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Mr. Truman's Farewell Evasions

The warning to Stalin made the headlines. The warning to ourselves was played down. "War today between the Soviet empire and the free nations," Mr. Truman said in his last State of the Union message, "might dig the grave not only of our Stalinist opponents, but of our own society, our world as well as theirs." The outgoing President was apocalyptic in his picture of the war of the future. "Man could extinguish millions of lives at one blow, demolish the great cities of the world, wipe out the cultural achievements of the past . . ." Mr. Truman said "Such a war is not a possible policy for rational men."

But if a new war between the giants of East and West threatens their mutual destruction, if such a war is not a possible policy for rational men, then the alternative is co-existence. If the disputes of U.S. and U.S.S.R. cannot be settled on the battle-field without endangering the survival of civilization, then they must be settled somehow at the conference table. The conclusion is inescapable, but Mr. Truman managed again to escape it, as he has all through his years in the Presidency.

Mr. Truman fears war, but remains evasive about peace. The meaning of the H-bomb and the new weapons of destruction is that men must learn to live together on the same planet in mutual forbearance. What Mr. Truman should have said is that in the awful perspective of a new war no pains must be spared to negotiate differences between Washington and Moscow. But Mr. Truman's emphasis was on his old hope that if cold war and containment were continued long enough the Soviet regime would somehow crack up from within. Negotiation requires compromise, but there was in Mr. Truman's message the same self-righteous insistence that any settlement must be on our terms. Some years ago at press conference he made it clear that what he sought was unconditional surrender by Moscow as the price of ending the cold war. Mr. Truman set the mood and Mr. Acheson coined the phrase for it—"total diplomacy." It was to shut the door on negotiation and keep the heat on until the Soviets crumpled.

What happens to us in the meantime? Mr. Truman says we are being "hurried forward" in atomic research "from one discovery to another, toward yet unforeseeable peaks of destructive power." Will this safeguard our own security? "We must realize," Mr. Truman himself warns, "that no advance we make is unattainable by others, that no advantage in this race can be more than temporary."

The more terrible the weapons of destruction grow, the greater must become our fear that the enemy also possesses them, the greater our frenzied effort to remain ahead. The atmosphere and momentum of an atomic arms race spell ever

greater insecurity at ever greater cost. Like a new war, this too is no policy for rational men.

We can impose tension on the Soviet system only by imposing tension on ourselves. The tension which we hope will disintegrate the Soviet system from within may do the same to our own. Mr. Truman warns against "fear that breeds more fear, sapping our faith, corroding our liberties, turning citizens against citizens . . . Fear could snatch away the very values we are striving to defend." But how avoid that fear in a world of mounting tension, hate and war preparations?

To pursue such a policy with stubborn blindness while warning against its inevitable consequences is to give a drunken party and salve one's conscience with a lecture on alcoholism. "Already the danger signals have gone up," Mr. Truman says piously. "Already the corrosive process has begun . . . every diminution of our tolerance, each new act of enforced conformity, each idle accusation, each demonstration of hysteria—each new restrictive law—is one more sign that we can lose the battle against fear." It is also a sign that we cannot wage cold war on Soviet society without waging cold war on our own.

Mr. Truman thinks of himself as a liberal. It is at once something subtler and more human than hypocrisy which leads him to say, "We must take our stand on the Bill of Rights. The inquisition, the star chamber, have no place in a free society." The same capacity for inviting war in the name of peace made it possible for him to launch star chamber loyalty purges and peacetime sedition prosecutions while preaching civil liberties. The man who devoted most of his years in the White House to propagating alarm ends by warning us "The Communists cannot deprive us of our liberties—fear can."

But how make people accept the heavy burdens of cold war without injecting ever greater doses of fear and suspicion? If the purpose is to preserve liberty and safeguard peace, the cold war is no more rational than another world war would be. In any case the one, if continued, must lead inevitably to the other. At the Pentagon indeed these last words of Mr. Truman's must seem little more than smoke-screen to hide the full import of current military preparations from civilians.

Washington's Farewell Address had better advice than Truman's. Washington warned the new Republic—and the warning now seems prophetic—not to cherish "permanent inveterate antipathies against particular nations." Washington saw that hatred could be one of the most entangling of all entangling alliances. He said "the nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred . . . is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity." Only negotiation, co-existence and peace can emancipate us from the campaign of hate and its hateful consequences.

The If Stones Weekly Reader

Léo Pomar



The If Stones Weekly Reader:

The I. F. Stone's Weekly Reader Isidor Feinstein Stone, 1974 *The Best of I.F. Stone* I. F. Stone, 2009-04-29 Izzy Stone was a reporter a radical an idealist a scholar and it is clear a writer whose insights have more than stood the test of time More than fifteen years after his death this collection of his work from I F Stone s Weekly and elsewhere is astonishing in its relevance to our age addressing the clash between national security and individual liberty the protection of minorities economic fairness social justice and the American military abroad The core of Stone s genius was his newsletter I F Stone s Weekly published from the mid 1950s to the early 1970s His meticulous dissection of the news was unsurpassed a direct descendent of the great pamphleteers like Thomas Paine and a forerunner to the best of today s political blogs Stone s brilliant investigative reporting his wonderful impassioned style and his commitment to his values all make this collection an inspiration and a revelation **The I. F. Stone's Weekly Reader** ,1974 The Zinn Reader Howard Zinn, 2011-01-04 No other radical historian has reached so many hearts and minds as Howard Zinn It is rare that a historian of the Left has managed to retain as much credibility while refusing to let his academic mantle change his beautiful writing style from being anything but direct forthright and accessible Whether his subject is war race politics economic justice or history itself each of his works serves as a reminder that to embrace one s subjectivity can mean embracing one s humanity that heart and mind can speak with one voice Here in six sections is the historian s own choice of his shorter essays on some of the most critical problems facing America throughout its history and today **A Trumpet to Arms** David Armstrong, 1981 Chronicles 200 years of U S publications from Tom Paine s Common Sense to I F Stone s Weekly plus The Berkeley Bard LA Free Press Mother Jones and New Age Journal Class in America Robert E. Weir, 2007-06-30 In the United States social class ranks with gender race and ethnicity in determining the values activities political behavior and life chances of individuals Most scholars agree on the importance of class although they often disagree on what it is and how it impacts Americans This A Z encyclopedia the first to focus on class in the United States surveys the breadth of class strata throughout our history for high school students to the general public Class is illuminated in 525 essay entries on significant people terms theories programs institutions eras ethnic groups places and much more This useful set is an authoritative fascinating source for in demand information on key aspects of our culture and society and helps researchers to narrow down a broad topic Class is revealed from angles that often intersect through history with entries such as Founding Fathers the Industrial Revolution Westward Expansion through economics with entries such as Dot com Bubble Robber Barons Chicago School of Economics Lottery Wage Slaves Economic Equal Opportunity Act Stock Market Inheritance Taxes Wal Mart Welfare through social indicators such as Conspicuous Consumption the Hamptons WASP Homelessness Social Climbing through politics with entries such as Anarchism Braceros Heritage Foundation Communist Party Kennedy Family and through culture through entries such as Country Music The Great Gatsby Television and Studs Terkel Class is also approached from ethnic sexual

religious educational and regional angles Special features include an introduction timeline suggested reading per entry cross references reader s guide to topics and thorough index Sample entries Immigration Education Labor Movement Pink Collar Workers AFL CIO Strikes Great Depression Jacob Riis Literature the Rockefellers Slavery Music Academia Family Suburbia McMansions Taxation Segregation Racism Ivy League Robber Barons Philanthropists Socialites Religion Welfare the American Dream Dot com Millionaires Equal Opportunity Founding Fathers Wage Slaves Industrial Revolution Capitalism Economics Appalachia Horse Racing Gender Communist Party Country Clubs Religion American Indians Conspicuous Consumption Studs Terkel Film Class Consciousness Work Ethic Media Television Puritans Homelessness Status Symbols Assimilation Melting Pot Art Westward Expansion Poverty The Great Gatsby Stock Market Working Poor Gated Communities the Hamptons Social Climbing Crime Lottery Elitism WASP American Dream Noam Chomsky Fortune Magazine

"All Governments Lie" Myra MacPherson, 2010-05-11 Boasting equal parts scholarship and style All Governments Lie is a highly readable groundbreaking and timely look at I F Stone one of America s most independent and revered journalists whose work carries the same immediacy it did almost a half century ago highlighting the ever present need for dissenting voices In the world of Washington political journalism notorious for trading independence for access I F Izzy Stone was so unique as to be a genuine wonder Always skeptical All governments lie but disaster lies in wait for countries whose officials smoke the same hashish they give out he memorably quipped Stone was ahead of the pack on the most pivotal twentieth century trends the rise of Hitler and Fascism disastrous Cold War foreign policies covert actions of the FBI and CIA the greatness of the Civil Rights movement the horror of Vietnam the strengths and weaknesses of the antiwar movement the disgrace of Iran contra and the class greed of Reaganomics His constant barrage against J Edgar Hoover earned him close monitoring by the FBI from the Great Depression through the Vietnam War and even an investigation for espionage during the fifties After making his mark on feisty New York dailies and in The Nation scoring such scoops as the discovery of American cartels doing business with Nazi Germany Stone became unemployable during the dark days of McCarthyism Out of desperation he started his four page I F Stone s Weekly which ran from 1953 to 1971 The first journalist to label the Gulf of Tonkin affair a sham excuse to escalate the Vietnam War Stone garnered worldwide fans was read in the corridors of power and became wealthy Later the world s oldest living freshman learned Greek to write his bestseller The Trial of Socrates Here for the first time acclaimed journalist and author Myra MacPherson brings the legendary Stone into sharp focus Rooted in fifteen years of research this monumental biography includes information from newly declassified international documents and Stone s unpublished five thousand page FBI file as well as personal interviews with Stone and his wife Esther with famed modern thinkers and with the best of today s journalists It illuminates the vast sweep of turbulent twentieth century history as well as Stone s complex and colorful life The result is more than a masterful portrait of a remarkable character it s a far reaching assessment of journalism and its role in our culture

Leaders from the 1960s David De Leon, 1994-06-22 The throngs at

Woodstock Jane Fonda in Hanoi I Have a Dream burning draft cards fire in the streets these images of the 1960s are still very much alive today What happened to the people and principles that dominated that decade Which leaders from those turbulent years had the most lasting effect on our lives today How well have the principles for which those leaders fought so strongly withstood the test of time This thought provoking biographical dictionary allows the reader to study the leaders both conservative and liberal their ideals and their enduring influence With major sections on racial democracy peace and freedom sexuality and gender the environment radical culture and visions of alternative societies Leaders from the 1960s includes entries on a wide selection of nationally prominent activists of the 1960s In addition to those who dominated only the sixties the volume includes earlier activists who came into prominence in the 1960s and activists of the era who came into prominence since the 1960s Each entry provides a biographical sketch but the focus of the entries is on the person s basic concepts or the essence of his or her work and the public response it generated Included are extensive bibliographies on the individuals and the period

Pacifica Radio 2E Matthew Lasar,2000-04-14 In the public radio landscape the Pacifica stations stand out as innovators of diverse and controversial broadcasting Pacifica s fifty years of struggle against social and political conformity began with a group of young men and women who hoped to change the world with a credo of non violence Pacifica Radio traces the cultural and political currents that shaped the first listener supported radio station KPFA FM in Berkeley and accompanied Pacifica s gradual expansion into a 5 station network In this expanded paperback edition Lasar provides a postscript A Crisis of Containment that examines the external pressures and organizational problems within the Pacifica Foundation that led in early 1999 to the police shutdown of network station KPFA Lasar an admittedly pro KPFA partisan in the conflict gives a first person account calling it the worst crisis in the history of community radio Yet Pacifica Radio is about more than just the network s recent troubles It is the story of visionary Lewis Hill and the small band of pacifists who in 1946 set out to build institutions that would promote dialogue between individuals and nations KPFA took to the air in 1949 with stunningly unconventional programs that challenged the dreary cultural consensus of the Cold War No one in the Bay Area or anywhere else had heard anything like it on the airwaves The first edition of Pacifica Radio which made the San Francisco Chronicle s non fiction bestseller list was praised as fascinating reading by In These Times Lasar has an eye for paradox irony and contradiction wrote the Santa Rose Press Democrat but he is first and foremost an able and astute historian

American Radical D. D. Guttenplan,2024-05-01 Popular Front columnist and New Deal propagandist Fearless opponent of McCarthyism and feared scourge of official liars Enterprising independent reporter and avid amateur classicist As D D Guttenplan puts it in his compelling book I F Stone did what few in his profession could he always thought for himself America s most celebrated investigative journalist himself remains something of a mystery however Born Isidor Feinstein in Philadelphia raised in rural New Jersey by the age of 25 this college drop out was already an influential newsman and enjoying extraordinary access to key figures in New Deal Washington and the friendship of important artists in New York

It is Guttenplan's wisdom to see that the key to Stone's achievements throughout his singular career and not just in his celebrated *I F Stone's Weekly* lay in the force and passion of his political commitments. Stone's calm forensic yet devastating reports on American politics and institutions sprang from a radical faith in the long term prospects for American democracy. His testimony on the legacy of American politics from the New Deal and World War II to the era of the civil rights struggles, the Vietnam War and beyond amounts to as vivid a record of those times as we are likely to have. Guttenplan's lively provocative book makes clear why so many of his pronouncements have acquired the force of prophecy.

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