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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 15, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN PODESTA
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FROM: J. TERRY EDMONDS 
JEFF SHESOL
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SUBJECT: POST-ELECTION SPEECHES

As you may know, there has been some discussion about speeches the President might deliver in the post-election period. Some of you have suggested that the President give one or more "summing-up" speeches that outline his accomplishments and, at the same time, offer his vision for the future.

Speeches like these have been something of a tradition among outgoing, two-term Presidents. President Reagan, for example, delivered four major wrap-up speeches (which were billed as such) in December 1988: one each on domestic and foreign policy, one on the state of the economy, and one on the presidency and the role of government.

Below, we briefly describe several speech topics that have emerged in conversations with many of you. They are, of course, only a starting point for further discussion. Following the President's trip to Vietnam, we will convene a small working group to consider these and other options, as well as possible dates and locations. In the meantime, we look forward to your ideas.

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I. THE NEW ECONOMY

The new strategy we set out in 1992 – fiscal discipline, investment in our people, and expanded trade – and the results it has borne for the American people. Looking ahead, the President could describe America’s path to progress in the global, information economy of the 21st Century.

II. FOREIGN POLICY

A lasting, defining statement on the central reality of this new century: globalization. This speech could fill in the contours of the argument the President made in this year’s State of the Union Address for America’s engaged, enlightened leadership in the world.

III. CIVIC PARTICIPATION

This would be an exhortatory address, very much of the moment. As the President has said, this year’s elections have shown that every vote counts. Still, political participation is likely to remain low in coming years. The President can make a convincing case for public service and civic responsibility – our basic, democratic duty to our communities and our nation. This is about more than voting. The President can point to areas where more citizens are getting involved – from AmeriCorps to faith-based charities – and suggest ways we can reconnect the American people to civic life and the democratic process.

IV. SOCIAL PROGRESS

To build on the President’s argument that America is not only better off, but also a better country. This speech could address not only the progress we have made – from welfare reform to crime, from education to the environment – but also the ethic of social responsibility and the “Third Way” approach that inform all these efforts. The President can stress the continued importance of rewarding work and strengthening families.

V. RACE

The ways in which our diversity can become our greatest strength. This speech could consider our progress as well as the obstacles before us in this new century – socioeconomic and cultural. Topics could include affirmative action, hate crimes, health care, and education.

two-term President

POST ELECTION SPEECHES: TRUMAN THROUGH REAGAN

President Harry S. Truman

- Major address on civil liberties, National Archives, December 15.
- Major wrap-up address on the military, Alumni Association of Industrial College of the Armed Forces, December 16.
- A major wrap-up on world peace, the National War College, December 19.
- Final State of the Union, on economic accomplishments and Communist aggression, January 7.
- Farewell Address to the American People focusing on the Cold War, January 15.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower

- Final State of the Union Speech summarizing administration's accomplishments in foreign affairs, defense, the economy, agriculture, civil rights, natural resources, health & welfare, and veterans, January 12.
- A Farewell Radio and Television Address to the American people on the military-industrial complex and disarmament, January 17.

President Lyndon B. Johnson

- A speech at a Farewell Dinner in New York City summarizing policies affecting the poor, elderly, and minorities, January 13.
- Final State of the Union Speech, summarizing Great Society reforms, January 14.

President Ronald Reagan

- Major address on the state of the economy, the National Chamber Foundation, November 17.
- Major wrap-up speech on foreign policy, American Enterprise Institute, December 7.
- Major wrap-up address on domestic policy, December 13.
- Major speech on the presidency and the role of government, University of Virginia, December 16.
- Four Farewell events, including: one radio address, one farewell address from the Oval, one White House ceremony, one dinner.

Bush - written soon?

Clinton's assessment. For the first time in a long time, Mr. Arafat no longer had the moral high ground. He, and the Arafat leaders, had grown so comfortable with Bibi Netanyahu

Mr. Arafat had a dilemma: make some compromises, build on Mr. Barak's opening bid and try to get it

Never a
statesman,
always a victim.

Of course, the Palestinians couldn't explain it in those terms, so instead they unfurled all the old complaints about the brutality of the continued Israeli occupation and settlement-building. Frankly, the Israeli checkpoints and continued settlement-

I see. These Palestinians died so there can be an international investigation into why they were killed. Sad. What a totally messed up set of priorities.

So what do you do when there is no partner for peace and there is no alternative to peace? Mourn the dead. Mourn the dead and pray that after this explosion of hatred is over, the parties will find a way to live apart. Otherwise the future is just endless killing and dying, killing and dying, killing and dying, killing and dying, killing and dying, killing and dying.

Mr. Gore has spent the last few days trying to live down the devastating "Saturday Night Live" parody

All the Presidents' Cars, or at Least Some of Them

By CLIFF ROTHMAN

CARS and presidents. Two national obsessions. Both stem from that most American phenomenon, which is a form of self-invention: we can be whoever we want to be, including president.

Cars may be transportation, but they're our alter egos, just like our presidents. They signal who we are, who we want to be and how we want to be seen. They are part performance art, part self-expression, part self-invention and reinvention.

And if you want to talk about presidents and cars, you have to start with Lyndon Baines Johnson.

L.B.J.'s car stories are as over the top as anything in the Johnson lore, evidence of his outsize personality — earthy, fearless, profane, flamboyant, jocular, occasionally sadistic.

Consider the time he took a group of visitors to his Texas ranch across a river in a fierce rainstorm. It was in 1960 — the year Johnson, then the Senate majority leader, was John F. Kennedy's running mate — but Murray Froman, a former NBC correspondent, remembers it as vividly as last night's bad dream.

The bridge is swaying back and forth. It's night, pitch-black. The passengers are Mr. Froman, Bill Becker, a correspondent for The New York Times, and Representative

Jim Wright of Texas, later speaker of the House.

Bill Moyers, Johnson's special assistant, has called the senator's car phone to warn him that the river is flooding the bridge. Johnson tells him to get a truck over to their side of the bridge. The men watch the truck cross over, sliding from side to side. Two ranch hands get out. They're ashen. Then Johnson says, "O.K., now let's cross and go back."

At this point, recalled Mr. Froman, now a professor of journalism at the University of Southern California: "I turn to the Times reporter, and say, 'Nah, it's all for show, he just wants to show what a macho guy he is.' But Johnson jumps in and straddles the gearshift. He pulls me in on top of his lap. The other cowhand, Becker and the other guys are in the back."

The ride is hair-raising. "That's my anecdote," Mr. Froman recalled. "Sitting on the lap of the future president of the United States."

Even in normal conditions, Johnson liked to gun the motor to 80 or 90 miles an hour — though the actual speed is anyone's guess, because he liked to hold his big gray Stetson over the speedometer. "He'd give me a can of beer; he had a can or two," Mr. Froman said. "Hey, he was a senator. Nobody was going to get in his way."

Johnson may have set a standard, but he was hardly the only future president with a heavy foot. Before Bill Clinton became gov-

ernor of Arkansas, he "was a wild driver, a wild reckless driver," said David Maraniss, author of the Clinton biography "First in His Class."

"Nobody ever wanted to ride with him," Mr. Maraniss said. "He was talking and gesticulating with his hands, speeding and passing people." A White House spokesman had no comment.

What was Mr. Clinton's favorite car? Not surprisingly, Mr. Maraniss said, it was that ultimate 1960's cool-guy car of the boomer generation — a Mustang — which he finally bought for himself when he was governor of Arkansas. It was a convertible.

Similarly, John F. Kennedy used to race from his Washington office to his home in Georgetown, running red lights and clocking himself to see how fast he could get there.

"As a young student at Harvard, he loved to get his hands on a sporty car for a spin," said the presidential historian Douglas Brinkley, who is working on a biography of Henry Ford. "He was a speed freak and an action addict, and the auto provided him the same exhilaration as standing on the bow of a boat, his face in the wind."

Kennedy was the first president brought up on the automobile. The first car he bought for himself, in 1940, was a green Buick convertible with red leather seats. Cars were another suit of clothing to burnish an image, and one of the ways he defined his new administration after the staid Eisenhower years. "Eisenhower had this glass

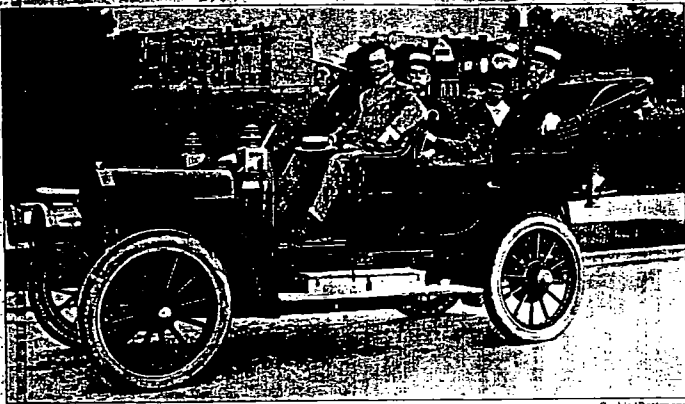
bubble top to protect him when it rained," Mr. Brinkley said. "Then you picture Kennedy in his convertible with his sunglasses. You get two stark images."

In fact, for the whole past century, cars functioned in various ways as presidential spin. They compensated for physical handicaps, like Franklin Delano Roosevelt's polio, or William Howard Taft's obesity. They were visual shorthand for being technologically progressive, in Coolidge's case.

Taft was the first president identified with the automobile (his predecessor, Theodore Roosevelt, was very much a horseman), and he sank into it with gusto. Because he weighed 300 pounds, Taft found horses uncomfortable (the horses weren't too happy either), and in 1909 he bought two big Pierce-Arrows.

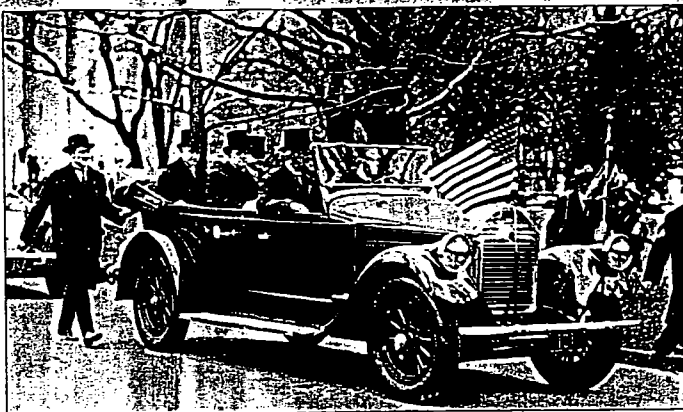
By the 1920's, the Model T was the rage, and cars were transforming modern life. The stables and horses were gone from the White House. Calvin Coolidge was seen virtually everywhere in his seven-passenger Lincoln phaeton.

Among the most indelibly linked images of president and car is Franklin D. Roosevelt's 1939 Lincoln Convertible, nicknamed the Sunshine Special. "F.D.R. was in a wheelchair with polio," Mr. Brinkley said. "His way of interacting with people was in the convertible with the top down. It became the famous presidential car. He would take it down to Warm Springs, Ga., drive the



Corbis/Bettmann

William Howard Taft, above far right with his family, preferred horsepower to horses. Little surprise for a 300-pounder.



Corbis/Bettmann

Calvin Coolidge and Herbert Hoover in the back of a Pierce-Arrow, 1929.



Lyndon Baines Johnson Library

Lyndon Johnson, above, liked to drive visitors to his Texas ranch in an amphibious car. The automobile provided mobility to Franklin D. Roosevelt, who had polio.



Associated Press

George Bush has the distinction of ordering the largest presidential limousine ever made. "Bush wanted to be seen in the biggest car imaginable," Mr. Brinkley said. "It was 263 inches, with a 7.5-liter V-8 engine and C-6 auto transmission. Compare that to Truman's Lincoln Continental, at 145 inches. It was called the Bushmobile."

As for the next president, Al Gore or George W. Bush their driving habits appear to be the opposite of their public personas.

Despite a famous drunken incident in Washington in 1973, when he drove along the street late at night dragging a clanking garbage can, Mr. Bush is known as a sturdy, cautious driver with a penchant for not-descript cars.

"When he drove down to Midland, Tex., he was driving a 1970 Cutlass, which was really worn out," said Elizabeth Mitchell, who wrote "W. Revenge of the Bush Dynasty."

"His friends used to make fun of him for it. There's actually no indication that he was a wild driver. He is a guy who was extremely spontaneous and wild in many ways, but driving was not one of the examples," said Mr. Gore, whose perceived solidity and goody-goody nature played his presidential quest before he started to loosen up. He actually the wilder of the two drivers.

In his early days in Congress, he had kind of a lead foot," said Bill Turque, a Newsweek columnist and author of "Inventing Al Gore: A Biography." "Tom Lukan, the Ohio congressman, told me that they were at this event at the Four Seasons in Georgetown. They got word that they had 15 minutes to get back to the House for a vote. Well, Lukan says, 'We have no chance to do this, there's rush-hour traffic.' Gore says, 'Watch me, and jumps into the car, invoking the tradition that allows members of Congress to break traffic rules if it's on a vote.'"

pinney, windy roads of Georgia, and do press conferences and talk to people from the back of the Sunshine Special."

Harry S. Truman was as sensible in his car choices as in the way he governed — throughout his life faithfully buying Chrysler cars, including Plymouths and Dodges. In the spring of 1953, just after he left office and returned to Independence, Mo., he and his wife, Bees, decided to drive back to Washington to visit friends. They just got in their car — no motorcade, no Secret Service, no protection — and drove.

"There is a picture of them leaving their home," Mr. Brinkley said. "Mrs. Truman is a typical 1953 lady in her hat and gloves, he's driving and looking very happy. It seems unbelievable today to think of Jimmy Carter or Gerald Ford driving with their wives and stopping at Howard Johnson's."

Richard M. Nixon's cars were like his wife's "Republican cloth coat": nondescript, mundane, solidly presidential. His limousine was restored — by Nevada inmates working in a prison auto shop — for a car collection at the Imperial Palace casino in Las Vegas. The prisoners also made the license plate, which reads PARDON ME.

Jimmy Carter eschewed the limo during his inauguration, as a sign of his common-man status, but Ronald Reagan brought back the pomp. As a successful radio announcer and future actor, he was a peacock in both clothes and car. "He bought himself a Lafayette in 1933," said Edmund Morris, author of "Dutch: A Memoir of Ronald Reagan." "It was a brown car. He was in his brown phase: brown clothes, brown pen, smoking a brown pipe. He saw his car as a cosmetic addition to himself. He knew how good he looked getting out of a car and standing beside it. But he was younger then and much more conscious of his personal glamour. By the time he was president, he had mentally moved on to other things."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

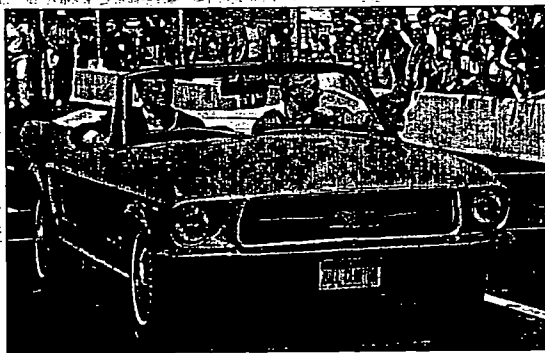
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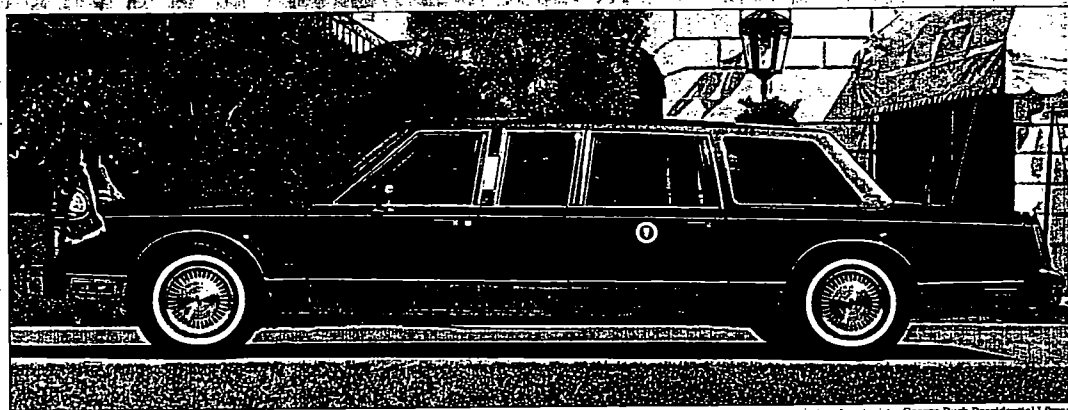


Associated Press/The St. Augustine Record, T. Levette Bagwell

Harry S. Truman, above, in a place he knew well: Independence, Mo. President Clinton owned a Mustang while he was governor of Arkansas. In 1994, he drove a '67 model at a Mustang celebration.



Reuters



George Bush Presidential Library

George Bush rode in the largest presidential limousine, the 22-foot-long Bushmobile, above. At right, Ronald and Nancy Reagan living the "ordinary life" in 1985 in Santa Barbara, Calif., which included a truck and trailer.



White House Photo

Woodrow Wilson

by
AUGUST HECKSCHER

Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924) was a university professor and then president of Princeton University. In 1912, he was elected president of the United States. When his dream of a League of Nations was turned down by Congress shortly after World War I, his health deteriorated. August Heckscher, author of Woodrow Wilson: A Biography (Scribner, 1991), appeared on Booknotes on January 12, 1992, to discuss our twenty-eighth president.

WOODROW WILSON WAS A PRODIGIOUS worker and very fascinating in his youth: lively, spirited, witty. He was voted year after year as the most popular member of the faculty at Princeton University. . . . But the most fascinating period in some ways is when he left the university and stepped out into the world of politics in 1910. For two years he was governor of New Jersey, and in 1912 he was elected president of the United States, so it was a meteoric career. He emerged on the political scene with enormous vitality, with great eloquence, striking a new note with humor and modesty where otherwise there had been bombast and exaggeration.

He was born in Staunton, Virginia, in 1856, just thirty years after John Adams and Thomas Jefferson died. How short our history is when you think of it. He was born a southerner in Virginia. He lived all his youth in the South. His father was a very distinguished clergyman and himself a great preacher who inspired the son to the concept of oratory, which he did pursue. He lived in Augusta, Georgia, during the Civil War, where his father had a big Presbyterian church. He lived in Columbia, South Carolina, during his teenage years; he lived in Wilmington, North Carolina, at least the family did, while he was mostly at Princeton. Then he married a girl from Rome, Georgia. He was about as southern in his upbringing as you [could imagine].

Wilson was, in all his early writings and all his thinking, a nationalist. He believed the Civil War was over, which a great many people at that time doubted. In one famous debate when he was a law student at the University of Virginia, he said, in effect, "Now I will tell you something that will shock you: I am glad

that the South lost the Civil War." He then went on to picture very eloquently the stricken Union, the broken nation, the disadvantage the South would have been at in terms of manufacturers, and so on.

From the beginning he rose above the South. He never had a southern accent, for example. It's often asked whether his problems with civil rights, when he became president in 1913, did not have their source and their roots in the fact that he was a southerner with a southerner's prejudice. . . . I think there were other reasons. Wilson himself was very liberal in the deepest sense. He was absolutely nonsectarian in his views. He appointed the first Jew to the Supreme Court of New Jersey. He appointed the first Jew to the United States Supreme Court. He made a Catholic his private secretary and so on. He recognized blacks as a race that needed help and education if they were going to play their part in the national life.

DEMOCRATS HAD TAKEN OVER the House in 1910 and they also controlled the Senate, so he came in as president with his own party, which was what he wanted. . . . But in 1918, the congressional elections went against Wilson and he had a hostile Senate. . . . He could never really work closely with it. . . .

Wilson re-established a principle dead since almost the founding of the Republic, where the president goes down to Congress and delivers the [State of the Union] message himself. [Past presidents had] sent messages that were read by the clerk that were long and dull. But Wilson appeared [in person]. It was an absolutely unbelievably dramatic thing. He had an office in the Capitol that hadn't been used since Lincoln's days, and he would go down there and consult with the members of his own party and members of the opposition party, too, when he was promoting legislation. It was a very dramatic moment in American government. He himself had written that "the president has the great power of standing alone for all the people." The Senate and the House were elected by particular constituencies. The president was elected by all the people and he had to speak for the whole people so far as he could. Insofar as he did speak for them, Wilson wrote, he was invincible.

WILSON SUFFERED IN THE FIRST TWO YEARS of his presidency the great disaster of his wife's death. She died in August 1914, almost the same day as World War I broke out. Wilson was caught in that vortex of [world] events and at the same time caught in a private sorrow that caused him a deep depression for several months. Then to go on, he met, about eight or nine months later, Edith Bolling Galt, [a widow] with whom he immediately fell in love. He carried on a passionate courtship with Mrs. Galt and married her about sixteen months after his first wife's death. . . .

[When he first met her,] Wilson was just beginning to emerge from this deep depression. He loved to motor around Washington way out into the

country, and one day as he was passing Dupont Circle, he said to his private physician, who usually was with him and was a good companion as well as a good doctor, "Who is that beautiful woman that I see walking down the street?" By an extraordinary coincidence, it was [Edith Galt], whom the doctor, Cary Grayson, knew well, and that in a strange way was the beginning. But it was only afterward that she came, by chance, to the White House as a friend of the president's niece. . . .

[The pair] came in from walking in the rain. They were in the little White House elevator and the door opened: there was the president of the United States. Wilson had his first real glimpse of his future wife wearing muddy shoes, as she said.

Mrs. Galt was a southerner and she had great pride. She had . . . an unhappy first marriage[, but] her first husband had died. She was living in Washington, a jaunty figure—the head of the Galt Jewelry and Silver Company. The first woman in Washington, she prided herself on saying, to drive an electric car, and a woman who paid great attention to her looks and her style. She was indeed the first First Lady whom the crowds noticed because of what she wore, because of her Paris gowns and things of that sort. . . .

After that first meeting when she emerged from the elevator in her muddy shoes, he invited her to dinner at the White House several times. She'd come with members of the family. Then one night in May, they went out on the porch of the White House and the other families tactfully withdrew. There, Wilson proposed to her and she turned him down. [He wrote her this letter the following day:]

Here stands your friend, a longing man in the midst of world affairs, a world that knows nothing of the heart he has shown you and which would as lief break it as not. . . . Will you come to him sometime without reserve and make his strength complete?

. . . These letters between Woodrow Wilson and Mrs. Galt in their courtship phase are great literary love letters. But the letters to Wilson's first wife, whom he had married in the 1890s, are also extraordinarily frank and romantic in every sense.

WILSON'S GREATEST CONTRIBUTION was the vision that, tragically, was not realized. It is a vision that we are still trying to fulfill: a world made up of democratic states, free states as we tend to call them today, self-governing, brought together under an overarching international organization that would preserve peace, engaging in free trade, maintaining human rights, disarmed because they didn't need arms. . . . Today that vision still is very much with us.

The League of Nations became essential to Wilson as the horrible slaughters

of World War I drew to an end. He saw it as the only means that would justify the great sacrifices that had been made by England and France and other countries, and indeed, at the end, by our own country. It would mean peace for the world in the future. It would redeem the horrors of the war. . . . So in Paris, where the Treaty of Versailles was framed, he got the League of Nations at the top of the agenda. He got the assembled nations to approve it and to commit themselves to it. It was a great act of statesmanship on his part. As the peace conference went on, he more and more saw the League of Nations not only as a peacekeeping institution, but also as a kind of supreme parliament. It was going to straighten out many of the mistakes that the statesmen of that time were being forced to engage in. Wilson believed that a better period in world opinion—a more sane and just opinion—would develop and would reflect itself in the League of Nations, that the flaws and the errors of the peace were going to be corrected by the League. All that happened and then the League was defeated in the Senate, and we never joined it. It went on in Europe and then lived between the two wars. I don't think one ought to take away from Wilson the fact that he created the League. One has to look at that terrible political defeat that left the United States on the outside.

HE HAD A VERY SEVERE STROKE . . . in October of 1919. It was seventeen months before the end of [his second] term. He'd come back from the western tour, which had been shortened because there were very alarming symptoms. He was a very ill man. He came back to Washington, walked from his railroad car to a waiting car, rode to the White House, and two nights later he suffered this very severe stroke. . . .

The country as a whole didn't know that Wilson had suffered a severe stroke. The bulletins that were issued emphasized the fact that he was exhausted, that it was a sort of nervous breakdown, and that he would be able to carry on. . . . The [White House inner circle] believed that his life hung by a thread.

Three people who were close to the president carried on the affairs of government: Mrs. Wilson, his secretary Joseph Patrick Tumulty, and his doctor, Cary Grayson. Now the question is: Did they run the country or, more particularly, did Mrs. Wilson run the country? The president was totally disabled by this stroke for a period of about two months. Then he was in a wheelchair, and he learned very slowly that following spring to walk painfully and to mount one step at a time. But he really remained a cripple through the rest of his life. . . . Wilson . . . was a stricken man [when he] returned, never to make a speech again except for brief speeches after he'd retired. . . .

Did Mrs. Wilson run the government? Well, my answer to that usually is the government didn't run during these seventeen months. The departments carried on their work, the annual message was pieced together largely by Tu-

multy from reports that were made by the cabinet members to the White House; it was a period when nothing was initiated, nothing new was undertaken. The country was turning away from the war back to private business and was much more concerned with making money than with political innovation or political leadership. The country really drifted during that period.

In Congress they would joke, "Another bill has come down from Tumulty." They would examine the signatures on bills and proclamations to see whether they were Wilson's. Sometimes they were not; they were a rubber stamp. In the country as a whole, the word got out that the president was seriously ill. After several months, diplomats went to see him to present their credentials and would write home to their own governments about the pathetic spectacle that occurred: where once an intensely vibrant man—a giant, if you will—had been, there was just this bent, stricken figure. He was often wearing a kind of baseball cap that came down over his eyes, often with a shawl over his shoulders, often unshaven and so on. It was a tragic thing.

He was terribly, terribly bitter in the end. . . . The Republicans in the Senate had proved absolutely unyielding, and Wilson, when the final [League of Nations] struggle in the Senate came up, was a fallen man. He was a man not capable of making a public speech, not capable of negotiating. All he could do was lie in his bed or sit in his wheelchair and say no. He rejected the compromises that were proposed to him by the Senate, one after the other. . . . Finally, the whole thing was withdrawn and there was a complete wreckage. We never signed the Treaty of Versailles and we never joined the League.

He retired with Mrs. Wilson to a very handsome house on S Street, [in Washington, D.C.] and there he lived out four years [until] he died in 1924. . . .

[TODAY] WE ARE IN A PERIOD where Wilson's ideas are again coming to the fore. Emerson said of John Brown, "We meet him wherever we turn." We begin to meet Wilson again, wherever we turn. . . . Whether we'll be able to achieve everything that Wilson strove for is still doubtful. It may need another half a century and it may even need more wars before we're able to get there. Many of his problems still live with us, and he'll be there when we try to solve them.

David McCullough

TRUMAN

SIMON & SCHUSTER

New York London Toronto Sydney Tokyo Singapore

BACK HOME

President and Mrs. Nixon came to pay their respects and to place a wreath of red, white, and blue carnations on the casket. Lyndon Johnson was present with all of his family. Johnson, who looked gaunt and greatly aged, would himself die just three weeks later.

For the rest of the day and through the night and on into the morning, thousands of people—seventy-five thousand people, it would be estimated—passed by the closed casket in the lobby of the Truman Library in front of the Benton mural. The line stretched half a mile, to beyond the highway. "This whole town was a friend of Harry's," one man told a reporter.

That afternoon, Thursday, December 28, as he had wished, Truman was buried in the courtyard of the library. With space for the service in the library auditorium limited, only 250 people were invited. Among those present were Averell Harriman, Clark Clifford, Charlie Murphy, Rose Conway, Harry Vaughan, and Sam Rosenman.

Bess Truman, Margaret and Clifton and their four sons, sat behind a green curtain, screened from the others. It was an Episcopal service, as Bess wished, though a Masonic rite was included and a Baptist minister read a prayer. There was no eulogy, no hymns were sung.

Outside afterward, at the gravesite, it was cold and raw, and as the howitzers roared a twenty-one-gun salute and Taps was sounded, the day seemed to turn dramatically colder still. Later, there was snow in the air, and a few of the library staff would remember standing at a window looking out into the empty court and feeling great sympathy, as assuredly Truman would have too, for the men who were working in the cold and dark to fill in the grave.

V

"He was not a hero or a magician or a chess player, or an obsession. He was a certifiable member of the human race, direct, fallible, and unexpectedly wise when it counted," wrote Mary McGrory in the *Washington Star* the next day, in one of hundreds of published tributes.

He did not require to be loved. He did not expect to be followed blindly. Congressional opposition never struck him as subversive, nor did he regard his critics as traitors. He never whined.

He walked around Washington every morning—it was safe then. He met reporters frequently as a matter of course, and did not blame them for his failures. He did not use the office as a club or a shield, or a hiding place. He worked at it. . . . He said he lived by the Bible and

TRUMAN

history. So armed, he proved that the ordinary American is capable of grandeur. And that a President can be a human being. . . .

He was remembered in print and over the air waves, in the halls of Congress and in large parts of the world, as a figure of courage and principle. Even *Time* and *The Wall Street Journal*, publications that had often scorned him in years past, acclaimed him now as one of the great figures of the century.

The obituary in *The New York Times* ran seven pages. (When the writer, Alden Whitman of *The Times*, had been preparing it in advance years before and went to Independence to interview Truman himself, feeling extremely uneasy about the whole assignment, Truman greeted him with a smile, saying, "I know why you're here and I want to help you all I can.")

In a day of memorial tributes in the Senate chamber that he so loved, he was eulogized as the president who had faced the momentous decision of whether to use the atomic bomb, praised for the creation of the United Nations, for the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, the Berlin Airlift, the recognition of Israel, NATO; for committing American forces in Korea and for upholding the principle of civilian control over the military—"decisions many of us would pale before," said Senator William Proxmire of Wisconsin.

He was remembered as the first president to recommend Medicare, remembered for the courage of his stand on civil rights at the risk of his political fortunes. The whistle-stop campaign was recalled as one of the affirming moments in the history of the American political system.

His lack of glamour, the "cronies" and loud Florida shirts, the angry letters and the taint of the "Truman scandals," seemed to fade in memory. The scandals, squalid as they were, would with time appear almost tame in contrast to the corrupt excesses of later administrations.

The frequently quoted view of Sam Rayburn that Truman was right on all the big decisions, wrong on all the little ones, was hardly accurate. His Loyalty Program, a very large decision, had been woefully wrong—as was the appointment of Louis Johnson, as was the high-handed seizure of the steel industry—while the restoration of Herbert Hoover to public service and public esteem was not only a right and generous "small" decision, but one that said much about Truman's essential human quality.

That he would later be held accountable by some critics for the treacheries and overbearing influence of the CIA, as well as for the Vietnam War, was understandable but unjustified. He never intended the CIA to become what it did. His decisions concerning Vietnam by no means predetermined all that followed under later, very different presidents.

BACK HOME

His insistence that the war in Korea be kept in bounds, kept from becoming a nuclear nightmare, would figure more and more clearly as time passed as one of his outstanding achievements. And rarely had a president surrounded himself with such able, admirable men as Stimson, Byrnes, Marshall, Forrestal, Leahy, Acheson, Lovett, Eisenhower, Bradley, Clifford, Lilienthal, Harriman, Bohlen, and Kennan—as time would also confirm. It was as distinguished a group as ever served the country, and importantly, he had supported them as they supported him.

Born in the Gilded age, the age of steam and gingerbread Gothic, Truman had lived to see a time of lost certainties and rocket trips to the moon. The arc of his life spanned more change in the world than in any prior period in history. A man of nineteenth-century background, he had had to face many of the most difficult decisions of the unimaginably different twentieth century. A son of rural, inland America, raised only a generation removed from the frontier and imbued with the old Jeffersonian ideal of a rural democracy, he had had to assume command of the most powerful industrial nation on earth at the very moment when that power, in combination with stunning advances in science and technology, had become an unparalleled force in the world. The responsibilities he bore were like those of no other president before him, and he more than met the test.

Ambitious by nature, he was never torn by ambition, never tried to appear as something he was not. He stood for common sense, common decency. He spoke the common tongue. As much as any president since Lincoln, he brought to the highest office the language and values of the common American people. He held to the old guidelines: work hard, do your best, speak the truth, assume no airs, trust in God, have no fear. Yet he was not and had never been a simple, ordinary man. The homely attributes, the Missouri wit, the warmth of his friendship, the genuineness of Harry Truman, however appealing, were outweighed by the larger qualities that made him a figure of world stature, both a great and good man, and a great American president.

"Watch the President," Admiral King had whispered to Lord Moran at Potsdam. "This is all new to him, but he can take it. He is a more typical American than Roosevelt, and he will do a good job. . . ."

With his ability to "take it," his inner iron, his bedrock faith in the democratic process, his trust in the American people, and his belief that history was the final, all-important judge of performance, he was truly exceptional. He never had a doubt about who he was, and that too was part of his strength, as well as the enjoyment of life he conveyed.

He was the kind of president the founding fathers had in mind for the country. He came directly from the people. He *was* America. In his time,

TRUMAN

in his experience, from small town to farm to World War in far-off France in 1918; from financial failure after the war to the world of big-city machine politics to the revolutionary years of the New Deal in Washington to the surge of American power during still another terrible World War, he had taken part in the great chronicle of American life as might have a character in a novel. There was something almost allegorical about it all: *The Man of Independence and His Odyssey*.

The "lesson" of Truman's life, said Senator Adlai E. Stevenson III of Illinois, was a lesson about ourselves: "an object lesson in the vitality of popular government; an example of the ability of this society to yield up, from the most unremarkable origins, the most remarkable men."

Dean Acheson had called him the Captain with the Mighty Heart; George Marshall, in 1948, had said it was "the integrity of the man" that would stand down the ages, more even than the courage of his decisions. Eric Sevareid, who observed at close range so much of the history of the era and its protagonists, would say nearly forty years later of Truman, "I am not sure he was right about the atomic bomb, or even Korea. But remembering him reminds people what a man in that office ought to be like. It's character, just character. He stands like a rock in memory now."

He had lived eighty-eight years and not quite eight months. Bess Truman lived on at 219 North Delaware for another ten years. She died there on October 18, 1982, and was buried beside him in the courtyard of the Truman Library.

Booknotes
LIFE STORIES

*Notable Biographers on the
People Who Shaped America*

Brian Lamb

T I M E S  B O O K S
R A N D O M H O U S E

NEW YORK

Harry Truman

by
DAVID McCULLOUGH

Harry Truman (1884-1972), the thirty-third U.S. president, was born in Lamar, Missouri, and fought with the National Guard in France in World War I. After the war, he went to Kansas City, Missouri, to run a clothing store. Mr. Truman successfully ran for the U.S. Senate in 1934. In 1944, he was elected FDR's vice president. When President Roosevelt died the following April, Truman became president and was re-elected in 1948 after a close race against Thomas Dewey. Author David McCullough appeared on Booknotes on July 19, 1992, to discuss Truman: A Life, published by Simon and Schuster in 1992.

IT'S A BIG SUBJECT; it's a big life. The span, the arc of [Harry Truman's] life is a chronicle of American life in those years. He goes from what is essentially a Jeffersonian, Jacksonian agrarian America of farms and small towns, which he experiences directly as a boy growing up in a small town and as a farmer for eleven-some years, to a country, a nation that bestrides the world with power based primarily on industrial, technological, and scientific accomplishment.

He is a nineteenth-century man in all manner of speech, habit, thought, taste, everything, formed in that period before the First World War, yet he has to face the most momentous of all decisions of the twentieth century for which, theoretically, he's not prepared. But then we weren't prepared as a country either. To me, he is like Bunyan's pilgrim in *Pilgrim's Progress*. He has these various ordeals and complications and difficulties that he has to overcome . . . each one of which represents something that symbolizes the history of our country. This is a book about America for me. I wanted it to be as much a book about America as about Harry Truman. Truman liked to say, "I tried never to forget who I was, where I came from, and where I would go back to." It shows that he knew who he was, and he was proud of who he was. The return to Independence, Missouri, after he left the office of the presidency in 1953 was his way of letting his actions speak louder than his words.

When he got home, he found that living up to the idea wasn't as easy as he expected. While we all remember with affection the Harry Truman of Inde-

pendence, Missouri, walking the same streets of the town he'd grown up in and just being citizen Truman, neighbor Truman once again, it wasn't all that easy for him. He missed Washington. He missed the stimulation and the pressure and the excitement of Washington.

In order to understand Truman, you have to understand life in Jackson County. He lived nearly seventy years of his life in Jackson County, Missouri. He lived to be almost ninety and spent twenty years in Washington as a senator and vice president and eventually president.

When Eisenhower took the oath [in 1953] and Truman walked down off the platform, he was right back down on ground level again as citizen Truman. He had no pension. He had no allowance for office space, no franking privileges, no Secret Service guards. His only income was his army pension, which was \$119 a month. He got on a train. The new president, General Eisenhower, had loaned him the presidential parlor car—the railroad car that had belonged to Franklin Roosevelt, the famous Magellan—to ride home to Independence. All the way across the country, he was greeted at one town after another by crowds that came down to the station to see him.

The last part of his life, in many ways, is as fulfilling and as happy and as interesting a part of his life as all of the rest of it. . . . The story of his retirement years was as appealing for me to write as almost anything in the book.

He had a new Chrysler. He loved to drive an automobile, which is interesting because it was one of the few recreations he had. He didn't know how to play any sports. He didn't play golf. He didn't play tennis. He didn't know how to dance. So driving an automobile and reading and walking were his primary recreation. He bought a new Chrysler, and, as he said, he wanted to give it a workout. So he and Bess decided that they would drive from Independence back to Washington in June 1953. Friends tried to persuade them from doing that, but they were determined. They set off in the car. It was an adventure in itself because every town they came to, people recognized him and there would be a great fuss.

The police would get very concerned that they were in town and worried about their safety. They worried if something happened to them that it would be the fault of the local police, so they would literally usher them out of town, as rapidly as possible. Mr. Truman liked to drive quite fast—above the speed limit. Bess, Mrs. Truman, didn't approve of that, so she would have him hold to the speed limit. As a consequence, they were often being passed. When people would pass them by, they'd look in the car and there was the former president of the United States and his wife driving along the highway. The cars would drop back and pass them again, just to see if their eyes were playing tricks on them. Truman turned to her and he said, "There goes our incognito."

When they arrived in Washington, many of the press corps who had covered him [in the White House] drove out to Maryland to pick him up. They heard that he was coming and waited for the car, and then they all followed him into

town. He loved that. When he stopped at the Mayflower [Hotel] and got out with just his shirtsleeves on, the crowd all gathered around, traffic backed up, and it caused quite a commotion.

They then drove up to New York to see [their daughter] Margaret, who was living [there] and went to some shows. They went to see *Wonderful Town*, the Leonard Bernstein show, and went to restaurants just like anybody visiting New York. Again, causing great commotion. Taxicabs would pull over to the curb and drivers would jump out and say, "Hi, Harry. You're my man."

On the way back, on the Pennsylvania Turnpike, a state trooper pulled him over. Apparently he had been cutting people too close when he passed them. He said that the trooper just wanted to say hello to him and shake his hand. That was the last automobile trip they attempted. From then on, they would go by train or by plane, or by boat when they went to Europe.

Why wouldn't the government have a [presidential] pension? There were pensions for army officers and pensions for everybody else, but no pension for a president. He had very little money. He had to borrow some money, quite secretly, which Dean Acheson cosigned, to pay for the move back home. This is not well known. . . . When he got home, in order to provide himself some income, he undertook the writing of his autobiography, his memoirs, which no other president had ever done, except for Herbert Hoover. But Hoover's time in office was much briefer than was Truman's, and Truman's presidency covered far more tumultuous history than Hoover's had, so that to undertake that two-volume memoir was a very ambitious task.

[He received a \$600,000 advance for his memoirs,] but by the time he paid all of his taxes and the rest, he wound up with not very much. What finally saved him financially—and, again, it's one of these great circles of the story—is the old family farm out at Grandview, which was sold to make way for a shopping center, a suburban sprawl. It turned out to be very valuable. Well, he'd been raised on the old Jeffersonian idea that the land was what mattered and in the long run it was the value of land that would see you through the hardest of times. The family had hung on to that farm through terrible times, through all kinds of depression and drought and all the rest because they felt this was what had real value. In the final analysis, it wasn't his political career, it wasn't his fame, it wasn't his memoirs or all of the other things that one would assume would give him security, but that land.

Then he built his library. There had been a previous presidential library—Franklin Roosevelt's library in Hyde Park—but it was established after Roosevelt had died in office. Truman was the first president to actually officiate over the establishment of his presidential library. There again, he was beginning something new.

One of the things I've tried to imply or to emphasize in the book is that Truman was at heart a very creative public figure. He was a creative president. He had been a builder all of his life. He'd built roads. He'd built courthouses

when he got to Washington. When he became president, he built the famous Truman Balcony on the back of the White House, which caused a great flurry of criticism.

He is the one who entirely rebuilt the White House. The White House we have today is really the house that Harry built, except for the original outer shell, which was maintained. The entire interior is a reconstruction of the original house, and he took part in every detail of that reconstruction. He loved it. He loved building. He loved creating things. In a larger way, his presidency is marked by such creative and innovative acts as the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine and NATO and The Point Four Program and so forth.

So to again be a builder in this last chapter of his life appealed to him tremendously. Building the library, having his office at the library, welcoming guests there, taking people around the library became his life, except for his travels when he went to Europe.

I'M SURE THERE IS SOME of [this biography] he wouldn't like because this is, after all, an honest attempt to see the complete man with his flaws and faults. I would hope that in sum, he would think I had understood him better than other people have. He was a much more complicated, complex, keenly intelligent, and thoughtful, considerate man than the stereotype Harry Truman portrait implies. He isn't James Whitmore playing *Give 'Em Hell, Harry*. He isn't just a kind of salty down-home Missouri Will Rogers. All of the people that I've interviewed, who knew him and worked with him and were in the White House with him, all say, "Please understand that this man was much more than met the eye."

The [Secret Service agents'] devotion to Harry Truman is a very compelling thing to listen to, and it's true of all the people that worked for him at all levels. I did not find a single person who knew him well, worked with him, who wanted to tell me what his terrible backstage temper was or what an ungrateful or difficult boss he was to work with. The closer people were to him, the more . . . they were devoted to him. In a way, I kept hoping I would find some people who really didn't like him, who had some skeletons to pull out of the closet, but that never happened.

The same people who were with him as Secret Service agents or as White House domestic staff in the mansion have said that they were by far the closest family that they have ever known in the White House. Though they don't want to be quoted by person, they all say that Truman was their favorite president. He was the first president in their memory ever to walk out to the kitchen to thank the chef or the cook for the dinner that night. They remembered Calvin Coolidge coming out once or twice, but they thought that was perhaps to see if anybody was filching food. Truman knew everybody by name on the staff,

knew all about their families. This wasn't sort of a politician's device. It's just the way he was. The whole *Give 'Em Hell, Harry* [portrayal]—Harry Truman on the job, at the office, in the White House, with his people at the lowest level or the highest level never gave anyone hell. He never raised his voice. If anything, he's remembered for how considerate he was and for small favors and courtesies he would do.

WHEN [THE DEMOCRATS] ALL CONVENED in Chicago in 1944, it's one of the most dramatic stories in American political history. They know that their nominee for the presidency, Franklin Roosevelt, who's running for his fourth term, isn't going to survive. . . . He's a dying man. This is kept secret. It's a cover-up, as we would say, but for a very good reason. We were at war, and it was absolutely essential that neither our allies nor, to say the least, the enemy get the idea that this most powerful of all nations, powerful among the Allied nations, is being led by a dying man. But they know, therefore, that the vice presidency is worth everything. They're nominating two presidents. The irony of the story is that the man they nominate in the end, Truman, doesn't want to be nominated, whereas the other two, Henry Wallace and Jimmy Burns, are exceedingly ambitious and want it very much.

Henry Wallace was the vice president, and Roosevelt was playing a very tricky, manipulative game because he told both Wallace and Burns, "You're my man," in effect. "You go to Chicago, and you'll get the nomination. You're the man I want." But it was the political bosses who wanted Truman. One of the misconceptions about Truman is that he was an accidental president. He wasn't accidental at all. The political bosses, the big powers of the Democratic party, didn't want Wallace because they felt he was too left wing and too eccentric, and they didn't want Jimmy Burns, who had been a famous senator from South Carolina as well as a Supreme Court judge and one of Roosevelt's most important assistants at the White House. They didn't want him because he was too conservative and an avowed segregationist. They wanted Truman.

Roosevelt finally, under tremendous pressure from them, agreed, okay, it'll be Truman. . . . So Truman is very much the creation of the smoke-filled room, of the old boss system. One can't help to but feel, therefore, that the smoke-filled room wasn't an entirely bad way to go about the business of picking presidents and vice presidents. The bosses knew what they were doing because we were extremely fortunate as a nation that Harry Truman was there to replace Franklin Roosevelt in 1945. Even though he had not been told much, and even though on paper—by a conventional sum—his background would seem to be inadequate for the presidency, he had in many ways been superbly prepared for the presidency because of his life experience. He had been through what so much of the country had been through. He knew from firsthand personal experience so much of what American life was about then.

ONE OF THE MOST DRAMATIC moments in the whole story is when Truman, the evening of Roosevelt's death, is summoned from the White House by the press secretary, Steve Early, when Truman was having a drink with Sam Rayburn in what was euphemistically known as the "Board of Education." It was Rayburn's hideaway beneath the House side where they would meet for a drink after work every day. Truman, on getting the message from Early that he was to come at once to the White House, left Rayburn's office and ran back to his own office, his vice president's office, on the Senate side. . . .

Truman said later that he did not think. It didn't occur to him that the president was dead. He thought the president had come back from Warm Springs secretly and wanted to confer with him about something. But if he didn't think that the president was dead, why was he running? And if he did know the president was dead, what did he think he was running toward and what was he running away from? If it were a movie or a film, you could almost see a freeze frame on that moment where he's running down the hall. Of course, by then he's president of the United States, and he's running alone. . . .

He had to have known even if he wasn't admitting it to himself. He had to have known subconsciously. It must have been a dreadful time for him. Then he arrives at the White House. He goes up to family quarters, and he steps off the elevator. Mrs. Roosevelt comes forward and puts her hand on his arm and says to him very softly, "Harry, the president is dead." I feel that that's a very revealing moment about Harry Truman when you think of how he might have responded. At first he couldn't say anything. But when he was able to speak, he said to her, "Is there anything I can do for you?" Then, of course, she says to him, "No, Harry. Is there anything we can do for you? You're the one in trouble now."

He was a character on an odyssey who was in trouble of one kind or another much of his life—thrust in the jobs that he doesn't seem up to, but then he has to rise up to the occasion; whether it's to run the family farm when his father died, or whether it's to be an officer of an artillery battery in World War I, or whether it's to be a senator emerging from the shadow, the stigma of his Pendergast organization background. He always has to get out of the hole, so to speak. But this is the biggest hole he's ever in when he's suddenly president because Franklin Roosevelt had told him nothing. Most people know that he had been told nothing by the president about the atomic bomb, but that was only part of it. He was told nothing about anything by Roosevelt, which was not only, in my view, irresponsible on Roosevelt's part, but unkind. So when Mrs. Roosevelt says, "You're the one that is in trouble now," she knew what she was talking about.

IMAGINE, THE PRESIDENT of the United States sitting down every night writing, "Dear Mama and Mary Jane," from Potsdam [in 1945], where he's meeting with Churchill and Stalin for the first time. He's never been on the world stage

before, let alone on the world stage with such figures as Churchill and Stalin. He had no small experience with stage fright. But he acquitted himself very well at Potsdam. Several of the people who were with him thought he did better overall than Roosevelt would have done.

Truman's affection, his devotion to Bess, is a very major part of his life. It's a very touching aspect of the story, and it's entirely true. . . . His courtship of her is one of the great stories that I know of, of pre-World War I middle America—this young fellow out on the farm who's in love with the daughter of a prominent, by the terms of Independence, well-to-do family. It's an uphill struggle. The family does not want her to marry him. It's his first campaign, and he pursues her. He doesn't let defeat discourage him. He's cheerful. He's devoted. He's loyal to her. He seems always to want to please her in the letters. He seems to be asking her always, "How am I measuring up?"

WHEN TRUMAN WENT OUT IN 1948, which in many ways is the ultimate expression of what he represents, and campaigned across the country in the so-called Whistle Stop Campaign, stopping the train at all the little towns along the way for twenty-two thousand miles, brutal—a physically shattering experience for lots of people who were on the train with him who . . . remember it vividly—he spoke to the people directly. He spoke spontaneously. He spoke complete sentences. His Latin teachers would have been very proud of him.

You read those speeches today and you think, Wouldn't it be wonderful, wouldn't it be reassuring if someone were as direct with us as that man was every day, five, six, fifteen times a day at these little stops? Talking about problems, talking about solutions, talking about where he stood, and never whining, never blaming other people, never blaming his star, so to speak. [He had] dogged determination and the conviction that he was going to win, which was shared by nobody. None of the experts, none of the pollsters, none of the professional politicians thought he had a chance.

IF THERE WAS ONE STARTLING DISCOVERY I made, it was that he had a pop in the morning. . . . Apparently it was his way of getting the engine going. He would go for his walk, which was a good vigorous two-mile fast walk or more than two miles, come back and do some sitting-up exercises and have a rub-down, and then have a drink. When I was first told this by the [White House] assistant head usher, J. B. West, I thought, Well, no, that couldn't be. But it was confirmed by two or three other accounts as well.

HE WAS A LIFELONG READER. I asked Margaret one day, "What would be your father's idea of heaven?" She said, "Oh, that's easy. It would be a good comfortable armchair and a good reading lamp and a stack of new history and

biography that he wanted to read." He once said that all readers can't be leaders, but all leaders must be readers, and particularly history and biography.

His sense of history is one of the crucial aspects of him as a president. It meant that he knew that what mattered in the long run was the judgment of history, the judgment of the country in the long run. He could ride out the sinking polls or the calls for his impeachment, say, when he fired General MacArthur. . . . He knew that in the long run, he would be judged to have done the right thing, to have upheld civilian control of the military.

HE WAS VERY STUBBORN [IN DEATH], holding on long after he should have died in the hospital. I think he was sustained by what was then considered to be miraculous modern medicine longer than he should have been. He was a model patient. He never complained. It was a complete breakdown of the whole system—the heart, the lungs, the intestines, everything. [Bess] lived almost ten more years.

I WOULD NOT ONLY VOTE FOR HIM, I'd go out and work hard to see that he was elected. He wasn't perfect. He did make mistakes. His loyalty program was a serious mistake, and he made other mistakes. But he reminds us of what a man in that job can be and what he can do. It wasn't just that he made decisions. He accomplished things.

September 11, 2000

Reagan:

- A major wrap-up speech on foreign policy to the American Enterprise Institute on Dec. 7
- A major wrap-up address on domestic policy on Dec. 13.
- A major address on the state of the economy on Nov. 17 to the National Chamber Foundation.
- A major speech on the presidency and the role of government on Dec. 16 at the University of Virginia.
- Four farewell events, including: one radio address, one farewell address from the Oval, one White House ceremony, one dinner (hosted by Republican Members of Congress).

L.B.J:

- a major wrap-up speech on foreign relations and world peace on 9/10/68 in New Orleans before the 50th Annual National Convention of the American Legion.
- a major wrap-up speech on race and equal opportunity on 11/19/68 in New York at the Annual Equal Opportunity Awards Dinner of the National Urban League.
- a major wrap-up speech on the economy on 12/4/68 in Washington, DC to the members of the Business Council.
- a major reflective speech in New York City at the Farewell Dinner Honoring the President.
- Final State of the Union delivered on 1/14/69.

Eisenhower:

- a major foreign policy speech in New York City on 9/22/60 before the 15th General Assembly of the United Nations
- a major speech on the economy and trade in Detroit on 10/17/60 at the National Automobile Show Industry Dinner
- a major reflective speech in Houston on 10/24/60 before the faculty and students of Rice University

--Final State of the Union speech on 1/12/61

-- Farewell Radio and Television Address to the American People on January 17, 1961.

Truman:

--a major speech on health and medicine in Philadelphia on 9/16/52 at the American Hospital Association Convention

--a major speech on health and medicine in Washington, DC on 11/19/52 before the Association of Military Surgeons

--a major speech on defense in Washington, DC on 12/16/52 before the Alumni Association of the Industrial College of the Armed Forces

--a major speech on the Korean War and peace at Fort McNair in Washington DC on 12/19/52 at the National War College

--Final State of the Union speech on 1/7/53

-- Farewell Address to the American People on January 15, 1953- Broadcast from his office in the White House. *val*

Wells Fargo Bank; Edwin Etherington, president, Wesleyan University; Edward Daly, president and chairman of the board, World Airways, Oakland, Calif.; John Loeb, senior partner, Carl M. Loeb, Rhoades & Company; Everett Mattson, senior executive vice president, Lomas & Nettleton West, Inc., Houston, Texas; George Meany, president, AFL-CIO; David Rockefeller, president and chairman of the executive committee, The Chase Manhattan Bank; John Wheeler, president, Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, N.C.; and James Ling, chairman of the executive committee and chief executive officer, Ling-Temco-Vought, Dallas, Texas.

The Partnership holds forth an exciting promise for the future. It can rank among our most significant national achievements

as we move to honor a longstanding pledge—"A decent home for every American family."

NOTE: The National Housing Partnership was established by the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 (see Item 426). On September 13 the nomination of six additional incorporators was announced, as follows: Donald C. Burnham, president, Westinghouse Electric Corporation, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Gilbert W. Fitzhugh, president and chief executive officer, Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., New York City; William A. Hewitt, president and chairman of the board, Deere & Co., Moline, Ill.; Andre Meyer, senior partner, Lazard Freres & Co., New York City; Stuart Saunders, chairman of the board, Pennsylvania-Central Railroad Co., Philadelphia, Pa.; and Leon N. Weiner, immediate past president, National Association of Homebuilders, Wilmington, Del.

For the President's message to Congress on urban problems, see Item 87. For a statement by the President upon appointing the Committee on Urban Housing in June 1967, see 1967 volume, this series, Book I, Item 252.

472 Remarks in New Orleans Before the 50th Annual National Convention of the American Legion. *September 10, 1968*

Mr. Chairman, Commander Galbraith, Senator Ellender, Congressman Teague, distinguished members of the American Legion and Ladies Auxiliary, my fellow Americans:

I am deeply touched and very grateful for your thoughtfulness and for the presentation of this award, on behalf of the men who have demonstrated their love of country.

Today, I have come here to your convention to speak to you in a keynote talk about world peace—about your President's efforts to achieve it—the progress we have made—as well as the tasks that lie ahead.

It was 50 years ago this very month that the eyes of the world were turned on the efforts of the American doughboys to reach a railroad running across France, which happened to be the main supply line, at that time, of the German Army.

I remember then, as a 10-year-old boy,

how we followed the news of the Meuse-Argonne offensive in that fall of the year 1918.

Some of you in this room no doubt fought through that battle.

Some of you were there, 2 months later, when the first world war in history was brought to an end.

Now we know how brief the illusion of peace was, on that Armistice Day a half a century ago. In the course of five stormy decades, we have learned how carefully peace must be built in a complex and dangerous world—as well as how well peace must be guarded.

World War I had been ignited by a very small flame in the Balkans. That was our first lesson. Others followed in rapid profusion:

—We saw depressions leap continents.

We saw democracy weaken and break under their weight.

—We witnessed the rise of dictators and we watched aggressors stalk across borders.

—We fought through the Second World War which came in the wake of their bootmarks—and before the dust of war had really settled, we saw the rise of a new aggression.

—We beheld the dawn of a nuclear age.

—We saw the birth of new nations, and the death of old colonialism.

—And from a dozen different parts of the globe, we heard the long pent-up cry for food and land and a new day of hope and dignity.

These are the conditions and the developments of our turbulent times. Around them, America has constructed a policy to try to promote peace in the world.

That policy did not begin in my administration. That has been our policy for more than 20 years in the making. It was shaped in a bipartisan spirit, by Republicans and Democrats.

It has been followed by four different American Presidents.

I have built upon it. I have strengthened it where I could. I have modified it where I needed to, to meet the changing demands of the changing years. But we have always held to four essential imperatives.

The first imperative—constant from President Truman's day to mine—is this: The United States of America must remain the strongest nation in all the world.

I have tried to take steps, even small ones, that would move us toward more normal relations with the Soviet Union and other Communist countries.

We shall continue that progress in every honorable way that is open to us. World safety demands that the two greatest powers

on earth reduce—if they possibly can—the tensions that have held mankind in mortal bondage for more than a generation.

But I have always also been deeply aware—and I have constantly and steadily warned—that many dangerous and unresolved problems face us.

Some, however, concluded that changes of such magnitude were taking place in the Communist world that we could relax our vigilance, trusting that the Communists wanted the same kind of world that we Americans wanted.

Today, the events in Eastern Europe make it clear—and make it clear with the force of steel—that we are still a long way—a long way—from the peaceful world that we Americans all wish to see.

The message out of Czechoslovakia is plain: The independence of nations and the liberty of men are today still under challenge. The free parts of the world will survive only if they are capable of maintaining their strength and capable of maintaining and building their unity.

So, peace remains our objective. But we shall never achieve it by wishful thinking, nor by disunity, nor by weakness.

The second imperative of our policy for peace is that we must meet our commitments and keep our promises to use our strength in the face of common danger to oppose aggression.

Self-interest has always been—and must always be—at the root of every action which commits the lives of American men.

When we entered the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, NATO, we did so because the threat of a Communist takeover of Europe was real, and because we knew that America's security was linked to the security of Western Europe.

If its human and material resources in Europe were to fall into hostile hands, then

the balance of world power would be against America. We would have to become a bristling defensive fortress here at home, organized against an enormous, dangerous threat. We would have to live under conditions that are drastically different from any conditions that we have ever known.

So that is why America helped formulate, organize, and joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. And that is why we are a strong part of that organization today.

When we fought to keep aggression from swallowing up South Korea, it was President Harry S. Truman who defined the self-interest that impelled our stand. Unchallenged aggression, President Truman said, and I quote him, "would mean a third world war, just as similar incidents had brought on the second world war."

When President Eisenhower sent troops into Lebanon, it was to keep a situation from developing that could trigger in the Middle East, and then could draw us in.

When President Eisenhower committed us to the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, and he submitted it to our United States Senate during the Eisenhower administration, it was voted and ratified there by a vote of 82 to 1. It was because President Eisenhower saw Southeast Asia as the key to political equilibrium in the Orient that vitally affected America's future.

When President Kennedy brought in additional troops to Berlin in 1961, it was because America's self-interest demanded that we stand behind our pledge and our commitment to keep West Berlin free.

When President Kennedy put our forces on alert during the Cuban missile crisis the following year, it was because Soviet missiles in the Western Hemisphere jeopardized American security.

When the first American soldiers went into South Vietnam in the early 1960's, it

was because this Nation saw that if the Communist aggression there succeeded, the entire region of Southeast Asia would be in mortal danger, and the threat of world war would be more ominous.

We have heard many voices raised in opposition to this stand. Indeed, I have sought some of these voices out. For, as your President, I assure you in these long days and nights for more than 5 years now, we have searched every avenue of thought and opinion on this issue that so troubles all of our people today.

But after investigating carefully every possible course of action, I always come back to that warning of President Harry S. Truman about how unchallenged aggression could lead to another world war.

Inevitably, I always come back to that judgment of General Dwight D. Eisenhower, who said that if South Vietnam were captured by the Communists, "The freedom of 12 million people would be lost immediately, and that of 150 million others in adjacent lands would be seriously endangered. The loss of South Vietnam," President Eisenhower said, "would set in motion a crumbling process that could, as it progressed, have grave consequences for us and for freedom."

I always come back to these words, not of President Truman or President Eisenhower, but the late, beloved John Fitzgerald Kennedy, when he said, "for us to withdraw from that effort [in Vietnam] would mean a collapse not only of South Vietnam, but Southeast Asia. So we are going to stay there."

The judgments of these three former Presidents, as mine has been, were formed in positions of the greatest responsibility. After seeing, hearing, reading, and studying all the evidence, their judgments were formed and were unshakable. The American

Constitution obliges the President to make his judgment, as Commander in Chief, according to what he believes is in the best interest of all the American people.

And I have believed—as these three Presidents believed who went before me—that a Communist military takeover in South Vietnam would lead to developments that could imperil the security of the American people for generations to come.

I know very well the cost of our commitment. Every day and every night I mourn every man who has been lost or who has been wounded.

But a President, a President worthy of this title, if he is true to his trust, must think not only in terms of those who have fallen. He must think in terms of the casualties that might have been—or the dead who might be.

How many American lives would eventually have been lost if our forces had not stood in Europe in the late 1940's to block the aggression that threatened, at that time, to sweep the English Channel?

More than 34,000 American men fell in Korea, and hundreds of thousands more bear the wounds of Korean battle. But how many more doughboys would have died if the aggressor had not been stopped there, and the war had spread to other parts of the world?

If we had not drawn the line against aggression in Vietnam, in keeping with the treaty that we signed, the SEATO obligations, and if the erosion of freedom had begun that President Eisenhower told you about when I quoted him a moment ago, some American President—some President—some day would have to draw the line somewhere else. And I ask you, at how much greater cost? How many millions of young Americans would be lost in the larger war that would surely and inevitably come?

Well, these are the sobering questions that

no President or no Commander in Chief can escape.

From the very first, our objective in Vietnam has been to prevent the aggressor from taking that land by force.

We Americans have sought no advantage—except the advantage of peace. We have tried to fight a limited war—not to destroy an enemy, not to win a military victory, but to try in every way we knew how, as best we could, to protect our friends, remain true to our obligations, and win a peace in that part of the world.

We believed that to be very much in America's national interest then, and we believe it to be in America's national interest now.

On the night of March 31st, in a television address to this Nation, we launched a major new effort for peace. That was the latest of many.

We had already had eight bombing pauses. But on that night we announced that we would withdraw 90 percent of the population of Vietnam, almost 80 percent of the territory, from the area that our men were permitted to bomb.

As the result of that effort, our negotiating team would be willing to meet with the representatives of North Vietnam. The enemy suggested that we meet in Cambodia, and then he suggested that we meet in Poland. Against great odds and against the advice of some of our more eager people, we finally agreed not to meet in either of those places, but to meet in Paris. The wisdom of that decision, I think, is pretty clear to almost any of you today.

We continue now to hope that something productive is going to come out of those meetings.

All we have heard so far is a demand that we do something else without their having responded to our first bombing restrictions.

Now let me make it as clear as I possibly can why we are still bombing and will continue to bomb the panhandle of North Vietnam—why reestablishing the DMZ, I think, is so critical to peace in Vietnam.

In the area just below the DMZ, we and our allies have some four divisions of men and the necessary people to support them, involving more than 60,000 Americans and one division of South Vietnamese. Just behind them in the rest of I Corps are an additional 164,000 American and allied fighting men.

Those close to the DMZ are subjected daily to artillery fire and the direct movement of enemy forces across that DMZ against them. All those men in I Corps are constantly subjected to a massive flow of supplies and infiltrators and rocket fire, through the panhandle to the northern part of the battlefield.

Now, these are just hard, inescapable facts that a Commander in Chief must face up to and confront.

So what are our choices?

First, we could invade North Vietnam with our men. We could overrun their military positions. We could throttle the supply routes in North Vietnam itself. This we do not wish to do, although it should be clear that the North Vietnamese do wish to invade South Vietnam, and they are doing so—although they don't want to admit it.

Second, we could withdraw our forces. We could retreat and surrender on the installment plan, as some have suggested, by taking our men from below the DMZ, and turn over the I Corps area, that part of South Vietnam, turn it over to the North Vietnamese. This, I assure you, we shall not do.

If we cannot take our men in, and we are not going to take our men out, it appears to me, third, that the best thing we can do is to

bring our planes to bear in the panhandle across the line against the artillery, the trucks, and the rocket launchers that are being fired on our men, and to bring it to bear against the enemy trucks, the enemy troops, and the enemy supplies that are coming through. Because every secondary explosion—and there were thousands there last month—means that that powder and that steel doesn't have to be brought back from South Vietnam by some American soldier in his body, if it is stopped in North Vietnam.

We are today exacting a very substantial price from the enemy. It requires patience of all of us. But we are limiting his capacity to bring weight against our forces and our allies. There is not the slightest doubt that if we should stop the bombing in the panhandle, the military capacity of the enemy to hurt our forces would greatly increase, and our casualties would skyrocket.

Just a few days ago, I went to the field with a cable and asked the commander of our troops in South Vietnam, one of the ablest commanders ever to wear a uniform, General Abrams, to give me his viewpoint on what would happen if I should order him to carry out the suggestion that had been made by some of our enemies abroad and some of our friends at home to stop the bombing.

His reply was simply this: If you should require me to stop the bombing of North Vietnam, you would permit the enemy to increase his capability several fold in 10 days, and if he did, I would be forced to withdraw our men from that area because they could no longer stand their ground.

Now, I am not going to issue any order like that.

General Abrams—and not a single field commander we have has made that recommendation to me. I am not a prophet or a

speculator, but I do prophesy that some of these men who recommend it now would not do so if they were there on the DMZ, and could see there what our men face every day and face every night.

Therefore, the Commander in Chief has insisted that the bombing will not stop until we are confident that it will not lead to an increase in American casualties. That is why we have placed such emphasis on reestablishing the DMZ.

We yearn for the day when the violence subsides. We yearn for the day when our men can come home. No man can predict when that day will come, because we are there to bring an honorable, stable peace to Southeast Asia, and no less will justify the sacrifices that our men have died for.

But President Thieu, the President of Vietnam, stated his intention at Honolulu—"to continue to assume all the responsibility that the scale of the forces of South Vietnam and their equipment will permit, while preparing the Vietnamese nation and armed forces for the important and decisive role that will be theirs in the coming stages of the struggle." Every report I receive from Saigon reports that the gallant, determined people of South Vietnam are acting in accordance with that statement.

The third imperative of our program to promote peace in the world, like the other two I have stated, is our effort to assist other countries to improve their economies. A man's home, however grand it is, is not secure if it stands on a street of crumbling slums, where people are hungry and in despair.

Whatever that man does to build up his neighborhood is an investment in his own security. This is the principle which has been the base of our program. It is here that the quiet work has progressed. This is slow

work and this is stubborn work. But from South Korea to Turkey—from Taiwan to Iran—from Pakistan to Tunisia—there are many success stories in which Americans can share the great pride of accomplishment.

Let me tell you, briefly, what has been happening in just one area in our hemisphere, in Latin America, in the last few years. With our help, a great struggle has been taking place to overcome hunger and ignorance. These are the victories:

- The average per capita growth has more than doubled.

- 43 million acres of land have been distributed to almost 400,000 families.

- Food production has increased 14 percent, and manufacturing production has gone up 23 percent.

- There are 340,000 new schools, and 7 million more children getting an education today.

- Infant mortality has dropped 14 percent.

The growth of confidence, the birth of hope, have changed history around the globe. And this is the kind of change which helps us to build peace.

We have always hoped and believed that as our friends and allies grew in strength, our burden would grow less lonely. We have been moving over the last few years toward a long-term position in which the United States would be able to assume its responsibility in enterprises of common concern, and our partners would be able to assume theirs.

This progress, too, is often hard to see. But it is there. In Asia, six Pacific allies are fighting beside us in South Vietnam. By far the greatest burden in that struggle—contrary to what is often said—is carried not by these allies, but carried by the South Vietnamese themselves. Since the beginning of the current offensive in mid-August of

this year, they have suffered almost 50 percent more casualties than we Americans have suffered.

By the end of this year, the South Vietnamese will have 1 million men under arms—1 million—993,000, to be exact; 7,000 short of a million. That is out of a nation of 17 million. We have there 550,000, not a million, out of a nation of 200 million. But they have a million men under arms out of a nation of 17 million, and they don't control all of that 17 million.

The equivalent figure, in terms of population, if we had as high a percentage of our people at the front as they have, instead of having 500,000, we would have 12 million.

So this is a rather remarkable effort by a hard-pressed, small nation that is fighting and dying for liberty that you don't always hear very much about.

The contribution of our NATO partners offers another example of partnership. U.S. forces are one-eighth of the ground forces in NATO Europe. But they are a critical element in the balance, because they—and their nuclear weapons that are there with them—supply the shield which enables our allies to provide increasingly for the defense of Western Europe.

We have a right to expect Europe to do more—and we might as well say that plainly and frankly. We have a right to expect them to do more in their own defense.

The world of free men and independent nations is weakened by European isolationism and disunity—as it was once weakened by an isolationist America that it took President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill a long time to wake up.

We must look to the further enlargement of Europe's assumption of responsibilities of their own in the future. In monetary affairs, in trade negotiations, in emergency food

problems—across Asia and Europe and Latin America—the shift to partnership effort has already, I assure you, been substantial. Our relative burdens, as the years go by, become lighter.

I believe the day will soon come—which we have been building toward for 20 years—when some American President will be able to say to the American people that the United States is assuming its fair share of responsibility for promoting peace and progress in the world, but the United States of America is assuming no more or no less than its fair share.

While we can reduce our responsibilities, we must all be cautious enough never to allow anyone to persuade us to neglect them. In the 1960's, I warn you there just must be no return to the isolationism of the 1930's that brought on World War II.

I warn you that the voice of isolationism is becoming strident once again in some of the places that we heard this same isolationist voice a generation ago. Some of it is in Congress. Some of it is on the campuses. Some of it is on the farms. Some of it is on the streets.

We say, "Oh, why should we be bothered with the problems across the seas?" We might say we don't need to be bothered with smallpox in the next block, but the facts of life are, if it is in the next block, we have to watch it and help stamp it out before it gets to our house.

The fourth imperative for peace is that we use our influence, however we can, to keep trouble from erupting into an all-out war—or to keep wars themselves from spreading. Through the United Nations, through the Organization of American States, and sometimes, but rarely, alone, we have already helped to dampen the fires of many potential conflicts in the last 10 years.

America shouldered arms half a century ago "to make the world safe for democracy." Later it became quite fashionable to deride that slogan. For it seemed to belong to a simpler time, a time that was uncomplicated by a shrinking globe, and the new face of aggression, and the restlessness of emerging nations.

But I wonder today, looking back, if the derision did not come too soon. Democracy has had its times of frustration, it is true. Democracy has even had its times of failure. We know it is the best—but we also know it is the most difficult—way for men to organize their own affairs.

Today, vast reaches of this world have become safe for democracy. There is something deep in the human spirit which, in the end, demands government as a result of the consent of those governed.

Democracy is showing the strength which prophets 30 years ago did not believe it could show. We are not evangelizing democracy around the world. We are content to let every people choose their own paths for development. But we are working to promote peace. And as it happens, peace is the only environment in which democracy can actually grow and thrive.

In conclusion, I would remind every loyal son of the Legion, the men who have worn the uniform of this country and have carried Old Glory to every corner of the world, and brought her back without a stain on it: I would warn you, peace lovers, those men who love peace more than you love life, but are

willing to defend freedom with your own life, that the ingredients of peace are these: strength, conviction, principle, compassion, constancy, patience, and above all, my fellow Legionnaires, courage.

Treaties—treaties—yes, we have hundreds of them. Meaningful treaties are not hammered out by cowards who are afraid to stand up for what is right when the going is tough, or afraid to die for freedom when they are required to do so.

So, this afternoon I appeal to you to support your country, to support your fighting men, to support peace by maintaining strength in this country; by refusing, always, to bow to the demands of the moment; by refusing, always, to sacrifice principle and the things we hold dear; by standing as firm at home as you expect your sons to stand abroad, and ask yourself if you are doing it.

If you do this, then I think history will say that we caught up with the promise of Pershing's doughboys. I can think of no finer judgment to be made on you, or on me, or on our times, or on the America that we all love.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:07 p.m. at the Municipal Auditorium in New Orleans, La. In his opening words he referred to William E. Galbraith, National Commander of the American Legion, Senator Allen J. Ellender of Louisiana, and Representative Olin E. Teague of Texas. During his remarks he referred to Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Commander, United States Military Assistance Command, Vietnam. The President was presented with the American Legion Distinguished Service Medal by Commander Galbraith.

473 ~~Statement~~ by the President on the 10th Anniversary of the National Defense Education Act. September 10, 1968

ABOUT 10 years and 1 month ago, I made a speech to my Senate colleagues about a bill we were acting upon.

"History may well record," I told them, "that we saved liberty and saved freedom when we undertook a crash program in the

Reagan:

- A major wrap-up speech on foreign policy to the American Enterprise Institute on Dec. 7
- A major wrap-up address on domestic policy on Dec. 13.
- A major address on the state of the economy on Nov. 17 to the National Chamber Foundation.
- A major speech on the presidency and the role of government on Dec. 16 at the University of Virginia.
- Four farewell events, including: one radio address, one farewell address from the Oval, one White House ceremony, one dinner (hosted by Republican Members of Congress).

L.B.J.:

- a major wrap-up speech on foreign relations and world peace on 9/10/68 in New Orleans before the 50th Annual National Convention of the American Legion.
- a major wrap-up speech on race and equal opportunity on 11/19/68 in New York at the Annual Equal Opportunity Awards Dinner of the National Urban League.
- a major wrap-up speech on the economy on 12/4/68 in Washington, DC to the members of the Business Council.
- a major reflective speech in New York City at the Farewell Dinner Honoring the President.
- Final State of the Union delivered on 1/14/69.

Eisenhower:

- a major foreign policy speech in New York City on 9/22/60 before the 15th General Assembly of the United Nations
- a major speech on the economy and trade in Detroit on 10/17/60 at the National Automobile Show Industry Dinner
- a major reflective speech in Houston on 10/24/60 before the faculty and students of Rice University
- Final State of the Union speech on 1/12/61

-- Farewell Radio and Television Address to the American People on January 17, 1961.

Truman:

--a major speech on health and medicine in Philadelphia on 9/16/52 at the American Hospital Association Convention

--a major speech on health and medicine in Washington, DC on 11/19/52 before the Association of Military Surgeons

--a major speech on defense in Washington, DC on 12/16/52 before the Alumni Association of the Industrial College of the Armed Forces

--a major speech on the Korean War and peace at Fort McNair in Washington DC on 12/19/52 at the National War College

--Final State of the Union speech on 1/7/53

-- Farewell Address to the American People on January 15, 1953- Broadcast from his office in the White House.

December 16, 1952- Address Before the Alumni Association of the Industrial College of the Armed Forces. (Fort McNair, Washington, DC)

- defense

December 19, 1952- Address at the National War College (Fort McNair, Washington, DC)

- Korean War, peace

✓ January 7, 1953- State of the Union

~~January 9, 1953- Annual Budget Message~~

~~January 14, 1953- Annual Economic Report to Congress~~

January 19, 1953- Special Message to the Congress on the Nation's Land and Water Resources.

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Did he give talk to
Auer 1956

But I had a little presidential charm made up. What it is is a bracelet, something like the one that she has there on her arm. You will see it. I want you to take this bracelet and have my initials and your initials put on it along with this date because Webster's says, "A charm is to ward off evil"—a little late to be giving it to you—"and to insure good luck."

If there is any group here that I want to ward off evil and to insure good luck, it is this group.

This charm will be given to you in behalf of all of us in this First Family as a little token of our appreciation for what you have done.

I said to the telephone operators the other day that they were my "first line of defense and offense." They have served me at every hour of the night and morning competently and well. I can say that of you, too.

Maybe I can't thank you on behalf of Lyn like I did the telephone operators. I said, "Mrs. Johnson and I have relied on you to

bring us the word of disaster or delight, whichever it happened to be, in the world. But Lyn has relied on you just for delight." When he comes he has all the telephone operators going at one time when he takes the phones off the hook.

I want to thank you on behalf of Mrs. Johnson, our daughters, our granddaughter, and Lyn for the wonderful things you have done for us.

God bless you and happy landing to all of you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:19 p.m. in the Fish Room at the White House, where he met with the secretaries for picture-taking.

During his remarks the President referred to Sam Rayburn, Representative from Texas 1913-1961, who served as Speaker of the House of Representatives 1940-1947, 1949-1953, 1955-1961; Mrs. Juanita Duggan Roberts, Personal Secretary to the President; and Mary Alice Rather, Assistant to the Special Assistant to the President. The President also referred to the period from 1932 to 1935 when he was employed as a secretary in the office of Representative Richard M. Kleberg, Sr., of Texas.

For remarks of the President to the White House telephone operators, see Item 588.

596 Remarks in New York City at the Annual Equal Opportunity Awards Dinner of the National Urban League.

November 19, 1968

Mr. Linen, Mr. Young, directors and members of the National Urban League, ladies and gentlemen:

I wanted to come here tonight, not only to join you in paying tribute to an old friend and his fellow award winners, but to reaffirm my dedication to equal human rights in America.

A good many of you have sat by my side during the past 5 years and have tried to help me as I tried to keep America moving toward the only destiny that is worthy of her greatness—as a just and prosperous Nation, where opportunity is open to all.

I remember those hours—some bright with promise and some shadowed by tragedy. But all of them were filled with challenge to those of us who sought one America—one hopeful, free America, from which bigotry is banished and from which the races of man have learned tolerance and mutual respect.

There was the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the struggle to write into law each American's right to a job, to equal treatment in public places, to justice in the expenditure of public funds. Many of you were there in that struggle.

Then there was Selma, and the Voting

Rights Act of 1965 that grew out of it. Many of you joined me in saying that despite the blind anger of some men and the apathy of other men, we shall overcome.

Then there were the riots of 1965, 1966, and 1967, when frustration turned into violence, and racists of both colors called for an Armageddon in which our dreams—as well as our cities—would go up in smoke. Many of you denounced that suicidal course, and called upon our great Nation to turn from self-destruction to self-renewal.

Then there was the Fair Housing Act of 1968 when at last we declared that Americans were not to be cordoned off against their will in racial ghettos.

Throughout this time, there were moments of grief, as when a great civil rights leader was shot down and his voice forever lost; moments of doubt, when it appeared that many of our people would respond to the racists and the demagogues who played upon their resentments and who played upon their fears; and moments of achievement and hope when great numbers of Negroes began voting all through the South, when black incomes began rising, when some of the highest offices in Government including the Supreme Court and the Cabinet, were occupied for the first time by Negro Americans.

Many of you were there in the White House with me, at those moments. And many others of you were out in the cities—in the board rooms, in the personnel offices, at the editorial desks, in city halls, in the councils of labor—urging your fellow Americans to break down the bars that separate black Americans from a share in the common good.

Nothing that we have done in these years would have really been achieved without you.

Nothing that must be done in the years ahead can be achieved without you.

And if you are inclined—after these years of struggle and success in winning legal rights for all Americans—to rest for a while, consider where you are resting:

- with nonwhite incomes rising, but still only 60 percent of white incomes;
- with the number of nonwhite families earning \$8,000 a year, almost doubling in the past 5 years, but with one family in three still living in poverty tonight;
- with unemployment among nonwhite married men less than half of what that unemployment was 5 years ago, but with one teenager in four looking tonight for work and being unable to find it;
- with the number of Negro professionals, white-collar workers, and craftsmen rising sharply, but with opportunities for millions still limited just to menial and custodial jobs;
- with mortality rates for Negro babies falling, but still it is three times those for white babies;
- with millions of Negro fathers better able to care for their families, but with one family in four headed by the mother—more than that in many ghetto areas.

So, it is true, we have come a long way. We have made a lot of verbal commitments. We have even changed a great many lives already for the better. But we are nowhere, nowhere in sight of where we must be before we can rest.

Not when Cliff Alexander tells me that out of 4,200 New York businesses reporting to his Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 27 percent had no Negro employees at all working for them. And 43 percent had no Negro white-collar workers. Forty-five percent had no Puerto Rican employees. Even some of our most insistent voices for human rights in the fourth estate had few,

or no minority group Americans in any positions of responsibility.

I know that many of you here tonight are changing that picture, and others want to see a change. I believe that it must be changed if this country is ever going to make it.

Back in the 1930's, we used to hear the opposition talk about "property rights" each time a proposal came up to establish a minimum wage, or to give labor the right to collective bargaining, or to try to control the spread of monopolies.

Well, I think some of us have sounded too cavalier in our response to that argument about property rights. For property rights are precious and they are necessary rights in our democratic society.

What we really objected to all along was that not enough people had property rights—because not enough people had property.

So what we have all been trying to do in these past 2 years is to increase the number of property holders and to increase the size of what they hold.

If we have planted one idea in the American consciousness I hope it is this: Every man, woman and child has at least one property right. It is the right to opportunity.

The task of government, business, and labor, of the news media, of the schools, and of the organizations like the Urban League, is to protect and to extend that right—to make it just as real for the child of Harlem as it is for the child of the most prosperous suburb.

When we break the barriers to his father's promotion, we do that.

When we put some living color into our TV ads, we do that. [*Laughter*]

When we expand our economy and when we resist those voices who call for a little more unemployment as medicine for inflation, we do that.

When we insist that the programs that we have begun be supplied with funds, and the rights that we have written together be enforced, then we do that.

I promise you one thing: For as long as I live, I shall remain joined with you in fighting for that right to opportunity.

Back in March 1965 when they were parading in front of the White House and when they were marching in Selma, one day I decided I would go to the Congress that night and ask for the privilege of addressing a joint session on the television networks of this Nation in order to ask for the right to vote for all the people of America.

As I was flying up here this evening, I thought I would just remake a part of that speech that I made in March 1965. I said:

So we want to open the gates to opportunity. But we are also going to have to give all of our people, black and white, the help that they need to walk through those gates.

My first job after college was as a teacher in a little town, in Cotulla, Texas, in a small Mexican-American school. Few of my students could even speak English. And I regret to say I could not speak any Spanish. My students were poor and they often came to class without any breakfast, hungry. They knew—even in their youth they knew—the pain of prejudice. They never seemed to know why people disliked them—they just knew they did. But they knew it was so, because I could see it every morning in their eyes. I often walked home late in the afternoon, after school was out and the classes were finished, and the children had left the playground. All of the time I was wishing, wishing there was more that I could find it possible to do. But all I knew was to teach them the little that I did know, hoping that it might help them against the

hardships that they would face afterwards in life.

Somehow, I said to the Members of Congress, you never forget what poverty and hatred can do when you see its scars on the hopeful face of a young child.

I went on to the Congress: I never thought then, in 1928, that I would be standing here in 1965. It never occurred to me, never, never in my fondest dreams, that some day I would be President and that I might have the chance to help the sons and daughters of those students that I taught, and to help people like them all over this country.

Then I said to the Congress: Tonight I am President, and tonight I do have the chance, and tonight I am going to let you in on a little secret. I have that chance, and they say the President's office is the most powerful office in the land. And I'm going to let you in on this secret: I am going to make the most of this chance and I am going to use every bit of the power that I have to see that these wrongs are righted.

This is the richest and this is the most powerful nation in all the world.

I feel tonight like Winston Churchill is reputed to have felt one time when the little ladies of the Temperance Union came in, in

the closing days of World War II, to complain to the Prime Minister about his drinking habits. The spokesman said: "Mr. Prime Minister, we are told that if all the brandy that you have drunk throughout this war were poured into this room it would come up to about here."

The Prime Minister looked at the floor, looked to the little lady's hand measuring about half the room, and then looked at the ceiling and said: "My dear little lady, so little have I done." Then he looked at the ceiling and said: "So much I have yet to do."

So as we look back over the 5 years that we have traveled this road and all that we have tried to do and those little things that we have done, we all, like Prime Minister Churchill, recognize that so little have we done, but so much we all have yet to do.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10 p.m. in the ballroom of the New York Hilton Hotel in New York City. In his opening words he referred to James A. Linen, President of the National Urban League and Whitney M. Young, Jr., Executive Director of the League. During his remarks he referred to Clifford L. Alexander, Jr., Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

The President also referred to civil rights demonstrations held in Selma, Ala., in March 1965 (see 1965 volume, this series, Book I, Item 104).

For the President's message to Congress of March 15, 1965, from which he quoted, see 1965 volume, this series, Book I, Item 107, page 286.

597 Presidential Unit Citation Awarded the 602d Fighter Squadron, Pacific Air Forces. *November 20, 1968*

CITATION TO ACCOMPANY THE AWARD OF
THE PRESIDENTIAL UNIT CITATION
TO THE
602D FIGHTER SQUADRON

The 602d Fighter Squadron, Pacific Air Forces, distinguished itself by extraordinary heroism in connection with military operations against opposing armed forces in South-

east Asia from 12 April 1967 to 30 July 1967. During this period, the pilots of the 602d Fighter Squadron flew approximately 400 sorties a month in the accomplishment of their diverse and extremely hazardous mission. Despite a formidable array of defenses, the Squadron was responsible for the safe recovery of 25 aircrew members, approximately 2,000 enemy troop losses, and the de-

our cities all over the globe. Schools and colleges are prevented from educating students.

I saw a report the other day where universities in more than 25 of the leading nations had been taken over.

Laws are flouted. Moral and political leaders are struck down by assassination. Every society today is emerging and discovering new divisions, new separations, and new alienations.

We just cannot allow the centrifugal forces at work to break up the democratic societies which so many have labored so long to build and to perfect.

We must do everything that we can, therefore, to help restore a sense of community, a sense of belonging, and a sense of respect, so as to make real the ultimate human right which is really respect for life itself.

For the time that you have given, and the dedication that you have applied—as I said to Governor Harriman, if he could come across the Atlantic to attend this meeting, I thought I should come around the circle to greet him here.

I came across to thank each and every

one of you for your interest, for your purpose, and for what you are doing.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:55 p.m. in the International Conference Room at the Department of State to the National Conference on Continuing Action for Human Rights. In his opening words he referred to W. Averell Harriman, former Governor of New York and U.S. representative to the Paris peace talks with North Vietnam. During his remarks he referred to Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the United States.

The President also referred to Executive Order 9981 of July 26, 1948 "Establishing the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services" (13 F.R. 4313; 3 CFR, 1943-1948 Comp., p. 722); and to the U.S. Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, declaring racial segregation in the public schools unconstitutional (United States Supreme Court Reports, 1954, 349 U.S. 294, 99 L. Ed. 1083).

The President's Commission for the Observance of Human Rights Year 1968 was established by Executive Order 11394 of January 30, 1968 (4 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 173; 33 F.R. 2429; 3 CFR, 1968 Comp., p. 97).

An interim report of the Commission was submitted to the President on November 6, 1968 (4 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 1578).

The Commission's final report, transmitted to the President on January 30, 1969, is entitled "To Continue Action for Human Rights" (Government Printing Office, 62 pp.).

612 Remarks to Members of the Business Council.

December 4, 1968

I WANT to talk to you today about one of the great success stories in the history of our Nation—the modern American economy.

You leaders of the Business Council can claim authorship for some of its most exciting and significant chapters.

I do not say that lightly, or take your efforts for granted. It has been my privilege as President to have you as partners for 5 eventful years. You have given me strength, comfort, and satisfaction to last for all my years. I thank you most heartfully for that.

I will leave the White House next January as many of my predecessors have, carrying a debt to America's businessmen in my bags.

I share it, for instance, with Abraham Lincoln—one of numerous Presidents to receive invaluable advice and assistance from the business community.

For example, there was the day that President Lincoln and his Secretary of the Treasury, Salmon P. Chase, faced a great dilemma. They were preparing to issue a new green-

back, but there was no gold in the Treasury to back it up. The problem was the inscription that should be put on the new currency: What on earth could it say?

President Lincoln and Secretary Chase racked their brains. Then they had a brilliant idea—one that has occurred to me on more than a few occasions: Call in the businessmen.

So they did. The Business Council of that day convened. They heard long and elaborate explanations of the problem, and then there was a great silence. President Lincoln was really getting worried when, finally, one of the businessmen stood up and said, very softly: "Mr. President, I think there is only one inscription that currency can carry."

"And what is that?" asked the President.

"I believe, sir," said the businessman, "that it would be best to put on it what Peter said to Paul: 'Silver and gold have I none, but such as I have give I thee.'"

That is the kind of hard-headed business advice that a President learns to appreciate.

And the same is true for ex-Presidents. I have been told of how Herbert Hoover, shortly after leaving the Presidency, was walking down a street with his Secretary of the Treasury, the very businesslike and tough-minded Andrew Mellon.

Very few people recognized them as they walked along. Suddenly, Mr. Hoover remembered that he had to make a phone call. He asked Mr. Mellon for a nickel, explaining that he had to call a friend. Andrew Mellon shrugged, dug down in his pocket and held out his hand, saying, "Here's a dime. Call both of them."

I don't know if I will be walking down any streets with Secretary Fowler, but if I do, I hope he will at least hand me a dollar's worth of change. And if he does, I will probably use it to telephone some of you—

good friends with whom I want to keep in touch.

I believe there will be many moments in the years ahead when we will be happy to look back and count the blessings of these years.

I happen to think that America needs to count its blessings once in a while—as well as its faults. And the particular blessing I'm talking about, America's unparalleled prosperity, is going to go a long way toward correcting our faults, if we have the foresight to preserve it and the wisdom to use it properly.

When I ask my advisers to describe this prosperity in concrete terms, they reply, as your advisers do, with a list of figures a block long. I am going to use some of those figures here; not because I am enamored of figures, or because I want to celebrate the virtues of this administration, but because the figures tell a story of what Americans have achieved by using their intelligence and listening to their conscience in these years.

Today, the United States is in the 94th month of the longest uninterrupted period of economic growth we have ever known.

Our gross national product has grown by almost 75 percent since January 1961. For every dollar of increase in GNP due to higher prices, there were \$3 due to greater production. That's equivalent to almost \$300 billion real growth in today's prices.

But this is only the story outline. It is the story-within-the-story that must be read today, because it holds the greatest lesson for tomorrow.

It is the great human drama of what we have done with our enormous wealth; how we have used it to better the lives of our people; how we have invested it in our people and resources to lift the level and quality of American life.

In all our history, we Americans have never gone so long without recession or depression, without unemployment throwing chaos into our work force and fear into the hearts of families, without sales and profits hitting the skids. More Americans are working today—earning more, spending more, living better—than ever before. With sustained and rapid growth adding 50 percent to the real output of our Nation:

- we have raised America's living standards;
- we have increased and modernized the productive capacity of American industry;
- we have made great progress in meeting the public needs of our citizens.

Now I know that prosperity is not the complete answer to America's problems. But anyone who thinks we can solve these problems without a strong and healthy economy just does not understand the world we live in. What we have tried to build in the last 7½ years is a rich nation that is able to exercise its social conscience.

When I first entered public life, America was torn by two opposing economic theories: the "trickle-down" theory and the "sock-it-to-'em" theory.

The "trickle-down" theory argued that all America needed was prosperity for the business community and the money would eventually find its way down to the people at the bottom of the economic ladder.

It worked just like it sounded. By the time the money got down to the poor people, it was nothing more than a trickle—a drip, and that was when things were prosperous. If we had a recession, the money stopped altogether.

It's like the farmer said down in my part of the country about the Great Depression: "It wouldn't have been so bad if it hadn't come right in the middle of hard times."

The "sock-it-to-'em" theory called for a heavy taxation of profits and a reduction of the living standards of the middle-income and upper-income families to raise living standards for the poor.

But this becomes dangerous if you carry it too far. If you take too much away from the top, you discourage industrial expansion, which creates new jobs and you slow the expansion of the economy as a whole, which creates even more jobs, and more money.

In the long run, each theory is just another way of slicing the same pie.

But in this administration, we set about to do something new—to use a "New Economics."

We decided to bake a larger pie each year; a pie with more and bigger slices, including some for a direct attack on our neglected social problems.

In 5 years we enlarged that real economic pie by \$180 billion—after allowing for price increases. That \$180 billion has no inflation in it. That gain has given millions of Americans access to goods and services they needed, but despaired of achieving in their lifetimes.

Consider what has happened to the people's income since late 1963:

- Total personal income increased by almost half or \$220 billion.
- Total wages and salaries are up by \$150 billion, nearly one-and-a-half times the Nation's 1967 food bill.
- Corporate profits are up by nearly half, both before and after taxes, and dividends grew by more than half—reaching all time highs.

But the most significant fact of all may be this: All major groups have shared in the growth of the pie. Measure the gains in profits, dividends, wages and salaries, and you discover that the gain has been about

50 percent for each. And these gains have generated a spectacular rise in the living standards of Americans; a bonus of over \$2,000 a year for an average family of four.

Consider what has happened to the people's jobs:

—In these 5 years, employment has increased by 7¼ million persons—enough to absorb an increase in the labor force of 6½ million, while reducing unemployment by 1¼ million.

—The unemployment rate, which equaled 5.5 percent in November 1963, averaged 3.8 percent in 1966 and 1967, and was 3.6 in October.

—This gain in jobs has been the single most effective counterstroke against poverty in America.

Consider how this record has changed attitudes about our economy: We don't have scare talk of automation any more; or the clamor for short workweeks and early retirements; or the chilling thought in the Nation that our economy was tired out and others would soon pass us.

The nagging question now is: Have we invested our prosperity with wisdom and prudence? Have we been a nation with the commitment and the courage to make private affluence the servant of social progress? I think the answer is "yes."

Federal expenditures for health, education, and welfare—including those from self-financed trust funds—have risen from \$28.5 billion in 1964 to \$55 billion this fiscal year.

This approximate doubling reflects dramatic innovations such as Medicare and dramatic increases in social security benefits. They are also clear evidence of this administration's concern for innovating programs that protect and enlarge upon the fundamental rights of every American to good health, good homes, good schools, good op-

portunities for self-advancement and a good life when the years grow long.

It has gone:

—into better education—from Head Start programs to graduate degrees;

—into better health—from prenatal care to Medicare;

—into better housing—from city apartment to rural home;

—into better conservation and more recreation areas—from city parks to national seashores;

—into the fight for better justice and opportunity for all Americans—from minorities denied full citizenship to men denied an equal chance for a decent job.

• Eight and a half million Americans rose from poverty between 1963 and 1967. In the past 2 years alone, more Negroes and nonwhites have escaped the poverty trap than in the previous 6 years.

• The education gap between young whites and nonwhites has been cut to less than half a year—as measured by years of school experience.

• In 1963, only about two-fifths of young nonwhite adults were graduating from high school. Today the proportion is three-fifths.

• Our investment in the ability of the poor and the deprived to lift themselves up has already paid rich dividends.

• Between 1963 and 1967, the proportion of nonwhite families earning at least \$8,000 rose by almost two-thirds—from 15 to 24 percent.

• The jobless rate for nonwhite men dropped from 9 percent late in 1963 to 3.8 percent in the 3d quarter of 1968.

Now I did not come here to say that these statistics, and what they represent, have solved America's problems. But the facts cannot be begged. The record is clear: Economic growth has been the most powerful social

weapon in our hands.

America's economic success story does have a major blemish—inflation—and I would be less than candid to gloss over it. Prices have been rising in the last 3 years faster than should be tolerated. Although our overall price record surpasses that of other industrial nations, it is not good enough. We can do better.

We are working to do better. With taxes and spending cutbacks, we are getting a reduction in the Federal deficit of considerably more than \$20 billion in this fiscal year—the biggest swing toward restraint in 20 years. We are beginning to see some return from this investment in fiscal moderation. The economy is no longer plagued by the fever that it had earlier this year. But the slowdown is coming very gradually. Private spending is remarkably strong. In part, that's a testimonial to business and consumer confidence in the future of our economy; in part, it's a reminder that once a wage-price spiral gets going, it can't be stopped dead in its tracks.

The campaign for healthy, noninflationary economic growth is not going to end next January 20 or next June 30. It is going to have to be fought in the next administration and in fiscal years to come. It is going to take patience and perseverance.

If we stop persevering, we will have an irresponsible budget that would pour new fuel on the fires of inflation. If we lost patience and demand a sudden slowdown in prices and wage costs, we will court recession. As the experience of 1957-58 reminds us, even a recession won't give us instant price stability, but it would give instant misery throughout our economy.

This Nation should not and will not accept falling profits, high unemployment, forced retirements, rising bankruptcies, and shriveling markets as a remedy for our present

problems. We have to find the path which brings us to price stability without destroying prosperity.

I hope my successor will use the tools of economic policy forcefully. I hope he will insist on using them to guarantee full employment. For without full employment he cannot succeed in his other urgent objectives. God help us if we find ourselves returning to a period of high unemployment, with the "haves" fighting off the "no longer haves" for precious jobs. That is a prescription for social disaster.

And neither can American business today prosper without the right policies by the Government. We knew we needed action on taxes in 1966. Many of you in this room will remember what happened when, in the month of March 1966, I asked how much support you would give me. Not a hand went up. And I was told that I could get but four votes in the tax committee of the Congress out of 25.

And we knew we needed taxes in 1967. Many of you in this room will remember my plea for support then, too. I am glad that the business community fought for a tax increase this past year.

I would hope my successor will do what he can to insure the utmost cooperation from business and the utmost responsiveness from Congress in the job of setting fiscal policy. Perhaps some limited tax authority for the Presidency could be worked out. I think it would be highly desirable, subject to necessary checks by the Congress.

The persisting problem of inflation can only be met when business and labor use voluntary restraint on the price and wage front. The economic goals of this country—continued growth, high employment, stable prices, economic opportunity for all, health in our balance of payments—these goals demand enlightened partnership.

I began today by reminding you all of how far America has come in a few short years. I leave you with a challenge. How you meet it will decide how far America will go in the next few years.

The challenge is to be realistic—to realize that we have only just begun to reap the benefits of social progress. It is to realize the promise of our prosperity; to maintain it, to enlarge it, continuing to make it the shining instrument of human advancement and social good. That is what I have tried to do in my time in the Presidency. I am grateful to have had your strength on my journey. And I am made hopeful by knowing that you will continue as wise partners of the next President in years to come.

He will need all your help to insure we preserve our most precious asset—the health

and vitality of the American economy—on which all of America's hopes and so much of mankind's future depends.

God bless you and guide you on that journey.

NOTE: The President spoke the evening of December 4 at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington. As printed above, this item follows the text released by the White House Press Office.

For remarks of the President to members of the Business Council on May 11, 1968, see Item 241.

On November 4, 1968, the President received a memorandum from Arthur M. Okun, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, stating that the "economy is moving into better balance and we have turned the corner toward price stability" (4 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 1576); and on December 28, 1968, the Cabinet Committee on Price Stability submitted its report on the last 10 months of 1968, enumerating the necessary steps to achieve an economy of high employment and reasonable price stability (5 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 5).

613 Remarks of Welcome at the White House to Prime Minister Amir Abbas Hoveyda of Iran. December 5, 1968

Your Excellency, Mrs. Hoveyda, Secretary Rusk and Mrs. Rusk, distinguished guests:

We are honored by your arrival and I look forward to my discussions with you, Mr. Prime Minister, and Mrs. Johnson and I are delighted to welcome you and Mrs. Hoveyda to our home.

I am always eager to hear more of Iran's progress. Our visit to Tehran in 1962 convinced me of Iran's great potential. My friend, His Imperial Majesty, has told me much of what Iran has achieved since then. Today we shall learn more from the Prime Minister, who has contributed much by his own energy, competence, and dedication.

A nation's progress—as you know so well, Mr. Prime Minister—hinges on the ability to marshal its energies and its resources for the good of all of its people.

We in the United States have a great tra-

dition of relying on the initiative of the individual. Yet we have learned that government—speaking faithfully for the people of a nation—can multiply the opportunities for individual success.

Together, government and the people—in a partnership for progress—can do things that neither could do alone.

Your government has learned this too, Mr. Prime Minister. And the leaders of Iran deserve praise for their wisdom in attracting individual citizens to the cause of a great nation. How they are doing this is one of the truly exciting stories of our time. Imagine these scenes:

—Several thousand Literacy Corpsmen leave their training centers and go by train, and then by bus and then perhaps by horse into distant villages in order to teach.

672 Remarks in New York City at a Farewell Dinner Honoring the President. January 13, 1969

Governor Rockefeller, Mr. Vice President, Senator Mansfield, Senator Muskie, Senator Javits, Mayor Lindsay, Members of the Court, and the Cabinet, and the Congress, distinguished Ambassadors and Governors, my very dear hosts:

My, what a beautiful evening—how much Mrs. Johnson and I appreciate, how touched we are that you would want to come here and give us this delightful refreshment—an ending to 5 years of work that we have done together.

It was 5 years ago, in a very tragic hour, that I went before the Congress and all the people of America and asked for the help of "all Americans, and all America." Now, here tonight, at the end of my Presidency, I stand among the men and women—most all of whom answered the call that I made that night and answered it from the fullness of their hearts.

In the Office of the Presidency, a man must draw on many things: his own memories and his own heritage, his own vision of the Nation and really what the Nation should become, and whatever strength his life and his experiences have given him.

So tonight here among some of my dearest friends, many images crowd my mind. I go back to the thrill of coming to Washington as a young man in the zestful days when a great leader of New York, who had just come into the Presidency, demonstrated to the people of this country that he really cared.

Then I remember the hard but the very happy days on Capitol Hill, learning and trying to use the machinery of government to help human beings. I see out there in that audience tonight David Dubinsky, who in-

spired me and stimulated me to be one of the three southerners who forced a caucus on a minimum wage bill in 1938 to provide for a minimum wage, the first one the National Congress enacted that provided 25 cents an hour.

Then I remember the long hours of reflection, struggling from illness after I had had a heart attack, when my blood pressure dropped to zero, thinking of what a man must really do in the given time that had been allotted him.

I remember those earliest hours at the summit of authority, when I determined that only if America were made a better land, could sense be brought from that great tragedy.

But no President can really rely on his inner reserves alone. If he is not sustained and strengthened from sources outside himself, there is no doubt but what he is going to lose his way before long.

I think all of you know that I have been richly blessed with the love of a wonderful and incomparable family, the constancy of good, loyal, enduring, and understanding friends who have stood fast with me through many changing winds.

So tonight in this beautiful room, at this well-planned occasion, your friendship has greatly honored us. But I think it has done more than that. I think it strengthened this Nation more; for I think that friendship was rooted in a joint concern for the people of this country first, this great Nation itself.

We shared the dreams and the battles of a 5-year encounter with destiny. There will, in the years ahead, be many evaluations of all of the things that we did—favorable and unfavorable, praising and damning.

But what really matters is not the ultimate judgment that historians are going to pass on the work that we have done in this period, or even this administration; but what matters is whether there has really been a change for the better in the way human beings live in this country. I am going to let you in on a little secret. I really think there has been.

Our black citizens, who were bound in silence for so long, are today finding their voice in the voting booth in every part of the Nation. In the States along the gulf they are actually electing sheriffs this year.

The old people, in their illness, finally know the dignity of independence; 20 million of them don't have to ask their sons-in-law when they can go to a hospital. Young minds have been enriched, and young horizons have been expanded, and a million and a half young people are in college tonight because of America's new concern for education in this country in the last 5 years.

By the millions, families who were once poor, and men who were once idle, have now begun to know the dignity of decent incomes and full-time jobs. A larger share of the American earth—of its shores and of its mountains and of its forests—has been set aside for all the American people and their children to enjoy.

We tonight can proudly—those of you in this room who have shared in this dream and who have helped to accomplish it—look at these achievements together, and feel together a swell of achievement and satisfaction. But also with it, we can feel a concern that will not end 7 days from now, or for that matter, ever end. For America, we all know, still has far to go.

The one thing that I am constantly reminded of in the last few hours of my term of office is the story of Prime Minister Churchill, when he said, "How little have

we done, how much we have yet to do." But we have begun.

I think I will take time just to tell that story. My staff has heard it several times. But Governor Rockefeller has just heard it twice.

At the end of World War II, after going through the critical period in the hectic days of that war, a group of temperance ladies came in to visit the Prime Minister to criticize his drinking habits.

A little lady, leading the group, stood there in her tennis shoes, and said, "Mr. Prime Minister, we are informed that if all the alcohol that you have consumed during this war could be emptied in this room at one time, it would come up to about here."

She stood on her tiptoes. The Prime Minister looked at the floor and he looked at the ceiling and at the little lady's hand, and he said, "My dear little lady, so little have I done, so much I have yet to do."

So when I look back at conservation, civil rights, education, health and consumer legislation, and the War on Poverty, I think so little have we done, so much have we yet to do.

So as we prepare to depart 7 days from now, we leave the plow in the furrow, and actually the field is only half tilled.

In the sweep of things, a President has only so much time—a very allotted time—to do the things that he really believes in and he thinks must be done. Within those limits, he can only give it the best he has.

Last week, one of our brave Apollo 8 astronauts that you gave such a great welcome to here—and to Mayor Lindsay and Governor Rockefeller, on behalf of the Nation, as well as the astronauts, I thank you for that symbol of appreciation—but this brave astronaut said that the first night he was back home, he stepped out into his back-

yard. I won't tell you the state that he was in. But he looked up at that beautiful moon and he wondered if actually he had ever really been there.

Perhaps the time will come for Mrs. Johnson and myself, perhaps some long reflective moment when we are walking along the banks of the Pedernales—I hope in company with Laurance Rockefeller—we can look back upon the majesty and the splendor of the Presidency, and I guess we will find it really hard to believe that I ever occupied that office.

But tonight I want to say this to my good and lasting friends who have come here—I want to say beyond any peradventure of a doubt: I know that I have been there.

I know something else: I know that most of you have been there with me all the time, every step of the way. And I further know more, and I know it with a great sense of pride that really touches every fiber of my soul: I know that I have given it everything I have had. [Applause]

I am not a prophet or the son of a prophet. I do not know what they will say next year or 100 years from now about the record

that the people of America have made these last few years to advance the cause of justice in this country.

I don't know what they will say about our actual accomplishments. I don't know what they will record about our solid achievements. But I do believe—in fact, I know—that they will all say we tried.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:55 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom of the Plaza Hotel in New York City. In his opening words he referred to Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York, Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana, Senate Majority Leader, Senators Edmund S. Muskie of Maine and Jacob K. Javits of New York, and Mayor John V. Lindsay of New York City. During his remarks he referred to David Dubinsky, President Emeritus of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, and Laurance S. Rockefeller, Chairman of the Citizens' Advisory Committee on Recreation and Natural Beauty.

Following the President's remarks, Governor Rockefeller addressed the gathering. His remarks are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 5, p. 57).

The farewell dinner and dance was given by 16 hosts and attended by some 400 guests. The hosts were Mrs. Vincent Astor, Mr. and Mrs. Charles W. Engelhard, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Ford II, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur B. Krim, Mrs. Mary D. Lasker, Mr. and Mrs. John Loeb, Mr. and Mrs. Andre Meyer, Mr. and Mrs. Laurance S. Rockefeller, and Mr. and Mrs. Edwin L. Weisl.

673 Memorandum to Agencies Transmitting Report on Career Training for Young Federal Employees. *January 14, 1969*

[Released January 14, 1969. Dated January 13, 1969]

Memorandum for the Heads of Departments and Agencies:

The attached Report was prepared in response to my memorandum of October 10 concerning career training for young employees in the Federal Government.

The report represents a preliminary attempt to probe the opinions, concerns and problems of young employees in the Federal Government. Too often in the past, evalua-

tions of trainee programs have proceeded from the top down, involving the young employee only in the end results. This time, through the creation of youth committees in each agency and through a questionnaire survey, a significant number of young people have been involved from the very start.

Though the overall picture emerging from the questionnaire indicates a considerable degree of job satisfaction, two findings stand

328 ¶ Address in Detroit at the National Automobile Show Industry Dinner.

October 17, 1960

President Colbert, Governor Williams, Mayor Miriani, Directors of the Automobile Manufacturers Association, distinguished guests, and my friends:

Tonight, though we are in the midst of a political campaign in which most of us are not completely disinterested, I want to speak to you in a non-partisan spirit.

I am happy to meet with you, who are among our business and labor leaders in America's productive enterprises. The nation admires the material accomplishments for which you, here, have been so greatly responsible, particularly in your own chosen field. Administrators, scientists, artists, labor, and representatives from a dozen professions have had a part in the marvelous growth of our motor industry. I salute them all.

Yet this evening, I do not address myself solely to this particular part or even all of the American economy. Instead I shall present to you some reflections about our nation, our people, and the world—touching upon truths and trends which, it seems to me, have insistent meaning for us now and for the future.

Around the world, one of the most widely known features of the United States today is its unprecedented wealth. But much less understood abroad is the great spread, throughout the peoples of our nation, of the benefits of the American system. Other peoples find it hard to believe that an American working man can own his own comfortable home and a car and send his children to well-equipped elementary and high schools and to colleges as well. They fail to realize that he is not the downtrodden, impoverished vassal of whom Karl Marx wrote. He is a self-sustaining, thriving individual, living in dignity and in freedom. Annual family income now averages \$6,500. The Gross National Product has passed \$500 billion, and national income has soared to over \$400 billion a year.

In spite of certain localities in which there is economic weakness this level of material well-being stands in startling contrast to that of most of the world's peoples. Yet we confidently expect that our standard of living will continue to rise at a rate of 3 or 4 percent per year, while for

millions of others elsewhere productivity will scarcely keep pace with population growth.

In many other areas of the earth, once isolated peoples are acquiring a knowledge of the world in which we live. The poverty-stricken masses of a score of nations cannot fail, with some bitterness, to compare their lot with ours, and to that of the other industrialized and currently prosperous nations. Hundreds of millions of human beings, denied any real opportunity, out of their own resources, to bring their living standards up to respectable levels will certainly, if abandoned by others, tend to develop a feeling of helplessness, hopelessness and despair. Out of these would emerge increasing world tensions and unrest. Vast areas of resentment and turmoil, especially if combined under a despotic and aggressive dictatorship, could destroy the material prosperity we now so freely enjoy and so confidently expect to increase. Freedom would be endangered.

Clearly the economic status of others affects both our own prosperity and world peace. The more intense and widely spread becomes the resentment against poverty abroad, the more serious will become the consequent problems on our own doorstep.

I believe that the vast majority of Americans is aware of these facts and, consciously or subconsciously, is determined to make the world a better place for all.

For us, a free world leader by reasons of size, productivity and strength, the question really becomes "How are we to use our wealth and the strength and influence deriving from it?" Should we merely strive jealously to guard, in a materialistic philosophy and static isolation, the possessions we already have? Or, recognizing the dangers of inaction, are we boldly to strike out for the preservation of our cherished values of freedom, by striving to see that others may, with us, possess and enjoy them?

Since freedom is strengthened by its sharing and can be destroyed by withholding from others the opportunities also to possess it, for us there can be only one response.

How then may we best help in building the kind of world we seek?

In our search for the means by which we can best render help, we must learn more about the economies of others. I suggest, for example, that preliminary surveys should, in each case, try to pinpoint the areas in which a particular nation may be lacking. We know that indiscriminate trans-

fers of materials and money will not suffice. But if each underdeveloped nation can, with competent technical help, discover its own special weaknesses and plan their correction, then outside help can be both effective and economically used. One of the functions of the Special Fund of the United Nations is to help develop such facts.

But complicating the problem of steady reduction of poverty in the free world is the greatest obstacle that our way of life has ever known. The principal and immediate challenger to these values is a government which hates all that we hold most dear. The challenge we face is many sided, and in each of its aspects it is intensified by the never ending threat of the use of force.

The problem is, partly, philosophic—that is, spiritual and moral. We begin all our reasoning about man's destiny and the purpose of social organization with the conviction that man, in his sonship to God, is precious as an individual and has absolutely inviolable rights. The Communists scornfully deny this belief. Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Khrushchev have all, in turn, proclaimed that the religious view of man with dignity is false. They have taught that material factors alone are responsible for man's life and aspirations; that any means, no matter how repugnant, to achieve Communist ends, is acceptable.

The Communist philosophy denies to man the right of self-government, and herein lies another phase of the critical world contest in which we are engaged. Because of our convictions about the nature of man and his natural rights, we adhere to democratic methods. The basic political power resides with our people, and the decisions of government are their decisions. Since, in the Communist view, man possesses no natural rights, in theory all power is vested in the state—in practice, in the hands of a few elite members of the ruling party. The people are regimented. They know only what their rulers want them to know; they do only what their rulers tell them to do. Whether they live at peace or are forced into war is decided by an omnipotent few.

But these two aspects of the struggle, obvious to us, are deliberately obscured by vicious Communist propaganda. Communists know that men and women whose minds have been conditioned by hunger, are tempted to follow any system that promises—no matter how falsely—a better life. Starving people can be brought to look with envious eyes at the Communist system which, hiding the price its people must pay in loss of individual freedom, has made in a few short years violent but

effective strides in the production of foods, goods and armaments.

Where individual income may be as little as 50 or 100 dollar a year, where population increases more rapidly than production, where the major rewards of enterprise are reaped by a relatively few, the doctrine of communized production is seductive.

Viewed uncritically by those who allow the great fundamental philosophical and political differences to be obscured, the comparison between the free and the communistic systems assumes a false simplicity.

When impoverished peoples and nations look, with envy, at the economic achievements of the Soviet Union, they make one serious mistake: in their impatience with the slowness of their own progress, they tend to confuse their particular system of private enterprise with that of the United States. They are not fully aware of the basic factors of America's growth. Many things and forces have molded our national experience, and each has often been cited as the touchstone of our success. Yet none of them belongs exclusively to us. America has no monopoly on the prime movers of progress.

An abundance of natural resources, a system of private, competitive enterprise, a physical size and political system that insure a great free trade area, a way of life based on the bedrock of deep religious commitment, a massive dynamic educational system, and the great thrust of a hybrid energy derived from many cultures—all these we have.

Beyond these, one is of special importance. It is our national social conscience. Lack of knowledge, abroad, concerning it, is largely responsible for the erroneous concept that many have of the American system of production and distribution.

Relatively few nations have the socially conscious type of private enterprise that we enjoy. Here private enterprise, with minimal intervention by government, strives to benefit all the people. Now this was not always so but the whole philosophy and spirit of our historic enterprise have led us through evolutionary changes which have given us our present socially responsive, and responsible economic system.

So while we depend primarily upon the initiative of the individual, for economic and social progress, yet what the people cannot do for themselves, they expect their government to undertake in the degree demonstrated as necessary. The share of public enterprise has necessarily increased with the growing complexity of our lives. The costs of national defense, promotion of the general welfare, and other aspects

of public effort by Federal, State and local governments mount with the years; government expenditures at all levels now approximate \$130 billion a year. This means that nearly one-third of our total national income is taken in taxes and spent for public purposes.

Parenthetically, I should here remark that one of our greatest internal problems is to see to it that we maintain the health and strength of our private competitive system, including always the stability of its currency.

All the public services, with defense in the first line priority, must be financed by our free economy. If government costs become greater than we can meet now, in the most prosperous period of our history, then either we must disastrously go deeper in debt—or take so much in taxes that the economy will lose the ability to maintain the dynamism that it must have for continued growth. Only a steadily growing economy, and one devoid of harmful inflation and mushrooming debt, can support our ever-increasing number of public services.

Now to return to my theme: in many countries of the free world private enterprise is greatly different from what we know here. In some, a few families are fabulously wealthy, contribute far less than they should in taxes, and are indifferent to the poverty of the great masses of the people. Broad purchasing power does not, therefore, exist, even for the domestic products of the nation. A country in this situation is fraught with continual instability. It is ripe for revolution. The mass of the people want and demand a change for the better, and hence two questions arise: First, will reform come in a peaceful, orderly way, or violently with ensuing chaos? Second, will essential reform be within a system of private enterprise, or will production be socialized?

The Communist propagandists, playing their Pied Piper's tune, tempt the disadvantaged to believe that Communism is the only way. Thus, they boast that the Soviet Union will soon outstrip even the United States in production.

We must continue to try to get the underprivileged to look behind this claim.

It is not surprising that productivity is now increasing at a faster rate in Russia than it is in the United States. Indeed, it would be surprising if this were not so, for the Bolsheviks started, some forty years ago, at a very low level, and since then have channeled all production according to political need. By imitation and seizure, the Kremlin has been able to

use many advanced practices developed over the years by free world scientists and technologists. But even so, with three times as many people engaged in agriculture, for example, Russia is producing less food and fiber than is the United States. Russian industrial production is less than half as great as ours. Only in defense production does Russia approach us—and let me emphasize: even in this, she does not exceed us.

Yet even if we accepted the claim that a communized system will eventually equal our productivity—which, of course, we do not—we would still reject it. For a complete communization of the means of production will succeed only under a dictatorship. We would prefer poverty in freedom to riches in slavery.

But, my friends, how fortunate it is that this is not the choice.

If the free nations will recognize the need for, and practice effective cooperation among themselves, they can make certain of their common security in freedom and advance their common prosperity.

Not so many years ago we felt we could keep safely to ourselves. But now our economy has become interdependent with that of many other nations. Modern transportation and communication have narrowed continents and oceans, and modern capabilities for destruction have wiped out the last shreds of safety in isolation.

Understanding these truths, the United States since World War II has devoted much of its time and energy, and has given with unprecedented generosity of its resources, in helping to protect freedom and to promote rising levels of well-being in all nations wishing to be independent and free.

There can be no retreat from this course.

But changing situations call for new thinking and action, more study of priorities.

First, it becomes urgent that every nation of the free world do all it can to advance itself and bear its own appropriate responsibility to all the other nations of that family. This means that there must be a new, true spirit of common dedication to freedom pervading the relationships of all free nations.

It has no doubt been necessary in the postwar years that the United States be the leader in providing assistance to the free world. But all these nations must realize that our resources are not unlimited; yet more must be done.

If the Free World Community is to persevere and prosper, every one

of the nations must contribute to the total cooperative enterprise to the utmost of its ability. No nation is so rich or strong that it dares to stand aloof. No nation is so poor that it cannot make a vital contribution. All must share in forming the principles and carrying out the total program for the search of peace with justice and ever-rising levels of human well-being. While all will properly work in their own self-interest, they must also act on a commitment for the common good.

Another new action is called for: as each of the nations of the free economy examines its own actions and unflinchingly takes the greatest possible responsibility for its own economic advance, it must make certain that the blessings of production benefit all its people, not only a favored few. The internal revisions found necessary must be undertaken by each nation promptly and peacefully. Delay incites violence, and not only retards the achievement of domestic goals, but also causes damage to all free nations, as we have lately witnessed.

I do not say these things complacently. I know, as you do, that we in the United States have many improvements to make, and we know the dangers inherent in being self-righteous and content. We do not preach—we cooperate to produce the moral, intellectual and material strength needed in the free world.

Since time began, opulence has too often paved for a nation the way to depravity and ultimate destruction. Rich, sluggish societies have put comfort, ease and luxury ahead of spiritual vigor, intellectual development and the energetic pursuit of noble goals. The ancient civilizations of Egypt, Greece, Rome and more recently the splendid court of Louis XV fell thus, each having developed a false sense of values and its people having lost their sense of national destiny.

This could be a threat to the United States but for the fact that we are not motivated by materialism. We hold dear the things of the spirit and the intellect. Our ideals of freedom, democracy, human dignity and social justice shine through all our institutions. These are the supreme purposes of our people and the motivating force of our government.

Our own weaknesses must be understood and corrected. We have problems of crime, juvenile delinquency, physical and mental health, deficiencies in education, slum housing, and racial and religious discrimination—all of which call for massive attacks. This we shall always try to do, but not by government alone, rather by localities and by an informed

and aroused citizenry. These matters are peoples' problems and must be met by a broad peoples' effort.

The stop-watch of history is running. The race is on to see whether the material and spiritual needs of the world will be better met through dictatorial control, communized enterprise, immorality and inhumanity, or through freedom, private enterprise, and cooperative action, inspired by the concepts of morality and respect for human dignity. This emphasizes the necessity in every free nation to have leaders of integrity, understanding, strength, compassion, and patience.

In our nation we want men who keep us alert to the priorities toward which all efforts should be directed. They must sustain policies needed to keep our economy strong, while at the same time fulfilling the nation's domestic and foreign responsibilities—especially that of defense. Such leaders are needed in governmental, industrial, labor, political, educational, cultural and moral areas.

Of special concern to this audience is leadership in industry, including particularly, labor-management relationships and responsibility.

We properly cherish the American system of labor-management relations and collective bargaining. It has many unique characteristics, not the least of which is its virtual independence of governmental interference. This is a great strength, for it constantly encourages labor and management to grow in self-reliance and responsibility. These are important factors in our national greatness.

But just as some other elements of our national life are today being sorely tested, so is our labor-management system on trial. Questions have arisen as to whether it can continue effectively to meet the complex problems of modern industrial society; whether it can provide the necessary acceleration in vital production areas; whether it can control the wage-price relation in ways that will permit world competition and are fair to labor, management, consumers, and the nation; whether it can use with maximum efficiency the increasingly complex technology our scientists and engineers are designing; or whether because of self-interest labor and management, unmindful of the general good, and the essentiality of constantly growing strength, will fail to do what must be done.

My friends, only yesterday I read in the newspaper a statement made by a professor—an economist, I believe—at least he is said to be one—

and he made this statement: "Capitalism as we know it is merely a step in the inexorable march from feudalism to socialism." I do not pretend to quote him exactly, but that was the tenor of his words.

We have gone through several phases in the development of labor-management relations.

The phase we are in now calls for a supreme effort on the part of both to conduct their affairs with ever-increasing responsibility for the national welfare.

We can, we must banish poverty.

But we cannot, if labor and management behave as adolescents instead of adults—not if they ignore the national welfare by deadlocking for protracted periods with painful effects upon the economy before composing their differences.

No longer can this nation permit either group to drag its feet in adopting preventive measures for the prompt settlement of industrial disputes.

Two Irishmen were riding up a hill on a tandem bicycle. When they barely made the top, the front rider jumped off, mopped his brow, and gasped about the ordeal of the climb: "Begorra," he said, "it was so steep I thought we'd never make it." Whereupon the rear rider added: "And faith if I hadn't kept my foot on the brake, I think we'd have rolled backwards."

The obvious point is that the task of climbing above the lower slopes of human achievement in our highly industrialized society calls for a communion of purpose and effort, not mutual antagonism.

For the American people, I say to you of management and to the leaders of labor that there must be an ever-increasing understanding of the total national interest, of its vital needs at each moment in history, and of the historic mission in which it is engaged. Differences of opinion are natural and good, but there is no room for mutual distrust, or bitterness. Labor and business leaders must sit down in a calm atmosphere and regularly discuss—far removed from the bargaining table—their philosophy, their needs, and, above all, their common responsibility to this free nation.

Your future and the future of our country are dependent on the success you of business and of labor have in this matter. Labor-management statesmanship is today as imperative as labor-management bargaining.

In speaking this way, I assure you I don't mean to scold. Frankly, I have been amazed and highly delighted at the progress that I have seen made in the last few years in the fields I have been discussing. I say to you that no single one of us can escape the responsibility, though, for bettering this relationship.

Finally, in a larger sense, our nation's leaders in all fields must deeply believe in the brotherhood of man—the nobility of a democratic people exercising the political power. They must have the vision and stature neither to give up our national commitment to the rightness of freedom nor—even under great duress—to forget that the freedom of the individual is an essential source of our vitality.

I am grateful that in these past eight years our nation has been spared war, has been steadily growing in its total strength, and, under the most trying circumstances, has been working for world order. Moreover, as I peer down the lane of years ahead, I express my unshakable faith that new leaders will, through their character, experience, judgment and ability, lead our nation steadily to greater heights and closer to a cooperative and just peace in freedom.

Good night—and thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:30 p.m. in Cobo Hall in Detroit. His opening words referred to L. L. Colbert, President

of the Automobile Manufacturers Association, Governor G. Mennen Williams of Michigan, and Mayor Louis C. Miriani of Detroit.

329 ¶ Remarks at a Republican Rally at the Minneapolis-St. Paul International Airport. *October 18, 1960*

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies, and my fellow Americans:

I am delighted to come back to the Twin City area, and I am happy that I have the opportunity to go over to Red Wing this morning to dedicate a very fine new bridge that will span a river between Wisconsin and this State.

It is absolutely correct that the people of Minnesota had a very great part in deciding for me that I should lay aside the military career in which I had so long lived, and offer myself for the Presidency—or for the candidacy for the Presidency in 1952. The write-in vote of that

Grande, which repeatedly have caused very serious damage to border communities and agricultural areas of both countries; to provide additional waters for irrigation needs of both countries; and to permit production of hydroelectric energy as required;

Have agreed that:

The Government of the United States of America and the Government of Mexico will proceed with the construction of Amistad Dam as soon as possible after the two Governments have approved the technical recommendations that are to be made for that purpose by the International Boundary and Water Commission, United States and Mexico.

NOTE: The joint declaration was released in Ciudad Acuña.

336 ¶ Address in Houston Before the Faculty and Students of Rice University. *October 24, 1960*

Mr. Mayor, Mr. Croneis, Mr. Brown, Mrs. Hobby, members of the faculty, student body, and friends of Rice University:

As we are all aware, there is a political campaign in progress. This meeting with you ladies and gentlemen is not intended by me to be any part of that contest. What I have to say to you this evening is representative of my own convictions and is not intended to be a disparagement to anyone. After all, there are, possibly, a few Democrats in this audience.

This evening I find myself once again in Texas, a State that has had a special and lifelong place in my memories and affections. This is the State where I was born seventy years ago; it is where I met the girl who became my wife; where I began a long career in military and civil service and where I was stationed on the day that Pearl Harbor hurled our nation once again into war.

When, in 1915, I came to join the Army at San Antonio, the alert Texas newspapers found nothing newsworthy in the arrival here of another 2nd Lieutenant of Infantry, but they properly gave much space to the completion and to the dedication of Rice Institute at Houston.

During the forty-five intervening years, the Institute, since become Rice University, has steadily added lustre to the name of her founder. It is a great personal privilege to come to this spacious campus, to see its structures of classic beauty and to pay tribute to Rice as one of America's great institutions of learning.

It is customary on occasions such as this for Age to speak to Youth, to hold up before the young, lessons from the past, to offer counsel for the future. Each generation, reflecting on its successes and mistakes, earnestly wants to bequeath to its successor a formula for a much better world than it, itself, has ever been able to produce. We have learned the futility of this, but we continue to attempt it. And so each generation is obliged to make its own way as best it can because, for one reason, it always inherits new and unforeseen problems along with whatever advantages it may have gained from its predecessors.

Now of course, a new generation is not compelled to accept its eventual responsibilities all at once. There is no clear dividing line, in point of time, between the duties and influence of any one generation and its successor. Invariably there is a gradual transition—a full changing of the guard takes years to complete. Now this is well, for the factor of experience inevitably plays an essential part in any important undertaking, but the transfer is, nevertheless, relentless and it is final. Sooner or later the day will come when the decisions which control the affairs of your community, your nation, your world, must be made by another generation—yours. The nation's future is what you make it.

Now what can you expect to find in these years of challenge and decision which lie ahead?

None of us needs to be reminded that, internationally, they will be years of unremitting struggle—for peace, for security, for freedom and for justice. With the best will in the world on the part of all sides, the peaceful resolution of basic world differences would be a most complex process.

Complicating the problem, it is inevitable that whenever one nation tries to dominate or enslave others, freedom-loving nations will always resist—and the result will be increased tension and strain. We know that the Soviet Union is using its vast power not for world betterment, but as weapons of political and economic warfare and for human enslavement.

For this basic problem of living on the same planet with the Communist bloc there is no ready-made solution.

Through our own strength we can assure that the Communists clearly appreciate the utter folly of any attempt to gain their ends by military aggression. Even they would not willingly choose suicide. In science, both of the earth and of space, we can continue our great aggregate ad-

vantages over them. Through patience we may relieve by negotiation some dangerous pressures, both local and national. Free nations, when they unite effectively, can defeat specific efforts at economic penetration and political subversion in newly developing areas.

But our experience of the past warns us not to expect miracles of the future; the road to genuine peace will be long and hard and costly.

An enormous stake lies in the less developed areas of the world. Many of these nations are old, by present standards. Others are very new. Seventeen new nations were admitted last month to the United Nations.

Yet whether they are new or old, whether from Asia, Africa or Latin America, these nations have a common problem and a common objective. All are fiercely determined to preserve their national independence and most need to break the age-old bonds of grinding poverty. These people must have hope; they must be enabled to realize their legitimate aspirations, or internal pressures may burst all bounds. Alone the progress of these people is far too slow. But with help from us and other free nations they can reach their goals, and contribute thereby to a stable and peaceful world.

We have done much in the past to help other nations, and I count our Mutual Security Program as being one of the most important, necessary and successful ventures for sustaining world peace and stability that our nation has ever undertaken. But what we and others have so far done is only a fair beginning in helping the under-developed peoples toward progress in freedom. If we abandon them, desperation could drive them to Moscow. Consequently the free world dare not fail. It must succeed—and it can do so only in true cooperation. This is an international imperative.

And this road, too, will be long and hard and costly.

Now at home there will be urgent problems that must be faced. By 1970 there will be some 35 million more Americans. They will be needing millions of new homes, 300,000 more school classrooms and as many additional hospital beds, and a veritable catalog of other essential services. Indeed, the future of America is as great as our vision.

The many necessary new jobs thus created will produce new national wealth, new security, new business. The cost will be vast.

Just to produce the plants, tools and equipment for the anticipated 13 million new jobs in 1970 will require a minimum of \$140 billions of investment. Yet the gigantic yield to labor, capital and our nation will

be far beyond anything that can be comprehended by those who are fearful of the future.

These commitments to the future—both at home and abroad—represent a tremendous challenge to our vision, ingenuity and our productive capacity. We can employ our resources—both material and spiritual—in ways which can bring forth a better world for all people—including ourselves. Or we can waste and dissipate them, and so lose the last clear chance in our time for freedom for all those who want it and are ready to work for it.

Our clear mission is to produce a better life in freedom for ourselves and help to do so for the world and, so doing, make the attainment of a just peace more probable. This will demand a massive, sustained, coordinated effort by all our people and by all peoples devoted to freedom.

The genius of a free people lies in the fact that they can produce such an effort by their own volition, without the coercive power of a dictatorial government. But they can do so only to the extent of their capacity for self-discipline and the subordination of selfish interests to national good. Within even the freest nation there must exist certain imperatives in policy, without which no great purpose can go forward.

Now there is little I can give you in the way of specific advice. But I suggest to you the value of three domestic imperatives which, among others, might be stated as axioms:

First—public programs—local or national—must be guided by long-term and easily recognizable goals. Short-term expediency, resulting in rapid change in effort, is a most wasteful process. It makes practically impossible the sustaining of responsible government.

Second—national solvency is mandatory to the continuance of national security, steadily rising productivity, and individual well-being.

Third—only by the maintenance of a carefully balanced system of local-Federal authority that discourages the dumping on the Federal Government of problems that can be solved close to home, can we assure continuance of the widespread liberties our citizenry has enjoyed for a century and three quarters.

Consider, then, the first of these axioms—steadiness, both of purpose and of method. Nothing is more destructive of orderly progress than wild fluctuation between the extremes of panic and complacency. It is our aim to build steadily and soundly the economic and military strength we

shall need—possibly over decades—to meet, every minute, every day, our responsibilities in the momentous decade ahead. And this is not done by hasty or ill-considered actions, crash programs, efforts that stop and go like traffic at a busy intersection. This is not only costly; it is flagrantly inefficient. It betrays a myopic vision, a weakness of will and a lack of inner conviction that our long-term goals are worthy and our methods correct.

If we, today, look at ourselves in true perspective, we see a great nation—the most powerful the world has seen, with a confident, virile people, a vigorous, expanding economy. We are pursuing defense policies and programs which provide us with real security now and, if our nation remains alert and flexible in meeting changes in the world situation, will do so on into the future. Our economic health and outlook are good, and our rate of private investment is equal to the demands for needed expansion of production and facilities. Just as we need no giant new arms programs, we need no governmentally administered massive economic shots in the arm to stimulate the growth of business.

What, indeed, our economy needs for growth is less government interference in its affairs, not more. Private saving and investment—not public spending—is the real basis of economic growth.

If we resolutely and steadfastly go about our business, refusing to respond to false fears and empty promises, we will have built a firm material foundation that will sustain security, prosperity, self-respect and confidence.

One of my strongest allies in opposing centralization of power in Washington is Secretary of the Treasury Anderson, from your State.

The second imperative is solvency, measured in terms of a sound currency. The cause of freedom in the world depends critically upon the material and moral strength of the United States of America. Our continued ability to defend against Communist aggression, to help build a stable, peaceable world community, to provide abundantly for the millions of new Americans who will presently join us, all these depend upon our economy.

Now with this, all of us agree. Yet on an issue as basic as national solvency many people are misled by false arguments which would be readily transparent if applied to their own personal circumstances.

No one argues that the average person can spend what he has not earned, or that he can long continue to write checks against a bank account not covered by deposits. Yet some who readily see how these principles apply to individuals can be persuaded that they may somehow be ignored by a nation.

The Republic of Texas had its own bitter experience with deficit financing a hundred and twenty years ago. General Sam Houston is justly honored as the Hero of the Revolution, but few realize that he fought as hard for the solvency of Texas as for the independence of Texas. In his second administration he inherited a vast public debt, a currency ruined by a flood of worthless "Redbacks" and a completely demoralized economy—all caused by just one thing: unjustified deficit spending. One of the great achievements of his second administration was to redeem the nation's credit and restore order to its economy.

But today we are often told that our nation is so large and so rich that it really doesn't have to balance accounts, that a little inflation doesn't hurt; that we can spend lavishly to "stimulate growth" and make up the deficits out of some increases in the future. There is the carefree assumption that we have gone along happily during most of these recent decades without paying the full fare, and that this fine arrangement can be continued indefinitely. But the truth is that we have paid, and will continue to pay, to the tune of hundreds of billions in lost purchasing power of dollars that have shrunk to less than half the value they represented in 1939. This is inflation.

And who, in particular, has paid? I have, you have, and so have your mothers and fathers, your professors, people who own bonds and insurance policies, people drawing pensions and Social Security payments, people who have savings accounts, people who work on salaries, and this University. We have all paid. More than this, our grandchildren will pay.

Wealth, whether it be that of a nation or an individual, is the product of useful work. It can be created in no other way. It cannot be legislated, conjured or commanded into existence. And everything that is consumed must eventually be paid for by someone, in some way. Every governmental expenditure is a charge against the productive effort of the American people, and it must and will be paid, as surely as the sun rises. And to the extent that we cannot pay it out of current income, it must

and will be paid out of the future. Moreover, if we fail to balance our budget and to hold our dollar at a stable value, the confidence of other nations in the United States will falter. Fiscal and monetary policies that are essentially inflationary have very grave international consequences, with serious impact on ourselves. This is a fact of life over which all the present-day advocates of heavy Federal spending, regardless of deficits, could properly reflect very seriously.

I cite a quotation from my friend, Dr. Gabriel Hauge. He says: "Living in an economy with an unstable currency is like living in a society in which no one tells the truth. The ability of modern governments to keep their money straight is an essential condition of their ability to govern."

And with that quotation I completely agree.

Now the third imperative of which I speak is the maintenance of State and local authority against the unhealthy growth of power in the Federal Government. Our booming population, the growth of huge metropolitan areas, the shrinkage of our countryside by rapid transport and communications—are reducing our nation to a neighborhood and creating complex new problems in cooperative living.

Some of these problems can indeed be solved only through participation by the Federal Government. This I readily concede, and I have supported many measures in which Federal cooperation was necessary to the success of State and local problems.

But I do believe deeply that every problem should be solved as close to home as it is possible to do so. Federal assistance should be requested only when the case for it is clear—and continued only for the minimum time necessary. The tendency to look needlessly to the Federal Government for help in purely local problems has been far too prevalent over recent decades, and the price has invariably been paid in terms of a steady and unwarranted Federal encroachment upon the authority of the States. For rights are inseparable from responsibility, and the State which abdicates its responsibilities in any field will surely find that it has bargained away its rights there as well.

The South has long been a staunch defender of the rights of the sovereign States—to its great and everlasting credit. And this matter has special meaning to the residents of this State which was for ten years

a Republic. I counsel you to continue to guard jealously the rights reserved to your State under our Constitution—to keep your Government close to home, your local affairs out of the hands of a meddlesome, bumbling bureaucracy thousands of miles away. Weigh carefully the words of those who carelessly say “let the Federal Government do it or pay for it.” For in the end it is the people—not the Government—who pay, and they not only pay in money, but in a currency far more precious—in their hard-won right to run their own affairs in their own way. This is fundamental.

So now I have discussed briefly:

Steadiness, solvency, balance. These may seem prosaic and uninteresting to talk about in times when people are being promised, without cost, the good life for all. Yet these unglamorous realities are the bed-rock upon which all our strength is based, and the necessary precondition for the great labors we must perform both at home and abroad in the interest of world peace and progress.

Today is United Nations Day—set aside for Americans to honor the organization which has become an indispensable force for peace in a troubled world. We of the United States bear a heavy responsibility for assuring the continued success of this great experiment in international cooperation. I recently had the privilege of addressing the United Nations General Assembly, and of making certain proposals to that body on the peaceful uses of outer space, arms control, and assistance to the less developed nations, particularly the emerging States of Africa. These proposals are evidence of America’s deep and continuing interest in the United Nations and its work. They are also evidence of the depth and scope of the vast unresolved problems with which the human community must deal, and to whose solution we must make our contribution.

This contribution will be measured by our capacity and our will, and its success will be assured not by a few great and valorous deeds, but rather by all of us doing a great many small tasks sensibly and well.

To you now learning and maturing in this great institution, and to your comrades of college age everywhere in the land, I can make no prophecies for which I would claim the slightest shred of validity, dealing with the future’s great imponderables. But I can express to you an unshakable faith, derived and developed through years of living, in the

character and capacity of young Americans, to meet life's problems as they exist or arise. On battlefields, in peaceful countrysides and in great cities, on busy campuses, I have seen America's youth developing and producing leaders that, in every quality and in every walk of life, measure up to the world's finest.

These we need in ever-growing numbers, so that through them and throughout our nation, and finally throughout the world, all people everywhere will come to understand that the oldest aspiration of mankind—peace with justice—must be provided by their governments, or their governments will be repudiated. People must meet and understand other people, and so doing make it ever more difficult for governments, responding to false prides or even worse, personal ambitions, to sustain dictatorships, foreign domination, or unjust and unworthy practices.

These things can be done—your part in bringing them to pass will be measured by the intensity of your dedication—your readiness to sacrifice.

These are the abilities and capacities I have in mind as I say—I have faith in America's young men and women, and in the future they will build.

I thank you very much indeed.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:30 p.m. in the University gymnasium. His opening words referred to Lewis Cutrer, Mayor of Houston, Dr. Carey Croneis, Provost of the University, George R. Brown, Chair-

man of the Board of Trustees, and Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, editor and president of the Houston Post and former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

337 ¶ Telegram Accepting Invitation To Address a Rally of the Nixon for President Committee of Pennsylvania. *October 25, 1960*

I AM HAPPY to confirm my acceptance of your invitation to join you for a dinner meeting in Philadelphia on Friday, October 28th. Looking ahead to the future of our country and to the freedom we want for our children and grandchildren the decision to be made by the American people on November eighth is, I think, one of the most important in our history.

I propose on Friday evening to give my own convictions and try to clear the air on why this is so and on the choice our fellow citizens must

that. In fact, the services would have a hard time operating without them.

There were over 300,000 women in the services in World War II. They filled 239 different types of military jobs and released fighting men for the front. There are nine components in which women serve and have permanent status, by act of Congress signed and approved by the President of the United States. Four hundred and fifty types of jobs in the services are open to women. Some of them require highly complicated training. There are 46,000 women now serving as voluntary officers and enlisted personnel. They are serving in 15 countries.

We need many more thousands to meet the military manpower needs. And I hope you will tell everybody you see that there are a lot of good places for good-looking young ladies, and good-looking middle-aged ladies, who can help the welfare of this country now as never before.

Now, this place here has some historical significance. This is the place where it is my duty, sometimes, to pin Medals of Honor on men who have earned them at the front—the highest honor that can come to anyone in the military services. And it is the highest honor that I myself receive, when I hand out those medals.

I want to say to you women of the services, that your devotion to duty is right in line with those men who earned those medals. If you had the opportunity, you would earn those medals, too. Sometimes you earn the medals and never get them.

But I want to say to you that I think this is a great occasion, and I appreciate it. I appreciate the privilege of being a party to the commemorative stamp which has been ordered to be distributed today. This, I think, will be really an historical event.

I want to congratulate the services on the way they are handling the women in the services. Today, you see the women in the front ranks, and you see the soldiers and the sailors and the marines in the back rank. Now they are always in the front rank, no matter what happens, because there isn't a man alive who doesn't owe something to his mother, or his sister, or his wife.

Again I want to say that I am just as happy as I can be to be here, and to help celebrate this occasion.

Congratulations to the women in the services.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:05 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. His opening words referred to Postmaster General Jesse M. Donaldson.

249 Address in Philadelphia at the American Hospital Association Convention. *September 16, 1952*

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen:

It is a great pleasure for me to be here today. This meeting gives me an opportunity to talk on one of my favorite subjects—the health of the American people.

When I stood up here awhile ago and presented this Certificate of Merit to Mr. McNamara, he was under the impression that that was a put-up job, and it was—I was a party to it. And the mayor and myself maneuvered the situation so that the President of the United States could get two introductions instead of one.

I was standing up here at the singing of

"The Star-Spangled Banner," and I noticed in looking around over the audience that everybody kept looking at me, and wondering why in the Sam Hill I wasn't doing a little singing myself. And I will tell you why. I am like Artemus Ward, as a "singer" I'm not a success. I am saddest when I sing, and so are those who listen to me. The singer in the family is now in California.

I feel very close to you people who are here today. In fact, I think perhaps I can qualify as a hospital administrator myself, because the Federal Government operates the largest group of hospitals in the country.

You see, I have some of the same headaches that you do. Just some. I know something about the nature of your problems, and I also know about the wonderful work you are doing.

I am proud of our Federal hospitals, and I am proud that they are members of the American Hospital Association. All our hospitals—voluntary, municipal, and State, as well as Federal—and all the people who serve in them can take great pride in what they have done to help lift the Nation's standard of health in recent years.

We now have the highest standard of health in our history. Life expectancy has never been so high; the occurrence of communicable diseases has never been so low.

Typhoid fever, smallpox, diphtheria, pellagra, rickets, and malaria have been virtually wiped out. In fact, these diseases are so rare today I am told that many of our younger physicians have never even seen a case.

We have overcome the major causes of infant mortality, and today only one mother in 1,400 dies at childbirth.

From 1944 to 1950, the general death rate in our Nation declined 10 percent. Deaths from tuberculosis were reduced 46 percent; from influenza and pneumonia, 50 percent; from syphilis, 53 percent.

Contrary to what some of you may have been led to expect, I do not claim sole credit for these remarkable achievements. I am sometimes accused of claiming credit for everything good that has happened in the United States while I have been President, and, by the same token, I am also accused of never having made a mistake.

As for mistakes, I know that I make them like everyone else, and I do admit them from time to time. However, it has not seemed necessary for me to spend a great deal of time calling attention to my mistakes because there have always been plenty of other people who were willing to do that for me.

You hospital administrators know what I mean because you have to serve as the whipping boys for a lot of other people, too.

Actually, our magnificent achievements in the field of health have resulted primarily from teamwork. We could not have made this record unless everyone had done his part—doctors, nurses, and hospital administrators, and all the other workers who are devoted to keeping people well. We all have our places on the team, and none of us could do the job without the help of all the others.

One of the best illustrations of what can be accomplished through teamwork is what has happened in our medical program for veterans.

At the end of World War II, we set out on a program to revitalize the medical services of the Veterans Administration and to make sure that men and women who had been disabled in the defense of our country would receive medical care second to none. That program has been successful beyond what everyone thought would be possible.

This success has been made possible by the wholehearted cooperation of the private practitioners, professional schools, and hospitals. The Veterans Administration has secured the part-time services of over 100,000 experts in the medical field to aid its full-time staff. And the faculties of nearly every leading medical school in the country are now working with the Veterans Administration to provide an ever-higher quality of medical care.

I am delighted it's that way. This unexcelled medical care for our veterans shows how the Government and the American medical profession can work together for the benefit of everyone.

While we have been making these advances in veterans' medicine, we have made equally impressive gains in national defense medicine—in caring for the men and women in the armed services.

In the fighting in Korea, the mortality rate among the wounded who reach medical aid is only half the rate of World War II—and that was remarkably low. Eighty-five percent of the wounded are now returned to active duty. The most amazing thing is

that this wonderful record is being made with one-half the number of physicians per 1,000 troops that were used in World War II. We have been able to do this only because there has been the closest kind of coordination among our three medical services and civilian health agencies.

And while we are speaking of teamwork, I want to pay tribute here to the contribution that you, and the medical profession, and the Red Cross, and the American people, have made to the national blood program. It has been a magnificent achievement. But let us remember, however, that we dare not relax our efforts. The supply of blood needed for our troops in Korea, for the patients in your hospitals here at home, and for civil defense reserves is dangerously low. I appeal again to every American to give blood if he can.

Now, all these evidences of collaboration between the health profession and the Government may come as a surprise to you. I am sure they will be a surprise to most people in view of all that has been said about the terrible things I have been trying to do to the medical profession.

The fact is that the medical profession has more to do with determining the policies of the Federal Government today than ever before in history with regard to health. All the groups concerned with health have come together in the Health Resources Advisory Committee, under the chairmanship of Dr. Howard Rusk, to give their help and advice to the Government. The president-elect of the American Hospital Association is a member of this Committee, and a high official of the American Medical Association serves as vice chairman. The Committee is doing a marvelous job. And I am paying tribute to them.

All this doesn't mean that there is nothing left to argue about. I expect we will go right on in the American way having differences of opinion about the part the Federal Government should play in helping to meet the health needs of our citizens. Now, personally, I have always understood that

the Constitution of the United States imposes upon the Government of the United States a responsibility with respect to the general welfare of its citizens. And certainly no one can pretend that good health is not a matter of first importance so far as the general welfare is concerned.

That is why, ever since I have been President, I have recommended programs which I believe will provide better medical and health services for all our people. Some groups have received these proposals enthusiastically. Others have been strongly against them. That is what happens every time we try to move forward. We have to make each advance by overcoming the objections of those who want to pull back.

My only interest in this matter is better health for all our people. That is why I have constantly asked the "pullbacks" to come forward with plans of their own. But you know, it is a failing common to the "pullbacks"—they don't want to move ahead at all, no matter how it's done. They just want to stand still, with things as they are, or they even want to move backward.

Even now they seem to be advocating the amazing proposition that Government should have nothing to do with health except for "locally administered indigent medical care programs."

That's about like saying we don't need any form of social security except the county poorhouse. These people really want to go back to horse and buggy days. I am here to tell you we are just not going back to horse and buggy days. We can't, if we wanted to.

Fortunately, we have gone ahead in this country, despite the "pullbacks," to accomplish what we could over their opposition.

Now I will tell you a story right here that is most interesting. I have collected since I have been in the White House a great many stories about the improvement of that structure and about the various Presidents and First Ladies who have been in it.

There is a story around the White House

that Mrs. Millard Fillmore brought the first bathtub into the White House. There is also a story in connection with it, that the local medical association in Cincinnati, Ohio, passed a resolution calling Mrs. Fillmore an indecent person because she had put the bathtub in the White House. This medical association in Cincinnati said that it was unsanitary, that it was unhealthy, that no person should take all his clothes off at one time.

Well, my friends, there has been some progress since that date, and I want to say to you that there are more bathtubs in the White House now than there are in the Benjamin Franklin Hotel.

As a matter of fact, we have accomplished a great deal, as this story I have just told you illustrates.

We established in 1946 a Federal aid program for the construction of hospitals to be owned and operated by the people in local communities. As a result, thousands upon thousands are getting hospital care who never had it before, especially in the rural areas. By now more than 1,800 projects for hospitals, health centers, and other medical facilities have been approved. Already, this program has added 88,000 beds and about 350 health centers to the Nation's health resources.

One of the best things about this program is that more than one-half of these facilities are in towns which never had hospitals before. This is going to help correct the problem of the proper distribution of doctors. More young physicians will set up their practices in the country if they have modern hospitals in which they can work.

This hospital survey and construction program is an example of a happy and successful partnership between the Federal Government, the State Governments—governments of the local communities. The States take responsibility for orderly planning to meet hospital needs. Local citizens take responsibility for raising about two-thirds of the funds and for operating their hospitals.

This is the kind of teamwork by which we were able to meet the needs of 18 million

Americans—one in eight of our population—who required hospital care last year. It is an achievement in which Americans can take real pride.

Now I want to remind you that behind all the work in our hospitals, behind all the advances in health, and behind all the health profession can do for the sick, is the underlying force of medical research. The key to all past accomplishments has been in painstaking research brought to the point of practical application.

This will be just as true in the future as it has been in the past.

We must remember that we advance from one set of problems to another. Past achievements in medicine have advanced us to the problems of the chronic and degenerative diseases. Having extended the life span, we are now grappling with heart disease, cancer, and other disabilities that people suffer in later life.

These problems are more difficult to resolve than were their predecessors. This means that the research required for their solution is constantly growing more complex and more expensive. It means that the whole structure of medical research must be strengthened. We need more research effort and more research workers.

The American people have given splendid support to medical research through private organizations, and I know they will keep it up. But we have found that the cost of research is so great that we cannot expect it to be met solely through private means.

Right now the Federal Government is supporting by research grants about a quarter of all the research done in medical schools. The Government is giving this aid without any control at all over the scientists or schools. That is the way it should be done and that is the way it must be done.

One of the most exciting developments in the history of medical research has been the use of the radioisotopes made available by the Atomic Energy Commission. Our scientists tell me that the radioisotope, when used as a tracer, represents the most impor-

tant tool for unraveling the life process since the invention of the microscope in the 17th century.

Our atomic apothecary in Oak Ridge has made about 27,000 shipments of radioactive isotopes to 922 institutions in the United States. Many of you are now using these materials for the diagnosis of patients with thyroid disease, heart disease, and cancer. Now it took billions of dollars to produce these new aids to medicine—billions of dollars. No one except the Government could have marshalled the resources to do the job.

One of the research projects of the Government in which I take a great deal of personal pride is the new Clinical Center of the Public Health Service in Bethesda, Maryland. A little more than a year ago, I spoke at the cornerstone ceremonies for this unique hospital-laboratory. We were pleased to have the trustees of the American Hospital Association present on that occasion. In that great structure, soon to be completed, the Public Health Service will combine a range of clinical and scientific skills never before brought together under one roof. This will make it possible to step up our attack on cancer, heart disease, the viruses, mental illness, arthritis, and neurological disorders.

I honestly believe that our present day efforts in medical research are leading us into a new Golden Age of Medicine.

We should never forget that the best possible of all ways for treating disease and disability is by preventing them from happening. That is why research and preventive medicine and accident prevention are so important.

Just think of all the human suffering that has been prevented and all the money that has been saved by our victories over communicable diseases. Take smallpox, for example. In 1921, we had more than 100,000 cases in this country. Last year, only 11 cases were reported in the entire Nation.

Good health is not only a matter of wiping out disease; it is a matter of reducing our

frightful accident toll. Thousands of men, women, and children are being maimed in accidents each month that we could prevent if we had the foresight to do so. Better safety education, more research into safety devices, plus better enforcement of safety regulations, would save us millions of heart-aches and hundreds of millions of dollars each year. We could prevent the loss to our productive economy of literally thousands and thousands of people who are now victims of disabling accidents. And we could rehabilitate and return to productive life untold numbers of others at a cost far less than it now takes to care for them.

So, although we have come a long way toward our goal of good health for every American, we still have a long way to go. We have to move ahead with a balanced program that takes account of facts as they are.

You can't take care of sick people just by putting them in a building. The building is a shell and doesn't become a hospital until it is equipped and staffed. You can't make the best modern medicine available to everybody—as it should be—unless there is some way for the people to pay for it.

The overriding fact is that many phases of modern medical and health care are very expensive.

It's not like it was a hundred years ago. Let me read you this little item I found in a magazine last week.

This is from the rules and regulations of the Great Falls, New Hampshire, Medical Association, 1847:

"The members of this Association shall charge for their professional services the fees in the following table:

"For a visit in the village and ordinary medicine, fifty cents. For a visit in the Night, one dollar. For advice in ordinary cases, at the office, twenty-five cents. For extracting a tooth, twenty-five cents. If more than one tooth is extracted for the same patient, at one sitting, each additional tooth shall be 12½ cents." If you had two taken out, you could get them for 37½ cents.

Now this is pretty good: "For obstetrics, a single birth, four dollars. For obstetrics, twins, six dollars." There's no price on triplets, but I guess it would be in the same proportion.

"For excision of tonsils, three dollars." Now it was cheaper to have your tonsils out than it was to have a baby in those days.

But what I am getting at is that things are different now.

The fact that the best medical care costs so much today is not anyone's fault. It is simply because we have found out how to do so much for people who are ill that, if we do all of it, it takes a lot of time and requires a lot of equipment and personnel and many expensive drugs. And it requires training of physicists, of scientists, and doctors of medicine.

Nobody is to blame, but these costs have to be met somehow if we want to reap the blessings of medical research in the relief of human suffering.

Our problem is to bring medical and health services to people at a price they can afford to pay. I have invited the cooperation of the medical profession in solving this problem. But it is not a job for the medical profession alone. It is a job for all of us.

We are now partially solving this problem for many people through voluntary medical and hospital plans. But for many, many more of our citizens the problem is not solved. Many tenant farmers and low-income workers and older people do not have the money to obtain health services to an extent even remotely approximating their needs.

Over all the land, there are examples such as these. And I say to you, "What shall we do about it?" This great free enterprise system of ours has made it possible for more Americans to have more things—more of the good things of life—than any people anywhere on earth, or anywhere in the history of the world. Can it now also make it possible for every American to protect his health? I would not call such a goal "socialism." I would call it a goal of enter-

prise—American free enterprise.

Meeting the health needs of our people is one of the most important ways we can make our American promises come true. It also is one of the mainstays of national defense. Only the strong can survive and only the healthy can be strong.

This is why, last December, I appointed a Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation. I asked this group of prominent professional leaders and lay citizens to survey the situation and then make positive recommendations for action that would bring our people better health. That Commission now has been hard at work for 6 months. It is gathering a lot of highly important facts. It is going to the grassroots of our health problems. It has been holding regular meetings throughout the country and finding out what the health needs of our people are, and to what extent they are being supplied.

I have not in any way sought to control the work of this Commission. I do not know what it will recommend. But I have great confidence in its members, and I am sure that the report it will file in December will help us move forward toward the thing we all want—better health for everyone in the country.

Before we can conquer any obstacle, we must have the will to conquer it. I have a profound faith that the people of this great Nation who have willed so many miracles in modern times also have an inflexible resolve to conquer our everlasting mortal enemies—disease and untimely death.

We have made great progress toward that goal. We are making progress now. I hope that in the years ahead we can all march along side by side to take full advantage of our opportunities to make a better and healthier United States of America.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:43 p.m. at Convention Hall in Philadelphia. During his remarks he referred to Fred A. McNamara, Chief, Hospital Branch, Bureau of the Budget, and Mayor Joseph S. Clark, Jr., of Philadelphia.

For the President's statement on the report released in December, see Item 352.

332 Message to the Congress Transmitting Second Report on the Mutual Security Program. *November 18, 1952*

To the Congress of the United States:

I am transmitting herewith the Second Report on the Mutual Security Program, covering operations during the first 6 months of 1952 in furtherance of the purposes of the Mutual Security Act of 1951 (Public Law 165, 82d Cong.). The report reviews the steps that we have taken with other nations to work for peace and security.

The Mutual Security Program is a positive program for peace. It is absolutely essential to the security of the United States. At a time when one nation is bent upon world conquest—as the Soviet Union is today—other nations, large or small, have but two real choices: To pay the ransom of appeasement or to pay the price of building together sufficient strength—military, economic, political, and moral strength—to keep

the peace. The United States and other free nations have chosen to build up their strength. That is what the Mutual Security Program is all about.

During the 6-month period reviewed in this report, real progress was made in strengthening the free world. Although much remains to be done, we are heading in the right direction. If we keep on, if each of the partners in this joint effort makes every effort to meet problems in a sensible manner, we shall eventually reach our goal of a secure, peaceful, and confident world.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: The Second Report on the Mutual Security Program and its Supplement are printed in House Document 561 (82d Cong., 2d sess.).

See also Items 55, 57, 61.

333 Address Before the Association of Military Surgeons. *November 19, 1952*

IT CERTAINLY is a very great pleasure for me to be here tonight to meet with the Association of Military Surgeons.

I don't know when I have enjoyed an entertainment more than I have the one which has just finished. And I was highly intrigued by the presentation of these medals and awards for public service. I am trying to figure out some way so I can get that orchestra and entertainment out home—strictly at the cost of the taxpayers, you understand. First time I have ever had an orchestra to play three Strauss waltzes for me, and then play the first one over for an encore—which I appreciated most highly. The renditions of the soloists and the chorus, I think, are as fine as I have ever witnessed, and I pretend to know something about music—very little—but I do know something.

I am particularly glad to join in welcom-

ing the distinguished guests from the military medical services of other nations. You have met together with us not only in the bonds of a common professional interest, but also in the friendship of free men struggling against tyranny. I hope you will enjoy your stay here, and that you will carry a good impression with you of this country of ours when you go home.

I have many friends among the members of this association, and there is one of them that I know extremely well. I am going to tell you a behind-the-scenes story on him. He was a lieutenant colonel in the airborne forces. He was the one who set up the first hospital on Omaha Beach. He set up the first hospital on the other side of the Rhine. He was down close to Prague somewhere when I got to Potsdam in July of 1945, and I sent for this lieutenant colonel to come to see me at Potsdam.

When he arrived I said, "Doctor, I want you to go back to the White House and be my physician."

He said, "Oh, Mr. President, I can't do that. I have got a hospital full of wounded men. I have to stay and take care of them."

I said, "Doc, are there any other doctors in this man's Army?"

"Oh, yes," he said, "there are lots of them."

"Well," I said, "now you had better leave some of those doctors in charge, and I want you to go back to the White House."

He said, "Yes, sir, I understand now who I am talking to."

He has been my physician ever since, and if he had only me to take care of, he wouldn't have anything to do. But he spends his time at Walter Reed Hospital really working as a working doctor should. His ideals are those that are expressed in the constitution and the bylaws of this organization—service to the people who need that sort of service. I am very happy to have such a physician in the White House.

I have been especially pleased to hear about the way this association is broadening its membership among all the people in the Government who are engaged in health work. To me, this is a splendid recognition of the necessity for teamwork and wide cooperation in providing the best that is possible in medical care.

I am glad to have this opportunity to express my gratitude to the members of the health professions who have served in our Armed Forces and other agencies of the Government in meeting the vast health needs of this Nation.

As my term of office is drawing to a close, I think back from time to time about the events of the past 7½ years. They have been exciting years. In many ways they have been very difficult; in many respects they have been years of great progress. What the final verdict of history will be, I do not know. But I do know this: Whatever measure of success has been achieved by this administration has been made possible by the loyal and devoted work of many men and

women. In the field of health, we have made a great deal of progress. And for that my thanks go out tonight to all the members of this association and to your fellow health workers throughout the Government. Seven years ago tonight, I think, I made my first public speech on health to this organization—just 7 years ago tonight. I have been vitally interested in the health and welfare of the people of this country, and I shall continue to be and to carry on that interest as long as I am able to walk around. And I think that will be quite a while.

During my term as President, I have been deeply interested in all aspects of our Federal health and medical services.

Scientific progress has been so rapid in recent years, and the demand for better medical care and the cost of providing it have both increased so sharply, that we face a whole set of new problems in the field of health. These are problems that can be solved only by a cooperative effort on the part of all the groups in our society. I have tried to get the Federal Government to shoulder its full responsibilities in this effort.

I have been sharply attacked and criticized for my insistence that the Federal Government do its full share in solving our health problems. But I do not mind being attacked. The main objective for me has been to get on with the job of improving the Nation's health. And in that job we have made a lot of progress. We have made it in spite of politically inspired opposition—and this progress is a source of real satisfaction to me, I will tell you that. I believe the Federal Government has helped a great deal. I believe it could do even more. And I think it will do more as the facts become fully known, and our health problems are more widely understood.

This is not, for me at least, a matter of partisan politics. It is a matter of serving the general welfare of the country, and of using the most effective means for doing it.

The health of the American people is one of our basic national resources. It is as important to the welfare of our country as our

land, our water, and our minerals. Our National Government has been concerned about the preservation and development of these resources for decades. It is just as logical, and just as important, for us to be concerned about health.

In the field of natural resources, the Government acts as one of the many elements concerned. It works in cooperation with the States, with the local governments, with consumers, with private and public enterprise. Only through this kind of cooperation can we preserve our resources and our American system. It is the same way in the field of health. Progress there comes from the cooperative efforts of the professions, the public, and the Government—all branches of the Government.

Some of the most remarkable advances we have made are in the field to which many of you are dedicated—the medical care of our military forces. In World War II we achieved near miracles in caring for the wounded. Yet, today, in the fighting in Korea, the mortality rate among the wounded who receive medical aid is only half the rate of World War II. The blood and plasma given by the American people, the marvelous antibiotics, and the greatly improved anesthetics administered by superbly trained doctors have helped to bring this about. The helicopter evacuation of wounded from under the very guns of the enemy has saved many lives. As a matter of fact, the helicopter has become so important to military medicine that helicopter units are now being attached to the medical department. It won't be long before every department in our whole defense will have an air force of its own—better watch out.

Let me remind you—it's a good thing we have unification, General. Let me remind you that your wonderful record in Korea has been achieved with one-half the number of physicians for every 1,000 men that was used in World War II. Think over that. One-half the number of physicians per thousand men than were used in World War II—yet the improvement in the saving of lives has

been immense. This advance was made possible by cooperation between the Government and the medical profession. It is only by the closest kind of coordination between our military medical services and civilian health agencies that we have been able to cut the mortality rate in this way.

Another area where we have made great progress is in the care of our veterans. Since World War II we have brought our disabled servicemen the finest health care available. Through the cooperative efforts of private practitioners, professional schools, and hospitals, the Veterans Administration is now able to provide an ever-improving standard of medical services for the men and women injured in the service of our country.

The advances we have made in improving the health of the American people are, in a great measure, the result of steady progress in medical research. This has meant ceaseless experimentation in our laboratories. It has meant equally tireless efforts to put new discoveries to practical use. They are not much use unless you do put them to practical use.

The American people have given admirable support to medical research through private organizations, particularly concerning polio, cancer, heart disease, and mental health. But the plain fact is that the cost of research is so great it cannot be met solely through private means.

The Government must provide financial assistance if this vital work is to continue.

Through the Department of Defense, the Atomic Energy Commission, and the Public Health Service, the Federal Government is right now supporting by grants well over a quarter of all the research done in the medical schools of this Nation. And more than this, the services are doing extensive vital research in their own laboratories and in the field. The problems of aviation medicine and submarine medicine are receiving careful study. Intensive work is being done to solve the health problems of troops in the field exposed to unfamiliar conditions and little known diseases.

The most gratifying aspect of our efforts and the accomplishments in military medical research is that our advances in this field benefit the health of all mankind. Some of the greatest discoveries have been made by the medical research of the services, and they have been of benefit to the whole world. The medal you just awarded awhile ago was an example of that.

To me, one of the best examples of the importance of the Government in the field of research is the development of radio-isotopes. Some 27,000 shipments of radioactive isotopes have been made by the Atomic Energy Commission to institutions in this country. These materials have proved invaluable in the diagnosis and treatment of patients with thyroid disease, heart ailments, and cancer. But before these radioactive isotopes could be made available, billions of dollars had to be invested in the development of atomic energy. Only the Government could have borne this great cost burden. And I am here to tell you that I have been working ever since the first atomic bomb was exploded to turn this tremendous source of energy to peaceful purposes. And we are going to do that in the course of another generation.

These are examples of the notable progress we have made in the health field through the cooperative efforts of Government and professional groups. And each advance has in some measure contributed to a further improvement in the health of the American people. Get that!—each advance has in some measure contributed to a further improvement of the health of the American people. It has been nationwide.

Today, we enjoy the highest standard of health in our history. We can look forward to the highest life expectancy we have ever known. Great strides have been made in controlling communicable diseases.

As we go forward, however, we meet new problems. Major questions about the chronic diseases remain unsolved. Training takes longer and is more highly specialized. The

cost of adequate medical care continues to mount. We can solve these problems with the same success that we have had in the past, if we continue on the path of collaboration between the health professions and your Government.

But in spite of our successes, we are confronted at this time by a violent attack on the whole principle of Government support and assistance in meeting health problems. The attack is led by men who, in my opinion, are sadly mistaken in believing that our whole pattern of progress conceals some hidden danger to the livelihood and the independence of the medical practitioner. Nothing could be sillier than to fear that progress in the field of health endangers the doctor. But unfortunately this campaign of opposition has had its effect.

What has this opposition meant in terms of lost progress? For one thing, our shortages of doctors and nurses and health personnel have not been met, despite repeated efforts to persuade the Congress to adopt a program of Federal aid to medical education.

The shortage of trained personnel is one of the worst problems we face. It is particularly serious when we try to meet the needs of the Armed Forces for doctors and other medical personnel. As you all know, we are now drafting physicians, dentists, and veterinarians. This situation places on all of us—the health professions, the military, the Selective Service System, and the public—a solemn obligation to make wise disposition of our medical manpower. We must increase the flow of students into the health professions, and we must staff the institutions which train them. The civilian medical and health services must be maintained in balance with military needs.

The trouble, sacrifice, and inconvenience caused by the present necessity of drafting doctors might be obviated—or at least lessened—if our supply of civilian doctors were not so limited. This is something for the profession to think about. We must train far more doctors than we are training now,

and it is in the long-range interests of the medical profession itself to see that this is done.

The opposition we have encountered has resulted in other serious setbacks. Additional local public health units which are needed, particularly in rural areas, have not been established—although the need has been made clear to the Congress time and again. I harp on it every time I go down there and talk to those fellows, but it doesn't seem to have done any good, so far. Also, my proposal to use the insurance principle in bringing the high cost of medical care within the means of all the people has been misrepresented and distorted. As a result, many people have lost sight of the real issue at stake—making adequate health care available to all, despite limitations of income.

That is why I appointed a Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation last December. I asked 15 prominent citizens to devote their efforts for 1 full year to a careful and detailed study of our health problems and to give the American people their recommendations for needed action. I gave them the broadest charter possible, and I made it clear that their work was to be completely on their own.

The Commission has been hard at work. It has held panel discussions with the leading experts in every phase of the health field. It has conducted public hearings in virtually every region in the country. It has taken up the major issues that have been the subject of controversy over these years.

I do not know what the Commission will recommend. But I have great confidence in its members. I feel sure that their report next month will be a real contribution to our efforts to bring about better health for all our people.

Of course, I cannot tell you what effect this report will have upon the new administration. I hope they will consider it on its merits. They would be wise to do just that.

The people of this country continue to expect their Government to be concerned with

their well-being. In the field of health, as in other important aspects of economic and social life, the people will look to the Government to meet those great responsibilities which the Government alone can handle. Anyone who interprets the election as a mandate to stop the efforts we have been making for social and economic progress is blind to history—and is far behind the times.

I would like to leave one additional thought with you. Despite my arguments with some of the medical spokesmen of our day, I have a deep interest in, and a strong feeling of kinship for, the medical profession. I do not believe that a man should enter the practice of medicine unless he is motivated by the strongest desire to serve the needs of the people who will come under his care. In his hands often rests the decision of life or death. If his only motivation is monetary reward, he will be ill-equipped to meet the challenge of his profession.

And that is how I feel about a person who devotes his life to politics and government. Unless he is moved by the strongest desire to improve the lot of his fellow man and to devote his efforts to correcting the social and economic evils of his day, he will never realize the true meaning of his profession.

You who are public servants—military or civilian—and at the same time are helping to bring better health to your fellow men, surely have the highest ideals to guide you. You are true servants of mankind. You are grand people. It has been a privilege to share your work and your problems for these last 7 years.

It has been a pleasure to be with you tonight.

I thank you very much for your close attention.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:20 p.m. at the Statler Hotel in Washington. During his remarks he referred to Maj. Gen. Wallace H. Graham, USA, Physician to the President.

For the President's statement upon establishing the Commission on Health Needs of the Nation, see 1951 volume, this series, Item 307.

348 Letter to Michael V. DiSalle on His Appointment as
Administrator, Economic Stabilization Agency.
December 16, 1952

Dear Mr. DiSalle:

I appreciate greatly your willingness to sacrifice your time and personal interest to undertake for the remaining days of my administration the position of Administrator of the Economic Stabilization Agency.

We both feel strongly that the stabilization program is a vital part of our defense mobilization and our national security under the present economic conditions in which that program must operate. Your service in this field, in which you have both outstanding experience and a record of high accomplish-

ment, will greatly assist in the maintenance of a strong stabilization program which can be turned over to the new administration as a functioning and effective operation.

Very sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[Honorable Michael V. DiSalle, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: On the same day the White House released the exchange of correspondence with Roger L. Putnam, in which the President accepted his resignation as Administrator of the Economic Stabilization Agency.

Mr. DiSalle was sworn in as Administrator on December 22.

349 Address Before the Alumni Association of the Industrial College
of the Armed Forces. *December 16, 1952*

Mr. President of the Association, Commandant of the College, and gentlemen:

I am very, very pleased indeed to be able to meet with you here today. I sincerely wish I could stay for lunch but, you see, they have set this table so there is no place for me, and I have to get back and keep an appointment at the White House. I am sorry. I'll take a raincheck, though, because after January the 20th I am going to need some place to eat.

The faculty and students of the Industrial College of the Armed Forces are doing a most important job—one that is altogether too little known and too little appreciated. They are studying the relationship between a strong national defense and a healthy economy. Few subjects are more important than that. In the painful, long-drawn-out struggle for peace we must constantly have powerful military defenses, backed by steadily growing economic strength.

You who are graduates of the Industrial College have learned a great deal about what it takes to accomplish this purpose. I was

very glad to find that the graduates of the Industrial College have joined together in an Alumni Association, to help you keep in touch with one another, and to help you keep up with new ideas in the field of economic mobilization.

It is most important for the sake of our country that each one of you, after you leave the Industrial College, keep abreast of what is going on in this field. There are too few people in this country who understand what is involved in mobilizing the Nation's resources to produce defense equipment on a limited scale, as at present, and to be prepared at any time to swing into full-scale wartime production.

Our country is going to be engaged for many years in the dangerous and difficult task of achieving a workable peace. All through that time, we are going to have to be in a state of partial mobilization, of greater or less degree, depending on the particular circumstances at any given time. In this situation, we will need to depend heavily on people like yourselves who have been privi-

leged to study the problem of economic mobilization thoroughly.

I have been through two mobilizations, one for World War II, and this one for this unpleasantness in which we are now. In the World War II one, I was in the Senate and was in charge of the committee which was called the Committee To Investigate the National Defense Program. It was the objective of that committee to help win the war. I was in constant touch with the President and with General Marshall, and I never made a move without those two gentlemen knowing exactly what I was going to do. I don't know what I would have given, had I been blessed with a committee like that under the circumstances.

We will also need the help of the thousands of students throughout the country who have taken the short courses on economic mobilization given by the faculty of the Industrial College. I understand that over 17,000 students have taken these courses. And I certainly was glad to hear it. I understand also that over 1,500 students have completed the correspondence course, and another 2,300 are now enrolled. All this educational work needs to go ahead very rapidly if our country is to make the proper economic and military decisions and adjustments that will be needed to carry forward our work for peace.

We have just gone through a period of economic mobilization that has demonstrated some of the things that can be done in our amazingly productive and dynamic country.

In the first months after the Communist invasion of Korea, when nobody could be sure how close we might be to a new world war, we launched what we called the defense mobilization program.

We laid out a program of rearmament on a scale beyond that which any free nation had ever accomplished in any period short of an all-out war. We decided to add 2 million men and women to our Armed Forces, and to buy something like \$150 billion worth

of military supplies and equipment, over a period of 3 or 4 years.

We decided to carry out, in addition to the military production effort, a vast program of expansion of our basic industries, all across the economy.

And we wanted to do all this with as little interruption as possible in the normal and healthy growth of the standard of living of the country.

In recent years, we have become used to the fact that our economy is enormously productive. Yet, even so, this was a challenging program. We planned to build up our expenditures for security purposes until they took 15 to 20 percent of the entire output of the country. We wanted to increase our total national production as rapidly as we could, so that the greater part of the security program could be taken care of by the additional production, rather than by diverting production from civilian to military purposes. This meant new sources of materials, new plants, additional workers, more skills.

To appreciate the full scope of this undertaking, you have to remember that a great part of the military production program was made up of new items—models of planes and tanks and electronic equipment which had not yet been proven to be feasible for production. Some of the things that were scheduled for production, you can honestly say, had not yet quite been invented.

By now, we are well along on our defense mobilization program. Our production of military hard goods has risen to seven times what it was at the time of the Korean invasion. Even so, the expansion has not been quite as rapid as we had hoped. The procurement officers and their contractors turned out to be over-optimistic in predicting how fast they could bring the new models of equipment into production.

While falling behind our schedules may sometimes prove embarrassing, I believe it is always wise to set high targets. They act as a spur to everyone concerned, and I think

you accomplish more that way in the long run than if you never set out to do anything more than is apparently feasible.

Now there's an old city planner in Chicago named D. H. Burnham. He had a building of his own there, and his office is on the top floor of that building, and he had a fireplace at the end of it. And he had a motto over it which said: "Make no little plans. You can always alter great plans, but you can't expand little ones."

And that is true, in this instance, just the same. It is more important to get the job done than to worry about who is going to be embarrassed if we fall short of our targets.

Because military production has not been as rapid as expected, we have done even better than we expected on the civilian side. Cuts in production of consumer hard goods have been reasonably mild and not of long duration. There have been almost no actual shortages of consumer goods. I would hazard a guess that none of you here found at any time since the emergency that there was anything you couldn't buy on the market.

During this period, we expanded our basic industrial capacity at a rate greater than at any time in history—a rate of \$27 billion a year. The gross national product, after adjusting for price changes, has gone up by \$45 billion, or 15 percent. The product for 1952 will be \$344 billion—a fantastic figure. And you can measure it by any set of dollars you want to, and it is still the greatest in the history of the world.

Over a period of 3 or 4 years, beginning with 1950, we will have increased our aluminum capacity by 100 percent, our electric power capacity by 50 percent, and even our steel industry by 20 percent. We have twice as many aircraft plants in production as at the time of Korea, and twice as many engine plants.

In other words, we are much stronger, much more ready—more nearly ready for anything we may have to face than we were just 2 short years ago.

I do not mean to imply that the defense

mobilization program is over—far from it. We have just about completed the buildup of our munitions industries, but there is still over \$100 billion in actual production to turn out. A lot of our newest models of equipment—guided missiles, for example, and supersonic aircraft—are still to be perfected for volume production.

One aspect of the program of special interest to you in this audience is just well underway. That is the program of figuring out all the requirements for industrial capacity that we would need in an all-out war, and preparing fully in advance to meet these requirements. What we call the mobilization base has got to be complete next time if and when war starts, because we simply won't have time to build it after war begins. If we had to hold up production for 2 or 3 years while we built long-lead-time machine tools, for example, that might very well be fatal—and undoubtedly it would cause the loss of the war. The specialized military production plants, and the stockpiles of materials, have to be ready. And once ready, they have to be kept ready. I emphasize that. Once they are ready, they must be kept ready.

This mobilization base job—planning, provision, and maintenance—will be one of the big jobs facing the new administration. It will be up to you graduates of the Industrial College to supply a great deal of the leadership and assistance the new President will need in this immensely complex task—just as you have supplied leadership and assistance in the defense mobilization program thus far.

We have been able to accomplish this tremendous defense buildup because of the dynamic nature of the American economy. We have an expanding economy—one that has grown steadily stronger year by year. No one can say what the limits are—if, in fact, there are any limits—to our growth and to our production capacity.

This may sound surprising to you because, a little while back, there was so much talk about the sad state of our economy. Some

of you may recall how often it was said that this defense program of ours was just too big for the Nation to carry. You heard phrases like "national bankruptcy," "economic collapse," "the crushing tax burden," and so on.

I have never been able to figure out what measuring rod these doleful people use when they conclude we are on the road to ruin. It can't be the national income, because that was never higher—\$290 billion for this year. It can't be the national debt, because our national income has been growing faster than our national debt. It can't be the level of investment, because investment is at a record rate. It can't be the number of people out of work, because unemployment is almost as low as it can get. There are more than 63 million people at work, and 1,400,000 out of work, and that 1,400,000 are being hunted up every day by people who need help.

I say to you very seriously that our present defense mobilization program does not even approach the limit of what our country could do if it had to.

Nevertheless, there has been a great deal of talk about the country's so-called inability to continue a defense program of the magnitude of this one. This is very dangerous talk, because it could conceivably lead the country to a decision to cut back the defense program to a point below the minimum needs of our national security. This would happen at a time when—as everybody in this audience knows—we are confronted by a potential enemy that is very hostile and very powerful. And that potential enemy, you can be sure, is putting a far greater proportion of his national product into the building of military strength, year after year, than we are.

It is one of the facts of life, which every President has to face, that the right course of action is not always the popular course. Americans in the past few years have accomplished great things—great because they were right and necessary, and because they made a tremendous difference to the prospects for peace and freedom. The diversion of our resources to build up our military

strength, the assistance in the recovery and protection of other free nations, our firm stand in Korea—these were all necessary. But they meant heavy expenditures and higher taxes, which are unpleasant. And they meant loss of life.

The danger is always that the American people will be too conscious of their sacrifices and the unpleasantness, but not too conscious enough of the necessity and the greatness, of their course of action. It is necessary that people understand that while taxes are unpleasant, it is better to pay taxes to prevent a war than to pay taxes to pay for one. Life cannot be safe or pleasant when a large part of the world is controlled by Communist tyranny. Life cannot be comfortable or without risk when these powerful forces have vowed an unending hostility to everything that makes up the tradition of human freedom.

As I end my more than 7 years as President, I do so with pride that the Nation during those years did not shrink back from facing hard realities. The Nation chose a course of strength, and not of weakness. It chose a course of leadership in the worldwide struggle against communism, not a course of withdrawal. It chose to bear all the financial burden that had to be borne, not to cut corners for the sake of slightly lower taxes, and a little more comfort in our daily living.

And as a result, there are hundreds of millions of people in the world today who are living in freedom instead of in slavery; there are ready military forces sufficient to give pause to any potential aggressor; there are governments, and associations of governments, throughout the free world, working hard for security and progress and freedom; and there is a functioning world organization which, with all its deficiencies, is the greatest hope man has ever known for a world of international law and order.

I think our people know these things, and want to continue the basic course we have been following. I think they are wise enough to know the difference between true

economy and false economy. They are wise enough to know that anything that may be spent to prevent a new world war is bound to be far less than would be spent to fight one. This is true in money. It is true in lives.

And the people are also wise enough to know that we can afford to pay the cost of whatever is necessary to prevent a new world war. We can afford to complete our defense buildup. We can afford the cost of maintaining our mobilization base in readiness for any emergency. We can afford the cost of aiding our allies.

We can afford these things as long as we maintain our productive, fully-employed, expanding economy. Our re-

sources, though we measure them in dollars, are not really dollars. They are our farms, our factories, our great producing organizations, and the skills of our people. These resources can be used in whatever way the great emergency of our time demands. We have the resources to do whatever is necessary to protect and preserve our democracy and our freedom. And we have shown, over the past years, that we also have the courage and the will to do just that.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:04 p.m. at Fort Lesley J. McNair in Washington. In his opening remarks he referred to Kennedy Watkins, president of the Alumni Association of the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, and Rear Adm. W. McL. Hague, USN, commandant of the College.

350 Remarks to the Association of Immigration and Nationality Lawyers. *December 17, 1952*

I APPRECIATE this most highly. I sincerely hope that I deserve it. It is quite an honor to receive a citation such as this. It is usually the business of the President to give citations, not to receive them. And I appreciate this more highly, for the simple reason that I will be out of a job after the 20th day of January, and things like this won't come very often.

It certainly is kind and thoughtful of you to come down and bring it to me, and I

appreciate it.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:08 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

The association presented to the President its 1952 Founders' Award. The citation read, in part, "To the Honorable Harry S. Truman, President of the United States of America. In recognition of his keen sense of appreciation of the problems involved in the immigration and nationality policy of the United States, his forthrightness in dealing with them, and his affirmative steps to ease the hazards to the nobility and dignity of individuals regardless of race, color, creed or national origin."

351 Remarks at the Wright Memorial Dinner of the Aero Club of Washington. *December 17, 1952*

Mr. Chairman:

I am very happy to be able to participate in this occasion.

In its first half-century, aviation has had an astonishing career. It is really hard for the human mind to accept some of the accomplishments in this field. This has always been true.

As I have said many a time before, I wish I could see the development of the next half-

century. I won't quite be able to reach that far, but I am going to go as far as I can. It has been said in 1840, Jimmy, that the Commissioner of Patents went before a Senate committee and suggested that the Patent Office be closed because there was nothing more to be invented—in 1840.

Forty-nine years ago it was hard to get people to believe that the Wright brothers had actually flown an airplane at all. And today

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I can't comment on that, because I haven't any evidence on which to comment; and I would rather not comment at this time. At the right time I will comment on it, I think.

Q. Mr. President, do you plan to confer with Secretary Acheson on the Vincent matter when he returns?

THE PRESIDENT. The matter automatically goes to the head of the Department. If Secretary Acheson wants to confer with me on it, why it's all right.

Q. As I remember, the State Department statement afterwards said that the Secretary planned to discuss it with you.

THE PRESIDENT. It's perfectly all right with me. I haven't had any conversation with him on the subject.

[15.] Q. Will you follow tradition and ride down the Avenue with the new President?

THE PRESIDENT. Of course. You see, he is riding down the Avenue with *me*. I am the President until he is sworn in. [*Laughter*]

Q. I'm glad I asked you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. You see, I am the President until the oath is taken down there on the platform. There was a time in 1948 when there wasn't any President in office. His term was about to expire, and they waited and waited and waited for a long time before they swore me in; but it happened to be that I was the President, so it

made no difference.

Q. Are you going to drive back down the Avenue with him, then, after the inauguration?

THE PRESIDENT. No. He will be the President, and I will be a private citizen.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, Commissioner "Jiggs" Donohue⁷ said the other day that the new President would have the power to end segregation in the Capital just by issuing an Executive order. I wonder if the present President has that power?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't know. I can't answer the question.

Q. Some question about that in the Supreme Court—

THE PRESIDENT. I say I don't know. I can't answer the question. You can be sure that if I thought I had the power, it would have been done a long time ago.

Q. I think that would be about all, unless you have something to add, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I have nothing to add. I hope you all have a Merry Christmas.

Voices: Same to you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. And if you want to have a press conference on Christmas Day, I'll have it for you! [*Laughter*]

NOTE: President Truman's three hundred and twenty-first news conference was held in the Indian Treaty Room (Room 474) in the Executive Office Building at 4 p.m. on Thursday, December 18, 1952.

⁷ F. Joseph Donohue, Commissioner of the District of Columbia.

354 Address at the National War College. December 19, 1952

General Craig and gentlemen:

You men are engaged in one of the most important studies that Americans can engage in today. You are studying our national policy in its broadest sense. Our national policy is not simply our foreign policy or our military policy or our domestic policy. It is a combination of all three. The international domestic policies which a nation follows are the foundations of its foreign policy. Unless

the domestic policy is sound, you can't have a foreign policy; and its military policy also is based on the soundness of the domestic policy. What we can do and ought to do abroad depends upon the kind of nation we are at home.

We are, above all else, a peaceful nation, and what we want most in the world today is peace, a just and lasting peace, a peace that will release the constructive and creative

energies of mankind, and increase the happiness of men and women everywhere.

Our national policy, the policy you are studying, in all its aspects, is simply a policy designed to reach that objective. It is a policy for world peace.

You who are privileged to study here have an opportunity that is available nowhere else in this great country of ours. You are given facts that cannot be generally made public. You can look at the problems confronting the United States in the world today clearly, steadily, and as a whole. I am sure you appreciate this opportunity, and understand how important this background will be in the positions of high responsibility you will occupy when you leave here.

I want to talk to you today about this policy for peace and what our country has been doing to put it into effect since the end of World War II. There has never been a greater need than there is now to think about these matters clearly and comprehensively. We must try to do this with detachment and without partisan bias. The situation of the world is such that anything less than our clearest and wisest judgment may be disastrous to our future.

If we look back over what we have done since the end of World War II, I think we can say that we have been successful in laying the foundations for a future structure of peace. Things which were merely principles in 1945, and only blueprints in 1947 and 1948, have now become established realities—growing and living institutions.

We have done a great deal and we have done it very rapidly in the past 7 years. Some of our policies have been successful and some have not, but by and large it can be said that we have created the basic framework that is necessary to resist aggression and to uphold the principles of the United Nations. Whether that structure will succeed depends upon a number of factors, including the degree to which we give it material support. But the progress we have already made gives us confidence that we can succeed.

At the end of World War II, the people of the United States were anxious to return to peaceful concerns. We wanted to forget about the problems of national security and national defense. We were, indeed, too eager to do this, and, in our hasty demobilization, we impatiently threw away a great deal of what we needed.

A little more than 7 years ago, in a speech which I made in New York on October 27, 1945, I pointed out that we needed to continue to have strong armed forces, and a universal military training program. I said that we needed these things in order to enforce the terms of the peace, to fulfill the military obligations which we were undertaking as a member of the United Nations, and to protect the United States and the Western Hemisphere.

To many people these statements sounded like strange talk back in 1945. In those days few of us realized that we would need strong defenses and trained manpower. Some people still don't see why we have to have universal military training.

But the intervening years have proved that this was the right position to take in 1945. A new danger was then beginning to appear—a danger which has since become quite familiar. This was the refusal of one of our former allies to cooperate in the efforts of the free nations to build a world peace. That nation—that former ally—set out to expand its own power by taking advantage of the weariness and yearning for peace that were prevalent throughout the world in the chaotic aftermath of World War II.

This threat was global. It was sustained and persistent. It included political subversion, economic stratagems, and military and diplomatic pressure. It was aimed at all free nations—wherever weakness might appear—and most particularly at the nations in Europe and Asia bordering on the territory dominated by the Soviet Union.

To meet this threat we had to devise new plans and programs.

We had to develop measures that were new, that went beyond many of our tradi-

tions and experiences. I think that we have met this problem, and on the whole we have met it successfully. The American people did develop new measures to meet this post-war threat to freedom. These measures have by now become so familiar to us that many of us tend to forget what they are designed to do.

Our first objective is to preserve peace in the world. Our determination to do that was very clearly stated, I think, in the same speech I made in October 1945, setting forth the principles that were to guide us in international affairs. I said then that we do not seek for ourselves one inch of territory in any place in the world, but that we are prepared to use our military strength to fulfill our obligations as a member of the United Nations. Along with this, I stressed our conviction that it is essential that there be no territorial changes which are not in accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned, and that no government be imposed on any nation by force by any foreign power.

That was said in 1945. We recognized at that time that there were limitations on what this country could do to make that declaration effective. We knew we could not prevent subversion or conquest everywhere in the world. But we engaged ourselves to stand firmly behind the United Nations, and to use our resources to make freedom secure for ourselves and for others.

Our first problem was to help the free nations strengthen themselves as rapidly as possible. The war and its aftermath had seriously weakened them. Destruction, economic chaos, hunger, political turmoil, all appeared to open the way for Communist subversion. The human misery and confusion in Europe and Asia aroused Communist expectations of easy opportunities for expansion. The free nations had to have new internal strength before they could resist Communist pressure.

In 1947 we moved to help the people of Greece. Their national independence was threatened by foreign intrigue, guerrilla war-

fare, and military pressure. We gave them military and economic aid.

Greece did not lose its independence. The elements that were trying to destroy that independence were defeated. The Greek people recovered, to stand beside the people of Turkey in defense of freedom and stability in the area of the eastern Mediterranean.

Next, we moved to bolster the internal strength of the nations of Western Europe. By their own efforts alone they were unable to recover from the terrible economic devastation of the war. Communist imperialism, using political weapons, was moving rapidly to take over their governments. We set out to give to these peoples economic assistance, and a sense of hope and confidence in the future.

Moving ahead another step in our program to keep the peace, we signed the North Atlantic Treaty in 1949. This joined the free nations of the Atlantic area in a pact which was something much more than a traditional military alliance. It was a permanent partnership in the task of maintaining and assuring the peace. It brought the countries of Western Europe into closer economic and military unity.

These measures have, up to now, been successful. Never has the United States made a better investment in security. I want to repeat that. Never has the United States made a better investment in security. It has been said that we have poured money down a rathole when we helped the European nations to recover. That is just as untrue as it is possible for any statement to be.

The peoples of Western Europe did not succumb to panic and despair; they did not yield their freedom to internal subversion or to outside intimidation. The peoples of Western Europe are not in Communist hands today, and they are not going to be. The economies of these countries recovered, despite embittered efforts of the Communists to prevent it.

Today, the military potential of these

Western European peoples is growing. This is of tremendous importance to the world. The men and machines of Western Europe are a key factor in preserving peace and freedom. If they should fall under Communist control, the scales of world power would shift drastically in favor of Communist imperialism.

You know, our productive capacity is 50 percent of the world's capacity. And Western Europe has 30 percent of the world's productive capacity. And the Soviet Union 20 percent. If the Soviets get Western Europe, they will be on a 50-50 basis with us, and that is the objective of our foreign policy.

Now, to prevent that from happening, we have also had to meet Communist efforts to gain control over the two great peoples on the western and the eastern borders of the Soviet Union: Germany and Japan. Here, too, we have been largely successful.

That part of Germany not occupied by Communist forces—and it is the greater part—has been enabled to maintain its freedom. We have helped it toward a position of full sovereign equality in the community of free nations. We hope that it will become an important part of the newly-emerging united Europe.

On the other side of the world, the Communists have also been thwarted in seeking the political capture of Japan, with its industries and its trained manpower. We have signed with the Government of Japan a fair and generous treaty of peace. We have shown our confidence in the Japanese people.

Now, I want to call the attention of you gentlemen to something that has never before happened in the history of the world. For the first time, a victorious power—the greatest power in the history of the world—has helped its enemies to recover. It has not left its enemies to starve, or struggle, or maybe go into the Communist orbit. It has helped them to recover. And that is the reason we are reasonably safe in the world today. It has never been done before. Study your histories.

Another step in carrying out our policy for peace was taken when we joined with other free countries in the Pacific area in a series of security arrangements.

This whole policy of ours met its greatest test when the Communists attacked the Republic of Korea. That was the great challenge—that was the crisis that decided whether we meant what we said, or whether we were really determined to support the United Nations and the concept of international law and order.

I believe the Communists were bent on testing the authority of the United Nations and the strength of the free countries, by force, sooner or later. If the test had not come in Korea, it would have come somewhere else. But it came in Korea, and that was where we had to meet it and where we had to stop it.

The Communist aim was to bring South Korea under Communist domination, to demoralize the resistance of the free nations to communism, and to prepare the way for attacks elsewhere. The Communists have failed to achieve this end. But our aim, which was to repel the attack, to support the Charter of the United Nations, and to prevent the piecemeal conquest of other free nations—that aim has been achieved.

This conflict has taken tragic sacrifices. It has caused impatience and disagreements among us. But in spite of this, we have stood firm.

By every possible means we have been trying to restore peace and security in Korea. The Communists have refused the opportunity we offered for an honorable end to the fighting. The result is a terrible and a serious problem. But while we deal with this problem, let us not lose sight of how much we have already accomplished by the fighting in Korea.

If the attack had been allowed to succeed, the United Nations would have been shattered, and all our hopes of building up a collective security system for the free nations would have been destroyed. If we had failed to meet the test there, the free

world today might well be in retreat before communism on a dozen other fronts.

The foreign policy we have developed in these last 7 years is not a negative policy. It is not simply a design to resist communism. It is much more than that. It is a program of going forward, overcoming want and poverty, and enlarging freedom. Behind the shield of defensive alliances and military strength, it is our purpose to help people to improve their conditions of life—to create a world in which democracy and freedom can flourish. This is a part of our total policy which is uppermost in my concern. It is an affirmative, creative, and constructive policy.

Through the point 4 program, through measures of economic development, we are moving to bring modern technological progress within the reach of other peoples, so that they can help themselves to raise their standard of living.

I sent the engineer for TVA to the Mesopotamia Valley and had him make a survey of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. And he came back and reported to me that if those rivers were in a condition to be used as the Tennessee River now is being used, that valley would support 20 million people in luxury; and we wouldn't have any Near Eastern problem, if that were the case.

This kind of activity comes naturally to us. It is close to the helping-hand tradition of the American frontier. But today it has a new significance. For the majority of the people of the world live in what are called "underdeveloped areas." These people are determined to conquer poverty and disease and misery. We can show them how to do it. With patience and understanding, we can help them adapt the methods of modern science to their own needs.

Our programs of technical cooperation, our information programs, our exchanges of books and exchanges of people, all are intended to broaden the horizons of freedom and progress in the world. This affects education, it affects news distribution, it affects

farm management, it affects industrial management. Furthermore, they are a vital weapon against Communist imperialism. They show that the genuine road to progress is the way to freedom. They show that the deeds of free men are better than the false promises of communism.

In carrying out these steps I have been describing, we have experienced both successes and failures. In this great world struggle there have been some burdens we could not undertake because our resources are not unlimited.

China was one of those. With all our material help, and that material help was very great, the Government of China was not able to save itself.

Let no one think that this administration underestimates the effects of the Communist victory in China. We know that the capture of the great Chinese people by a clique of ruthless Communist fanatics was a tragic loss to the cause of peace and progress in Asia and elsewhere. We hope it will not be an irrevocable loss.

It is very easy now to look at some particular part of the whole world problem and say we did the wrong thing there. But those who criticize past decisions rarely look at the entire balance sheet of our assets and commitments and tell us what things we should have dropped in order to do the things they think we should have done. They forget that our power is not unlimited and that we cannot commit ourselves everywhere.

You know, it's easy enough for the Monday morning quarterback to say what the coach should have done, after the game is over. But when the decision is up before you—and on my desk I have a motto which says "The buck stops here"—the decision has to be made. That decision may be right. It may be wrong. If it is wrong, and it has been shown that it is wrong, I have no desire to cover it up. I admit it, and try to make another decision that will meet the situation. And that is what any President of

the United States has to do. Just bear that in mind.

I do believe, however, that we have succeeded in the main purposes to which we have set ourselves and our resources. We have demonstrated to the Communists that their expansionist efforts will be checked.

The sum total of the actions which we have taken, and which I have briefly described, has now brought us, I believe, to a situation in which it should become clear to the Soviet leaders that they cannot gain their objectives by the use of force. They know this country is becoming strong. They know the strength and unity of the free nations is mounting. They can gain nothing from war but catastrophe.

And I want to say to you gentlemen that another world war with all the implications that it has, and with the terrible weapons which we have developed, would end civilization. We don't want that to come about. And I want you gentlemen to use every means at your command to prevent that terrible catastrophe from coming about.

In recognizing our progress, we must not belittle the dangers that still lie ahead.

The Soviet leaders have not abandoned their purposes. They are persistent and determined. Even if they turn away from outright aggression, they still hope to win. More and more I think they are placing their hopes of victory on factors in the free world which they think will work to their advantage. They are placing their hopes above all on the differences and disagreements among the free countries, particularly between ourselves and the others. To this end they are conducting against the people of the United States the most shameless, cynical, and terrible campaign of vilification that has ever been conducted against an entire people anywhere. Some of our peanut politicians conducted that sort of campaign in the last election.

We must not underrate the dangers this involves.

Our great wealth and our responsibilities

as a leading world power have led to much resentment and misunderstanding, even among other free and friendly peoples.

The aid programs we have carried out, along with all the good they have done, have led to much oversensitiveness and to many unhealthy reactions. Giving aid is not easy, either for those who give or for those who receive.

Those of you who know your history remember that Aristides, who straightened out Athens, gave Athens a wonderful government. Finally earned for himself the title of "The Just," and was banished for that very reason. He was standing by the pen in which they threw the shards when they voted to ostracize a man. And he asked one of the people who said he ought to be ostracized, why he did it. "Well," he said, "I am just damn tired of hearing Aristides called 'The Just!'"

These difficulties are frequently exaggerated, but we will be foolish to underrate their importance. They involve some serious dangers. If we wish to proceed successfully with our policy for peace, we must meet this present phase of the Communist challenge, as we have met others in the past. We must make a real effort to overcome the things that tend to divide us from our friends and allies.

If this is done—if we are able to preserve unity and confidence among the free nations—we need not be panicky today about the state of the world. We are not on the losing side. The world is not about to collapse around us.

We have a clear and consistent policy for peace. It is not a perfect one. No course of action ever is. It needs constant improvement and reevaluation. It needs constant revision. But it has proven basically a sound and rugged policy, in line with the feelings of our people and the requirements of the situation.

The future historians may recognize some mistakes. I think maybe they will find a lot of them, but I think they will find more

good things than they will mistakes. But on balance, I believe they will say that never in history did a great nation respond so effectively and promptly to new and unaccustomed problems as did this Nation in the past 7 years; and never was a greater or more enlightened effort expended for a nobler purpose—world peace.

One of our greatest dangers today is the danger of impatience. It is the danger that we will sell ourselves short—that we will underrate our own accomplishments. It is the danger that we will break away from the best path, just because it is long and stony, and uphill and rough, and because there are times when we cannot see over the top of the hill. It is the danger that we will take hasty or erratic action, and thereby sacrifice the very real and impressive achievements already in our hands.

What we need in this coming period is faith in ourselves, courage to do the difficult and distasteful things, consideration and

forbearance for our allies, without whose confidence and help our purposes will not be accomplished.

To guide us on this path will soon be the responsibility of new people. No statesmen have ever had a heavier responsibility than these men will have. Let us see that they are given the type of support they need to do their work. Let us tell them frankly when we think they are wrong. But let us support them wholeheartedly when they are right. Let us work with them for peace and freedom in the world, and for progress and security in our own country.

If we do these things, I am sure we can continue to move forward, and with God's help, we will have a better and a safer world.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:49 a.m. at Fort Lesley J. McNair to the combined classes and faculties of the National War College and the Industrial College of the Armed Forces. In his opening words he referred to Lt. Gen. Howard A. Craig, USAF, commandant of the National War College.

355 Letter to the Chairman, National Security Resources Board, Concerning the Report of the President's Materials Policy Commission. *December 22, 1952*

Dear Mr. Gorrie:

I want to thank the National Security Resources Board and the interested Government agencies for the work they have done in answer to my request for advice regarding actions deemed appropriate in implementing the recommendations of the President's Materials Policy Commission. This evaluation by the Board, together with the individual comments submitted by the agencies concerned with materials and energy policies and programs, represents an important step in marking out the future role of the Federal Government in this important field.

The long-term trend toward scarcity and higher costs of materials for the Nation's rapidly expanding economy can be checked only through new and vigorous policies and actions. The American people, therefore,

have an important stake in the development of sound programs in this area. For this reason I believe that the recent report of the Board should be made public at this time so that it may receive full consideration by all groups in the country—both public and private.

The work which the National Security Resources Board and the interested Government agencies have done in following up the report of the President's Materials Policy Commission should facilitate the orderly transfer of policy-making responsibilities in this area to the new Administration. Also this material should prove of significant help in the deliberations at the national conference on materials policy which, I understand, will be convened in Washington early next year.


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The Arc -- Alert

Majority of House and Senate Support Hate Crimes Prevention Act

10/2/00

Both the House of Representatives and the Senate have now voted in support of strengthening federal hate crimes protections. Unfortunately, House Republican leaders are determined to defeat pending hate crimes legislation.

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The Senate voted in June to include the Hate Crimes Prevention Act, renamed the Local Law Enforcement Enhancement Act of 2000, as an amendment to the Department of Defense (DoD) Authorization bill (S. 2549). The House bill (H.R. 4205) did not include the hate crimes provision. On Sept. 13, the House passed a non-binding motion to instruct the DoD conferees to include the Senate-passed hate crimes provision in the final version of the DoD bill. Forty-one Republicans joined 190 Democrats and one independent in supporting the motion. The House and Senate conferees are in the final process of working out the differences between H.R. 4205 and S. 2549 and are expected to complete their work by the end of this week.

While President Clinton has made enactment of the hate crimes bill a top priority before he leaves office, Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott and other Republican leaders have stated that they are determined to remove the hate crimes provision from the DoD authorization bill.

The incidence of violence motivated by the actual or perceived disability of the victim poses a serious national problem and existing federal law is inadequate to address this problem. As of July 2000, only 22 states include people with disabilities in their hate crime statutes.

People with mental retardation and other disabilities have a long history of being abused and discriminated against based on their disability. According to a 1998 report by Dr. Joan Petersilia, Professor

of Criminology at the University of California in Irvine, studies have shown that people with developmental disabilities have a four to ten times higher risk of becoming crime victims than people without disabilities; children with disabilities are twice as likely than their peers without disabilities to be physically or sexually abused. Roughly five million serious crimes are committed against people with developmental disabilities in the United States each year.

Like bias crimes based on race, color, ethnicity, religion, gender or sexual orientation, crimes against people with disabilities send a message to the entire group. Individual bias-motivated attacks instill fear in all people with disabilities, not only limiting job opportunities and places to live but also threatening their daily existence and ability to function in society. Without protection against disability-based attacks, people with disabilities face a daily risk that they may not receive justice when they are victims of a hate crime. It is critical that the federal government send a message to the American people that hate crimes committed on the basis of disability are as intolerable as those based on race, religion, ethnicity, or national origin.

Currently, hate crimes are defined under a 1968 law (PL 90-284) as those motivated by the race, color, religion or national origin of the victim. The federal government is only allowed to prosecute cases that occur on federal property or during one of six specific protected activities, such as voting. If enacted, the Local Law Enforcement Enhancement Act would enhance the federal government's ability to prosecute violent crimes motivated by race, color, religion, or national origin and would add authorization to prosecute crimes motivated by disability, sexual orientation, or gender. This legislation continues to recognize that state and local law enforcement still have primary responsibility for investigating and prosecuting hate crimes, but would provide federal assistance to state and local law enforcement agencies that seek it. It would provide financial assistance through federal grants and help with investigations and prosecutions, when needed, to ensure that perpetrators of hate crimes are brought to justice. The bill has broad support from 22 state attorneys general, the Police Foundation and the National Sheriffs' Association.

The Arc of the United States is participating in a larger civil rights coalition that includes the Leadership Council on Civil Rights, American Association of University Women, NAACP and many others to enact this important legislation.

[back to The Arc](#)

USA TODAY, October 13, 2000

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USA TODAY

October 13, 2000, Friday, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 10A

LENGTH: 478 words

HEADLINE: Senate approves \$310B defense-spending bill

BYLINE: Paul Leavitt; With staff and wire reports

BODY:

The Senate approved a \$ 310 billion defense-spending bill Thursday that includes compensation for workers exposed to radiation in building and testing nuclear weapons, a practice detailed in a USA TODAY exclusive report last month. The bill also provides a boost in military pay and lifelong health care for military retirees. President Clinton is expected to sign it.

The defense spending measure includes a package to compensate workers at Energy Department facilities exposed to radiation in building and testing nuclear weapons during the Cold War. The Clinton administration in the past year has offered the first government acknowledgement that exposure to hazardous materials might have sickened some nuclear-weapons workers. Most worked at large government-owned plants and labs. But USA TODAY reported in a series last month that the government secretly hired hundreds of private firms to process radioactive and toxic material for the weapons program in the 1940s and '50s. The newspaper found that thousands of workers at those private contracting sites were unwittingly exposed to extreme levels of radiation and chemical toxins. Many of the facilities also polluted the air, soil and water with contaminated waste. The legislation establishes a \$ 275 million program to compensate workers exposed to dangerous levels of radiation and toxic substances. The bill includes a 3.75% pay raise for active-duty service members and a subsistence payment of up to \$ 500 month aimed mostly at the more than 5,100 military families living off food stamps.

Sen. Bob Kerrey, D-Neb., recipient of the Medal of Honor, America's highest military honor, for his service as a Navy SEAL in Vietnam, led an unsuccessful attempt to remove the long-term health care benefit from the bill. He said he didn't join the Navy to get benefits and added that the new entitlement, "asks one group of taxpayers to pay the Medigap insurance for another group of Americans."

Under the benefit, military retirees can remain in the military Tricare insurance system for life, rather than being forced to leave when they become eligible for the less generous Medicare

program.

Also Thursday, the Senate passed four spending bills, but other appropriations remained stalled.

Funding shortfall endangers civil rights

Funding and staffing for the six major federal **civil rights enforcement** agencies dropped steadily during the past five years, according to a report by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights to be released today. The number of full-time employees in those six agencies dropped by 10% from 1994 to 1999, and the amount of congressional funding also dropped 10%, the report said. It said that "as a result of these reductions in funding, the nation's civil rights laws remain in large measure unfunded mandates."

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, B/W, AP; Kerrey: Opposed to entitlement.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 13, 2000

Source: [All Sources](#) : / . . . / : **Major Newspapers** 

Terms: **civil rights enforcement and date(geq (08/01/00) and leq (11/01/00))** ([Edit Search](#))

View: Full

Date/Time: Wednesday, October 18, 2000 - 11:13 AM EDT

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The Houston Chronicle October 07, 2000, Saturday

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October 07, 2000, Saturday 3 STAR EDITION

SECTION: A; Pg. 9

LENGTH: 315 words

HEADLINE: Government gets week's funding;
Clinton signs bill extending **budget**

SOURCE: Reuters News Service

BYLINE: MARK EGAN

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

WASHINGTON - President Bill Clinton signed legislation keeping the U.S. government open for an extra week Friday and blasted Republican leaders in Congress for dropping a measure which would have expanded federal **hate crime** protections. If not for the stopgap legislation, calling a "continuing resolution" in Washington parlance, the government would have run out of money by today. Last week Clinton also signed a similar measure to keep the government funded for the first week of the fiscal year, which began Oct. 1. "We are now a week in the new fiscal year and Congress still has not acted on pressing **budget** priorities from education to safer streets to health care," Clinton said at a White House news conference. The legislation, approved by both houses of Congress this week, allowed an extension of government spending at current levels until Oct. 14, but with several bills snarled in disputes with the White House and among Republicans, more extensions may be needed. The **budget** impasse, seen as particularly bad this year by White House veterans, has baffled many since many members of Congress need to return to their districts to contest elections on Nov. 7. Clinton briefly put aside differences over how best to allocate the government's money in the **budget** to roundly criticize Republican leaders for stripping a measure to expand **hate crime** protections for gays from a defense bill which left slim hope the measure can pass this year despite majority support in both chambers. The **hate crimes** measure, a top legislative priority for Clinton, would expand federal **hate crime** protections - which now cover race, religion and national origin - to crimes motivated by sexual orientation, gender or disability. Supporters of the legislation have said they would push to include the measure in final **budget** negotiations between the House, Senate and White House.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

TYPE: -LINKS-

LOAD-DATE: October 8, 2000

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Terms: **budget and hate crimes and date(geq (08/01/00) and leq (11/01/00))** ([Edit Search](#))

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Date/Time: Wednesday, October 18, 2000 - 11:24 AM EDT

The New York Times, October 6, 2000

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October 6, 2000, Friday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 20; Column 3; National Desk

LENGTH: 945 words

HEADLINE: Congress Addresses Importing Medicine and Exporting to Cuba

BYLINE: By STEVEN A. HOLMES and LIZETTE ALVAREZ

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, Oct. 5

BODY:

Meeting into the night, House and Senate negotiators agreed today on separate measures to allow imports of low-priced prescription drugs and to lift four-decade-old sanctions on the sale of food to Cuba but with severe restrictions on financing and travel.

"This finally changes a 40-year policy that hasn't done us any good," Representative Tom Latham, Republican of Iowa, said of the Cuba sanctions. "Finally, we can crack open the door in Cuba and make something happen."

The measures were attached to a large agriculture spending bill that now moves to a vote by the full House and Senate.

Democrats opposed both Republican proposals in the bill, saying they contained an assortment of restrictions and loopholes that made them ineffective.

"It's much ado about nothing," said Senator Tom Harkin, Democrat of Iowa, who voted, along with all other Democrats at the table, against the two measures.

On both the lifting of sanctions and the importing of American-made drugs, Senate language was watered down by the more conservative House Republicans. But Senate Republicans voted to approve the measures anyway, arguing that if they did not, the entire spending bill would be in jeopardy.

Today's agreement also lifted sanctions on the sale of food and medicine to Iran, Libya, North Korea and Sudan. But it was Cuba that created the most conflict. Cuban-American lawmakers succeeded in barring private or United States government financing of sales to Cuba, forcing Cuba to use cash or to borrow from foreign banks.

The financing restrictions can be waived by the president for all countries except Cuba.

Cuban-American lawmakers also prevailed in pushing language that would convert into law existing federal regulations that limit travel to Cuba, making it even more difficult for American tourists to visit Cuba in the future.

The measure would also prohibit any future sanctions on food and medicine, without Congress's approval.

"This is a victory," said Representative Lincoln Diaz-Balart, a Florida Republican who fought for the

restrictions. "It's a demonstration of solidarity with the right of the Cuban people to be free."

House and Senate negotiators also voted on a Republican proposal to permit the importing of American-made prescription drugs from other countries, a move intended to lower the cost of medication in the United States.

Some other countries regulate pharmaceutical prices, and that means in many cases that drugs made in this country are priced 50 percent to 60 percent lower in those countries than in the United States. But Democrats said the language in the bill was a departure from the Senate version, which House Republicans said they were comfortable with and the White House said it could accept.

The bill would allow pharmacies and wholesale distributors to buy prescription drugs abroad, reimport them and sell them at a lower cost.

Democrats, though, complained that there were too many loopholes in the measure. The bill would expire five years after the completion of regulations. It could, they argued, allow American drug companies to force foreign distributors to fix prices at United States levels before sending the drugs back.

Democrats also had concerns about language on labeling restrictions that could undermine the ability of American pharmacies and distributors to import and sell the drugs.

Some Democrats wondered whether drug manufacturers, who have fought this proposal, would supply enough drugs abroad to allow these foreign distributors to resell them in the United States.

"We have concluded this is an unworkable provision as it is structured," said Chris Jennings, senior health care adviser to the president. "We haven't given up, but it doesn't look good."

Democrats tried to amend the two proposals to reflect their concerns, but they were defeated on straight party-line votes.

Among other action taken today:

- *The Senate overwhelming approved an \$18.8 billion spending for the Department of the Interior and other entities, like the National Endowment for the Arts and the John F. Kennedy Center. The measure includes the establishment of what will become a \$12 billion fund for land conservation set up in a six-year-period.

- *Congressional and White House negotiators reached a tentative agreement on a roughly \$101 billion measure to pay for housing and veterans programs, as well as the Environmental Protection Agency. Included in the agreement was a proposal allowing the E.P.A. to draft regulations requiring companies to clean up carcinogenic compounds that have been lodged in sediment in 28 rivers, including the Hudson, according to a person familiar with the talks.

- *House and Senate negotiators dropped a provision to make hate attacks on gays a federal crime.

The **hate crimes** proposal was part of a **budget** bill for the Pentagon and had been approved by the Senate in June by a vote of 57 to 42, an unexpectedly wide margin. Last month, the House endorsed a nonbinding measure instructing negotiators to include the provision in the final bill.

But Republican leaders in both chambers vowed to kill the proposal, and after several weeks of internal debate, Senate negotiators voted today, 11 to 9, to strip out the provision their colleagues had supported.

Gay rights groups and their congressional allies urged President Clinton to required any year-end **budget** deal to include the **hate crimes** provision.

"The Republican leadership in Congress has sent a shameful message to the nation that undercuts our commitment to civil rights and equal protection of the laws," said Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 6, 2000

Source: [All Sources](#) : / . . . / : **Major Newspapers** 

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The New York Times, September 30, 2000

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September 30, 2000, Saturday, Late Edition - Final

NAME: David S. O'Malley

SECTION: Section A; Page 9; Column 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 903 words

HEADLINE: PUBLIC LIVES;
Gay Man's Death Led to Epiphany for Wyoming Officer

BYLINE: By MICHAEL JANOFSKY

DATELINE: LARAMIE, Wyo.

BODY:

HE said he grew up like so many other people he knew from small rural towns, unaware of gays and lesbians living among them. Besides, nobody back then used words like "gay" or "lesbian," anyway.

"You know how it is," David S. O'Malley said quietly, recalling his younger years in Kansas and Wyoming when it was common to disparage gays with nasty labels. "I never felt I was biased or bigoted, but I certainly made jokes about gay issues and never thought long enough that someone in the room would be offended."

Mr. O'Malley shook his head. A look of anguish washed over his face. "I'm ashamed," he said. "I'm ashamed because I know I said some of those things, and when I think back, I didn't know how insensitive that could be."

A law enforcement officer for 27 years, the last eight as commander of the investigations unit of the Laramie Police Department, Mr. O'Malley, 48, said his transformation came two years ago. For all the pain it caused, he recognizes it now as something of a blessing -- certainly for himself, he said, but maybe for the country as well, through **hate-crime** legislation nearing passage in Congress.

In the autumn of 1998, a young gay man attending the University of Wyoming here was lured out of a local bar, robbed, beaten and left unconscious, tied to a fence at the edge of town. He died in a hospital five days later; the two local roofers who were convicted of the homicide are serving a life sentence with no chance for parole. They admitted that they sought out the young man, Matthew Shepard, and beat him because he was gay.

Before the murder, Mr. O'Malley said, he never much thought about **hate-crime** legislation, let alone felt a need for it. A registered Republican who voted for George Bush in 1992 and Bob Dole in 1996, he accepted the notion that any crime is a **hate crime**, so why make the distinction?

Now, he is one the country's leading proponents of a measure supported by President Clinton and most Democratic lawmakers that would broaden federal law to include as **hate crimes** those motivated by the victim's gender, sexual orientation or disability. The existing law takes into account only a victim's religion, race, color and national origin.

Beyond expanding the definition, the measure would also help small cities like Laramie by providing

much needed resources for investigation, prosecution and security. The cost of the Shepard case was so high, more than \$150,000, that the Albany County Sheriff's Department was forced to furlough five deputies. It cost the city's Police Department about \$25,000 in overtime.

The legislation is in a House-Senate conference committee, and proponents say it has a good chance of passing before the November elections if it remains where it is, as an amendment to the Defense Department **budget** authorization bill. Mr. Clinton has promised to sign it.

TO drum up support for the measure, Mr. O'Malley has traveled to Washington four times, most recently in mid-September when Mr. Clinton invited him to the White House and thanked him "as the embodiment of someone who has changed his position on this and has been courageous enough to say so."

Sitting in the quiet of his office here at police headquarters, Mr. O'Malley said his perspective changed profoundly as the Shepard case unfolded, drawing him close to the world he once ridiculed, a community that included Mr. Shepard's parents, Dennis and Judy, and his friends at the university, who Mr. O'Malley discovered to be terrified at what had happened.

"My eyes got opened up," he said. "I didn't realize how a **hate crime** affects all gays, not just an individual. Matt's friends were scared to death. Some left town as result of what happened. Some transferred to other schools. They knew that if it happened to him, it could happen to anybody. All kinds of people get killed every day, but I'm not afraid to go down to the liquor store to buy a six-pack as some of these people were. That had a real impact on me."

"It's absurd," he said softly, "that it took something this tragic to make it hit me. It affected me as well as my family," he added, referring to his wife, Jennifer, and their two children.

With the sentencing, the case was over. But Mr. O'Malley's efforts to promote its message -- his epiphany -- was only starting. On his first trip to Washington, he met with Attorney General Janet Reno, Mr. Clinton's chief of staff, John D. Podesta, and several Congressional leaders, including the bill's chief sponsor, Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts.

On later visits, he met with Ms. Reno, Mr. Clinton, United States attorneys from around the country and more members of Congress. He joined Mr. Kennedy at a news conference last spring, before a Senate vote in which language of the amendment was approved, 57 to 42. More recently, the House passed a nonbinding resolution to approve the Senate amendment.

Oddly, he said, none of Wyoming's three members of Congress -- Senators Craig Thomas and Michael B. Enzi and Representative Barbara Cubin, Republicans all -- are supporting the legislation.

But Mr. O'Malley has vowed to fight on. "This whole thing has redefined my definition of commitment," he said. "This legislation is a no-brainer that is common sense and a matter of human decency that should not be politicized.

"I'm just hoping that the next time I go back to Washington, it's for the signing ceremony."

<http://www.nytimes.com>

GRAPHIC: Photo: David S. O'Malley in his office at the Laramie Police Department. (Tim Chestnut for The New York Times)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: September 30, 2000



JIM JEFFORDS
PRESS OFFICE

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TUESDAY JUNE 20, 2000

**JEFFORDS LEADS FIGHT FOR PASSAGE OF THE
HATE CRIMES PREVENTION ACT**
- Vote Expected Later Today -

Washington, D.C. -- U.S. Sen. Jim Jeffords, R - Vt., will vote later today for the Hate Crimes Prevention Act, legislation that would allow the federal government to prosecute crimes motivated by race, gender and sexual orientation that are now outside its reach. Jeffords is a co-author of the legislation. The following is a statement that Jeffords gave Monday night on the Senate floor.

"Mr. President, I rise today in support of the Hate Crimes Prevention Act as an amendment to the Department of Defense Authorization bill."

"This legislation will provide the Federal Government a needed tool to combat the destructive impact of hate crimes on our society. The amendment also recognizes that hate crimes are not just limited to crimes committed because of race, color, religion, or national origin, but are also directed at individuals because of their gender, sexual orientation or disability."

"Mr, President, any crime hurts our society, but crimes motivated by hate are especially harmful. Hate crimes not only target individuals, but are also directed to send a message to the community as a whole. The adoption of this amendment would help our state and local authorities in pursuing and prosecuting the perpetrators of hate crimes."

"Many states, including my state of Vermont, have already passed strong hate crimes laws, and I applaud them in this endeavor. An important principle of this amendment is that it allows for Federal prosecution of hate crimes without impeding the rights of states to prosecute these crimes."

"Federal prosecutions under this amendment would still be subject to the current provision of law that requires the Attorney General or another senior official of the Justice Department to certify that a federal prosecution is necessary to secure substantial justice. Mr. President, such a requirement under current law has ensured that states are the primary adjudicators of the perpetrators of hate crimes, not the Federal government."

of the perpetrators of hate crimes, not the Federal government.



"Additionally, Federal authorities will consult with State and Local law enforcement officials before initiating an investigation or prosecution. Both of these are important provisions to ensure that we are not infringing on the rights of States to prosecute crimes."

"Mr. President, Senate adoption of this amendment will be an important step forward in ensuring that the perpetrators of these harmful crimes are brought to justice. I urge my colleagues to take a strong stand against hate crimes by supporting this important amendment."

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Hate Crimes Prevention Act

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The Local Law Enforcement Enhancement Act of 2000 (also known as the Hate Crimes Prevention Act), if enacted into law, would strengthen current law as it relates to hate crimes motivated by a victim's race, color, religion and national origin, and would expand the definition of hate crimes to include crimes motivated by the victim's sexual orientation, gender or disability. This legislation has the support of more than 175 law enforcement, civil rights, civic and religious groups, as well as 22 State Attorneys General.

These groups, which work with the victims of hate crimes on a daily basis, understand that violent hate crimes are not only destructive to the victims and their families, but damaging to the viability of the victims' communities, and to our American ideals.

Hate crimes are a special threat in a society founded on "liberty and justice for all." Too many acts of violent bigotry in the last years have put our nation's commitment to diversity in jeopardy. Congress must send a clear message that we will not condone the hateful acts that have plagued our nation and have had such devastating impacts on the families of Matthew Shepard, James Byrd, Jr., and too many others.

This year, Congress had the chance to pass strong hate crimes legislation and guarantee prosecution of all crimes regardless of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, sexual orientation, or disability. On June 19, 2000, the Local Law Enforcement Enhancement Act of 2000 was approved by the Senate as an amendment to the defense authorization bill.

Despite a 232-192 vote in the House of Representatives instructing the conferees to adopt the Senate provision, the House Majority refused to agree to the Senate language. Despite a 57-42 vote in the Senate to add the hate crimes legislation to the bill, the Senate conferees voted 11-9 to drop the legislation.

I am deeply disappointed that the conferees on the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2001 refused to include the hate crimes legislation in the final conference report despite the clear support of a majority of both Houses for this legislation.

If this Congress will not pass legislation addressing the acts of hatred that terrorize Americans, I am confident that another Congress will, and I will

continue to work toward the time when all perpetrators of hate crimes receive swift and vigorous prosecution.

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**CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 4205, FLOYD D. SPENCE NATIONAL DEFENSE
AUTHORIZATION ACT FOR FISCAL YEAR 2001 -- HON. MIKE THOMPSON (Extension of
Remarks - October 16, 2000)**

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HON. MIKE THOMPSON

in the House of Representatives

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 11, 2000

- Mr. THOMPSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the conference report to accompany H.R. 4205 , the National Defense Authorization Act.
- As a conferee, I first would like to thank the Speaker for appointing me and to thank both Chairman **Spence**, and Ranking Member **Skelton**, for affording me many opportunities to influence the conference deliberations and shape a number of provisions. It was an enlightening experience and I look forward to future opportunities to work with them and my other colleagues to provide for a strong national defense.
- Mr. Speaker, of particular note are the quality of life improvements the conference report makes for both active duty and military retirees. Representing a large community on and around Travis Air Force Base, I know that many of these improvements are long overdue. The improvements in health care, especially access for retirees, will provide needed reassurance to those who serve our Nation in uniform.
- Mr. **Skelton** dubbed this year as the 'year of military health care.' I ask my colleagues to note the significant improvements to the TRICARE health care system for our active duty, retirees and their families. The conference report eliminates co-payments for active duty family members in TRICARE PRIME, so those active duty family members are treated fairly and equitably. It allows family members to participate in TRICARE Prime Remote, so that those who live far from a military base, including significant numbers in northern California, have the same access to health care. It authorizes reimbursement for travel expenses when families must travel long distances to see a specialist. It reduces unnecessary referral requirements to improve access to care. And, it establishes a permanent chiropractic benefit for our active duty personnel.
- As I mentioned, the conference report honors the commitment to our military retirees and their

families and restores access to lifetime military health care. It establishes a pharmacy benefit that allows retirees and their dependents to obtain drugs through the National Mail Order Pharmacy, a network pharmacy or a non-network pharmacy. No matter where you live access to pharmaceuticals will no longer be an issue.

- The conference report also reduces the catastrophic cap for out-of-pocket expenses from \$7,500 to \$3,000. It adopts the House-passed provision extending the TRICARE Senior Prime Program, more commonly known as Medicare Subvention. As a result, military retirees will have one of the best health care programs in the country.
- The conference report includes a number of initiatives to improve the quality of life for our service members and help the Services in their recruitment and retention efforts. It provides a 3.7 percent pay raise for all military personnel and includes a targeted pay raise for mid-grade enlisted personnel.
- Most important for many of the active duty service men and women who live off-base, the conference report eliminates the cap and reduces the out-of-pocket housing costs for our members to 14.5 percent. To improve the quality of life for our junior enlisted families the conference report increases housing standards and authorizes \$157 million more than requested for family housing, including the construction of 64 family housing units at Travis Air Force Base.
- These are several of the initiatives I am pleased to have played a role in fashioning and I would like to thank my subcommittee chairmen, **Steve Buyer** and **Joel Hefley**, for the opportunity to work with them and the other conferees on these personnel and military construction issues.
- In fashioning this House-Senate compromise, there are, of course, disappointments. I regret conferees did not accept the provision I authored to require the Department of Defense to collect and analyze the DNA of violent offenders and to provide those analyses to the Department of Justice CODIS database. While I don't disagree with their view that such a requirement should be government-wide, the bill the House passed imposing this requirement is likely to stall in the Senate. As a result, we will have lost as much as a year of using this DNA in criminal investigations.
- I also regret that the Senate-passed hate crimes measure was dropped from the conference report.
- I am also disappointed with a Senate-passed provision directing the Departments of Defense and Energy to study ways to 'defeat hardened and deeply buried targets.' Though slightly modified from the original, the language still permits limited research and development, which could lead to a new low-yield nuclear weapon with earth-penetrating capabilities.
- As I expressed to other conferees, my concern with developing such a weapon is that it is likely to encourage military and political leaders to think more readily about using nuclear weapons. In my view, we should not lower this threshold or make nuclear weapons a more acceptable choice in war. In addition, development of such a weapon is contrary to our Nation's goals of reducing and eventually eliminating nuclear weapons. To begin development and stockpiling of a new nuclear weapon would reverse the difficult achievements the United States has made to slow the proliferation of nuclear material and weapons.
- Undoubtedly, reconsideration of this issue will occur next year and I look forward to debating it with a new Administration.

- Lastly, Mr. Speaker, I believe the increased authorizations for national missile defense are unnecessary and unwarranted. Rather than accelerating program elements, I believe we should have a renewed debate, not only about the technological components of NMD, but also about the strategic and foreign policy questions it raises. Until those questions are fully debated before the American people, it is, in my view, unwise to increase NMD authorization levels.
- Mr. Speaker, the conference report before us makes significant improvements to our Nation's defense. It takes significant steps to address issues associated with operations tempo and aging equipment. And, as important, it gives the members of our uniformed services not only the weapons, training, and equipment they need to prepare for the next war, but also the peace of mind that comes from a home and work environment reflective of the important role they perform for America and all Americans.
- I urge adoption of the conference report.

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November 19, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR JOSHUA GOTTHEIMER

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RE: ELECTION – INAUGURATION

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Between the election on November 7 and Bush's inauguration on January 20, President Reagan participated in **35** public events (including weekly radio addresses).

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--A major wrap-up address on domestic policy on Dec. 13

--A major address on the state of the economy on Nov. 17 to the National Chamber Foundation

--A major speech on the presidency and the role of government on Dec. 16 at the University of Virginia

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Paul D. Glastris
10/28/2000 12:46:08 PM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

cc:

Subject: DRAFT--Budget Remarks. Comments to Glastris/Gottheimer 65716 ASAP.

Draft 10/28/00 12:45pm
Paul Glastris/ Josh Gottheimer

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS ON THE BUDGET AND SIGNING OF
AGRICULTURE APPROPRIATIONS BILL
THE WHITE HOUSE
October 28, 2000**

A month ago, the fiscal year ended. Yet thanks to endless partisan delays by the congressional majority, Congress still has not completed its work on the federal budget. What's particularly maddening to me, and I think to most Americans, is that we know it doesn't have to be this way. When Congress has acted in a spirit of bipartisanship, we have made profound progress.

Yesterday, I signed the VA/HUD bill that invests in the health of our veterans, advances welfare reform with 75,000 housing vouchers, strengthens AmeriCorps, and invests in cutting-edge scientific research.

Earlier this week I signed an Interior Bill that creates the largest appropriation for land preservation in our country's history. I signed a bipartisan Foreign Operations bills which funds our debt relief initiative for the poorest countries in the world.

And just a few moments ago, I signed a vitally important -- and bipartisan -- agricultural appropriations bill. This legislation will fund our nation's agriculture programs for the coming year and provide much needed help to our farmers, ranchers, dairy producers, and rural communities, which have suffered everything from devastating droughts to low commodity prices.

It also contains the largest increases ever in development funding for rural and Native American communities that have not shared in our nation's prosperity. It will help create new businesses and expand current ones. It will help communities attract new residents, and with funding for new health clinics and improved water systems, it will the quality of life in rural

POST ELECTION SPEECHES: TRUMAN THROUGH REAGAN

President Harry S. Truman

- Major address on civil liberties, National Archives, December 15.
- Major wrap-up address on the military, Alumni Association of Industrial College of the Armed Forces, December 16.
- A major wrap-up on world peace, the National War College, December 19.
- Final State of the Union, on economic accomplishments and Communist aggression, January 7.
- Farewell Address to the American People focusing on the Cold War, January 15.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower

- Final State of the Union Speech summarizing administration's accomplishments in foreign affairs, defense, the economy, agriculture, civil rights, natural resources, health & welfare, and veterans, January 12.
- A Farewell Radio and Television Address to the American people on the military-industrial complex and disarmament, January 17.

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- A speech at a Farewell Dinner in New York City summarizing policies affecting the poor, elderly, and minorities, January 13.
- Final State of the Union Speech, summarizing Great Society reforms, January 14.

President Ronald Reagan

- Major address on the state of the economy, the National Chamber Foundation, November 17.
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Little Rock →
←
I think

What about farewell address?

I think frankly this is more
rhetorical / valedictory — shorter +
less substantive —

oval

communities across America.

The bill will also help us provide humanitarian food relief and development loans to countries that need help, and to promote US goods abroad.

The bill modernizes our food inspection system with increased surveillance and more food inspectors.

Finally, this bill includes common sense reforms that will let food stamp recipients own a dependable cars and have decent housing. If we want people to go to work, they need to be able to get to work. They shouldn't have to choose between the car they need to get to their jobs and the nutrition and shelter they need for their children.

This is a good bill for America. It helps hard-hit farmers, ranchers and rural communities, improves the safety of our food, and takes the next step in welfare reform.

Let's be clear: there are things in this bill that I do not like. It allows the importation of lower cost prescription drugs from other countries, which would be good for seniors and others who are struggling to pay high prescription drug bills. But, it leaves the power of deciding whether or not to import these drugs to the drug companies, which could undermine the goals of the bills itself.

It also allows the export of American products to Cuba, yet then denies US banks the ability to finance those exports. And the bill contains fewer resources than I requested for clean water for farms and for climate change.

Despite these flaws, I made a judgement that on balance, this bill advances the interests of the American people. And that's why I signed it. That's how progress is made. We have to work together and we have to compromise. No one gets everything they want.

I have the feeling that the congressional majority has not yet decided whether they want to work with us and pass the remaining bills -- or score political points and leave town. On Medicare, we sent the majority a very detailed proposal, asking that resources go to teaching hospitals and home health agencies, not HMOs. They've virtually ignored our proposal.

The story is the same when it comes to taxes. We offered to work together to craft tax relief that meets the test of fairness -- to our children, to our seniors, or to the millions of Americans without health care coverage. The answer we got is disappointing. Instead of meeting us on common ground, instead of working with the White House or congressional Democrats, the Republican leadership closed its doors to compromise. They crafted their own, partisan tax package -- and passed it on a largely party-line vote.

We do not yet know how the education and health bill will go. I hope the majority does not choose the path they took with the tax bill. Instead, they should choose the path that led to the agricultural bill I signed today ... that led to the VA-HUD and Interior Bills I signed earlier ... the bipartisan path that always leads to progress.

We've said very specifically what our schools need. Smaller class sizes and modernized class rooms. Investments in accountability and teacher quality. There's no secret about what we believe is the right course.

Our positions are public. Our doors are open. And we're ready to work. I wish we could say the same about the majority in Congress. Again this morning, Congress voted on a stop-gap spending bill and then quickly left town, without completing the nation's business. That's like going to work in the morning, punching the clock, and going straight back home. That's not how you earn a day's pay.

I've asked my budget team to be here all weekend, and be ready to meet with the Congressional leadership.

Tonight we turn back the clocks and gain an hour. Let's put that extra hour to good use. We're here. We're ready. Let's get to work.

Thank you.

Message Sent To: _____

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--Remarks at the laying of cornerstones for a Jewish temple in Washington D.C. and a Presbyterean Church in Alexandria.

--Six formal news conferences.

--A major Farewell Address to the American People, Jan. 15.

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- Several remarks to White House staff, including White House Operators, White House Secretaries, White House Police, and White House Military Aides.
- Hosted two foreign dignitaries: the Prime Minister of Iran and the Amir of Kuwait.
- Remarks at the National Headquarters of AFL-CIO, Jan. 13.
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Draft 11/1/00 10:30pm
Heather Hurlburt

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
STATEMENT ON THE BUDGET
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, DC
November 2, 2000**

Good morning. Yesterday, the 106th Congress put itself squarely on the wrong side of history – when its Republican leadership finally declared itself unable or unwilling to finish its work before facing the voters. This year marks the first time Congress has continued budget negotiations into the week before elections since World War II. That's a failure of leadership of monumental proportions, coming after weeks of broken promises and lost opportunities.

Instead of choosing the path of bipartisan progress, Congressional Republicans have decided to go home, and ask their constituents to send them back to Washington, so they can finish last year's business next year.

In contrast, Congressional Democrats have fought long and hard for America's priorities, and we've worked in good faith with members of both parties to craft compromises we all thought were right. When Democrats and Republicans have worked together, we made good progress. We won new investment for America's inner cities, rural communities and Native American reservations – and 79,000 new housing vouchers for families climbing out of poverty. We increased our investment in a clean environment, and doubled our funds for land conservation. We enacted the largest one-year increase ever requested for Veterans Affairs; and we met our commitment to debt relief for developing countries.

Unfortunately, those successes were the exception and not the rule. More often, when we reached an agreement, the Republican leadership went back on it. When we built a bipartisan majority, the Republicans tabled it. When we've extended deadlines, they've broken them. And when we've challenged them to honor the people's interests, they have instead catered to the special interests.

Democrats have waited and waited for the Republican leadership to act. So have the American people. But enough is enough. In recent days, we've had to say no to tax cuts that would consume our entire surplus. We've said no to a bill that took care of Congress and the White House before it took care of the American people. And we've said no to a bill that funded education but blocked workplace safety standards that would prevent 300,000 on-the-job injuries a year.

If Republicans think that the American people just won't notice that they failed to do the job, they're wrong. There's too much at stake for our children and our future. Just think about education. [NEC chart] Their way means no Head Start for 70,000 children. No progress toward cutting class sizes for 650,000 grade-schoolers. No funds for school construction, and no

action on \$1 billion of urgent school repairs. Their way also means no new after-school programs for 850,000 children. No new investment in training for as many as 1.2 million teachers. No new funding to strengthen accountability and turn around failing schools. No new funding for the needs of special education students, or college preparation for children at risk. And no new Pell Grants for 4 million college students who need help to stay in school.

But education isn't the only thing Democrats have been fighting for. With bipartisan support, we put forward strong proposals to raise the minimum wage, pass a strong Patients Bill of Rights and a hate crimes bill. We proposed targeted tax cuts that are good for children, families, seniors and small business. But the Republican leadership let special interests stand in the way of every one of those initiatives.

We fought for a Medicare prescription drug benefit, and we had the support of the American people. We had a bipartisan coalition to extend health care coverage to thousands of Americans who need it. We had the votes to pass campaign finance reform. But every time the Republican leadership used their power to kill our initiative.

The leadership says they didn't have time to complete the budget. But they wasted no time in blocking fair treatment for Latino immigrants; in blocking common-sense gun safety legislation; and filling the spending bills they did pass with political pork.

Bear in mind, almost all these initiatives had bipartisan support. But none of them made it to my desk before the Republican leadership decided to take a timeout. Why? Because the Republican leadership went behind closed doors and let the whispers of special interests drown out the voices of the American people.

The American people expect us to finish the job they sent us here to do. The Republican leadership has failed to keep its end of that bargain. As I have said repeatedly, the path to progress is one we have to walk together. And when Republicans are ready to work again, we'll be ready to work with them.

Thank you, and now I'd like to turn it over to Senator Daschle.

POST ELECTION SPEECHES: TRUMAN THROUGH REAGAN

Below is a summary of the activities of Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Johnson, and Reagan between Election Day and Inauguration Day.

President Harry S. Truman

- A major address on civil liberties, National Archives, December 15.
- A major wrap-up address on the military, Alumni Association of Industrial College of the Armed Forces, December 16.
- A major wrap-up on world peace, the National War College, December 19.
- Final State of the Union, reflecting on economic accomplishments and fighting the Communist aggression, January 7.
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- A Farewell Radio and Television Address to the American people on the military-industrial complex and disarmament, January 17.
- Final State of the Union Speech summarizing administration's accomplishments in foreign affairs, defense, the economy, agriculture, civil rights, natural resources, health & welfare, and veterans, January 12.

President Lyndon B. Johnson

- A speech at a farewell dinner in New York City summarizing accomplishments with the poor, elderly, and minorities, January 13.
- Final State of the Union Speech, wrapping up Great Society reforms, January 14.

President Ronald Reagan

- A major wrap-up speech on foreign policy, American Enterprise Institute, December 7.
- A major wrap-up address on domestic policy, December 13.

- A major address on the state of the economy, the National Chamber Foundation, November 17.
- A major speech on the presidency and the role of government, University of Virginia, December 16.
- Four farewell events, including: one radio address, one farewell address from the Oval, one White House ceremony, one dinner.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 21, 2000

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FROM: J. TERRY EDMONDS
JEFF SHESOL
JOSH GOTTHEIMER

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Speeches like these have been something of a tradition among outgoing, two-term Presidents. President Reagan, for example, delivered four major wrap-up speeches (which were billed as such) in December 1988: one each on domestic and foreign policy, one on the state of the economy, and one on the presidency and the role of government.

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II. FOREIGN POLICY

A lasting, defining statement on the central reality of this new century: globalization. This speech could fill in the contours of the argument the President made in this year’s State of the Union Address for America’s engaged, enlightened leadership in the world.

Suggested sites: Oxford University; Truman Library, Independence, Missouri.

III. CIVIC PARTICIPATION

This would be an exhortatory address, very much of the moment. The President has said that he is about to become a “citizen-activist.” Here, he can add some meaning (and muscle) to that term – not only for himself but for every American. The President can make a convincing case for public service and civic responsibility – our basic, democratic duty to our communities and our nation. This is about much more than voting. The President can show where citizens are getting involved – from AmeriCorps to faith-based charities – and suggest how we can reconnect the American people to civic life and the democratic process.

Suggested sites: Little Rock; New York; JFK Library, Boston.

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To build on the President’s argument that America is not only better off, but also a better country. This speech could address not only the progress we have made – from welfare reform to crime, from education to the environment – but also the ethic of social responsibility and the “Third Way” approach that inform these efforts and guide the Democratic Party. The President can stress the continued importance of rewarding work and strengthening families.

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