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Michigan State University Commencement Address

by Rep. Gerald R. Ford

March 14, 1965

For delivery at 4 p.m. EST, March 14, 1965

Today you cherish this point in time as you face wide horizons of opportunity. In reaching your present achievements, you have proved yourselves, and have demonstrated qualities of imagination, eagerness to learn, willingness to sacrifice, and a readiness to accept new ideas with open minds.

This is neither a time to stumble, nor to falter, nor to fear in accepting the responsibilities of citizenship with the task of leading the way to strengthened moral, esthetic, cultural, and scientific values.

The challenges are many in this age of space and speed, changing events and perplexing problems.

Recall that Emerson, the American philosopher, said, "They conquer who believe they can." You, with your sharpened skills, will help conquer the massive problems of this century, and at the same time help your fellowmen, whose lives must be balanced in an unbalanced world.

Progress depends upon men and women making and carrying out their plans, prepared to assume the risks and willing to accept the burden of responsibility.

In our earlier history, the challenge was that of opening the West to exploration, settlement and development.

Those strong-willed men and women drove their covered wagons through the wilderness into the setting sun with self-confidence and pride in achievement. Freedom to them was a great adventure, not something handed down from another generation.

The challenges of today are linked with new technology, the achievements of science, and the task of filling jobs demanding skills unheard of even a decade ago.

There are diseases to conquer, roads to build, land to till, social ills to cure, children to be taught, parts of great cities to rehabilitate, public money to invest and to spend wisely.

Seeking solutions with measured, calculated, intelligent, and technical steps, each person must have a choice without being crowded into the position of accepting one pattern, one way of life, if he has preferred alternatives. This in a word is--- freedom.

Individual freedom of action and choice, within the framework of the law, was built into the Constitution by the founding fathers.

In the area of government, freedom must be maintained through a bi-partisan effort which receives widespread support from all Americans.

Two major goals must be achieved if the American Democracy is to continue to exist and to be strengthened throughout subsequent generations.

First, we must maintain a balance in the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government as established by our Constitution.

The parallel task is to preserve the two-party system---the genius of our Democracy.

Enlarging upon the first goal, that of keeping the three branches of government in balance, I believe that if any one of them becomes too strong or too weak, the foundations of our government will crack and our freedom will be threatened.

There are disturbing signs of slow erosion in the power of the Legislative branch, a build-up of awesome strength in the executive arm, and a change from the intended direction in the Federal Judiciary.

Congress, the legislative branch, has been criticized as being too slow to react in an age of speed. Critics have described the House and Senate as being too cumbersome and too old-fashioned.

Those critics perhaps are unaware that in Congress a system of checks and balances is provided by the Constitution.

When speed is essential, Congress has proved many times that it can react with dispatch to meet a crisis in war or in peacetime, in days of economic depression or in times of glowing prosperity.

It has been said that Congress frequently makes haste slowly. However, the act of deliberate slowness is a safeguard against racing to the brink of decision. It prevents a dangerous plunge. Congress should reach its major decisions only after adequate research, thought, and exhaustive discussion.

When the balance of power in Congress is steeply tilted by an overwhelming majority in one political party, the system of checks and balances is endangered. This becomes even more serious when the executive branch is dominated by the same party.

Although the President is the chief executive and head of state for all of us, he does represent especially the views of the people who voted for him. Members of Congress, and particularly those in the House of Representatives, are closer to the Nation's citizens because they are chosen by smaller segments of the Nation.

Members of the House are elected every two years, a fact which in itself places Representatives closer to the people. Every two years a Representative must go to his constituents for a mandate to continue in office. His record is placed on the line and he must be endorsed by a majority of the voters in his district.

As in the Senate, the House is represented by nearly every major profession, national origin, and religion. Congress is a cross-section of the American people. This is your strength. It should not be lessened by an over-balance of power in the executive and judicial branches of government.

The responsibilities of Congress are clearly defined in the Constitution, and include the making of all laws which are necessary and proper for carrying out the duties and powers of government.

Under the Constitution, every statute requiring concurrence of Congress must be presented to the President before taking effect. If the chief executive rejects a proposed act, he can be over-ruled by a two-third majority vote of the Senate and the House.

It is quickly obvious that a crushing over-balance of political power in both houses of Congress and in the executive branch weakens the safeguards of the Constitution.

Reflecting on the duties and obligations of the third branch of government, it can be said that the Federal Judiciary's function is to interpret the Constitution and the laws.

There is evidence that the Judicial Branch is arbitrarily elbowing its way to new positions of authority, disregarding the wise suggestions of judicial restraint made by the late Justice Frankfurter and others.

When the Supreme Court ordered states to reapportion on the "one-man, one vote" concept, Justice Frankfurter in a dissenting opinion was critical of an assumption by the Court of "destructively novel judicial power."

"In this situation, as in others of like nature, appeal for relief does not belong here," Justice Frankfurter said. "Appeal must be made to an informed, civically militant electorate. In a democratic society like ours, relief must come through an aroused public conscience that sears the conscience of the people's representatives."

Justice Frankfurter emphasized that the Supreme "Court's authority--possessed neither of the purse nor the sword--ultimately rests on sustained public confidence in its moral sanction."

I have stressed the need to preserve the two-party system as among the major areas of concern in maintaining our structure of government.

Without any indulgence in partisanship, I am sure we can agree that a strong two-party system is bedrock assurance that our Democracy will survive, prosper, grow, and help others in the world to accept their role in the society of free nations.

A crushing over-balance of strength in either party for too long a time makes a mockery of our traditions in government, weakens and softens the voice of the people, and places control in the hands of a comparatively small majority.

These it seems to me are currently the major goals to be sought in the area of government: a sensitive balance in the legislative, executive and judicial branches, and a strong two-party system,

What is your role in seeking these goals? Where do you start? What might be your guidelines for action?

First, you must have the mental and moral courage to become involved in the political world as voters, as taxpayers, as partisans, as candidates for office, as office-holders---yes, as patriots.

Those who sit on the sidelines, uttering harping criticism, fail to strengthen the foundations of our Nation.

By being a citizen-participant in our Democracy and not a mere spectator, you develop a loyalty to your community, your city, your county, your state and your Nation. This loyalty is basic to personal service and community improvement.

In becoming a part of what the late Justice Frankfurter described as an "informed, civically militant electorate," you will discover the meaning of service and true citizenship.

Patriotism in action demands loyalty to a philosophy, to a set of ideas, to our Nation. It begins at home in your local environment.

Give purpose and direction to your role as a citizen by choosing a political party, after careful study of the philosophies of each. Perhaps you will switch your alliances. This is a choice under freedom. This, too, will require mental courage, which conquers fear and builds healthful, buoyant attitudes.

Good citizenship, it seems to me, is directly linked with the "aroused public conscience," which Justice Frankfurter said "sears the conscience of the people's representatives."

The question is how should an aroused public conscience manifest itself?

Is the rioting of college students protesting an alleged breach of freedom of speech a proper interpretation? Does a demonstration by more than 100 singing, chanting young men and women in the Department of Justice building in Washington in behalf of federal intervention in one of our states, constitute a meaningful representation of public conscience?

Would you say that the 700 persons picketing the White House with cries of "freedom now" or demanding peace at any price were examples of good citizenship in action?

Compare these examples with the actions of citizens in a community who band together to win an election to raise money at the local level for a new high school ...or with the coordinated civic effort to conduct an educational campaign on a local issue dealing with more taxes for a better park and recreation area.

Certainly, police brutality anywhere is disgraceful, as is unbridled, uncontrolled, savage and senseless mob action which scoffs at legitimate authority and the orderly processes.

The growth and prosperity, the state and strength, of our Nation is the result of free citizens conducting their personal lives and careers within the constituted framework of authority, law and order. This is not to say that changes in our laws or governmental practices is not necessary or essential.

For example, our present Civil Rights laws need strengthening to give statutory backing to the general provisions of the Fifteenth Amendment, which provides that the right to vote shall not be denied or abridged because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. This is the orderly process.

There is a fine line of distinction between an aroused public conscience and demonstrations of social revolution.

I seriously question the social merit of flamboyant, irresponsible mob action to focus attention on a public issue. We have procedures in our units of government, in the courts of the land, by which controversies can be settled with dignity and justice. This should be the path taken by an aroused citizenry in search of righting a wrong or in seeking a civic goal.

At the same time, public officials have the duty to see that laws are properly enforced. Those who are slow to act in fulfilling the obligations of their office, or who deliberately turn their faces from issues and controversies are indeed delinquents.

An informed voting public has the power of the ballot to replace those who fail in their duties, who fall short of their qualifications, who forsake the people for political gain. Appeals to the courts may be taken when that appears necessary.

The rules of an orderly society may at times be subject to interpretation by government, by the courts, and by the people themselves, but only in a manner which insures "due process of law."

Your guidelines as citizens include a great devotion to the moral and spiritual values, which are translated into nobility of character, social justice, national righteousness, and eventually, world peace.

Even the most modern of us know that we cannot build the foundation of our personal lives on the shuffling sands of chance. We need something of permanence and substance in finding direction in our lives.

A wealth of permanence and substance is found in being active, loyal citizens dedicated to maintaining our Democracy in the fraternity of free nations.

I have mentioned today several desirable qualities: imagination, eagerness to learn, willingness to sacrifice, readiness to accept new ideas with open minds, self-confidence, and finally, loyalty.

The blending of these qualities is the equation of the total ultimate in personal development needed in our Nation. It is to come mainly from the ranks of mature young men and women.

These are the qualities in man that mastered arts and sciences, created government and law, made cities of settlements founded in the wilderness, built skyscrapers on the sites of log cabins, invented covered wagons that gave way to railroads, automobiles and aircraft, made startling progress in several thousand directions leading us to the present.

Arnold Toynbee, scholar and historian, has said: "Our age will be well remembered, not for its horrifying crimes nor its astonishing inventions, but because it is the first generation since the dawn of history in which mankind dared to believe it practical to make the benefits of civilization available to the whole human race."

You have the power of knowledge; you have proved a willingness to give more of yourselves than you receive in order to make this a better Nation and a better world for others and yourselves.

The United States of America needs you. It needs your knowledge and your readiness to accept challenges as loyal citizens of a free society. It needs you as scholars, as knowledgeable persons with chosen careers.

There is no doubt that you will heed the challenging call. Your presence here today and the documents you receive for achievement in education are strong reflections of your desire to accept responsibilities in an exciting, turbulent, demanding, and changing world.

Congratulations. I salute you with faith and thanksgiving.

#####

March 14

1st Draft

This is a day with special meaning for more than a thousand of you, who are receiving degrees from Michigan State University.

Each of you has ~~reached~~ reached a new plateau in your life. You have worked hard to reach it. I congratulate you and salute you.

When this day has passed, you ^{will} face new challenges, ~~new~~ ^{higher} goals, ~~greater~~ ^{more work} duties, and broader responsibilities.

~~By now, you know that there are no~~ By now, you know that there are no ~~easy~~ easy ways to achieve a goal. It ~~has~~ ^{takes} imagination, talent and the will to work. You have proven yourselves as having those human qualities, and others. You have been ~~eager~~ eager to learn, willing to sacrifice, ready to accept new ideas with open minds.

At this point in time, the nation and the world needs you, your knowledge and your readiness to accept responsibility.

Look in any direction and you see ~~problems in all areas of the Nation~~ and the world.

You find them in government, business, labor, commerce, industry, education and here ~~as~~ as elsewhere, in the home.



This is no time to falter or stumble. We need crusaders, who will lead the way to strength and austerity, here and abroad. ~~Without~~ Without men and women who are willing to ~~give~~ give of themselves and their knowledge, ~~we~~ we, we will be witness to a requiem for our Nation.

There are those who question whether our civilization is dying, that ~~the preservation of~~ preserving ~~it~~ it is an impossible job. I disagree, with some reservations.

is an optimist

Unless the people---our major resource--- ~~the~~ become more aware of ~~the~~ ~~in~~ The Declaration of ~~the~~ Independence, take an active interest in ~~the~~ governments at all levels and halt the decline of patriotism, this Nation ~~will~~ ^{could} fail.

How have we used the liberty the men at Valley Forge won for us ~~with~~ with almost ~~in~~ indescribable sacrifices?

Have we responded with plain living and pinnacle thinking, or have we instead been guilty of weakness, ~~selfishness~~ selfishness and ~~immorality~~ immorality?

These are questions to be asked of each of us. The ~~answers~~ collective answers will indicate whether we are watching the fall of the American Republic and the crumbling of the free world.



There seems to be too much half-heartedness in our country today.

It seems to me that we have drifted far from the philosophies of our founding fathers, who established this Nation on a relatively simple set of rules.

~~_____~~

I haven't said that before

As a government, which is ~~representative~~ representative the people, we have attempted to buy friendship and trust in many places of the world. Instead, we should earn the respect of our ~~neighbors~~ neighbors ~~abroad~~ abroad. We should strive to be as great in peace as we were strong in war.

Leadership ~~begins~~ ^{begins} with the leader, who should consider the people first. You, with your knowledge and skills, have the greatest opportunity of your lives to be leaders. In that position you can help people, whose lives must be balanced in an unbalanced world. The size and scope of the challenge is obvious.

We cannot think in terms of groups, ~~classes~~ classes and economic segments. Equal opportunity means equal opportunity for everyone. Public problems must be considered in the enlightened self-interest of all citizens.

This is the time to build the base ~~for~~ ^{America} for the ~~of~~ of the 1970s and far beyond. We must not fail through division and confusion, which stifle the initiative of action.



National progress depends on men and women making and carrying out their plans, prepared to run the risks and to take the responsibilities, which cannot be shirked by passing them off to a government agency.

~~_____~~

~~_____~~

In our earlier history, the major economic question was that of opening the West to exploration, settlement and development. The story of ~~the heroic accomplishments~~ pioneer accomplishments is a familiar one.

Today and in the future, the economic challenge is ~~the~~ ^{linked with}

~~new technology~~ ^{technology}, the achievements of science and the task of filling jobs

~~demanded~~ ^{demanding} skills unheard of even a decade ago. In this area of our Nation's

life, many of you will have the opportunity to contribute your knowledge.

~~_____~~ ^{used the state of} ~~the~~

~~Nation, its possible future and the part you can play, it seems appropriate~~

~~_____~~ There are diseases to conquer,

roads to ~~build~~ ^{build}, space to ~~explore~~ ^{explore}, social ills to ~~measure~~ ^{measure} cure, public

money to invest and spend wisely, parts of great cities to rehabilitate,

~~_____~~



The list of things to be done is long. It grows almost daily and will ^{do} so in the future.

I urge that we ~~take these jobs within~~ tackle these jobs within the framework of our ~~present~~ Constitution, with a lessening of big government ~~tyranny~~ and a strengthening of ~~individual~~ ^{both} individual and team effort.

There are those who attack our Constitution as being old-fashioned, out of step with the times and an ancient document in need of drastic change.

In answer to this criticism, I believe that if we were to ~~discard~~ ~~the~~ Constitution, we would outmode individual liberty.

As our universities grow, our industries and businesses expand, the population total soars and the strength of the Nation increases, the control of government should decrease.

Perhaps, what I am saying might be described by the cynics as "flag waving." As a member of Congress, as a private citizen, as an American, I believe in waving the flag ~~with~~ ^{with} old-fashioned" patriotism.

It is encouraging to see thousands of visitors thronging Washington throughout the year. Newcomers and others making return visits stand in awe and reverence before the Lincoln Memorial.

Does this flow?
This is not evident in the speech to this point.



They ~~should~~ see the United States Senate and the House of Representatives in action, watch stamps and money being made, ride and climb to the top of the Washington Monument.

It is most gratifying to see ~~many~~ large numbers of students in Washington visiting the Library of Congress, the Department of Justice, and the White House.

Washington is both a shrine to our national traditions and the busy seat of our Federal government. ~~It is~~ the capital of the United States of America belongs to the people. It stirs "old fashioned patriotism" in the hearts and minds of those who visit there. I hope patriotism is rekindled all over our country.

A patriot believes that government has the duty to safeguard ~~individuals~~ individuals against being victimized by forces beyond their control, and opposes the idea of forcing people to become puppets of the planners.

The late Senator Robert A. Taft once ~~said~~ said he believed the Federal government should aid education in those states in which the income per capita is less than the national average; that it should help states to give free medical care to all those unable to afford it;

should assist local communities in clearing slums and providing decent housing; and should, in event of a crisis, undertake to assist states to provide food.

There is a ~~huge~~ ^{difference} ~~gap~~ between the Federal government moving to help state and local governments help themselves and the Federal government supplanting local governmental units and planning the future for everyone.

~~It~~ It appears to me that the goals of leadership in all fields of endeavor, including government, are to:

- * Provide opportunity for the individual by strengthening our tradition of incentive.
- * Encourage the entrepreneur--the man of vision and ideas---to build, expand and compete as he contributes to the economic ~~growth~~ growth.
- * Establish the best educational system possible, retaining local control and direction.
- * Gear our national processes to programs which create new wealth.



At the same time, we must be careful to protect the individual against the force of government. Each person must have a choice, without being forced to ~~accept~~ ^{accept} one pattern, one way of life, if he has preferred alternatives. ~~There~~ In a word, we call this ["]liberty["].

Freedom, or liberty, is something we have inherited. It is rapidly being taken from us by a government that is growing like a weed, spreading its bureaucratic controls over the land, stifling free enterprise, muffling the voices of the people.

~~How do we change the trend, reverse the tide of "big brother" government, regain the freedom that was won for us some 200 years ago~~
 How do we change the trend, reverse the tide of "big brother" government, regain the freedom that was won for us some 200 years ago
 by a strong-willed small corps of individuals? Simply stated, the answer is that we become patriots. We elect responsible representatives in government. We vote, after studying the issues and the candidates. We ~~vote~~ cast our ballots not just every four years. in every election, ~~we vote every four years.~~

~~Politics is regarded by many as~~ Politics is regarded by many as ~~an unwholesome~~ an unwholesome word, and with some basis. However, the American people must assume the responsibility for the state of our political world.

In most elections, all over this land, ~~the~~ ^{more} minority of persons



take time to vote. Those who stay away from the polls shrug their shoulders and scoff at "politics," complain about conditions and do nothing about changing them. This is far from being ~~nationalistic~~ *patriotic*.

~~It is our duty to accept the responsibility to build a better, stronger~~

~~America. In so doing, we will strengthen the free world.~~
You, and thousands of ^{other} young men and women in America, ~~can~~ can reverse the ~~slide~~ ^{downhill} slide of patriotism. I urge that you lead the way, setting an example, by being actively interested in government, ~~politics~~ and the issues.....and ~~these~~ voting.

It is our duty to accept the responsibility to build a better, stronger America. In so doing, we will strengthen the free world.

Be fully aware that ~~the~~ individual freedom of action and choice is the ~~major~~ ^{major} motivating factor that built this Nation.

I ask that you ~~respond to it~~
You have been given the challenge. ~~Respond to it by being patriots of the United States of America and~~
respond to it by being patriots of the United States of America and ~~active members of the Brotherhood of man.~~
active members of the Brotherhood of man.

#



Michigan State University Commencement Speech

March 14

2nd draft

This is a day with special meaning for more than one thousand of you, who are receiving degrees from Michigan State University. It is a day to be remembered. ~~_____~~

Each of you has reached a new plateau in your life. You have worked hard to reach it. I congratulate you and salute you.

When this day has passed, you will face new challenges, higher goals, greater duties, more work and broader responsibilities.

By now, you know that there are no easy ways to achieve a goal. It takes imagination, talent and the will to work. You have proven yourselves as having those human qualities, and others. You have been eager to learn, willing to sacrifice, ready to accept ~~new~~ ideas with open minds.

At this point in time, the Nation and the world needs you, your knowledge and your readiness to accept responsibility as citizens, scholars and knowledgeable persons in your professions.

Look in any direction and you see problems in all areas of the Nation and the world. You find them in government, business, labor, commerce, industry, education and ~~home, as elsewhere~~ in the home.



This is no time to falter ~~or~~ stumble. We need ^{leaders,} ~~crusaders,~~ who will lead the way to strength and austerity, here and abroad. Without men and women who are willing to give of themselves and their knowledge, we will be witness to a ~~tragic~~ requiem for our Nation.

There are those who question whether our civilization is dying, that preserving it is an impossible job. This is ~~a~~ pessimistic outlook, a negative view.

I believe that there are no hopeless situations. Instead, there are men who have become hopeless about them. Emerson, the philosopher expressed it well in saying "they conquer who believe they can."

Faith destroys negative thinking and builds healthful, bouyant attitudes.

The people---our major resource---by being more aware of the ~~Declaration~~ Declaration of Independence, can reverse the decline in patriotism by taking an active interest in government at all levels.

Each of ~~us~~ ^{us} ~~has~~ ^{has} ~~these~~ duties and obligations created at Valley Forge when men ~~won~~ ^{won} liberty with almost indescribable sacrifices.



As free men, it seems to me we should think in terms of the earned dollar, not the fast buck; living within our means, not trying to outspend our neighbors for the sake of having more material things; collecting ~~the right kind of things~~, not status symbols.

I believe in replacing half-heartedness with a full-speed-ahead attitude based on the philosophies of our founding fathers, who established this Nation on a relatively simple set of rules.

From that early beginning of our country, the idea was to earn our way. This we must continue to do, but in a more vigorous, ~~steadfast~~ ^{steadfast} manner. As a Nation, we must earn the respect of our neighbors ~~abroad~~ ^{abroad}, likewise those who would destroy us. We should strive to be as great in peace as ~~we~~ ^{we} were strong in war. This requires leadership in many places.

The Nation needs leaders...people willing to sacrifice themselves... who should consider the people first. You, with your knowledge and skills, are in a position to assume leadership. In that position you can help people, whose lives must be balanced in an unbalanced world. The size and the scope of the challenge is obvious.

~~There is a great need for leadership in many places.~~



This is the time to build the base for America of the 1970s and far beyond. We must not fail through division and confusion, which stifle the initiative of action. Find a way or make one.

Progress depends on men and women making and carrying out their own plans, prepared to run the risks and to take the responsibilities, which cannot be shirked by passing them off to a government agency.

In our earlier history, the major economic question was that of opening the West to exploration, settlement and development. The story of pioneer accomplishments is a familiar one.

Those strong-willed men, women and entire families drove their ~~covered~~ wagons through the wilderness into the setting sun with self-confidence and pride in achievement. They faced the future. Freedom to them was a great adventure, not something handed down from another generation.

Scott Carpenter The pioneers of our Nation, who set an example of leadership for us, learned the value of perseverance, the fellowship of hardship, the comradeship of common problems.

These were free men, joined in a common purpose, who, under God, built the foundation of a ~~new~~ new nation that was destined to grow mighty.



Today, and in the future, the economic challenge is linked with new technology, the achievements of ~~the~~ science and the task of filling jobs demanding skills unheard of even ~~the~~ decade ago. In this area of our Nation's life, many of you will have the opportunity to contribute your knowledge.

There are diseases to conquer, roads to build, space to explore, social ills to cure, children to ~~be~~ be taught, parts of great cities to rehabilitate, public money to invest and spend wisely.

The list of things to be done is long. It grows almost daily and will do so in the future.

I urge that we tackle these jobs within the framework of our Constitution, with a lessening of big government tyranny and a strengthening of both individual and team effort.

There are those ~~who~~ who attack our Constitution as being old-fashioned, out of step ~~with~~ with the times and an ancient document in need of drastic change.

In answer to this criticism, I believe that if we were to discard the Constitution, we would outmode individual liberty.

more



In creating the document, the Nation's founders throttled the power of government. The people, in adopting the Constitution did so to "secure the blessings of liberty," among other reasons.

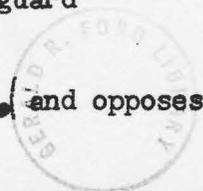
Today, the power of government should decrease as the strength of the Nation increases....as universities and schools grow...as industries and businesses expand and are founded.....as the ~~population~~ ~~total~~ ~~soars~~ ~~higher~~.
~~total~~ population total soars higher.

In talking of the pioneers, our Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, the dynamic history of our Nation, I might be charged by the cynics as "waving the flag."

As a member of Congress, as a private citizen, as an American, I believe in waving the flag with "old-fashioned" patriotism.

~~Each year in Washington we see thousands of Americans rekindling~~
Each year in Washington we see thousands of Americans rekindling their patriotism by visiting the Nation's capital, which is both ~~a shrine~~ a shrine ~~to our traditions and the busy seat of our Federal government.~~ to our traditions and the busy seat of our Federal government. I hope that the spirit of patriotism grows stronger all over our country.

A patriot believes that government has the duty to safeguard individuals against being victimized by forces beyond their control, and opposes the idea of forcing people to become puppets of planners.



The late Senator Robert A. Taft once said he believed the Federal government should aid education in those states in which the income per capita is less than the national average; that it should help states to give free medical care to all those unable to afford it; should assist local communities in clearing slums and providing decent housing; and should, in the event of a crisis, undertake to assist states to provide food.

There is a huge difference between the Federal government moving to help state and local governments help themselves and the Federal government supplanting local governmental units and planning the future ~~for~~ ^{for} everyone.

It seems to me that the goals of leadership in all fields of endeavor, including government, are to:

- * Provide opportunity for the individual by strengthening our tradition of incentive.
- * Encourage the entrepreneur---the man of vision and ideas---to build, expand and compete as he contributes to the economic growth.
- * Establish the best educational system possible, retaining local control and direction.
- * Gear our national processes to programs which create new wealth.



At the same time, we must be careful to protect the individual against the force of government. Each person must have a choice, without being squeezed into the position of accepting one pattern, one way of life, if he has preferred alternatives. In a word, we call this "liberty."

How do we stem the tide of "big brother" government and retain the freedom won for us some 200 years ago by a strong-willed small corps of ~~individuals~~ individuals?

Simply stated, the answer is that we be ~~patriots~~ patriots. We elect responsible representatives in government. We vote, after studying the issues and the candidates. We cast ballots in ~~all elections~~ ^{all elections}, not just every four years.

Politics is regarded by some as an unwholesome word, and with some basis. However, the American people must assume the responsibility for the state of our political world.

In most elections, all over this land, a minority of persons eligible to vote take the time to cast their ballots. This is far from being patriotic.

You, and thousands of other young Americans, can revive patriotism by leading the way, setting an example, taking an active interest in government, politics and the issues....and by voting.

It is our duty to accept the responsibility to build a better, stronger America. In so doing, we will strengthen the free world.

Be fully aware that ~~individual~~ ^{the} freedom of action and choice is the major motivating factor that built this Nation.

You have been given the challenges. I ask that you respond to them by being ^{causading} patriots of the United States of America and active members of the brotherhood of man.

#



Michigan State University Commencement Address

March 14, 1965

This is a day of intellectual fulfillment as more than a thousand of you reach a plateau in an age of creative maturation and turbulent events.

It is a point in time to be cherished as you face wide horizons of opportunity, which beckon men and women dedicated to enunciating new truths and defending vintage ones.

When this day has passed, stand tall in seeking new challenges, higher goals, greater duties, more work and broader responsibilities. Replace mediocrity with excellence, timidity with daring, fear with courage.

In reaching your present achievements, you have proven yourselves as having the ~~special~~ qualities of ~~human~~ imagination, eagerness to learn, willingness to sacrifice, readiness to accept new ideas with open minds.

The Nation and the world need you, your knowledge and your readiness to accept challenges of pinnacle heights as citizens of a free society-- as scholars---as knowledgeable persons in your chosen careers.

This is neither a time to stumble, not to falter, in accepting the responsibility as young leaders with the task of leading the way to strengthened and new moral, esthetic, cultural and scientific values.



Without men and women who are willing to give of themselves and their knowledge, we could be witness to a requiem for our Nation and the world.

Preservation is far from being a hopeless task. Emerson, the gentle philosopher, sounded a positive and sensitive theme when he said "they conquer who believe they can." You, with your sharpened skills, will conquer the perplexing problems and at the same time help your fellowman, whose lives must be balanced in an unbalanced world.

You will help us to earn the respect of our neighbors at home and abroad, including those who would destroy us, by striving to make this Nation as great in peace ~~as we were~~ as we were strong in war.

Replace half-heartedness with a full-speed-ahead attitude based on the philosophies of our founding fathers, who established this Nation on a relatively simple set of guidelines.

Dedicate your minds in the quest for excellence as leaders who will enlarge the bedrock foundation of ideas and ideals for America of the present and far beyond.

Progress depends upon men and women making and carrying out their own plans, prepared to assume the risks and to take unto themselves the burden of responsibility.

In our earlier history, the challenge was that of opening the West to exploration, settlement and development.

Those strong-willed men and women drove their covered wagons through the wilderness into the setting sun with self-confidence and pride in achievement. They faced the future, neither detouring their steadfastness, nor turning their backs to the mighty, powerful challenges. Freedom to them was a great adventure, not something handed down from another generation.

This era bears evidence of similarity to the age of some 200 years ago. Astronauts have made awesome journeys into the space that cushions this planet. As we are gathered here, there are plans to have a manned capsule make a 112-orbit, seven-day flight as a segment of an effort to reach for the moon and Mars in a search for answers to questions raised in the minds of earthbound astronomers, scientists and geo-political intellectuals.

Like the pioneers of our Nation, who set an example of leadership, you have the glittering opportunity to join others in learning the value of perseverance, the fellowship of hardship and the comradeship of common problems.

The challenges of today and the future are linked with new technology, the achievements of science and the task of filling jobs demanding skills unheard of even a decade ago.

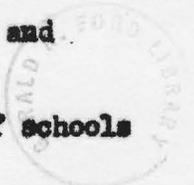
There are diseases to conquer, roads to build, land to till, social ills to cure, children to be taught, parts of great cities to rehabilitate, public money to invest and to spend wisely.

The magnitude of the problems is crushing in its significance. In finding solutions with measured, calculated, intellectual and technical steps, each person must have a choice, without being crowded into the position of accepting one pattern, one way of life, if he has preferred alternatives.

Be fully aware that individual freedom of action and choice is the major motivating factor which built this Nation. You have an opportunity in this age ~~to be~~ to be coordinating catalysts triggering the forward march of mankind by your ability to think—not what to think.

As members of a competitive society, you will find the need to communicate with others in sharing your knowledge and skills. This is a difficult and demanding assignment, but one which must be achieved to generate social interaction.

Archibald MacLeish, teacher and poet, had this to say in discussing the challenges: "What education in the free countries must drive home, if the free countries are to survive, is the conviction that we hold the power and bear the responsibility. The task is in part a task beyond the power of schools



~~Bi-partisan~~

~~statement~~

In the area of government, two major goals must be reached. I am a partisan, politically speaking. ~~But~~ This effort must be a bi-partisan one. I urge that the goals be achieved by members of both political parties with widespread support from Americans.

We must maintain a balance in the legislative, executive and judicial branches of ~~government~~ government as ~~is~~ intended in the purpose and reason of the Constitution.

~~Second~~ ^{is} the parallel task to preserve the two-party system--the genius of the American ~~Democracy~~ Democracy.

Enlarging upon the first goal--that of ~~maintaining~~ keeping the three branches of government in balance---I believe that if any one of them becomes too strong or too weak, the foundations of our government will crack and our freedoms will be threatened.

There is evidence of slow erosion in the power of the legislative branch, a build-up of awesome strength in the executive branch and a change in direction in the federal judiciary.



Congress--the legislative branch--has been criticized as being too slow to react in an age of speed. The belittlers have described the Senate and House as being too cumbersome and too old-fashioned.

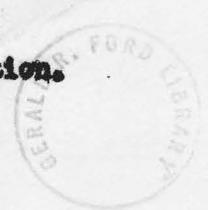
Those who are critical perhaps are unaware that in Congress are the checks and balances built into our form of government by deliberate intent of the founding fathers.

When speed is essential, Congress has proven many times that it can act with dispatch to meet a crisis, in war and in peacetime, in days of economic depression and in times of prosperity.

~~The Congress of the United States is the people~~

It has been said that Congress frequently makes haste slowly, which is true. However, the act of deliberate slowness is a safeguard against the danger of ~~impetuousness~~ racing to the point of decision without research and deep study of the issues.

Under our political system, the President of the United States represents the views of the people who elect him. The Congress, and ~~especially~~ particularly the House of Representatives, are closer to the citizenry of our Nation because the membership is chosen by smaller segments of the Nation.



Members of the House are chosen every two years, a process which in itself puts members closer to the people. As in the Senate, the House is represented by every major religion, national origin, profession-----
The Congress is a cross-section of the American people. This is our strength. It should not be lessened by over-balance in the executive and judiciary branches of government.

A strong two-party system is bedrock assurance that our Democracy will survive, prosper, grow and help others in the world to accept their roles in the society of free nations.

When either party has iron-fisted control of both the executive and legislative branches of government, the tradition of checks and balances becomes a ~~substantive principle~~ a shadow—a ghost of the principle written into the Constitution by the founding fathers of this United States country.

~~From~~ From a strong two-party system ~~comes~~ come creative ideas for better government, carefully thought-out alternative plans and proposals for legislation.

A crushing over-balance ~~is~~ ^{of} strength in either party makes a mockery of our traditions in government, makes the voice of the people weak and ineffective, and puts control in the hands of a comparatively small, but



INSERT

These, then, are the major goals in government-----a sensitive balance in the legislative, executive and judicial branches; and a strong two-party system.

^{challenges}
The ~~main~~ ~~problems~~ ~~confronting~~ ~~you~~ ~~as~~ ~~graduates~~ ~~of~~ Michigan State University, are broad and varied. In accepting and solving them, you will make decisions based on knowledge, research and understanding.

It has been said that there should be a staunch belief that men and women have the capabilities of directing their own actions by use of rational facilities.

Describe this quality as self-discipline, if you will. It is a positive force within an individual which permits the making of decisions and the ~~main~~ accomplishment of tasks facing each of us each day.

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as such, for the sense of individual responsibility and power involves a sense of individual participation....to teach men to believe in themselves therefore is to teach them responsibility and so to assure their freedom."

Those with understanding and knowledge of our times, who are aware of the economic, social, political and ideological forces at work in the world, have many goals to achieve. ~~This is neither the time, nor the place, to minutely detail them.~~

Speaking broadly, the goals include the provision of opportunity for the individual be strengthening our tradition of incentive; encouraging the entrepreneur-- the man of vision and ideas--to build, expand and compete as he contributes to the economic growth; and establishing, or preserving in many place, an educational system of paramount excellence.

It has been said that there should be a staunch belief that ~~all~~ men and women have the capacities of directing their own actions by the use of rational facilities.

Describe this quality as self-discipline if you will. It is a positive force within an individual which permits the making of decisions and the accomplishment of tasks facing each of us each day.



Even the most modern of ~~men~~ us know that we cannot build the foundation of our personal lives on the shuffling sands of chance. In finding direction in our ~~lives,~~ ^{lives,} we seek something of permanence and substance. We should seek a commitment to fulfill.

You will need both physical and mental courage in following your chosen careers.

The tradition of American courage is a distinguished one. Men and ~~women~~ women who conquered the wilderness from sea to shining sea were endowed with physical bravery, as were Colonel John Glenn in his historic flight aboard Friendship 7 and the astronauts who followed him into space.

Mental courage is quiet and less public. It conquers fears and builds healthful, buoyant, faithful attitudes. Moral and intellectual courage completes dreams and makes realization of hopes; opens the pathways in our minds to the noblest and best impressions; gives dynamic purpose and direction to our lives.

The blending of the qualities discussed here today is the equation of the total ultimate in personal development needed today in the world. It is to come mainly from the ranks of mature young men and women'



These are the qualities in man that mastered hundreds of arts and sciences, created government and law, made cities of settlements founded in the wilderness, built skyscrapers on the sites of log cabins, invented covered wagons that gave way to railroads, automobiles and aircraft, made startling progress in several thousand directions.

We have inherited the foundation of a Nation that was destined to grow mighty. It is a base from which to grow under ~~his~~ leadership, following established and traditional guidelines and creating new ones.

There has been much comment regarding the present era.

Arnold Toynbee, scholar and historian, was articulate in saying: "Our age will be well remembered, not for its horrifying crimes nor its astonishing inventions, but because it is the first generation since the dawn of history in which mankind dared to believe it practical to make the benefits of civilisation available to the whole human race."

You have the power of ~~knowledge,~~ ^{knowledge,} the physical and mental attributes of mature young men and women, the proven willingness to sacrifice and to give of yourselves in making this a better world for others and yourselves.

~~Now~~ Let there be a greater devotion to the moral and spiritual values. Translate them into mobility of character, social justice, national



righteousness and world peace.

There is no doubt that ~~that~~ you will heed the challenging call.

Your very ~~presence~~ presence here today and the documents you receive for achievement in education are strong reflections of your desire to accept your responsibilities in an exciting, turbulent, demanding and changing world.

Congratulations. I salute you with faith and thanksgiving.

#



Michigan State University Address

by Rep. Gerald R. Ford

March 14, 1965

Today is a point in time to be cherished ~~by you~~ as you face wide horizons of opportunity. In reaching your present achievements, you have proven yourselves as having the qualities of imagination, eagerness to learn, willingness to sacrifice, readiness to accept new ideas with open minds.

This is neither a time to stumble, nor to falter, nor to fear in accepting responsibilities as ~~you~~^{citizens} with the task of leading the way to strengthened ~~our~~ moral, esthetic, ~~our~~^{cultural} and scientific values.

The challenges are many in this age of space and speed, ~~but~~^{changing} events, and perplexing problems.

Recall that ~~Emerson~~ Emerson, the philosopher, said "they conquer who believe they can." You, with your sharpened skills, will help conquer the massive problems of this century, and at the same time help your fellowmen, whose lives must be balanced in an unbalanced world.

Progress depends upon men and women making and carrying out their plans, prepared to assume the risks and willing to accept the burden of responsibility.

- now -



In our earlier history, the challenge was that of opening the West to exploration, settlement and development.

Those strong-willed men and women drove their covered wagons through the wilderness into the setting sun with self-confidence and pride in achievement. They faced the future, neither detouring their steadfastness, nor turning their backs to the mighty, powerful challenges. Freedom to them ~~was~~ ^{was} a great adventure, not something handed down from another generation.

The challenges of today are linked with new technology, the ~~achievements~~ achievements of science and the task of filling jobs demanding skills under of even ~~ten~~ a decade ago.

There are diseases to conquer, roads to build, land to till, social ills to cure, children to be taught, parts of great cities to rehabilitate, public money to invest and to spend wisely.

Seeking solutions with measured, calculated, intellectual and technical ~~steps,~~ ^{steps,} each person must have a choice, without being crowded into the position of accepting one pattern, one way of life, if he has preferred alternatives. This in a word is---freedom.

~~Individual~~ Individual freedom of action and choice, within the framework of the laws, was built into the Constitution by the founding fathers.

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The challenges of today are linked with new technology, the ~~unheard~~ achievements of science and the task of filling jobs demanding skills ^{unheard} ~~unheard~~ of even ~~just~~ a decade ago.

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~~Individual~~ Individual freedom of action and choice, within the framework ~~of the~~ ~~can~~ ~~be~~ ~~built~~ ~~into~~ ~~the~~ ~~Constitution~~ ~~by~~ ~~the~~ ~~Canadian~~ ~~Parliament~~

In the area of government, freedom will be ~~maintained~~ maintained with a bi-partisan effort by both political parties receiving widespread support from Americans.

Two major goals must be accomplished if the American Democracy is to continue to exist and be strengthened through ^{subsequent} the generations.

First, we must maintain a balance in the legislative, executive and judicial branches of government as is intended ^{with} in the ~~purpose and the reason~~ ^{framework} of the Constitution.

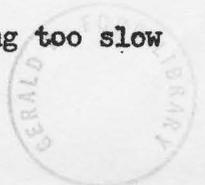
The ^gparallel task is to preserve the two-party system--the genius of our Democracy.

Enlarging upon the first goal---that of keeping the three branches of government in balance---I believe that if any one of them becomes too strong or too weak, the foundations of our government will crack and our freedoms will be threatened.

There are disturbing signs of slow erosion in the power of the legislative branch, a build-up of awesome strength in the executive arm and a change of intended direction in the Federal Judiciary.

Congress--the legislative branch---has been criticized as being too slow

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to react in an age of speed. Critics^s have described the House and Senate as being too cumbersome and too old-fashioned.

Those who are critical perhaps are unaware that in Congress are the checks and balances built into our form of government by deliberate intent of the ~~men~~^{men} who created the Constitution.

When speed is essential, Congress has proven many times that it can react with dispatch to meet a crisis in war ~~and~~^{or} and in peacetime, in days of economic depression and in times of glowing prosperity.

It has been said that Congress frequently makes ~~haste~~^{haste} slowly, ~~which~~
~~is true.~~ However, the act of deliberate slowness is a safeguard against the danger of racing to the brink of decision ^{without adequate} without research and deep study of the issues.

When the balance of power in ~~the~~^{the} Congress is steeply tilted by an overwhelming majority in one political party, the system of checks and balances is endangered, especially when the executive branch of the same party has strong control.

Under our political system, the President represents the views of the people who elect him. Members of Congress, and ~~especially~~^{particularly} those in the House of Representatives, are closer to the Nation's citizens because they are

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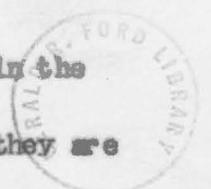
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chosen by smaller segments of the Nation.

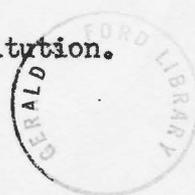
Members of the House are elected every two years, a process which in itself places Representatives closer to the people. Every two years the Representative must go to his constituents for a mandate to continue in office. His record is placed on the line and he must be endorsed by a majority.

As in the Senate, the House is represented by nearly every major profession, national origin and religion----- Congress is a cross-section of the American people. This is your strength. It should not be lessened by an over-balance of power in the executive and judicial~~s~~ branches of government.

The responsibilities of Congress are clearly defined in the Constitution, including the making of all laws which are necessary and proper for carrying out the duties and powers of the government.

Under the ~~rules of the~~ Constitution, every ~~statute~~ statute requiring concurrence of Congress must be presented to the President before taking effect. If the chief executive rejects a proposed act, he can be over-ruled by a two-third majority vote of the Senate and the House.

It is quickly obvious that a crushing balance of political power in both Congress and the executive branch weakens the ^{safeguards} ~~intent~~ of the Constitution.



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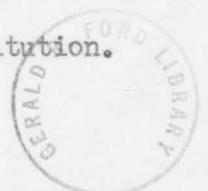
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It is quickly obvious that a crushing balance of political power in both Congress and the executive branch weakens the ^{safeguards} ~~intent~~ of the Constitution.



Reflecting on the duties and obligations of the third branch of government, it can be said that the Federal Judiciary's function is to interpret laws, not to create them.

There is evidence that the Judiciary Branch is ~~arbitrarily~~ arbitrarily elbowing its way to new positions of authority, disregarding the wise suggestions of judicial restraint made by the late Justice Frankfurter and others.

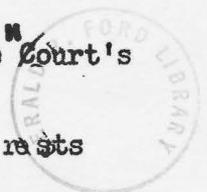
When the Supreme Court ordered states to reapportion on the "one-man, one-vote" concept, Justice Frankfurter in a dissenting opinion was critical of "destructively novel judicial power."

The highest court in the land, he said, virtually had no authority to make the decision.

"In this situation, as in others of like nature, appeal for relief does not belong ~~here,~~ here," Justice Frankfurter said. "Appeal must be made to an informed, civically militant electorate. In a democratic society like ours, relief must come through an aroused public conscience that sears the conscience of the people's representatives."

Justice Frankfurter left no doubt that he believed the Supreme Court's authority---possessed neither of the purse nor the sword---ultimately rests

Thou



on sustained public ~~the~~ confidence in its moral sanction."

Earlier ~~in this message to you~~, I ^{mentioned} included the need to preserve the two-party system among major areas of ^{concern} achievement in maintaining our structure of government.

Without any indulgence in partisanship, I am sure we can agree that a strong two-party system is bedrock assurance that our Democracy will survive, prosper, grow and help others in the world to accept their roles in the society of free nations.

Creative ideas for better governmental functions, carefully-constructed alternative plans and proposals for legislation that come from a strong two-party system have a ~~substantial~~ better chance of surviving when there is balance in all three branches of government.

A crushing over-balance of strength in either party ^{for too long a time} makes a mockery of our traditions in government, weakens and softens the voice of the people, and places control in the hands of a comparatively small majority, far out of proportion to the Nation's population.

These ^{it seems to me} are currently the major goals to be ^{might} achieved in the area of government:--- a sensitive balance in the legislative, executive and judicial

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branches; and a strong two-party system.

What is your role in these goals

How do you take part in the accomplishment? Where do you start? What might be your guidelines for action?

First, you must have the mental and moral courage to become involved in the political world as partisans, as voters, as taxpayers, as candidates for office, as office-holders---yes, as patriots.

Those who sit on the sidelines, uttering harping criticism, fail to strengthen the foundations of our Nation.

By being a citizen-participant in our Democracy and not a mere spectator, you develop a loyalty to your community, your city, your county, your state and your Nation. This loyalty is basic to personal service and community improvement.

In becoming a part of what the late Justice Frankfurter described as an "informed, civically militant electorate," you will discover the meaning of service and true citizenship.

Patriotism in action demands loyalty to a philosophy, to a singular or set of ideas, to our Nation. It begins at home in your local environment.

Give purpose and direction to your role as a citizen by choosing a political party, after careful study of the philosophies of each. Perhaps, you will switch



your alliances. This is a choice under freedom. This, too, will require mental courage, which conquers fear and builds healthful, bouyant attitudes.

~~insert~~ *insert*
Your guidelines as citizens include a great devotion to the moral and spiritual values, which are translated into nobility of character, social justice, national righteousness, and eventually, world peace.

Even the most modern of us know that we cannot build the foundation of our personal lives on the shuffling sands of chance. We need something of permanence and substance ~~in~~ in finding direction in our lives.

A wealth of permanence and substance is found in being active, loyal citizens dedicated to maintaining our Democracy in the fraternity of free nations.

I have mentioned several qualities today....imagination, eagerness to learn, willingness to sacrifice, readiness to accept new ideas with open minds, self-confidence, and finally, loyalty.

The blending of these qualities is the equation of the total ultimate in personal development needed in the Nation. It is to come mainly from the ranks of mature young men and women.



These are the qualities in man that mastered arts and sciences, created government and law, made cities of settlements founded in the wilderness, built skyscrapers on the sites of log cabins, invented covered wagons that gave way to railroads, automobiles and aircraft, made startling progress in several thousands directions leading us to the present.

There is much comment regarding our present era. Arnold Toynbee, scholar and historian, ^{has said,} ~~was articulate in saying:~~ "Our age will be well remembered, not for its horrifying crimes nor its astonishing inventions, but because it is the first generation since the dawn of history in which mankind dared to believe it practical to make the benefits of civilization available to the whole human race."

You have the power of knowledge, the physical and mental attributes, the proven willingness to give more of yourselves than you receive to make this a better Nation and a better world for others and yourselves.

The United States of America needs you, your knowledge and your readiness to accept challenges as loyal citizens of a free society; as scholars; as knowledgeable persons with chosen careers.



There is no doubt that you will heed the challenging call.

Your presence here today and the documents you receive for achievement in education are strong reflections of your desire to accept responsibilities in an exciting, turbulent, demanding and changing world.

Congratulations. I salute you with faith and thanksgiving.

#



Michigan State University Commencement Address

by Rep. Gerald R. Ford

March 14, 1965

delivered
For Release at 4 p.m. EST, March 14, 1965

you cherish this
Today ~~is a~~ point in time ~~to be cherished~~ as you face wide horizons of

opportunity. In reaching your present achievements, you have proved yourselves,

and ~~having~~ *demonstrated* the qualities of imagination, eagerness to learn, willingness to
and a sacrifice, readiness to accept new ideas with open minds.

This is neither a time to stumble, nor to falter, nor to fear in accepting

~~the~~ responsibilities *of* citizens *with* the task of leading the way to strengthened
moral, esthetic, cultural, and scientific values.

The challenges are many in this ~~age~~ *age* of space and speed, changing events,
and perplexing problems.

American
Recall that Emerson, the philosopher, said, "They conquer who believe they
can." You, with your sharpened skills, will help conquer the massive problems of
this century, and at the same time help your fellowmen, whose lives must be
balanced in an unbalanced world.

Progress depends upon men and women making and carrying out their plans,
prepared to assume the risks and willing to accept the burden of responsibility.

In our earlier history, the challenge was that of opening the West to
exploration, settlement and development.

Those strong-willed men and women drove their covered wagons through the
wilderness into the setting sun with self-confidence and pride in achievement.

~~They faced the future, neither discarding their steadfastness nor turning their~~

~~backs to the mighty, powerful challenges.~~ Freedom to them was a great adventure,
not something handed down from another generation.

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The challenges of today are linked with new technology, the achievements of science, and the task of filling jobs demanding skills unheard of even a decade ago.

There are diseases to conquer, roads to build, land to till, social ills to cure, children to be taught, parts of great cities to rehabilitate, public money to invest and to spend wisely.

Seeking solutions with measured, calculated, intelligent, and technical steps, each person must have a choice without being crowded into the position of accepting one pattern, one way of life, if he has preferred alternatives. This in a word is--- freedom.

Individual freedom of action and choice, within the framework of the law, was built into the Constitution by the founding fathers.

In the area of government, freedom must be maintained ^{through} ~~with a~~ bi-partisan effort ^{which} ~~by both political parties~~ ^{all} ~~receiving~~ widespread support from Americans.

Two major goals must be ^{achieved} ~~accomplished~~ if the American Democracy is to continue to exist and be strengthened ^{through} subsequent generations.

First, we must maintain a balance in the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government as ^{established} ~~is intended~~ ^{by our} ~~within the framework of the~~ Constitution.

The parallel task is to preserve the two-party system---the genius of our Democracy.

Enlarging upon the first goal---that of keeping the three branches of government in balance--- I believe that if any one of them becomes too strong or too weak, the foundations of our government will crack and our freedom will be threatened.



There are disturbing signs of slow erosion in the power of the legislative branch, a build-up of awesome strength in the executive arm, and a change ^{from the} intended direction in the Federal Judiciary.

Congress, the legislative branch, has been criticized as being too slow to react in an age of speed. Critics have described the House and Senate as being too cumbersome and too old-fashioned.

Those critics perhaps are unaware that in Congress a system of checks and balances is provided by the Constitution.

When speed is essential, Congress has proved many times that it can react with dispatch to meet a crisis in war or in peacetime, in days of economic depression ^{or} and in times of glowing prosperity.

It has been said that Congress frequently makes haste slowly. However, the act of deliberate slowness is a safeguard against racing to the brink of decision.

It prevents a dangerous plunge. ~~By taking time to deliberate,~~ ^{and} Congress ^{should} reach ~~its~~ ^{its major} ~~decisions~~ ^{only} after a adequate ~~thought~~ ^{thought} and research, ^{and exhaustive discussion.}

When the balance of power in Congress is steeply tilted by an overwhelming majority in one political party, the system of checks and balances is endangered.

^{This becomes even more serious} ~~especially~~ when the executive branch is dominated by the same party. ^{Although the President is the chief executive and head of state for all} ~~Under our political system,~~ ^{he does} the President represents ^{especially} the views of the people ^{of} ~~who~~ ^{elect} him. Members of Congress, and particularly those in the House of

Representatives, are closer to the Nation's citizens because they are chosen by smaller segments of the Nation.



Members of the House are elected every two years, a ~~process~~^{fact} which in itself places Representatives closer to the people. Every two years a Representative must go to his constituents for a mandate to continue in office. His record is placed on the line and he must be endorsed by a majority ^{of the voters in his district,}

As in the Senate, the House is represented by nearly every major profession, national origin, and religion. Congress is a cross-section of the American people. This is your strength. It should not be lessened by an over-balance of power in the executive and judicial branches of government.

The responsibilities of Congress are clearly defined in the Constitution, ^{and} including the making of all laws which are necessary and proper for carrying out the duties and powers of government.

Under the Constitution, every statute requiring concurrence of Congress must be presented to the President before taking effect. If the chief executive rejects a proposed act, he can be over-ruled by a two-third majority vote of the Senate and the House.

It is quickly obvious that a crushing ^{over-balance} ~~balance~~ of political power in both ^{houses of} Congress ⁱⁿ and the executive branch weakens the safeguards of the Constitution.

Reflecting on the duties and obligations of the third branch of government, ^{the Constitution and the} it can be said that the Federal Judiciary's function is to interpret laws, ~~not~~ ^{to create}

There is evidence that the Judicial Branch is arbitrarily elbowing its way to new positions of authority, disregarding the wise suggestions of judicial restraint made by the late Justice Frankfurter and others.



When the Supreme Court ordered states to reapportion on the "one-man, one-vote" concept, Justice Frankfurter in a dissenting opinion was critical of ~~an~~ ^{assumption of} "destructively novel judicial power."

~~The highest court in the land, he said, virtually had no authority to make~~

~~the decision.~~

"In this situation, as in others of like nature, appeal for relief does not belong here," Justice Frankfurter said. "Appeal must be made to an informed, civically militant electorate. In a democratic society like ours, relief must come through an aroused public conscience that sears the conscience of the people's representatives."

Justice Frankfurter ^{emphasized that} ~~left no doubt that he believed~~ the Supreme "Court's authority--- possessed neither of the purse nor the sword--- ultimately rests on sustained public confidence in its moral sanction."

I have stressed the need to preserve the two-party system ^{at the} among ^{the} major areas of concern in maintaining our structure of government.

Without any indulgence in partisanship, I am sure we can agree that a strong two-party system is bedrock assurance that our Democracy will survive, prosper, grow, and help others in the world to accept their role in the society of free nations.

A crushing over-balance of strength in either party for too long a time makes a mockery of our traditions in government, weakens and softens the voice of the people, and places control in the hands of a comparatively small majority,

~~far out of proportion to the Nation's population.~~



These it seems to me are currently the major goals to be sought in the area of government: ~~the~~ a sensitive balance in the legislative, executive and judicial branches, and a strong two-party system.

What is your role in seeking these goals? Where do you start? What might be your guidelines for action?

First, you must have the mental and moral courage to become involved in the political world ~~as participants~~, ^{as participants,} as voters, as taxpayers, as candidates for office, as office-holders---yes, as patriots.

Those who sit on the sidelines, uttering harping criticism, fail to strengthen the foundations of our Nation.

By being a citizen-participant in our Democracy and not a mere spectator, you develop a loyalty to your community, your city, your county, your state and your Nation. This loyalty is basic to personal service and community improvement.

In becoming a part of what the late Justice Frankfurter described as an "informed, civically militant electorate," you will discover the meaning of service and true citizenship.

Patriotism in action demands loyalty to a philosophy, to a ~~specific~~ set ofn ideas, to our Nation. It begins at home in your local environment.

Give purpose and direction to your role as a citizen by choosing a political party, after careful study of the philosophies of each. Perhaps you will switch your alliances. This is a choice under freedom. This, too, will require mental courage, which conquers fear and builds healthful, ^{frustrant} ~~benefit~~ attitudes.



Good citizenship, it seems to me, is directly linked with the "aroused public conscience," which Justice Frankfurter said "sears the conscience of the people's representatives."

The question is how should an aroused public conscience manifest itself?

Is the rioting of ~~college~~ college students protesting an alleged breach of freedom of speech a proper interpretation? Does a demonstration by more than 100 singing, chanting young men and women in the ^{Department of} Justice ~~Department~~ building ⁱⁿ Washington ^{in behalf of} ~~demanding~~ federal intervention in one of our States, constitute a meaningful representation of public conscience?

Would you say that the 700 persons picketing the White House with cries of "freedom now" or demanding peace at any price were examples of good citizenship in action?

Compare these examples with the actions of citizens ⁱⁿ a community who band together to win an election to raise money at the local level for a new high school...or with the coordinated civic effort to conduct an educational campaign on ~~in~~ ^{regarding} a local ~~ballot~~ ^{issue} question dealing with more taxes for a better park and recreation area.

Certainly, police brutality anywhere is disgraceful, as is unbridled, uncontrolled savage and senseless mob action, which scoffs at legitimate authority and the orderly processes.

The growth and prosperity, the state and strength, of our Nation is the result of free citizens conducting their personal lives and careers within the constituted framework of authority, law and order. This is not to say that changes in our *laws*

~~judicial system is unnecessary~~
or governmental practices *is not necessary or essential*
-more-



For example, our present Civil Rights ^{laws} Act needs strengthening to give statutory backing to the general provisions of the Fifteenth Amendment, which provides that the right to vote shall not be denied or abridged because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. This is the orderly process, ~~and~~ ~~same substitute for the savage measures used in some parts of our country.~~

There is a fine line of distinction between an aroused public conscience and demonstrations of social revolution.

I seriously question the social merit of flamboyant, irresponsible mob action to focus attention on a public issue. We have procedures in our units of government, in the courts of the land, by which controversies can be settled with dignity and justice. This should be the path taken by an aroused citizenry in search of righting a wrong or in seeking a civic goal.

At the same time, public officials have the duty to see that laws are properly enforced. Those who are slow to act in fulfilling their obligations of their office, or who deliberately turn their faces from issues and controversies are indeed delinquent.

An informed voting public has the power of the ballot to replace those who fail in their duties, who fall short of their qualifications, who forsake the people for political gain.

Appeals to the courts may be taken when that appears necessary.

The rules of an orderly society may at times be subject to interpretation by government, by the courts, and by the people themselves, but only in ~~xxx~~

~~a Constitutional~~ manner which means "due process of law."



Your guidelines as citizens include a great devotion to the moral and spiritual values, which are translated into nobility of character, social justice, national righteousness, and eventually, world peace.

Even the most modern of us know that we cannot build the foundation of our personal lives on the ~~shuffling~~ ^{shifting} sands of chance. We need something of permanence and substance in finding direction in our lives.

A wealth of permanence and substance is found in being active, loyal citizens dedicated to maintaining our Democracy in the fraternity of free nations.

I have mentioned ^{top desirable} several ~~of these~~ qualities: ~~the~~ imagination, eagerness to learn, willingness to sacrifice, readiness to accept new ideas with open minds, self-confidence, and finally, loyalty.

The blending of these qualities is the equation of the total ultimate in personal development needed in ~~the~~ Nation. It is to come mainly from the ranks of mature young men and women.

These are the qualities in man that mastered arts and sciences, created government and law, made cities of settlements founded in the wilderness, built skyscrapers on the sites of log cabins, invented covered wagons that gave way to railroads, automobiles and aircraft, made startling progress in several thousand directions leading us to the present.

~~There is much comment regarding our present era.~~ Arnold Toynbee, scholar and historian, has said: "Our age will be well remembered, not for its horrifying crimes nor its astonishing inventions, but because it is the first generation since the dawn of history in which mankind dared to believe it practical to make the benefits of civilization available to the whole human race."

You have the power of knowledge; ^{you have} ~~the physical and mental attributes,~~ ^{the} ~~the~~
^a proved willingness to give more of yourselves than you receive ^{in order} to make this
 a better Nation and a better world for others and yourselves.

The United States of America needs you ^{It needs} your knowledge and your readiness
 to accept challenges as loyal citizens of a free society ^{It needs you} as scholars; as
 knowledgeable persons with chosen careers.

There is no doubt that you will heed the challenging call. Your presence
 here today and the documents you receive for achievement in education are
 strong reflections of your desire to accept responsibilities in an exciting,
 turbulent, demanding, and changing world.

Congratulations. I salute you with faith and thanksgiving.

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Michigan State University Commencement Address

March 14, 1965

This is a day of intellectual fulfillment as more than a thousand of you reach a plateau in an age of creative maturation and turbulent events.

It is a point in time to be cherished as you face wide horizons of opportunity, which beckon men and women dedicated to enunciating new truths and defending vintage ones.

When this day has passed, stand tall in seeking new challenges, higher goals, greater duties, more work and broader responsibilities. Replace mediocrity with excellence, timidity with daring, fear with courage.

In reaching your present achievements, you have proven yourselves as having the ~~qualities~~ qualities of ~~imagination~~ imagination, eagerness to learn, willingness to sacrifice, readiness to accept new ideas with open minds.

The Nation and the world need you, your knowledge and your readiness to accept challenges of pinnacle heights as citizens of a free society-- as scholars---as knowledgeable persons in your chosen careers.

This is neither a time to stumble, ~~nor~~ ^{to falter} ~~nor~~ ^{nor to fear,} to falter in accepting the responsibility as young leaders with the task of leading the way to strengthened, ~~and~~ new, moral, esthetic, cultural and scientific values.



more than they receive

Without men and women who are willing to give of themselves and their knowledge, we could be witness to a requiem for our Nation and the world.

Preservation is far from being a hopeless task. Emerson, the gentle philosopher, sounded a positive and sensitive theme when he said "they conquer who believe they can." You, with your sharpened skills, will conquer the perplexing problems and at the same time help your fellowmen, whose lives must be balanced in an unbalanced world.

You will help us to earn the respect of our neighbors at home and abroad, including those who would destroy us, by striving to make this Nation as great in peace ~~as we were~~ as we were strong in war.

Replace half-heartedness with a full-speed-ahead attitude based on the philosophies of our founding fathers, who established this Nation on a relatively simple set of guidelines.

Dedicate your minds in the quest for excellence as leaders who will enlarge the bedrock foundation of ideas and ideals for ^{the} America of the present and far beyond.

Progress depends upon men and women making and carrying out their own plans, prepared to assume the risks and to take unto themselves the burden of responsibility.

In our earlier history, the challenge was that of opening the West to exploration, settlement and development.

Those strong-willed men and women drove their covered wagons through the wilderness into the setting sun with self-confidence and pride in achievement. They faced the future, neither detouring their steadfastness, nor turning their backs to the mighty, powerful challenges. Freedom to them was a great adventure, not something handed down from another generation.

This era bears evidence of similarity to the age of some 200 years ago. Astronauts have made awesome journeys into the space that cushions this planet. As we are gathered here, there are plans to have a manned capsule make a 112-orbit, seven-day flight as a segment of an effort to reach for the moon ~~and~~ in a search for answers to questions ^{raised} ~~in~~ in the minds of earthbound astronomers, scientists and geo-political intellectuals.

Like the pioneers of our Nation, who set an example of leadership, you have the glittering opportunity to join others in learning the value of perseverance, the fellowship of hardship and the comradeship of common problems.

The challenges of today and the future are linked with new technology, the achievements of science and the task of filling jobs demanding skills unheard of even a decade ago.

— more —



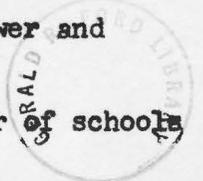
There are diseases to conquer, roads to build, land to till, social ills to cure, children to be taught, parts of great cities to rehabilitate, public money to invest and to spend wisely.

The magnitude of the problems is crushing in its significance. In finding solutions with measured, calculated, intellectual and technical steps, each person must have a choice, without being crowded into the position of accepting one pattern, one way of life, if he has preferred alternatives.

Be fully aware that individual freedom of action and choice is the major motivating factor which built this Nation. You have an opportunity in this age ~~to be~~ to be coordinating catalyists triggering the forward march of mankind by your ability to think.

As members of a competitive society, you will find the need to communicate with others in sharing your knowledge and skills. This is a difficult and demanding assignment, but one which must be achieved to generate social interaction.

Archibald MacLeish, teacher and poet, had this to say in discussing the challenges: "What education in the free countries must drive home, if the free countries are to survive, is the conviction that we hold the power and bear the responsibility. The task is in part a task beyond the power of schools



Congress--the legislative branch---has been criticized as being too slow to react in an age of speed. ^{Critics} ~~The belittlers~~ have described the Senate and House as being too cumbersome and too old-fashioned.

Those who are critical perhaps are unaware that in Congress are the checks and balances built into our form of government by deliberate intent of the founding fathers.

When speed is essential, Congress has proven many times that it can act with dispatch to meet a crisis, in war and in peacetime, in days of economic depression and in times of prosperity.

~~The Congress of the United States is a people.~~

It has been said that Congress frequently makes haste slowly, which is true. However, the act of deliberate slowness is a safeguard against the danger of ~~making~~ racing to the point of decision without research and deep study of the issues.

Under our political system, the President of the United States represents the views of the people who elect him. The Congress, and ~~especially~~ particularly the House of Representatives, are closer to the citizenry of our Nation because the membership is chosen by smaller segments of the Nation.



Members of the House are chosen every two years, a process which in itself puts members closer to the people. As in the Senate, the House is represented by every major religion, national origin, profession-----

The Congress is a cross-section of the American people. This is our strength.

It should not be lessened by over-balance in the executive and judiciary branches of government.

The Federal judiciary's function is to interpret laws not make them. There are evidence that the Supreme Court has ~~been~~ over-stuffed its authority.
A strong two-party system is bedrock assurance that our

Democracy will survive, prosper, grow and help others in the world to accept their roles in the society of free nations.

When either party has iron-fisted control of both the executive and legislative branches of government, the tradition of checks and balances becomes a ~~misnomer~~ a shadow--a ghost of the principle written into the Constitution by the founding fathers of this ~~country~~ country.

~~From~~ From a strong two-party system ~~comes~~ come creative ideas for better government, carefully thought-put alternative plans and proposals for legislation.

A crushing over-balance ~~of strength~~ of strength ⁴ in either party makes a mockery of our traditions in government, makes the voice of the people weak

and ineffective, and puts control in the hands of a comparatively small, but powerful majority, far out of proportion in relationship to the country's population.
-more-

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These, then, are the major goals in government-----a sensitive balance in the legislative, executive and judicial branches; and a strong two-party system.

The ~~existing~~ ^{challenges} ~~challenges~~ facing you, as graduates of Michigan State University, are broad and varied. In accepting and solving them, you will make decisions based on knowledge, research and understanding.

It has been said that there should be a staunch belief that men and women have the capabilities of directing their own actions by use of rational facilities.

Describe this quality as self-discipline, if you will. It is a positive force within an individual which permits the making of decisions and the ~~major~~ ^g ~~accomplishments~~ of tasks facing each of us each day.

more



as such, for the sense of individual responsibility and power involves a sense of individual participation...to teach men to believe in themselves therefore is to teach them responsibility and so to assure their freedom."

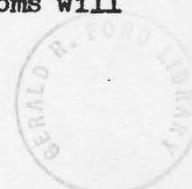
Those with understanding and knowledge of our times, who are aware of the economic, social, political and ideological forces at work in the world, have many goals to achieve.

In the area of government, two major goals must be reached, with a bi-partisan ~~effort~~ effort on the part of both political parties receiving widespread support from Americans.

We must maintain a balance in the legislative, executive and judicial branches of government as is intended in the purpose and reason of the Constitution.

The parallel task is to preserve the two-party system--the genius of the American Democracy.

Enlarging upon the first goal---that of keeping the three branches of government in balance---I believe that if any one of them becomes too strong or too weak, the foundations of our government will crack and our freedoms will be threatened.



There is evidence of slow erosion in the power of the legislative branch, a build-up of awesome strength in the executive branch and a change of intended direction in the Federal Judiciary.

Congress--the legislative branch---has been criticized as being too slow to react in an age of speed. Critics have described the House and the Senate as being too cumbersome and too old-fashioned.

Those who are critical perhaps are unaware that in Congress are the checks and balances built into our form of government by deliberate intent of the founding fathers.

When speed is essential, Congress has proven many times that it can react with dispatch to meet a crisis in war and in peacetime, in days of economic depression and in times of glowing prosperity.

It has been said that Congress frequently makes haste slowly, which is true. However, the act of deliberate slowness is a safeguard against the danger of racing to the point and brink of decision without research and deep study of the issues.

Under our political system, the President represents the views of the people who elect him. The Congress, and particularly the House of Representatives, are closer to the citizenry of our Nation because the membership is chosen by smaller



segments of the Nation.

Members of the House are chosen every two years, a process which in itself places members closer to the people. As in the Senate, the House is represented by every major religion, national origin, profession---Congress is a cross-section of the American people. This is your strength. It should not be lessened by ^{an} over-balance ^{of power} in the executive and judiciary branches of government.

Frankfurter
 The federal judiciary's function is to interpret laws, not to create them. There is evidence that the Supreme Court has over-stepped the authority ^{judicial branch is allowing its way to new positions} intended in the ~~Constitution~~ Constitution.

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A strong two-party system is bedrock assurance that our Democracy will survive, prosper, grow and help others in the world accept their roles in the society of free nations.

When either party has iron-fisted control of both the executive and legislative branches, the tradition of checks and balances becomes a shadow--- a ghost of the principle written into the Constitution by the founding fathers of this country.

From a strong two-party system come creative ideas for better government, carefully-constructed alternative plans and proposals for legislation.



A crushing over-balance of strength in either party makes a mockery of our traditions in government, weakens and softens the voice of the people, and places control in the hands of a comparatively small, but powerful, majority, far out of proportion to the nation's population,

These, then, are the major goals to be achieved in the area of government---- a sensitive balance in the legislative, executive and judicial branches; and a strong two-party system.

The challenges facing you, as graduates of Michigan State University, are broad and varied. In accepting and solving them, you will make decisions based on knowledge, research and understanding.

It has been said that there should be a staunch belief that men and women have the capabilities of directing their own actions by use of rational facilities.

Describe this quality as self-discipline, if you will. It is a positive force within an individual which permits the making of decisions and the accomplishment of tasks facing each of us each day.



Even the most modern of ~~us~~ us know that we cannot build the foundation of our personal lives on the shuffling sands of chance. In finding direction in our ~~lives,~~ ^{lives,} we ~~need~~ ^{need} something of permanence and substance. ~~Some~~

~~Some~~

You will need both physical and mental courage in following your chosen careers.

The tradition of American courage is a distinguished one. Men and ~~many~~ women who conquered the wilderness from sea to shining sea were endowed with physical bravery, as were Colonel John Glenn in his historic flight aboard Friendship 7 and the astronauts who followed him into space.

Mental courage is quiet and less public. It conquers fears and builds healthful, bouyant, faithful attitudes. Moral and intellectual courage completes dreams and makes realization of hopes; opens the pathways in our minds to the noblest and best impressions; gives dynamic purpose and direction to our lives.

The blending of the qualities discussed here today is the equation of the total ultimate in personal development needed today in the world. It is to come mainly from the ranks of mature young men and women.



These are the qualities in man that mastered hundreds of arts and sciences, created government and law, made cities of settlements founded in the wilderness, built skyscrapers on the sites of log cabins, invented covered wagons that gave way to railroads, automobiles and aircraft, made startling progress in several thousand directions.

We have inherited the foundation of a Nation that was destined to grow mighty. It is a base from which to grow under ~~the~~ leadership, following established and traditional guidelines and creating new ones.

There has been much comment regarding the present era. Arnold Toynbee, scholar and historian, was articulate in saying: "Our age will be well remembered, not for its horrifying crimes nor its astonishing inventions, but because it is the first generation since the dawn of history in which mankind dared to believe it practical to make the benefits of civilization available to the whole human race."

You have the power of ^{knowledge,} ~~knowledge,~~ the physical and mental attributes of mature young men and women, the proven willingness to sacrifice and to give of yourselves in making this a better world for others and yourselves.

~~Let~~ Let there be a greater devotion to the moral and spiritual values. Translate them into mobility of character, social justice, national

MSU speech

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righteousness and world peace.

There is no doubt that ~~all~~ you will heed the challenging call.

Your very ~~presence~~ presence here today and the documents you receive for achievement in education are strong reflections of your desire to accept your responsibilities in an exciting, turbulent, demanding and changing world.

Congratulations. I salute you with faith and thanksgiving.

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March 14, 1965

This is a day of intellectual fulfillment as more than a thousand of you reach a plateau in an age of creative ~~and~~ ^{phylogeny} and turbulent events.

It is a point in time to be cherished as you face wide horizons of opportunity, which beckon to men and women dedicated to enunciating new truths and defending ~~the~~ ^{vintage} ones.

When this day has passed, ~~you~~ stand tall in seeking new challenges, higher goals, greater duties, more work and broader responsibilities.

~~Major achievements are the~~
In reaching your present achievements, you have proven yourselves as having the qualities of ~~imaginative~~ imagination, eagerness to learn, willingness to sacrifice, readiness to accept new ideas with open minds.

The Nation and the world need you, your knowledge and your readiness to accept the challenges of pinnacle heights as citizens of a free society, as scholars, as knowledgeable ~~persons~~ persons in your chosen ~~careers~~ ^{CAREERS.}

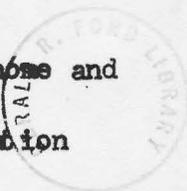
This is neither a time to stumble, nor to falter in accepting the responsibility as young leaders with the task of leading the way to ~~strengthened~~ ^{and} new moral, ~~and~~ ^{esthetic,} cultural and scientific values.

Without men and women who are willing to give of themselves and their knowledge, we ~~will~~ ^{could} be witness to a requiem for our Nation and the world.

Preservation is far from being a hopeless task. ~~Like~~ Emerson, the ~~gentle~~ gentle philosopher, sounded a positive and sensitive theme when he said "they conquer who believe they can." You, with your sharpened skills, will conquer the perplexing problems and at the same time help your fellowmen, whose lives must be balanced in an unbalanced world.

You will help us to earn the respect of our neighbors at home and abroad, including those who would destroy us, by striving to make this Nation as great ⁱⁿ peace as we were strong in ~~our~~ war.

more



Michigan State University Commencement speech

March 14, 1965

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You will help us to earn the respect of our neighbors at home and abroad, including those who would destroy us, by striving to make this Nation

Michigan State University Address

by Rep. Gerald R. Ford

March 11, 1965

Today is a point in time to be cherished ~~moment~~ as you face wide horizons of opportunity. In reaching your present achievements, you have proven yourselves as having the qualities of imagination, eagerness to learn, willingness to sacrifice, readiness to accept new ideas with open minds.

This is neither a time to stumble, nor to falter, nor to fear in accepting responsibilities as ^{Citizens} ~~young leaders~~ with the task of leading the way to strengthened, ~~our~~ moral, esthetic, ^{cultural} ~~national~~ and scientific values.

The challenges are many in this age of space and speed, ~~turbulent~~ ^{changing} events, and perplexing problems.

Recall that ~~Emersonian~~ Emerson, the philosopher said "they conquer who believe they can." You, with your sharpened skills, will ~~help~~ conquer the massive problems of this century, and at the same time help your fellowmen, whose lives must be balanced in an unbalanced world.

Progress depends upon men and women making and carrying out their plans, prepared to assume the risks and willing to accept the burden of responsibility.

Certainly, police brutality anywhere is disgraceful, ~~it~~^{as} is unbridled, ~~uncontrolled~~ uncontrolled, ~~savage~~ savage and senseless mob action, which scoffs at legitimate ~~public~~ authority, and the orderly processes.

The growth and prosperity, the state and the strength of our Nation is the result of free citizens conducting their ^{personal} lives and ~~business~~ careers within the constituted framework of authority, law and order. This is not to say that change in our judiciary system is unnecessary.

For example, our present Civil Rights Act needs strengthening to give statutory backing to the general provisions of the Fifteenth Amendment, which provides that the right to vote shall not be denied or abridged because of race, color or previous condition of servitude. This is the orderly process--a sane substitute for the savage ~~measures~~^{measures} used in some parts of our country.

There is a fine line of distinction between an aroused public conscience and demonstrations of social revolution.

I seriously question the social merit of flamboyant, irresponsible mob action to focus attention on a public issue. We have ~~large numbers of~~^{procedures} ~~these bodies~~ in our units of government, in the courts ~~which constitute the backbone~~ of the land by which controversies

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The magnitude of the problems ~~is~~ is crushing in its ~~importance~~ significance. In finding solutions with measured, calculated, ~~intellectual~~ intellectual *and technical steps,* ~~installed~~, each person must have a choice, without being crowded ~~into~~ into the position of accepting one pattern, one way of life, if he has preferred alternatives.

Be fully aware that individual freedom of action and choice is the major motivating factor ~~that~~ ^{which} built this Nation. You have ~~enough~~ *an* ~~in the age of space~~ opportunity to be coordinating catalysts triggering the forward march of ~~the~~ mankind by your ability to think, not what to think.

As members of a competitive society, you will find the need to communicate with others in sharing your knowledge and skills. This is a difficult and demanding assignment, but one which must be achieved to generate social interaction.

Mac hair Those with understanding and knowledge of our times, who are aware of the economic, social, political and ideological forces at work in the world, have many goals to achieve. This is neither the time nor the place to methodically detail them.

Speaking broadly, the goals include the provision of opportunity for the individual by strengthening our tradition of incentive; encouraging the entrepreneur---the man of vision and ideas---to build, expand and compete as he ~~contributes~~ contributes to the economic growth; and establishing, ~~the~~ or preserving in many places, ~~an~~ an educational system of paramount excellence.

It has been said that there should be a belief that ~~that~~ all men and women have the capacities of directing their own actions by the use of rational facilities.

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In the area of government, freedom will be ~~maintained~~ maintained with a bi-partisan effort by both political parties receiving widespread support from Americans.

Two major goals must be accomplished if the American Democracy is to continue to exist and be strengthened through the generations.

First, we must maintain a balance in the legislative, executive and judicial branches of government as is intended *within the framework* ~~in the purpose and the reason~~ of the Constitution.

The parallel task is to preserve the two-party system--the genius of our Democracy.

Enlarging upon the first goal--that of keeping the three branches of government in balance--I believe that if any one of them becomes too strong or too weak, the foundations of our government will crack and our freedoms will be threatened.

There are disturbing signs of slow erosion in the power of the legislative branch, a build-up of awesome strength in the executive arm and a change of intended direction in the Federal Judiciary.

Congress--the legislative branch--has been criticized as being too slow

There are diseases to conquer, roads to build, land to till, social ills to cure, children to be taught, parts of great cities to rehabilitate, public money to invest and spend wisely.

The magnitude of the problems are ~~mounting~~ is crushing in its ~~significance~~ significance. In finding solutions with measured, calculated ~~and intelligent intellectual~~ and manual steps, each person must have a choice, without being crowded ~~into~~ ^{into} the position of accepting one pattern, one way of life, if he has preferred alternatives.

Be fully aware that individual freedom of action and choice is the major motivating factor ~~that~~ ^{which} built this Nation. You have a ~~jet~~ ~~and~~ ~~space~~ ~~age~~ opportunity to be coordinating catalysts triggering the forward march of ~~man~~ mankind by your ability to think, not what to think,

As members of a competitive society, you will find the need to communicate with others in sharing your knowledge and skills. This is a difficult and demanding assignment, but one which must be achieved to generate social interaction.

Those with understanding and knowledge of our times, who are aware of the economic, social, political and ideological forces at work in the world, have many goals to achieve. This is neither the time nor the place to methodically detail them.

Speaking broadly, the goals include the provision of opportunity for the individual by strengthening our tradition of incentive, encouraging the entrepreneur---the man of vision and ideas---to build, expand and compete as he ~~contributes~~ contributes to the economic growth; and establishing, ~~the~~ or preserving in many places, an educational system of paramount excellence.

It has been said that there should be a belief that ~~man~~ all men and women have the capacities of directing their own actions by the use of rational

facilities.

Describe this quality as self-discipline if you will, It is a positive force within an ~~individual~~ individual which permits the making of decisions and the accomplishment of tasks facing each of us each day.

You will need both ~~mental~~ ^{physical} and ~~physical~~ ^{mental} courage ~~in~~ ~~the~~ following your chosen careers.

Toyntice

The tradition of American courage is a distinguished one. Men and women who conquered ~~wilderness~~ wilderness from sea to shining sea were endowed with physical bravery, ~~as~~ ^{were} as ~~Colonel~~ Colonel John Glenn in his historic flight aboard Friendship 7 and the astronauts who followed him into space.

Mental courage is ~~quiet~~ quiet and less public. It conquers fear and builds healthful, bouyant, faithful attitudes. Moral and intellectual courage completes dreams and makes realization of hopes; opens the pathways ⁱⁿ ~~of~~ our minds to the noblest and best impressions; gives dynamic purpose and direction to our lives.

The blending of the qualities discussed here today is the equation of the total ~~needed~~ ^{in personal development that is} ultimate ~~needed~~ needed today in the world.

It is to come from the ranks of the young men and women.

These are the ~~qualities~~ ^{qualities} in man that mastered hundreds of arts and sciences, created government and law, made ~~settlements~~ ^{settlements} become cities, built skyscrapers on the sites of logcabins, invited covered wagons that gave way to railroads, automobiles and aircraft, made startling progress in several thousand directions.

We have inherited the foundation of a Nation that was destined to grow mighty. It is a base from which to ~~grow~~ ^{grow under} the leadership of youth following established and traditional guidelines and creating new ones.

You have the power of knowledge, the physical and mental attributes of ~~the~~ mature young men and women, the proven willingness to sacrifice and to give of yourselves.

There is no doubt that you will ~~be~~ heed the challenging call. Your very presence here today and the documents you will receive for achievement in education are strong reflections of your desire to accept ~~the~~ *your responsibilities in* an exciting, turbulent, demanding and changing world.

Congratulations. I salute you *with faith and Thanksgiving.*

#



chosen by smaller segments of the Nation.

Members of the House are elected every two years, a process which in itself places ~~the~~ Representatives closer to the people. As in the Senate, the House is represented by nearly every major profession, national origin and religion---Congress is a cross-section of the American people. This is your strength. It should not be lessened by an over-balance of power in the executive and judiciary branches of government.

The responsibilities of Congress are clearly defined in the Constitution, including that of making all laws which are necessary and proper for carrying out the duties and powers of the legislative branch,

Under the rules of the ~~Constitution~~ Constitution, every order, resolution or vote requiring concurrence of Congress must be presented to the President before taking effect. If the ~~executive~~ chief executive rejects an order or ~~resolution~~ resolution, he can be over-ruled by a two-third majority vote of the Senate and the House.

It is quickly obvious that ~~crushing~~ ^{political} balance of power in both the Congress and the executive branch weakens the intent of the Constitution.

Reflecting on the duties and obligations of the third branch of government, it can be said that the federal judiciary's function is to interpret laws, not to create them.
-more -

can be settled with dignity and justice. This should be the path taken by
~~an aroused citizenry in search of~~ ~~_____~~ righting a wrong or ~~_____~~ ~~_____~~ in ~~_____~~ seeking
a civic goal.

~~_____~~
At the same time, public officials had the duty to see that laws are
properly enforced. Those who are slow to act in fulfilling the obligations
of their ~~_____~~ office, or who ~~_____~~ deliberately ~~_____~~ turn their faces
are ~~_____~~ delinquent.

An informed voting public has the power of the ballot to replace those
who fail to ~~_____~~ properly perform the duties of their offices as required
under personal oath.

The rules of an orderly society may at times be subject to interpretation
by government, by the courts, and by the people themselves—but only in an
orderly, Constituted manner.

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#



Citizenship, it seems to me, is directly linked with the "aroused public ~~conscience~~ conscience", which Justice Frankfurter said "sears the conscience of the people's representatives."

The question is how ~~an~~ ^{should} an aroused public conscience manifest itself?

Is the rioting of college students ~~in~~ ^{protesting an} alleged breach of freedom of speech a proper interpretation? Does a demonstration ~~by more than 100~~ by more than 100

~~in~~ singing, chanting young men and women in the Justice Department Building of Washington demanding federal intervention in ~~the~~ ^{one of our state} ~~shameful~~ events in ~~Selma~~

~~Selma, Alabama,~~ constitute an meaningful representation of public conscience?

Would you say that the 700 persons picketing the White House with cries of ~~"Freedom Now"~~ ^{or demanding peace at any price} ~~was~~ an example of good citizenship in action?

Compare these actions with the citizens of a community who band together to win an election to raise money at the local level for a new high school...or conduct an educational campaign on the issues with a coordinated civic effort to ~~bring about a change in the~~ involving a local ballot question dealing with increasing taxes for a better park and recreational area.

Certainly ~~the~~ ^{police} ~~brutality~~ ^{anywhere} ~~at Selma~~ is disgraceful. ~~The right to~~

~~is~~ ~~guaranteed~~ in our Constitution. ~~of~~



Our present Civil Rights Act needs strengthening to give statutory backing to the general provisions of the Fifteenth Amendment, which provides that the right to vote shall not be denied or abridged because of race, color or previous condition of ~~unlawful~~ servitude. This is the orderly process, a sane substitute for the savage measures used ~~in Selma~~ ^{in some areas,}

There is a fine line of distinction, ~~perhaps~~, between ~~and~~ aroused public conscience and demonstrations of social revolution.

I do not pretend to answer the questions just raised on behalf of myself as an individual, or as a member of Congress. It appears to me that each of us must do some soul-searching and ~~a long~~ ^{devote much thought} of the perplexing issues, before making decisions. In so doing, we are accepting the responsibility of citizenship.

#



MSU INSERT AT #

Citizenship, it seems to me, is directly linked with the "aroused public conscience", which Justice Frankfurter said "sears the conscience of the people's representatives."

The question is how should an aroused public conscience manifest itself?

Is the rioting of college students protesting an alleged breach of freedom of speech a proper interpretation? Does a demonstration by more than 100 singing, chanting young men and women in the Justice Department building of Washington demanding federal intervention in one of our States constitute a meaningful representation of public conscience?

Would you say that the 700 persons picketing the White House with cries for "freedom now" or demanding peace at any price were examples of good citizenship in action?

Compare these examples with the actions of citizens in a community who band together to win an election to raise money at the local level for a new high school....or with a coordinated civic effort to conduct an educational campaign on issues involving a local ballot question dealing with ~~is~~ *more* taxes for a better park and recreation area.

more



Certainly, police brutality anywhere is disgraceful, ^{as} ~~it~~ is unbridled, ~~and~~ uncontrolled, ~~and~~ savage and senseless mob action, which scoffs at legitimate ~~state~~ authority and the orderly processes.

The growth and prosperity, the state and the strength of our Nation is the result of free citizens conducting their ^{personal} ~~lives~~ and ~~business~~ careers within the constituted framework of authority, law and order. This is not to say that change in our judiciary system is unnecessary.

For example, our present Civil Rights Act needs strengthening to give statutory backing to the general provisions of the Fifteenth Amendment, which provides that the right to vote shall not be denied or abridged because of race, color or previous condition of servitude. This is the orderly process--a sane substitute for the savage ^{measures} ~~measures~~ used in some parts of our country.

There is a fine line of distinction between an aroused public conscience and demonstrations of social revolution.

I seriously question the social merit of flamboyant, irresponsible mob action to focus attention on a public issue. We have ^{procedures} ~~procedures~~ in our units of government, in the courts ~~of the land~~ of the land by which controversies



can be settled with dignity and justice. This should be the path taken by an aroused citizenry in search of righting a wrong or in seeking a civic goal.

At the same time, public officials have the duty to see that laws are properly enforced. Those who are slow to act in fulfilling their obligations of their office, or who deliberately turn their faces from issues and controversies are indeed ~~unacceptable~~ delinquent.

An informed voting public has the power of the ballot to replace those who fail in their duties, who fall short of the qualifications, who forsake the people for political gain.

The rules of an orderly society may at times be subject to interpretation by government, by the courts, and by the people themselves, but only in an orderly, constituted manner.

#



Every two years the Rep. must go to his
-5-

Commitment for a mandate to
continue in power.
His record is placed on the line
& he must be endorsed

chosen by smaller segments of the Nation.

Members of the House are elected every two years, a process which in itself places the Representatives closer to the people. As in the Senate, the House is represented by nearly every major profession, national origin and religion----Congress is a cross-section of the American people. This is your strength. It should not be lessened by an over-balance of power in the executive and judiciary branches of government.

The responsibilities of Congress are clearly defined in the Constitution, including that of making all laws which are necessary and proper for carrying out the duties and powers of the ^(government) legislative branch.

~~Under the rules of the~~ ^{law} ~~Constitution~~ Constitution, every order, resolution or vote requiring concurrence of Congress must be presented to the President before taking effect. If the ~~executive~~ ^{the act} chief executive rejects ~~an order or resolution~~ ~~resolution~~, he can be over-ruled by a two-third majority vote of the Senate and the House.

It is quickly obvious that ^a crushing balance of ^{political} power in both the Congress and the executive branch weakens the intent of the Constitution.

Reflecting on the duties and obligations of the third branch of government, it can be said that the federal judiciary's function is to interpret laws, not to create them. -more-



There is evidence that the Judiciary Branch is arbitrarily elbowing its way to new positions of authority, disregarding the wise suggestions of judicial restraint made ^{by} the late Justice ~~Frank~~ Frankfurter and others.

example *quote*

Earlier ~~in this message to you~~, I ^{mentioned} ~~included~~ the need to preserve the two-party system among the major areas of ~~achievement~~ ^{concern} in maintaining our ~~system of government~~ ^{structure} of government.

without any deluge in partisanship, I sure we can agree that

A strong two-party system is bedrock assurance that our Democracy will survive, prosper, grow and help others in the world to accept their roles in the society of free nations.

Creative ideas for better governmental functions, carefully-constructed alternative plans and proposals ~~from~~ ^{that} for legislation come from a strong two-party ~~system~~ ^{there} system, when ~~there~~ is balance in all three branches of government, have a stronger chance of surviving.

A crushing over-balance of strength in either party makes a mockery of our traditions in government, weakens and softens the voice of the people, and places control in the hands of a comparatively small majority, far out of proportion to the Nation's population.



There is evidence that the Judiciary Branch is arbitrarily elbowing its way to new positions of authority, disregarding the wise suggestions of judicial restraint made the late Justice Frankfurter and others.

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Reflecting on the duties and obligations of the third branch of government, it can be said that the Federal Judiciary's function is to interpret laws, not to create them.

There is evidence that the Judicial Branch is substantially arbitrarily elbowing its way to new positions of authority, disregarding the wise suggestions of judicial restraint made by the late Justice Frankfurter and others.

When the Supreme Court ordered states to reapportion on the "one-man, one-vote" concept, Justice Frankfurter in a dissenting opinion was critical of "destructively novel judicial power."

The highest court in the land, he said, virtually had no authority to make the decision.

"In this situation, as in others of like nature, appeal for relief does not belong ~~here,~~ ^{here,}" Justice Frankfurter said. "Appeal must be made to an informed, civically militant electorate. In a democratic society like ours, relief must come through an aroused public conscience that sears the conscience of the people's representatives."

Justice Frankfurter left no doubt that he believed the Supreme Court's

on sustained public ~~the~~ confidence in its moral sanction."

Earlier in this message to you, I included the need to preserve the two-party system among major areas of achievement in maintaining our structure of government.

Without any indulgence in partisanship, I am sure we can agree that a strong two-party system is bedrock assurance that our Democracy will survive, prosper, grow and help others in the world to accept their roles in the society of free nations.

Creative ideas for better governmental functions, carefully-constructed alternative plans and proposals for legislation that come from a strong two-party system have a ~~stronger~~ better chance of surviving when there is balance in all three branches of government.

A crushing over-balance of strength in either party makes a mockery of our traditions in government, weakens and softens the voice of the people, and places control in the hands of a comparatively small majority, far out of proportion to the Nation's population.

These are currently the major goals to be achieved in the area of government— a sensitive balance in the legislative, executive and judicial

currently

These, then, are the major goals to be achieved in the area of government----- a sensitive balance in the legislative, executive and judicial branches; and a strong two-party system.

what is your role in seeking these goals -
~~How do you take part in the accomplishment?~~

start? ~~What~~ *What* might be your guidelines for action?

First you must have the mental courage to become involved in the political world as partisans, as voters---yes, as patriots.

Those who sit on the sidelines, uttering harping criticism, fail to strengthen the foundations ~~of our Nation~~ of our ~~Republic~~ Nation.

By ~~intending~~ ^{citizen-} being a participant, and not a spectator, in our Democracy, you ~~develop~~ ^{develop} a loyalty to your community, your city, your county, your state, ^{and} your nation. ~~and~~

In choosing a political party--after studying the philosophies of ~~each~~ each--- you give dynamic purpose and direction to your lives.

Perhaps, you will switch your alliances. This is a choice under freedom. This, too, will require mental courage, which conquers fear and builds healthful, buoyant attitudes.

~~Your guidelines as citizens include a greater involvement~~

more



These, ^{It seems to me} ~~then,~~ ^{concretely} are the major goals to be ^{sought} ~~achieved~~ in the

area of government----- a sensitive balance in the legislative, executive and judicial branches; and a strong two-party system.

How do you take part in the accomplishment? Where do you start? Where might be your guidelines for action?

First you must have the mental courage to become involved in the political world as partisans, as voters--yes, as patriots.

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~~Your guidelines as citizens include a greater involvement~~

more



Your guidelines as citizens include a great devotion to the moral and spiritual values, which are translated into nobility of character, social justice, national righteousness, and eventually, world peace.

Even the most modern of us know that we cannot build the foundation of our personal lives on the shuffling sands of chance. We need something of permanence and substance in finding direction in our lives.

A wealth of permanence and substance is found in ~~the~~ being active, ~~loyal~~ citizens dedicated to ~~maintaining~~ maintaining our Democracy in the fraternity of free nations.

The blending of the ~~various~~ qualities discussed here today is the equation of the total ultimate in personal development needed in the nation. It is to come mainly from the ranks of mature young men and women.

These are the qualities in men that mastered arts and ~~sciences~~ sciences, created government and law, made cities of settlements founded in the wilderness, built skyscrapers on the sites of log cabins, invited covered wagons that gave way to railroads, automobiles and aircraft, made startling progress in several thousand ~~directions~~ directions leading us to the present.

-more-

branches; and a strong two-party system.

How do you take part in the accomplishment? Where do you start? Where might be your guidelines for action?

First, you must have the ^{a moral} mental courage to become involved in the political world as partisans, as voters, ^{as loyal as could be justified as office holders} yes, as patriots.

Those who sit on the sidelines, uttering harping criticism, fail to strengthen the foundations of our Nation.

By being a citizen-participant, and not a ^{mere} spectator, in our Democracy, you develop a loyalty to your community, your city, your county, your state and your Nation. *This loyalty is basic to personal service and community improvement*

In becoming a part of what the late Justice Frankfurter described as an "informed, civically militant electorate," you will ~~discover~~ discover *the meaning of* that it requires *loyalty, service, and true citizenship.*

Patriotism in action ^{demand} ~~demands~~ loyalty to a philosophy, ^{to} a singular or set of ideas, to our Nation. ~~and to the community, and to the world.~~ It begins at home, in your local environment.

Give purpose and direction to your role as a citizen by choosing a political party, after ^{careful} studying the philosophies of each. Perhaps, you will ^{more} switch



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Patriotism in action ^{demands} ~~requires~~ loyalty to a philosophy, ^{to} a singular or set of ideas, to our Nation. ~~such as the following:~~ It begins at home, in your local environment.

Give purpose and direction to our role as a citizen by choosing a political party, after studying the philosophies of each. Perhaps, you will ^{switch} switch

branches; and a strong two-party system.

How do you take part in the accomplishment? Where do you start? What might be your guidelines for action?

First, you must have the mental and moral courage to become involved in the political world as partisans, as voters, as taxpayers, as candidates for office as office-holders—yes, as patriots.

Those who sit on the sidelines, uttering harping criticism, fail to strengthen the foundations of our Nation.

By being a citizen-participant in our Democracy and not a mere spectator, you develop a loyalty to your community, your city, your county, your state and your Nation. This loyalty is basic to personal service and community improvement.

In becoming a part of what the late Justice Frankfurter described as an "informed, civically militant electorate," you will discover the meaning of service and true citizenship.

Patriotism in action demands loyalty to a philosophy, to a singular or set of ideas, to our Nation. It begins at home in your local environment.

Give purpose and direction to your role as a citizen by choosing a political party, after careful study of the philosophies of each. Perhaps, you will switch

maturation

degree is license to proceed on new terms rather than to retire on the old ones.

within this world most of us even the most intensely modern of us, experience the deeply felt need for some permanent base of reference. can't build structure of our personal lives on shifting sands of ~~time~~ chance. need something of permanence and substance to give direction to our lives. Need a cause to serve, a commitment to fulfill.

Archibald MacLeish..teacher and poet

"What education in the free countries must drive home, if the free countries are to survive, is the conviction that we---hold the power and bear the responsibility. The task is in part a task beyond the power of schools as such, for the sense of individual responsibility and power involves a sense of individual participation,,,to teach men to believe in themselves therefore is to teach them responsibility and so to assure their freedom."

✓ replace mediocrity with excellence, timidity with daring,
fear with courage.

sky is no longer the limit

Arnold Toynbee, British scholar and historian: "Our age will be well remembered, not for its horri^fying crimes nor its astonishing inventions, but because it is the first generation since the dawn of history in which mankind dared to believe it practical to make the benefits of civilization available to the whole human race."

Evoke within us a greater devotion to the moral and spiritual values, translate them into nobility of character, social justice, national righteousness and world peace.



Your guidelines as citizens include a great devotion to the moral and spiritual values, which are translated into nobility of character, social justice, national righteousness, and eventually, world peace.

Even the most modern of us know that we cannot build the foundation of our personal lives on the shuffling sands of chance. We need something of permanence and substance in finding direction in our lives.

A wealth of permanence and substance is found in ~~the~~ being active, ~~loyal citizens dedicated to maintaining~~ loyal citizens dedicated to ~~maintaining~~ maintaining our Democracy in the fraternity of free nations.

The blending of the ~~qualities~~ qualities discussed here today is the equation of the total ultimate in personal development needed in the nation. It is to come ~~mainly~~ from the ranks of mature young men and women.

These are the qualities in man that mastered arts and ~~sciences~~ sciences, created government and law, made cities of settlements founded in the wilderness, built skyscrapers on the sites of log cabins, ~~covered~~ covered wagons that gave way to railroads, automobiles and aircraft, made startling progress in several thousand ~~directions~~ directions leading us to the present.

relief!
end!

-mol-



your alliances. This is a choice under freedom. This, too, will require mental courage, which conquers fear and builds healthful, buoyant attitudes.

Your guidelines as citizens include a great devotion to the moral and spiritual values, which are translated into nobility of character, social justice, national righteousness, and eventually, world peace.

Even the most modern of us know that we cannot build the foundation of our personal lives on the shuffling sands of chance. We need something of permanence and substance in finding direction in our lives.

A wealth of permanence and substance is found in being active, loyal citizens dedicated to maintaining our Democracy in the fraternity of free nations.

I have mentioned several qualities today....imagination, eagerness to learn, willingness to sacrifice, readiness to accept new ideas with open minds, self-confidence, and finally, loyalty.

The blending of these qualities is the equation of the total ultimate in personal development needed in the Nation. It is to come mainly from the ranks of mature young men and women.

There is much comment regarding our present era. Arnold Toynbee, scholar and historian, was articulate in saying: "Our age will be well remembered, not for its ~~horrifying~~ crimes nor ~~its~~ astonishing inventions, but because it is the first generation since the dawn of history in which mankind dared to believe it practical to make the benefits of civilization available to the whole human race."

You have the power of knowledge, the physical and mental ~~attributes~~ attributes, the proven willingness to give more of yourselves than you receive to make this a better Nation and a better world for others and yourselves.

~~is to be a citizen of a free society, as scholars, as~~
 The United States of America needs you, your knowledge and your ~~readiness to accept challenges as citizens of a free society, as scholars, as~~
~~knowledgeable persons with chosen careers.~~
 knowledgeable persons with chosen careers.

There is no doubt that you will heed the challenging call. Your presence here today and the documents you receive for achievement in education are strong reflections of your desire to accept your responsibilities in an exciting, turbulent, demanding and changing world.

Congratulations. I salute you with faith and thanksgiving.

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~~For the sake of the management and the people of the world and the world of tomorrow, which~~

The United States of America needs you, your knowledge and your ~~readiness to accept challenges as citizens of a free society, as scholars, as~~ readiness to accept challenges as citizens of a free society, as scholars, as ~~knowledgeable persons with chosen careers.~~ knowledgeable persons with chosen careers.

There is no doubt that you will heed the challenging call. Your presence here today and the documents you receive for achievement in education are strong reflections of your desire to accept your responsibilities in an exciting, turbulent, demanding and changing world.

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You have the power of knowledge, the physical and mental attributes, the proven willingness to give more of yourselves than you receive to make this a better Nation and a better world for others and yourselves.

The United States of America needs you, your knowledge and your readiness to accept challenges as loyal citizens of a free society; as scholars; as knowledgeable persons with chosen careers.

There is no doubt that you will heed the challenging call.

Your presence here today and the documents you receive for achievement in education are strong reflections of your desire to accept responsibilities in an exciting, turbulent, demanding and changing world.

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#

Michigan State University Commencement Address

by Rep. Gerald R. Ford

March 14, 1965

For delivery at 4 p.m. EST, March 14, 1965

Today you cherish this point in time as you face wide horizons of opportunity. In reaching your present achievements, you have proved yourselves, and have demonstrated qualities of imagination, eagerness to learn, willingness to sacrifice, and a readiness to accept new ideas with open minds.

This is neither a time to stumble, nor to falter, nor to fear in accepting the responsibilities of citizenship with the task of leading the way to strengthened moral, esthetic, cultural, and scientific values.

The challenges are many in this age of space and ~~space~~, changing events and perplexing problems.

Recall that Emerson, the American philosopher, said, "They conquer who believe they can." You, with your sharpened skills, will help conquer the massive problems of this century, and at the same time help your fellowmen whose lives must be balanced in an unbalanced world.

Progress depends upon men and women making and carrying out their plans, prepared to assume the risks and willing to accept the burden of responsibility.

In our earlier history, the challenge was that of opening the West to exploration, settlement and development.

Those strong-willed men and women drove their covered wagons through the wilderness into the setting sun with self-confidence and pride in achievement. Freedom to them was a great adventure, not something handed down from another generation.

The challenges of today are linked with new technology, the achievements of science, and the task of filling jobs demanding skills unheard of even a decade ago.

There are diseases to conquer, roads to build, land to till, social ills to cure, children to be taught, parts of great cities to rehabilitate, public money to invest and to spend wisely.

Seeking solutions with measured, calculated, intelligent, and technical steps, each person must have a choice without being crowded into the position of accepting one pattern, one way of life, if he has preferred alternatives. This in a word is--- freedom.

Individual freedom of action and choice, within the framework of the law, was built into the Constitution by the founding fathers.

In the area of government, freedom must be maintained through a bi-partisan effort which receives widespread support from all Americans.

Two major goals must be achieved if the American Democracy is to continue to exist and to be strengthened throughout subsequent generations.

First, we must maintain a balance in the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government as established by our Constitution.

The parallel task is to preserve the two-party system--the genius of our Democracy.

Enlarging upon the first goal, that of keeping the three branches of government in balance, I believe that if any one of them becomes too strong or too weak, the foundations of our government will crack and our freedom will be threatened.

There are disturbing signs of slow erosion in the power of the Legislative branch, a build-up of awesome strength in the executive arm, and a change from the intended direction in the Federal Judiciary.

Congress, the legislative branch, has been criticized as being too slow to react in an age of speed. Critics have described the House and Senate as being too cumbersome and too old-fashioned.

Those critics perhaps are unaware that in Congress a system of checks and balances is provided by the Constitution.

When speed is essential, Congress has proved many times that it can react with dispatch to meet a crisis in war or in peacetime, in days of economic depression or in times of glowing prosperity.

It has been said that Congress frequently makes haste slowly. However, the act of deliberate slowness is a safeguard against racing to the brink of decision. It prevents a dangerous plunge. Congress should reach its major decisions only after adequate research, thought, and exhaustive discussion.

When the balance of power in Congress is steeply tilted by an overwhelming majority in one political party, the system of checks and balances is endangered. This becomes even more serious when the executive branch is dominated by the same party.

Although the President is the chief executive and head of state for all of us, he does represent especially the views of the people who voted for him. Members of Congress, and particularly those in the House of Representatives, are closer to the Nation's citizens because they are chosen by smaller segments of the Nation.

Members of the House are elected every two years, a fact which in itself places Representatives closer to the people. Every two years a Representative must go to his constituents for a mandate to continue in office. His record is placed on the line and he must be endorsed by a majority of the voters in his district.

As in the Senate, the House is represented by nearly every major profession, national origin, and religion. Congress is a cross-section of the American people. This is your strength. It should not be lessened by an over-balance of power in the executive and judicial branches of government.

The responsibilities of Congress are clearly defined in the Constitution, and include the making of all laws which are necessary and proper for carrying out the duties and powers of government.

Under the Constitution, every statute requiring concurrence of Congress must be presented to the President before taking effect. If the chief executive rejects a proposed act, he can be over-ruled by a two-third majority vote of the Senate and the House.

It is quickly obvious that a crushing over-balance of political power in both houses of Congress and in the executive branch weakens the safeguards of the Constitution.

Reflecting on the duties and obligations of the third branch of government, it can be said that the Federal Judiciary's function is to interpret the Constitution and the laws.

There is evidence that the Judicial Branch is arbitrarily elbowing its way to new positions of authority, disregarding the wise suggestions of judicial restraint made by the late Justice Frankfurter and others.

When the Supreme Court ordered states to reapportion on the "one-man, one vote" concept, Justice Frankfurter in a dissenting opinion was critical of an assumption by the Court of "destructively novel judicial power."

"In this situation, as in others of like nature, appeal for relief does not belong here," Justice Frankfurter said. "Appeal must be made to an informed, civically militant electorate. In a democratic society like ours, relief must come through an aroused public conscience that sears the conscience of the people's representatives."

Justice Frankfurter emphasized that the Supreme "Court's authority--possessed neither of the purse nor the sword--ultimately rests on sustained public confidence in its moral sanction."

I have stressed the need to preserve the two-party system as among the major areas of concern in maintaining our structure of government.

Without any indulgence in partisanship, I am sure we can agree that a strong two-party system is bedrock assurance that our Democracy will survive, prosper, grow, and help others in the world to accept their role in the society of free nations.

A crushing over-balance of strength in either party for too long a time makes a mockery of our traditions in government, weakens and softens the voice of the people, and places control in the hands of a comparatively small majority.

These it seems to me are currently the major goals to be sought in the area of government: a sensitive balance in the legislative, executive and judicial branches, and a strong two-party system.

What is your role in seeking these goals? Where do you start? What might be your guidelines for action?

First, you must have the mental and moral courage to become involved in the political world as voters, as taxpayers, as partisans, as candidates for office, as office-holders---yes, as patriots.

Those who sit on the sidelines, uttering harping criticism, fail to strengthen the foundations of our Nation.

By being a citizen-participant in our Democracy and not a mere spectator, you develop a loyalty to your community, your city, your county, your state and your Nation. This loyalty is basic to personal service and community improvement.

In becoming a part of what the late Justice Frankfurter described as an "informed, civically militant electorate," you will discover the meaning of service and true citizenship.

Patriotism in action demands loyalty to a philosophy, to a set of ideas, to our Nation. It begins at home in your local environment.

Give purpose and direction to your role as a citizen by choosing a political party, after careful study of the philosophies of each. Perhaps you will switch your alliances. This is a choice under freedom. This, too, will require mental courage, which conquers fear and builds healthful, buoyant attitudes.

Good citizenship, it seems to me, is directly linked with the "aroused public conscience," which Justice Frankfurter said "sears the conscience of the people's representatives."

The question is how should an aroused public conscience manifest itself?

Is the rioting of college students protesting an alleged breach of freedom of speech a proper interpretation? Does a demonstration by more than 100 singing, chanting young men and women in the Department of Justice building in Washington in behalf of federal intervention in one of our states, constitute a meaningful representation of public conscience?

Would you say that the 700 persons picketing the White House with cries of "freedom now" or demanding peace at any price were examples of good citizenship in action?

Compare these examples with the actions of citizens in a community who band together to win an election to raise money at the local level for a new high school ...or with the coordinated civic effort to conduct an educational campaign on a local issue dealing with more taxes for a better park and recreation area.

Certainly, police brutality anywhere is disgraceful, as is unbridled, uncontrolled, savage and senseless mob action which scoffs at legitimate authority and the orderly processes.

The growth and prosperity, the state and strength, of our Nation is the result of free citizens conducting their personal lives and careers within the constituted framework of authority, law and order. This is not to say that changes in our laws or governmental practices is not necessary or essential.

For example, our present Civil Rights laws need strengthening to give statutory backing to the general provisions of the Fifteenth Amendment, which provides that the right to vote shall not be denied or abridged because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. This is the orderly process.

There is a fine line of distinction between an aroused public conscience and demonstrations of social revolution.

I seriously question the social merit of flamboyant, irresponsible mob action to focus attention on a public issue. We have procedures in our units of government, in the courts of the land, by which controversies can be settled with dignity and justice. This should be the path taken by an aroused citizenry in search of righting a wrong or in seeking a civic goal.

At the same time, public officials have the duty to see that laws are properly enforced. Those who are slow to act in fulfilling the obligations of their office, or who deliberately turn their faces from issues and controversies are indeed delinquents.

An informed voting public has the power of the ballot to replace those who fail in their duties, who fall short of their qualifications, who forsake the people for political gain. Appeals to the courts may be taken when that appears necessary.

The rules of an orderly society may at times be subject to interpretation by government, by the courts, and by the people themselves, but only in a manner which insures "due process of law."

Your guidelines as citizens include a great devotion to the moral and spiritual values, which are translated into nobility of character, social justice, national righteousness, and eventually, world peace.

Even the most modern of us know that we cannot build the foundation of our personal lives on the shuffling sands of chance. We need something of permanence and substance in finding direction in our lives.

A wealth of permanence and substance is found in being active, loyal citizens dedicated to maintaining our Democracy in the fraternity of free nations.

I have mentioned today several desirable qualities: imagination, eagerness to learn, willingness to sacrifice, readiness to accept new ideas with open minds, self-confidence, and finally, loyalty.

The blending of these qualities is the equation of the total ultimate in personal development needed in our Nation. It is to come mainly from the ranks of mature young men and women.

These are the qualities in man that mastered arts and sciences, created government and law, made cities of settlements founded in the wilderness, built skyscrapers on the sites of log cabins, invented covered wagons that gave way to railroads, automobiles and aircraft, made startling progress in several thousand directions leading us to the present.

Arnold Toynbee, scholar and historian, has said: "Our age will be well remembered, not for its horrifying crimes nor its astonishing inventions, but because it is the first generation since the dawn of history in which mankind dared to believe it practical to make the benefits of civilization available to the whole human race."

You have the power of knowledge; you have proved a willingness to give more of yourselves than you receive in order to make this a better Nation and a better world for others and yourselves.

The United States of America needs you. It needs your knowledge and your readiness to accept challenges as loyal citizens of a free society. It needs you as scholars, as knowledgeable persons with chosen careers.

There is no doubt that you will heed the challenging call. Your presence here today and the documents you receive for achievement in education are strong reflections of your desire to accept responsibilities in an exciting, turbulent, demanding, and changing world.

Congratulations. I salute you with faith and thanksgiving.

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