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**COLLECTION:**
Clinton Presidential Records
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**FOLDER TITLE:**
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**RESTRICTION CODES**

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(5) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(5) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

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

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.
If your picture wasn’t any good, you’re not standing close enough.

Honour forever to the International Brigade!
They are a song in the blood of all true men.
Hugh MacDiarmid, 'The International Brigade', 1938

On that arid square, that fragment ripped off from hot Africa, soldered so crudely to inventive Europe,
On that tableland scored by rivers,
Our fever’s menacing shapes are precise and alive.
W. H. Auden, 'Spain 1937', 1940

The stars are dead; the animals will not look:
We are left alone with our day, and the time is short and
History to the defeated
May say Alas but cannot help or pardon.
W. H. Auden, 'Spain 1937', 1940

I have praised the *Causa* of the Republic of Spain on the slightest provocation for twenty years, and I am tired of explaining that the Spanish Republic was neither a collective of blood-slaughtering Reds nor a cat’s-paw of Russia. Long ago I also gave up repeating that the men who fought and those who died for the Republic, whatever their nationality and whether they were Communists, anarchists, Socialists, poets, plumbers, middle-class professional men, or the one Abyssinian prince, were brave and disinterested, as there were no rewards in Spain. They were fighting for us all, against the combined force of European Fascism. They deserved our thanks and our respect and got neither.
Martha Gellhorn, *The Face of War*, 1986

Battle of the Jarama, February 1937

There’s a valley in Spain called Jarama
It’s a place that we all know too well,
For ’tis there that we wasted our manhood,
And most of our old age as well.
Charles Doherty, untitled, 1937

Death stalked the olive trees
Picking his men
His leaden finger beckoned
Again and again.

**The Second World War 1939–45**

Mankind has grown strong in eternal struggles and will only perish through eternal peace.
Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 1924–25

When you think about the defence of England you no longer think of the chalk cliffs of Dover. You think of the Rhine. That is where our frontier lies today.
Stanley Baldwin, in the *House of Commons*, 30th July 1934

We can do without butter, but, despite all our love of peace, not without arms. One cannot shoot with butter.
Joseph Goebbels, speech in Berlin, 17th January 1936

After all, they are only going into their own back garden.

How horrible, fantastic, incredible it is that we should be digging trenches and trying on gas-masks here because of a quarrel in a far-away country between people of whom we know nothing!
Neville Chamberlain, radio broadcast, 27th September 1938

I believe it is peace for our time... Peace with honour.
Neville Chamberlain, radio broadcast, after the Munich Agreement

We have sustained a defeat without a war.
Winston Churchill, after the Munich Agreement, 5th October 1938

Winston is back.
Admiralty message, sent to all ships and shore stations, 3rd September 1939, marking Churchill’s reappointment as First Lord of the Admiralty.

This nation will remain a neutral nation, but I cannot ask that every American remain neutral in thought as well... Even a neutral cannot be asked to close his mind or his conscience.
Franklin D. Roosevelt, radio address, 3rd September 1939

We have at this moment to distinguish carefully between running an industry or a profession, and winning the war.
Winston Churchill, memorandum to the First Sea Lord, 8th October 1939

For each and all, as for the Royal Navy, the watchword should be, 'Carry on, and dread nought.'
Winston Churchill, in the *House of Commons*, 6th December 1939

A lot of our destroyers and small craft are bumping into one another under the present hard conditions of service. We must be very careful not to damp the ardour of officers in the flotillas by making heavy weather of occasional accidents.
They should be encouraged to use their ships with wartime freedom, should feel they will not be considered guilty of unprofessional conduct, if they have done their best and something or other happens.
Winston Churchill, note to the First Sea Lord, 24th September 1939
It must not be forgotten that defeat of the U-boats carries with it the sovereignty of all the oceans of the world.

Winston Churchill, to the French Admiralty, November 1939

Whatever may be the reason — whether it was that Hitler thought he might get away with what he had got without fighting for it, or whether it was that after all the preparations were not sufficiently complete — however, one thing is certain: he missed the bus.

Neville Chamberlain, speech to the Conservative and Unionist Association, 4th April 1940

In three weeks England will have her neck wrung like a chicken’s.

General Weygand, April 1940, quoted in Winston Churchill, The Second World War, 1948–54

You ask: ‘What is our aim?’ I can answer in one word: ‘Victory!’ Victory at all costs, victory in spite of all terror, victory however long and hard the road may be; for without victory there is no survival.

Winston Churchill, in the House of Commons, 13th May 1940

Our security is not a matter of weapons alone. The arm that wields them must be strong, the eye that guides them clear, the will that directs them indomitable.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, message to Congress, 16th May 1940

We shall fight on for ever and ever and ever.

Winston Churchill, message to Paul Reynaud after the fall of France, 1940

Mr Churchill ought perhaps, for once, to believe me when I prophesy that a great Empire will be destroyed which it was never my intention to destroy or even to harm.

Adolf Hitler, to the Reichstag, 19th July 1940

We shall defend every village, every town and every city. The vast mass of London itself, fought street by street, could easily devour an entire hostile army; and we would rather see London laid in ruins and ashes than that it should be tamely and abjectly enslaved.

Winston Churchill, radio broadcast, 14th July 1940

I have told you once and I will tell you again — you boys will not be sent into any foreign wars.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, campaign speech, 1940

The Navy can lose us the war, but only the Air Force can win it. Therefore, our supreme effort must be to gain overwhelming mastery in the air.

Winston Churchill, to his War Cabinet, 3rd September 1940

Death and sorrow will be the companions of our journey; hardship our garment; constancy and valour our only shield.

Winston Churchill, in the House of Commons, 8th October 1940

We are waiting for the long-promised invasion. So are the fishes.

Winston Churchill, radio broadcast to France, 21st October 1940

The core of our defence is the faith we have in the institutions we defend.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, speech at Dayton, 12th October 1940

The best immediate defense of the United States is the success of Great Britain defending itself.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, at a Press conference, 17th December 1940

We must be the great arsenal of Democracy.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Address to the American People, 29th December 1940

Give us the tools, and we will finish the job.

Winston Churchill, broadcast address to President Roosevelt, 9th February 1941

If we see that Germany is winning the war we ought to help Russia, and if Russia is winning we ought to help Germany, and in that way let them kill as many as possible.

Harry S. Truman, quoted in the New York Times, 24th July 1941

I ask you to look at the map of Europe today and see if you can suggest any way in which we could win this war if we entered it.

Charles Lindbergh, speech in New York, 1941

When you see a rattlesnake poised to strike, you do not wait until he has struck before you crush him.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, radio broadcast, 11th September 1941

Nothing is more dangerous in war time than to live in the temperamental atmosphere of a Gallup poll, always feeling one’s pulse and taking one’s temperature.

Winston Churchill, in the House of Commons, 30th September 1941

We are all in it — all the way.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, radio broadcast of 7th December 1941

I repeat that the United States can accept no result save victory, final and complete.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, radio broadcast, 9th December 1941

‘In three weeks England will have her neck wrung like a chicken.’ Some chicken! Some neck!.

Winston Churchill, in the Canadian Senate, 30th December 1941

Believe! Obey! Fight!

Italian war slogan, probably coined by Benito Mussolini, c. 1941

Don’t let’s be beastly to the Germans,

Do let’s be beastly to the Huns.

Noël Coward, song, 1941

Loose talk can cost lives.

US poster, 1941

Careless talk costs lives.

British poster, 1941
Never before have we had so little time in which to do so much.
Franklin D. Roosevelt, radio broadcast, 22nd February 1942

We have not yet lost this war, but we are overdrawn on the Bank of Miracles.
W. J. Brown, quoted in the Observer, 16th August 1942

The mine issues no official communiqué.
Admiral William V. Pratt, in Newsweek, 5th October 1942

I have not become the King’s First Minister to preside over the liquidation of the
British Empire.
Winston Churchill, in the House of Commons, 9th November 1942

This is not the end. It is not even the beginning of the end. But it is, perhaps, the
end of the beginning.
Winston Churchill, at Mansion House, 10th November 1942, after victory in
Egypt

A Russian state from the Urals to the North Sea can be no great improvement
over a German state from the North Sea to the Urals.
Nicholas J. Spykman, The United States and the Balance of Power, 1942

One job that I really funk’d
Was when Fat Riley bunked
From a Jerry leaguer on a getaway.
We found him blind, with both hands gone.
When we got him back inside the lines
He’d only say,
Over and over, ‘the mines, the mines, the mines’.
It’s the lucky ones get dead:
He’s still alive. I wonder if his wife understands
You can’t even shoot yourself without your hands.
J. G. Meddemmen, 'L.R.D.G.', 1942

Do not despair
For Johnny-head-in-air;
He sleeps as sound
As Johnny underground.
Fetch out no shroud
For Johnny-in-the-cloud;
And keep your tears
For him in after years.
Better by far
For Johnny-the-bright-star,
To keep your head,
And see his children fed.
John Pudney, ‘For Johnny’, in Dispersal Point, and other air poems, 1942

No more, alas, the head-tossed foam, the fretful foot that pawed:
Oh glory that was Tetrarch’s might, oh drabness that is Ford!
E. F. Goulking, Menhantation, c. 1942

The problems of victory are more agreeable than those of defeat, but they are still
no less difficult.
Winston Churchill, in the House of Commons, 11th November 1942

We shall never be rough and heartless when it is not necessary, that is clear. We
Germans, who are the only people in the world who have a decent attitude
towards animals, will also assume a decent attitude towards these human animals.
Heinrich Himmler, speech, 4th October 1943

How easy it is to make a ghost.
Keith Douglass, 'How To Kill', 1943, in Alamein to Zem-Zem, 1944

Agnostic: so the ticket on the bed
along with army number name and rank
as guide for priest or parson in a ward
of pole and canvas wounded men and sand,
the clergy heedful of that pothook scrawl
of nurse who checked the spelling as she wrote
and then forgot on pocketing the pen,
blood having levelled or exalted all.

She’s neither time nor space to write below:
‘This casualty retains implicitly faith
in timeless pulse of life, a shadow-tide
evading creed and microscope, beyond
analysis in primal sap and egg,
a gut conviction deep below belief
and therefore credible. He harbours doubt
of God in nightgown and prophetic voice
invariable male, and fancy dress
performances of strictly human rite –
but now, confused by pain, depends upon
a mothering nurse who cannot spell.’
Charles Smith, 'Field Hospital', c. 1943

Older men declare war. But it is youth that must fight and die.
Herbert Hoover, at the Republican National Convention, Chicago, 27th June
1944

There’s one thing you men can say when it’s all over and you’re home once more.
You can thank God that twenty years from now when you’re sitting by the fireside
with your grandson on your knee, and he asks you what you did in the war, you
won’t have to shift him to the other knee, cough and say, ‘I shovelled crap in
Louisiana.’
George S. Patton, 1944, quoted in John Ellis, The Sharp End of War, 1980

The responsibility of the great states is to serve and not to dominate the world.
Harry S. Truman, message to Congress, 16th April 1945
What will be the position in a year or two, when the British and American Armies have melted and the French has not yet been formed on any major scale, when we may have a handful of Divisions, mostly French, and when Russia may choose to keep two or three hundred on active service? An iron curtain is drawn down upon their front. We do not know what is going on behind.

Winston Churchill, telegram to President Truman, 12th May 1945

From my mother's sleep I fell into the State,
And I bunched in its belly till my wet fur froze.
Six miles from earth, loosed from its dream of life,
I woke to black flak and the nightmare fighters.
When I died they washed me out of the turret with a hose.

Randall Jarrell, 'The Death of the Ball Turret Gunner', 1945

A thousand years shall pass and this guilt of Germany shall not have been erased.
Obergruppenführer Hans Frank, attributed

It [the first V2 rocket to fall on London, 8.9.44] was very successful, but it fell on the wrong planet.

Wernher von Braun, attributed

Hitler's dictatorship was the first dictatorship of an industrial state in the age of modern technology, a dictatorship which deployed to perfection the instruments of technology to dominate its own people... By means of such instruments of technology as the radio and public-address systems, eighty million persons could be made subject to the will of one individual. Telephone, teletype, and radio made it possible to transmit the commands of the highest levels directly to the lowest organs where because of their high authority they were executed uncritically. Thus many officers and squads received their evil commands in this direct manner. The instruments of technology made it possible to maintain a close watch over all citizens and to keep criminal operations shrouded in a high degree of secrecy. To the outsider this state apparatus may look like the seemingly wild tangle of cables in a telephone exchange; but like such an exchange it could be directed by a single will. Dictatorships of the past needed assistants of high quality in the lower ranks of the leadership also — men who could think and act independently. The authoritarian system in the age of technology can do without such men. The means of communication alone enable it to mechanize the work of the lower leadership. Thus the type of uncritical receiver of orders is created.

Albert Speer, addressing the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, 1946

One day President Roosevelt told me that he was asking publicly for suggestions about what the war should be called. I said at once 'the Unnecessary War.'


I have often wondered what would have happened if two hundred thousand German storm troopers had actually established themselves ashore... I intended to use the slogan, 'You can always take one with you.'


When I look back on all these worries I remember the story of the old man who said on his deathbed that he had had a lot of trouble in his life, most of which had never happened.


The size of the sea is so vast that the difference in size of a convoy and the size of a single ship shrinks in comparison almost to insignificance. There was in fact very nearly as good a chance of a convoy of forty ships in close order slipping unperceived between patrolling U-boats as there was for a single ship; and each time this happened, forty ships escaped instead of one. Here then was the key to the success of the convoy system against U-boats.


I said that the world must be made safe for at least fifty years. If it was only for fifteen or twenty years then we should have betrayed our soldiers.


As I observed last time, when the war of the giants is over the wars of the pygmies will begin.


I opposed and protested every step in the policies which led us into the Second World War. Especially in June, 1941, when Britain was safe from German invasion due to Hitler's diversion to attack Stalin, I urged that the gargantuan jest of all history would be our giving aid to the Soviet government. I urged we should allow these two dictators to exhaust each other. I stated that the result of our assistance would be to spread Communism over the whole world. I urged that if we stood aside the time would come when we could bring lasting peace to the world. I have no regrets. The consequences have proved that I was right.

Herbert Hoover, radio broadcast, 19th August 1945

In Germany, the Nazi came for the Communists, and I didn't speak up because I was not a Communist. Then they came for the Jews and I didn't speak up because I was not a Jew. Then they came for the trade unionists and I didn't speak up because I was not a trade unionist. Then they came for the Catholics and I was a Protestant so I didn't speak up. Then they came for me... and by that time there was no one to speak up for anyone.

Martin Niemöller, quoted in W. Neil, Concise Dictionary of Religious Quotations, 1975

War in 1944–1945 was still basically a matter of flesh and blood.

L. F. Ellis and A. E. W. Warr, Victory in the West, 1968

During the years of military victory Hitler had associated largely with the circle of generals around him. With the approaching end of his rule he visibly withdrew into the intimate clique of old party members with whom he had launched out on his career. Night after night he sat with Goebbels, Ley, and Bormann for a few hours. No one was admitted to these gatherings, no one knew what they were talking about, whether they were reminiscing about their beginnings or talking about the end and what would come after it. I listened in vain for at least a single
feeling remark about the future of the defeated nation. They grasped at every straw, made much of even the vaguest signs of a turning point; yet they were in no way prepared to regard the fate of the entire nation as nearly important as their own. 'We will leave nothing but a desert to the Americans, English and Russians'—this was the standard close to any discussion of the matter.

Albert Speer, Inside the Third Reich, 1969

The British contribution to the Second World War reflected the decline in Britain's relative power. The British helped the Russians and Americans to beat Germany, and helped the Americans to beat the Japanese; they took the major part only in defeating Italy.


Capable of an almost vertical dive onto its target, the Stuka was intended to induce terror as well as inflict damage, and the rising whine of its accelerating engine was supplemented by a high-pitched siren fitted, it is said, at Hitler's personal suggestion.

Bryan Perrett, A History of Blitzkrieg, 1983

We didn't worry too much about not hitting the military targets we were after. Really, I suppose one thought we were at war with Germany and so long as we dropped our bombs we were doing some damage somewhere, although the ruling was that if we couldn't see our target we were to bring our bombs back, but nobody did this...

Rupert Oakley, pilot, in Gwynne Dyer, War, 1986

The U.S. Army concluded during World War II that almost every soldier, if he escaped death or wounds, would break down after 200 to 240 'combat days'; the British, who rotated their troops out of the front line more often, reckoned 400 days, but they agreed breakdown was inevitable. The reason that about one sixth of the casualties were psychiatric was that most combat troops did not survive long enough to go to pieces.

Gwynne Dyer, War, 1986

The War in Europe

The hand that held the dagger has struck it into the back of its neighbour.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, address, following Italy's declaration of war against France, 10th June 1940

Our first line of defence against invasion must be as ever the enemy's ports.

Winston Churchill, minute to Chiefs of Staff Committee, 5th August 1940

It should be inferred in every case of resistance to the German occupying forces, no matter what the individual circumstances, that it is of communist origin. The death penalty of 50 to 100 Communists should generally be regarded as suitable atonement for one German soldier's life.

Field Marshal Keitel, order, 1941

Investigation seems to show that having one's house demolished is most damaging to morale. People seem to mind it more than having their friends or even relatives killed. At Hull, signs of strain were evident, though only one tenth of the houses were demolished. On the above figures we should be able to do ten times as much harm to each of the fifty-eight principal German towns. There seems little doubt that this would break the will of the people.

Lord Cherwell, 1944, quoted in Max Hastings, Bomber Command, 1979

The 'Führer aller Germanen' has been talking to wounded soldiers. Listening-in to it was pitiful. Question and answer went something like this:

'My name is Heinrich Scheppel.'

'Wounded where?'

'Near Stalingrad.'

'What kind of wound?'

'Two feet frozen off and a broken joint in the left arm.'

This is exactly what the frightful puppet show on the radio was like. The wounded seemed to be proud of their wounds—the more the better. One of them felt so moved at being able to shake hands with the Führer (that is, if he still had a hand!) that he could hardly get the words out of his mouth.

Anne Frank, The Diary of a Young Girl, 1952–1943

It takes twenty minutes for a medium tank to incinerate; and the flames burn slowly, so figure it takes ten minutes for a hearty man within to perish. You wouldn't even be able to struggle for chances are both exits would be sheeted with flame and smoke. You would sit, read Good Housekeeping, and die like a dog.

Max Frankel, 1944, quoted in John Ellis, The Sharp End of War, 1980

I don't care if the guy behind that gun is a syphilitic prick who's a hundred years old—he's still sitting behind eight foot of concrete and he's still got enough fingers to pull triggers and shoot bullets.


Dig a hole in your back garden while it is raining. Sit in the hole while the water climbs up round your ankles. Pour cold mud down your shirt collar. Sit there for forty-eight hours, and, so there is no danger of your dousing off, imagine that a guy is sneaking round waiting for a chance to club you on the head or set your house on fire. Get out of the hole, fill a suitcase full of rocks, pick it up, put a shotgun in your other hand, and walk down the muddiest road you can find. Fall flat on your face every few minutes, as you imagine big meteors streaking down to sock you... Snoop around until you find a bull. Try to figure a way to sneak around him without letting him see you. When he does see you, run like hell all the way back to your hole in the back yard, drop the suitcase and shotgun, and get in. If you repeat this performance every three days for several months you may begin to understand why an infantryman gets out of breath.

Bill Mauldin, Up Front, 1945

All the German generals to whom I talked were of the opinion that the Allied Supreme Command had missed a great opportunity of ending the war in the autumn of 1944. They agreed with Montgomery's view, that this could best have been achieved by concentrating all possible resources on a threat in the north, towards Berlin.

B. H. Liddell Hart, The Other Side of the Hill, 1951
The air raids carried the war into our midst. In the burning and devastated cities we daily experienced the direct impact of the war. And it spurred us to do our utmost.

Neither did the bombings and the hardships that resulted from them weaken the morale of the populace. On the contrary, from my visits to the armament plants and my contacts with the men on the street I carried away the impression of growing toughness. It may well be that the estimated loss of 9 per cent of our production capacity was amply balanced out by increased effort.

Our heaviest expense was in fact the elaborate defensive measures. In the Reich and in the western theatres of war the barrels of ten thousand antiaircraft guns were pointed toward the sky. The same guns could have well been employed in Russia against tanks and other ground targets. Had it not been for this new front, the airfront over Germany, our defensive strength against tanks would have been almost doubled, as far as equipment was concerned. Moreover, the antiaircraft force tied down hundreds of thousands of young soldiers. A third of the optical industry was busy producing gunsights for the flak batteries. About half of the electronics industry was engaged in producing radar and communications networks for defense against bombing. Simply because of this, in spite of the high level of the German electronics and optical industries, the supply of our frontline troops with modern equipment remained far behind that of the Western armies.

Albert Speer, Inside the Third Reich, 1969

The Jewish Holocaust

In my eyes the charge against Judaism became a grave one the moment I discovered the Jewish activities in the Press, in art, in literature and the theatre. All unctuous protests were now more or less futile. One needed only to look at the posters announcing the hideous productions of the cinema and theatre, and study the names of the authors who were highly lauded in order to become permanently adamant on Jewish questions. Here was a pestilence, with which the what mighty doses this poison was manufactured and distributed. Naturally the lower moral and intellectual level of such an author of artistic products, the more inexhaustible he succumbed. Sometimes it went so far that one of these fellows, acting like a sewage pump, would shoot his filth directly in the face of other members of the human race. In this connection we must remember there is no limit to the number of such people. One ought to realize that for one Goethe, Nature may bring into existence ten thousand such despoilers who act as the worst kind of germ-carriers in poisoning human souls. It was a terrible thought, and yet it could not be avoided, that the greater number of the Jews seemed specially destined to play this shameful part.

Adolf Hitler, Mein Kampf, 1924–26

Should the Jew, with the aid of his Marxist creed, triumph over the people of this world, his Crown will be the funeral wreath of mankind, and this planet will once again follow its orbit through ether, without human life on its surface, as it did millions of years ago.

Adolf Hitler, Mein Kampf, 1924–26

It will be the task of the People's State to make the race the centre of the life of the community. It must make sure that the purity of the racial strain will be preserved. It must proclaim the truth that the child is the most valuable possession a people can have. It must see to it that only those who are healthy beget children; that there is only one infamy, namely, for parents that are ill or show hereditary defects to bring children into the world and that in such cases it is a high honour to refrain from doing so.

Adolf Hitler, Mein Kampf, 1924–26

I decide who is a Jew.

Karl Läger, quoted in Alan Bullock, Hitler, 1971

I hereby commission you to carry out all preparations with regard to ... a total solution of the Jewish question in those territories of Europe which are under German influence.

Hermann Goering, written instruction to Reinhard Heydrich, 31st July 1941

Another improvement that we made ... was that we built our gas-chambers to accommodate two thousand people at one time.

Rudolph Hess, quoted in Alan Bullock, Hitler, 1971

Yesterday the Germans, with the help of the Jewish police, rounded up young Jewish girls, and women both young and old, and also men with and without beards on the streets and in particular among the occupants of 38 Dzielna Street. There were staffs of Germans, airforce, SS and men from other units, as well as a smaller vehicle with officers in it, drew up at the entrance of 38 Dzielna Street. First of all they photographed all the young girls – incidentally, they had picked out girls and women who were particularly respectable-looking and expensively dressed. Then they pushed all the Jewish men and women into the bath-house that is in the corner of the courtyard of the above-mentioned building. Once inside they photographed all the women again. Then they forced the men and women to strip completely naked. German officers divided them into pairs made of one from each sex from among the Jews. They matched young girls to old men, and conversely, young boys with old women. Then they forced the two sexes to commit a sexual act. These scenes ... were filmed with special apparatus that had been brought in for that purpose.

Abraham Lewin, journal entry 13th May 1942, in A Cup of Tears, 1988

The filming that the Germans carried out in the [Warsaw] ghetto continues. Today they set up a film-session in Szulc's restaurant at the corner of Leszno and Nowolipki Streets. They brought in Jews they had rounded up, ordinary Jews and well-dressed Jews, and also women who were respectably dressed, sat them down at the tables and ordered that they be served with all kinds of food and drink at the expense of the Jewish community: meat, fish, liqueurs, white pastries and other delicacies. The Jews ate and the Germans filmed. It is not hard to imagine the motivation behind this. Let the world see the kind of paradise the Jews are living in. They stuff themselves with fish and goose and drink liqueurs and wine. These despicable scenes went on for several hours.

Abraham Lewin, journal entry 19th May 1942, in A Cup of Tears, 1988
I know an old Jew, grey with age, about 80 years old. This old man was hit by a
terrible misfortune last winter: he had an only son aged 52 who died of typhus. He
had no other children. The son is dead. He hadn't remarried and had lived
together with his son. A few days ago I visited the old man. As I was saying
goodbye to him (he is still in complete command of his faculties), he burst into
tears and said to me I want to live to see the end of the war and then live for just
another half hour longer.

Abraham Lewin, journal entry 5th June 1942, in A Cup of Tea, 1988

Dear Kitty,
I've only got dismal and depressing news for you today. Our many Jewish
friends are being taken away by the dozen. These people are treated by the
Gestapo without a shred of decency, being loaded into cattle trucks and sent to
Westerbork, the big Jewish camp in Drente. Westerbork sounds terrible: only
a Jewish young man, who was a policeman, told me the following illustrative
story: the Christians are being given packed meat (in cans). We also received a
message that the corpses had been thrown into garbage cans. It is the usual
practice of the Gestapo to put putrifying corpses in garbage cans and to send
the bodies to Gestapo headquarters so that they can be examined by
pathologists. I have received a letter from 200 people who have been in
Westerbork. Ten people were killed in the camp because of their crimes. Ten
people. I have written them a reply and I have asked them to write me.

Abraham Lewin, journal entry 22nd November 1942, in A Cup of Tea, 1988

In terms of the number of victims, Hitler has murdered an entire people. There
are many peoples in Europe who number fewer than the number of our martyrs.
The Danes and the Norwegians are no more than three million. The Lithuanians,
the Latins and the Estonians have far fewer. The Swedes - six million. The
Bohemia is still one million. And Hitler has already killed five, six
million Jews. Our language has no words with which to express the calamity and
disaster that has struck us.

Abraham Lewin, journal entry 28th December 1944, in A Cup of Tea, 1988

The feeling that one gets is that the Germans want to drown the disaster that
must come to them in a sea of innocent blood.

Abraham Lewin, journal entry 11th January 1943, in A Cup of Tea, 1988

All the newspapers are full of the invasion and are driving people mad by saying
that 'In the event of the English landing in Holland, the Germans will do all they
can to defend the country; if necessary they will resort to flooding.' With this,
maps have been published, in which the parts of Holland that will be under water
are marked. As this applied to large parts of Amsterdam, the first question was,
what shall we do if the water in the streets rises to one meter? The answers given
by different people vary considerably.

'As walking or cycling is out of the question, we shall have to wade through the
stagnant water.'

'Of course not, one will have to try and swim. We shall all put on bathing suits
and caps and swim under water as much as possible, then no one will see that we
are Jews.'

Anne Frank, The Diary of a Young Girl, 1952: 3rd February 1944

Who has inflicted this upon us? Who has made us Jews different from all other
people? Who has allowed us to suffer so terribly up till now? It is God that has
made us as we are, but it will be God, too, who will raise us up again. If we bear all
this suffering and there are still Jews left, when it is over, then Jews, instead of
being doomed, will be held up as an example. Who knows, it might even be our
religion from which the world and all peoples learn good, and for that reason and
that reason only do we have to suffer now. We can never become just Nether-
landers, or just English, or representatives of any country for that matter, we will
always remain Jews, but we want to, too.

Anne Frank, The Diary of a Young Girl, 1952: 11th April 1944

I don't believe that the big men, the politicians and the capitalists alone, are guilty
of the war. Oh no, the little man is just as guilty, otherwise the peoples of the
world would have risen in revolt long ago. There's in people simply an urge to
destroy, an urge to kill, to murder and rage, and until all mankind, without
exception, undergoes a great change, wars will be waged, everything that has
been built up, cultivated, and grown will be destroyed and disfigured, after which
mankind will have to begin all over again.

Anne Frank, The Diary of a Young Girl, 1952: 3rd May 1944

Now we were at the crematorium. 'You will put a handkerchief over your nose,'
the guide said. There, suddenly, but never to be believed, were the bodies of the
dead. They were everywhere. There were piles of them inside the oven room,
which to express the calamity and disaster that has struck us.

Abraham Lewin, journal entry 30th January 1943, in A Cup of Tea, 1988

If we have seen a myriad faces
Where life is evil now
Nanking, Dachau.
W. H. Auden, 'Sonnets from China', 1945: xii

No punishment has ever possessed enough power of deterrence to prevent the
commission of crimes. On the contrary, whatever the punishment, once a specific
crime has appeared for the first time, its reappearance is more likely than its initial
emergence could have been.

— The Fall of France, 1940
France has lost the battle but she has not lost the war.
Charles de Gaulle, 1940
Hitler claimed total credit for the success of the campaign in the West. The plan for it came from him, he said. 'I have again and again,' he told us, 'read Colonel de Gaulle’s book on methods of modern warfare employing fully motorized units, and I have learned a great deal from it.'
Albert Speer, Inside the Third Reich, 1969

— Dunkirk, 26th May–4th June 1940
We shall not flag or fail. We shall go on to the end, we shall fight in France, we shall fight in the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing confidence and growing strength in the air, we shall defend our island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender.
Winston Churchill, in the House of Commons, 4th June 1940

Our great-grandchildren, when they learn how we began this war by snatching glory out of defeat ... may also learn how the little holiday steamers made an excursion to hell and came back glorious.
J. B. Priestley, radio broadcast, 5th June 1940

The Mosquito Armada as a whole was unsinkable. In the midst of our defeat glory came to the Island people, united and unconquerable; and the tale of the Dunkirk beaches will shine in whatever records are preserved of our affairs.

We must be very careful not to assign to this deliverance the attributes of a victory.
Wars are not won by evacuations.

When so much was uncertain, the need to recover the initiative glared forth.

— Battle of Britain, 10th July–1st October 1940
Let us therefore brace ourselves to our duties, and so bear ourselves that, if the British Empire and its Commonwealth last for a thousand years, men will still say, 'This was their finest hour'.
Winston Churchill, in the House of Commons, 18th June 1940
Learn to get used to it. Eels get used to skinning.
Winston Churchill, apropos the Blitz, notes for a speech, 20th June 1940

The universe is so vast and so ageless that the life of one man can only be justified by the measure of his sacrifice.
V. A. Rosewarne, Letter to his mother, published in The Times, 18th June 1940

Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few.
Winston Churchill, in the House of Commons, 20th August 1940

Still falls the Rain—
Dark as the world of man, black as our loss—
Blind as the nineteen hundred and forty nails
Upon the Cross.
Edith Sitwell, referring to the Blitz, 'Still Falls the Rain', 1940

Far out on the grey waters of the North Sea and the Channel coursed and paroled the faithful, eager flotillas peering through the night. High in the air soared the fighter pilots, or waited serene at a moment's notice around their excellent machines. This was a time when it was equally good to live or die.

The Battle of Britain was won. The Battle of the Atlantic had now to be fought.

— British Withdrawal from Crete, 1st June 1941
It takes the Navy three years to build a ship. It would take three hundred to rebuild a tradition.
Sir Andrew Browne Cunningham, resisting plans for the Royal Navy to abandon soldiers stranded on Crete, May 1941

— Bombing of Hamburg, July 1943
It was as if I was looking into what I imagined to be an active volcano ... There were great volumes of smoke and, mentally, I could sense the great heat. Our actual bombing was like putting another shovelful of coal into the furnace.
Martin Middlebrook, The Battle of Hamburg, 1980

— Allied Invasion of Sicily, from 9th July 1943
Battle is the most magnificent competition in which a human being can indulge. It brings out all that is best; it removes all that is base.
George S. Patton, to the officers of the 45th Division, 27th July 1943

— Allied Landing at Salerno, 9th–16th September 1943
In one case the trapped crew [of a tank] had been broiled in such a way that a puddle of fat had spread from under the tank and this was quilted with brilliant flies of all descriptions and colours.
Norman Lewis, Naples 64, 1978

— Allied Forces in Italy, winter of 1943/44
One never saw masses of men assaulting the enemy. What one observed, in apparently unrelated patches, was small, loose bodies of men moving down through narrow defiles or over steep inclines, going methodically from position to position between long halts and the only continuous factor was the roaring and cracking of the big guns. One felt baffled at first by the unreality of it all. Unseen groups of men were fighting other men that they rarely saw.
E. Sevareid, Not So Wild a Dream, 1946

— Allied Landing at Anzio, 22nd January 1944
I had hoped that we were hurling a wildcat onto the shore, but all we had got was a stranded whale.
The whole affair has a strong odor of Gallipoli and apparently the same amateur was still on the couch's bench.

General John P. Lucas, in Martin Blumenson, Anzio, 1963

- Battle of Cassino, 29th February – 11th May 1944

We Polish soldiers, for our freedom and yours, have given our souls to God, our bodies to the soil of Italy and our hearts to Poland.

Inscription at the Polish Cemetery, Cassino

- The Allies take Rome, 4th June 1944

It was most thoughtful of you as an old Harrovian to capture Rome on the Fourth of June.

Harold Macmillan, telegram to General Alexander, 4th June 1944

- D-Day (Operation Overlord), 6th June 1944, and subsequent Allied Reoccupation of Normandy

We're getting killed on the beaches – let's go inshore and get killed.

US officer, Omaha Beach, June 1944, in John Ellis, The Sharp End of War, 1980

Our chiefs of staff are convinced of one thing. The way to kill the most Germans with the least loss of American soldiers, is to mount one great big invasion and then slam 'em with everything we've got. It makes sense to me. It makes sense to Uncle Joe. It makes sense to all our generals, and always has, ever since the beginning of the war.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1944, in Elliott Roosevelt, As He Saw It, 1946

The whole of this difficult question, how to divide military resources between the Normandy invasion and the invasion of Southern France, only arises out of the absurd shortages of the LSTs. How it is that the plans of two great empires like Britain and the United States should be so much hamstrung and limited by a hundred or so of these particular vessels will never be understood by history.

Winston Churchill, Letter to General Marshall, 1944

We are in the position of a testator who wishes to leave the bulk of his fortune to his mistress. He must, however, leave something to his wife, and his problem is to decide how little he can in decency set apart for her.

Sir Charles Portal, on the demands made upon British Bomber Command by Operation Overlord, 1944, in AnthonyVerrier, Bomber Offensive, 1958

Overpaid, oversized, and over here.

British saying, 1944, apropos the build-up of American forces in Britain.

Those of our troops who were not wax-grey with seasickness, fighting it off, trying to hold on to themselves before they had to grab the steel side of the boat, were watching the 75mm with looks of surprise and happiness. Under the steel helmets they looked like pikemen of the Middle Ages to whose aid in battle had suddenly come some strange and unbelivable monster.

Ernest Hemingway, in Collier's, 22nd July 1944

History now was old K-ration boxes, empty foxholes, the dying leaves on the branches that were cut for camouflage. It was burned German vehicles, burned German tanks, many burned German Panthers and some burned Tigers, German dead along the roads, in the hedges and in the orchards, German equipment scattered everywhere, German horses roaming the fields, and our own wounded and our dead passing back strapped two abreast on top of the evacuation jeeps. But mostly history was getting where we were to get on time and waiting there for others to come up.

Ernest Hemingway, in Collier's, 1st November 1944

We sure liberated the hell out of this place.

Anonymous US soldier, in a Normandy village, June 1944, in Max Miller, The Far Shore, 1945

For the United States and Great Britain, the fruits of the battle of Normandy were apples of Sodom, which turned to ashes as soon as they were plucked. Hitler and his legions were destroyed, and in their stead stood Stalin and his Asiatic hordes. Because 'Victory – victory at all costs!' had been the western allies' aim, and because of their insistence that 'it was to be the defeat, ruin and slaughter of Hitler, to the exclusion of all other purposes, loyalties and aims,' Stalin, the supreme realist, whose strategy had throughout kept in step with his policy, had been able to impose his messianic cult upon Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, part of Finland, Poland, eastern and central Germany, a third of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria. Vienna, Prague, and Berlin, the vertebræ of Europe, were his, and except for Athens, so was every capital in eastern Europe ... A thousand years of European history had been rolled back. Such were the fruits of the battle of Normandy, fructified by inept strategy and a policy of pure destruction.

J. F. C. Fuller, The Dance of Battles in the Western World, 1954–56

It wasn't too bad for us sailors, but I think one of the main reasons why Normandy was such a great success was that the soldiers would rather have fought thousands of Germans than go back into those boats and be sea-sick again.

R. McKinnon, in A. McKee, Cenotaph of Victory, 1966

In the no-man's land between the two sides, in the deserted farmsteads, there were plenty of fowls if you could catch them. I couldn't. These chickens, as soon as they saw anybody in battledress, however much he whistled disinterest, scrambled up the nearest rampart, and you could not get after them without revealing yourself in a field of machinegun fire. But I discovered a flock of geese, and I broke my penknife trying to slaughter the first. When I had at last killed them all and loaded them into my jeep for my hungry colleagues, I was covered from top to tail with feathers. A soldier looking like one out of a Giles wartime cartoon climbed out of a slit trench and said to me balefully, 'Them was laying eggs.'

Macdonald Hastings, Gamebook, 1979

- Battle of Arnhem, 17th September 1944

'Not in vain' may be the pride of those who survived and the epitaph of those who fell.

Winston Churchill, in the House of Commons, 28th September 1944
The Russian Front

To have turned the enemy flank in the north, seizing the bridge-heads on the way, would have demanded daring of high order in conception, in leadership in the field, and in execution. The conception of such a plan was impossible for a man of Montgomery's innate caution... In fact, Montgomery's decision to mount the operation aimed at the Zuider Zee was as startling as it would have been for an elderly and saintly Bishop suddenly to decide to take up safe-breaking and begin on the Bank of England.


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The Battle of the Bulge, 16th December 1944-16th January 1945

They've got us surrounded again, the poor bastards.

Colonel Greigton Abrams, US Army, attributed

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German Surrender, 7th May 1945

A splendid moment in our great history and in our small lives.

Winston Churchill, radio broadcast, 7th May 1945

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The Russian Front

I cannot forecast to you the action of Russia. It is a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma. But perhaps there is a key. That key is Russian national interest.

Winston Churchill, radio broadcast, 1st October 1939

You know, Ribbentrop, if I made an agreement with Russia today, I'd still break it tomorrow - I just can't help it.

Adolf Hitler, in conversation with his Foreign Minister, November 1939

When Barbarossa commences, the world will hold its breath and make no comment.

Adolf Hitler, to General Franz Halder, 1940

The German army in fighting Russia is like an elephant attacking a host of ants. The elephant will kill thousands, perhaps even millions, of ants, but in the end their numbers will overcome him, and he will be eaten to the bone.

Bernd von Kleist, in Alan Clark, *Barbarossa*, 1965

It is hardly too much to say that the campaign against Russia has been won in fourteen days.

Franz Halder, diary entry, 3rd July 1941

In the case of a forced retreat of Red Army units, all rolling stock must be evacuated; to the enemy must not be left a single engine, a single railway carriage, not a single pound of grain nor one gallon of fuel... In occupied regions conditions must be made unbearable for the enemy and all his accomplices. They must be haunted and annihilated at every step and all their measures frustrated.

Joseph Stalin, Address to the Russian People, 3rd July 1941

So far as strategy, policy, foresight and competence are arbitrers Stalin and his commissars showed themselves at this moment (July 1941) the most completely outwitted bunglers of the Second World War.


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An additional obstruction was that every time a difficulty arose in the rear, Kluge stopped the advance until he had overcome it. Here it may be observed that, like a jockey, a bold tank general should have his eyes fixed on the winning post, and not, like a cautious transport leader, on the tail of his convoy.

J.F.C. Fuller, *The Decisive Battles of the Western World*, 1954-56

Whether 16,000 Russian females fall from exhaustion while digging an antitank ditch interests me only in so far as the antitank ditch for Germans is finished.

Heinrich Himmel, addressing SS officers, 1941, quoted in Martha Gelhorn, *The Face of War*, 1986

A Tar once remarked that two of the best generals in his army were named January and February. If he had lived to see the era of mechanized war he might have commented that October and March were pretty impressive fellows too, for in October the first torrential winter rains reduced the roads to bottomless quagmires, while the Spring thaw had precisely the same effect.


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Russian Counter-Offensive of 1944

Every man must fight back where he stands. No falling back where there are no prepared positions in rear.

Adolf Hitler, General Order, 19th December 1941

The advance of a Russian Army is something that Westerners can't imagine. Behind the tank spearheads rolls a vast horde, largely mounted on horses. The soldier carries a sack on his back, with dry crusts of bread and raw vegetables collected on the march from fields and villages. The horses eat the straw from the house-roofs - they get very little else. The Russians are accustomed to carry on for as long as three weeks in this primitive way, when advancing. You can't stop them, like an ordinary army, by cutting their communications, for you rarely find any supply columns to strike.


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Battle of Stalingrad, August 1942-February 1943

The duty of the men at Stalingrad is to be dead.

Adolf Hitler, remark at a luncheon conference, January 1943

A defeat for Europe as a whole.

F.O. Milsche, *Unconditional Surrender*, 1952

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The War In Africa

We have finished the job, what shall we do with the tools?

Emperor Haile Selassie of Abyssinia, telegram to Winston Churchill, 1941

A pint of sweat will save a gallon of blood.

George S. Patton, to American forces at Casablanca, 8th November 1942

Tell them from me they are unloading history.

Winston Churchill, telegram to the Port Commandant of Tripoli, 24th February 1943
Before Alamein we never had a victory. After Alamein we never had a defeat.


The Japanese language will be spoken only in hell.

William F. Halsey, attributed, c. 1943

If the Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton, the Japanese bases in the Pacific were captured on the beaches of the Caribbean.

Holland M. Smith, *Coral and Brass*, 1949

We call Japanese soldiers fanatics when they die rather than surrender, whereas American soldiers who do the same thing are heroes.

Robert M. Hutchins, lecture at the University of Chicago, June 1945

The only thing to do now is to lick hell out of them.

Senator Burton K. Wheeler, comment made shortly after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, December 1941

I fear we have only awakened a sleeping giant, and his reaction will be terrible.

Admiral Yamamoto, December 1941, quoted in the *Listener*, 9th September 1976

Remember Pearl Harbor!

US Slogan

There are no atheists in foxholes.

W. T. Cummings (chaplain), sermon on Bataan, March 1942

I shall return.

Douglas MacArthur, leaving the Philippines, 11th March 1942

It becomes still more difficult to reconcile Japanese action with prudence or even with sanity. What kind of people do they think we are?

Winston Churchill, speaking to Congress, 24th December 1941

There are no atheists in foxholes.

W. T. Cummings (chaplain), sermon on Bataan, March 1942

I shall return.

Douglas MacArthur, leaving the Philippines, 11th March 1942

It was bitter for us not to be able to land a million men from a thousand ships in the Philippine Islands.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, State of the Union Address, 1942

The dominant feeling of the battlefield is loneliness.

William Slim, remark made to Major-General J. G. Smyth following the demolition of the Sittang Bridge, February 1942

The British are such clever propagandists they might well have cooked up the story.

Congresswoman Jeanette Rankin, voting against the US Declaration of War against Japan

Japanese Conquest of Burma, 16th January-26th May 1942

We got run out of Burma, and it is humiliating as hell.

Joseph W. Stilwell, Press statement, 25th May 1942

Jackie, you dropped your Field Marshal's baton into the Sittang River.

William Slim, remark made to Major-General J. G. Smyth following the demolition of the Sittang Bridge, February 1942

The dominant feeling of the battlefield is loneliness.

William Slim, addressing the 10th Indian Infantry Division, June 1942
Sir Winston Spencer Churchill
1874–1965

1 I pass with relief from the tossing sea of Cause and Theory to the firm ground of Result and Fact. The Malakand Field Force [1898]

2 It is better to be making the news than taking it; to be an actor rather than a critic. Ibid.

3 Nothing in life is so exhilarating as to be shot at without result. Ibid.

4 There are men in the world who derive as stern an exaltation from the proximity of disaster and ruin, as others from success. Ibid.

5 Terminological inexactitude. Speech in the House of Commons [February 22, 1906]

6 The maxim of the British people is “Business as usual.” Speech at the Guildhall [November 9, 1914]

7 Politics are almost as exciting as war, and quite as dangerous. In war you can only be killed once, but in politics many times. Remark [1920]

8 By being so long in the lowest form [at Harrow] I gained an immense advantage over the cleverer boys. . . . I got into my bones the essential structure of the ordinary British sentence—which is a noble thing. . . . Naturally I am biased in favor of boys learning English; I would make them all learn English: and then I would let the clever ones learn Latin as an honor, and Greek as a treat. Roving Commission: My Early Life [1930]

9 It is a good thing for an uneducated man to read books of quotations. Bartlett’s Familiar Quotations is an admirable work, and I studied it intently. The quotations when engraved upon the memory give you good thoughts. They also make you anxious to read the authors and look for more. Ibid.

10 You will make all kinds of mistakes; but as long as you are generous and true, and also fierce, you cannot hurt the world or even seriously distress her. She was made to be wooed and won by youth. Ibid.

11 Decided only to be undecided, resolved to be irresolute, adamant for drift, solid for fluidity, all-powerful to be impotent. While England Slept [1936]

12 Dictators ride to and fro upon tigers which they dare not dismount. And the tigers are getting hungry. Ibid.

13 I have watched this famous island descending incontinently, fecklessly, the stairway which leads to a dark gulf. Ibid.

14 See Roosevelt and Churchill, 650.
15 Of Stanley Baldwin’s policies.
16 He who rides a tiger is afraid to dismount. —William Scarborough [fl. c. 1875], Chinese Proverbs [1875], no. 2082
The German dictator, instead of snatching the victuals from the table, has been content to have them served to him course by course.

Speech on the Munich agreement, House of Commons [October 5, 1938]

That long [Canadian] frontier from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans, guarded only by neighborly respect and honorable obligations, is an example to every country and a pattern for the future of the world.

Speech in honor of R. B. Bennett, Canada Club, London [April 20, 1939]

I cannot forecast to you the action of Russia. It is a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma.

Radio broadcast [October 1, 1939]

For each and for all, as for the Royal Navy, the watchword should be, "Carry on, and dread nought."

Speech on traffic at sea, House of Commons [December 6, 1939]

I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat.

First Statement as Prime Minister, House of Commons [May 13, 1940]

Victory at all costs, victory in spite of all terror, victory however long and hard the road may be; for without victory there is no survival.

Ibid.

We shall not flag or fail. We shall go on to the end. We shall fight in France, we shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing confidence and growing strength in the air, we shall defend our island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender.

Speech on Dunkirk, House of Commons [June 4, 1940]

Let us ... brace ourselves to our duties, and so bear ourselves that if the British Empire and its Commonwealth last for a thousand years, men will still say: "This was their finest hour."

Speech in the House of Commons [June 18, 1940]

We shall defend every village, every town and every city. The vast mass of London itself, fought street by street, could easily devour an entire hostile army; and we would rather see London laid in ruins and ashes than that it should be tamely and abjectly enslaved.

Radio broadcast [July 14, 1940]

Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few.

Tribute to the Royal Air Force, House of Commons [August 20, 1940]

The British Empire and the United States will have to be somewhat mixed up together in some of their affairs for mutual and general advantage. For my own part, looking upon the future, I do not view the process with any misgivings.

Ibid.

Death and sorrow will be the companions of our journey; hardship our garment; constancy and valor our only shield. We must be united, we must be inflexible.

Report on the war, House of Commons [October 8, 1940]

We are waiting for the long-promised invasion. So are the fishes.

Radio broadcast to the French people [October 21, 1940]

I do not at all resent criticism, even when, for the sake of emphasis, it for a time parts company with reality.

Speech in the House of Commons [January 22, 1941]

Here is the answer which I will give to President Roosevelt. . . . Give us the tools, and we will finish the job.

Radio broadcast [February 9, 1941]

This is one of those cases in which the imagination is baffled by the facts.

Remain in the House of Commons following the parachute descent in Scotland of Rudolf Hess [May 13, 1941]

The British nation is unique in this respect. They are the only people who like to be told how bad things are, who like to be told the worst.

Report on the war, House of Commons [June 10, 1941]

A vile race of quislings—to use the new word which will carry the scorn of mankind down the centuries.

Speech at St. James's Palace, London [June 12, 1941]

The destiny of mankind is not decided by material computation. When great causes are on the move in the world . . . we learn that we are spirits, not animals, and that something is going on in space.

Vidkun Quisling, head of the Nasjonal Samling Party in Norway, who cooperated and collaborated with the Nazis when Germany invaded Norway [April 9, 1940]. Quisling was executed [October 23, 1945].
Nothing is more dangerous in wartime than to live in the temperamental atmosphere of a Gallup Poll, always feeling one's pulse and taking one's temperature.

Report on the war, House of Commons [September 30, 1941]

Never give in, never give in, never, never, never—in nothing, great or small, large or petty—never give in except to convictions of honor and good sense.2

Address at Harrow School [October 29, 1941]

Do not let us speak of darker days; let us speak of sterner days. These are not dark days: these are great days—the greatest days our country has ever lived; and we must all thank God that we have been allowed, each of us according to our stations, to play a part in making these days memorable in the history of our race.

Ibid.

In the past we have had a light which flickered, in the present we have a light which flames, and in the future there will be a light which shines over all the land and sea.

Speech on war with Japan, House of Commons [December 8, 1941]

Dr. George H. Gallup founded the British Institute of Public Opinion in 1936.

8 What kind of people do they [the Japanese] think we are?
Speech to the U.S. Congress [December 26, 1941]

9 We have not journeyed all this way across the centuries, across the oceans, across the mountains, across the prairies, because we are made of sugar candy.
Speech to the Canadian Senate and House of Commons, Ottawa [December 30, 1941]

10 When I warned [the French] that Britain would fight on alone whatever they did, their generals told their prime minister and his divided cabinet, “In three weeks England will have her neck wrung like a chicken.” Some chicken; some neck.
Ibid.

11 The late M. Venizelos1 observed that in all her wars England—he should have said Britain, of course—always wins one battle—the last.
Speech at the Lord Mayor’s Day Luncheon, London [November 10, 1942]

12 Now this is not the end. It is not even the beginning of the end.4 But it is, perhaps, the end of the beginning.
Ibid.

13 I have not become the King’s First Minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire.
Ibid.

14 The soft underbelly of the Axis.
Report on the war, House of Commons [November 11, 1942]

15 There was a man who sold a hyena skin while the beast still lived and who was killed in hunting it.
Speech on Allied war gains, House of Commons [August 2, 1944]

16 “Not in vain” may be the pride of those who have survived and the epitaph of those who fell.5
Speech in the House of Commons [September 28, 1944]

17 The United States is a land of free speech. Nowhere is speech freer—not even here where we sedulously cultivate it even in its most repulsive form.
Ibid.

18 He [President Franklin D. Roosevelt] died in harness, and we may well say in battle harness, like his soldiers, sailors, and airmen, who side by side with

1Eletherios Venizelos [1864–1936], Greek statesman.
2See Talleyrand, 3:5.
3The eight thousand paratroopers of the First British Airborne Division who landed in Arnhem, Holland, behind the German lines and held the area for nine days and nights, with a loss of six thousand [September 1944]. MAJOR GENERAL R. E. Urquhart, the division commander, radioed to Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery: All will be ordered to break out rather than surrender.
ours are carrying on their task to the end all over the world. What an enviable death was his.

Speech in the House of Commons [April 17, 1945]

1 I think "No comment" is a splendid expression. I am using it again and again. I got it from Sumner Welles.

To reporters at the Washington airport, after conferring with President Truman at the White House [February 12, 1945]

2 From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic an iron curtain1 has descended across the Continent.

Address at Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri [March 5, 1946]

3 This address to which I have given the title, "The Sinews of Peace."2

Ibid.


5 No one can guarantee success in war, but only deserve it.

Ibid. II, Their Finest Hour [1949]

6 When you have to kill a man it costs nothing to be polite.

Ibid. III, The Grand Alliance [1950]

7 Everyone has his day and some days last longer than others.

Speech in the House of Commons [January 1952]

8 To jaw-jaw is always better than to war-war.

At a White House luncheon [June 26, 1954]

9 A fanatic is one who can't change his mind and won't change the subject.

Saying

10 The inherent vice of capitalism is the unequal sharing of blessings; the inherent virtue of socialism is the equal sharing of miseries.

Ibid.

11 Short words are best and the old words when short are best of all.

Ibid.

12 It is hard, if not impossible, to snub a beautiful woman—they remain beautiful and the rebuke recoils.

Ibid.

13 This is the sort of English up with which I will not put.

Attributed

Clarence Day

1874-1935

14 What fairy story, what tale from the Arabian Nights of the jinns, is a hundredth part as wonderful as this true fairy story of simians? It is so much more heartening, too, than the tales we invent. A universe capable of giving birth to many such accidents is—blind or not—a good world to live in, a promising universe. . . . We once thought we lived on God's footstool; it may be a throne.3

This Simian World [1920]. XIX

15 Aside from a few odd words in Hebrew, I took it completely for granted that God had never spoken anything but the most dignified English.

Life with Father [1935]. Father Interferes with the Twenty-third Psalm

16 "If you don't go to other men's funerals," he told Father stiffly, "they won't go to yours."

Ibid. Father Plans to Get Out

Robert Frost

1874-1963

17 They would not find me changed from him they knew—

Only more sure of all I thought was true.

Into My Own [1913], st. 4

18 Ah, when to the heart of man

Was it ever less than a treason
To go with the drift of things,
To yield with a grace to reason,
And bow and accept the end
Of a love or a season?

Reluctance [1913], st. 4

19 I'm going out to clean the pasture spring;

I'll only stop to rake the leaves away
(And wait to watch the water clear, I may):
I shan't be gone long.—You come too.

The Pasture [1914], st. 1

20 Something there is that doesn't love a wall.

Mending Wall [1914]

21 My apple trees will never get across

And eat the cones under his pines, I tell him.

He only says, "Good fences make good neighbors."5

Ibid.

3See Matthew 5:34–35, 33:6; Pope, 301:9; and Wells, 601:15.

4See Pope, 303:11.

5See Herbert, 244:11.
I don’t want to witness the decomposing of the art of composition, or be present when we get in touch with our feelings and lose contact with our minds.

I’m a conservative in politics, which means I believe that we as a people have to lead our leaders, to show them how we want to be led.

Accordingly, I think we have to send a message to the podium from the audience: we’re ready for more than Q. and A. We’re ready for five or ten minutes of sustained explication. A “fireside chat” will not turn out our fires. On the contrary—if a speaker will take the time to prepare, we are prepared to pay in the coin of our attention.

That, of course, is contrary to the trend, against the grain. It can come only from people who care enough to compose, who get in the habit of reading rather than listening, of being in communication instead of only in contact.

When Great Britain was fighting World War II alone, an American president did something that would be considered cornball today: FDR sent Churchill a poem, along with a letter, that read:

*Sail on, O Ship of State!*
*Sail on, O Union, strong and great!*
*Humanity with all its fears,*
*With all the hopes of future years,*
*Is hanging breathless on thy fate!*

Churchill took the message—delivered to him by Wendell Willkie, who had just been defeated by FDR—and selected a poem in answer. At that moment, looking east, England faced invasion; looking to the west across the Atlantic, Churchill saw potential help. The poem he sent concluded with the words:

*And not by eastern windows only,*
*When daylight comes, comes in the light;*
*In front, the sun climbs slow, how slowly,*
*But westward, look, the land is bright.*

High-flown rhetoric? Perhaps. And perhaps poetry, which had an honorable place in a 1961 inauguration, is too rich for some tastes today.

And now I remember the fourth step. I like to think we can demand some sense of an occasion, some uplift, some inspiration from our leaders. Not empty words and phony promises—but words full of meaning, binding thoughts together with purpose, holding promise of understand-
TO THE U.S. CONGRESS
May 19, 1943
Washington, D.C.

On May 13 the fighting in Tunisia ended in a total Allied victory. On May 16 the R.A.F., in one of the most brilliant exploits of the war, destroyed the Mohne and Eder dams, creating widespread havoc in the Ruhr Valley.

Seventeen months have passed since I last had the honour to address the Congress of the United States. For more than 500 days, every day a day, we have toiled and suffered and dared shoulder to shoulder against the cruel and mighty enemy. We have acted in close combination or concert in many parts of the world, on land, on sea, and in the air. The fact that you have invited me to come to Congress again a second time, now that we have settled down to the job, and that you should welcome me in so generous a fashion, is certainly a high mark in my life, and it also shows that our partnership has not done so badly.

I am proud that you should have found us good allies, striving forward in comradeship to the accomplishment of our task without grudging or stinting either life or treasure, or, indeed, anything that we have to give. Last time I came at a moment when the United States was aflame with wrath at the treacherous attack upon Pearl Harbour by Japan, and at the subsequent declarations of war upon the United States made by Germany and Italy. For my part I say quite frankly that in those days, after our long—and for a whole year lonely—struggle, I could not repress in my heart a sense of relief and comfort that we were all bound together by common peril, by solemn faith and high purpose, to see this fearful quarrel through, at all costs, to the end.

That was the hour of passionate emotion, an hour most memorable in human records, an hour I believe, full of hope and glory for the future. The experiences of a long life and the promptings of my blood have wrought in me the conviction that there is nothing more important for the future of the world than the fraternal association of our two peoples in righteous work both in war and peace.

So in January, 1942, I had that feeling of comfort, and I therefore prepared myself in a confident and steadfast spirit to bear the terrible blows which were evidently about to fall on British interests in the Far East, which were bound to fall upon us, from the military strength of Japan during a period when the American and British fleets had lost, for the time being, the naval command of the Pacific and Indian Oceans.

One after another, in swift succession, very heavy misfortunes fell upon us, and upon our Allies, the Dutch, in the Pacific theatre. The Japanese have seized the lands and islands they so greedily coveted. The Philippines are enslaved, the lustrous, luxuriant regions of the Dutch East Indies have been overrun. In the Malay Peninsula and at Singapore we ourselves suffered the greatest military disaster, or at any rate the largest military disaster, in British history.
Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, all this has to be retrieved, and all this and much else has to be repaid. And here let me say this: let no one suggest that we British have not at least as great an interest as the United States in the unflinching and relentless waging of war against Japan. And I am here to tell you that we will wage that war, side by side with you, in accordance with the best strategic employment of our forces, while there is breath in our bodies and while blood flows in our veins.

A notable part in the war against Japan must, of course, be played by the large armies and by the air and naval forces now marshalled by Great Britain on the eastern frontiers of India. In this quarter there lies one of the means of bringing aid to hard-pressed and long-tormented China. I regard the bringing of effective and immediate aid to China as one of the most urgent of our common tasks.

It may not have escaped your attention that I have brought with me to this country and to this conference Field-Marshal Wavell and the other two Commanders-in-Chief from India. Now, they have not travelled all this way simply to concern themselves about improving the health and happiness of the Mikado of Japan. I thought it would be good that all concerned in this theatre should meet together and thrash out in friendly candour, heart to heart, all the points that arise; and there are many.

You may be sure that if all that was necessary was for an order to be given to the great armies standing ready in India to march towards the Rising Sun and open the Burma Road, that order would be given this afternoon. The matter is, however, more complicated, and all movement or infiltration of troops into the mountains and jungles to the North-East of India is very strictly governed by what your American military men call the science of logistics.

But, Mr. President, I repudiate, and I am sure with your sympathy, the slightest suggestion that we should hold anything back that could be usefully employed, or that I and the Government I represent are not as resolute to employ every man, gun and air-plate that can be used in this business, as we have proved ourselves ready to do in other theatres of the war.

In our conferences in January, 1942, between the President and myself, and between our high expert advisers, it was evident that, while the defeat of Japan would not mean the defeat of Germany, the defeat of Germany would infallibly mean the ruin of Japan. The realisation of this simple truth does not mean that both sides will not mean the defeat of Germany, the defeat of Germany would infallibly mean the ruin of Japan. The realisation of this simple truth does not mean that both sides.

In this war, in which both Germany and Japan fondly imagined that they would strike decisive and final blows, and terrify nations great and small into submission to their will—in this air war it is that these guilty nations have already begun to show their first real mortal weakness. The more continuous and severe the air fighting becomes, the better for us, because we can already replace casualties and machines far more rapidly than the enemy, and we can replace them on a scale which increases month by month. Progress in this sphere is swift and sure, but it must be remembered that the preparation and development of airfields, and the movement of the great masses of ground personnel on whom the efficiency of modern air squadrons depends, however earnestly pressed forward, are bound to take time.

Opinion, Mr. President, is divided as to whether the use of air power could by itself bring about a collapse in Germany or Italy. The experiment is well worth trying, so long as other measures are not excluded. Well, there is certainly no harm in finding out. But however that may be, we are all agreed that the damage done to the enemy’s war potential is enormous.

The condition to which the great centres of German war industry, and particularly the Ruhr, are being reduced, is one of unparalleled devastation. You have just read of the destruction of the great dams which feed the canals, and provide the power to the enemy’s munition works. That was a gallant operation, costing eight out of the
It is the settled policy of our two Staffs and war-making authorities to make it impossible for Germany to carry on any form of war industry on a large or concentrated scale, either in Germany, in Italy, or in the enemy-occupied countries. Wherever these centres exist or are developed, they will be destroyed, and the munitions populations will be dispersed. If they do not like what is coming to them, let them dispense beforehand on their own. This process will continue ceaselessly with ever-increasing weight and intensity until the German and Italian peoples abandon or destroy the monstrous tyrannies which they have incubated and reared in their midst.

Meanwhile, our air offensive is forcing Germany to withdraw an ever larger proportion of its war-making capacity from the fighting fronts in order to provide protection against air attack. Hundreds of fighter aircraft, thousands of anti-aircraft cannon, and many hundreds of thousands of men, together with a vast share of the output of the war factories, have already been assigned to this purely defensive function. All this is at the expense of the enemy’s power of new aggression, and of his power to resume the initiative.

Surveying the whole aspect of the air war, we cannot doubt that it is a major factor in the process of victory. That I think is established as a solid fact. It is agreed between us all that we should, at the earliest moment, similarly bring out joint air power to bear upon the military targets in the home lands of Japan. The cold-blooded execution of the United States airmen by the Japanese Government is a proof, not only of their barbarism, but of the dread with which they regard this possibility.

It is the duty of those who are charged with the direction of the war to overcome at the earliest moment the military, geographical, and political difficulties, and begin the process, so necessary and desirable, of laying the foundations of a victor. That is our problem. All our war plans must, therefore, be designed, if they are developed, to destroy the enemy under the most favourable conditions, or at any rate tolerable conditions—we cannot pick and choose too much—on the largest scale, at the earliest possible moment, and of engaging that enemy wherever it is profitable, and indeed I might say wherever it is possible, to do so. Thus, in this way, shall we make our enemies in Europe and in Asia burn and consume their strength on land, on sea, and in the air with the maximum rapidity.

Nor will you readily understand that the complex task of finding the maximum openings for the employment of our vast forces, the selection of the points at which to strike with the greatest advantage to those forces, and the emphasis and priority to be assigned to all the various enterprises which are desirable, is a task requiring constant supervision and adjustment by our combined Staffs and Heads of Governments.

This is a vast, complicated process, especially when two countries are directly in council together, and when the interests of so many other countries have to be considered, and the utmost good will and readiness to think for the common cause, the cause of all the United Nations, are required from everyone participating in our discussions. The intricate adjustments and arrangements can only be made by discussion between men who know all the facts, and who are and can alone be held accountable for success or failure. Lots of people can make good plans for winning the war if they have not got to carry them out. I dare say if I had not been in a responsible position I should have made a lot of excellent plans, and very likely should have brought them in one way or another to the notice of the executive authorities.

But it is not possible to have full and open argument about these matters. It is an additional hardship to those in charge that such questions cannot be argued out and debated in public, except with enormous reticence, and even then with very great danger that the watching and listening enemy may derive some profit from what he overhears. In these circumstances, in my opinion, the American and British Press and public have treated their executive authorities with a wise and indulgent consideration, and recent events have vindicated their self-restraint. Mr. President, it is thus that we are able to meet here to-day in all faithfulness, sincerity, and friendship.

Geography imposes insuperable obstacles to the continuous session of the combined Staff and Executive chiefs, but as the scene is constantly changing, and lately I think I may say constantly changing for the better, repeated conferences are indispensable if the sacrifices of the fighting troops are to be rendered fruitful, and if the course of war which lies so heavily upon almost the whole world is to be broken and swept away within the shortest possible time.

I therefore thought it my duty, with the full authority of His Majesty’s Government, to come here again with our highest officers in order that the combined Staffs may work in the closest contact with the chief executive power which the President derives from his office, and in respect of which I am the accredited representative of Cabinet and Parliament.

The wisdom of the founders of the American Constitution led them to associate the office of Commander-in-Chief with that of the Presidency of the United States. In this they were following the precedents which were successful in the days of George Washington. It is remarkable that after more than 150 years this combination of political and military authority has been found necessary, not only in the United States, but in the case of Marshal Stalin in Russia and of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in China. Even I, as Majority Leader in the House of Commons—one branch of the Legislature—have been drawn from time to time, not perhaps wholly against my will, into some participation in military affairs.
Modern war is total, and it is necessary for its conduct that the technical and professional authorities be sustained and if necessary directed by the Heads of Government, who have the knowledge which enables them to comprehend not only the military but the political and economic forces at work, and who have the power to focus them all upon the goal.

These are the reasons which compelled the President to make his long journey to Casablanca, and these are the reasons which bring me here. We both earnestly hope that at no distant date we may be able to achieve what we have so long sought—namely, a meeting with Marshal Stalin and if possible with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. But how and when and where this is to be accomplished is not a matter upon which I am able to shed any clear ray of light at the present time, and if I were I should certainly not shed it.

In the meanwhile we do our best to keep the closest association at every level between all the authorities of all the Allied countries engaged in the active direction of the war. It is my special duty to promote and preserve this intimacy and concert between all parts of the British Commonwealth and Empire, and especially with the great self-governing Dominions, like Canada, whose Prime Minister is with us at this moment, whose contribution is so massive and invaluable. There could be no better or more encouraging example of the fruits of our consultations than the campaign in North-West Africa, which has just ended so well.

One morning in June last, when I was here, the President handed me a slip of paper which bore the utterly unexpected news of the fall of Tobruk, and the surrender, in unexplained circumstances, of its garrison of 25,000 men. That indeed was a dark and bitter hour for me, and I shall never forget the kindness and the wealth of comradeship which our American friends showed me and those with me in such adversity. Their only thought was to find the means of helping to restore the situation, and never for a moment did they question the resolution or fighting quality of our masters. All the vast performances have cost these two wicked men and those who have been their tools or dupes. The Emperor of Abyssinia sits again upon the throne from which he was driven by Mussolini’s poison gas. All the vast territories from Madagascar to Morocco, from Cairo to Casablanca, from Aden to Dakar, are under British, American, or French control. One continent at least has been cleansed and purged for ever from Fascist or Nazi tyranny.

A Time of Triumph: 1943

We confronted the enemy with a situation in which he had either to lose invaluable strategical territories, or to fight under conditions most costly and wasteful to him. We recovered the initiative, which we still retain. We rallied to our side French forces which are already a brave and will presently become a powerful army under the gallant General Giraud. We secured bases from which violent attacks can and will be delivered by our Air power on the whole of Italy, with results no one can measure, but which must certainly be highly beneficial to our affairs.

We have made an economy in our strained and strained shipping position worth several hundreds of great ships, and one which will give us the advantage of far swifter passage through the Mediterranean to the East, to the Middle East, and to the Far East. We have struck the enemy a blow which is the equal of Stalingrad, and most stimulating to our heroic and heavily-engaged Russian allies. All this gives the lie to the Nazi and Fascist taunt that Parliamentary democracies are incapable of waging effective war. Presently we shall furnish them with further examples.

Still, I am free to admit that in North Africa we bullied better than we knew. The unexpected came to the aid of the design and multiplied the results. For this we have to thank the military intuition of Corporal Hitler. We may notice, as I predicted in the House of Commons three months ago, the touch of the masterhand. The same immense obstinacy which condemned Field-Marshal von Paulus and his army to destruction at Stalingrad has brought this new catastrophe upon our enemies in Tunisia.

We have destroyed or captured considerably more than a quarter of a million of the enemy’s best troops, together with vast masses of material, all of which had been ferried across Africa after paying a heavy toll to British submarines and British and United States aircraft. No one could count on such follies. They gave us, if I may use the language of finance, a handsome bonus after the full dividend had been earned and paid.

At the time when we planned this great joint African operation, we hoped to be masters of Tunisia even before the end of last year; but the injury we have now inflicted upon the enemy, physical and psychological, and the training our troops have obtained in the hard school of war, and the welding together of the Anglo-American Staff machine—these are advantages which far exceed anything which it was in our power across to Africa after paying a heavy toll to British submarines and British and United States aircraft. No one could count on such follies. They gave us, if I may use the language of finance, a handsome bonus after the full dividend had been earned and paid.

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Mr. President, the African war is over. Mussolini’s African Empire and Corporal Hitler’s strategy are alike exploded. It is interesting to compute what these performances have cost these two wicked men and those who have been their tools or their dupes. The Emperor of Abyssinia sits again upon the throne from which he was driven by Mussolini’s poison gas. All the vast territories from Madagascar to Morocco, from Cairo to Casablanca, from Aden to Dakar, are under British, American, or French control. One continent at least has been cleansed and purged for ever from Fascist or Nazi tyranny.
The African excursions of the two Dictators have cost their countries in killed and captured 950,000 soldiers. In addition nearly 2,400,000 gross tons of shipping have been sunk and nearly 8,000 aircraft destroyed, both of these figures being exclusive of large numbers of ships and aircraft damaged. There have also been lost to the enemy 6,300 guns, 2,550 tanks and 70,000 trucks, which is the American name for lorries, and which, I understand, has been adopted by the combined staffs in North-West Africa in exchange for the use of the word petrol in place of gasoline. These are the losses of the enemy in the three years of war, and at the end of it all what is it that they have to show? The proud German Army has by its sudden collapse, sudden crumbling and breaking up, unexpected to all of us, the proud German Army has once again proved the truth of the saying, "The Hun is always either at your throat or at your feet." and that is a point which may have its bearing upon the future. But for us, arrived at this milestone in the war: we can say "One Continent redeemed."

The North-West African campaign, and particularly its Tunisian climax, is the finest example of the co-operation of the troops of three different countries and of the combination under one supreme commander of the sea, land, and air forces which has yet been seen: in particular the British and American Staff work, as I have said, has matched the comrade ship of the soldiers of our two countries striding forward side by side under the fire of the enemy.

It was a marvel of efficient organisation which enabled the Second American Corps, or rather Army, for that was its size, to be moved 300 miles from the Southern sector, which had become obsolete through the retreat of the enemy, to the Northern coast, from which, beating down all opposition, they advanced and took the fortress and harbour of Bizerta. In order to accomplish this march of 300 miles, which was covered in twelve days, it was necessary for this very considerable Army, with its immense modern equipment, to traverse at right angles all the communications of the British First Army, which was already engaged or about to be engaged in heavy battle; and this was achieved without in any way disturbing the hour-to-hour supply upon which that Army depended. I am told that these British and American officers worked together without the slightest question of what country they belonged to, each doing his part in the military organisation which must henceforward be regarded as a most powerful and efficient instrument of war.

There is honour, Mr. President, for all, and I shall at the proper time and place pay my tribute to the British and American commanders by land and sea who conducted or who were engaged in the battle. This only will I say now: I do not think you could have chosen any man more capable than General Eisenhower of keeping his very large, heterogeneous force together, through bad times as well as good, and of creating the conditions of harmony and energy which were the indispensable elements of victory.

I have dwelt in some detail, but I trust not at undue length, upon these famous events; and I shall now return for a few minutes to the general war, in which they have their setting and proportion. It is a poor heart that never rejoices; but our thanksgiving, however fervent, must be brief. Heavier work lies ahead, not only in the European, but, as I have indicated, in the Pacific and Indian spheres; and the President and I, and the combined Staffs, are gathered here in order that this work may be, so far as lies within us, well conceived, and thrust forward without losing a day.

Not for one moment must we forget that the main burden of the war on land is still being borne by the Russian armies. They are holding at the present time no fewer than 190 German divisions and 28 satellite divisions on their front. It is always wise, while doing justice to one's own achievements, to preserve a proper sense of proportion; and I therefore mention that the figures of the German forces opposite Russia compare with the equivalent of about 15 divisions which we have destroyed in Tunisia, after a campaign which has cost us about 50,000 casualties. That gives some measure of the Russian effort, and of the debt which we owe to her.

It may well be that a further trial of strength between the German and Russian armies is impending. Russia has already inflicted injuries upon the German military organism which will, I believe, prove ultimately mortal; but there is little doubt that Hitler is reserving his supreme gambler's throw for a third attempt to break the heart and spirit and destroy the armed forces of the mighty nation which he has already twice assaulted in vain.

He will not succeed. But we must do everything in our power that is sensible and practicable to take more of the weight off Russia in 1943. I do not intend to be responsible for any suggestion that the war is won, or that it will soon be over. That it will be won by us I am sure. But how and when cannot be foreseen.

I went driving the other day not far from the field of Gettysburg, which, of course, was well, like most of your battlefields. It was the decisive battle of the American Civil War. No one after Gettysburg doubted which way the dread balance of war would incline, yet far more blood was shed after the Union victory at Gettysburg than in all the fighting which went before. It behoves us, therefore, to search our hearts and brace our sinews and take the most earnest counsel, one with another, in order that the favourable position which has already been reached both against Japan and against Hitler and Mussolini in Europe shall not be let slip.

If we wish to abridge the slaughter and ruin which this war is spreading to so many lands and to which we must ourselves contribute so grievous a measure of suffering and sacrifice, we cannot afford to relax a single fibre of our being or to tolerate the slightest abatement of our efforts. The enemy is still proud and powerful. He is hard to get at. He still possesses enormous armies, vast resources, and invariable strategic territories. War is full of mysteries and surprises. A false step, a wrong direction, an error in strategy, discord or latitudinal among the Allies, might soon give the common enemy power to confront us with new and hideous facts. We have surmounted many serious dangers, but there is one grave danger which will go along with us till the end; that danger is the undue prolongation of the war. No one can tell what new complications and perils might arise in four or five more years of war. And it is in the dragging-out of the war at enormous expense, until the democracies are tired or bored or split, that the main hopes of Germany and Japan must now reside. We must destroy this hope, as we have destroyed so many others, and for that purpose we must beware of every topic however attractive and every tendency however natural which turns our minds and energies from this supreme objective of the general victory.
by singleness of purpose, by steadfastness of conduct, by
tenacity and endurance such as we have so far displayed—by these, and only by these,
can we discharge our duty to the future of the world and to the destiny of man.

A TALK TO THE AMERICAN PRESS
May 25, 1943
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Churchill attended President Roosevelt’s press conference on May 25, 1943, and
answered questions from American newspaper representatives.

The Allies’ future plans are to wage this war to the unconditional surrender of all
who have molested us—that applies to Asia as well as to Europe.

The situation is very much more satisfactory than when I was last here. It was in
this house that I got the news of the fall of Tobruk. I don’t think any Englishman in
the United States has ever been so unhappy as I was that day; certainly no Englishman
since General Burgoyne surrendered at Saratoga.

Since the attack on Alamein and the descent on North Africa we have had a
great measure of success and a decisive victory.

A year ago Russia was subjected to such a heavy attack that it seemed she might
lose the Caucasus; but she, too, recovered and gained another series of successes.

Hitler has been struck two tremendous, shattering blows—Stalingrad and Tunisia.
In eleven months the Allies have given some examples of highly successful war-making,
and have indisputably turned the balance.

I quote the words of your great general, Nathan Bedford Forrest, the eminently
successful Confederate leader. Asked the secret of his victories, Forrest said, “I git thar
fustest with the mostest men.” The Allies can see a changed situation. Instead of, as
hitherto, getting somewhere very late with very little, we are arriving first with most.

There is danger in wishful thinking that victory will come by internal collapse of
the Axis. Victory depends on force of arms. I stand pat on a knock-out, but any
windfalls in the way of internal collapses will be gratefully accepted . . .

Italy is a softer proposition than Germany, and the Allies might be aided by a
change of heart or a weakening of morale.

No one wishes to take the native soil of Italy from the Italians, who will have
their place in Europe after the war. The trouble is that they allow themselves to be
held in bondage by intriguers, with the result that they are now in a terrible plight. I
think they would be well advised to throw themselves upon the justice of those whom
they have so grossly attacked. We shall not stain our name for posterity by any cruel,
inehuman acts. It is a matter for the Italians to settle among themselves. All we can do
is to apply the physical stimuli which we have at our disposal to bring about a change
of mind in these recalcitrant persons. Of this you may be sure: we shall continue to
operate on the Italian donkey at both ends, with a carrot and with a stick . . .
Fighter Command in Hargeisa has been driven back by greatly superior Italian forces, amounting to about two divisions, including armoured vehicles and considerable artillery. As operations are in progress, I cannot say any more, but I will withdraw my remark.

SOMALILAND OPERATIONS
August 15, 1940
House of Commons

I have some unsatisfactory news for the House about Somaliland. The small British holding force which was occupying the Tug Argan position to the North-East of Hargeisa has been driven back by greatly superior Italian forces, amounting to about two divisions, including armoured vehicles and considerable artillery. As operations are still in progress, I cannot say any more, but I shall be dealing generally with the Eastern situation next week.

"THE FEW"
August 20, 1940
House of Commons

On August 15, the crisis of the Battle of Britain was reached. All the resources of Fighter Command in the South were used. The most difficult and dangerous period of the Battle of Britain was between August 24 and September 6, when the German attack was directed against the R.A.F. airfields in the South of England with considerable success. In this speech Churchill coined the phrase "The Few" to describe the R.A.F. fighter-pilots. The phrase stuck. The final sentence of this speech, including the use of the word "benign," is a good example of Churchill's choice of unexpected and assertive adjectives to make a phrase memorable.

Almost a year has passed since the war began, and it is natural for us, I think, to pause on our journey at this milestone and survey the dark, wide field. It is also useful to compare the first year of this second war against German aggression with its forerunner a quarter of a century ago. Although this war is in fact only a continuation of the last, very great differences in its character are apparent. In the last war millions of men fought by hurling enormous masses of steel at one another. "Men and shells" was the cry, and prodigious slaughter was the consequence. In this war nothing of this kind has yet appeared. It is a conflict of strategy, of organization, of technical apparatus, of science, mechanics and morale. The British casualties in the first 12 months of the Great War amounted to 365,000. In this war, I am thankful to say, British killed, wounded, prisoners and missing, including civilians, do not exceed 92,000, and of these a large proportion are alive as prisoners of war. Looking more widely around, one may say that throughout all Europe, for one man killed or wounded in the first year perhaps five were killed or wounded in 1914-15.

The slaughter is only a small fraction, but the consequences to the belligerents have been even more deadly. We have seen great countries with powerful armies dashed out of coherent existence in a few weeks. We have seen the French Republic and the renowned French Army beaten into complete and total submission with less than the casualties which they suffered in any one of half a dozen of the battles of 1914-18. The entire body—it might almost seem at times the soul—of France has succumbed to physical effects incomparably less terrible than those which were sustained with fortitude and undaunted power 25 years ago. Although up to the present the loss of life has been mercifully diminished, the decisions reached in the course of the struggle are even more profound upon the fate of nations than anything that has ever happened since barbaric times. Moves are made upon the scientific and strategic boards, advantages are gained by mechanical means, as a result of which scores of millions of men become incapable of further resistance, or judge themselves incapable of further resistance, and a fearful game of chess proceeds from check to mate by which the unhappy players seem to be inexorably bound.

There is another more obvious difference from 1914. The whole of the warring nations are engaged, not only soldiers, but the entire population, men, women and children. The fronts are everywhere. The trenches are dug in the towns and streets. Every village is fortified. Every road is barred. The front line runs through the factories. The workmen are soldiers with different weapons but the same courage. These are great and distinctive changes from what many of us saw in the struggle of a quarter of a century ago. There seems to be every reason to believe that this new kind of war is well suited to the genius and the resources of the British nation and the British Empire; and that, once we get properly equipped and properly started, a war of this kind will be more favorable to us than the somber mass slaughters of the Somme.
and Passchendaele. If it is a case of the whole nation fighting and suffering together, that ought to suit us, because we are the most united of all the nations, because we entered the war upon the national will and with our eyes open, and because we have been nurtured in freedom and individual responsibility and are the products, not of totalitarian uniformity, but of tolerance and variety. If all these qualities are turned, as they are being turned, to the arts of war, we may be able to show the enemy quite a lot of things that they have not thought of yet. Since the Germans drove the Jews out and lowered their technical standards, our science is definitely ahead of theirs. Our geographical, the command of the sea, and the friendship of the United States enable us to draw resources from the whole world and to manufacture weapons of war of every kind, but especially of the superfine kinds, on a scale hitherto practiced only by Nazi Germany.

Hitler is now sprawled over Europe. Our offensive springs are being slowly compressed, and we must resolutely and methodically prepare ourselves for the campaigns of 1941 and 1942. Two or three years are not a long time, even in our short, precarious lives. They are nothing in the history of the nation, and when we are doing the finest thing in the world, and have the honor to be the sole champion of the liberties of all Europe, we must not gnash these years or worry as we toil and struggle through them. It does not follow that our energies in future years will be exclusively confined to defending ourselves and our possessions. Many opportunities may lie open to us, and we must be ready to take advantage of them. One of the ways to bring this war to a speedy end is to convince the enemy, not by words, but by deeds, that we have both the will and the means, not only to go on indefinitely, but to strike heavy and unexpected blows. The road to victory may not be so long as we expect. But we have no right to count upon this. Be it long or short, rough or smooth, we mean to reach our journey's end.

It is our intention to maintain and enforce a strict blockade, not only of Germany, but of Italy, France, and all the other countries that have fallen into the German power. I read in the papers that Herr Hitler has also proclaimed a strict blockade of the British Islands. No one can complain of that. I remember the Kaiser doing it in the last war. What indeed would be a matter of general complaint would be if we were to prolong the agony of all Europe by allowing food to go in to the subjugated peoples. or to allow food to go in to the subjugated peoples. Rather more than a quarter of a year has passed since the new Government came into power in this country. What a cataclysm of disaster has poured out upon us since then! The trustful Dutch overwhelmed; their beloved and respected Sovereign driven to exile; the peaceful city of Rotterdam the scene of a massacre as hideous and brutal as anything in the Thirty Years' War; Belgium invaded and beaten down; our own fine Expeditionary Force, which King Leopold called to his rescue, cut off and almost captured, escaping as it seemed only by a miracle and with the loss of all its equipment, our Allies, France, our Italy in against us; all France in the power of the enemy, all its arsenals and vast masses of military material converted or convertible to the enemy's use; a puppet Government set up at Vichy which may at any moment be forced to become our foe; the whole western seaboard of Europe from the North Cape to the Spanish frontier in German hands; all the ports, all the airfields on this immense front closed. There has been many proposals, founded on the highest motives, that food should be allowed to pass the blockade for the relief of these populations. I regret that we must refuse these requests. The Nazis declare that they have created a new unified economy in Europe. They have repeatedly stated that they possess ample reserves of food and that they can feed their captive peoples. In a German broadcast of 27th June it was said that while Mr. Hoover's plan for relieving France, Belgium and Holland deserved commendation, the German forces had already taken the necessary steps. We know that in Norway when the German troops went in, there were food supplies to last for a year. We know that Poland, though not a rich country, usually produces sufficient food for her people. Moreover, the other countries which Herr Hitler has invaded all held considerable stocks when the Germans entered and are themselves, in many cases, very substantial food producers. If all this food is not available now, it can
and the British Empire, finding themselves alone, stood undismayed against disaster. No one flinched or wavered; not, who some formerly thought of peace, now think only of war. Our people are united and resolved, as they have never been before. Death and ruin have become small things compared with the shame of defeat or failure in duty. We cannot tell what lies ahead, It may be that even greater ordeals lie before us. We shall face whatever is coming to us. We are sure of ourselves and of our cause, and that is the supreme fact which has emerged in these months of trial.

Meanwhile, we have not only fortified our hearts but our Island. We have rearmed and rebuilt our armies in a degree which would have been deemed impossible a few months ago. We have ferried across the Atlantic, in the month of July, thanks to our friends over there, an immense mass of munitions of all kinds: cannon, rifles, machine guns, cartridges, and shell, all safely landed without the loss of a gun or a round. The output of our own factories, working as they have never worked before, has poured forth to the troops. The whole British Army is at home. More than 2,000,000 determined men have rifles and bayonets in their hands tonight, and three-quarters of them are in regular military formations. We have never had armies like this in our Island in time of war. The whole Island bristles against invaders, from the sea or from the air. As I explained to the House in the middle of June, the stronger our Army at home, the larger the invading expedition be, and the larger the invading expedition, the less difficult will be the task of the Navy in detecting its assembly and in intercepting and destroying it in passage; and the greater also would be the difficulty of feeding and supplying the invaders if ever they landed, in the teeth of continuous naval and air attack on their communications. All this is classical and venerable doctrine. As in Nelson’s day, the maxim holds, “Our first line of defense is the enemy’s ports.” Now air reconnaissance and photography have brought to an old principle a new and potent aid.

Our Navy is far stronger than it was at the beginning of the war. The great flow of new construction set on foot at the outbreak is now beginning to come in. We hope our friends across the ocean will send us a timely reinforcement to bridge the gap between the peace flotillas of 1939 and the war flotillas of 1941. There is no difficulty in sending such aid. The seas and oceans are open. The U-boats are contained. The magnetic mine is, up to the present time, effectively mastered. The merchant tonnage under the British flag, after a year of unlimited U-boat war, after eight months of intensive mining attack, is larger than when we began. We have, in addition, under our control at least 4,000,000 tons of shipping from the captive countries which has taken refuge here or in the harbors of the Empire. Our stocks of food of all kinds are far more abundant than in the days of peace, and a large and growing program of food production is on foot.

Why do I say all this? Not, assuredly, to boast; not, assuredly, to give the slightest countenance to complacency. The dangers we face are still enormous, but so are our advantages and resources. I recount them because the people have a right to know that there are solid grounds for the confidence which we feel, and that we have good reason to believe ourselves capable, as I said in a very dark hour two months ago, of continuing the war “if necessary alone, if necessary for years.” I say it also because the fact that the British Empire stands invincible, and that Nazidom is still being resistant, will kindle again the spark of hope in the breasts of hundreds of millions of down-trodden or despairing men and women throughout Europe, and far beyond its bounds, and that from these sparks there will presently come cleansing and devouring flame.

The great air battle which has been in progress over this Island for the last few weeks has recently attained a high intensity. It is too soon to attempt to assign limits either to its scale or to its duration. We must certainly expect that greater efforts will be made by the enemy than any he has so far put forth. Hostile air fields are still being developed in France and the Low Countries, and the movement of squadrons and material for attacking us is still proceeding. It is quite plain that Herr Hitler could not admit defeat in his air attack on Great Britain without sustaining most serious injury. If after all his boastings and blood-curdling threats and lurid accounts trumpeted round the world of the damage he has inflicted, of the vast numbers of our Air Force he has shot down, so he says, with so little loss to himself; if after tales of the panic-stricken British crushed in their holes cursing the plutocratic Parliament which has led them to such a plight—if after all this his whole air onslaught were forced after a while tamely to peter out, the Führer’s reputation for veracity of statement might be seriously impugned. We may be sure, therefore, that he will continue as long as he has the strength to do so, and as long as any preoccupations he may have in respect of the Russian Air Force allow him to do so.

On the other hand, the conditions and course of the fighting have so far been favorable to us. I told the House two months ago that, whereas in France our fighter aircraft were wont to inflict a loss of two or three to one upon the Germans, and in the fighting at Dunkirk, which was a kind of no-man’s-land, a loss of about three or four to one, we expected that in an attack on this Island we should achieve a larger ratio. This has certainly come true. It must also be remembered that all the enemy machines and pilots which are shot down over our Island, or over the seas which surround it, are either destroyed or captured; whereas a considerable proportion of our machines, and also of our pilots, are saved, and soon again in many cases come into action.

A vast and admirable system of salvage, directed by the Ministry of Aircraft Production, ensures the speediest return to the fighting line of damaged machines, and the most provident and speedy use of all the spare parts and material. At the same time the splendid—nay, astounding—increase in the output and repair of British aircraft and engines which Lord Beaverbrook has achieved by a genius of organization and drive, which looks like magic, has given us overflowing reserves of every type of aircraft, and an ever-mounting stream of production both in quantity and quality. The enemy is, of course, far more numerous than we are. But our new production already, as I am advised, largely exceeds his, and the American production is only just beginning to flow in. It is a fact, as I see from my daily returns, that our bomber and fighter strength now, after all this fighting, are larger than they have ever been. We believe that we shall be able to continue the air struggle indefinitely and as long as the enemy pleases, and the longer it continues the more rapid will be our approach, first towards that parity, and then into that superiority, in the air upon which in a large measure the decision of the war depends.
The fact that the invasion of this Island upon a large scale has become a far more difficult operation with every week that has passed since we saved our Army at Dunkirk, and our very great preponderance of sea power enable us to turn our eyes and to turn our strength increasingly towards the Mediterranean and against that other enemy who, without the slightest provocation, coldly and deliberately, for greed and gain, stabbed France in the back in the moment of her agony, and is now marching against us in Africa. The deflection of France has, of course, been deeply damaging to our position in what is called, somewhat oddly, the Middle East. In the defense of Somaliland, for instance, we had counted upon strong French forces attacking the Italians from Jibuti. We had counted also upon the use of the French naval and air bases in the Mediterranean, and particularly upon the North African shore. We had counted upon the French Fleet. Even though metropolitan France was temporarily overrun, there was no reason why the French Navy, substantial parts of the French Army, the French Air Force and the French Empire overseas should not have continued the struggle at our side.

Shuffled by overwhelming sea power, possessed of invaluable strategic bases and of ample funds, France might have remained one of the great combatants in the struggle. By so doing, France would have preserved the continuity of her life, and the French Empire might have advanced with the British Empire to the rescue of the independence and integrity of the French Motherland. In our own case, if we had been put in the terrible position of France, a contingency now happily impossible, although of course, it would have been the duty of all war leaders to fight on here to the end, it would also have been their duty, as I indicated in my speech of 4th June, to provide as far as possible for the naval security of Canada and our Dominions and to make sure they had the means to carry on the struggle from beyond the oceans. Most of the other countries that have been overrun by Germany for the time being have persevered valiantly and faithfully. The Czechs, the Poles, the Norwegians, the Dutch, the Belgians are still in the field, sword in hand, recognized by Great Britain and the United States as the sole representative authorities and lawful Governments of their respective States.

That France alone should lie prostrate at this moment is the crime, not of a great and noble nation, but of what are called "the men of Vichy." We have profound sympathy with the French people. Our old comradeship with France is not dead. In General de Gaulle and his gallant band, that comradeship takes an effective form. These free Frenchmen have been condemned to death by Vichy, but the day will come, as surely as the sun will rise tomorrow, when their names will be held in honor, and their names will be graven in stone in the streets and villages of France restored in a liberated Europe to its full freedom and its ancient fame. But this conviction which I feel of the future cannot affect the immediate problems which confront us in the Mediterranean and in Africa. It had been decided some time before the beginning of the war not to defend the Protectorate of Somaliland. That policy was changed in the early months of the war. When the French gave in, and when our small forces there, a few battalions, a few guns, were attacked by all the Italian troops, nearly two divisions, which had formerly faced the French at Jibuti, it was right to withdraw our detachments, virtually intact, for action elsewhere. Far larger operations no doubt impend in the Middle East theater, and I shall certainly not attempt to discuss or prophesy about their probable course. We have large armies and many means of reinforcing them. We have the complete sea command of the eastern Mediterranean. We intend to do our best to give a good account of ourselves, and to discharge faithfully and resolutely all our obligations and duties in that quarter of the world. More than that I do not think the House would wish me to say at the present time.

A good many people have written to me to ask me to make on this occasion a fuller statement of our war aims, and of the kind of peace we wish to make after the war, than is contained in the very considerable declaration which was made early in the autumn. Since then we have made common cause with Norway, Holland and Belgium. We have recognized the Czech Government of Dr. Benes, and we have told General de Gaulle that our success will carry with it the restoration of France. I do not think it would be wise at this moment, while the battle rages and the war is still perhaps only in its earlier stage, to embark upon elaborate speculations about the future shape which should be given to Europe or the new securities which must be arranged to spare mankind the miseries of a third World War. The ground is not new, it has been frequently traversed and explored, and many ideas are held about it in common by all good men, and all free men. But before we can undertake the task of rebuilding we have not only to be convinced ourselves, but we have to convince all other countries that the Nazi tyranny is going to be finally broken. The right to guide
the course of world history is the noblest prize of victory. We are still toiling up the hill; we have not yet reached the crest-line of it; we cannot survey the landscape or even imagine what its condition will be when that longed-for morning comes. The task which lies before us immediately is at once more practical, more simple and more stern. I hope—indeed, I pray—that we shall not be found unworthy of our victory if after toil and tribulation it is granted to us. For the rest, we have to gain the victory. That is our task.

There is, however, one direction in which we can see a little more clearly ahead. We have to think not only for ourselves but for the lasting security of the cause and principles for which we are fighting and of the long future of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Some months ago we came to the conclusion that the interests of the United States and of the British Empire both required that the United States should have facilities for the naval and air defense of the Western Hemisphere against the attack of a Nazi power which might have acquired temporary but lengthy control of a large part of Western Europe and its formidable resources. We had therefore decided spontaneously, and without being asked or offered any inducement, to inform the Government of the United States that we would be glad to place such defense facilities at their disposal by leasing suitable sites in our Transatlantic possessions for their greater security against the unmeasured dangers of the future. The principle of association of interests for common purposes between Great Britain and the United States had developed even before the war. Various agreements had been reached about certain small islands in the Pacific Ocean which had become important as air fueling points. In all this line of thought we found ourselves in very close harmony with the Government of Canada.

Presently we learned that anxiety was also felt in the United States about the air and naval defense of their Atlantic seaboard, and President Roosevelt has recently made it clear that he would like to discuss with us, and with the Dominion of Canada and with Newfoundland, the development of American naval and air facilities in Newfoundland and in the West Indies. There is, of course, no question of any transference of sovereignty—that has never been suggested—or of any action being taken without the consent or against the wishes of the various Colonies concerned; but for our part, His Majesty's Government are entirely willing to accord defense facilities to the United States on a 99 years' leasehold basis, and we feel sure that our interests no less than theirs, and the interests of the Colonies themselves and of Canada and Newfoundland, will be served thereby. These are important steps. Undoubtedly this process means that these two great organizations of the English-speaking democracies, the British Empire and the United States, will have to be somewhat mixed up together in some of their affairs for mutual and general one can stop it. Like the Mississippi, it just keeps rolling alone. Let it roll. Let it roll on full flood, view the process with any misgivings. I could not stop it if I wished; no one can stop it. Like the Mississippi, it just keeps rolling alone. Let it roll. Let it roll on full flood, inexorable, irresistible, benignant, to broader lands and better days.
education invaluable to the formation of character and to the development of those qualities by which freedom and justice are preserved in strong nations and by the strong for weak nations. They must also be given the wider view, in outline at any rate, of the treasures which mankind has gathered in its long, chequered pilgrimage across the centuries. You do well to provide, as you are doing, on this prodigious scale for the baptism of such as are of riper years.

This is an age of machinery and specialisation but I hope, none the less—indeed all the more—that the purely vocational aspect of university study will not be allowed to dominate or monopolise all the attention of the returned Service men. Engines were made for men, not men for engines. Mr. Gladstone said many years ago that it ought to be part of a man’s religion to see that his country is well governed. Knowledge of the past is the only foundation we have from which to peer into and try to measure the future. Expert knowledge, however indispensable, is no substitute for a generous and comprehending outlook upon the human story with all its sadness and with all its unquenchable hope.

May I not also advance the claims of literature and language. The great Bismarck—there were great Germans in those days—said at the close of his life, that the most important fact in the world was that the British and American peoples spoke the same language. Certainly we have a noble inheritance in literature. It would be an enormous waste and loss to us all if we did not respect, cherish, enjoy and develop this magnificent estate, which has come down to us from the past and which not only unites us as no such great communities have ever been united before, but is also a powerful instrument whereby our conception of justice, of freedom, and of fair play and good humour may make their invaluable contribution to the future progress of mankind.

THE SINEWS OF PEACE

March 5, 1946

Westminster College,
Fulton, Missouri

This speech may be regarded as the most important Churchill delivered as Leader of the Opposition (1945-1951). It contains certain phrases—"the special relationship," "the sinews of peace"—which at once entered into general use, and which have survived. But it is the passage on "the iron curtain" which attracted immediate international attention, and had incalculable impact upon public opinion in the United States and in Western Europe. Russian historians date the beginning of the Cold War from this speech. In its phraseology, in its intricate drawing together of several themes to an electrifying climax—this speech may be regarded as a technical classic.

I am glad to come to Westminster College this afternoon, and am complimented that you should give me a degree. The name "Westminster" is somehow familiar to me.
I seem to have heard of it before. Indeed, it was at Westminster that I received a very large part of my education in politics, dialectic, rhetoric, and one or two other things. In fact we have both been educated at the same, or similar, or, at any rate, kindred establishments.

It is also an honour, perhaps almost unique, for a private visitor to be introduced to an academic audience by the President of the United States. Amid his heavy burdens, duties, and responsibilities—unsought but not recollected from—the President has travelled a thousand miles to dignify and magnify our meeting here to-day and to give me an opportunity of addressing this kindred nation, as well as my own countrymen across the ocean, and perhaps some other countries too. The President has told you that it is his wish, as I am sure it is yours, that I should have full liberty to give my true and faithful counsel in these anxious and baffling times. I shall certainly avail myself of this freedom, and feel the more right to do so because any private ambitions I may have cherished in my younger days have been satisfied beyond my wildest dreams. Let me, however, make it clear that I have no official mission or status, and that I speak only for myself. There is nothing here but what you see.

I can therefore allow my mind, with the experience of a lifetime, to play over the problems which beset us on the morrow of our absolute victory in arms, and to try to make sure with what strength I have that what has been gained with so much sacrifice and suffering shall be preserved for the future glory and safety of mankind.

The United States stands at this time at the pinnacle of world power. It is a solemn moment for the American Democracy. For with primacy in power is also joined an awe-inspiring accountability to the future. If you look around you, you must feel not only the sense of duty done but also you must feel anxiety lest you fall below the level of achievement. Opportunity is here now, clear and shining for both our countries. To reject it or ignore it or fretter it away will bring upon us all the long reproaches of the after-time. It is necessary that constancy of mind, persistency of purpose, and the grand simplicity of decision shall guide and rule the conduct of the nations. To reject it or ignore it or fritter it away will bring upon us all the long reproaches of the after-time. It is necessary that constancy of mind, persistency of purpose, and the grand simplicity of decision shall guide and rule the conduct of the English-speaking peoples in peace as they did in war.

When American military men approach some serious situation they are wont to write at the head of their directive the words "over-all strategic concept." There is wisdom in this, as it leads to clarity of thought. What then is the over-all strategic concept which we should inscribe today? It is nothing less than the safety and welfare, the freedom and progress, of all the homes and families of all the men and women in all the lands. And here I speak particularly of the myriad cottage or apartment homes where the wage-earner strives amid the accidents and difficulties of life to guard his wife and children from privation and bring the family up in the fear of the Lord, or upon ethical conceptions which often play their potent part.

To give security to these countless homes, they must be shielded from the two giant marauders, war and tyranny. We all know the frightful disturbances in which the ordinary family is plunged when the curse of war swoops down upon the bread-winner and those for whom he works and contrives. The awful ruin of Europe, with all its vanished glories, and of large parts of Asia glares us in the eyes. When the designs of wicked men or the aggressive urge of mighty States dissolve over large areas the frame of civilised society, humble folk are confronted with difficulties with which they cannot cope. For them all is distorted, all is broken, even ground to pulp.

When I stand here this quiet afternoon I shudder to visualise what is actually happening to millions now and what is going to happen in this period when famine stalks the earth. None can compute what has been called "the unestimated sum of human pain." Our supreme task and duty is to guard the homes of the common people from the horrors and miseries of another war. We are all agreed on that.

Our American military colleagues, after having proclaimed their "over-all strategic concept" and computed available resources, always proceed to the next step—namely, the method. Here again there is widespread agreement. A world organisation has already been erected for the prime purpose of preventing war, UNO, the successor of the League of Nations, with the decisive addition of the United States and all that that means, is already at work. We must make sure that its work is fruitful, that it is a reality and not a sham, that it is a force for action, and not merely a frothing of words, that it is a true temple of peace in which the shields of many nations can some day be hung up, and not merely a cockpit in a Tower of Babel.

Before we cast away the solid assurances of national armaments for self-preservation we must be certain that our temple is built, not upon shifting sands or quagmires, but upon the rock. Anyone can see with his eyes open that our path will be difficult and also long, but if we persevere together as we did in the two world wars—though not, alas, in the interval between them—I cannot doubt that we shall achieve our common purpose in the end.

I have, however, a definite and practical proposal to make for action. Courts and magistrates may be set up but they cannot function without sheriffs and constables. The United Nations Organisation must immediately begin to be equipped with an international armed force. In such a matter we can only go step by step, but we must begin now. I propose that each of the Powers and States should be invited to delegate a certain number of air squadrons to the service of the world organisation. These squadrons would be trained and prepared in their own countries, but would move around in rotation from one country to another. They would wear the uniform of their own countries but with different badges. They would not be required to act against their own nation, but in other respects they would be directed by the world organisation. This might be started on a modest scale and would grow as confidence grew. I wished to see this done after the first world war, and I devoutly trust it may be done forthwith.

It would nevertheless be wrong and imprudent to entrust the secret knowledge or experience of the atomic bomb, which the United States, Great Britain, and Canada now share, to the world organisation, while it is still in its infancy. It would be criminal madness to cast it adrift in this still agitated and un-united world. No one in any country has slept less well in their beds because this knowledge and the means and the raw materials to apply it, are at present largely retained in American hands. I do not believe we should all have slept so soundly had the positions been reversed and if some Communist or neo-Fascist State monopolised for the time being these dread agencies. The fear of them alone might easily have been used to enforce totalitarian systems upon the free democratic world, with consequences appalling to human
imagination. God has willed that this shall not be and we have at least a breathing space to set our house in order before this peril has to be encountered: and even then, if no effort is spared, we should still possess so formidable a superiority as to impose effective deterrents upon its employment, or threat of employment, by others. Ultimately, when the essential brotherhood of man is truly embodied and expressed in a world organisation with all the necessary practical safeguards to make it effective, these powers would naturally be confined to that world organisation.

Now I come to the second danger of these two marauders which threatens the cottage, the home, and the ordinary people—namely, tyranny. We cannot be blind to the fact that the liberties enjoyed by individual citizens throughout the British Empire are not valid in a considerable number of countries, some of which are very powerful. In these States control is enforced upon the common people by various kinds of all-embracing police governments. The power of the State is exercised without restraint, either by dictators or by compact oligarchies operating through a privileged party and a political police. It is not our duty at this time when difficulties are so numerous to interfere forcibly in the internal affairs of countries which we have not conquered in war. But we must never cease to proclaim in fearless tones the great principles of freedom and the rights of man which are the joint inheritance of the English-speaking world and which through Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, the Habeas Corpus, trial by jury, and the English common law find their most famous expression in the American Declaration of Independence.

All this means that the people of any country have the right, and should have the power by constitutional action, by free unfettered elections, with secret ballot, to choose or change the character or form of government under which they dwell; that freedom of speech and thought should reign; that courts of justice, independent of the executive, unbiased by any party, should administer laws which have received the broad assent of large majorities or are consecrated by time and custom. Here are the title deeds of freedom which should lie in every cottage home. Here is the message of the British and American peoples to mankind. Let us preach what we practise—let us practise what we preach.

I have now stated the two great dangers which menace the homes of the people: War and Tyranny. I have not yet spoken of poverty and privation which are in many cases the prevailing anxiety. But if the dangers of war and tyranny are removed, there is no doubt that science and co-operation can bring in the next few years to the world, certainly in the next few decades newly taught in the sharpening school of war, an expansion of material well-being beyond anything that has yet occurred in human experience. Now, at this sad and breathless moment, we are plunged in the hunger and distress which are the aftermath of our stupendous struggle; but this will pass and may pass quickly, and there is no reason except human folly or sub-human crime which should deny to all the nations the inauguration and enjoyment of an age of plenty. I have often used words which I learned fifty years ago from a great Irish-American orator, a friend of mine, Mr. Bourke Cockran. "There is enough for all. The earth is a generous mother; she will provide in plentiful abundance food for all her children if they will but cultivate her soil in justice and in peace." So far I feel that we are in full agreement.

Now, while still pursuing the method of realising our overall strategic concept, I come to the crux of what I have travelled here to say. Neither the sure prevention of war, nor the continuous rise of world organisation will be gained without what I have called the fraternal association of the English-speaking peoples. This means a special relationship between the British Commonwealth and Empire and the United States. This is no time for generalities, and I will venture to be precise. Fraternal association requires not only the growing friendship and mutual understanding between our two vast but kindred systems of society, but the continuance of the intimate relationship between our military advisers, leading to common study of potential dangers, the similarity of weapons and manuals of instructions, and to the interchange of officers and cadets at technical colleges. It should carry with it the continuance of the present facilities for mutual security by the joint use of all Naval and Air Force bases in the possession of either country all over the world. This would perhaps double the mobility of the American Navy and Air Force. It would greatly expand that of the British Empire Forces and it might well lead, if and as the world calms down, to important financial savings. Already we use together a large number of islands; more may well be entrusted to our joint care in the near future.

The United States has already a Permanent Defence Agreement with the Dominion of Canada, which is so devotedly attached to the British Commonwealth and Empire. This Agreement is more effective than many of those which have often been made under formal alliances. This principle should be extended to all British Commonwealths with full reciprocity. Thus, whatever happens, and thus only, shall we be secure ourselves and able to work together for the high and simple causes that are dear to us and bode no ill to any. Eventually there may come—I feel eventually there will come—the principle of common citizenship, but that we may be content to leave to destiny, whose outstretched arm many of us can already clearly see.

There is however an important question we must ask ourselves. Would a special relationship between the United States and the British Commonwealth be inconsistent with our over-riding loyalties to the World Organisation? I reply that, on the contrary, it is probably the only means by which that organisation will achieve its full stature and strength. There are already the special United States relations with Canada which I have just mentioned, and there are the special relations between the United States and the South American Republics. We British have our twenty years Treaty of Collaboration and Mutual Assistance with Soviet Russia. I agree with Mr. Bevin, the Foreign Secretary of Great Britain, that it might well be a fifty years Treaty so far as we are concerned. We aim at nothing but mutual assistance and collaboration. The British have an alliance with Portugal unbroken since 1384, and which produced fruitful results at critical moments in the late war. None of these clash with the general interest of a world agreement, or a world organisation; on the contrary they help it. "In my father's house are many mansions." Special associations between members of the United Nations which have no aggressive point against any other country, which harbour no design incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations, far from being harmful, are beneficial and, as I believe, indispensable.

I spoke earlier of the Temple of Peace. Workmen from all countries must build that temple. If two of the workmen know each other particularly well and are old
friends, if their families are inter-mingled, and if they have "faith in each other's purpose, hope in each other's future and charity towards each other's shortcomings"—to quote some good words I read here the other day—why cannot they work together at the common task as friends and partners? Why cannot they share their tools and thus increase each other's working powers? Indeed they must do or else the temple may not be built, or, being built, it may collapse, and we shall all be proved again unteachable and have to go and try to learn again for a third time in a school of war, incomparably more rigorous than that from which we have just been released. The dark ages may return, the Stone Age may return on the gleaming wings of science, and what might now shower immeasurable material blessings upon mankind, may even bring about its total destruction. Beware, I say; time may be short. Do not let us take the course of allowing events to drift along until it is too late. If there is to be a fraternal association of the kind I have described, with all the extra strength and security which both our countries can derive from it, let us make sure that that great fact is known to the world, and that it plays its part in steadying and stabilising the foundations of peace. There is the path of wisdom. Prevention is better than cure.

A shadow has fallen upon the scenes so lately lighted by the Allied victory. Nobody knows what Soviet Russia and its Communist international organisation intends to do in the immediate future, or what are the limits, if any, to their expansive and proselytising tendencies. I have a strong admiration and regard for the valiant Russian people and for my wartime comrade, Marshal Stalin. There is deep sympathy and goodwill in Britain—and I doubt not here also—towards the peoples of all the Russians and a resolve to persevere through many difficulties and rebuff in establishing lasting friendships. We understand the Russian need to be secure, on her western frontiers, by the removal of all possibility of German aggression. We welcome Russia to her rightful place among the leading nations of the world. We welcome her flag upon her new and work in complete unity and absolute obedience to the directions they receive in accordance with its Charter. That I feel is an open cause of policy of very great importance.

In front of the iron curtain which lies across Europe are other causes for anxiety. In Italy the Communist Party is seriously hampered by having to support the Communist-trained Marshal Tito's claims to former Italian territory at the head of the Adriatic. Nevertheless the future of Italy hangs in the balance. Again young men across the Atlantic to find the war; but now war can find any nation, wherever it may dwell between dusk and dawn. Surely we should work with conscious purpose for a grand pacification of Europe, within the structure of the United Nations and in accordance with its Charter. That I feel is an open cause of policy of very great importance.
Agreement which was made at Yalta, to which I was a party, was extremely favourable to Soviet Russia, but it was made at a time when no one could say that the German war might not extend all through the summer and autumn of 1945 and when the Japanese war was expected to last for a further 18 months from the end of the German war. In this country you are all so well-informed about the Far East, and such devoted friends of China, that I do not need to expatiate on the situation there.

I have felt bound to portray the shadow which, alike in the west and in the east, falls upon the world. I was a high minister at the time of the Versailles Treaty and a close friend of Mr. Lloyd-George, who was the head of the British delegation at Versailles. I did not myself agree with many things that were done, but I have a very strong impression in my mind of that situation, and I find it painful to contrast it with that which prevails now. In those days there were high hopes and unbounded confidence that the wars were over, and that the League of Nations would become all-powerful. I do not see or feel that same confidence or even the same hopes in the haggard world at the present time.

On the other hand I repulse the idea that a new war is inevitable; still more that it is imminent. It is because I am sure that our fortunes are still in our own hands and that we hold the power to save the future, that I feel the duty to speak out now that I have the occasion and the opportunity to do so. I do not believe that Soviet Russia desires war. What they desire is the fruits of war and the indefinite expansion of their power and doctrines. But what we have to consider here to-day while time remains, is the permanent prevention of war and the establishment of conditions of freedom and democracy as rapidly as possible in all countries. Our difficulties and dangers will not be removed by closing our eyes to them. They will not be removed by mere waiting to see what happens; nor will they be removed by a policy of appeasement. What is needed is a settlement, and the longer this is delayed, the more difficult it will be and the greater our dangers will become.

From what I have seen of our Russian friends and Allies during the war, I am convinced that there is nothing they admire so much as strength, and there is nothing for which they have less respect than for weakness, especially military weakness. For that reason the old doctrine of a balance of power is unsound. We cannot afford, if we can help it, to work on narrow margins, offering temptations to a trial of strength. If the Western Democracies stand together in strict adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter, their influence for furthering those principles will be immense and no one is likely to molest them. If however they become divided or falter in their duty and if these all-important years are allowed to slip away then indeed catastrophe may overwhelm us all.

Last time I saw it all coming and cried aloud to my own fellow-countrymen and to the world, but no one paid any attention. Up till the year 1933 or even 1935, Germany might have been saved from the awful fate which has overtaken her and we might all have been spared the miseries Hitler let loose on mankind. There never was a war in all history easier to prevent by timely action than the one which has just desolated such great areas of the globe. It could have been prevented in my belief without the firing of a single shot, and Germany might be powerful, prosperous and honoured to-day; but no one would listen and one by one we were all sucked into the awful whirlpool. We surely must not let that happen again. This can only be achieved by reaching now, in 1946, a good understanding on all points with Russia under the general authority of the United Nations Organisation and by the maintenance of that good understanding through many peaceful years, by the world instrument, supported by the whole strength of the English-speaking world and all its connections. There is the solution which I respectfully offer to you in this Address to which I have given the title "The Sinews of Peace."

Let no man underestimate the abiding power of the British Empire and Commonwealth. Because you see the 46 millions in our island harassed about their food supply, of which they only grow one half, even in war-time, or because we have difficulty in reconstituting our industries and export trade after six years of passionate war effort, do not suppose that we shall not come through these dark years of privation as we have come through the glorious years of agony, or that half a century from now, you will not see 70 or 80 millions of Britons spread about the world and united in defence of our traditions, our way of life, and of the world causes which you and we espouse. If the population of the English-speaking Commonwealths be added to that of the United States with all that such co-operation implies in the air, on the sea, and over the globe and in science and in industry, and in moral force, there will be no quivering, precarious balance of power to offer its temptation to ambition or adventure. On the contrary, there will be an overwhelming assurance of security. If we adhere faithfully to the Charter of the United Nations and walk forward in sedate and sober strength seeking no one's land or treasure, seeking to lay no arbitrary control upon the thoughts of men; if all British moral and material forces and convictions are joined with your own in fraternal association, the high-roads of the future will be clear, not only for us but for all, not only for our time, but for a century to come.

THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES

March 8, 1946

General Assembly of Virginia

I was deeply moved by the glowing terms of the Joint Resolution of both branches of the Legislature inviting me here to address the General Assembly of Virginia. I take it as a high honour to be present here this morning to discharge that task. I always value being asked to address a Parliament. I have already on two occasions in the war addressed the Congress of the United States. I have addressed the Canadian Parliament. I have addressed a Joint Session of the Belgian Legislature, more recently, and there is a place of which you may have heard across the ocean called the House of Commons, to which, invited or uninvited, I have, from time to time, had things to say. I have also had invitations, couched in terms for which I am most grateful, from the State Legislatures of South Carolina, Kentucky and Mississippi. It would have given me the greatest pleasure to accept and fulfill all these. But as I have
not the life and strength to repay all the kindness which is offered me. I felt that these other States would be willing to accept the primacy of the Virginia Assembly, as the most ancient, law-making body on the mainland of the western hemisphere. And thus I find myself here before you this morning in Richmond, in the historic capital of world-famous Virginia.

I am also about to visit Williamsburg. During the war, at one of our Conferences, General Marshall arranged to take the British Chiefs of Staff for a visit to Williamsburg and I had planned to go with them, but the work I had to do made it necessary for me to remain in Washington; and so, on this visit to the United States, I had promised the British the treat of seeing Williamsburg, and my friend, General Eisenhower, who is with us to-day, undertook to pilot me around. I have great satisfaction in meeting him over here. We had a lot of business to do together during what I believe has been called, in another connection, "the late unpleasantness" and I have formed impressions that will last me all my days of his single-minded purpose, wide and profound views on military science and his great power of making the soldiers and officers of our two countries work together under all the shocks and strains of war as if they were the soldiers of one single nation.

I hope I shall acquit myself to your satisfaction but the responsibility for what may happen is yours. Do you not think you are running some risks in inviting me to give you my faithful counsel on this occasion? You have not asked to see beforehand what I am going to say. I might easily, for instance, blurt out a lot of things, which might cause a regular commotion and get you all into trouble. However, the people of Virginia and, above all, the people of Richmond have proved in the past that they have strong nerves and that they can face not only facts but fate with fortitude and pride. The light of the Elizabethan age, which Shakespeare, Raleigh and Grenville adorned, casts its un fading lustre upon our scene here in Williamsburg nearby. This was a cradle of the Great Republic in which more than 150 years afterwards the strong champions of freedom and independence were found to have been nursed. With what care did these early Fathers of our modern inspiration preserve the title deeds of freedom in Parliamentary privilege, in trial by jury, in the Habeas Corpus, in Magna Carta, and in the English Common Law! With what vigilance did Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry and Robert Lee and George Washington, the Father of his country, defend these title deeds in later, unhappy but pregnant times! The theme of individual liberty and of the rights of citizens so painfully evolved across the centuries in England was upheld through every stress and confusion by Virginia and that theme lights the English-speaking world to-day. It lights our world and it is also a beacon shining through the mists and storms to many lands, where the rights of man—his honour, his freedom, his happiness, his self-government—were yearned for or are so far enjoyed only precariously. I salute you here in this General Assembly as the guardians of the sacred flame.

Another century passes across our minds and we see Virginia and Richmond the centre of a tragedy which, however agonising at the time, is now forever illuminated by drama and romance. I have visited most of your battlefields on the peninsula, on the Happpahannock, in the Wilderness, and I was guided there some years ago by your distinguished historian Mr. Freeman, who is, I believe, here to-day, and whose works are a solid contribution, not only to the fame of the south but to the whole strength of the indissoluble Union. Yet it is in the words of an English General Officer that I shall express myself to you this morning. General Henderson, the author of The Life of Stonewall Jackson and of The Campaign of Fredericksburg, was a man I knew nearly 40 years ago, and this is what he wrote:

Far and Wide, between the mountains and the sea stretches the fair Virginia for which Lee and Jackson and their soldiers.

One equal temper of heroic hearts;

fought so well and so valiantly; yet her brows are bound with glory,

the legacy of her lost children; and her spotless name, uplifted by their victories and manhood, is high among the nations. Surely the may rest content, knowing that so long as men turn to the records of history will their deeds live, giving to all time one of the noblest examples of unyielding courage and devotion the world has known.

My grandfather [Mr. Leonard Jerome] was a Northerner in the state of New York, and you would not expect me to believe the cause for which he strove. We have moved on into a broader age and larger combinations. Old battles are remembered not as sources of bitterness but to celebrate the martial virtues and civic fidelity of both sides in that immortal struggle. Out of this story have also come examples of high character in which Americans have shown themselves in both wise and unavailing in the new trials and tribulations through which we have just passed.

To-day the American Union is the most powerful champion of national and individual freedom and it carries with it a large portion of the hopes of men. There was about General Robert E. Lee a quality of selflessness which raises him to the very highest rank of men, whether soldiers or statesmen, who have been concerned with the fortunes of nations. And in General Marshall and in General Eisenhower, and others of the Army and Navy of the United States whom I could mention, that character, that quality of selflessness has been a bond uniting all Allied Armies and the key to the victory which we have gained together.

It has been said that the dominant lesson of history is that mankind is unteachable. You will remember how my dear friend, the late President Roosevelt, had to argue only a few years ago, that Americans were not what is called "soft" and how he asserted that this was "The land of unending challenge," and I myself have read in secret documents German reports which spoke before they met them of "these ridiculous American troops." Surely these European countries should not have forgotten or ignored so soon the example of tenacity, willpower and self-devotion which shines through all the records of the great war between the American States. We, too, in our British islands and in our great self-governing Empire spread across the world, have proved that our race when stirred to its depth has qualities deserving of respect.

In fact, in proportion to our numbers, our efforts, our sacrifices and our losses have not been surpassed. Moreover, if it fell to us to have the honour of standing alone for a whole year against the main strength of the mighty Axis and the time for
preparation which was thus gained was, as I am sure General Eisenhower will agree, a vital service to the United States and to the common cause.

But it is upon the future rather than upon the past that I wish to rest this morning. In these last years of my life there is a message of which I conceive myself to be a bearer. It is a very simple message which can be well understood by the people of both our countries. It is that we should stand together. We should stand together in malice to none, in greed for nothing but in defence of those causes which we hold dear not only for our own benefit, but because we believe they mean the honour and the happiness of long generations of men. We ought, as I said to the Congress of the United States in a dark hour in 1941, to walk together in majesty and peace. That I am sure is the wish of the overwhelming majority of the 300 million Britons and Americans who are spread abroad the globe. That this is our destiny, or, as most of us would put it, the Will of God, seems sure and certain. How it is to be expressed, in what way and in what hour it is to be achieved I cannot tell.

I read the other day that an English nobleman, whose name is new to me, has stated that England would have to become the 49th state of the American Union. I read yesterday that an able American editor had written that the United States ought not to be asked to re-enter the British Empire. It seems to me and I dare say it seems to you, that the path of wisdom lies somewhere between these scarecrow extremes. We must find the means and the method of working together not only in times of war and mortal anguish but in times of peace and the pursuit of peace with all its bewilderments and clamour and of the tongues. It is in the years of peace that wars are prevented and that those foundations are laid upon which the noble structures of the future can be built. But peace will not be preserved without the virtues that make victory possible in war.

Peace will not be preserved by pious sentiments expressed in terms of platitudes or by official grimaces and diplomatic correctness. However desirable this may be from time to time, it will not be preserved by casting aside in dangerous years the panoply of warlike strength. There must be earnest thought. There must also be faithful perseverance and foresight. Greatheart must have his sword and armour to guard the pilgrims on their way. Above all, among the English-speaking peoples, there must be the union of hearts based upon conviction and common ideals. That is what I offer. That is what I seek.

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN ALLIANCE
March 9, 1946
The Pentagon, Washington, D.C.

It is indeed a very great pleasure and honour to me that the Secretary of War and General Eisenhower should have asked me here today and have given me an opportunity, before going home, to meet the high officers of the United States services and to express to them on behalf of my country and of the British services our admiration and gratitude for all they have done in this great common struggle carried to absolute victory in arms. The prevailing feature of our work together was the intimacy of association. Language is a great bridge. There are many, many ideas we have in common and also practice: but there was a spirit of loyalty, of good will, of comradeship which never has been seen in all the history of war between Allied Armies, Navies, Air Forces fighting together side by side. On General Eisenhower's staff, which I saw often and closely in Africa, in France and in Germany, it was carried to extreme perfection. And, as you know, the best people were picked for the various posts, and they gave orders and took orders without regard to which country their next neighbour or opposite number belonged to. I used the word "opposite number" by mistake, because there were no "opposite numbers" there was absolute intermingling of staff work, and the same was true in the commands in the field. Many British and American troops served with perfect confidence under the commanders of the other country. And speaking for our own people, we always had more than fair treatment and felt absolute confidence in those to whom we confided the lives of our soldiers.

I am certain that our effective unity saved scores of thousands of lives, perhaps far more, and abridged the course of the struggle, as nothing else could have done. That must be regarded as a precious possession which we have in common and which whenever circumstances may require it—cannot think they will do so in our lifetime—will be available to strengthen any joint efforts our Governments may order in some future period. No one was more the champion and embodiment of this unity than General Eisenhower. I never had a chance to visit the Pacific but I am told the same conditions prevailed there as were established by him at SHAEF Headquarters and in the field. Of course, when people are on different ships they don't come so closely together as they do in the camps and billets. But it was one great force that overthrew the mighty powers with which we were confronted and which were dashed to ruin and helplessness by our exertions.

I have been thinking a great deal about the work of the United States services. I will speak a little more of the Army than of the others because I saw more of it. I greatly admired the manner in which the American Army was formed. I think it was a prodigy of organization, of improvisation. There have been many occasions when a powerful state has wished to raise great armies, and with money and time and discipline and loyalty that can be accomplished. Nevertheless the rate at which the small American Army of only a few hundred thousand men, not long before the war, created the mighty force of millions of soldiers, is a wonder in military history.

I was here two or three years ago and visited with General Marshall, from whom I received a most delightful telegram just now, an Army Corps being trained in South Carolina, and we saw there the spectacle of what you may call the mass production of divisions. In great and rapid rotation they were formed, and moved on to further stages of their perfection. I saw the creation of this mighty force—this mighty Army, victorious in every theatre against the enemy in so short a time and from such a very small parent stock. This is an achievement which the soldiers of every other country will always study with admiration and with envy.
But that is not the whole story, nor even the greatest part of the story. To create great Armies is one thing; to lead them and to handle them is another. It remains to me a mystery as yet unexplained how the very small staffs which the United States kept during the years of peace were able not only to build up the Armies and Air Force units, but also to find the leaders and vast staffs capable of handling enormous masses and of moving them faster and farther than masses have ever been moved in war before.

The United States owes a debt to its officer corps. In time of peace in this country, as in my own, the military profession is very often required to pass a considerable number of years in the cool shade. One of Marlborough's veterans wrote the lines now nearly 250 years ago.

God and the soldier we adore
In time of danger, not before:
The danger passed and all things righted,
God is forgotten and the soldier slighted.

Undoubtedly the military profession in the great Western democracies, which wholeheartedly desire peace, is one which has required great sacrifices from those who devote themselves to it. All around them goes the busy exciting world of business and politics with all its varieties, but the officers frugally, modestly, industriously, faithfully pursue their professional studies and duties, very often for long periods at a time, without the public notice. That you should have been able to preserve the art not only of creating mighty armies almost at the stroke of a wand—but of leading and guiding those armies upon a scale incomparably greater than anything that was prepared for or even dreamed of, constitutes a gift made by the Officers Corps of the United States to their nation in time of trouble, which I earnestly hope will never be forgotten here, and it certainly never will be forgotten in the island from which I come. You will, I am sure, permit me to associate with this amazing feat, the name of General Marshall, the creator of this Instrument of Victory.

I offer you gentlemen my most earnest congratulations on the manner in which, when the danger came, you were not found wanting. We talk a great deal about the future of armies and we are studying this matter across the ocean ourselves, and the relation between the officers and the other ranks. I speak not entirely as an amateur. I went through five years of professional training at the beginning of my life, in those impressionable years, and I have had the good fortune to be in all the wars that Great Britain has been engaged in in one capacity or another during my lifetime. We now have to choose very carefully the line of division between the officers and other ranks upon which authority should stand. There is only one line in my view, and that is professional attainment. The men have a right to feel that their officers know far better than they do how to bring them safely and victoriously through the terribly difficult decisions which arise in war. And for my part as far as Great Britain is concerned, I shall always urge that the tendency in the future should be to prolong the courses of instruction at the colleges rather than to abridge them and to equip our young officers with that special technical professional knowledge which soldiers have a right to expect from those who can give them orders, if necessary, to go to their deaths. It is quite clear that class or wealth or favour will not be allowed in the modern

world to afford dividing lines. Professional attainment, based upon prolonged study, and collective study at colleges, rank by rank, and age by age—those are the title deeds of the commanders of the future armies, and the secret of future victories.

I venture to use these few words to you this afternoon because I have had a very varied experience in peace and war, and have met so many men who have played great parts, and I felt it a high honour to be invited to meet you again this afternoon, and to revive old acquaintances and shake hands with new ones. I thought these few observations I ventured to make might not be thought unfitting or unacceptable.

THE DARKENING INTERNATIONAL SCENE
March 15, 1946
Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York

Churchill's Fulton speech had aroused a storm. Pravda had denounced him and accused him of trying to destroy the United Nations. Stalin had declared that Churchill called for war against the Soviet Union; in the House of Commons, Prime Minister Attlee pointedly declined comment on "a speech delivered in another country by a private individual." Meanwhile, the continued presence of Russian troops in Iran was the subject of an appeal by the Iranian Government to the U.N. Security Council. Churchill was unrepentant, and in this speech he set out to clarify his position.

When I spoke at Fulton ten days ago I felt it was necessary for someone in an unofficial position to speak in arresting terms about the present plight of the world. I do not wish to withdraw or modify a single word. I was invited to give my counsel freely in this free country and I am sure that the hope which I expressed for the increasing association of our two countries will come to pass, not because of any speech which may be made, but because of the tides that flow in human affairs and in the course of the unfolding destiny of the world. The only question which in my opinion is open is whether the necessary harmony of thought and action between the American and British peoples will be reached in a sufficiently plain and clear manner and in good time to prevent a new world struggle or whether it will come about, as it has done before, only in the course of that struggle.

I remain convinced that this question will win a favourable answer. I do not believe that war is inevitable or imminent. I do not believe that the rulers of Russia wish for war at the present time. I am sure that if we stand together calmly and resolutely in defence of those ideals and principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, we shall find ourselves sustained by the overwhelming assent of the peoples of the world, and that, fortified by this ever-growing moral authority, the cause of peace and freedom will come safely through and we shall be able to go on with the noble work—in which the United States has a glorious primacy—of averting
famine, of healing the awful wounds of Hitler's war and rebuilding the scarred and shattered structure of human civilisation. Let me declare, however, that the progress and freedom of all the peoples of the world under a reign of law enforced by a World Organisation, will not come to pass, nor will the age of plenty begin, without the persistent, faithful, and above all fearless exertions of the British and American systems of society.

In the last ten days the situation has greatly changed as the result of decisions which must have been taken some time ago. Instead of a calm discussion of broad and long-term tendencies we now find ourselves in the presence of swiftly moving events which no one can measure at the moment. I may be called upon to speak about the new situation when I get back home. There are however a few things I am bound to say to-night lest a good cause should suffer by default. If any words that I have spoken have commanded attention, that is only because they find an echo in the breasts of those of every land and race who love freedom and are the foes of tyranny. I certainly will not allow anything said by others to weaken by regard and admiration for the Russian people or my earnest desire that Russia should be safe and prosperous and should take an honoured place in the van of the World Organisation. Whether she will do so or not depends only on the decisions taken by the handful of able men who, under their renowned chief, hold all the 180 million Russians, and many more millions outside Russia, in their grip. We all remember what frightful losses Russia suffered in the Hitlerite invasion and how she survived and emerged triumphant from injuries greater than have ever been inflicted on any other community. There is deep and widespread sympathy throughout the English-speaking world for the people of Russia and an absolute readiness to work with them on fair and even terms to repair the ruin of the war in every country. If the Soviet Government does not take advantage of this sentiment, if on the contrary they discourage it, the responsibility will be entirely theirs.

There is for instance a very good way in which they could brush aside any speeches which they dislike. It is a way which is open to them now in the next fortnight. The British Government of which I was the head, signed a treaty with Russia and with Persia solemnly undertaking to respect the integrity and sovereignty of Persia and to evacuate that country by a certain date. This treaty was reaffirmed at Teheran by the Tri-partite Agreement signed by the Head of the Soviet Government, by the late President Roosevelt and by me. In fulfillment of this Agreement the United States and the British have already left that country. But we are told that the Soviet Government instead of leaving, are actually sending in more troops. Now this is one of those cases for which the United Nations Security Council was especially devised, and I am very glad to read in the newspapers that the Soviet representatives will attend the meeting of the Security Council which is to take place in New York on 25 March. By all means let the matter be thrashed out there and let respect be shown even by the greatest or more deeply-interested powers, to the conclusions of the Security Council. In this way the reign of world law and the international foundations of enduring peace would be immeasurably consolidated.

There is no reason why Soviet Russia should feel ill-rewarded for her efforts in the war. If her losses have been grievous, her gains have been magnificent. Her two tremendous antagonists, Germany and Japan, have been laid low. Japan was overthrown almost entirely by American arms. Russia recovered almost without striking a blow all that she lost to Japan forty years ago. In the west the Baltic states and a large part of Finland have been reincorporated in Russia. The Curzon Line is no longer questioned. Then we come to the Straits of the Dardanelles. I welcome the Russian flag on Russian ships on the high seas and oceans. I have always told our Soviet allies that Great Britain would support the revision of the Montreux Convention about the Straits. At Potsdam the Americans and British offered to Russia a joint guarantee of the complete freedom of the Straits in peace and war, whether for merchant ships or ships of war. To this guarantee Turkey would gladly have subscribed. But we were told that that was not enough. Russia must have a fortress inside the Straits, from which she could dominate Constantinople. But this is not to keep the Straits open but to give the power of closing them to a single nation. This is out of harmony with the principle urged by the United States representatives of the freedom of the great waterways of Europe, the Danube, the Rhine and other rivers, which run through many countries. At any rate, there was the offer and I have no doubt it is still open, and if Soviet Russia still persists in putting pressure on Turkey, the matter must in the first instance be pronounced upon by the United Nations Security Council. Thus early will come a very great test for the World Organisation on which so many hopes are founded.

It has been frequently observed in the last few days that there is a great measure of misunderstanding. I entirely agree with that. Could you have a greater example of misunderstanding than when we are told that the present British Government is not a free democratic government because it consists only of the representatives of a single party, whereas Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria and other countries have the representatives of several parties in their governments. But this also applies to the United States, where one party is in office and wields the executive power. All this argument overlooks the fact that democratic governments are based on free elections. The people choose freely and fairly the party they wish to have in office. They have every right to criticise that party, or the government based upon it and can change it by constitutional processes at any time they like or at frequent intervals. It can hardly be called a democratic election where the candidates of only one party are allowed to appear and where the voter has not even the secrecy of the ballot to protect him. This misunderstanding will be swept away if we get through the present difficult period safely and if the British, American and Russian peoples are allowed to mingle freely with one another and see how things are done in their respective countries. No doubt we all have much to learn from one another. I rejoice to read in the newspapers that there never were more Russian ships in New York harbour than there are to-night. I am sure you will give the Russian sailors a hearty welcome to the land of the free and the home of the brave.

Now I turn to the other part of my message—the relations between Great Britain and the United States. On these the life and freedom of the world depend. Unless they work together, in full loyalty to the Charter, the organisation of the United Nations will cease to have any reality. No one will be able to put his trust in it and the world will be left to the clash of nationalisms which have led us to two frightful wars. I have never asked for an Anglo-American military alliance or a treaty. I asked for something...
different and in a sense I asked for something more. I asked for fraternal association, free, voluntary, fraternal association. I have no doubt that it will come to pass, as surely as the sun will rise to-morrow. But you do not need a treaty to express the natural affinities and friendships which arise in a fraternal association. On the other hand, it would be wrong that the fact should be concealed or ignored. Nothing can prevent our nations drawing ever closer to one another and nothing can obscure the fact that, in their harmonious companionship, lies the main hope of the world instrument for maintaining peace on earth and goodwill to all men.

I thank you all profoundly for all your gracious kindness and hospitality to me during this visit I have paid to your shores. Mine is not the first voice raised within your spacious bounds in the cause of freedom and of peace. Nor will it be the last that will be encouraged by the broad tolerance of the American people. I come to you at a time when the United States stands at the highest point of majesty and power ever attained by any community since the fall of the Roman Empire. This imposes upon the American people a duty which cannot be rejected. With opportunities comes responsibility. Strength is granted to us all when we are needed to serve great causes. We in the British Commonwealth will stand at your side in powerful and faithful friendship, and in accordance with the World Charter, and together I am sure we shall succeed in lifting from the face of man the curse of war and the darker curse of tyranny. Thus will be opened even more broadly to the anxious toiling millions the gateways of happiness and freedom.

"A BROADER AND FAIRER WORLD"
March 18, 1946
Columbia University, New York

In my heart there is no abiding hatred for any great race on the surface of the globe. I earnestly hope that there will be no parish nations after the guilty are fully punished. We have to look forward to a broader, fairer world, richer and fuller in every way under the aegis and authority of the world organization, to guard the humble toiler, the small homes of all nations, from renewed horrors and tyranny.

In that task you will be upheld to the utmost by all the moral and material resources which the British Commonwealth and Empire can supply. Thus walking forward together, with no aim of subjugation or material profit or sordid interest, marching forward together we may render at this juncture a service to humanity which no countries before have ever had the honour to do.

One thing the GIs and British soldiers returning home have got is a good grounding in Anglo-American slang. I suggest without any prejudice, that they now require the full knowledge and facilities of the majesty and power of their own mother tongue. I see in some newspapers and books undue reliance upon slang.

THE BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS
April 12, 1946
House of Commons

I am very glad that an agreement has been confirmed between the Government and the Opposition parties on this matter. The discussions which take place through the usual channels are of very great importance to the smooth working of the House, and it would be a great pity if such discussions took place and afterwards the conclusions reached had to be thrown over. That would vitiate and obstruct to a certain extent that admirable method of working, which has so much to keep the course of public business smooth and, in a way, to promote the corporate sense here. I am glad that the Government have discussed the matter very fully with their supporters, and have adhered to the view which they expressed last week through the Leader of the House. Of course, this is a matter in which everybody has striven to aim at the greatest good of the greatest number, and to fit it in as far as possible all the different obligations which we have to discharge. I certainly agree with the Leader of the Liberal Party that it would be a disaster if we became whole-time professional politicians in this House. We are very experienced politicians but we are not professional politicians, in the sense in which that phrase is used in some other countries. We are representative British worthies, chosen by universal suffrage, and long may it be so that the House is a good representation of the wishes, the feelings, the character, and the diversity of the nation at large.

The business of the House of Commons and the business of the executive Government are matters of the utmost consequence. As far as the executive Govern-
Remarks at Gatwick Airport Upon Leaving for Italy.
June 30, 1963

Prime Minister:
I want to express our very warm thanks to you and to Lady Dorothy for the shelter you have given us during the last 24 hours. As usual, we were able to accomplish a good deal in this meeting because of the strong basis of understanding which has existed between our two countries and which has existed to my great satisfaction since the period of my incumbency.
The most important matter, of course, which occupies our attention, and which will continue to occupy our attention, is our common hope that the mission of Governor Harriman and Lord Hailsham will be successful. I think the progress that we made during our discussions in coming to an agreement on the instructions of our emissaries, I think made this meeting particularly useful.

So from public and personal grounds both, I wish to express our warmest thanks to you, and to tell you that we look forward to your visiting the United States next time around.

Mr. President:
I want to express my appreciation to you for your generous welcome.

I come to this country and to this ancient city for a good many important reasons. Millions of my fellow countrymen left these shores. They occupy positions of the highest responsibility in the United States—member of the Cabinet, Members of the Congress, Governors; and most importantly, perhaps, of all, they have raised large families and have been productive and responsible citizens.

I am glad to be here also, Mr. President, because Italy occupies a position of strategic importance, vital to the security of Europe, vital to the security of the United States. In the heart of Europe, reaching down into the Mediterranean towards Africa, the maintenance of a free democracy here in Italy is of great interest, of vital interest, not only to your own people, but also to all of us who believe in freedom.

I come, Mr. President, to this very ancient country, but I come on the most modern business, and that is how the United States and Italy can continue in the important and changing years of the sixties to maintain the intimate friendship, the intimate association, the intimate alliance, which has marked our affairs in the last 15 years. Through NATO we are allies. Through necessity we are joined together. Through friendship we find that union to be most harmonious.

It is our task, I think, Mr. President, to make sure, in the interest of both of our countries, that that association remains as strong in the future as it has been in the past. We regard that of the first importance to my country.

And I am also glad, Mr. President, for personal reasons to be your guest. You have been to the United States since my incumbency. We value highly your leadership and, therefore, I feel myself not only in a country with which the United States has cordial relations, but also among friends.

Thank you.

Mr. President: The President spoke at 9:15 a.m. His opening words "Mr. President" referred to Antonio Segni, President of Italy.
288 Remarks at the Campidoglio in Rome. July 1, 1963

Mr. Mayor, ladies and gentlemen:

I want to bring to you, and through you, to the people of Italy, the warmest best wishes of my fellow countrymen, millions of whom are of Italian descent. In fact, at President of the United States, I represent two or three times as many Americans of direct Italian descent than the Mayor does. So I bring you the greetings of 20 American cities named Florence, 15 American cities called Milan, 9 named Piedmont, 7 called Venice, 7 called Rome, and 1 even called Italy, Tex.

I have come to Europe, and I conclude my trip to Europe tomorrow, because I believe strongly that the Atlantic Ocean should be to all of us, on the east and the west side of it, a mare nostrum, that it should be a common bond, and that it is essential for the maintenance of freedom in both of our continents and, indeed, around the world, that the United States and Canada, and Europe, should work in the closest harmony.

For 18 years the United States and Italy, and our other allies, have worked closely together. In many ways now, the cause of freedom is stronger in the world than it has been since 1945. I therefore believe it more essential than ever that Italy, the United States, the other members of NATO, and, indeed, all people, recommit themselves to the cause of freedom, which I believe to be essential to the cause of progress.

Thank you for your welcome. I can tell you that your former countrymen who are now my countrymen are doing well and think of you often.

Thank you.

Note: In his opening words the President referred to Giusapo Della Porta, Mayor of Rome.

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I WISH to first express my appreciation to all of you for your welcome and also to say how glad I am to see you here, how very important your work here is in Rome, and how very dependent we are upon your counsel, your great efforts for the United States, and the efforts for the United States, it seems to me, also serve Italy and the entire free world.

I know we have here today a combination of Italians and Americans. It is impossible to tell the difference. Whether that is because the Americans are becoming more Italian or the Italians more American—perhaps you could hold up your hands, all of you who are citizens of the United States. And all of you who are citizens of Italy.

Well, I want to express to both of you our thanks. I hope those of you who are Italians will feel that in working for the United States Government, as you do, that you also work in behalf of your own country. I think you do.

The great interest of the United States and Italy are wholly parallel. The great effort which we are both making serves not only our people, but all who depend upon us. In serving the United States in this capacity, it seems to me that you are fulfilling the highest responsibilities of your Italian citizenship in the same way that American citizens who work in the Italian Embassy in Washington, I think, also help the United States.

I want to say a special word of appreciation to all of you. This is not a hardship post exactly, but it is a post of the greatest responsibility. Ancient Rome had its mission, but so does modern Rome. Most especially, so does the United States. I have come on this trip to Europe, which is coming to an end, because the great power of the United States, and together United States should merely with the dictates of interest, but free world's interest. The United States den of this struggle, some places it can make a man go to Europe, and I conclude my

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John F. Kennedy, 1963
July 1, 1963

It is my hope that the countries of Western Europe will, as their strength increases, and that strength is impressive, will more and more associate themselves as equal partners in the greatest of all struggles—the maintenance of freedom, the maintenance of peace. So I congratulate you on the part that you are playing in 1963 in serving the great Republic.

Thank you.

Note: The President spoke at the Villa Taverna, the Ambassador's residence in Rome. His opening words referred to Secretary of State Dean Rusk; Mrs. G. Frederick Reinhardt, wife of the United States Ambassador to Italy who was ill; and Francis T. Williamson, U.S. Chargé d'Affaires.

290 Remarks at a Dinner Given in His Honor by President Segni.

July 1, 1963

I WISH to first express in behalf of all of my countrymen our very warm appreciation to you, Mr. President, Prime Minister, members of the Italian Government, for their generous reception of us. All roads have always led to Rome, and it is quite natural that in this trip through Europe, the purpose of which was to emphasize the strong convictions which my countrymen have, that the maintenance of freedom, the protection of our mutual independence, strongly depends upon the close cooperation between all of our countries. And I am particularly glad, Mr. President, to be your guest, you who have played such a distinguished role in the Italian miracle, which I think has been one of the most remarkable phenomena in the postwar period.

In addition, Mr. President, I want to express our admiration for the role that this country has played in the last decade, in the Treaty of Rome, in NATO, in the United Nations, in its own internal efforts, in its own external efforts. It seems to me that Italy has been a very good neighbor of the United States and this friendship is strongly reciprocated.

[Today, Italy and the United States are more closely allied than ever before as partners in the defense of freedom. Italian and American soldiers, sailors, and airmen serve side by side on this continent. Italian statesmen have played major roles in building European unity and Atlantic partnership. Italian diplomats and soldiers have been instrumental in maintaining the vitality and guarantees of the United Nations. And despite a volley of both belligerence and blandishments from the communist East, Italy has stoutly maintained her loyalty to the principles of peace and freedom.]

Mr. President, the United States believes strongly in peace. We believe the world is one, that East and West can learn to live together under law, that war is not inevitable, and that an effective end to the arms race would offer greater security than its indefinite continuation, that such progress requires clarity, firmness, against threats from those who make themselves our adversary.

Standing here in this country, I want to assure you—and this is an assurance that my predecessors have given with equal conviction, for reasons that I have stated since I
have come to Europe—that the United States will regard any threat to your peace and freedom as a threat to our own, and we will not hesitate to respond accordingly.

But now our ties are more than military. What has brought our two countries ever closer together in the postwar years has been our common recognition that freedom must mean more than an absence of tyranny; that it must have internal meaning as well; that it must provide not only for theoretical rights, but for solid economic and social progress towards the enjoyment of these rights by all of its citizens. As a result of these developments, Italy and the United States have attained a new harmony, not only in foreign affairs, but in domestic political outlook and concern.

[We both believe in the achievement of social justice and in progress for all our people. We both believe in democracy at what Americans call “the grass roots”—placing the individual ahead of the state, the community ahead of the party, and public interests ahead of private.

The growth of your nation’s economy, industry, and living standards in the postwar years has truly been phenomenal. A nation once literally in ruins, beset by heavy unemployment and inflation, has expanded its output and assets, stabilized its costs and currency, and created new jobs and new industries at a rate unmatched in the Western world. For this remarkable achievement, I salute all those who provided the labor, initiative, and vision to make it possible. But even more phenomenal than the recovery of your economy has been the recovery of your freedom—the reconstruction and renewal of a strong, progressive democracy after 21 years of dictatorship.

Democracy, as both our nations know, is not without its problems. On the contrary, as Winston Churchill once remarked, it is probably the worst form of government on earth except for every other that has ever been tried.

Democracy involves delays and debates and dissection. It requires men to think as well as believe, to look ahead as well as back, to give up narrow views or interests that retard their nation’s progress. But given an opportunity to work, it completely contradicts and isolates the false appeals of the extremists who would destroy democracy.

During the 1930’s, when despair and depression opened wide the gates of many nations to these archaic and harsh ideologies, my own nation adhered to the course of freedom under the leadership of Franklin Roosevelt. His administration introduced a higher degree of social, economic, and political reform than America had previously seen—including tax and budget reforms, land and agricultural reforms, political and institutional reforms. Workers were assured of a decent wage—older citizens were assured of a pension—farmers were assured of a fair price. Working men and women were permitted to organize and bargain collectively. Small businessmen, small investors, and small depositors in banks were given greater protection against the evils of both corruption and depression. Farms were electrified—rivers were harnessed—cooperatives were encouraged. Justice—social and economic justice as well as legal—became increasingly the right and the opportunity of every man, regardless of his means or station in life.

I do not say that the battle for justice is over in my country, any more than you would say it is over in yours. The achievement of justice is an endless process—democracy must be a daily way of life. And there are still inequalities to be removed in the United States. We are striving to reduce geographic inequalities, in which some States and communities are not sharing in the general prosperity. We are striving to include health and hospital care among the financial disasters covered by social insurance, as your system, I am told, already provides. We are striving to increase jobs without increasing the benefits of abusing the forces of in

Of great import to erase for all time equalities of race at all Americans as is lives and their op and as equal child conceal nor accept suffered by our Ne of the country; main both public a it.

While progress of the areas of so mains that no tota promise of solute men have stressed, is not complete it ever be. The obst always look large; of those with the answers of the fa always be great. Italy and the Uni more closely toge mon dedication to and the common dignity.

All this is to the world at set an example c tion, if we can control inflation spread the bless our people, if we need, not only fair day’s wages, ties and housing can more surely commitments to foundation for immi, and in other lands. T buhization of free world can ade
without increasing prices, in order to spread the benefits of abundance without unleashing the forces of inflation.

[Of great importance today, we are trying to erase for all time the injustices and inequalities of race and color in order to assure all Americans a fair chance to fulfill their lives and their opportunity as Americans, and as equal children of God. I can neither conceal nor accept the discrimination now suffered by our Negro citizens in many parts of the country; and I am determined to obtain both public and private action to end it.]

While progress remains to be made in all of the areas of social progress, the fact remains that no totalitarian system offers any promise of solution. As your own spokesmen have stressed, the process of free reform is not complete in any country, nor will it ever be. The obstacles in such a course will always look large; and the siren temptation of those with the seemingly swift and easy answers on the far right and the far left will always be great. But I am convinced that Italy and the United States will draw even more closely together as they share a common dedication to social justice and progress and the common ideals of human rights and dignity.

All this is not unrelated to our goals for the world at large. If our nations can set an example of vigorous freedom in action, if we can achieve full employment, control inflation, reduce inequalities, and spread the blessings of prosperity to all of our people, if we can fulfill each family's need, not only for a full day's work at a fair day's wages, but for schools and hospitals and housing and other services—then we can more surely and strongly sustain our commitments to Western security, lay the foundation for a democratic Atlantic Community, and inspire freedom and hope in other lands. Together let us build sturdy mansions of freedom, mansions that all the world can admire and copy but that no tyrant can ever enter. It will not be easy. It is not easy to secure progress through democracy, but in my opinion it is the only way that progress can be assured.

If there is one fact, it seems to me, larger than any other, it is that the last decade has proved that those who sell their souls to the Communist system under the mistaken belief that the Communist system offers a quick and sure road to economic prosperity, have been proven wholly wrong. Berlin is an obvious example. Eastern and Western Europe are obvious contrasts. The Soviet Union and China versus the progress of the West offer other contrasts. The fact is that the last decade has conclusively proven that communism is a system which has outlived its time, that the true road to prosperity, the true road to progress, is by democratic means. This has been proven very clearly in Western Europe. It has been proven in my own country. It seems to me incumbent upon us all to make that promise bright in the remainder of the sixties; in short, to build not only military defenses for the West, but also in all of our own countries to provide the kind of progress for our people that makes freedom meaningful, that makes freedom understandable, that makes freedom worth fighting for.

This I think the Italian people, the Italian Government, has understood. The American people, the American Government, has understood it. I think that our prospects are bright for the future. I think that the great effort for the West still lies before us, but I think the great opportunities and promises of the West lie not too far over the horizon.

So, Mr. President, in this country which has done such an extraordinary job in the last years in attempting to carry out internally the great progress which you have made, and which we have made, I want to offer a toast to the people of this country upon whom so much of our hopes depend, the leadership of this country, whose help
July 2, 1963

...properly to freedom and peace. Since 1955, NATO's strength has greatly increased. Annual defense expenditures for all members have been increased by nearly 40 percent—from $52.3 billion to $71.8 billion. NATO Europe alone increased its expenditures by roughly 47 percent. The number of M-day divisions in the central "shield" area has increased 50 percent—and their equivalents in all of NATO have increased by one-third. These divisions, moreover, are better organized, better integrated, better equipped, and of a higher quality.

While we can take heart from these accomplishments, we have much still to do. Important improvements and additions are still needed, and this is not the time to slacken in our efforts. But if we continue to build up our strength at all levels, we can be increasingly certain that no attack will take place, at any level, against the territory of any NATO country.

Third, it is increasingly clear that our Western European allies are committed to peace. The purpose of our military strength is peace. The purpose of our partnership is peace. So our negotiations for an end to nuclear tests and our opposition to nuclear dispersal are fully consistent with our attention to defense—these are all complementary parts of a single strategy for peace. We do not believe that war is unavoidable or that negotiations are inherently undesirable. We do believe that an end to the arms race is in the interest of all and that we can move toward that end with injury to none. In negotiations to achieve peace, as well as preparation to prevent war, the West is united, and no ally will abandon the interests of another to achieve a spurious \emph{detente}. But, as we arm to parley, we will not reject any path or refuse any proposal without examining its possibilities for peace.

Fourth, it is increasingly clear that our Western European allies are willing to look outward on the world, not merely in at their own needs and demands. The economic institutions and support of Western European unity are founded on the principles of cooperation, not isolation, on expansion, not restriction. The Common Market was not designed by its founders, and encouraged by the United States, to build walls against other Western countries—or to build walls against the ferment and hope of the developing nations. These nations need assistance in their struggle for political and economic independence. They need markets for their products and capital for their economies. Our allies in Europe, I am confident, will increase their role in this all-important effort—not only in lands with which they were previously associated but in Latin America and every area of need.

Fifth, it is increasingly clear that nations united in freedom are better able to build their economies than those that are repressed by tyranny. In the last 10 years, the gross national product of the NATO nations has risen by some 75 percent. We can do better than we are—but we are doing better than the party dictatorships to the East.

There was a time when some would say that this system of admitted dictatorship, for all its political and social faults, for all its denial of personal liberty, nevertheless seemed to offer a successful economic system—a swift and certain path to modernization, growth, and prosperity. But it is now apparent that this system is incapable in today's world of achieving the organization of agriculture, the satisfying of consumer demands, and the attainment of lasting prosperity. You only need to compare West Berlin with East Berlin; West Germany with East Germany; Western Europe with Eastern Europe.

Communism has sometimes succeeded as a scavenger but never as a leader. It has never come to power in any country that was not disrupted by war, internal repressio or both. Rejecting reform and diversity in freedom, the Communists cannot reconcile their ambitions for domination with other men's ambition for freedom. They cannot look with confidence on a world of diversity and free choice, where order replaces chaos and progress drives out poverty.

John F. Kennedy, 1963
The increasing strains appearing within this once monolithic bloc—intellectual, economic, ideological, and agricultural—make it increasingly clear that this system, with all its repression of men and nations, is outmoded and doomed to failure.

Sixth, it is increasingly clear that the people of Western Europe are moved by a strong and irresistible desire for unity. Whatever path is chosen, whatever delays or obstacles are encountered, that movement will go forward; and the United States welcomes this movement and the greater strength it ensures. We did not assist in the revival of Europe to maintain its dependence on the United States; nor do we seek to bargain selectively with many and separate voices. We welcome a stronger partner. For today no nation can build its destiny alone; the age of self-sufficient nationalism is over. The age of interdependence is here. The cause of Western European unity is based on logic and common sense. It is based on moral and political truths. It is based on sound military and economic principles. And it is based on the tide of history.

Seventh, it is increasingly clear that the United States and Western Europe are tightly bound by shared goals and mutual respect. On both sides of the Atlantic, trade barriers are being reduced, military cooperation is increasing, and the cause of Atlantic unity is being promoted. There will always be honest differences among friends; and they should be freely and frankly discussed. But these are differences of means, not ends. They are differences of approach, not spirit. Our efforts and techniques of consultation must be improved. We must strengthen our efforts in such fields as monetary payments, foreign assistance, and agriculture. But, recognizing these and other problems, I return to the United States more firmly convinced than ever before that common ideals have given us all a common destiny—that together we can serve our own people and all humanity—and that the Atlantic partnership is a growing reality.

Eighth, and finally, it is increasingly clear—and increasingly understood—that the central moving force of our great adventure is enduring mutual trust. I came to Europe to reassess—as clearly and persuasively as I could—that the American commitment to the freedom of Europe is reliable—not merely because of good will, though that is strong—not merely because of a shared heritage, though that is deep and wide—and not at all because we seek to dominate; we do not. I came to make it clear that this commitment rests upon the inescapable requirements of intelligent self-interest—it is a commitment whose wisdom is confirmed both by its absence when two great wars began and by its presence in 18 years of well-defended peace. The response which this message has evoked—from European citizens, from the press, and from leaders of the continent—makes it increasingly clear that our commitment—and its durability—are understood. And at the same time, all that I have seen and heard in these 10 crowded days confirms me in the conviction—which I am proud to proclaim to my own countrymen—that the free men and free governments of free Europe are also firm in their commitment to our common cause. We have been able to trust each other now for nearly 20 years. And we are right to go on.

One hundred and fifteen years ago this month, Giuseppe Mazzini addressed a mass meeting in Milan with these words: "We are here . . . to build up the unity of the human family, so that the day may come when it shall represent a single shepherd with a single sheepfold—the spirit of God . . . Beyond the Alps, beyond the sea, are other peoples now . . . striving by different routes to reach the same goal—improvement, association and the foundations of an authority that shall put an end to world anarchy . . . United with them—they will unite with you."

Today, Italy is united as a free nation and committed to unity abroad. And beyond the Alps in the capitals of Western Europe, beyond the sea in the capitals of North America, other nations are also striving for improvement. By we are ending the era of the great power prodigies of the past, we are strengthening the policies that can better humanity. In time, therefore, we lead to the unity of nations.
America, other nations and other peoples are also striving for new association and improvement. By building Western unity, we are ending the sources of discord that have so often produced war in the past—and we are strengthening the ties of solidarity that can deter further wars in the future. In time, therefore, the unity of the West can lead to the unity of East and West, until the human family is truly a “single sheepfold” under God.

292 Joint Statement Following Discussion With President Segni in Rome. July 2, 1963

ON JULY 1st and 2nd there took place the scheduled working visit to Italy of President Kennedy during which, in Rome, he was received by the President of the Republic Segni, and, accompanied by Secretary of State Rusk, met with the President of the Council of Ministers Leone and the Vice President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs Piccioni; and in Naples, he visited, together with President Segni, the headquarters of Allied Forces, Southern Europe.

In the Rome talks, which were carried out in that climate of cordial friendship and very close cooperation which characterizes Italo-American relations, there were examined the principal current international problems. In particular, the meetings provided the occasion for a useful and thorough exchange of views on the situation of East-West relations.

In this regard, both sides confirmed their firm intention of persevering in the search for appropriate means to alleviate international tensions. Furthermore, they expressed the conviction that in an atmosphere free from pressure and from threats, existing problems can be directed toward solutions, however partial, without at the same time altering that balance of forces which is guaranteed by the Atlantic Alliance, indispensable instrument for the consolidation of peace in freedom and security.

In this context, President Kennedy explained the position of the United States with respect to the possible development of a NATO multilateral nuclear force. On the Italian side, as a consequence of the agreement in principle formerly expressed by the Italian Government which was reported to the Chamber of Deputies immediately afterwards, there was expressed a favorable attitude toward participating in studies on this subject to be carried out subsequently among all the governments concerned.

In examining the developments of the Alliance, against the background of the current international situation, both parties again underlined the necessity of persevering in efforts to advance current negotiations for a controlled, gradual and balanced disarmament, of making every effort in order to reach an agreement in the field of nuclear test ban, and of preventing the proliferation of atomic arms.

As for the process of European unification, there was agreement as to its significant value, and on the Italian side, there was reaffirmed the will to encourage its development, increasing the efforts directed towards creation of an integrated Europe. In this connection, there was recalled the known attitude of the Italian Government favorable to European integration not only in the economic field but also in the political. Italian representatives found themselves in agreement with President Kennedy on the neces-
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE</th>
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<tr>
<td>001. letter</td>
<td>Beschloss to Baer; RE: Address and telephone number (partial) (1 page)</td>
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**DATE:** 05/21/1994  
**RESTRICION:** P6/b(6)

**COLLECTION:**  
Clinton Presidential Records  
Communications  
Don Baer  
OA/Box Number: 10140

**FOLDER TITLE:**  
D Day General Research [2]

**RESTRICTION CODES**

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B7 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]  
B8 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]
May 21, 1994

For Donald Baer--14 pages in all

I have attached a number of pages from various sources that may include usable material:

1. Quote I mentioned to you from Master of University College, Oxford.
2. Roosevelt private message to Churchill on D-Day using word "stupendous."
Churchill replied to Roosevelt after visiting the scene of victory, "You used the word 'stupendous' in one of your early telegrams to me. I must admit that what I saw could only be described by that word. . . . We are working up to a battle which may well be a million a side. . . . How I wish you were here!"
3-4. Pages from my 1980 book Kennedy and Roosevelt on Elliott Roosevelt's presence in air as Joseph Kennedy Jr. was killed.
5-13. Text of JFK speeches in Italy, summer 1963. I have flagged passages that might be particularly quotable.

For your own background, it is fair to say that FDR's vision of the postwar world consisted of:
1. UN with peacekeeping powers. He also intended it to serve as vehicle to permanently involve US in world affairs.
2. Intl. security system in which each Great Power (US, Russia, China, England) would control a geographical sphere as "trustees" until colonies ready for self-determination--UN also to serve as fig leaf for this.
3. The above depended on a friendly Soviet Union and China
Point that might be made is that now that Cold War is over, the vision FDR had of what should prevail after D-Day and Victory in Europe and Japan can be achieved--i.e., vigorous UN and a US permanently involved in world affairs.

If there is any additional help I can provide, or if you would like me to discreetly check any of the advance texts for historical accuracy, please let me know. By the way, I presume that you have taken a close look at Reagan's speech at Westminster.

Best,

Michael Beschloss
LONDON -- President-elect Bill Clinton has accepted an honorary fellowship at University College, one of Oxford University's most prestigious colleges, where he studied as a Rhodes Scholar in the late 1960s.

"We are absolutely delighted -- no doubt about that," Wyndham John Albery, master of University College, said yesterday. "It's wonderful to have a member of the college as president of the United States."

Clinton will not have to teach any courses, do research or grade papers as an honorary fellow. All he has to do, Albery said in a telephone interview, is "come and feast with us twice a year."

Clinton was unanimously elected last October by the college's governing body, composed of the master and 45 fellows. But the college had trouble contacting him and did not receive his acceptance until last week, Albery said.

University College, the oldest of the 20 colleges that make up Oxford University, has from the time it was founded in 1249 elected outstanding British and international figures as honorary fellows.

Clinton arrived at University College in October 1968 when he was 22.
of the few U-boats at sea, several are now sent to the bottom for each
merchant ship sunk whereas formerly each U-boat accounted for a
considerable number of merchant ships before being destroyed.
This is to be ascribed to the vigilance and to the relentless attacks
of our Anglo-American-Canadian and other anti-U-boat forces, in­
cluding the scientists who support them in a brilliant manner.

[MR] R-550

Washington [via U.S. Navy]
June 6, 1944, 11:15 A.M.

Top Secret and Personal. From the President for the Former
Naval Person.

Your 691. I am in full agreement with you as to the high desirability
of reopening the northern convoys to Russia at the earliest practicable
date after the

We should give to the Soviet attack on Germany all the support and
assistance that we can provide. Roosevelt [WDL]

[MR. ROG]

Admiral Fénard, the FCNL's naval representative to the United States, re­
turned to Washington from Algiers with a message that de Gaulle would like
to visit the President. The first draft of cable R-551, prepared by the Map
Room staff, contained the following sentence: "I feel it unnecessary for you
to come to this side now, but that is a decision which can be quickly and
readily made if circumstances require." Although the President did not in­
clude that phrase when he redrafted the cable, it presumably reflected his
feelings as expressed orally to his aides.

R-551

Washington [via U.S. Navy]
June 6, 1944, 4:00 P.M.

Top Secret and Personal. From the President for the Former
Naval Person.

Thank you very much for your 688, 690, and 692.

In view of today's stupendous events the subjects already seem like
ancient history. I have sent word to De Gaulle that in view of his expression
of hope that I will see him over here, I shall be very glad to do so if he
will come to Washington between June 22 and 30 or else between July 6

and 14. Fénard has gone to London this morning with the above.
I agree that you and I should send a joint message to Stalin in the ne­
future—preferably when his plans and ours are in full swing. How I wish
I could be with you to see our war machine in operation! Roosevelt [FD]

[MR]

Roosevelt spent the weekend before the Normandy invasion (June 3-4)
the Charlottesville, Virginia, home of his military aide, General Edwin "P.
Watson. This message was written there on June 4 but not sent until two da­
later. The generals mentioned in the first paragraph were Sir Harold Ale­
der, the Allied commander in Italy; Mark Clark, commander of the U.
Fifth Army which had occupied Rome; Sir Oliver Leese, commander of t l
British Eighth Army; and Field Marshal Sir H. M. "Jumbo" Wilson, t l
Supreme Commander of Allied forces in the Mediterranean.

Admiral Fénard's missions are discussed in the headnotes to R-546 A ar
R-551.

The Randolph mentioned in the final paragraph was Major Randolph
Churchill, who had been in Yugoslavia as the personal representative of his
father to the Partisan leader, Tito. On May 25, Tito narrowly missed beir
killed or captured when the Germans made a parachute attack on his head­
quarters at Drvar. Tito and his staff escaped and were evacuated, first by
British seaplane and then by a British destroyer, to the island of Vis on t l
Adriatic coast of Yugoslavia. Randolph Churchill stayed behind assisting a
rangements for further evacuation flights and left for Bari, Italy, on one
the last of those flights.

R-552

Charlottesville, Va. [via U.S. Navy]
June 4, 1944; 5:10 P.M., June 6

From the President for the Former Naval Person.
1. I have your No. 692 at Charlottesville where I am spending t l
weekend with General Watson. We have just heard of the fall of Ron
and I am about to drink a mint julep to your very good health. I hav­
sent telegrams to Alex and Clark and Leese and Jumbo. The whole op­
eration was a magnificent example of perfect teamwork.
2. Marshall and the others will be able to talk with you in regard to
next moves. I will see them on Tuesday.
3. All good luck in your talks with prima donna. Admiral Fénard
just back in Washington from De Gaulle with a very important message
to me. I will see the Admiral on my return to Washington Monday after­
noon. I will let you know at once.
part. I believe that the winning of the war is not only the movement of manpower and winning battles, but on seeing that every part of the home front moves forward in the general scheme of things. The President says he is concerned with winning the war. He definitely is. It is just a question of what the definition of the term ‘winning the war’ is.

"It is my well-considered opinion that, short of a miracle, the New Deal is finished."

**Final Reunion**

Joseph Kennedy was weathering his long season of discontent with some serenity. He invested in a racetrack, backed a Broadway play, started the fliers in real estate and oil that within a decade would make him one of the wealthiest men in the world. By 1944, however, his hopes were settling on the next generation. "My world may pass. It can't go on forever..." he told a journalist in May. "The generation that follows me may have to stand for everything I stood against—and I realize that this includes even my own sons."

The cynosure of Kennedy's aspirations now was his oldest son, who was serving alongside Colonel Elliott Roosevelt in Europe. Any dreams of the governorship of Massachusetts had been set aside when the former ambassador pinned navy cadet's wings on Joe, Jr., in a Florida ceremony. The elder Kennedy had begun to deliver a talk to the new officers but as he looked on his son, tears welling in his eyes, he had to sit down.

In March 1944 Joe was named to receive a navy commendation for valor through repeated air missions. James Byrnes suggested to the president that he might want to present the award in a special White House ceremony. Roosevelt customarily presented only the Congressional Medal of Honor, but told Byrnes he would be glad to pin the award on Kennedy's son. But by the time Byrnes called the former ambassador, a navy board had reduced the rank of commendation. A disappointed Kennedy told Byrnes that it would be better for his son if the president made no exception.

It was another presidential election year. Kennedy had hoped for months that the Democrats would nominate William O. Douglas. His admiration for the civil libertarian Supreme Court justice puzzled many; Kennedy himself joked that Douglas was one of those in public life whom he loved the most and with whom he disagreed the most. The old chemistry of personal allegiance was at work. Kennedy had taken the young Yale lawyer under his wing at the Securities Commission and brought Douglas along to White House meetings: "Bill, you have to get to know the Boss."

In September 1937, after a talk with Roosevelt, Kennedy telephoned Douglas to expect an important call; it was the president, offering the chairmanship of the commission. Little more than a year thereafter Douglas went to the high court. The political conspirators of 1940, Justices Murphy and Frankfurter, now traded rumors on the president's prospects of their colleague. "Well, no Democrat will be elected in 1940, but Bill will be named, I believe," said Murphy. "I am only sorry that order to gain what he believes to be the Catholic vote, the financial end his campaign is being managed by Joe Kennedy..."

By late spring, however, war was still raging. Joseph Kennedy and most everyone else believed that Franklin Roosevelt would stand for fourth term. But Kennedy was certain that the president would be defeated. "Roosevelt undoubtedly is very, very strong as Commander-in-Chief with most of the labor forces and with most of the people who despise him but who hesitate to change a Commander-in-Chief while we are in the terrific spot that we are now in," he informed Beaverbrook. "The problem was that the president would probably insist on the renomination of Henry Wallace. 'That will weaken the ticket because, whether Roosevelt likes it or not, there's still an undercurrent of feeling that if health is not of the best and while he will keep that reasonably well concealed, they can't help but expect that there's a bare chance that if we were elected, he might find it necessary to resign to take some international job for health reasons, and the Vice President would become President—and certainly there are countless Democrats who could never accept Wallace as President.'"

Kennedy predicted that the election outcome would depend on the timing of the Allied invasion of Europe. If the assault were delayed until November, the president would "suffer terrifically" from accusation that he was "playing politics with the boys' lives." If the war were over by November, "Roosevelt wouldn't have as much chance of being elected I have." Compounding the president's problems, he wrote, were public worries about incompetence in Washington as well as the strength of the Republican nominee-apparent, Thomas E. Dewey of New York. "He is making a very good governor and his main strength is that he's making good appointments." Kennedy's prophecy: "I'm still reserving to myself the right to change after the next three months' developments, but I think the trend is definitely Republican and Dewey will be elected."

1944

Kennedy was awaiting his son's return from the European theater: "Although he's had a large number of casualties in his squadron, I'm st
hoping and praying we'll see him around the first of July." But at the beginning of August Joe volunteered for the perilous assignment of flying explosives over the Belgian coast. Elliott Roosevelt was part of the air escort; the president's son was momentarily blinded by the flash as Kennedy's plane exploded in mid-air.

A navy priest arrived at the Kennedy home. The patriarch assembled his children on the sunporch. "I want you all to be particularly good to your mother." Kennedy climbed the stairs and locked his bedroom door.

There was a consoling note from the president. James Forrestal, secretary of the navy and a friend, ordered the naming of a battleship for the war hero; the vessel was christened by the former ambassador and his family at the Fore River yard. Joseph Kennedy drifted into an isolation of his own making, listening for hours to Beethoven as he gazed out the window at the sea. A month later came word that his daughter Kathleen's new husband had been killed in battle. The president had chuckled on hearing of her marriage to the marquess of Hartington; he had known the groom's family for years and they were devout Anglicans. Now Roosevelt asked Kennedy to "please tell Kathleen I am thinking of her in her crushing sorrow."

In a letter to a Washington friend Kennedy wondered "what I would have thought if I had had any part in causing the war to be fought. I am sure, with the kind of imagination I have, that my religious convictions would have had a hard time saving me from myself."

Franklin Roosevelt seemed equally battle-weary. "Yes, I am tired," the president joked. "So would you be if you had spent the last five years pushing Winston uphill in a wheelbarrow." But friends and family worried over the toll exacted by the war years. Roosevelt's color was grayer than it had been and the characteristic tremor in his hands was growing more severe. The president had also lost weight—actually on doctor's orders, but Republican newspapers published photographs emphasizing the hollow eyes and slack jaw to quicken the rumor mill against the "sick man in the White House." He no longer had the patience for the political skirmishes in which he once took pleasure. "He just doesn't give a damn," observed a presidential assistant.

The president announced that "as a good soldier" he would accept a fourth nomination. Contrary to Joseph Kennedy's prediction, he did not expend the energy required to maneuver Henry Wallace back onto the ticket. In 1940 Roosevelt had threatened to refuse renomination rather than be overruled on his choice of running mate. Now, after a late-night session at the White House with Democratic officials, he signed a letter stating he would be "very glad" to run with either William O. Douglas or

Harry S. Truman. After the ratification of Roosevelt and Truman at Chicago, the president returned to the daily demands of the war.

Was it an instance of déjà vu? In the final weeks of the presidential campaign, stories abounded that Joseph Kennedy would execute some dramatic attempt to deny the president reelection. A Boston newspaper reported that the former ambassador had purchased radio time for an eleventh-hour endorsement of the Republican candidate—"unless changes his mind." Kennedy was summoned to the White House. G.T. Tully telephoned to say that the president would like to hear Kennedy views on the postwar economy. On October 26, 1944, a day short of five years after his return from London, Joseph Kennedy saw Franklin Roosevelt for the last time.

It was sunny and crisp in Washington. Government workers and nary men took their lunches outdoors, under trees shaded in scarlets and oranges. The White House did not appear notably more fortress-like in the days of the New Deal—the president had vetoed plans to demolish the old mansion with troops and light tanks—but the black iron gates had been reinforced with armor and artillery was hidden on the roof.

In the Oval Room Kennedy was unprepared for the gaunt figure that came into view. The president briskly opened the conversation. What Kennedy think of Henry Kaiser's plan for postwar employment? Roosevelt had immediately struck a sore spot. During the war years Kaiser gained the admiration of press and public as "the President's favorite businessman," offering advice on all manner of government project place that had once been held by Joseph Kennedy.

Kennedy thought the plan was "so much ---", using an epithet was unrecorded for history. With the candor of a decade earlier warned the president that he should not adopt the idea without further study. "You will get in trouble if you do." Roosevelt asked him to summarize his thoughts in a memorandum.

Now it was Kennedy's turn. Encouraging the president's course a fashion become almost ritualized, he acknowledged that he had "a passion", affection" for Roosevelt. The president had given him several opportunities for important public service. But Kennedy could not abide the crowds that would surround him. "They will write you down in history, if you get rid of them, as incompetent—and they will open the way for the Communist line." If Roosevelt lost the election, these men would be to be blamed: "They have surrounded you with Jews and Communists."

Kennedy observed that the current odds on the president's vi
Workers' Wages, Salaries and Benefits Up 3.2 Percent

WASHINGTON (AP) -- American workers' wages, salaries and benefits rose 3.2 percent in the year ended March 31, the smallest increase on record, the government said today.

The Labor Department said its employment-cost index, considered one of the best gauges of wage-inflation pressures, was down from the 3.5 advance in the year ended September 30, 1991, the first quarter since the government began compiling the index in 1962.

Benefits, including health care costs, increased 4.1 percent, the smallest advance in seven years.

In a separate report, the Labor Department said workers covered by union contracts negotiated in the January-March quarter won wage increases averaging 3.3 percent, the best performance since 1981.

Mr. President, Prime Minster Long, For American workers, annual rates of increase in union contracts have declined in half of the last seven years.

The pace of employment compensation, which was increasing at 5.5 percent a year in 1990, slowed to the economy stopped in this year.

But although the recovery is that of job creation until recent weeks, the comparison is of off workers and how their work forces in the competitive, job market employees have had little leverage to boost their compensation.

As a result, annual wage and cost gains have remained near 3.5 percent. And since the median, which is typically represent about two-thirds of the cost of a product, wage advantages are seen pricier in the United States.

The consumer price index rose just 2.7 percent last year and so far in 1994, is advancing at 3.4 percent a time rate. If it had risen, 6.4 percent as recently as 1992, wages and salaries, about 74 percent of total compensation, rose 2.9 percent slightly more than earlier.

But benefit costs, including health care, rose up earlier following a 5.0 percent gain a year ago due to the smallest increase since in 1989, a 5.8 percent gain in the year ended December 1993.

Health care costs, increases have been slowing since the Clinton administration began it campaign to overhaul the health care system.

The annual increase in adjusted employment costs, is now adjusted 0.7 percent, down from 4.0 percent during the October-December 1990.

Wages and salaries also were up 0.1 percent, compared to 0.4 percent in the final three months of 1993. Benefit costs rose 0.4 percent, slower than the 1 percent increase in the fourth quarter.

Analysts prefer to track the latest 12-month performance because it smooths out the volatility of the quarterly reports and provides a more accurate picture of inflationary trends.

APNP-04-26-94 1147EDT
have come to Europe—that the United States will regard any threat to your peace and freedom as a threat to our own, and we will not hesitate to respond accordingly.

But now our ties are more than military. What has brought our two countries ever closer together in the postwar years has been our common recognition that freedom must mean more than an absence of tyranny; that it must have internal meaning as well; that it must provide not only for theoretical rights, but for solid economic and social progress towards the enjoyment of those rights by all of its citizens. As a result of these developments, Italy and the United States have attained a new harmony, not only in foreign affairs, but in domestic political outlook and concern.

[We both believe in the achievement of social justice and in progress for all our people. We both believe in democracy at what Americans call "the grass roots"—placing the individual ahead of the state, the community ahead of the party, and public interests ahead of private.]

[The growth of your nation's economy, industry, and living standards in the postwar years has truly been phenomenal. A nation once literally in ruins, beset by heavy unemployment, and inflation, has expanded its output and assets, stabilized its costs and currency, and created new jobs and new industries at a rate unmatched in the Western world. For this remarkable achievement, I salute all those who provided the labor, initiative, and vision to make it possible. But even more phenomenal than the recovery of your economy has been the recovery of your freedom—the reconstruction and renewal of a strong, progressive democracy after 21 years of dictatorship.]

[Democracy involves delays and debates and dissension. It requires men to think as well as believe, to look ahead as well as back, to give up narrow views or interests that retard their nation's progress. But given an opportunity to work, it completely contradicts and isolates the false appeals of the extremists who would destroy democracy.]

[During the 1930's, when despair and depression opened wide the gates of many nations to these archaic and harsh ideologies, my own nation adhered to the course of freedom under the leadership of Franklin Roosevelt. His administration introduced a higher degree of social, economic, and political reform than America had previously seen—including tax and budget reforms, land and agricultural reforms, political and institutional reforms. Workers were assured of a decent wage—older citizens were assured of a pension—farmers were assured of a fair price. Working men and women were permitted to organize and bargain collectively. Small businessmen, small investors, and small depositors in banks were given greater protection against the evils of both corruption and depression. Farms were electrified—rivers were harnessed—cooperatives were encouraged. Justice—social and economic justice as well as legal—became increasingly the right and the opportunity of every man, regardless of his means or station in life.]

[I do not say that the battle for justice is over in my country, any more than you would say it is over in yours. The achievement of justice is an endless process—democracy must be a daily way of life. And there are still inequalities to be removed in the United States. We are striving to reduce geographic inequalities, in which some States and communities are not sharing in the general prosperity. We are striving to include health and hospital care among the financial disasters covered by social insurance, as your system, I am told, already provides. We are striving to increase jobs without increasing the benefits of abusing the forces of in]

[Of great importance to erase for all the inequalities of race at all Americans a firm and equal acceptance suffered by our Ne of the country; attain both political and economic dignity.]

While progress of the areas of so mains that no tapers promise of solute men have stressed, is not complete it ever be. The obst always look large; of those with the answers of the fat always be great. Italy and the Uni more closely togeth mon dedication to and the common dignity.]

All this is not for the world at set an example or thing, if we can control inflation, spread the bless our people, if we need, not only a fair day's wages, tials and housing can more surely commitments to foundaion for s community, and its other lands. To
April 25, 1994

Nancy Hernreich
Executive Offices of the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Nancy:

Please allow me to submit a suggestion to the President regarding the Commemorative Services of our June 6, 1944 military action on the beaches at Normandy.

A good friend of mine who was involved in this day with the paratroopers has always lamented that it has been called an INVASION. He feels strongly that what we were doing was LIBERATING. The though is that maybe the President might, in his speeches and talks, clearly enunciate a new way of looking at this action, as not where we are invading peoples but we were liberating peoples.

It is just a thought, but it might well give him a much better posture and add to his further position as our world leader.

Hope you are doing well, Nancy.

Yours truly,

[Name]

Patrick M. Riley

PMR:tlh+tlh
To: Don Baer

Fr: Kelly Crawford

Info for POTUS trip to Europe!
May 31, 1994

Ms. Nancy Hernreich
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C.

Attention: President Bill Clinton

Dear Mr. President:

Although I have not seen you since the 25th class reunion, I have been thinking, often, of those wonderful days we spent at Georgetown.

This weekend, I wrote a poem trying to summarize our generation’s feelings about the great war immediately preceding our time.

It is attached herewith. If you wish to use any part of it in the ceremonies in Normandy, please feel free to do so.

Lindy, Tommy, Cokie Roberts and the entire Boggs’ clan wish you the best of luck on your upcoming trip to Normandy and Europe.

I am sure you know that you have our support and my family’s support now and into the future.

With fondest regards, I am

Yours very truly,

Charles A. Boggs

VIA TELEFAX - 202-456-2883
OUR FATHERS

What do we owe our fathers of half century past,
Those then boys from farms and towns,
Those lads who left from east and west,
Mere children marching off to their Country’s call?

With youth’s armour of invincibility,
Filled with love of their country,
These sons of the depression
Focused their souls to free half the Western World.

Willfully, they prepared on the plains
and moors of Mother Britian,
So that, at a time unknown, they could face,
on even ground, the hardened soldiers of the Third Reich.

Across the channel, Hitler finished cities
of barbed fences, buried mines,
of pillboxes and machine guns,
of mortar, cannon and tanks.

On June 6, were born names to two beaches,
certainly there from time’s beginning,
but forever more, fifty years ago,
these are Omaha and Utah.
The sea was rough, our hopes,
175,000 of them, mostly seasick.
The moon was to have shown their way
but clouds joined the storm.

Airstrikes and bombs from 11,000 planes
were to have cleared the beaches of the Nazi menace.
But moonless darkness obscured the cliffs
and bombs fell inland killing Norman cows.

Cannon of 6,000 ships was to have
finished making beaches safe;
But ship's fire halted after
but 30 minutes.

With centuries old precision, cold
German steel trained down
on the beaches, awaiting youth
to wade ashore.

As dawn broke, our lost sons
left landing craft to meet their God.
Cutdown from prime of life in massive fire from the
cliffs of Omaha and marshes of Utah.
Yet was heard the cry "Follow me"
As, the more, and the more, pushed to the beach.
Moving aside those fallen, now soon to be white crosses on the fields of Normandy.

Dauntless was the attack;
Impenetrable was the defense.
Arms, legs, eyes and lives lost
Explosion, smoke, suffering, death, the only reality.

Beyond which loomed so ever higher
the cliffs, machine gun studded
and mortar fortified.

But, now, louder was heard: Follow Me!
At first a lieutenant, then a private,
then a sergeant reached the summit.

Inch by inch, foot by foot,
Relentless was the surge of our boys,
This day born men, as they took
by force of will, Utah and Omaha.
Now, you tell me what we owe our fathers.
For me, it is my breath and body
But more, much more...

It is freedom for which I thank them, most dearly;
A limitless horizon of ideals, of opportunity, and of beliefs
Which I now pass to my children.

Because fifty years ago our fathers
Mere boys, gave their lives in
the greatest of all battles
so that we are free.

Charles A. Boggs
May 31, 1994
The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

My dear Mr. President:

In view of your forthcoming trip to Italy and the recent political upheavals there, I thought you might find some interesting reflections in the enclosed text of Mario Vargas Llosa’s public lecture at Georgetown earlier this semester. It was a moving address, and of course he is a great writer.

Wishing you every success on the journey,

God bless.

Leo J. O’Donovan, S.J.

LJO’D/jmh

Enclosure
If one wants to take the pulse of the culture of democracy in today's world, it is a good idea to look to Spain instead of starting with the ex-Soviet Union or the countries of Central Europe. Because Spain is an example of the fertility and vitality of that culture. It is a manifestly happy instance of a peaceful and swift transition from a self-obsessed, drearily uniform political autocracy to the pluralism of the representative system, of a change from an inward-looking economic life, more or less strangled by mercantilism and protectionism, to the vigour of the market and to an openness to the outside world. No doubt this development entailed a high cost and Spain is still paying it, but it shows that such a transition is possible provided there is a consensus between the main political forces, as there was in Spain, and provided there is a clear perception that this is the path—the only path—towards progress and modernity.

Unlike Spain, many countries within the orbit of the now vanished Soviet Empire seem incapable of achieving this transformation, due either to a lack of responsible agreement between their political leaders or to the fact that the withering away of productive life caused by decades of collectivism and State
control is turning the creation of a civil society with independent institutions and a free economy into a task of Cyclopean dimensions. As a result, pessimistic voices are now being heard that contrast with the optimism of 1989 in predicting the failure of democratisation in the former Communist world and the beginning in the East of a new era of authoritarian despotisms, ethnic conflicts, religious fundamentalism, anarchy, regional wars and movements of populations whose expanding waves—a new invasion of barbarian tribes like those that engulfed Roman civilisation—may undermine the foundations of the West and plunge it into a crisis of incalculable consequences.

The pessimism is as arbitrary as the simple-minded optimism of those who thought that democracy would straightway blossom forth, fair and fragrant, from the ruins of the Communist world. History has never advanced in a straight line down the path pointed to by rationality and common sense. Its trajectory is tortuous and almost always unpredictable, sometimes elliptical, sometimes straight; and it proceeds now in slow-motion, now by fits and starts. But, from the viewpoint of that advanced form of humanisation of social relationships that democracy represents, there can be no doubt that in recent years History has advanced rather than gone backwards, and, without wishing to gloss over any other collective tragedies that are being suffered today, one can assert that contemporary reality is less sinister than in the years of the Cold War when the spectre of nuclear apocalypse stalked the world.
The collapse of the Soviet Union and the hasty turn towards capitalism by the People's Republic of China, have removed the most serious adversary faced by the culture of freedom since its Athenian origins, and they have endowed it with something it never had: universal legitimacy. The hecatomb of totalitarian ideologies has left democracy, conceived and practised in the Western manner, alone on the world political stage, acknowledged by one and all -enthusiastically or reluctantly- as the only system capable of simultaneously advancing both prosperity and justice, and as the system best equipped to defend human rights.

No one nowadays questions this political model -at least not out loud... And it is spreading across the planet -although with different degrees of imperfection- even to regions and countries where it never appeared before or was only an exotic bloom. Despite all the stumbles and set-backs, it has put down apparently robust roots in a good part of what were formerly called the 'people's democracies' and, in some of them -for example the brand-new Czech Republic and in Hungary and Poland, economic privatisation and a regime of public freedom are starting to reverse the trend in what was until yesterday a headlong collapse in output and living standards. Even more promising is the case of Latin America where, with the exceptions of Cuba, Haiti, Peru and Guatemala, civil regimes born of more or less free elections, are growing stronger, and policies aimed at transferring publicly-owned enterprises to civil society and at integrating trade with world
markets are healing economies and achieving, in cases like Chile, growth rates such as the continent has never known in its history. There is nothing more effective than this growth within democracy to discredit once and for all military dictatorships and the cult of revolutionary violence, the two things mainly responsible for the political and economic backwardness of Latin-American societies.

Democratisation is also making inroads into those citadels of authoritarianism in Asia which have tried to combine the free market and a decentralised economy on the one hand with political autocracy on the other. In South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore we are now seeing—and no doubt we shall eventually see it too in the People's Republic of China just as we saw it in Chile's recent past—that liberty has but one banner and that regimes that try to confine it to the fields of industry and commerce while they hold it in check or repress it in the political field, are sooner or later obliged to face irresistible popular pressure for that same autonomy and freedom of action granted to enterprises and traders when they are producing, buying and selling to be likewise granted to citizens when they are thinking, expressing themselves, deciding their lives and electing those who govern them.

The lifting of the burden of totalitarianism should allow free societies to do something more important than lower the cost of their armaments and the size of their armies. It should enable
them to concentrate on perfecting the democratic system and correcting the defects that still linger in it or have been allowed to take root within it, defects which, if they continue to develop, could make the democratic system ossify or empty it of substance. The foremost among these increasingly numerous tasks are corruption, what is called in the Hispanic world 'trading of influence', and shady business deals done with the connivance of people in power. In recent years scandals of this sort have besmirched almost all the great western democracies with alarming regularity, and this demands drastic responses and exemplary sanctions. For nothing so much demoralises or demotivates a nation's civic spirit as the discredit of the whole political class that is generated by the suspicion that persons who once had the public's confidence can commit crimes with impunity. This suspicion generates apathy and cynicism among citizens, and these are yet more disincentives to participation in public life, without which there is no real democracy. Electoral abstention, which in some modern countries affects as much as half the electorate, is a very serious symptom of this malady.

Another grave problem is the widening abyss in the free societies of the world between those who have much and those who have little or nothing. It is only in times of plenty, when general abundance reaches down to the least favoured social strata and guarantees proper incomes and a decent existence for all, that such economic inequality does not stand in the path of achieving
the social consensus that democracy relies on. But in times of crisis and recession like the present, when sacrifices are called for and result in high levels of unemployment, uncertainty about the future and day-to-day anxieties, these differences in the distribution of wealth, which are an inevitable accompaniment to the free market, generate refusal, indignation and popular discontent with the system, which is then perceived as something intrinsically discriminatory and likely to create privilege.

This is no easy problem to solve, for it is born of those 'contradictory values', as Isaiah Berlin calls them, liberty and equality, two noble human aspirations that are nevertheless secretly allergic to one another. Both can be friends for a while, but friction and quarrels soon break out between them. But, as the millions of men and women sacrificed in the Gulags prove, suppressing liberty to ensure equality creates a very illusory and relative equality incapable of creating wealth, and this sooner or later condemns a whole society (with the exception of a favoured Nomenklatura) to shortages, bare subsistence — and sometimes not even that. Those industrial cemeteries of East Germany or Russia, or the economic prehistory Albania now languishes in, or those Cubans who are giving up their tractors for asses and donkeys or their buses for bicycles, are all evidence of this.

The redistribution of wealth, a principle that liberal democracy enshrined before socialism did, should go no further than
what is strictly necessary to guarantee the whole body of society those levels of decent life without which human dignity is damaged. Nor should it overstep the limit that keeps alive the spirit of enterprise, the urge to invest and the creativity that are the life-blood of progress and well-being - things that State intervention disrupts and kills. It is difficult to maintain this balance; it is an equation that must be constantly reformulated so that a match should be found in each period between what is desirable and what is possible. This is a tightrope that only highly-skilled acrobats can walk, in other words only governments that have as much integrity as efficiency and imagination. The essential thing is that the economic rights of the citizens should at every moment enjoy as much respect as their civil and political rights. Every citizen should see that access to the market is always guaranteed, so that the whole of society is constantly reassured that the economic success of an individual or of an enterprise is always and only the fruit of talent and effort, of genuine triumph in an atmosphere of fully open and clean competition and not a victory for privilege, monopoly or political string-pulling.

The social mobility, this opportunity open to all to rise -or risk falling- on the social scale according only to their efforts or inventive skills or idleness or lack of ability, constitutes the basic underpinning of justice in a democracy. If this mobility is inhibited or disappears or is strangled by mercantilism -by that
Mafia-like conspiracy of mutual favouritism between economic and political elites that prostitutes the market and replaces free competition by favour—then a democracy begins to decline and may fall apart.

But corruption, mercantilism, civic apathy are all dangers that have accompanied democratic societies from the dawn of their history, and they have neither managed to destroy them nor prevent them from periodically reinvigorating themselves, especially in periods when major enemies—Communism and Fascism were examples—have loomed in their path and were set to drown them in blood. In our times, the survivals or reincarnations of these doctrines or the challenge of Muslim fundamentalist regimes like Iran's, are nothing that can be reasonably compared with the challenge to the culture of liberty made by Hitler or Stalin. This is not to underestimate the destructive capacity of the regime of the Ayatollahs, or of fanatical Maoist sects like Shining Path in Peru. Nor should we forget the assaults and crimes against immigrants committed by gangs of skinheads tattooed with Nazi swastikas, or underestimate the risk posed by the inroads in relatively numerous areas of the xenophobic and racist preaching of extreme right-wing parties like the Front National in France. These are evidently disquieting phenomena, but they are, for the moment, neutralised by electoral majorities that have time and again demonstrated their unequivocal rejection of such anti-democratic movements.
The true danger facing the culture of freedom at this end of a millennium, a danger that includes all those I mentioned previously and which could transform them and supply those extremists and their sectarian brutalities and eccentricities with a terrible justification, is Nationalism. I would like to devote the second part of my lecture to a meditation on the nature and meaning of this phenomenon.

Awareness of history, regional and local fervour, defense of one's own tradition, language and customs, and also an ideological mask for chauvisism, xenophobia, racism and religious dogmatism - Nationalism will be, in fact already is the political force which, in years to come, will oppose that internationalisation of life and economy that have brought with them industrial civilisation and the culture of democracy.

How and where was this ideology born which rivals religious intolerance and revolutionary utopianism in having unleashed the worst wars and catastrophes of history? According to Isaiah Berlin it came into the world as an initially benign response to utopian dreams of the perfect society - the society that must have existed in a remote Golden Age or which will be built in the future in accordance with Reason and Science. Such dreams of utopia are among the most durable constants of Western history.

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In the 18th century a Neapolitan philosopher and historian revolutionised the belief that saw Rome and Greece as the unchanging paradigm of human development to which all earlier culture had been moving as they abandoned superstition and barbarism, and which must be adopted by those cultures that, as the Roman Empire dissolved, had arisen from its ruins and represented humanity in decadence. In his *Scienza Nuova* Giambattista Vico says that this is false. History is movement and to each epoch there corresponds a certain unique type of society, thought, beliefs and customs, religion and morality which can only be properly understood in their own terms; to this documentary and archaeological understanding, moreover, must be added that movement of sympathy and that flight of the imagination called by him *Fantasy* that he requires of the authentic historian. Vico thus inflicted a severe reverse on the ethnocentric vision of human development and laid down the foundations for a relativistic and plural conception within which all cultures, races and societies are entitled to the same consideration.

But the true cradle of modern nationalism is eighteenth-century Germany, and its spiritual father is Johann Gottfried Herder. The utopia that he is reacting against is not located in some remote world but reflects an overwhelming present reality: the French Revolution, the daughter of the *philosophes* and the guillotine, whose armies were advancing across the whole Continent, levelling it and integrating it under the yoke of a
uniform set of laws, ideas and values which proclaimed themselves as superior and universal, the standard-bearers of a civilisation that would soon encompass the whole planet. Against this vision of a uniform world that would speak French and would be organised according to the cold and abstract principles of rationalism, Herder erects his small citadel built of blood, land and language: das Volk.

His defence of the particular, of local customs and traditions, of the right of each people to have their idiosyncratic character recognised and their identity respected, has a positive dimension which has nothing racist or discriminatory about it - these ideas were also, for example, to have a similarly positive content in Fichte. This defense can be interpreted as a very humane and progressive revindication of small, weak societies against powerful societies motivated by imperial designs. Herder's nationalism is, moreover, also ecumenical. His ideal was a diverse world in which the whole colourful rainbow of linguistic, folkloric and ethnic expressions of humanity should coexist in a cultural mosaic without hierarchies and prejudices.

But these cool-headed, beneficent ideas became charged with violence when they fell upon territory nourished with resentment and the complexes of wounded national pride; above all when they were exacerbated by romantic nationalism. According to Berlin, romanticism is a delayed rebellion against the humiliation that the
armies of Richelieu and Louis XIV inflicted on the German people; the latter's Protestant renaissance was, in the North, hindered by their intervention. On the other hand, the modernising projects of Frederick the Great of Prussia, who imported French civil servants to advance his schemes, also engendered a sullen hostility against that contemptuous and arrogant France which saw herself as the matchless source of intelligence and taste. With that hostility came a rejection of everything that came from France, especially the ideas of the Enlightenment.

With its exaltation of the individual, the historical and the native against the universality or timeless philosophy of the Enlightened Century, Romanticism gave a formidable boosted to nationalism. It clad it with colourful and arousing images, endowed it with a febrile rhetoric and made it accessible to wide audiences in the form of plays, poems and novels that set down deep roots into the most picturesque and sensitive aspects of local traditions. From asserting what was their own, people soon went on to rejecting and despising what belonged to others. The step was soon taken from defending what was specifically German to asserting the superiority of the German people -or of the Russian or French or Anglo-American peoples- and to proclaiming a historical mission which, for racial, religious or political reasons, this people was destined to fulfill in the face of the other peoples of the world. And these other peoples would have no choice but to resign themselves to that mission or be punished if they resisted it.
This was the path that was to lead to the great slaughters of 1914 and 1939. It also led the Hispanic peoples on the other side of the ocean to maintain an absurd colonial Balkanisation and waste their blood in civil wars designed to preserve or modify borders which were everywhere purely artificial without the slightest ethnic, geographical or traditional basis.

To this thesis that nationalism is a doctrine or state of mind—or both—born as a reaction against the utopia of a universal and perfect society the following qualification must be added: Nationalism is also a utopia, a utopia no less unrealistic and artificial than those that offer the classless society, the republic of the just, the pure race or the revealed truth.

And one way of proving this is to pause to consider one of the most recent and subtle versions of nationalism, that of Professor Roger Scruton, who has availed himself with arguments in its defence that are more sophisticated than those usually heard from its champions.¹ According to him, the nation is a product of community sentiment similar to that of the tribe, which is a fraternity in the first-person plural, the 'We' that includes the dead and the yet unborn as full-members into the society of the living. Shared language, religion and land are the basis of national sentiment, but the latter is enriched and 'immortalised'...

¹Professor Scruton's work was presented in a seminar at the University of Boston, Conversazione, 12 November 1992.
by writing, as, for example, when Latin, Hebrew, Arabic and the English of King James I's Bible are given form in representative texts through which the living enter into dialogue with their ancestors and descendants. When it is thus cemented together, a community is emancipated from history, acquires a metaphysical permanence prior to and deeper than the constitution of the State, which is a modern phenomenon which (admittedly only in privileged cases) clothes the nation as a glove clothes a hand.

In the case of Europe there is, according to Professor Scruton, still more cement to bind this structure together. Its nations inherited the greatest achievement of the Roman Empire, a system of laws for resolving conflicts that is universal and independent of the arbitrariness of rulers. This legacy has been particularly fecund in the case of Britain where, he says, it has created 'a gravitation pull' of territorial jurisdictions within which conflicts are resolved, institutions are strengthened and citizens live in security and freedom that sets up strong bonds of solidarity between the components of the national 'We' and generate an instinct for knowing oneself and feeling oneself different from the others, from 'Them'.

I suspect that Professor Scruton is unmoved by the fact that his intricate conceptual apparatus for describing a nation may only be applicable to one of them -Great Britain- and that all the others are exceptions. His thesis seems to me a fine sophism, an
intellectual creation which, as happens in fiction, shatters on contact with reality. I have nothing against fiction: I devote myself to writing it and I am convinced that for most mortals' existence would be unbearable without it. But there are benign and malign fictions; fictions that enrich human experience and fictions that impoverish it and are the source of violence. Considering the blood it has made people shed throughout history, considering the way it has contributed to stoking up prejudices, racism, xenophobia and lack of communication between peoples and cultures, considering the alibis it has provided for authoritarianism, totalitarianism, colonialism and religious and ethnic genocide, the Nation seems to me a prime example of a malign fantasy.

A nation is a political fiction imposed, nearly always by force, upon a social and geographical reality for the benefit of a minority and maintained by a system designed to produce uniformity. It imposes homogeneity, sometimes in a gentle manner, sometimes harshly, and it does so at the cost of the disappearance of a previous heterogeneity. And it sets up often insurmountable barriers in the way of maintaining religious, cultural or ethnic diversity within its boundaries. The civilised world is rightly scandalised by the ethnic and religious 'cleansing' done by Serbs against the Bosnians and by Croats and Serbs against one another. But the reality is that the history of all nations is plagued by savagery of this nature which patriotic history-writing -another fiction- later tries to conceal. This has happened not only in the
most recent, but also in the most ancient and respectable 'imaginary communities', as the astute Benedict Anderson calls them; in other words in those nations which, thanks to their long life or great influence, seem to have been born with the massively solid presence of a tree or a storm.

The very idea of a nation is false if it is conceived of as something homogeneous and perennial, as a human totality in which shared language, tradition, customs, manners, beliefs and values are assumed to configure a collective personality that is distinctly set off from that of other peoples. In this sense there do not exist and never have existed nations in this world. Those that come closest to this chimerical model are, in reality, archaic and rather barbaric societies which despotism and isolation have excluded from modernity and almost from history as well.

All other nations are little more than frameworks within which there coexist different and opposed ways of being, speaking, believing and thinking that have more to do with one's profession, with one's chosen vocation, one's education, the beliefs one adopts - in short with an individual choice and increasingly less with the tradition or family or linguistic milieu in which one was born. Even language, possibly the most genuine of social identifying marks, is nowadays no longer a characteristic that is identifiable with that of the Nation, because in nearly every nation different languages are spoken -even if one of them is the official language-
and because with very few exceptions nearly all languages spill over national frontiers and trace out their own geography on the toponymy of the planet.

There is no nation that has arisen from the natural and spontaneous development of an ethnic group or religion or cultural tradition. All were born of political arbitrariness, plunder, imperial intrigues, from crude economic interests, from brute force allied with pure chance. And all of them, even the most ancient and prestigious, have raised their frontiers on a gloomy field of annihilated, repressed of fragmented cultures, of peoples badly integrated or clumsily mixed together, and this has been done by war, religious strife or by the mere need to survive. Every nation is a lie for which time and history have gradually fashioned an appearance of truth—as they did for ancient myths and classical legends.

No nation ever arose naturally. The coherence and fraternity that a few still display conceal alarming realities beneath fine literary, historical and artistic fictions that underpin their identity. In these nations too those 'contradictions and differences'—creeds, races, customs, languages, and not always minority languages—were demolished, for just like Albert Camus's Caligula, the nation needs to eliminate these things in order to feel secure, safe from the risk of fragmentation.
And it is not just that host of African and American nations produced by the fanciful demarcations imposed on those continents by the colonial empires that have arbitrary and artificial pedigrees, for example Jordan, a country invented by Winston Churchill 'one spring Saturday afternoon' according to his famous quip. The difference is that the old nations seem more serious, necessary and realistic than the new ones because they resemble religion in appearing to be validated not only by abundant literatures but also by the seas of blood shed, whether their own or others'. But this is an illusion. The truth is contrary to the assumptions that Professor Scruton's conclusions rely on. The extraordinary thing is that despite the tremendous energy invested by the most ancient nations in creating that common denominator, the protective and isolating 'We', what is daily more evident in them is the irresistible centrifugal forces that are challenging the whole of this myth. It is happening in France, Spain, not to mention Italy and even in Great Britain itself. And of course, in the USA, where the development of multiculturalism terrifies not only conservatives like Allan Bloom but also progressives like Arthur Schlesinger, both of whom see in this burgeoning of different cultures -African, Hispanic, Native American- a serious threat to 'nationality' (which it obviously is). With few exceptions, modern societies display a growing intermingling of 'them' and 'us' whose nature is very diverse -racial, religious, linguistic, regional, ideological- and this reduces and sometimes dissolves the common geographical and historical denominator - 'land
and the dead', in Charles Maurras's word- on which the idea of the nation has been based since the Age of the Enlightenment.

Is Great Britain a separate case? That coherent, compact, integrated society, born of the sea, the climate, customary law, reformed religion and the individualism and liberty so beautifully recalled in Roger Scruton's texts - did it in fact ever exist? For thirty years now I have been going regularly to that country and have passed long periods in it, and I observe it and study it with an unceasing devotion. But I have never seen that metaphysical fatherland of Albion that Scruton sees, and even less now than in the winter of 1962 when I had just crossed the Channel and was boarding the train at Dover and someone shook my long-standing incredulity about national psychologies by pressing into my hands a cup of tea and a biscuit...

Great Britain is today the Austrian Popper, the Lithuanian Isaiah Berlin and the Muslim fundamentalists who burnt The Satanic verses in Brighton and are seeking to kill Salman Rushdie. And it is also the Pakistani Rushdie and the Indo-Trinidadian V.S. Naipul, the most British of British writers not only for the elegance of his English but also above all because few of his fellow-writers approach him in those traditional English literary virtues of irony, wry humour, gentle scepticism. Can we really take seriously an 'Us' that brings together Roger Scruton, whose political project for Europe consists in resucitating the Austro-Hungarian Empire,
and Arthur Scargill, who would like to establish a Soviet Socialist Republic of Great Britain, and that drunken, daubed mob of football supporters I have had to confront when I have been to see Chelsea football club play?

Nationalism is a form of ignorance that impregnates all cultures and lives side-by-side with all ideologies; a chameleon-like device at the service of politicians of all colours. In the nineteenth century it seemed that socialism would finish it off, that the theory of the class struggle, revolution and proletarian internationalism would allow the dissolution of frontiers and the establishment of universal society. The opposite happened. Stalin and Mao fortified the idea of the Nation to the point of chauvinism and, now that Communist is bankrupt, it is in the name of Nationalism that antediluvian regimes like North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba justify their existence. They claim that the rigid systems of censorship and self-isolation that they practise are aimed at defending the national culture threatened by 'Them'.

A truth lurks beneath these excuses. All nations, poor and rich, backward or modern, are now less stable and homogeneous than they were. There is a process of the internationalisation of life which, now faster, now slower, is undermining them and gnawing away their frontiers which were raised and are preserved at the cost of so many corpses. It is not socialism which is bringing about this wholesome turn of events. It is capitalism. A practical system
-not an ideology- for producing and distributing wealth, but which at a certain moment in its development found that frontiers were an obstacle in the way of the growth of markets, enterprises and capital. Since then capitalism, without boasting about it and without hiding behind loud slogans its intention of making profits, has by means of the internationalisation of production, trade and property, imposed on nations other co-ordinates and demarcations that create ties and interests between individuals and societies which in practice increasingly denature the idea of the Nation. By creating world markets and trans-national enterprises, by disseminating the practice of share-holding and property in societies that extend to every corner of the planet, this system has gradually deprived nations of a large part of the prerogatives in which their sovereignty in the economic field was based. This has already had an extraordinary effect in the cultural field, and it is starting to have the same effect in the field of politics where the steps being taken towards the formation of vast supranational unions alliances like the European Community and the North American Free Trade Agreement would have otherwise been inconceivable.

This process must be welcomed. The weakening and dissolution of nations under the sign of liberty and within wide and flexible economic and political communities, will not only contribute to the development and well-being of the planet by lessening the risks of wars and armed conflicts and by opening up hitherto unknown
opportunities for trade and industry. It will also permit diversification and the emergence of genuine cultures—cultures which are born and grow out of a need for expression by a homogeneous human group, even though they serve no project for political domination. Paradoxically, only internationalisation can guarantee the right to existence of those small cultures which the Nation has traditionally swept aside in order to consolidate the myth that it is itself untouchable.

Translated from Spanish by Dr. John Butt of King's College, London
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Tel. (202) 456-7845
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DATE: 6/3

TO: Don Baer

FAX NO.: 43506

FROM: Paul Meyer

Number of Pages to Follow: 1

NOTES: I'm still waiting for another poem
from the AF artist. I've also
attached a draft of Walt Ehler's
new piece at Omaha

If you have any questions or problems with this transmission, please telephone (202) 456-7845.
Ely Cathedral

Construction of Ely cathedral began in 1083. It was finished in about 1200 by the Normans. It is said to be one of the finest cathedrals in the country. Its octagonal tower was built after the Norman crossing tower collapsed in 1322. Its tower can be seen for miles across the town. It was the first cathedral to charge admission of the 200,000 tourists that visit each year. It dominates the surrounding landscapes. The surrounding fens were not drained until the mid 19th century. On misty days, the cathedral appears to rise out of the fog. Ely is pronounced E-Lee.

I'm still digging for more history.
As the maelstrom of war raged faster, the U.S. Army Air Forces pressed its extraordinary effort to cripple Hitler’s fighting machine. For 33 months Eighth Air Force planes flying from England pounded Germany’s great industrial web with strategic bombing strikes. The warhorses were the B-24 and, shown here, the B-17, an indomitable craft called the Flying Fortress.
PATRIOTISM AND WAR

THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER

There's a graveyard near the White House
Where the Unknown Soldier lies,
And the flowers there are sprinkled
With the tears from mother's eyes.

I stood there not so long ago
With roses for the brave,
And suddenly I heard a voice
Speak from out the grave:

"I am the Unknown Soldier,"
The spirit voice began,
"And I think I have the right
To ask some questions man to man.

"Are my buddies taken care of?
Was their victory so sweet?
Is that big reward you offered
Selling pencils on the street?

"Did they really win the freedom
They battled to achieve?
Do you still respect that Croix de Guerre
Above that empty sleeve?

"Does a gold star in the window
Now mean anything at all?
I wonder how my old girl feels
When she hears a bugle call.

"And that baby who sang
'Hello, Central, give me no man's land'—
Can they replace her daddy
With a military band?

"I wonder if the profiteers
Have satisfied their greed?
I wonder if a soldier's mother
Ever is in need?

"I wonder if the kings, who planned it all
Are really satisfied?
They played their game of checkers
And eleven million died.

---

IN FLANDERS FIELDS

In Flanders fields the poppies blow
Between the crosses, row on row,
That mark our place; and in the sky
The larks, still bravely singing, fly
Scarce heard amid the guns below.

We are the Dead. Short days ago
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,
Loved and were loved, and now we lie
In Flanders fields.

Take up our quarrel with the foe:
To you from failing hands we throw
The torch; be yours to hold it high.
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
In Flanders fields.

---

REPLY TO IN FLANDERS FIELDS

Out! Sleep in peace where poppies grow;
The torch your falling hands let go
Was caught by us, again held high,
A beacon light in Flanders sky
That dims the stars to those below.
You are our dead, you held the foe,
And ere the poppies cease to blow,
We'll prove our faith in you who lie
In Flanders Fields.

---

BILLY ROSE

"I am the Unknown Soldier
And maybe I died in vain,
But if I were alive and my country called,
I'd do it all over again."

JOHN MCCRAE
Patriotism and War

Oh! rest in peace, we quickly go
To you who bravely died, and know
In other fields was heard the cry,
For freedom's cause, of you who lie,
So still asleep where poppies grow,
In Flanders Fields.

As in rumbling sound, to and fro,
The lightning flashes, sky aglow,
The mighty hosts appear, and high
Above the din of battle cry,
Scarce heard amidst the guns below,
Are fearless hearts who fight the foe,
And guard the place where poppies grow.
Oh! sleep in peace, all you who lie
In Flanders Fields.

And still the poppies gently blow,
Between the crosses, row on row,
The larks, still bravely soaring high,
Are singing now their lullaby
To you who sleep where poppies grow
In Flanders Fields.

John Mitchell

Another Reply to In Flanders Fields

In Flanders Fields the cannons boom,
And fitful flashes light the gloom;
While up above, like eagles, fly
The fierce destroyers of the sky;
With stains the earth wherein you lie
Is redder than the poppy bloom,
In Flanders Fields.

Sleep on, ye brave! The shrieking shell,
The quaking trench, the startling yell,
The fury of the battle hell
Shall wake you not, for all is well;
Sleep peacefully, for all is well.

Patricia and War

Your flaming torch aloft we bear,
With burning heart and oath we swear
To keep the faith, to fight it through,
To crush the foe, or sleep with you,
In Flanders Fields.

J. A. Armstrong

America's Answer

Rest ye in peace, ye Flanders dead.
The fight that ye so bravely led
We've taken up. And we will keep
True faith with you who lie asleep
With each a cross to mark his bed,
In Flanders fields.

Fear not that ye have died for naught.
The torch ye threw to us we caught.
Ten million hands will hold it high,
And Freedom's light shall never die!
We've learned the lesson that ye taught
In Flanders fields.

R. W. Lilliard

Land of the Free

America, O Power benign, great hearts revere your name,
You stretch your hand to every land, to weak and strong the same;
You claim no conquest of the sea, nor conquest of the field,
But conquest for the rights of man, that despots all shall yield.

Chorus:
America, fair land of mine, home of the just and true,
All hail to thee, land of the free, and the Red-White-and-Blue.

America, staunch, undismayed, your spirit is our might:
No splendor falls on feudal walls upon your mountain's height,
But shafts of Justice pierce your skies to light the way for all,
A world's great brotherhood of man, that cannot, must not fall.
THE WHITE HOUSE

White House Office of Communications Research
OEOB Room 197
Washington, D.C. 20500

Tel. (202) 456-7845
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DATE: 6/3

TO: Don Barger

FAX NO: 43506

FROM: Paul Meyer

Number of Pages to Follow: 2

NOTES: I'm still waiting for another poem from the AF historian. I've also attached a draft of Walt Ehler's Remember at Omaha.

If you have any questions or problems with this transmission, please telephone (202) 456-7845.
Most flyers have known that hopelessly inarticulate feeling that fills us when we lose a comrade. The depth of our sentiments seems to keep us from adequately expressing our emotions at such a time.

Occasionally someone does capture some of that depth of feeling and we can point to their work and declare, "Here is part of what I wished to say."

In the following free verse the pilot author borrows from a classic theme by Antoine de Saint Exupery to create his tribute to a fallen comrade, Major Larry Dietz.

It is in this spirit we present it here.

by

Lt Col Mark Seront

A FLYER'S SALUTE

Dedicated to Dietz, a flyer — cancer brought about what no opponent ever could

When a flyer dies in harness
His death seems something inherent to flying itself,
And in the beginning the hurt it brings
Is perhaps less than the pain sprung of a different death.
Assuredly he has vanished, has undergone the ultimate mutation,
Yet his presence is still not missed immediately.

In flying we take it for granted that we shall meet only rarely,
Far flyers are widely stationed over the face of the world.
They land at scattered and remote bases, isolated from each other,
Rather in the manner of sentinels between whom no words can be spoken.
It needs the coincidence of journeyings to bring together, here or there,
The dispersed members of this great professional family.

Round the table in the evening at Ubon, at Clark, Bitburg, or Nalls,
We take up conversations interrupted by years of silence.
We resume friendships instantly to the accompaniment of buried memories.
And then we are off again.

Thus is the earth — at once a desert and a paradise rich in secret hidden groves.
Groves so often insuperable yet to which the craft lends us ever back,
One day or another.

Life may scatter us and keep us apart.
It may prevent us from thinking very often of one another.
But we know that our comrades are somewhere "in the pattern."
Where, one can hardly say.
Silent, not quite forgotten, but deeply faithful.
They greet us with such manifest joy; shake us so gaily by the shoulders;
Indeed we are accustomed to waiting.
Bit by bit, nevertheless, it comes over us
That we shall never again hear the laughter of our friend.
That this one grove is forever locked against us.
At that moment begins our true mourning
Which, though it may not be rending, is yet lonely and bitter.
For nothing, in truth, can replace that companion.

Old friends cannot be created out of hand.
Nothing can match the treasure of common memories,
Of trials endured together, of quarrels and reconciliations,
Of generous emotions.
For years we nurture the seed of friendship, we feel ourselves rich.
Then come other years when time does its work
And our groves are made sparse and thin.
One by one our comrades slip away, deprive us of their shade.

We who by hear this special loneliness and grief.
At untoward moments a memory surfaces
And outsiders stare and mutter uneasily at the black treat in our eyes.
Not of the sky, they resent our loud actions and harsh laughter.
Then it strikes that after a certain flight we are quite silent and less stricken.
For far above the earth, near the infinite, we had found the perfect cloud.
We pulled to the white end, rolling, passed through the grand arches.
Burns at evening, climbed yet higher to loop — and the twilight was purple.

In solitude we land and feel not at alone.
Our comrade received his flyer’s salute.

With a humble thank you and a flyer’s salute to Antoin de Saint-Exupéry.

Parts of this poem are quoted and paraphrased by permission of Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, Inc. from “Wind, Sand and Stars,” by Antoin de Saint Exupéry, copyright 1939 by Antoin de Saint Exupéry, copyright 1987 by Louis Galantière.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Since graduating from Aviation Cadets in 1968, Lieutenant Colonel Mark Berent has been fortunate enough to be in and around fighters through most of his Air Force career. He once did 20 months as a QCI weapon controller and he got his AFIT B.S. at Arizona State but, other than that, it’s he’s mostly had suit weather for him. F-4Es, F-100s and F-Is have helped him to over 4,000 hours total time and seemed to qualify him for four years in S&R. In 86 he flew a Hunter at Barksdale and F-4s out of Ubon in ’89 where he became Papa Wolf commanding the famous Wolf FACs. Mark was also the Air Attaché to Phnom Penh from ’71-73. He is now with the Electronics Test Division of the 3246 Test Wing at Eglin.

Among Mark’s previous literary contributions are: “Checklist for Integrity,” INTERCEPTOR, June 1981; “Night Mission on the Ho Chi Minh Trail,” “A Group Called Wolf” and “Ramrod” all for AIR FORCE MAGAZINE.

“Dietz,” to whom the poem was dedicated was Major Larry Dietzen, a Navigator and F-4 backseater who died of cancer last September.

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FEBRUARY 1974
and his Mileage Maker Victor '30, all with vocals: forced to quit music

ray Raymond Miller, Tenor sax, also vocals. New Orleans a unique voice in the swinging: played alto '30 and switched DORSEY Bros. pick-up CROSBY band '34-'42. Often worked with C. Lamare; occasional- film You Can't Ration O'Connor); on Red Las Vegas '65; played th Pete Fountain in 1950's, With A Little Pete Fountain on Time For Two with Lou Standing.

R&B singer, b Glass Stoics; discovered Trower, who'd just formed Jude, ex-Stone The Clive Bunker; often recorded. Miller '73 with BRINSLY hrysalis; attempt to ent to New Orleans Life '74, with Allen Miller beer); '50, standout tracks 'Lil Blues', Miller's persuaded Henry Band) to stay in aFact, bass; Mick Perry, drums. The Rock '75 with her: great single 'A Poor sales. Formed Mininhini, guitar; James Hall, key- Jukebox '77 incl. mandolin s/song el. Double Trouble '78, Perfect Fit '79, Easy Money '80 on Chrysalis, Standing On The Edge '82 on Capitol, of which three made lower reaches on USA LP chart. Signed with Phonogram '86; recorded with fellow Scot, ex-THIN LIZZY guitarist Brian Robertson: Dancing In The Rain '86 was disappointing hard rock aimed at USA market, co-writing by Jeff BARRY. Other songs covered by Delbert MCCLINTON, Ray CHARLES, Betty Wright, others.

MILLER, Glenn (b Alton Glenn Miller, 1 Mar. '04, Clarinda, Iowa; d 15 Dec. '44 in English Channel) Trombone, arranger, leader. Sideman on freelance recordings; arr. for Ben POLLACK '26-8; played in pit bands on Broadway while studying music; toured with Smith BALLEW, worked for DORSEY brothers, Ray NOBLE, Glen Gray, Ozzie NELSON; formed own band, failed '37, re-formed '38; 3-month gig at Glen Island Casino (Long Island) began May '39, a famous venue because of broadcasts from bandstand. Began tradition of ending broadcasts with medleys - 'something old, something new', gig at Meadowbrook (roadhouse on New Jersey's Pompton Turnpike), broadcasts for Chesterfield cigarettes followed; Miller's became the most popular dance band in the world. Joined US Army '42, formed all-star service personnel band and was posted to England '44; did not get along with the BBC: he had wangled Army commission to play for US troops, broadcast on US Armed Forces Network. Band was posted to France; Miller's plane never arrived. A hard-driving leader, he took a fatherly but possessive attitude towards his personnel, was also a tough businessman: perhaps an uptight individual who was just beginning to loosen up when he died. The band had little jazz content; among the singers, Ray Eberle was not as good as his brother Bob Eberly (with Jimmy Dorsey); similarly, Marion Hutton's sister Betty was a bigger star: the businessman in Miller thought that talent ran in families. Vocal combo the Modernaires were typical of the period. Other bands were more exciting; but Miller's won polls (in sweet category): had more than 40 top 10 records in three years after Billboard began keeping charts '40, phenomenal score for the time. Success was due to band's reliable section playing.

pretty trademark sound of clarinet lead over reed section, good arrangements and Miller's choice of material, a summary of USA pop music: '39 hits incl. 'Little Brown Jug', jive version of 70-year-old tavern/glee-club song (arr. Bill Finegan); the band's theme 'Moonlight Serenade' (Miller comp.), b/w 'Sunrise Serenade' (by Frankie CARLE) (2-sided hit eventually sold 2 million); 'In the Mood', a riff played by black bands for years (Hot and Anxious' credited to Horace HENDERSON): new arr. by Joe Garland was first played by Edgar HAYES and became Miller hit during Glen Gray gig. 'Tuxedo Junction' came from Erskine HAWKINS band '40. Romantic 'Moonlight Cocktail' was slowed down piano rag by Luckey ROBERTS; among the best arr. were Gray's 'A String Of Pearls' and Finegan's 'Song Of The Volga Boatmen', all '41. Chattanooga Choo Choo featured in band's first film (Sun Valley Serenade, also '41); 'I've Got A Gal in) Kalamazoo' in second (Orchestra Wives, '42). 'American Patrol' '42 was Gray arr. of a march written in 1891. Many of these, plus 'Don't Sit Under the Apple Tree (With Anyone Else But Me)', are still replete of wartime nostalgia, when goodbyes took place in railway stations all over the USA. Add good period pop tunes - Adios', 'Perfidia', 'My Prayer', 'Elmer's Tune', etc. - this is the formula still regarded as the essence of '40s pop music. Original recordings are still selling; Miller had broadcasts recorded, and many of these have been issued; total number of LP reissues is enormous: 40 currently available in UK alone. Among countless compilations, the original Bluebtrd 78s have been compiled in a series of 2-disc albums; 2-disc set Glenn Miller - A Memorial 1944-1949 was good value with 30 selections, but original 78s were always badly transferred to master tape for some reason: RCA's first digital transfer, a single CD selection, was a failure, but the work was done again and a 3-CD set '87 was an unqualified success (another good transfer is American Patrol in the soundtrack of Woody Allen's Radio Days; see RECORDED SOUND). Miller bands authorised by his estate have been led by Tex BENEKE, Ray McKINLEY, Buddy DEFRANCO, Peanuts Hucko, others; a band led by Dick Gerhardt played at Glen Island Casino in April '84 (first time since '40); another led by Glenn's brother Herb played a band made In A Digtal with Julius LAROSA, Mike VerPlanck re-creating George T. Simon's Global Orchestra is a good book. Miller Story '54 has good usual poor script value 'Little Brown Jug' in 'order to jerk tears.

MILLER, Jody (b 29 Apr. 1940, Ariz.) The complete crooner. Father played crooner, consists all amateur vocals in the Melodies in school, moved to West Coast '63. actor Dale Robertson in Capitol label and the LP Wednesday's Child wrote 'Queen Of The Night', Roger MILLER hit 'King Of The Road' pop and country hit 'You Can't Ration Grammy for Best Female performer. LPs The Nashville Miller and Sings The Hits done well, she reti '68 to raise her daughter music by offer to record for Epic in Nashville '70, country top 10 with 'You're So Good To Me', 'Be My Baby', updates of '60s, with Sherrill continued attempt was made to change in early '80s she retired again ter horses in Blanchard, 6 incl. Look At Mine '72, T Goin' On '72, Good News '75, Here's Jody Miller '77.

MILLER, Mitch (b Mitchell W July '11, Rochester, NY) Prer. Studied a Eastman, play- ing orchestra '84 with MD REISMAN and Charles Prev in, with George GERSHWIN and Budapest String Quartet staff at Mercury late '40s, the Columbia with Percy FAITH, '50s. Recorded his own sigl popular instrumentals ("Ori etc.), had hits of which biggies the WEavers' 'Tzena, Tzena,' gest a vocal adaptation of
DATE: 6/3

TO: Don Baer

FAX NO.: 43505

FROM: Paul Meyer

Number of Pages to Follow: 12

NOTES: I'm still waiting for another memo from the AP historian. I've also attached a draft of Walt Ehler's remarks at Omaha.
Paul - although you said not High Flight you may want to reconsider w/this intro...

Just before we entered WWII, a young American named John Gillespie Magee Jr joined the Royal Canadian AF and was sent to England. He was killed in action on December 11, 1941. He was only 19 years old, but he left something behind - a poem, a beautiful poem in the form of a sonnet that is as much a part of the Air Force today as Off we Go into the wild Blue yonder... It is entitled "High Flight"
LONG

UP, UP THE DELIRIOUS, BURNING BLUE I'VE TOPPED THE WIND-SWEPT HEIGHTS WITH EASY GRACE WHERE NEVER LARK, OR EVEN EAGLE, FLEW; AND WHILE WITH SILENT, LIFTING MIND I'VE TROD THE HIGH UNTRESPASSED SANCTITY OF SPACE, PUT OUT MY HAND, AND TOUCHED THE FACE OF GOD.

THE END
Great bird with your golden dreams flying high
World of change keeping dreams aloft in the rain
Spirit free soaring through the clouds of time
America are you dreaming now dreaming of promise now of your pioneers

Flying now, keep your spirit free facing new frontiers

America spread your golden wings,
sail on freedom's wind across the sky
Great bird with your golden dreams flying high

Golden Dream

Written by Randy Bright
A final battalion briefing readied us for the invasion. My brother and I had been assigned to different companies, and as the briefing ending we waved to each other. We would make the landing from separate ships.

What was it like on D-Day?

Two days later, when the ship I was on pulled out, we certainly were not alone. There were ships in front of us and to each side of us for as far as we could see. By the time we were part way across, the ships behind us seemed not to end. We looked skyward where planes from horizon to horizon headed toward Europe.

When we got near the beaches, battleships and cruisers were firing toward shore. We could hear bombs exploding in the distance. There was such fire power from the ships and planes that we didn’t expect much resistance on the beach. I believe a lot of us wondered how anyone on shore could survive the onslaught of that massive fire power.
The world changed on June 6, 1944, the day the good guys took charge again. It did not mean peace, but it marked the stand for freedom that would continue through the Korean War, the Vietnam Conflict, the fall of the Berlin Wall, and the Allied Containment of Iraq. The spirit of D-Day carried Allied momentum across the hedgerows of France, through the Ardennes and the Battle of the Bulge and toward Berlin; it put new hope into the battle-weary troops in the Pacific.

While we braved these then-fortified beaches to beat back Hitler and to liberate Europe, to stop his massacres and to rescue his prisoners, we fought for much more than that. We fought to preserve what our forefathers had died for. We picked up our guns to protect our faith, to preserve our liberty.

Our purpose went well beyond aiding our allies as they faced the German blitz. It was to save our way of life, for our parents and siblings at home, for our children and the children we hoped to have, and for their children.

It has been a way of life that was worth fighting for. We have enjoyed the longest period of world peace in modern history. We relish new spectrums of religious, racial, and political tolerance. We are free of the tyrannies of the likes of Hitler.
even then, if no effort is spared, we should still possess so formidable a superiority as to impose effective deterrents upon its employment or threat of employment by others.

Ultimately, when the essential brotherhood of man is truly embodied and expressed in a world organization, with all the necessary practical safeguards to make it effective, these powers would naturally be confided to that organization.

Now I come to the second of the two marauders, to the second danger which threatens the cottage home and ordinary people—namely, tyranny. We cannot be blind to the fact that the liberties enjoyed by individual citizens throughout the United States and throughout the British Empire are not valid in a considerable number of countries, some of which are very powerful.

In these states, control is enforced upon the common people by various kinds of all-embracing police governments, to a degree which is overwhelming and contrary to every principle of democracy. The power of the state is exercised without restraint, either by dictators or by compact oligarchies operating through a privileged party and a political police.

It is not our duty at this time, when difficulties are so numerous, to interfere forcibly in the internal affairs of countries which we have not conquered in war, but we must never cease to proclaim in fearless tones the great principles of freedom and the rights of man, which are the joint inheritance of the English-speaking world and which, through Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, the habeas corpus, trial by jury, and the English common law, find their most famous expression in the American Declaration of Independence.

All this means that the people of any country have the right and should have the power by constitutional action, by free, unfettered elections, with secret ballot, to choose or change the character or form of government under which they dwell, that freedom of speech and thought should reign, that courts of justice independent of the executive, unbiased by any party, should administer laws which have received the broad assent of large majorities or are consecrated by time and custom. Here are the title deeds of freedom, which should lie in every cottage home. Here is the message of the British and American peoples to mankind. Let us preach what we practice; let us practice what we preach.

I have not stated the two great dangers which menace the homes of the people: war and tyranny. I have not yet spoken of poverty and privation, which are in many cases the prevailing anxiety. But if the dangers of war and tyranny are removed, there is no doubt that science and cooperation can bring world, no material difference.

Now, a mind and distrust will pass or subside and end.

I have Irish-American enough forful abundant, justice and

Now, v

Neither organization of the between America.

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of poverty and privation.
But if the dangers of war

can bring in the next few years, certainly in the next few decades, to the
world, newly taught in the sharpening school of war, an expansion of
material well-being beyond anything that has yet occurred in human expe-

Now, at this sad and breathless moment, we are plunged in the hunger
and distress which are the aftermath of our stupendous struggle; but this
will pass and may pass quickly, and there is no reason except human folly
or subhuman crime which should deny to all the nations the inauguration
and enjoyment of an age of plenty.

I have often used words which I learned fifty years ago from a great
Irish-American orator, a friend of mine, Mr. Bourke Cochran, ‘‘There is
enough for all. The earth is a generous mother; she will provide in plenti-
ful abundance food for all her children if they will but cultivate her soil in
justice and in peace.’’ So far I feel that we are in full agreement.

Now, while still pursuing the method of realizing our overall strategic
concept, I come to the crux of what I have traveled here to say.

Neither the sure prevention of war nor the continuous rise of world
organization will be gained without what I have called the fraternal associ-
ation of the English-speaking peoples. This means a special relationship
between the British Commonwealth and Empire and the United States of

America.

Ladies and gentlemen, this is no time for generalities, and I will venture
to be precise.

Fraternal association requires not only the growing friendship and mu-
tual understanding between our two vast but kindred systems of society
but the continuance of the intimate relationships between our military
advisers, leading to common study of potential dangers, the similarity of
weapons and manuals of instruction, and the interchange of officers and
cadets at technical colleges.

It should carry with it the continuance of the present facilities for mu-
tual security by the joint use of all naval and air force bases in the posses-
sion of either country all over the world.

This would perhaps double the mobility of the American navy and air
force. It would greatly expand that of the British Empire forces, and it
might well lead, if and as the world calms down, to important financial

savings.

Already we use together a large number of islands; more may well be
entrusted to our joint care in the near future. The United States has already
a permanent defense agreement with the Dominion of Canada, which is so
devotedly attached to the British Commonwealth and Empire. This agree-
An 'American Renewal' for a Society Dying of Disenchantment

By NEAL R. PEIRCE

Some 52 percent of the Americans surveyed express confidence in the problem-solving capacity of people like themselves and their friends.

Washington, D.C.

Does America need a renewal, a rejuvenation of spirit and will to combat the waves of cynicism and discouragement that seem to be washing over us? President Clinton seems to think so, and has been making the point in a series of graduation-season speeches urging youth in particular to "take responsibility for the hard work of renewing the American community."

A broad combine of public interest organizations is a hefty step ahead of the president and his speech writers.

At the invitation of the National Civic League, leaders of 86 organizations representing some 50 million people met in Washington earlier this month to focus on an "American Renewal" agenda. The participants ranged from the National 4H Council to the National Alliance of Business, the Community Network to the American Association of Retired Persons.

Leader of the renewal band is John W. Gardner, onetime Cabinet secretary, founder of Common Cause, writer on leadership and community, and still going strong at 81 as this year's National Civic League board chairman. As Mr. Gardner sees it, American Renewal must begin at the family and neighborhood level, aim to transform governments and organizations, and reawaken Americans' belief in their capacity to effect positive change.

He notes Americans are discouraged by crises ranging from crime and poverty to racism, the neglect of children to lack of job opportunities for the unemployed. Many fear the United States is on a downward slide. "No good," he says, "can come from the cynicism and passivity of the public today. Nothing. Civilizations die of disengagement."

The grim public mood is confirmed in a new national survey by the Daniel Yankelovich Group, commissioned by the National Civic League and the Healthcare Forum. Fewer than a quarter of Americans have "a great deal" or "quite a lot" of confidence in the capacity of business leadership, and either federal, state or local governments to deal with the problems facing their communities.

Local media took a big hit too, dropping from 34 percent to 24 percent in public confidence.

Ralph Widner told of an elderly black man in Richmond, Indiana, who became deeply upset by his neighborhood's decline, cocaine selling included. So he took his Social Security check, bought lily bulbs and distributed them to friends and neighbors. Others followed suit, and in three years the neighborhood had bloomed so beautifully that tourist buses started visiting.

Voluntarism is nothing new in American life, but the confidence to shed light on how successful communities are starting to solve problems — less through "go-it-alone" power tactics, more through collaborative decision-making that draws in more of the people and talents of America's ever more diverse society.

To get the word out, the renewal organizations are considering public advertising campaigns, training through nationally interactive television courses, computer bulletin boards and series of national "front porch" or "kitchen table" discussions.


The Washington conference pinpointed real problems in the spread of American Renewal. If it's an optimistic movement, how does it deal openly and effectively with the racial divisions and unequal opportunities that participants said plague almost every American community? Will it welcome or repel groups like the religious and radical right? And the country is splintered today: How can the movement reach both the welfare mom and the corporate chief?

There may be answers to the strategy questions by fall, when dozens more partner organizations are expected to join. A grand celebration for American Renewal is set for November 12-14 in Philadelphia when the National Civic League celebrates its 100th birthday.

Even its backers agree American Renewal is still amorphous, tough to define. Its strength: almost everyone who hears about it agrees its time has come.

Neal R. Peirce writes a column on state and urban affairs.