he was an explorer in every sense of that word. At the age of 55, instead of licking his wounds after a losing presidential campaign, he headed for the uncharted wilds of Brazil -- to become the first to explore the Amazon's River of Doubt -- now named the Rio Roosevelt. //

He was the **first President to ride in an automobile.** First to fly in an **airplane.** First to sail in a **submarine.** Technology we've come to consider routine, but -- in TR's day -- inventions that were untested, fraught with excitment and danger. Try to imagine Teddy Roosevelt's fascination with **our new technologies.** JFK vowed to make America the first nation to put a man on the moon. TR // probably would have gone there himself.

Theodore Roosevelt was an athlete, who brought his love of sport and physical competition into the White House. He boxed --

sparred with some of the world's first-rate professional fighters. He practiced jujitsu. And, according to some, those were just the sports he engaged in right here in the East Room.

//

Let me add one final TR "first" -- and this one shows the **bravery involved in being a Roosevelt historian:** Teddy Roosevelt was the first occupant of this White House to serve as President of the American Historical Association.

Tonight, of course, our guide to the life and times of TR is the renowned David McCullough. Mr. McCullough is the author of four books, including The Path Between the Seas -- the story of the creation of the Panama Canal -- and Mornings on Horseback, a biography of the young Theodore Roosevelt. Both have been awarded the National Book Award. The Second Presidential Lecturer is an expert on Theodore Roosevelt -- **and one of America's most respected historians.**

Over the next hour, Mr. McCullough will take us as far as we have time to go into the many-sided subject of Theodore Roosevelt -- a man once described by Secretary of State Elihu [EL-ih-hue] Root as "the greatest teacher of the essentials of popular self-government the world has ever known." And described by his young cousin Nicholas in this way: "To be with him was to have fun -- if for no other reason than that he so obviously was having a good time himself."

Now, ladies and gentlemen: the second Presidential Lecture, on our 26th President, Theodore Roosevelt. It is my great honor

to introduce distinguished historian and award-winning biographer -- David McCullough.

# # #

we will find out why, the circumstances of the tragedy. But in a larger sense, there will never be answers to the questions that haunt us. We will not—cannot, as long as we live—know why God has called them home. But one thing we can be sure—this world is a more peaceful place because of the U.S.S. *Iowa*. The *Iowa* was recommissioned and her crew trained to preserve the peace. So, never forget that your friends died for the cause of peace and freedom.

To the Navy community, remember that you have the admiration of America for sharing the burden of grief as a family, especially the Navy wives, who suffer most the hardships of separation. You've always been strong for the sake of love. You must be heroically strong now, but you will find that love endures. It endures in the lingering memory of time together, in the embrace of a friend, in the bright, questioning eyes of a child.

And as for the children of the lost, throughout your lives you must never forget, your father was America's pride. Your mothers and grandmothers, aunts and uncles are entrusted with the memory of this day. In the years to come, they must pass along to you the legacy of the men behind the guns. And to all who mourn a son, a brother, a husband, a father, a friend, I can only offer you the gratitude of a nation—for your loved one served his country with distinction and honor. I hope that the sympathy and appreciation of all the American people provide some comfort. The true comfort comes from prayer and faith.

And your men are under a different command now, one that knows no rank, only love, knows no danger, only peace. May God bless them all.

Note: The President spoke at 9:23 a.m. in Hangar LP–2 at the Norfolk Naval Air Station. Following his remarks, the President traveled to Chicago, IL.

Remarks at the Associated Press Business Luncheon in Chicago, Illinois

April 24, 1989

Thank you all for that warm welcome. And my friend, Bill Keating—friend from Congress days—thank you for that most generous introduction. I also want to thank your able—I don't know whether I should say leaders or deputies of the Associated Press. Lou Boccardi, sitting over here, and Jim Tomlinson—and thank them and you for including me in this AP luncheon, given at the time of the Newspaper Publishers Association meeting. And I also want to say how pleased I am to be with you once again.

I've just come from Norfolk, a very moving ceremony paying tribute to the 47 young men that died in the turret aboard *Iowa*—and it was indeed moving. And it made me once again realize how precious human life is and how sometimes you can't control things the way you'd like. And that leads me to just say a word about Terry Anderson, because in a meeting just now, the greeting by Lou and Bill Keating, they brought up with me, once again, with this sense of urgency that all in the Associated Press feel about Terry Anderson—the question of the hostages [in Lebanon].

And I just want to say, without being able to give you any good news, that we are concerned; we will follow every intelligence lead; we will go the extra mile to do what we can. And I vowed when I came into the Presidency not to talk about the burden of the Presidency, the loneliness of the job or the great toughness that nobody understands. I learned that from my immediate predecessor—8 years and I never once heard a call for sympathy or a call for understanding along those lines. But I will say that when you do take that oath of office you do feel perhaps a disproportionate concern for a fallen sailor or an individual held

hostage against his or her will anywhere in the world. And so, we will continue to keep this question of these hostages on the front burner.

I know the news business is a serious and sometimes extraordinarily dangerous business. Mark Twain liked to recall that Napoleon once shot at a magazine editor. He missed him, but he killed a publisher. [*Laughter*] Twain says: "It seems his aim was bad, but his intentions were good." [*Laughter*]

You all know Jefferson's tribute to the importance of the press: "Were it left for me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter."

And now, despite the fact that there are days when I think that all we really need is a sports page—[*laughter*]—both of us, government and the news media, need one another; we owe each other a measure of respect, honesty, and integrity equal to the work we're engaged in.

It's been a little over 3 months since I took the oath of office, and I am pleased with the progress that we've made in a short time. And I'll say more about that shortly, but before I do, I'd just like to share with you some impressions of the past 3 months.

People often ask me, understandably, what's it like—how the Presidency compares to the expectations you bring to it. I can sum up the thing that's made the deepest impression on me so far, in one word, and it's history, a sense of history all around you. And you can't live in the White House and you can't sit at the desk in the Oval Office, or upstairs in the office that I have now right next to the Lincoln Bedroom, without constantly experiencing the history of the place, without thinking of the Presidents we all know, but perhaps in a different light.

And I think of Washington, working to define the Presidency, to mix power and restraint in a way that created a Chief Executive consistent with democratic government. This Sunday I'm going to go up to New York to join in the ceremonies marking the 200th anniversary of Washington's swearing in. Each of those 200 years is lasting testimony to the solid foundation laid by Washington.

And I find myself thinking a lot of Teddy Roosevelt—his limitless energy; his mental, moral, and physical toughness. I want the record to show it's not just that he was an elitist, like me. [*Laughter*] I think of his dedication to serve his nation, a dedication instilled in earliest childhood, this sense of service, and then, I guess most of all, his love of nature, passion for reform and preservation.

I think of Harry Truman, a man who spoke his mind, a practical problemsolver, a fighter who never gave up. And I learned that one the hard way, because I'm old enough to have bet 10 bucks on Tom Dewey back in 1948.

And there's Ike, Dwight Eisenhower, hero to a generation, a man who, once he became President, didn't appear to seek the spotlight. He understood the value of quiet, steady leadership and led this nation through a decade of growth and progress and prosperity.

And of course, I do think of the man that I served for 8 years, Ronald Reagan—his commitment. People wondered: What was it? Why was he successful? It was his commitment to a handful of principles, a commitment to his beliefs, plus his great faith in the American people and then this unshakable optimism that he brought to the job. The opportunities open to us today, to my administration today, were made possible by the peace and prosperity that Ronald Reagan left as his legacy.

We used to hear a lot about the Presidency being too big for one man. Indeed, a very distinguished Washington lawyer wrote just at the end of the Carter Presidency, just as President Reagan was coming in—there was talk, because of the frustration abounding, that what we might need is a parliamentary system. That talk stopped when Ronald Reagan became President. Different men, different methods, different circumstances—proof, as I see it, that the Presidency is ample enough to accommodate the strengths and styles of our nation's rich political history.

In the past 3 months, these thoughts have framed my own approach in dealing with

the pressing problems that confront us—some of them decades in the making—and in working to put the United States on a steady course for the decade ahead and the new century beyond it. I do not feel compelled or pressed because of a column here or a column there to reach out for something dramatic. The first step in every initiative that I've undertaken is to square our action with enduring American principles. Whatever the problem, we can count on public support so long as our policy and principles share a common root.

And these principles are: freedom for individuals, for nations—self-determination and democracy; fairness—equal standards, equal opportunity—a chance for each of us to achieve and make our way on our own merits; strength—in international affairs, strength our allies can count on and our adversaries must respect—and at home, strength and a sense of self-confidence in carrying forward our nation's work; excellence—the underlying goal in the collective efforts that we undertake, and accountability for the work we do; and in the workings of government, a firm sense of the responsibilities and powers of government and the private sector that lies beyond its limits.

My starting point has been a respect for American institutions—for Congress, for the dedicated civil servants in the executive branch, for State and local governments, for the concept of public service—and a firm belief in the constitutional powers of the Presidency. Each has its role; each can be enlisted in the work at hand. The emphasis is on cooperation, not confrontation, as the surest route to progress.

I've read more than a few news stories before and after the election—you can remember them—said that the new President and the Congress could not possibly work together after a bitter campaign that made cooperation impossible. I didn't believe that then, and I think we're proving it wrong now. When I took office, I told the Congress that the American people hadn't sent us to Washington to bicker. They sent us to govern, to work together to solve the urgent problems that confront us, and to shape the long-term strategies to ensure peace and prosperity in the future. I think the work we've done these past 3 months demonstrates the value of tough, principled negotiations between this administration and the Congress.

The bipartisan budget agreement that we worked out 10 days ago is a key example. That agreement—ahead of schedule, on target with Gramm-Rudman, and with my "no new taxes" pledge intact—is a strong first step towards dealing with the deficit problem and keeping our economy—76 straight months of expanding, uninterrupted growth—on track. Difficult decisions lie ahead. I'm well aware of that, but the important first step, an important agreement, has been reached.

And of course, there's the accord we reached on Central America. The people of Nicaragua—like their neighbors in the region, like people everywhere—deserve to live in peace, with freedom. The United States is now speaking with one voice and standing behind a plan that will put the Sandinistas to the test. And this unity has encouraged leaders like President Oscar Arias of Costa Rica to support—strongly support—the U.S. policy. And the support of the leaders in that area, in Central America, those democratic leaders surrounding Nicaragua, is vital if we're to succeed.

And in 3 short months, we've made a good start coming to grips with issues demanding urgent attention and decisive action, and we've taken that action.

Action to stabilize the troubled savings and loan system—the reform plan that I sent to Congress will restore stability and put the savings and loan system back on its feet in sound fiscal order. My plan guarantees that depositors will be fully protected—they are today, and they will be in the future. The S&L system must be reformed so that the questionable practices and outright illegalities that caused the crisis will not happen again. And those S&L officials found guilty of criminal actions will be punished for the losses that they have caused. Last week the Senate passed my plan by 91 to 8, and I urge the House to act promptly and pass this S&L reform bill with its central provisions intact.

Action to strengthen ethics in government—the ethics reforms that I've sent to Capitol Hill this month will uphold honesty

and integrity in government service, and they will apply an evenhanded ethics standard across all branches of government.

Action in the war on drugs, where we're advancing on all fronts—education, treatment, interdiction, and tougher law enforcement—the antidrug effort, even in these tight budget times, will receive almost $1 billion in additional funding in 1990, a 21-percent increase in the outlays over what we'll spend in 1989. We've imposed a temporary ban on the import of certain semiautomatic rifles, weapons all too often used in drug-related killings. And we're tackling the drug epidemic in the District of Columbia, a test case for a full range of innovative antidrug measures.

Of course, dealing with problems that demand immediate attention is only part of the picture. We need to look to the long-term as well, to focus now on the kind of future we want to see for ourselves and our nation. And investing in that future is high on our national agenda.

First and foremost, that does mean improving education. Investing in the rising generation is long-range planning at its best. Our future in this technological age depends upon the qualities and capabilities of the American worker, and not just the most talented among us but each individual member of the work force. The seven-point program on education reform that I sent to Congress early this month will help us reward excellence, reach out to students most in need, increase choice, and introduce a healthy element of competition and accountability that will promote quality in our schools.

I have no intention of shifting the emphasis to Washington, away from the localities, away from the States, away from the diversity that is one of the hallmarks of our educational system. But I do want to use the White House as a bully pulpit to encourage excellence in every way and to encourage the private sector in every way. And I would say to you publishers here: I salute those of you who have already taken up the cause of education—be it literacy or dropout rates or whatever it is—you can do the Lord's work in no better way. The seven-point program is going to help us reward excellence, and you can do an awful lot as well.

Preparing for the kinder, gentler future I've spoken of means helping Americans cope with the changing nature of society, helping fundamental institutions like the family remain strong and prosper. We have big differences. We talk now about child care. I want the family to remain strong, and that's the guiding aim of my child-care initiatives: a tax credit proposal designed to expand the options of low-income families, keeping the ultimate choice of who will care for the children in their hands. One of my greatest concerns as President of the United States is the diminution, the denigration in some ways of the family structure. We in government must see that everything we do is aimed at strengthening, not weakening, the families.

Preparing for the future has got to mean protecting our environment. Teddy Roosevelt put it best when he said: "I do not recognize the right to rob, by wasteful use, the generations that come after us." Roosevelt spoke those words almost 80 years ago. And now, a little more than a decade away from the 21st century, safeguarding our environment is a national and international imperative. And we've taken the first important steps. We've urged Congress to enact legislation enabling us to ban the export of hazardous wastes to nations where safe handling of those dangerous substances cannot be guaranteed. And in response to growing concern about global warming, the U.S. will work in concert with other nations to end the discharge of CFC's [chlorofluorocarbons] into the atmosphere by the year 2000. And in the case of this Alaskan oil spill, we've taken steps to ensure a Federal role that is strong—a Federal role in oversight of the cleanup effort and to explore ways to prevent such spills in the future or to react more promptly if they should occur.

And finally, we've launched an initiative to strengthen the international strategy on Third World debt, which has already received broad international support from both the industrialized and the developing countries. We've set our course with this policy, and now I want to see this Third World debt a success on a case-by-case basis. I want to see us successful as we negotiate with Mexico, with Venezuela, and with

other countries as well.

We've examined and I've made decisions on U.S. strategy for Afghanistan, Poland, Central America, and other problems and opportunities needing prompt attention. We have moved there. Within a few weeks, nearly all of the far-reaching and systematic defense and foreign policy reviews will be complete. And I've already made some decisions. Others, including arms control, will be forthcoming soon.

We're mapping strategies for a period of remarkable change in international affairs, change more wide-ranging and rapid than at any time in the postwar period. While we will lead, we also intend to consult and listen to our friends abroad and to consult and work with—listen to the United States Congress. I've met with the leaders of 34 nations, renewing my acquaintance with many of them, establishing a working relationship with the others. Secretary of State Jim Baker has met once with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze of the Soviet Union. He will meet again next month in Moscow to continue that dialog. And as with the bipartisan agreement on Nicaragua, I will work closely on all international matters with the Congress. We have had several meetings already with the leaders of Congress to discuss, in a nonstructured way, consultation—not only the process of consultation but we've begun it on individual areas around the globe.

Last Monday in Michigan I announced a new policy towards Poland in recognition of the positive changes taking place there. We'll be watching events in Poland closely—the fate of *Solidarność*, the follow-through on the free elections promised by the Polish Government. Freedom is proving a powerful force in world affairs, a force for peace and stability. The United States must seize opportunities to strengthen and support developments that advance the cause of freedom, and we will do exactly that.

I think we've made a good start these first 3 months, and there's more to come. The completion of our defense and foreign policy reviews in late May, draft legislation for a new Clean Air Act, a new strategy to curb the increased use of lethal weapons by drug dealers and other criminals, and new initiatives to combat the problem of homelessness—all are on the near horizon.

You know, some of my toughest critics are not in your line of work. Quite often, they're the kids, the children who write to me at the White House. I want to share with you a letter from a young seventh-grader from Torrance, California. He wrote asking me to take action on pollution, toxic waste, smog, littering—and a very detailed list, if you will, of environmental concerns. And he says in his letter: "I'm not saying you're doing a bad job, but could you put a little more effort into it?" [*Laughter*] That letter was written on January 20, 1989—Inauguration Day. [*Laughter*] And I have no way—maybe I ought to check on it as we go to California—I don't know whether I've satisfied that guy or not. But I can say, I got his message. And as I said before, I'm a practical man; I like what's real. I'm not much for the airy and the abstract, and I like what works.

And there's a running debate now on what it takes to move a nation forward. Some will tell you it's ideology that matters. Some say it's a question of competence. And others say that issues are the issue. But the fact is, what it takes to move a nation can't be captured in one word. It's a matter of principles and performance, ideology and action on the issues. And this administration understands that the American people expect all of this and something more: They expect results.

And so, while I'm pleased with what's been done and what we've accomplished in these 3 months, there is a long road ahead of us. And I am optimistic that our reforms will produce lasting results, that the long-range planning we do today will pay off in the future, that our consultations with Congress will result in progress in domestic and international affairs as well. But most of all, this nation is ready to move forward to meet the central challenges that we face: keeping America free, prosperous, and at peace—tomorrow and into the century ahead. Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 12:17 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Hyatt Regency

Hotel, during the annual conference of the American Newspaper Publishers Association. In his opening remarks, he referred to William J. Keating, chief executive officer of the Detroit Newspaper Agency; Louis D. Boccardi, president and general manager of Associated Press; and James F. Tomlinson, vice president and assistant to the president of Associated Press. Following his remarks, the President traveled to Bismarck, ND.

Remarks at the Dedication Ceremony for the Centennial Grove in Bismarck, North Dakota
April 24, 1989

I'm so pleased to be here. Thank you, Tom Kleppe. When Secretary—and I say "Secretary," because North Dakotans know that Tom served so well as Secretary of the Interior—former Congressman, but called me about this marvelous project of yours, he's right, I accepted in a hurry. And I'm very grateful to Governor Sinner and all involved in the preparations for this wonderful visit. I want to pay my respects not only to Governor and Mrs. Sinner, [former] Governor Link, Senator Conrad, Congressman Dorgan, and other distinguished leaders of the North Dakota Legislature. Thank you for inviting me.

It has been a very emotional day for me. I understand that lost on the *Iowa* was the grandson of a Bismarck family, and if that family didn't attend today's services, I can attest firsthand how moving it was and what a wonderful job our Navy did in holding the loved ones close to them, giving them comfort that I know all Americans would want given to these families. It was a very moving day. And the flags I see at half-mast here are appropriate tribute to those young men who lost their lives. I'm also proud to see that POW and MIA flag flying, Governor, right here at this magnificent State capital, because we must never forget the POW's and the MIA's.

When I accepted your invitation to come here, I had no idea that part of the program was to put me to work. "A sapling," they said, "all you'll have to do is to plant a sapling." No one told me that the sapling is about 12 feet tall over there. But I think we can figure it out. This hardy elm is a descendant of a tree planted on the White House lawn by John Quincy Adams. And now, its seedlings will be a part of North Dakota forever.

And just a few years before this State was carved out of the Dakota territory, a young man from New York City set aside a prominent career in politics to become a North Dakota rancher. Having lost his wife and mother in one single day, he came to these parts almost insane with grief. No tenderfoot, he worked the range in the harshest weather, always leading and never following. And he wore a sheriff's badge, and he roamed the Badlands to singlehandedly bring the worst characters to justice. And, in short, Teddy Roosevelt became a man in North Dakota; and he became something else, a guardian of nature. When he went back East and back to politics, Teddy Roosevelt took with him an understanding that the seemingly endless resources of the West were threatened by the unfettered exploitation of man. As President, Teddy Roosevelt wrote these words to schoolchildren on Arbor Day, 1907: "A people without children would face a hopeless future; a country without trees is almost as hopeless."

So, let us honor the coming 100th birthday of North Dakota and the memory of the Nation's first true environmentalist by dedicating this centennial bur oak along with this White House elm. Before the year 2000, your State will plant 100 million trees, almost half as many new trees in one State as there are Americans in the Union. May each tree add to the abundance of the good life in North Dakota, cleaner air for North America. This forestation effort is just one of 600 ambitious centennial projects North Dakotans are taking on. You are fulfilling the spirit that I call One Thousand

National Book Award -- and no stranger to the Presidential Lecture Series. / One more visit, and we may simply rename this event the McCullough Lecture. //

Over the next hour, Professor McCullough will take us as far as we have time to go into the man from small town America, whose critics scorned him as the "son of a haberdasher." The man of whom Churchill wrote -- and I quote -- "more than any other man, has saved Western Civilization." //

Now, ladies and gentlemen: the fifth Presidential Lecture, on our 33rd President, Harry S Truman. Professor McCullough, the floor is yours.

# # #

Jeanine:
p. 664
"Hell" quote
McCullough

(has he read my book,
apparently he hasn't)

DO IMMEDIATELY

* TRUMAN BOOK – SPECIAL SESS. CONG. 106(?)

☑ PRES. DC APRIL 89 – Legacy of Past Presidents
but money cost #10 bucks (dollars)
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[Mid Pt. → tomorrow]

Boonville mtg.

Notre Dame - Nowlen Price:
fam. policy larger sense / what govt can do?

Friday briefing → reader digest article
"Family Gap" ↑ Were we appealing to that group

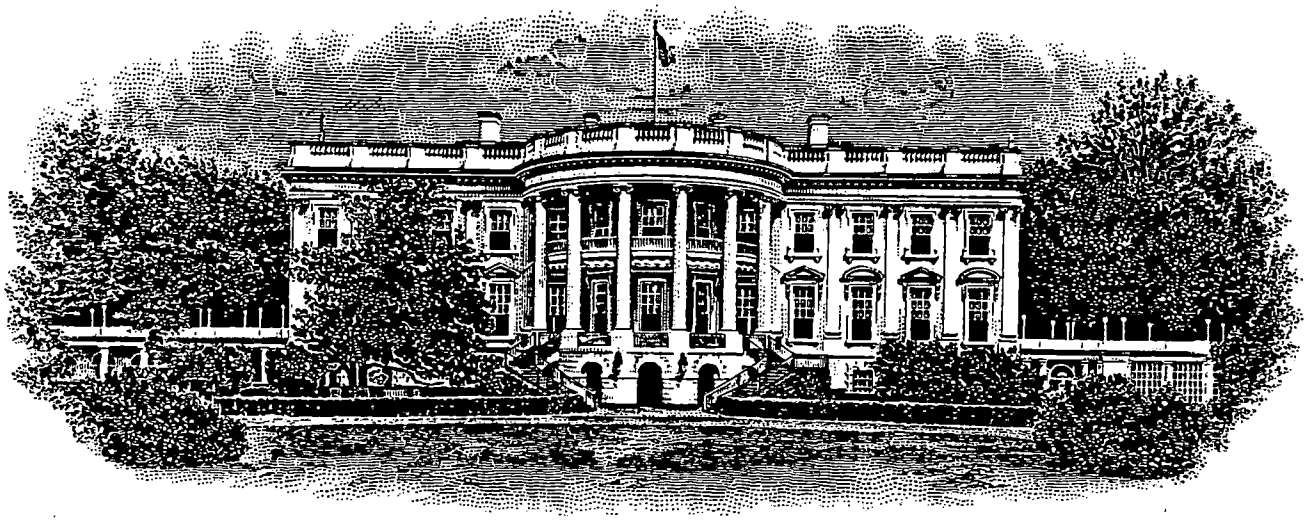
Open: too easy turned into a slogan / buzz words -
personal experience
do we get top - what happens on bottom
outside - glue in the middle holds all together
△ laundry list: issues expand on - flex IRA med. exp.
Can you afford / tax ded. student loans / CI Pens
Children / $ 500 tax credit, Choice in school / Bus. 2000
deficit reduction / personal exemption

Close w/ 5th here present Old Values w/ bold change
Blame Cong. en masse

get it their head → no one cares
parents build in app. lines

(local color) quote someone local - town hero? ✓

festival stories



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To Cathy Fenton

Fax Number 6235

Date 24 July 1992

From Jeannie Bunton

Office Number 7750

****** COMMENTS ******

Thank you for your guidance.

JB

McGroarty/Bunton
July 23, 1992
1:00 pm
[lecture]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: SIXTH PRESIDENTIAL LECTURE
THE EAST ROOM
JULY 28, 1992
6:00 P.M.

Members of the Congress, and of my Cabinet. Lynn Cheney, Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities. Special guests -- former White House Maitre'd Alonzo Fields and Eugene Allen: you are part of the history of this House. // All of our distinguished guests: It's my pleasure to welcome all of you to the White House, for the fifth in our series of Presidential Lectures.

Tonight our subject is the man from Missouri, Harry Truman. It's hard to believe, but when Senator Harry Truman came to the Congress, he seemed destined for anything but a place on center stage of one of the world's epic dramas. Coming up through the Kansas City political machine ... ridiculed as the "Senator from Pendergast" ... legend has it Truman was sent to Washington with this instruction: "Work hard, keep your mouth shut and answer your mail." //

He took that advice.

A decade later, as Vice-President, Truman was anything but a member of FDR's inner circle. He first learned about the Manhattan Project on his 12th day as President. But he grasped immediately the immense importance of the atom bomb -- and knew America must have it first. //

Common-sense was his philosophy. "If you can't stand the heat, get out of the kitchen." "I just told the truth -- and they thought it was hell." Those are the words of a fighter -- someone you could never count out. And you're looking at someone who learned that the hard way, when I bet $10 bucks on President Dewey back in '48.

I'm reminded of all this by the work and words of our guest lecturer's fascinating new biography of Harry S Truman. And as I make my way through this portrait, I particularly enjoy the account of the Campaign of '48 -- from a purely objective view, of course. The battle against the "Do Nothing Congress" -- now, wait: that's Truman speaking. // That stunning come-from-behind victory. / Nothing like a story with a happy ending. //

Something else strikes me about that pivotal year: 1948 was the year of the Marshall Plan / the Berlin Blockade / the year Stalin's actions turned the Soviet Union from ally to enemy. Once again, Truman rose to the occasion -- took a nation weary of war -- ready for peace -- and rallied it to lead a crusade for the Free World.

The victory we celebrate today -- freedom's triumph and the death of imperial communism -- brings us closer to the kind of peace American Presidents ... and the American people ... have longed for since Truman's time. //

Tonight, our guide to the life and times of Harry Truman is David McCullough -- one of America's premier historians. Mr. McCullough is the author of six books -- repeat winner of the

National Book Award -- and no stranger to the Presidential Lecture Series. / One more visit, and we may simply rename this event the McCullough Lecture. //

Over the next hour, Mr. McCullough will take us as far as we have time to go into the man from small town America, whose critics scorned him as the "son of a haberdasher." The man of whom Churchill wrote -- and I quote -- "more than any other man, has saved Western Civilization." //

Now, ladies and gentlemen: the fifth Presidential Lecture, on our 33rd President, Harry S Truman. Mr. McCullough, the floor is yours.

# # #

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WASHINGTON

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GEORGE BUSH

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JULY 1992

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VOLUME 27

Trance to Venial Sin

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA AMERICANA

INTERNATIONAL EDITION

COMPLETE IN THIRTY VOLUMES

FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1829

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and elsewhere in Europe. Their
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s. See also FUNGUS.
HEIMSCH°, *University of Miami*

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stal desert of northern Peru, 315
northwest of Lima. The sur-
an oasis producing sugarcane
led in 1534, the city was laid
or parks and plazas, and it pre-
its colonial architecture. The
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the ruins of the pre-Inca city
Population: (1972) 241,882.

INA, trōō-hē'yō mō-lē'nä, **Rafael**
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marines during the occupation
ie rose through the ranks to be
nder in chief. In 1930, during
isis, he led a military revolt that
uncontested election to the pres-
next 31 years he headed one of
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nerican states led in 1960 to the
tracism of his government by the
f American States.
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everses and foreign pressures to
egime, he finally lost support in
May 30, 1961, he was assassinated
nents in Ciudad Trujillo (now
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the United States as part of the
y of the Pacific Islands. Truk has
of 39 square miles (100 sq km)
1980) 37,488.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

33d PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
IN OFFICE FROM 1945 TO 1953

BORN	May 8, 1884, in Lamar, Mo.
HIGHER EDUCATION	University of Kansas City Law School, 1923-1925
RELIGION	Baptist
OCCUPATIONS	Farmer, public official
MARRIAGE	June 28, 1919, to Bess Wallace
CHILDREN	(Mary) Margaret (1924–)
MILITARY SERVICE	Captain and commanding officer, Battery D, 129th Field Artillery, 35th Division, AEF, World War I
KNOWN AS	Give 'Em Hell Harry
POLITICAL PARTY	Democratic
LEGAL RESIDENCE WHEN ELECTED	Missouri
POSITION BEFORE TAKING OFFICE	Vice President
PRINCIPAL WRITING	Memoirs, 1955 and 1956
DIED	Dec. 26, 1972, in Kansas City, Mo.
BURIAL PLACE	Independence, Mo.

STERN PHOTO, HARRY S. TRUMAN LIBRARY

TRUMAN, Harry S. (1884–1972), 33d president of the United States. Most Americans in the 1950's did not expect that Harry Truman would become one of their most highly regarded presidents. By 1952, just before he announced his decision not to run again, only 25% of the people thought he was doing a good job. Within a decade, however, most American historians regarded him as one of the nation's greatest presidents. To be sure, a "revisionist" view developed that attacked his record at home and abroad, picturing him as ineffective in some areas, oppressive in others, and as the architect of the Cold War. Yet the favorable appraisal seemed to be the dominant American view.

Appraisals of presidents depend on the observer's assumptions concerning what leaders should try to accomplish and what they are capable of accomplishing. Obviously, Truman was not so effective in domestic affairs as his predecessor, Franklin Roosevelt, had been in the 1930's, but Truman's opportunities were smaller. He might have accomplished more had he pressed his proposals more boldly, yet his appraisal of political realities persuaded him that he could not do so. He was unable to gain acceptance for many new domestic proposals in such areas as health and education, but he provided publicity for them. He expanded and improved established programs and defended them against attempts by their foes to weaken them. And he worked harder on behalf of civil rights than any of his predecessors.

Truman's record in foreign affairs, while also flawed, was more significant. He effectively developed a larger role for the nation in world affairs than it had played before World War II. Prewar policies had not kept the American people out of major wars. Truman's policies did not accomplish their objectives in some places, such as eastern Europe, and they did not avert a war in Korea. But they promoted the recovery and reconstruction of western Europe and Japan.

Short and rather owlish behind thick glasses, Truman was not imposing in appearance. He spoke in the Midwesterner's flat, nasal tone. But he was scrupulously honest, and he established a reputation for speaking the truth.

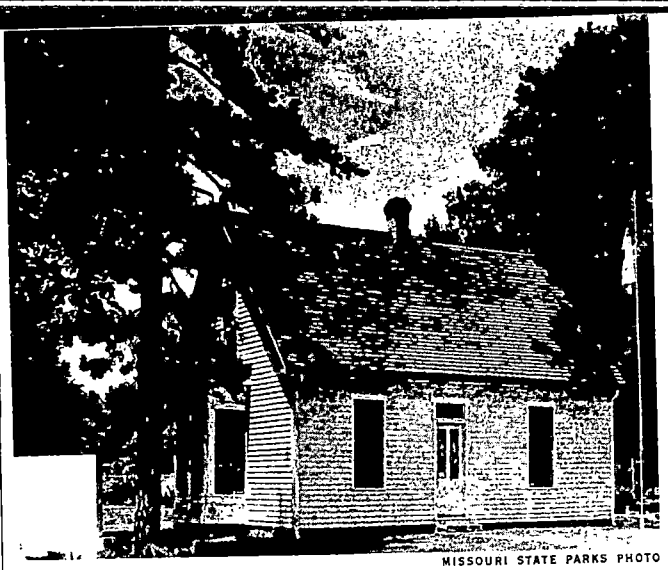
EARLY CAREER

Born in Lamar, Mo., on May 8, 1884, Truman was the oldest of three children of John Anderson and Martha Ellen (Young) Truman. His birthplace was just south of the area into which his grandparents had moved from Kentucky four decades earlier. The letter "S" in his name was not an abbreviation. It reflected the family's reluctance to choose between his grandfathers—Anderson Shippe Truman and Solomon Young—in selecting his name.

In 1890 the Trumans moved to Independence, Mo. There, Harry's thick glasses prevented him from joining in many boyhood activities. Encouraged by his mother, he turned to the piano and books. At the piano, he developed a talent that provided relaxation in later years. From books, he acquired some of the historical information that influenced his career.

Truman did not attend college. His father's financial difficulties prevented him from doing so, and his poor eyesight dashed his hope of entering the U. S. Military Academy at West Point.

Several years of work for a railroad and two banks added more to Truman's experiences than



MISSOURI STATE PARKS PHOTO

Harry Truman's birthplace in the small Missouri town of Lamar. The house has been restored as a memorial shrine.

to his finances or sense of accomplishment. Then, at the age of 22, he returned to the rural work into which he had been born. He spent the next 11 years as a farmer, helping his father manage the Young farm in Grandview, Mo. Working on a good farm in the "golden age" of American agriculture, he experienced a personality change, becoming less withdrawn, much more gregarious, much more confident in his relations with other people than before. He began to participate actively in Democratic party politics, and he joined several other organizations, including the Masons, that later helped him as a politician.

World War I provided new opportunities. Commissioned by the National Guard, Captain Truman served in France in command of Battery D of the 129th Field Artillery, 35th Division, American Expeditionary Force, fighting in major battles late in the war. He discovered that he had talents as a leader, and he gained the affection and esteem of a group of men who voted for him later. After the war, he joined veterans organizations and the Army Reserve, rising to the rank of colonel.

After returning home in 1919, Truman married Elizabeth (Bess) Wallace, his childhood sweetheart, and established a clothing store in Kansas City. The marriage succeeded, but the store did not. Founded during the postwar boom, it collapsed in the postwar depression. Left with heavy debts, Truman was forced to think once again about his career.

Entry into Politics. Encouraged by the Kansas City political organization headed by Thomas Pendergast, Truman turned to politics. As years passed, the machine proved to be both a help and a handicap. It supplied essential votes in Kansas City but acquired a bad reputation that alienated many voters elsewhere. While Truman avoided the corrupt side of the organization and handled his own offices honestly and efficiently, he remained loyal to Pendergast and defended machines as necessary, though dangerous, features of democratic politics.

Truman was elected judge of the Jackson county court in 1922, failed to win reelection in 1924, became presiding judge of the court two years later, and was reelected in 1930. These positions, administrative rather than judicial, enabled him to accomplish much, especially as a builder of roads.

In 1934, eager to move higher in politics, Truman accepted Pendergast's request that he run for a seat in the U. S. Senate. He campaigned vigorously, with help from the machine. His own record, his many friends throughout the state, and his endorsement of President Roosevelt and his popular New Deal policies were also important assets. He won the primary and defeated an anti-New Deal Republican in the general election.

In the Senate. As a first-term senator, Truman supported the New Deal and worked hard on his committee assignments. As an active member of the Interstate Commerce Committee, he helped to produce the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938 and the Transportation Act of 1940. In spite of his record, he came close to defeat in 1940, narrowly winning reelection. Pendergast had been sent to prison for income tax evasion, and Truman was criticized for his ties with the discredited organization.

After his reelection, Truman began a series of Senate investigations that brought him fame and saved the taxpayers billions of dollars. As head of the Special Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program, he promoted economy and efficiency among defense contractors.

As a senator he supported Franklin Roosevelt in foreign as well as domestic affairs. Truman's thinking was influenced by his experiences during World War I and as a veteran and reserve officer after the war. He considered military power to be of great importance, worked for a

Truman, a captain in the 129th Field Artillery during World War I, saw action in several major battles.

UPI

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The "Big Three"—Stalin, Truman, and Churchill—meet in Potsdam, Germany, in July 1945. Their failure to agree on the future of eastern Europe was an early foreshadowing of the coming Cold War.

SIGNAL CORPS, NATIONAL ARCHIVES

stronger armed force, and, after the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, blamed the "pacifists" and the "isolationists." During the war, he worked for the creation of an international organization to preserve peace. He favored the use of American economic power in the Lend-Lease program as another means of influencing international affairs.

Vice President. Truman's new prestige plus his ability to get along with all factions in his party made him a contender for the Democratic vice presidential nomination in 1944. His own ambitions did not reach beyond the Senate. But Roosevelt, running for a fourth term, was eager to find a lieutenant who would help him avoid the difficulties that Woodrow Wilson had encountered in the Senate after World War I. The incumbent vice president, Henry Wallace, was not popular with many party leaders. Prodded by one of Truman's associates, Robert Hannegan, a St. Louis politician and chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Roosevelt persuaded Truman to run with him. Truman defeated Wallace for the nomination on the second ballot at the Democratic National Convention. The ticket was elected.

THE PRESIDENCY

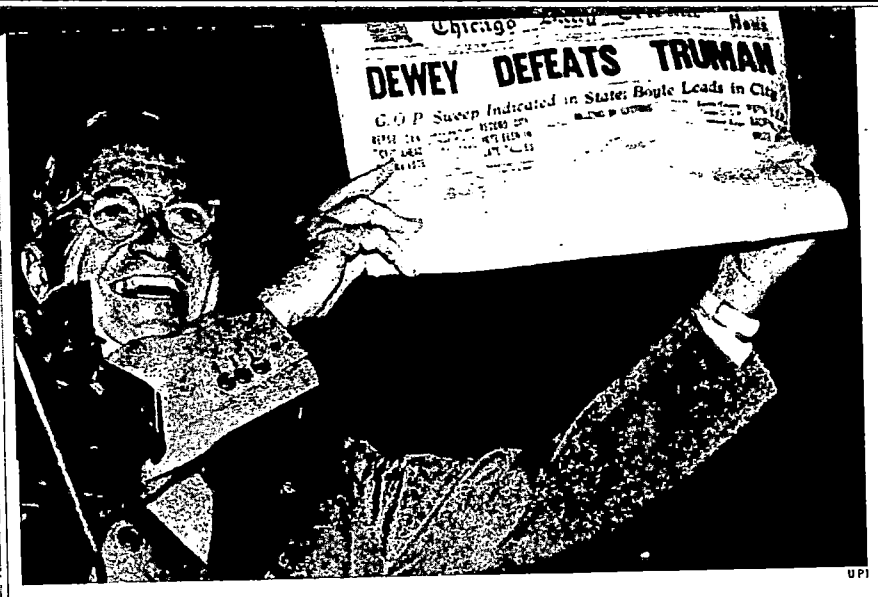
Truman's new position added little to his preparation for the presidency, because Roosevelt made no effort to train him. Consequently, when Roosevelt died on April 12, 1945, Truman faced the tremendous task of learning to be president by dealing with the problems that flowed in upon him.

First Term: International Relations. Seeking to carry out Roosevelt's policies, Truman brought to fruition the plans for the unconditional surrender of Germany, which came on May 8, and the establishment of the United Nations. He attended the UN founding conference in San Francisco in late April. Truman made the decision to use atomic bombs against Japan, believing that they would end the war quickly, save lives, and place the United States in a position to revolutionize Japanese life. Alternatives to the bomb, including a negotiated settlement, were available, but they were not as apparent then as they would seem later, and they appeared likely to produce results more slowly and restrict opportunities for change in Japan. Two bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, coupled with Russia's declaration of war against Japan, brought the war to an end on August 14.

Some persons have argued that Truman used the bomb to influence the Russians rather than the Japanese, but they have demonstrated only that he and some of his aides hoped that this new evidence of American power would restrain the Russians at the same time that it accomplished American objectives in Japan. By August 1945, Truman had become more critical of the Russians than Roosevelt had been, but not because the new president had brought to the White House a more hostile attitude toward them. The change in presidential behavior is explained chiefly by changes in the situation, not in personnel. As time passed in 1945, Russian efforts to dominate eastern Europe became more obvious and alarming to American officials, and the need for Russian help, which had influenced Roosevelt so much, significantly declined as Germany and Japan were defeated and the United Nations was established.

Truman did bring to the job convictions as to how expanding nations should be treated. His thinking on foreign policy was dominated by political considerations. It included a theory of power that emphasized both the importance of power and the limits on it. He was determined to avoid what he regarded as the errors of the American past: military weakness and a reluctance to get involved in international problems.

Thus Truman could be expected to protest Soviet expansion in eastern Europe. He did so, soon adopting a policy of "toughness" in his dealings with Moscow. He found it impossible, however, to do more than protest, because U. S. military power was declining rapidly under the pressures for demobilization, and neither he nor anyone else was eager to provoke another war. Henry Wallace, now secretary of commerce, held on to the wartime hope for cooperation with the Russians, and in September 1946 he publicly crit-



UPI

A happy winner, President Truman displays newspaper headline that prematurely reports his defeat for reelection in 1948. Truman's victory over Thomas E. Dewey was one of the biggest surprises in American political history.

icized the "get tough" policy. The president, regarding Wallace as a "pacifist" and a "dreamer," the type of person who had caused trouble in the past, obtained his resignation so as to clarify administration policy and the relationships between the president and his lieutenants.

Perhaps Truman should have offered no objections to Russian behavior and recognized it as merely an expression of concern for national security. Years later, it did seem that the administration had overestimated the Russian threat to the West. Russia, after all, had been severely damaged by the war. Yet the security interest of the Russians conflicted with the interests of the people of eastern Europe, and they too deserved consideration from American officials—and inevitably received it because of American hopes for national self-determination and unhampered commercial relationships.

Given the Russian military presence and determination in eastern Europe, Truman had little opportunity to be effective there, but he found larger opportunities in southern and western Europe. Economic and political weaknesses seemed to give the Russians a chance to extend their influence into the region, but a series of American moves from 1947 to 1949 promoted economic improvements, strengthened non-Communist governments, and contributed to the frustration of Communist groups, especially in Greece, Italy, and France.

The momentous new steps included the Truman Doctrine, which granted aid to Greece and Turkey and promised assistance to other nations threatened "by armed minorities or by outside pressure"; the Marshall Plan, which used American economic resources to stimulate the recovery of European economies outside the Soviet sphere; the Berlin airlift, designed to maintain the Western presence in that city, which was surrounded by the Russian-occupied zone of Germany; and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the nation's first peacetime military alliance. Truman's Point Four program helped new nations develop economically.

These steps, which added up to a policy of "containment" of communism, constituted unprecedented U. S. involvement in Europe during peacetime. Truman not only made the decisions but used all his power to get the policies accepted. His success also owed much to a bipartisan group in which a Republican, Sen. Arthur H. Vandenberg (Mich.), played a key role.

Domestic Affairs. Truman accomplished less in domestic affairs, in part because he was so busy with international concerns. Beginning in September 1945, he fought to continue and expand the New Deal, soon labeling his program the Fair Deal. He encountered the same coalition of conservative Republicans and Southern Democrats that had frustrated Roosevelt frequently after 1936. This coalition effectively opposed Truman when the Democrats dominated Congress (1945–1946 and 1949–1956) as well as when the Republicans were in control (1947–1948). One of his few domestic victories was the passage of the Housing Act of 1949, which included a provision for public housing.

In another area in which Truman made important contributions—civil rights—he had to rely chiefly on executive action, publicizing the question and desegregating the armed forces. But he failed to obtain passage of a law assuring equal job opportunities for blacks and ending poll taxes, lynchings, and discrimination on public transportation. His personal concern about the problems of black Americans, as well as his quest for the black vote, and his worry about the damage that American racial practices did to the nation's image in the world moved him to act. Nearly all Southerners opposed him, however, and Southern senators filibustered effectively against his legislative proposals.

In 1947, Congress overrode Truman's veto of the Taft-Hartley Act, which Truman said unfairly weakened the bargaining power of unions. Truman's frequent interventions in labor-management disputes were significant, because they expanded the role of the president in this area. The railroad and coal industries provided major occasions for action in 1946. Steel did in 1952. But the U. S. Supreme Court rejected the argument that the president has inherent powers to seize firms in emergencies. Faced with a steel strike during the Korean War, Truman had seized steel mills to keep them operating.

Reelection. The election of 1948 presented Truman with one of his most spectacular challenges. He faced a confident Republican party, headed by its presidential nominee, Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York. Furthermore, groups on the left and right wings of his own party deserted him to form the Progressive and States' Rights parties. In this situation, the pollsters predicted a Republican landslide, but Truman campaigned vigorously, traveling thousands of miles and

A happy winner, President Truman displays newspaper headline that prematurely reports his defeat for reelection in 1948. Truman's victory over Thomas E. Dewey was one of the biggest surprises in American political history.

Former President and Mrs. Truman on their first visit to Washington, D. C., after leaving the White House, are reunited with their daughter, Margaret Daniel, who had flown in from New York City.

UPI

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speaking hundreds of times, often extemporaneously. His objective was to persuade the members of the old Roosevelt coalition that they should vote for him to protect the programs that had been especially beneficial to them. Employing a "give 'em hell" technique, he denounced the 80th Congress as a "do-nothing" body dominated by men with "a dangerous lust for power and privilege," and he contrasted this with his own program. He often introduced his wife and daughter and chatted informally with the people who clustered about his campaign train. The style of his campaign illustrated his conception of himself as a common man and his conception of the president as champion of the people.

The result was an upset, although by a small margin in a "low turnout" election. He received fewer than half of all of the popular votes but outpolled Dewey 24,104,030 to 21,971,004, and secured 303 electoral votes to 189 for the Republican candidate.

Second Term. Truman soon encountered major problems in Asia, a part of the world the administration regarded as less important than western Europe and less capable of using American aid effectively. He had tried since 1945 to get the Chinese Nationalists and Communists to work together in one government. He hoped thereby that Chiang Kai-shek, the Nationalist leader, would find time to deal with China's problems. The policy failed, and the Communists drove their foes from the mainland in 1949.

Korea was the next area of crisis in Asia, partly out of shortcomings in U. S. military policy. American policy was dominated by confidence in air power and the atomic bomb, a popular desire to keep Americans out of uniform, and fear of heavy government spending. Some of these considerations influenced Truman himself, and Congress rejected his departures from them, such as his advocacy of universal military training. One result was a small Army. This fact, along with North Korean ambitions and concern about those of South Korea, Communist fears of American plans for Japan, and the obvious American reluctance to get involved militarily on the Asian mainland, probably influenced the North Korean decision to invade South Korea on June 25, 1950.

In spite of military weaknesses, Truman decided to act boldly to repel the aggressors. First he won passage of a United Nations Security Council resolution recommending that member states furnish aid to South Korea. Truman then authorized U. S. military intervention. Recalling events of the 1930's, such as the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, Truman was determined to avoid the mistakes he believed had been made then. Furthermore, he could not believe that the Constitution prevented him from acting quickly and forcefully. A few critics argued that only Congress could authorize sweeping military action of the sort he had ordered, but Truman's defenders emphasized his authority as commander in chief and cited many occasions when presidents had acted independently. Two decades later, after subsequent presidents had intervened in Vietnam, Truman's action would seem even to some of his earlier defenders to have provided a dangerous precedent.

The decision to intervene militarily in Korea led to other American moves. One was protection for Chiang Kai-shek, who had retreated to Formosa. Another was increased support for the French in their battle against revolution in Southeast Asia. A third was a sharp increase in the size, cost, and complexity of American armed forces and in the number stationed in Europe. The administration also carried out plans for a peace treaty and an alliance with Japan.

Truman still recognized that American power had limits. Nevertheless, he authorized his forces to pursue the enemy into North Korea after the North Koreans had been pushed back into their own territory, and he changed the goal of the war from containment to liberation. China, however, quickly entered the war and pushed the anti-Communist forces back to South Korea.

Truman then retreated to his original goal. His commander in the Far East, Gen. Douglas MacArthur, advocated an expansion of military operations so as to defeat the Chinese and unify Korea, but Truman feared that the general's suggestions would tie down American forces in Asia, give Russia new opportunities in Europe, and lead to a world war. When MacArthur publicly criticized administration policies, Truman removed him from command on April 11, 1951, thereby reaffirming the principle of the subordination of the military to civilian officials as well as the theory of limited power.

While MacArthur did not force Truman to change his policy, the controversy did weaken his authority. The general's argument obscured what had been accomplished in the Korean War. It suggested that the United States had failed be-

ASSOCIATED PRESS PHOTOGRAPH, HARRY S. TRUMAN LIBRARY

Joined by reporters and comedian George Jessel (*second from left*), Truman takes walk in New York in 1955.

cause it had not unified the Korean peninsula. The criticism neglected the fact that a Communist effort to expand had been checked without kindling World War III.

The Truman-MacArthur clash contributed to the growing protests against the administration. Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R-Wis.) charged that the country was "losing on every front" and pinned the blame on disloyal men, especially in the U. S. State Department.

Truman seemed incapable of curbing the growing discontent. He argued that McCarthy and others were "chipping away our basic freedoms as insidiously and far more effectively than the Communists have ever been able to do" and creating "such a wave of fear and uncertainty that their attacks upon our liberties go almost unchallenged." Such arguments failed to rally the public behind the president, perhaps because he and his aides had talked so often of the dangers posed by Communists, and, in line with their rhetoric, had developed a loyalty-security program that alarmed civil libertarians and had prosecuted the leaders of the U. S. Communist party. On the other hand, Truman had vetoed the Internal Security Act in 1950. Truman's tendency to express himself harshly when angered by critics added to his difficulties, as did inflation and charges of corruption in government.

Deciding not to run again, Truman saw power slip from his grasp and from the grasp of his party. The Republicans, led by a popular military hero, Dwight D. Eisenhower, returned to the White House in 1953.

RETIREMENT

Returning to Independence and benefiting from good health most of the time, Truman enjoyed his retirement. He traveled widely and spoke frequently, often to groups of young people about their civic responsibilities. He remained active in politics, criticizing the Republicans, seeking unsuccessfully to influence the choice of the Democratic presidential candidate in 1956 and 1960, and joining in campaigns. Reflecting his strong interest in history and a desire to present his own view of his years in Washington, he published his memoirs in 1955 and 1956. In 1957 the Truman Library was dedicated in Independence. After Truman's death in Kansas City, Mo., on Dec. 26, 1972, he was buried on the grounds of the library.

RICHARD S. KIRKENDALL
Indiana University

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TRUMAN DOCTRINE. A major turning point in American foreign policy, the Truman Doctrine marked the beginning of the U. S. effort to contain Communist expansion. President Truman initiated the policy in an address to Congress on March 12, 1947. His action was occasioned by a crisis in Greece involving pressure on the government from Communist-led guerrilla forces.

Truman asked Congress for $400 million to strengthen that government and its neighbor, Turkey, which faced Soviet pressure. He also maintained that history was now dominated by a struggle between the free and the nonfree ways of life, and he proposed that the United States should "support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures" and "assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way."

The new policy was successful during the Truman years, but the United States, as the administration itself recognized, was not capable of accomplishing all that the doctrine implied. The Greek and Turkish governments successfully resisted pressure. Containment was extended effectively to western Europe with the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and to South Korea with American military intervention in response to an attack by North Korea. But the resources available for support of Chiang Kai-shek were not enough to enable him to maintain his position in China.

RICHARD S. KIRKENDALL, *Indiana University*

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Political Quotations

A Collection of Notable Sayings on Politics from Antiquity through 1989

Daniel B. Baker, Editor

Gale Research Inc. • DETROIT • NEW YORK • LONDON

428. The tragedy of modern democracies is that they have not yet succeeded in effecting democracy. —Jacques Maritain, "La Tragédie de la démocratie", *Christianisme et démocratie*, 1942

429. Democracy is a political method, that is to say, a certain type of institutional arrangement for arriving at political—legal and administrative—decisions and hence incapable of being an end in itself. —Joseph Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, 1942

430. In a democracy such as ours military policy is dependent on public opinion. —George C. Marshall, *Yank*, Jan 28, 1943

431. I swear to the Lord/ I still can't see/ Why Democracy means/ Everybody but me. —Langston Hughes, *The Black Man Speaks*, 1943

432. Nothing can be more abhorrent to democracy than to imprison a person or keep him in prison because he is unpopular. This is really the test of civilisation. —Sir Winston S. Churchill, letter to Herbert Morrison, Nov 21, 1943

433. The whole cornerstone of our democratic edifice was the principle that from the people and the people alone flows the authority of government. —Franklin D. Roosevelt, radio address, Feb 12, 1943

434. Man's capacity for justice makes democracy possible, but man's inclination to injustice makes democracy necessary. —Reinhold Niebuhr, foreword, *The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness*, 1944

435. Democracy is not tolerance. Democracy is a prescribed way of life erected on the premise that all men are created equal. —Chester Bomar Himes, *If You're Scared, Go Home!*, 1944

436. The blind lead the blind. It's the democratic way. —Henry Miller, "With Edgar Varese in the Gobi Desert", *The Air-Conditioned Nightmare*, 1945

437. To define democracy in one word, we must use the word "cooperation." —Dwight D. Eisenhower, speech in Abilene, Kansas, Jun, 1945

438. There is no indispensable man in a democracy. When a republic comes to a point where a man is indispensable, then we have a Caesar. —Harry S Truman, interview, ca. 1946

439. The constant danger to democracy lies in the tendency of the individual to hide himself in the crowd—to defend his own failure to act forthrightly according to conviction under the false excuse that the effort of one in one hundred forty million has no significance. —Dwight D. Eisenhower, speech in Northfield, Vermont, Jun 9, 1946

440. Democracy is the recurrent suspicion that more than half of the people are right more than half of the time. —E.B. White, *The Wild Flag*, 1946

441. Many forms of Government have been tried, and will be tried in this world of sin and woe. No one pretends that democracy is perfect or all-wise. Indeed, it has been said that democracy is the worst form of Government except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time. —Sir Winston S. Churchill, speech in the House of Commons, Nov 11, 1947

442. Human dignity, economic freedom, individual responsibility, these are the characteristics that distinguish democracy from all other forms devised by man. —Dwight D. Eisenhower, speech at the Univ. of West Virginia, Sep 24, 1947

443. Those who worry about radicalism in our schools and colleges are often either reactionaries who themselves do not bear allegiance to the traditional American principles, or defeatists who despair of the success of our own philosophy in an open competition. —James Bryant Conant, *Education in a Divided World*, 1948

ıey have not yet succeeded in effecting émocratie", *Christianisme et démocratie*,

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schools and colleges are often either) the traditional American principles, or)sophy in an open competition. —James

444. My notion of democracy is that under it the weakest should have the same opportunity as the strongest. This can never happen except through non-violence. —Mohandas K. Gandhi, *Non-Violence in Peace and War*, 1948

445. I believe that the foundation of democratic liberty is a willingness to believe that other people may perhaps be wiser than oneself. —Clement Attlee, speech to the Labour Party annual conference, Oct, 1948

446. A democracy in which everybody had an equal responsibility in everything would be oppressive for the conscientious and licentious for the rest. —T.S. Eliot, *Notes Toward The Definition of Culture*, 1948

447. The taste of democracy becomes a bitter taste when the fullness of democracy is denied. —Max Lerner, "The Negroes and the Draft", *Actions and Passions*, 1949

448. One of the evils of democracy is, you have to put up with the man you elect whether you want him or not. —Will Rogers, *The Autobiography of Will Rogers*, 1949

449. It is not the armed forces which can protect our democracy. It is the moral strength of democracy which alone can give any meaning to the efforts at military security. —Max Lerner, "The Negroes and the Draft", *Actions and Passions*, 1949

450. Democracy is based on the conviction that man has the moral and intellectual capacity, as well as the inalienable right, to govern himself with reason and justice. —Harry S Truman, inaugural address, Jan 20, 1949

451. In a healthy nation there is a kind of balance between the will of the people and the government, which prevents its degeneration into tyranny. —Albert Einstein, *Out of My Later Years*, 1950

452. I am the people—the mob—the crowd—the mass./ Do you know that all the great work of the world is done through me? —Carl Sandburg, "I Am the People, the Mob", *Complete Poems*, 1950

453. Two Cheers for Democracy: one because it admits variety and two because it permits criticism. Two cheers are quite enough: there is no occasion to give three. Only Love, the Beloved Republic, deserves that. —E.M. Forster, *Two Cheers for Democracy*, 1951

454. A democracy can recover quickly from physical or economic disaster, but when its moral convictions weaken it becomes easy prey for the demagogue and the charlatan. Tyranny and oppression then become the order of the day. —J. William Fulbright, speech in the U.S. Senate, Mar 27, 1951

455. The essence of a republican government is not command. It is consent. —Adlai E. Stevenson Jr., speech in Springfield, Illinois, Aug 14, 1952

456. The issue ... in a capitalist democracy resolves itself into this: either poverty will use democracy to win the struggle against property, or property, in fear of poverty, will destroy democracy. —Aneurin Bevan, *In Place of Fear*, 1952

457. As citizens of this democracy, you are the rulers and the ruled, the lawgivers and the law-abiding, the beginning and the end. —Adlai E. Stevenson Jr., speech in Chicago, Illinois, Sep 29, 1952

458. The death of democracy is not likely to be an assassination from ambush. It will be a slow extinction from apathy, indifference, and undernourishment. —Robert Maynard Hutchins, *Great Books*, 1954

459. Democracy is clearly most appropriate for countries which enjoy an economic surplus and least appropriate for countries where there is an economic insufficiency. —David Morris Potter, *People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character*, 1954

n the long run to the soundness of heart
nas address, Dec 25, 1954

pular. —Adlai E. Stevenson Jr., quoted,

been mainly engaged in kicking people
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rand Russell, *Silhouettes in Satire*, 1958

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na, Sep 17, 1960

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9, 1961

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U.S. Senate, Sep 21, 1961

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—Felix Frankfurter, *Baker v. Carr*, 1962

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—John F. Kennedy, speech in San Jose,

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the accepted practices of the American
ate, Mar 27, 1964

bate means national division. —Lyndon
edral School, Washington, D.C., Jun 1,

nment around—don't hesitate to do so.
Sep 11, 1968

478. And so tonight—to you, the great silent majority of my fellow Americans—I ask for your support. —Richard M. Nixon, televised speech, Nov 3, 1969

479. Everyone else is represented in Washington by a rich and powerful lobby, it seems. But there is no lobby for the people. —Shirley Chisholm, *Unbought and Unbossed*, 1970

480. In a political sense, there is one problem that currently underlies all of the others. That problem is making Government sufficiently responsive to the people. If we don't make government responsive to the people, we don't make it believable. And we must make government believable if we are to have a functioning democracy. —Gerald R. Ford, address at Jacksonville Univ., Jacksonville, Florida, Dec 16, 1971

481. People are not an interruption of our business. People are our business. —Walter E. Washington, attributed, 1971

482. Divine right went out with the American Revolution and doesn't belong to the White House aides. What meat do they eat that makes them grow so great? —Sam Ervin, news conference during Watergate investigation, *Time*, Apr 16, 1973

483. Sovereignty remains at all times with the people and they do not forfeit through elections the rights to have the law construed against and applied to every citizen. —Court of Appeals United States, ruling that President Nixon had to turn over presidential tapes, *The New York Times*, Oct 14, 1973

484. Secrecy and a free, democratic government don't mix. —Harry S Truman, quoted by Merle Miller, *Plain Speaking: An Oral Biography of Harry S. Truman*, 1974

485. Television is democracy at its ugliest. —Paddy Chayefsky, *The New York Times*, Nov 14, 1976

486. That's what the American system is all about: to keep power divided, to prevent a small core from either pole suddenly thrusting its decisions on the country. —Charles M. Mathias Jr., *Time*, Aug 23, 1976

487. The stakes ... are too high for government to be a spectator sport. —Barbara Jordan, commencement address, Harvard Univ., Jun 16, 1977

488. I would rather trust twelve jurors with all their prejudices and biases than I would a judge. I think the reason democracy works is because as you multiply judgements, you reduce the incidence of errors. —Louis Nizer, *Chicago Tribune Magazine*, Feb 5, 1978

489. The experience of democracy is like the experience of life itself—always changing, infinite in its variety, sometimes turbulent and all the more valuable for having been tested by adversity. —Jimmy Carter, speech to the Indian Parliament, Jan 2, 1978

490. Most people's opinions are of no value at all. —A.L. Rowse, *The Observer*, Aug 26, 1979

491. (Our goal is) a society with a minimum of compulsion, a maximum of individual freedom and of voluntary association and the abolition of exploitation and poverty. —Roger N. Baldwin, recalled on his death, Aug 26, 1981

492. A government is not in power; it is in office, put there by the will of the people. —Stanley Baldwin, quoted by his daughter, Lorna Howard, in a letter, *The Times*, Jan 23, 1982

493. Democracy is not a fragile flower; still it needs cultivating. —Ronald Reagan, speech to British parliament, Jun 8, 1982

494. I don't run democracy. I train troops to defend democracy. —Lt. Gen. Alfred M. Gray, speech to new officers, *Newsweek*, Jul 9, 1984

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t Asses", *Crisis*, Mar, 1930

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, but by the way it kills them. —Jean-
and Ethel Rosenberg, Jun 22, 1953

t tyranny is in trouble and reminders
ght D. Eisenhower, State of the Union

611. Radicalism itself ceases to be radical when absorbed mainly in preserving its control over a society or an economy. —Eric Hoffer, *The Passionate State of Mind*, 1954

612. So efficient are the available instruments of slavery—fingerprints, lie detectors, brainwashings, gas chambers—that we shiver at the thought of political change which might put these instruments in the hands of men of hate. —Bernard Baruch, *A Philosphy of Time*, 1954

613. Man alone can enslave man. —Simone Weil, *Oppression and Liberty*, 1958

614. Whenever you have an efficient government you have a dictatorship. —Harry S Truman, speech at Columbia Univ., Apr 28, 1959

615. A police state finds it cannot command the grain to grow. —John F. Kennedy, State of the Union address, Jan 14, 1963

616. Nothing more exactly identifies the totalitarian or closed society than the rigid and, more often than not, brutish direction of labor at all levels. —John F. Kennedy, State of the Union address, Jan 14, 1963

617. The benevolent despot who sees himself as a shepherd of the people still demands from others the submissiveness of sheep. —Eric Hoffer, *The Ordeal of Change*, 1964

618. Totalitarianism spells simplification: an enormous reduction in the variety of aims, motives, interests, human types, and, above all, in the categories and units of power. —Eric Hoffer, *The Ordeal of Change*, 1964

619. When men are ruled by fear, they strive to prevent the very changes that will abate it. —Alan Paton, "The Challenge of Fear", *Saturday Review*, Sep 9, 1967

620. It is the common failing of totalitarian regimes that they cannot really understand the nature of our democracy. They mistake dissent for disloyalty. They mistake restlessness for a rejection of policy. They mistake a few committees for a country. They misjudge individual speeches for public policy. —Lyndon Baines Johnson, speech, Sep 29, 1967

621. The trouble with military rule is that every colonel or general is soon full of ambition. The navy takes over today and the army tomorrow. —Yakubu Gowon, *Chiacgo Daily News*, Aug 29, 1970

622. There are similarities between absolute power and absolute faith: a demand for absolute obedience, a readiness to attempt the impossible, a bias for simple solutions—to cut the knot rather than unravel it, the viewing of compromise as surrender. Both absolute power and absolute faith are instruments of dehumanization. Hence, absolute faith corrupts as absolutely as absolute power. —Eric Hoffer, "Thoughts of Eric Hoffer", *The New York Times Magazine*, Apr 25, 1971

623. The most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed. —Steve Biko, speech in Cape Town, 1971

624. We are no longer interested in elections except as a means to reach our objectives. —Juan Peron, *The New York Times*, Jul 14, 1973

625. I don't mind dictatorships abroad provided they are pro-American. —George C. Wallace, *Time*, Oct 27, 1975

626. The totalitarian state is not power unchained it is truth chained. [*L'Etat totalitaire ... ce n'est pas la force déchainée, c'est la vérité enchainée.*] —Bernard-Henri Lévy, *La Barbarie à visage humain*, 1977

627. The more a regime claims to be the embodiment of liberty the more tyrannical it is likely to be. —Sir Ian Gilmour, *Inside Right*, 1977

628. Ours is not yet a totalitarian government, but it is an elitist democracy—and becoming more so every year. —Victor L. Marchetti, *Inquiry*, Feb 6, 1978

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ıi, letter to the general secretary of the

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—W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Gift of Black*

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ıc statement, Aug 2, 1927

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'ory of a Friendship, 1930

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'or president, Jul 2, 1932

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—Franklin D. Roosevelt, radio address,

is a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside
ssian national interest. —Sir Winston S.

ıers of their own minds. —Franklin D.

961. If you treat people right they will treat you right—90 percent of the time. —Franklin D. Roosevelt, quoted, *Kansas City Times*, Jan 14, 1977

962. When you get to the end of your rope, tie a knot and hang on. —Franklin D. Roosevelt, quoted, *Kansas City Star*, Jun 5, 1977

963. The core of our defense is the faith we have in the institutions we defend. —Franklin D. Roosevelt, speech in Dayton, Ohio, Oct 12, 1940

964. We must be the great arsenal of democracy. —Franklin D. Roosevelt, fireside chat, Dec 29, 1940

965. I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat. —Sir Winston S. Churchill, speech in the House of Commons, May 13, 1940

966. We shall show mercy, but we shall not ask for it. —Sir Winston S. Churchill, speech in the House of Commons, Jul 14, 1940

967. Let us ... brace ourselves to our duties, and so bear ourselves that if the British Empire and its Commonwealth last for a thousand years, men will still say: "This was their finest hour." —Sir Winston S. Churchill, speech in the House of Commons, Jun 18, 1940

968. Eternal truths will be neither true nor eternal unless they have fresh meaning for every new social situation. —Franklin D. Roosevelt, speech at the Univ. of Pennsylvania, Sep 20, 1940

969. We shall not fail or falter; we shall not weaken or tire. ... Give us the tools and we will finish the job. —Sir Winston S. Churchill, BBC radio broadcast, Feb 9, 1941

970. When I warned them (the French government) that Britain would fight on alone whatever they did, their Generals told their Prime Minister and his divided Cabinet: "In three weeks England will have her neck wrung like a chicken." Some chicken! Some neck! —Sir Winston S. Churchill, speech to the Canadian parliament, Dec 30, 1941

971. Never give in, never give in, never, never, never, never,—in nothing, great or small, large or petty—never give in except to convictions of honor and good sense. —Sir Winston S. Churchill, address at Harrow School, Oct 29, 1941

972. This is one of those cases in which the imagination is baffled by the facts. —Sir Winston S. Churchill, remark in the House of Commons following the defection of Rudolf Hess, May 13, 1941

973. This is not the end. It is not even the beginning of the end. But it is, perhaps, the end of the beginning. —Sir Winston S. Churchill, speech in London following Montgomery's victory in North Africa, Nov 10, 1942

974. As always, victory finds a hundred fathers but defeat is an orphan. —Count Galeazzo Ciano, *The Ciano Diaries, 1939-1943*, Sep 9, 1942

975. I always avoid prophesying beforehand, because it is a much better policy to prophesy after the event has already taken place. —Sir Winston S. Churchill, press conference in Cairo, Feb 1, 1943

976. If this is a blessing, it is certainly very well disguised. —Sir Winston S. Churchill, remark to his wife following defeat in 1945 election, quoted, *Memoirs of Richard Nixon*, Jun 4, 1945

977. Every segment of our population, and every individual, has a right to expect from his government a Fair Deal. —Harry S Truman, speech to Congress, Sep 6, 1945

978. Any man's coward who won't die for what he believes. —Chester Bomar Himes, *If He Hollers Let Him Go*, 1945

979. These proceedings are closed. —Douglas MacArthur, on the signing of the Japanese surrender in Tokyo Bay, Sep 2, 1945

980. The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history. —Mao Tse-tung, "On Coalition Government", Apr 24, 1945

981. The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. —Franklin D. Roosevelt, message for Jefferson Day, Apr 13, 1945

982. All reactionaries are paper tigers. —Mao Tse-tung, "Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong", Aug, 1946

983. Let us not be deceived—we are today in the midst of a cold war. —Bernard Baruch, speech in Columbia, South Carolina, Apr 16, 1947

984. Non-violence is not a garment to be put on and off at will. Its seat is in the heart, and it must be an inseparable part of our very being. —Mohandas K. Gandhi, *Non-Violence in Peace and War*, 1948

985. I never did give anybody hell. I just told the truth, and they thought it was hell. —Harry S Truman, quoted, *Time*, Jun 9, 1975

986. Neither a man nor a crowd nor a nation can be trusted to act humanely or to think sanely under the influence of a great fear. —Bertrand Russell, "An Outline of Intellectual Rubbish", *Unpopular Essays*, 1950

987. If Hitler invaded hell I would make at least a favorable reference to the devil in the House of Commons. —Sir Winston S. Churchill, *The Second World War*, 1950

988. A grievance is most poignant when almost redressed. —Eric Hoffer, *The True Believer*, 1951

989. The world has turned over many times since I took the oath on the plain at West Point, and the hopes and dreams have long since vanished; but I still remember the refrain of one of the most popular barracks ballads of that day which proclaimed most proudly that old soldiers never die; they just fade away. And like the old soldier in that ballad, I now close my military career and just fade away, an old soldier who tried to do his duty as God gave him the sight to see that duty. —Douglas MacArthur, address to Congress, Apr 19, 1951

990. A nation without dregs and malcontents, is orderly, decent, peaceful and pleasant, but perhaps without the seed of things to come. —Eric Hoffer, *The True Believer*, 1951

991. For it is often easier to fight for principles than to live up to them. —Adlai E. Stevenson Jr., speech in New York City, Aug 27, 1952

992. Words calculated to catch everyone may catch no one. —Adlai E. Stevenson Jr., speech to Democratic National Convention, Chicago, Illinois, Jul 21, 1952

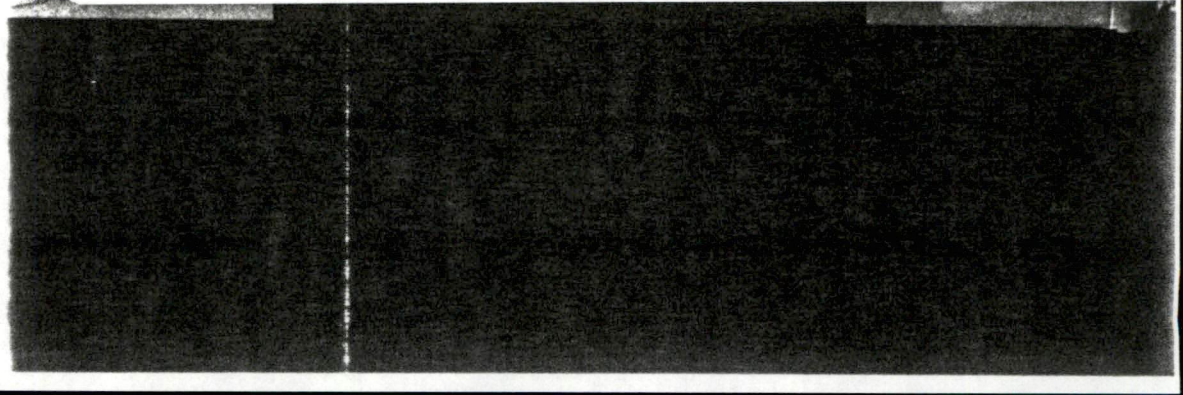
993. Nature is neutral. Man has wrested from nature the power to make the world a desert or to make the deserts bloom. There is no evil in the atom; only in men's souls. —Adlai E. Stevenson Jr., speech in Hartford, Connecticut, Sep 18, 1952

994. The general has dedicated himself so many times, he must feel like the cornerstone of a public building. —Adlai E. Stevenson Jr., on Dwight D. Eisenhower, *The New York Times*, Nov, 1952

995. Let's talk sense to the American people. Let's tell them the truth, that there are no gains without pains. —Adlai E. Stevenson Jr., acceptance speech as Democratic nominee for president, Jul 26, 1952

996. No people on earth can be held, as a people, to be an enemy, for all humanity shares the common hunger for peace and fellowship and justice. —Dwight D. Eisenhower, address to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Apr 16, 1953

997. For myself I am an optimist—it does not seem to be much use being anything else. —Sir Winston S. Churchill, speech at the Lord Mayor's banquet, London, Nov 9, 1954



1182. Freedom from something is not enough. It should also be freedom for something. Freedom is not safety but opportunity. Freedom ought to be a means to enable the press to serve the proper functions of communication in a free society. —Zechariah Chaffee Jr., "The Press Under Pressure", *Nieman Reports*, Apr, 1948

1183. A politician wouldn't dream of being allowed to call a columnist the things a columnist is allowed to call a politician. —Max Lerner, "Love and Hate in Politics", *Actions and Passions*, 1949

1184. Freedom of the press is not an end in itself but a means to the end of a free society. —Felix Frankfurter, *The New York Times*, Nov 28, 1954

1185. Whenever the press quits abusing me I know I'm in the wrong pew. I don't mind it because when they throw bricks at me—I'm a pretty good shot myself and I usually throw 'em back at 'em. —Harry S Truman, speech in Washington, D.C., Feb 22, 1958

1186. A free press can of course be good or bad, but, most certainly, without freedom it will never be anything but bad. ... Freedom is nothing else but a chance to be better, whereas enslavement is a certainty of the worse. —Albert Camus, *Resistance, Rebellion, and Death*, 1960

1187. Responsible journalism is journalism responsible in the last analysis to the editor's own conviction of what, whether interesting or only important, is in the public interest. —Walter Lippmann, speech at the International Press Institute Assemby, London, May 27, 1965

1188. Without criticism and reliable and intelligent reporting, the government cannot govern. —Walter Lippmann, speech at the International Press Institute Assembly, London, May 24, 1965

1189. Paramount among the responsibilities of a free press is the duty to prevent any part of the government from deceiving the people and sending them off to distant lands to die of foreign fevers and foreign shot and shell. —Hugo L. Black, concurring opinion, Pentagon Papers case, *New York Times Co. v. U.S.; U.S. v. The Washington Post*, Jun 30, 1971

1190. In revealing the workings of government that led to the Vietnam War, the newspapers nobly did precisely that which the Founders hoped and trusted they would do. —Hugo L. Black, concurring opinion, Pentagon Papers case, *New York Times Co. v. U.S.; U.S. v. The Washington Post*, Jun 30, 1971

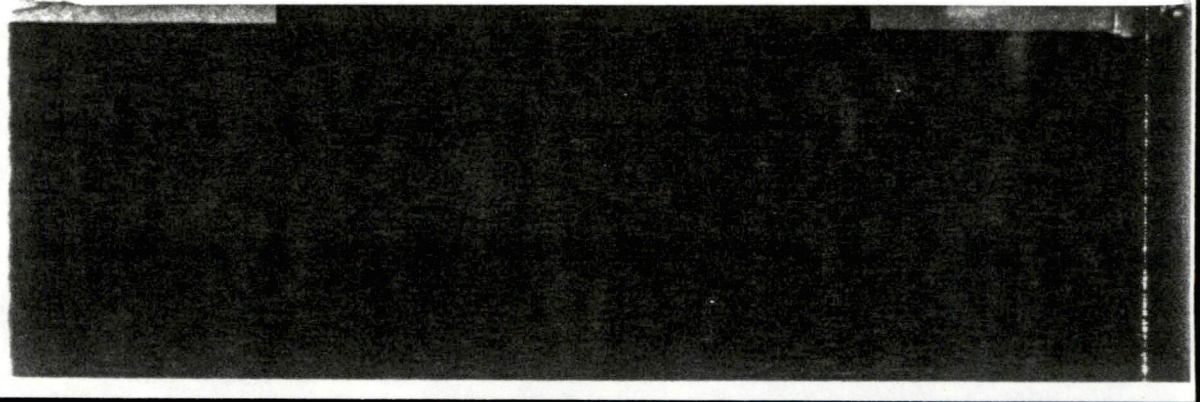
1191. In my view, far from deserving condemnation for their courageous reporting, the New York Times, the Washington Post and other newspapers should be commended for serving the purpose that the Founding Fathers saw so clearly. —Hugo L. Black, concurring opinion, Pentagon Papers case, *New York Times Co. v. U.S.; U.S. v. The Washington Post*, Jun 30, 1971

1192. I'm convinced that if reporters should ever lose the right to protect the confidentiality of their sources then serious investigative reporting will simply dry up. The kind of resourceful, probing journalism that first exposed most of the serious scandals, corruption and injustice in our nation's history would simply disappear. —Nelson A. Rockefeller, speech in Syracuse, New York, Nov 29, 1972

1193. When a person goes to a country and finds their newspapers filled with nothing but good news, he can bet there are good men in jail. —Daniel P. Moynihan, *University Daily Kansan*, Feb 16, 1977

1194. Freedom of the press belongs to those who own one. —A.J. Liebling, *American Film*, Jul/Aug, 1978

1195. The First Amendment gives newspapermen a status and a mandate, an honored place in society, that cannot be matched in England, much less on the European continent. It is peculiarly American. I feel as though I survived an Ice Age and helped to keep this heritage intact. —I.F. Stone, *Chicago Tribune*, Jan 26, 1978



1643. The friendships of nations, built on common interests, cannot survive the mutability of those interests. —Agnes Repplier, "Allies", *Under Dispute*, 1924

1644. The foreign policy of America can best be described by one word—peace. —Calvin Coolidge, acceptance speech as Republican nominee for president, Aug 14, 1924

1645. Our foreign policy has one primary object, and that is peace. —Herbert Hoover, speech at Palo Alto, California, Aug 11, 1928

1646. We never lost a war and we never won a conference in our lives. I believe that we could without any degree of egotism, single-handed lick any nation in the world. But we can't confer with Costa Rica and come home with our shirts on. —Will Rogers, quoted by Paula McSpadden Love, *The Will Rogers Book*, 1972

1647. Diplomacy is to do and say the nastiest thing in the nicest way. —Isaac Goldberg, *The Reflex*, 1930

1648. If our civilization is to be perpetuated, the great causes of world peace, world disarmament and world recovery must prevail. They cannot prevail until a path to their attainment is built upon honest friendship, mutual confidence, and proper co-operation among the nations. —Herbert Hoover, statement to the press, Nov 23, 1932

1649. In the field of foreign policy I would dedicate this nation to the policy of the good neighbor. —Franklin D. Roosevelt, acceptance speech as the Democratic nominee for president, Jul 2, 1932

1650. I have always said that a conference was held for one reason only, to give everybody a chance to get sore at everybody else. Sometimes it takes two or three conferences to scare up a war, but generally one will do it. —Will Rogers, syndicated column, *The New York Times*, Jul 6, 1933

1651. Time is the very material commodity which the Foreign Office is expected to provide in the same way as other departments provide other war material. —Robert, 1st Baron Vansittart, memorandum, Dec 31, 1936

1652. Outside the kingdom of the Lord there is no nation which is greater than any other. God and history will remember your judgment. —Haile Selassie, speech at the League of Nations, 1936

1653. Much of what Mr. Wallace calls his global thinking is, no matter how you slice it, still globaloney. Mr. Wallace's warp of sense and his woof of nonsense is very tricky cloth out of which to cut the pattern of a postwar world. —Clare Boothe Luce, speech to the House of Representatives, Feb, 1943

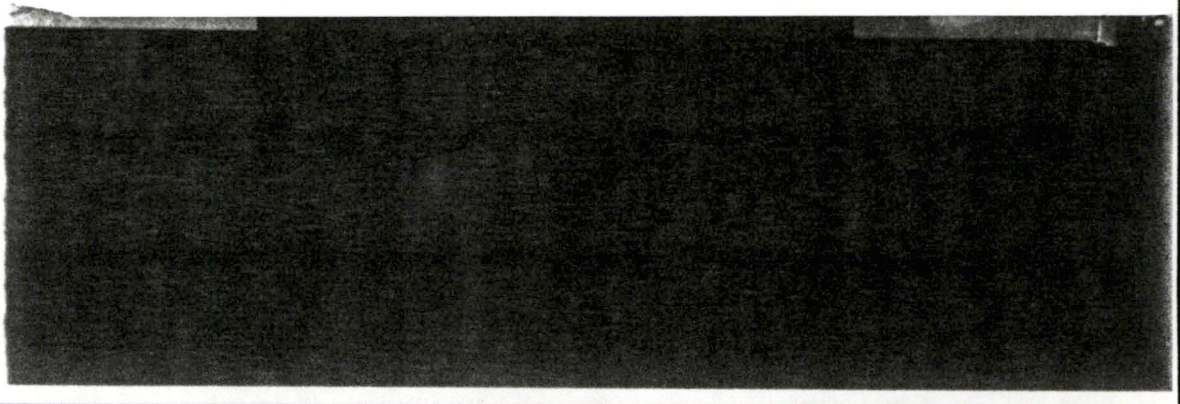
1654. In foreign relations, as in all other relations, a policy has been formed only when commitments and power have been brought into balance. —Walter Lippmann, *U.S. Foreign Policy*, 1943

1655. There is nothing more likely to start disagreement among people or countries than an agreement. —E.B. White, "My Day", *One Man's Meat*, 1944

1656. When Kansas and Colorado have a quarrel over the water in the Arkansas River they don't call out the National Guard in each state and go to war over it. They bring a suit in the Supreme Court of the United States and abide by the decision. There isn't a reason in the world why we cannot do that internationally. —Harry S Truman, speech in Kansas City, Missouri, Apr, 1945

1657. My (foreign) policy is to be able to take a ticket at Victoria Station and go anywhere I damn well please. —Ernest Bevin, *The Spectator*, Apr 20, 1951

1658. Foreign policy must be clear, consistent and confident. —Dwight D. Eisenhower, State of the Union message, Feb 2, 1953



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S., A Growing Military Partnership",

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Of Judicature", *Essays*, 1625

fession is to discern it. There are some
Le devoir des juges est de rendre justice;
oir, et font leur métier.] —Jean de La

1725. We must not regard political consequences, however formidable they may be; if rebellion was the certain consequence, we are bound to say, "Justitia fiat, ruat coelum" ("Let justice be done, though the sky falls"). —1st Earl of Mansfield, (William Murray), trial of John Wilkes to appeal his earlier conviction for non-appearance, 1768

1726. It is emphatically the province and duty of the judicial department to say what the law is. ... If two laws conflict with each other, the courts must decide on the operation of each. ... This is the very essence of judicial duty. —John Marshall, *Marbury v. Madison*, 1803

1727. The judiciary of the United States is the subtle corps of sappers and miners constantly working under ground to undermine the founda tions of our confederated fabric. ... A judiciary independent of a king or executive alone, is a good thing; but independent of the will of the nation is a solecism, at least in a republican government. —Thomas Jefferson, letter to Thomas Ritchie, Dec 25, 1820

1728. It is a very dangerous doctrine to consider the judges as the ultimate arbiters of all constitutional questions. It is one which would place us under the despotism of an oligarchy. —Thomas Jefferson, letter to W.C. Jarvis, Sep 28, 1820

1729. There is hardly a political question in the United States which does not sooner or later turn into a judicial one. [*Il n'est presque pas de question politique, aux Etats-Unis, qui ne se résolve tôt ou tard en question judiciaire.*] —Alexis, Comte de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 1835

1730. No matter whether th' constitution follows th' flag or not, th' supreme coort follows th' iliction returns. —Finley Peter Dunne, "The Supreme Court's Decisions", *Mr. Dooley's Opinions*, 1901

1731. We are under a Constitution, but the Constitution is what the judges say it is, and the judiciary is the safeguard of our liberty and of our property under the Constitution. —Charles Evans Hughes, speech to the Elmira, New York, Chamber of Commerce, May 3, 1907

1732. But even judges sometimes progress. —Emma Goldman, "The Social Aspects of Birth Control", *Mother Earth*, Apr, 1916

1733. What five members of the Supreme Court say the law is may be something vastly different from what Congress intended the law to be. —Benjamin F. Fairless, speech in Boston, Massachusetts, May 18, 1950

1734. We do not sit as a superlegislature to weigh the wisdom of legislation. —William O. Douglas, majority opinion, *Day-Brite Lighting, Inc. v. Missouri*, Mar 3, 1952

1735. We are not unaware that we are not final because we are infallible; we know that we are infallible only because we are final. —Robert H. Jackson, concurring opinion, Feb 9, 1953

1736. Whenever you put a man on the Supreme Court he ceases to be your friend. —Harry S Truman, recalled on his 75th birthday, *The New York Times*, May 8, 1959

1737. As a member of this court I am not justified in writing my private notions of policy into the Constitution, no matter how deeply I may cherish them or how mischievous I may deem their disregard. —Felix Frankfurter, *The New York Times*, Aug 9, 1964

1738. Our chief justices have probably had more profound and lasting influence on their times and on the direction of the nation than most presidents. —Richard M. Nixon, on appointment of chief justice Warren Burger, May 21, 1969

1739. You sit up there, and you see the whole gamut of human nature. Even if the case being argued involves only a little fellow and $50, it involves justice. That's what is important. —Earl Warren, recalled on his death, *Time*, Jul 22, 1974

2140. Take calculated risks. That is quite different from being rash. —George S. Patton, letter to Cadet George S. Patton, Jr., Jun 6, 1944

2141. We may make mistakes—but they must never be mistakes which result from faintness of heart or abandonment of moral principle. —Franklin D. Roosevelt, fourth inaugural address, Jan 20, 1945

2142. The final test of a leader is that he leaves behind him in other men the conviction and the will to carry on. —Walter Lippmann, "Roosevelt Has Gone", *New York Herald Tribune*, Apr 14, 1945

2143. Men prominent in life are mostly hard to converse with. They lack small-talk, and at the same time one doesn't like to confront them with their own great themes. —Sir Max Beerbohm, "T. Fenning Dodworth", *Mainly on the Air*, 1946

2144. You know, the greatest epitaph in the country is here in Arizona. It's in Tombstone, Ariz., and this epitaph says, "Here lies Jack Williams. He done his damndest." I think that is the greatest epitaph a man could have. Whenever a man does the best he can, then that is all he can do; and that is what your President has been trying to do for the last 3 years for this country. —Harry S Truman, remarks in Winslow, Arizona, Jun 15, 1948

2145. We believe in equal opportunity for all, but we know that this includes the opportunity to rise to leadership, to be uncommon! The great human advances have not been brought about by mediocre men and women. —Herbert Hoover, remarks, Nov 11, 1948

2146. You know what makes leadership? It is the ability to get men to do what they don't want to do, and like it. —Harry S Truman, quoted, *Time*, Nov 8, 1976

2147. We need supermen to rule us—the job is so vast and the need for wise judgment is so urgent. But, alas, there are no supermen. —Brooks Atkinson, "January 27", *Once Around the Sun*, 1951

2148. I distrust Great Men. They produce a desert of uniformity around them and often a pool of blood too, and I always feel a little man's pleasure when they come a cropper. —E.M. Forster, "What I Believe", *Two Cheers for Democracy*, 1951

2149. The first function of a political leader is advocacy. It is he who must make articulate the wants, the frustration, and the aspiration of the masses. —Aneurin Bevan, *In Place of Fear*, 1952

2150. There is nothing more agreeable in this life than to make peace with the Establishment—and nothing more corrupting. —A.J.P. Taylor, "William Cobbett", *New Statesman*, 1953

2151. This Republic was not established by cowards; and cowards will not preserve it. —Elmer Davis, *But We Were Born Free*, 1954

2152. A great man's greatest good luck is to die at the right time. —Eric Hoffer, *The Passionate State of Mind*, 1954

2153. We will not be driven by fear into an age of unreason if we ... remember that we are not descended from fearful men, not from men who feared to write, to speak, to associate and to defend causes which were, for the moment unpopular. —Edward R. Murrow, "See It Now" television broadcast, Mar 7, 1954

2154. In the face of great danger, salvation can only come through greatness. [*Face aux grands périls, le salut n'est que la grandeur.*] —Charles De Gaulle, *Mémoires de guerre: L'Appel*, 1955

2155. The leader is always alone in times of doom. [*Toujours, le Chef est seul en face du mauvais destin.*] —Charles De Gaulle, *Mémoires de guerre: L'Appel*, 1955

2156. Old age is a shipwreck. [*La vieillesse est un naufrage.*] —Charles De Gaulle, *Mémoires de guerre: L'Appel*, 1955

n being rash. —George S. Patton, letter

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D. Roosevelt, fourth inaugural address,

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Toujours, le Chef est seul en face du
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age.] —Charles De Gaulle, *Mémoires*

2157. I spoke. I had to. It is action that puts fervor to work. But it is words that create it. [*Je parle. Il le faut bien. L'action met les ardeurs en oeuvre. Mais c'est la parole qui les suscite.*] —Charles De Gaulle, *Mémoires de guerre: L'Appel*, 1955

2158. To act coolly, intelligently and prudently in perilous circumstances is the test of a man—and also a nation. —Adlai E. Stevenson Jr., *The New York Times*, Apr 11, 1955

2159. A decision is the action an executive must take when he has information so incomplete that the answer does not suggest itself. —Adm. Arthur W. Radford, *Time*, Feb 25, 1957

2160. The difference between being an elder statesman/ And posing successfully as an elder statesman/ Is practically negligible. —T.S. Eliot, *The Elder Statesman*, 1958

2161. At home, you always have to be a politician; when you're abroad, you almost feel yourself a statesman. —Harold Macmillan, *Look*, Apr 15, 1958

2162. Difficulty is the excuse history never accepts. —Edward R. Murrow, on President John F. Kennedy's inaugural address, Oct 19, 1959

2163. No one has a finer command of language than the person who keeps his mouth shut. —Sam Rayburn, quoted, *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, Aug 29, 1978

2164. Some men can make decisions and some cannot. Some men fret and delay under criticism. I used to have a saying that applies here, and I note that some people have picked it up, "If you can't stand the heat, get out of the kitchen." —Harry S Truman, *Mr. Citizen*, 1960

2165. Few great men could pass Personnel. —Paul Goodman, *Growing Up Absurd*, 1960

2166. As for me, I know only too well my limits and weaknesses, and I also know that no man can take the place of a whole people. That is why I wanted to inspire their souls with the conviction that filled me. [*Quant à moi, qui ne connais que trop mes limites et mon infirmité et qui sais bien qu'aucun homme ne peut se substituer à un peuple, comme je voudrais faire entrer dans les âmes la conviction qui m'anime!*] —Charles De Gaulle, *Mémoires de guerre: Le Salut*, 1960

2167. Keep strong, if possible. In any case, keep cool. Have unlimited patience. Never corner an opponent, and always assist him to save his face. Put yourself in his shoes—so as to see things through his eyes. Avoid self-righteousness like the devil— nothing so self-blinding. —Sir Basil Liddell Hart, *Deterrent or Defense: Advice to Statesmen*, 1960

2168. To say he (John F. Kennedy) would not make mistakes would be silly. Anyone would make mistakes with the problems that lie ahead of us. —Eleanor Roosevelt, letter to Peter Kamitchis, Oct 21, 1960

2169. You cannot be a leader, and ask other people to follow you, unless you know how to follow, too. —Sam Rayburn, attributed, *The Leadership of Sam Rayburn, Collected Tributes of His Colleagues*, 1961

2170. The modern world is not given to uncritical admiration. It expects its idols to have feet of clay, and can be reasonably sure that press and camera will report their exact dimensions. —Barbara Ward, *Saturday Review*, Sep 30, 1961

2171. If we are to regard ourselves as a grown-up nation—and anything else will henceforth be mortally dangerous—then we must, as the Biblical phrase goes, put away childish things; and among these childish things the first to go, in my opinion, should be self-idealization and the search for absolutes in world affairs: for absolute security, absolute amity, absolute harmony. —George F. Kennan, *Russia and the West under Lenin and Stalin*, 1961

2172. I am certain that after the dust of centuries has passed over our cities, we, too, will be remembered not for victories or defeats in battle or politics, but for our contribution to the human spirit. —John F. Kennedy, closed-circuit television broadcast, Nov 29, 1962

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ord Stanley, 1846

it and Parliamentary government. I say you
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ope, will keep it great. —Benjamin Disraeli,

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tionary, 1849

this country. —Stephen A. Douglas, speech

of progress or reform, are both necessary
Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, 1859

raeli, speech in Oxford, England, Nov 25,

system that parties are formed more with
the controversies which these parties have
e Coming Session", *Quarterly Review*, Jan,

nd to educate—if it be not arrogant to use
arty, and requires its attention to be called
nin Disraeli, speech in Edinburgh, Scotland

e very notion of repose must be foreign to
this country. —3rd Marquess of Salisbury,
Review, Oct, 1871

ry best. —Rutherford B. Hayes, inaugural

—James A. Garfield, speech to the House

the entire country was going to help both
ion of one great nation. —Ulysses S. Grant,

ssible unless it be a working man's party.
our Standard, Jul 23, 1881

s does contrive/ That every boy and gal,/
iberal/ Or else a little Conservative! —Sir

Right, if you stick to it when it does wrong.

less personal passion and more passion for
sons ... but in fighting things. —Woodrow
, 1912

2489. I thank God that we have lived to see a time when men are beginning to reason upon the facts and not upon party tradition. I believe in party tradition, but ... only as it is founded upon eternal principles of justice. —Woodrow Wilson, speech at Williams Grove, Pennsylvania, Aug 29, 1912

2490. The success of a party means little except when the Nation is using the party for a large and definite purpose. —Woodrow Wilson, first inaugural address, Mar 4, 1913

2491. What difference does party make when mankind is involved? —Woodrow Wilson, speech in Richmond, Indiana, Sep 4, 1919

2492. The more you read and observe about this Politics thing, you got to admit that each party is worse than the other. The one that's out always looks the best. —Will Rogers, "Breaking into the Writing Game", *The Illiterate Digest*, 1924

2493. It's a damned good thing to remember in politics to stick to your party and never attempt to buy the favor of your enemies at the expense of your friends. —Joseph G. Cannon, attributed by L. White Busby, *Uncle Joe Cannon*, 1927

2494. To prevent resentment, governments attribute misfortunes to natural causes; to create resentment oppositions attribute them to human causes. —Bertrand Russell, "Freedom in Society", *Skeptical Essays*, 1928

2495. Talk is nauseous without practice. Who will believe that the Labour Party means business so long as some of its stalwarts sit up and beg for sugar-plums, like poodles in a drawing-room. ... To kick over an idol, you must first get off your knees. —Richard Tawney, quoted, *The Guardian*, 1934

2496. This is the most important lesson that a man can learn, that opinions are nothing but the mere result of chance and temperament; that no party is on the whole better than another. —Stanley Baldwin, quoted by K. Middlemas and J. Barnes, *Baldwin*, 1970

2497. The American people are quite competent to judge a political party that works both sides of a street. —Franklin D. Roosevelt, campaign speech in Boston, Nov 4, 1944

2498. Political language—and with variations this is true of all political parties, from Conservatives to Anarchists—is designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable. —George Orwell, "Politics and the English Language", *Shooting an Elephant*, 1950

2499. Even more important than winning the election is governing the nation. That is the test of a political party—the acid, final test. —Adlai E. Stevenson Jr., acceptance speech as Democratic candidate for president, Jul 26, 1952

2500. Under democracy one party always devotes its chief energies to trying to prove that the other party is unfit to rule—and both commonly succeed, and are right. —H.L. Mencken, *Minority Report*, 1956

2501. When the Tories are in trouble, they bunch together and cogger up. When we (Labor) get into trouble, we start blaming each other and rushing to the press to tell them all the terrible things that somebody else has done. —Richard Crossman, *Diary*, May 8, 1956

2502. To me, party platforms are contracts with the people. —Harry S Truman, *Memoirs*, 1955-56

2503. In our (British) traditional cricket match the parties are strong and the best team wins; in the strip poker of American politics, the parties are weak and the best man wins. —Richard Crossman, "Roosevelt--Warts and All", *New Statesman*, 1957

2504. Let us not seek the Republican answer or the Democratic answer, but the right answer. —John F. Kennedy, speech in Baltimore, Maryland, Feb 18, 1958

2604. The kind of thing I'm good at is knowing every politician in the state and remembering where he itches. —Earl Long, quoted, *New Yorker*, Jun 4, 1960

2605. One of the difficulties of politics is that politicians are shocked by those who are really prepared to let their thinking reach any conclusion. Political thinking consists in deciding upon the conclusion first and then finding good arguments for it. An open mind is considered irresponsible—and perhaps it really is. —Richard Crossman, *Diary*, Nov 13, 1951

2606. I will undoubtedly have to seek what is happily known as gainful employment, which I am glad to say does not describe holding public office. —Dean Acheson, on retiring to private life, *Time*, Dec 22, 1952

2607. Your public servants serve you right; indeed often they serve you better than your apathy and indifference deserve. —Adlai E. Stevenson Jr., speech in Los Angeles, California, Sep 11, 1952

2608. Successful democratic politicians are insecure and intimidated men. They advance politically only as they placate, appease, bribe, seduce, bamboozle, or otherwise manage to manipulate the demanding and threatening elements in their constituencies. —Walter Lippmann, *The Public Philosophy*, 1955

2609. There is no such thing as a nonpolitical speech by a politician. —Richard M. Nixon, speech in New York City, Sep 14, 1955

2610. In government offices which are sensitive to the vehemence and passion of mass sentiment public men have no sure tenure. They are in effect perpetual office seekers, always on trial for their political lives, always required to court their restless constitu ents. —Walter Lippmann, *The Public Philosophy*, 1955

2611. "Don't teach my boy poetry," an English mother recently wrote the Provost of Harrow. " Don't teach my boy poetry; he is going to stand for Parliament." Well, perhaps she was right—but if more politicians knew poetry, and more poets knew politics, I am convinced the world would be a little better place to live on this Commencement Day of 1956. —John F. Kennedy, speech to the Harvard Alumni Association, Jun 14, 1956

2612. When I hear a man applauded by the mob I always feel a pang of pity for him. All he has to do to be hissed is to live long enough. —H.L. Mencken, *Minority Report*, 1956

2613. A good politician with nerve and a program that is right can win in the face of the stiffest opposition. —Harry S Truman, *Memoirs*, 1955-56

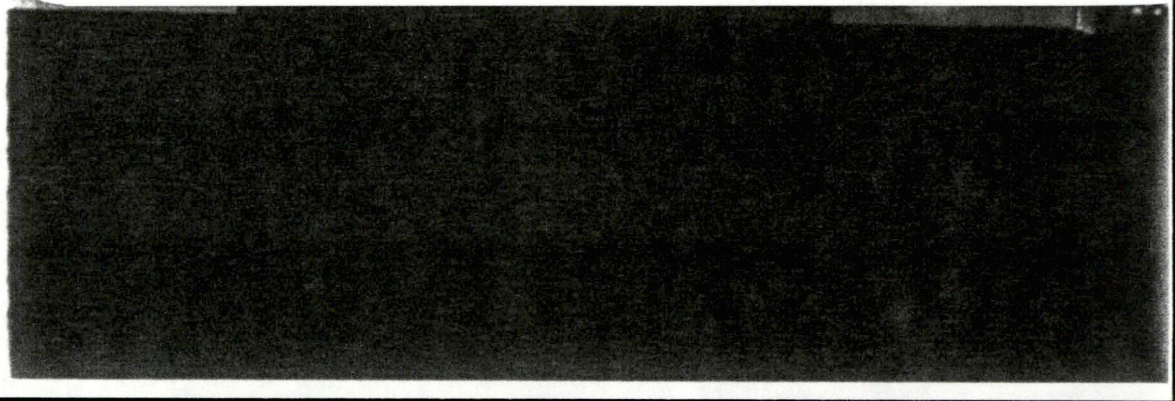
2614. The distinction between a statesman and a politician is that the former imposes his will and his ideas on his environment while the latter adapts himself to it. —Richard Crossman, "Roosevelt--Warts and All", *New Statesman*, 1957

2615. A politician is a man who understands government, and it takes a politician to run a government. A statesman is a politician who's been dead 10 or 15 years. —Harry S Truman, *New York World Telegram & Sun*, Apr 12, 1958

2616. A candidate for office can have no greater advantage than muddled syntax; no greater liability than a command of language. —Marya Mannes, *More in Anger*, 1958

2617. McCarthy invented the multi Lie—the lie with so many tiny gears and fragile connecting rods that reason exhausted itself in the effort to combat it. —Richard H. Rovere, "The Frivolous Demagogue", *Esquire*, Jun, 1958

2618. The politician is ... trained in the art of inexactitude. His words tend to be blunt or rounded, because if they have a cutting edge they may later return to wound him. —Edward R. Murrow, speech at Guildhall in London, Oct 19, 1959



2637. In Pierre Elliott Trudeau Canada has at last produced a political leader worthy of assassination. —Irving Layton, "Obo II", *The Whole Bloody Bird*, 1969

2638. Some members of congress are the best actors in the world. —Shirley Chisholm, *Unbought and Unbossed*, 1970

2639. I remember when I first came to Washington. For the first six months you wonder how the hell you ever got here. For the next six months you wonder how the hell the rest of them ever got here. —Harry S Truman, recalled on his death, Dec 26, 1972

2640. Reading about one's failings in the daily papers is one of the privileges of high office in this free country of ours. —Nelson A. Rockefeller, speech in Syracuse, New York, Nov 29, 1972

2641. Before you can become a statesman you first have to get elected, and to get elected you have to be a politician pledging support for what the voters want. —Margaret Chase Smith, *Declaration of Conscience*, 1972

2642. A passion for politics stems usually from an insatiable need, either for power, or for friendship and adulation, or a combination of both. —Fawn M. Brodie, *Thomas Jefferson*, 1974

2643. A politician ought to be born a foundling and remain a bachelor. —Claudia ("Lady Bird") Johnson, *Time*, Dec 1, 1975

2644. Most politicians have a right to feel morally superior to their constituencies. —Daniel P. Moynihan, *Rolling Stone*, Aug 12, 1976

2645. A boss is a political leader who is on somebody else's side. —Morris K. Udall, "Issues and Answers," ABC-TV, Apr 25, 1976

2646. The main essentials of a successful prime minister (are) sleep and a sense of history. —Harold Wilson, *The Government of Britain*, 1977

2647. Every public official should be recycled occasionally. —John V. Lindsay, *Chicago Tribune*, Jan 22, 1978

2648. Everybody in government is like a bunch of ants on a log floating down a river. Each one thinks he is guiding the log, but it's really just going with the flow. —Robert S. Strauss, *Time*, Apr 17, 1978

2649. I'd rather keep my promises to other politicians than to God. God, at least, has a degree of forgiveness. —Anonymous, *Washington Post*, Jun 9, 1978

2650. Politicians fascinate because they constitute such a paradox: they are an elite that accomplishes mediocrity for the public good. —Garry Wills, *Time*, Apr 23, 1979

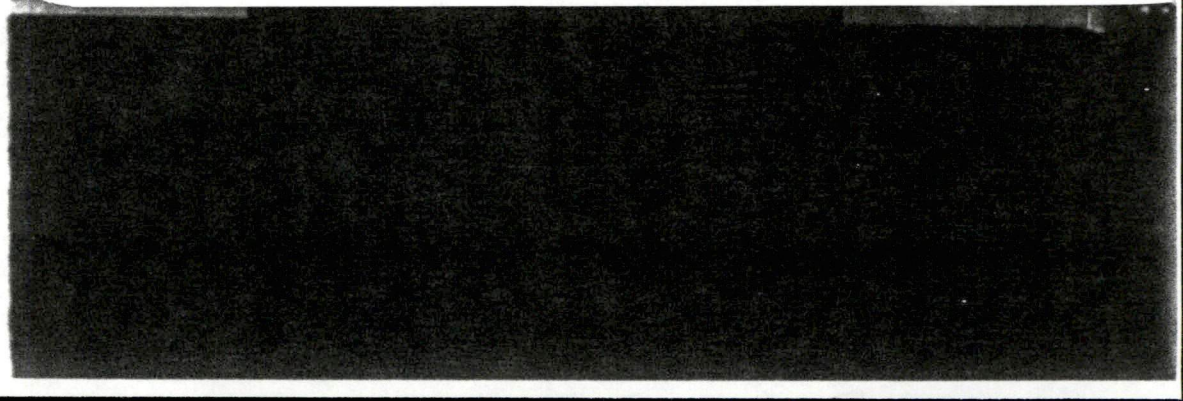
2651. The politician who will refuse the Foreign Office is not yet born. —Michael Stewart, *Life and Labour*, 1980

2652. A populist politician is a politician who says things because he believes them to be popular. At least that is my understanding of the term. I have never been that. My worst enemies couldn't say that. —Enoch Powell, *The Listener*, May 28, 1981

2653. Most politicians will not stick their necks out unless they sense grass-roots support. ... Neither you nor I should expect someone else to take our responsibility. If we remain passive, they will surely win. —Katharine Hepburn, fundraising letter for the Planned Parenthood Federation, Nov, 1981

2654. The curious fascination in this job is the illusion that either you are being useful or you could be - and that's so tempting. —Millicent Fenwick, "Sixty Minutes," CBS-TV, Feb 1, 1981

2655. The only people who say worse things about politicians than reporters do are other politicians. —Andy Rooney, "60 Minutes," CBS-TV, Oct 7, 1984



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after a numeral, to multiply whatever
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iet. —"Kin" Hubbard, *Abe Martin's*

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). Roosevelt, speech in Winter Park,

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g, 1939

ıses and oppose whatever the enemy
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old age, including deafness. [*Una classe compresa la sordità.*] —Ignazio Silone,

paces of history; at its critical turning
ıt the end justifies the means. —Arthur

ırt ... all politics seem like provincial
en Spender, "A Look at the Worst",

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g part in affairs which properly concern

ısed to the attribution of false motives.
ecorded in Harold Nicolson, *Diary*, Jul

and why. —Sidney Hillman, *Political*

2763. In politics, as in other things, there is no such thing as one getting something for nothing. The payoff may involve compromises of various types that may strike at the ideals and principles one has held dear all his life. —A. Philip Randolph, "Why I Can't Run for Congress on the Old Party Ticket", *The Call*, Apr 28, 1944

2764. Power politics is the diplomatic name for the law of the jungle. —Ely Culbertson, *Must We Fight Russia?*, 1946

2765. When I am abroad, I always make it a rule never to criticize or attack the government of my own country. I make up for lost time when I come home. —Sir Winston S. Churchill, speech in the House of Commons, Apr, 1947

2766. If you ever injected truth into politics you have no politics. —Will Rogers, *The Autobiography of Will Rogers*, 1949

2767. In our time, political speech and writing are largely the defense of the indefensible. —George Orwell, "Politics and the English Language", *Shooting an Elephant*, 1950

2768. People who think the mighty in Washington can be persuaded, or corrupted, if you will, by anything less than votes just don't understand what it's all about and never will. They don't know what Washington juice is made of. —George E. Allen, *Presidents Who Have Known Me*, 1950

2769. Honest difference of views and honest debate are not disunity. They are the vital process of policy among free men. —Herbert Hoover, speech in New York City, Dec 20, 1950

2770. Power-worship blurs political judgment because it leads, almost unavoidably, to the belief that present trends will continue. Whoever is winning at the moment will always seem to be invincible. —George Orwell, "Second Thoughts on James Burnham", *Shooting an Elephant*, 1950

2771. What is politics but persuading the public to vote for this and support that and endure these for the promise of those? —Gilbert Highet, "The Art of Persuasion", *Vogue*, Jan 1951

2772. Why is it that when political ammunition runs low, inevitably the rusty artillery of abuse is always wheeled into action? —Adlai E. Stevenson Jr., speech in New York City, Sep 22, 1952

2773. Our American political situation is about the same from generation to generation. The main difficulty is that the rising generation never knows about the acts of the previous one—most people think it too much trouble to find out. —Harry S Truman, quoted by William Hillman, *Mr. President*, 1952

2774. "How can you think of voting for my opponent?" I exhorted. ... "Surely you remember all these things I have done for you?" "Yeah," he said, "I remember. But what in hell have you done for me lately?" —Alben W. Barkley, *That Reminds Me*, 1954

2775. Politics is perhaps the only profession for which no preparation is thought necessary. —Robert Louis Stevenson, quoted, *Rocky Mountain News*, Sep 3, 1979

2776. I don't think ideas are incompatible with political reality. —Adlai E. Stevenson III, *Time*, Feb 26, 1979

2777. Good government cannot exist side by side with bad politics: the best government is the best politics. —Adlai E. Stevenson Jr., quoted, *Kansas City Star*, Jan 30, 1977

2778. Defeat in itself was part and parcel of the great gambling game of politics. A man who could not accept it and try again was not of the stuff of which leaders are made. —Agnes Sligh Turnbull, *The Golden Journey*, 1955

2779. The older you get the more you realize that gray isn't such a bad color. And in politics you work with it or you don't work at all. —Agnes Sligh Turnbull, *The Golden Journey*, 1955

2816. We are not a cynical people. The will to believe lingers on. We like to think that heroes can emerge from obscurity, as they sometimes do; that elections do matter, even though the process is at least part hokum: that through politics we can change our society and maybe even find a cause to believe in. —Ronald Steel, "The Vanishing Campaign Biography", *The New York Times*, Aug 5, 1984

2817. He (Dwight Eisenhower) wasn't used to being criticized, and he never did get it through his head that's what politics is all about. He was used to getting his ass kissed. —Harry S Truman, quoted on President Dwight D. Eisenhower, *The New York Times*, Dec 2, 1984

2818. In writing and politicking, it's best not to think about it, just do it. —Gore Vidal, quoted, *A Guide to the 99th Congress*, 1985

2819. Nothing is so admirable in politics as a short memory. —John Kenneth Galbraith, quoted, *A Guide to the 99th Congress*, 1985

2820. Die-hard conservatives thought that if I couldn't get everything I asked for, I would jump off the cliff with the flag flying—go down in flames. No, if I can get 70 or 80 percent of what it is I'm trying to get ... I'll take that and then continue to try to get the rest in the future. —Ronald Reagan, *The New York Times*, Oct 6, 1985

2821. I seldom think of politics more than 18 hours a day. —Lyndon Baines Johnson, quoted, *A Guide to the 99th Congress*, 1985

2822. Politics in America is the binding secular religion. —Theodore H. White, *Time*, Dec 29, 1986

2823. I always cheer up immensely if an attack is particularly wounding because I think, well, if they attack one personally, it means they have not a single political argument left. —Margaret Thatcher, *Daily Telegraph*, Mar 21, 1986

2824. Nothing ever gets settled in this town (Washington) ... a seething debating society in which the debate never stops, in which people never give up, including me. And so that's the atmosphere in which you administer. —George P. Shultz, *The New York Times*, Dec 9, 1986

2825. Politics, where fat, bald, disagreeable men, unable to be candidates themselves, teach a president how to act on a public stage. —Jimmy Breslin, *Table Money*, 1986

2826. The price of running for the Senate today is spending more time than you'd like to spend asking people for more money than they'd like to give. —Harriett Woods, quoted by Steven V. Roberts in "Politicking Goes High-Tech", *The New York Times*, Nov 2, 1986

2827. Although he's regularly asked to do so, God does not take sides in American politics. —George J. Mitchell, at Iran-Contra hearings, Jul 13, 1987

2828. My opponent called me a cream puff. ... Well, I rushed out and got the baker's union to endorse me. —Claiborne Pell, *The New York Times*, Feb 3, 1987

2829. Decide on some imperfect Somebody and you will win, because the truest truism in politics is: You can't beat Somebody with Nobody. —William Safire, "The Perfect Candidate", *The New York Times*, Apr 16, 1987

2830. A man can take a little bourbon without getting drunk, but if you hold his mouth open an pour in a quart, he's going to get sick on it. —Lyndon Baines Johnson, quoted, *People*, Feb 2, 1987

2831. The American people didn't send us here (Washington, D.C.) to bicker. —George Bush, address to Congress, Feb 9, 1989

2979. My God, this is a hell of a job! I have no trouble with my enemies. I can take care of them right now. But my damn friends, my god-damn friends, White, they're the ones that keep me walking the floor nights! —Warren G. Harding, quoted by William Allen White, *Autiobiography*, 1946

2980. In America any boy may become President and I suppose it's just one of the risks he takes. —Adlai E. Stevenson Jr., speech in Indianapolis, Indiana, Sep 26, 1952

2981. You know how it is in an election year. They pick a president and then for four years they pick on him. —Adlai R. Stevenson Jr., speech, Aug 28, 1952

2982. Any man who has had the job I've had and didn't have a sense of humor wouldn't still be here. —Harry S Truman, *The New York Times*, Apr 19, 1955

2983. The President is the only lobbyist that one hundred and fifty million americans have. The other twenty million are able to employ people to represent them—and that's all right, it's the exercise of the right of petition—but someone has to look out after the interests of the one hundred and fifty million that are left. —Harry S Truman, speech in San Francisco, California, Oct 25, 1956

2984. Most of the problems a President has to face have their roots in the past. —Harry S Truman, *Memoirs*, 1955-56

2985. The official position of the United States ... is defined by decisions and declarations of the President. There can be only one voice in stating the position of this country in the field of foreign relations. This is of fundamental constitutional significance. —Harry S Truman, *Memoirs*, 1955-56

2986. To be President of the United States is to be lonely, very lonely at times of great decisions. —Harry S Truman, *Memoirs*, 1955-56

2987. Jefferson ... was a master politician, and this helped make him a great leader. A President has to be a politician in order to get the majority to go along with him on his program. —Harry S Truman, *Memoirs*, 1955-56

2988. A President needs political understanding to run the government, but he may be elected without it. —Harry S Truman, *Memoirs*, 1955-56

2989. A President cannot always be popular. —Harry S Truman, *Memoirs*, 1955-56

2990. This desk of mine is one at which a man may die, but from which he cannot resign. —Dwight D. Eisenhower, quoted by a friend, *Parade*, Feb 2, 1958

2991. Oh, that lovely title, ex-president. —Dwight D. Eisenhower, *The New York Post*, Oct 26, 1959

2992. The President is the representative of the whole nation and he's the only lobbyist that all the 160 million people in this country have. —Harry S Truman, lecture at Columbia Univ., Apr 27, 1959

2993. He'll (Dwight D. Eisenhower) sit here, and he'll say, "Do this! Do that!" And nothing will happen. Poor Ike—it won't be a bit like the Army. He'll find it very frustrating. —Harry S Truman, quoted by Richard E. Neustadt, *Presidential Power, the Politics of Leadership*, 1960

2994. The function and responsibility of the President is to set before the American people the unfinished business, the things we must do if we are going to succeed as a nation. —John F. Kennedy, campaign speech, Crestwood, Missouri, Oct 22, 1960

2995. Always be on time. Do as little talking as humanly possible. Remember to lean back in the parade car so everybody can see the president. Be sure not to get too fat, because you'll have to sit there in the back seat. —Eleanor Roosevelt, on campaign behavior for first ladies, *The New York Times*, Nov 11, 1962

3013. When people ask if the United States can afford to place on trial the president, if the system can stand impeachment, my answer is, "Can we stand anything else?" —George S. McGovern, on impeachment of Richard Nixon, *San Francisco Examiner*, Nov 29, 1973

3014. Being first lady is the hardest unpaid job in the world. —Pat Nixon, interview in Monrovia, Liberia, Mar 15, 1972

3015. The central question is simply put: What did the president know and when did he know it? —Howard H. Baker Jr., question to presidential counsel John Dean at the Watergate hearings, Jun 28, 1973

3016. When you get to be President, there are all those things, the honors, the twenty-one gun salutes, all those things. You have to remember it isn't for you. It's for the Presidency. —Harry S Truman, quoted by Merle Miller, *Plain Speaking: Conversations with Harry S Truman*, 1974

3017. I am acutely aware that you have not elected me as your president by your ballots, so I ask you to confirm me with your prayers. —Gerald R. Ford, on succeeding Richard Nixon as president, Aug 9, 1974

3018. I have never been a quitter. To leave office before my term is completed is opposed to every instinct in my body. But as president I must put the interests of America first. ... Therefore, I shall resign the presidency effective at noon tomorrow. —Richard M. Nixon, televised speech, Aug 8, 1974

3019. In all candor, the Court fails to perceive any reason for suspending the power of courts to get evidence and rule on questions of privilege in criminal matters simply because it is the president of the United States who holds the evidence. —John J. Sirica, ruling on obtaining Watergate tapes from President Nixon, *Christian Science Monitor*, Sep 15, 1974

3020. The president's need for complete candor and objectivity from advisers calls for great deference from the courts. However, when the privilege depends solely on the broad, undifferentiated claim of public interest in the confidentiality of such conversations, a confrontation with other values arises. —Warren E. Burger, unanimous opinion, *U.S. v. Nixon*, Jul 24, 1974

3021. You really have to experience the feeling of being with the president in the Oval Office....It's a disease I came to call Ovalitis. —John Dean, after conviction for his role in the Watergate coverup, Jan 1, 1975

3022. The Presidency is no place for on-the-job training. I've always advocated the politics of substance, not the politics of style. —Frank Church, *Encore American & Worldwide News*, Jun, 1976

3023. I think the President is the only person who can change the direction or attitude of our nation. —Jimmy Carter, *Encore American & Worldwide News*, Jun 21, 1976

3024. There is no inherent Constitutional authority for the President or any intelligence agency to violate the law. —Select Committee on Intelligence Oper. U.S. Senate, *The New York Times*, May 2, 1976

3025. I am against vice in every form, including the Vice Presidency. —Morris K. Udall, on being asked if he would accept vice presidential nomination, *The New York Times*, Apr 1, 1976

3026. When the President does it, that means that it is not illegal. —Richard M. Nixon, television interview with David Frost, May 19, 1977

3027. It isn't wisdom or intelligence that influences a President, it's opportunity. —Bill Moyers, *Newsweek*, Apr 17, 1978

3028. Old men running for the Presidency of the United States are like old men who take young brides. It's an exciting idea for a while but it seldom works. —James Reston, "Scotty", *The New York Times*, Jan 26, 1979

e of public opinion. [*Die Regierung muss der*
Count Adolf Heinrich Arnim-Boytzenburg,

l founded, cannot be safely disregarded.
t 16, 1854

with our own private opinion. What a man
r, indicates, his fate. —Henry David Thoreau,

hoever can change public opinion can change
am Lincoln, speech in Chicago, Illinois, Dec

g. —Abraham Lincoln, speech in Columbus,

e ist nicht die öffentliche Meinung.] —Prince
ber of Deputies, Sep 30, 1862

blic opinion is the one indispensable condition
gural address as president of Harvard Univ.,

gislature, and nearly as strong as the ten
eenth Week", *My Summer in a Garden*, 1871

nfidence, apprehension of censure by the press
Rutherford B. Hayes, *Diary*, Oct 22, 1876

ublic sentiment. —Benjamin Disraeli, speech,

nted "to take a bath in public opinion." I think
king. —James A. Garfield, letter to Burke A.

when roused harder still and more hopeless to
st Calder, Scotland, Apr 2, 1880

s and feeble men than public opinion. —Henry
1887

at water is to the wheel of the mill. —Henry
1887

rch this world knows. —Benjamin Harrison,

reverence. It settles everything. Some think it
e Opinions", *Europe and Elsewhere*, 1925

g than unwritten custom supported by popular
U.S. Senate hearing, Feb 13, 1900

laws or the laws themselves will be of no avail.
to Congress, Dec 3, 1907

e hot air blows. —O. Henry, (William Sydney
2

3064. Social movements are at once the symptoms and the instruments of progress. Ignore them and statesmanship is irrelevant; fail to use them and it is weak. —Walter Lippmann, "Revolution and Culture", *A Preface to Politics*, 1914

3065. Where public opinion is free and uncontrolled, wealth has a wholesome respect for the law. —Robert M. LaFollette Sr., "Fooling the People as a Fine Art", *LaFollette's Magazine*, Apr, 1918

3066. Public opinion, a vulgar, impertinent, anonymous tyrant who deliberately makes life unpleasant for anyone who is not content to be the average man. —William Ralph Inge, "Our Present Discontents", *Outspoken Essays: First Series*, 1919

3067. We are ruled by Public Opinion, not by Statute-law. —Elbert G. Hubbard, *The Note Book*, 1927

3068. Government, in the last analysis, is organized opinion. Where there is little or no public opinion, there is likely to be bad government, which sooner or later becomes autocratic government. —William Lyon Mackenzie King, *Message of the Carillon*, 1927

3069. One should respect public opinion in so far as is necessary to avoid starvation and to keep out of prison, but anything that goes beyond this is voluntary submission to an unnecessary tyranny. —Bertrand Russell, 3rd Earl Russell, *The Conquest of Happiness*, 1930

3070. There is no group in America that can withstand the force of an aroused public opinion. —Franklin D. Roosevelt, on signing the National Industrial Recovery Act, Jun 16, 1933

3071. A government can be no better than the public opinion that sustains it. —Franklin D. Roosevelt, speech in Washington, D.C., Jan 8, 1936

3072. The whole structure of democracy rests on public opinion. —Franklin D. Roosevelt, speech to the Institute of Human Relations, Aug 20, 1937

3073. Nothing is more dangerous in wartime than to live in the temperamental atmosphere of a Gallup Poll, always feeling one's pulse and taking one's temperature. —Sir Winston S. Churchill, speech in the House of Commons, Sep 30, 1941

3074. I see that a speaker at the week-end said that this was a time when leaders should keep their ears to the ground. All I can say is that the British nation will find it very hard to look up to leaders who are detected in that somewhat ungainly posture. —Sir Winston S. Churchill, speech in the House of Commons, Sep 30, 1941

3075. People on the whole are very simple-minded, in whatever country one finds them. They are so simple as to take literally, more often than no, the things their leaders tell them. —Pearl S. Buck, *What America Means to Me*, 1943

3076. It isn't polls or public opinion alone of the moment that counts. It is right and wrong, and leadership—men with fortitude, honesty and a belief in the right that make epochs in the history of the world. —Harry S Truman, interview, 1946

3077. When distant and unfamiliar and complex things are communicated to great masses of people, the truth suffers a considerable and often a radical distortion. The complex is made over into the simple, the hypothetical into the dogmatic, and the relative into an absolute. —Walter Lippmann, *The Public Philosophy*, 1955

3078. What the lawmaker has to ascertain is not the true belief but the common belief. —Patrick Devlin, *The Enforcement of Morals*, 1965

3079. It is far more difficult to change the mentality of the people than it is to change a country's political order or even its economy. —Ilya Ehrenburg, "What I Have Learned", *Saturday Review*, Sep 30, 1967

revocably lost; when the legislative power is
The History of the Decline and Fall of the

was adopted by the Convention of 1787, not
of arbitrary power. The purpose was, not to
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save the people from autocracy. —Louis D.
tes, 1926

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tatement, Mar 12, 1973

preserving free government except that the
nited States, ruling that President Nixon had
mes, Oct 14, 1973

nstitutional government alive in America, it
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ustice. —John Locke, *An Essay Concerning*

est of civilization. —Samuel Johnson, quoted

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n a free man can abide with honor. —Henry

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kindreds. —Abraham Lincoln, letter to New

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nother, but let him work diligently and build
own shall be safe from violence. —Abraham
mocratic Republican Association", Mar 21,

wretchedly housed, fed, and clothed, while
sightly statues. If these great men must have
andsome blocks of buildings for the poor.

n of unquestioned ascendancy, it everywhere
s *Kapital*, 1867-83

3524. Lack of money is the root of all evil. —George Bernard Shaw, "Maxims for Revolutionists", *Man and Superman*, 1902

3525. Security, the chief pretence of civilization, cannot exist where the worst of dangers, the danger of poverty, hangs over everyone's head. —George Bernard Shaw, preface, *Major Barbara*, 1905

3526. It is significant that whenever the public mind is to be diverted from a great social wrong, a crusade is inaugurated against indecency, gambling, saloons, etc. —Emma Goldman, "The Tragedy of Women's Emancipation", *Anarchism and Other Essays*, 1911

3527. There never can be equality of awards or possessions so long as the human plan contains varied talents and differing degrees of industry and thrift, but ours ought to be a country free from the great blotches of distressed poverty. —Warren G. Harding, inaugural address, Mar 4, 1921

3528. In every truth, the beneficiaries of a system cannot be expected to destroy it. —A. Philip Randolph, *The Truth About Lynching*, ca. 1922

3529. Hungry men have no respect for law, authority or human life. —Marcus Moziah Garvey, *Philosophy and Opinions*, 1923

3530. The ultimate end of all revolutionary social change is to establish the sanctity of human life, the dignity of man, the right of every human being to liberty and well-being. —Emma Goldman, *My Further Disillusionment in Russia*, 1924

3531. A man may have strong humanitarian and democratic principles; but if he happens to have been brought up as a bath-taking, shirt-changing lover of fresh air, he will have to overcome certain physical repugnances before he can bring himself to put those principles into practice. —Aldous Huxley, *Jesting Pilate*, 1926

3532. I see one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished. ... The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little. —Franklin D. Roosevelt, second inaugural address, Jan 20, 1937

3533. Capitalism inevitably and by virtue of the very logic of its civilization creates, educates and subsidizes a vested interest in social unrest. —Joseph Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*, 1942

3534. The Lord so constituted everybody that no matter what color you are you require the same amount of nourishment. —Will Rogers, *The Autobiography of Will Rogers*, 1949

3535. I don't believe in government for special privilege. Our resources should be used for the benefit of all the people. —Harry S Truman, speech in San Francisco, California, Sep 4, 1951

3536. Understanding human needs is half the job of meeting them. —Adlai E. Stevenson Jr., speech in Columbus, Ohio, Oct 3, 1952

3537. Social imbalance reflects itself in inability to enforce laws, including significantly those which protect and advance basic social justice, and in failure to maintain and improve essential service. —John Kenneth Galbraith, *The Affluent Society*, 1958

3538. An unrectified case of injustice has a terrible way of lingering, restlessly, in the social atmosphere like an unfinished question. —Mary McCarthy, "My Confession", *On the Contrary*, 1961

3539. For every talent that poverty has stimulated it has blighted a hundred. —John W. Gardner, *Excellence*, 1961

3873. I hate war. War destroys individuals and whole generations. It throws civilization into the dark ages. But there is only one kind of war the American people have any stomach for and that is a war against hunger and pestilence and disease. —Harry S Truman, quoted by William Hillman, *Mr. President*, 1952

3874. It is fatal to enter any war without the will to win it. —Douglas MacArthur, speech to the Republican National Convention, Jul 7, 1952

3875. War is an invention of the human mind. The human mind can invent peace with justice. —Norman Cousins, *Who Speaks for Man?*, 1953

3876. History does not long entrust the care of freedom to the weak or the timid. We must acquire proficiency in defense and display stamina in purpose. —Dwight D. Eisenhower, first inaugural address, Jan 20, 1953

3877. Every gun that is fired, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed. The world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its labourers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children. —Dwight D. Eisenhower, speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Apr 16, 1953

3878. If any foreign minister begins to defend to the death a "peace conference," you can be sure his government has already placed its orders for new battleships and airplanes. —Joseph Stalin, recalled on his death, Mar 5, 1953

3879. The hand that signed the treaty bred a fever,/ And famine grew, and locusts came;/ Great is the hand that holds dominion over/ Man by scribbled name. —Dylan Thomas, "The Hand That Signed the Paper", *Collected Poems*, 1953

3880. In the final choice a soldier's pack is not so heavy a burden as a prisoner's chains. —Dwight D. Eisenhower, first inaugural address, Jan 20, 1953

3881. To jaw-jaw always is better than to war-war. —Sir Winston S. Churchill, *The New York Times*, Jun 27, 1954

3882. I have never accepted what many people have kindly said—namely that I inspired the nation. Their will was resolute and remorseless, and as it proved, unconquerable. It fell to me to express it. It was the nation and the race dwelling all round the globe that had the lion's heart. I had the luck to be called upon to give the roar. I also hope that I sometimes suggested to the lion the right place to use his claws. —Sir Winston S. Churchill, 80th birthday address to Parliament, Nov 30, 1954

3883. The only alternative to coexistence is codestruction. —Jawaharlal Nehru, *London Observer*, Aug 29, 1954

3884. The most terrible warfare is to be a second lieutenant leading a platoon when you are on the battlefield. —Dwight D. Eisenhower, reported remarks, Mar 17, 1954

3885. The war has started incredibly badly. Therefore, it must be continued. [*La guerre commence infiniment mal. Il faut donc qu'elle continue.*] —Charles De Gaulle, *Mémoires de guerre: L'Appel*, 1955

3886. As the bomb fell over Hiroshima and exploded, we saw an entire city disappear. I wrote in my log the words: "My God, what have we done?" —Capt. Robert Lewis, comments on 10th anniversary of first nuclear bomb, *Enola Gay*, May 19, 1955

3887. Some day there is going to be a man sitting in my present chair who has not been raised in the military services and who will have little understanding of where slashes in their estimates can be made with little or no damage. If that should happen while we still have the state of tension that now exists in the world, I shudder to think of what could happen in this country. —Dwight D. Eisenhower, letter to Everett E. Hazlett, Aug 20, 1956

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American people have any stomach for and
ıse. —Harry S Truman, quoted by William

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—Dwight D. Eisenhower, speech to the
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by scribbled name. —Dylan Thomas, "The
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—Sir Winston S. Churchill, *The New York*

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' —Capt. Robert Lewis, comments on 10th
19, 1955

n my present chair who has not been raised
rstanding of where slashes in their estimates
appen while we still have the state of tension
nat could happen in this country. —Dwight
, 1956

3888. You have to take chances for peace, just as you must take chances in war. Some say that we were brought to the verge of war. The ability to get to the verge of war without getting into the war is the necessary art. —John Foster Dulles, *Life*, Jan 11, 1956

3889. Warfare, no matter what weapons it employs, is a means to an end, and if that end can be achieved by negotiated settlements of conditional surrender, there is no need for war. —Harry S Truman, *Memoirs*, 1955-56

3890. If our air forces are never used, they have achieved their finest goal. —Gen. Nathan F. Twining, *The New York Times*, Mar 31, 1956

3891. Mr. Dulles has just frightened most of our allies to death with a statement that there is an art in actually threatening war and coming to the brink but retreating from the brink. —Eleanor Roosevelt, letter to Gus Ranis, Jan 23, 1956

3892. I have always been opposed even to the thought of fighting a "preventive war." There is nothing more foolish than to think that war can be stopped by war. You don't "prevent" anything by war except peace. —Harry S Truman, *Memoirs*, 1955-56

3893. If you live among dogs, keep a stick. After all, this is what a hound has teeth for—to bite when he feels like it! —Nikita S. Khrushchev, interview in Japanese newspaper, Jul 9, 1957

3894. The more bombers, the less room for doves of peace. —Nikita S. Khrushchev, speech on Moscow radio, Mar 14, 1958

3895. It is far more important to be able to hit the target than it is to haggle over who makes a weapon or who pulls a trigger. —Dwight D. Eisenhower, on unification of the three military services, Apr 17, 1958

3896. A general and a bit of shooting makes you forget your troubles ... it takes your mind off the cost of living. —Brendan Behan, *The Hostage*, 1958

3897. A government needs one hundred soldiers for every guerrilla it faces. —Fulgencio Batista, telephone interview, *El Caribe*, Jan 1, 1959

3898. I like to believe that people, in the long run, are going to do more to promote peace than our governments. Indeed, I think that people want peace so much that one of these days governments had better get out of the way and let them have it. —Dwight D. Eisenhower, radio and television broadcast, London, England, Aug 31, 1959

3899. The new and terrible dangers which man has created can only be controlled by man. —John F. Kennedy, speech at the Univ. of California, Nov 2, 1959

3900. Youth is the first victim of war; the first fruit of peace. It takes twenty years or more of peace to make a man; it takes only twenty seconds of war to destroy him. —Baudouin I, address to joint session of U.S. Congress, May 12, 1959

3901. It is an unfortunate fact that we can secure peace only by preparing for war. —John F. Kennedy, campaign speech in Seattle, Washington, Sep 6, 1960

3902. The major deterrent (to war) is in a man's mind. —Adm. Arleigh Burke, *US News & World Report*, Oct 3, 1960

3903. It would indeed be the ultimate tragedy if the history of the human race proved to be nothing more noble than the story of an ape playing with a box of matches on a petrol dump. —David Ormsby-Gore, *Christian Science Monitor*, Oct 25, 1960

3904. In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist. —Dwight D. Eisenhower, farewell address, Jan 17, 1961