

The original documents are located in Box D34, folder “61st Annual Sunday Session Meeting, U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Washington, DC, April 29, 1973” of the Ford Congressional Papers: Press Secretary and Speech File at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

Copyright Notice

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material. The Council donated to the United States of America his copyrights in all of his unpublished writings in National Archives collections. Works prepared by U.S. Government employees as part of their official duties are in the public domain. The copyrights to materials written by other individuals or organizations are presumed to remain with them. If you think any of the information displayed in the PDF is subject to a valid copyright claim, please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

IDEAS FOR PATRIOTIC SPEECH TO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, SUNDAY, APRIL 29, 1973.

1. Talk about Maj. Joseph Shanahan of Kentwood and the program in his honor April 13 at East Kentwood High Auditorium. From story in G.R. Press, describe the atmosphere and how it inspired feelings of pride in America and in men like Shanahan and all the other Americans who served so bravely in Vietnam.
2. Talk about defense... about the need to keep America strong in order to keep the peace...about Nixon achievements in foreign policy and how none of these successes would have come about if the President had been placed in the position of negotiating from weakness...how any future diplomatic gains will be realized only if we can negotiate from a position of strength.
3. Talk about Jane Fonda ...(I wouldn't mention Ramsey Clark...he has back-pedalled). And ask your question whether they (the audience) agree with Jane Fonda or with the American POW's.
4. Talk about your opposition to amnesty...that you feel it would be an affront to the men who served in Vietnam to simply forgive and forget the actions of deserters and draft-dodgers.
5. Talk about the need for a new resurgence of national pride in America...the need to emphasize what is right about America...not to ignore any problems or sweep 'em under the rug...but simply to be affirmative in viewing what we have while seeking to make right whatever is wrong. So much is right about America that regardless of any failings it is still the greatest and the finest country in which to live, with the best government ever devised by the mind of man.

#####

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, WASHINGTON HILTON,
WASHINGTON, D. C., SUNDAY, APRIL 29,
1973.

*in other respects /
set me shift
gears*

^ WE HAVE THE IDEA THAT ALL OF
OUR PROBLEMS TODAY ARE UNIQUE. MANY
BELIEVE THAT WHAT HAS GONE BEFORE HAS NO
BEARING ON TODAY. OLD GUIDELINES NO LONGER
APPLY, THEY SAY. TODAY IS DIFFERENT.
BUT IS IT? BECAUSE WE HAVE MORE MONEY
FLOATING AROUND. / BECAUSE WE HAVE A BEWILDER-
ING ARRAY OF GOODS AND SERVICES AT OUR
BECK AND CALL. / BECAUSE WE HAVE FEDERAL
PROGRAMS, STATE PROGRAMS, GRANTS, LOANS,
INSURANCE AND A HOST OF OTHER SCHEMES AND
PLANS LITTLE DREAMED OF BY THOSE WHO GAVE
THIS NATION ITS START -- DOES ALL THAT
MEAN THAT ALL THE OLD VALUES ARE *unimportant or
AS invalid.*
~~DROSS?~~ HARDLY. OUR PROBLEMS MAY HAVE

CHANGED TO SOME EXTENT, BUT PEOPLE ARE STILL PEOPLE, AND PRINCIPLES REMAIN AS INVIOATE AND AS MUCH A BEACON FOR OUR GUIDANCE AS EVER. YOU THINK OUR PROBLEMS ARE UNIQUE. LISTEN TO THIS QUOTE:

"THERE ARE PERSONS WHO CONSTANTLY CLAMOR.
THEY COMPLAIN OF OPPRESSION, SPECULATION,
AND PERNICIOUS INFLUENCE OF WEALTH. THEY
CRY OUT LOUDLY AGAINST ALL BANKS AND
CORPORATIONS, AND A MEANS BY WHICH SMALL
CAPITALISTS BECOME UNITED IN ORDER TO
PRODUCE IMPORTANT AND BENEFICIAL RESULTS.
THEY CARRY ON MAD HOSTILITY AGAINST ALL
ESTABLISHED INSTITUTIONS. THEY WOULD
CHOK THE FOUNTAIN OF INDUSTRY AND DRY ALL
STREAMS." IS THIS SPIRO AGNEW TALKING
ABOUT THE RADICAL LEFT? (NO) IT IS DANIEL
WEBSTER, SPEAKING BACK IN 1838 BEFORE THE
U. S. SENATE.

TODAY, JUST AS IN WEBSTER'S TIME,
WE HAVE THOSE WHO ATTACK OUR SYSTEM,
DOWNGRADE OUR INSTITUTIONS, CRITICIZE AND
RIDICULE OUR INDUSTRIAL MIGHT AND
UNDERMINE OUR DEFENSES.

LET'S TAKE A MOMENT TO LOOK AT
AMERICA -- WHAT'S RIGHT WITH AMERICA. I
THINK TOO MANY OF US SOMETIME CANNOT SEE
THE FOREST FOR THE TREES. WE ARE
SUBJECTED TO SUCH A CONSTANT BARRAGE OF
COMPLAINT, PROTEST, DISSENT, VITRIOLIC
ATTACK, SNEERS AND DENIGRATION THAT WE MAY
BE INCLINED TO FORGET JUST WHAT KIND OF
COUNTRY WE HAVE BUILT -- YOU OF THE OLDER
GENERATION, THOSE OF TODAY'S GENERATION,
AND THOSE WHO WILL PROVIDE THE LEADERSHIP
FOR TOMORROW'S AMERICA.

LET'S HIT SOME OF THE HIGH SPOTS. /

WE ALL KNOW ABOUT OUR TRILLION-DOLLAR ECONOMY -- A SUM SO VAST THAT IT CANNOT HAVE MUCH MEANING -- EXCEPT THAT IF YOU STRUNG ONE TRILLION DOLLAR BILLS TOGETHER THEY WOULD REACH TO THE MOON, SOME 23,000 MILES AWAY, NEARLY 400 TIMES. WE WILL ADD TO OUR PRODUCTION OF GOODS AND SERVICES THIS YEAR MORE THAN THE ENTIRE ECONOMY OF ITALY.

THIS IS MORE THAN EVER THE LAND OF OPPORTUNITY. SINCE WORLD WAR II ALONE, WE HAVE INCREASED COLLEGE ATTENDANCE FROM 2.4 MILLION TO 9.2 MILLION AND ONLY 1 PER CENT OF OUR ENTIRE POPULATION TODAY IS ILLITERATE. WE WILL SPEND \$97.6 BILLION ON EDUCATION AT ALL LEVELS THIS YEAR ALONE. EDUCATION NO LONGER IS THE PRIVILEGE OF THE RICH, BUT THE ATTAINABLE GOAL OF

ANY AMERICAN WHO WANTS TO WORK FOR IT. FEDERAL GRANTS, LOAN PROGRAMS, SCHOLARSHIPS, FOUNDATION GRANTS, GI BENEFITS -- ALL BRING EDUCATION WITHIN REACH OF MORE YOUNG PEOPLE TODAY THAN AT ANY TIME IN OUR HISTORY.

SINCE WORLD WAR II, WE'VE ADDED 5 YEARS TO THE HUMAN LIFESPAN. THE DEATH OF NEWBORN BABIES HAS DROPPED 44 PER CENT, AND ^{the} MATERNAL DEATH RATE ^{has dropped} 76 PER CENT. THE NUMBER OF AMERICANS COVERED BY HEALTH INSURANCE HAS GONE FROM 42 MILLION TO 183 MILLION. WHILE OUR POPULATION WAS GOING UP 67 PER CENT, WE HAD A JUMP OF 335 PER CENT IN HEALTH CARE COVERAGE.

TWICE AS MANY AMERICANS OWN THEIR OWN HOMES TODAY -- SOME 40 MILLION OF US.

~~AUTOMOBILE OWNERSHIP IS UP 130 PER CENT AND WHETHER OR NOT YOU REGARD IT AS A~~

~~BLESSING, OF THE HOMES WIRED FOR ELECTRICITY,
96 PER CENT HAVE AT LEAST ONE TV SET AND
MORE THAN 43 PER CENT HAVE COLOR TV.~~

AMERICAN FAMILIES HAVE \$448 BILLION
IN THE BANK, AND PERSONAL INCOME HAS RISEN
TO \$935 BILLION. WE HAVE MORE PROGRAMS TO
FEED THE POOR, TAKE CARE OF THE DESTITUTE,
TRAIN THE UNSKILLED AND LOOK AFTER THE
ELDERLY. WE HAVE MASS TRANSIT, AIRPORT
IMPROVEMENT AND THE INTERSTATE HIGHWAY SYSTEM.

ALL IN ALL, THERE ARE MORE THAN
ONE THOUSAND FEDERAL PROGRAMS ALONE THAT
SEE TO THE WANTS AND ASPIRATIONS OF
AMERICANS OF ALL RACES, CREEDS AND AGES.
WITH ALL THIS GOING FOR US, WHY ARE THERE
WAILS OF DISCONTENT? I THINK IT CAN BE
SUMMED UP BY THE PHRASE "TOO MUCH, TOO SOON."
WE HAVE BECOME INUNDATED WITH MATERIAL

Maybe we can learn something from the POW's who had no little while we had no much,

BLESSINGS WITHOUT A PARALLEL DEVELOPMENT OF OUR AWARENESS, AND WITHOUT A GROWTH OF UNDERSTANDING AND SPIRITUAL BACKGROUND.

WE HEAR CRIES OF "FREEDOM NOW!"
FREEDOM FROM WHAT? FROM A REPUBLIC THAT OFFERS HELP TO ALL LEVELS OF ITS SOCIETY? FROM A GOVERNMENT THAT GIVES EVERY CITIZEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO VOTE TO CHANGE ANY OF ITS INSTITUTIONS -- FROM THE SMALLEST HAMLET TO THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT ITSELF? FREEDOM FROM JUSTICE UNMATCHED ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD? ~~IT WAS INTERESTING TO NOTE THAT EVEN WHEN ANGELA DAVIS WAS FREED BY OUR JUDICIAL SYSTEM THE CARPERS WERE NOT SATISFIED, DECLARING THAT SHE NEVER SHOULD HAVE BEEN TRIED AT ALL.~~

DO THEY WANT FREEDOM FROM OPPORTUNITY -- UNSURPASSED BY ANY OTHER

NATION ON EARTH? ~~JUST WHAT DO THEY WANT~~
~~FREEDOM FROM?~~ I KNOW THAT MANY ARE NOT
SHARING IN OUR ABUNDANCE IN THE MEASURE
THAT THEY EXPECT. WE ARE WORKING ON THIS. *But they must work a lot.*
MEANWHILE, WE ARE HELPING THEM GET THE
NECESSITIES OF LIFE. POVERTY TODAY IN
AMERICA IS A MATTER OF DEGREE. OUR POOR
LIVE BETTER THAN THE SO-CALLED MIDDLE CLASS
IN MANY NATIONS. BUT WE KNOW THAT THAT IS
NOT GOOD ENOUGH. WE KNOW THAT OUR GOAL IS
A DECENT LIFE, AND UNBOUNDED OPPORTUNITY
TO MAKE SOMETHING OF ONESELF FOR EVERY
AMERICAN. IT IS A GOAL. IT CANNOT BE
WHIPPED UP LIKE A MILKSHAKE. IT MUST BE
EARNED.

I DO NOT VIEW TODAY'S DISSENT
WITH THE ALARM THAT MANY PROFESS. I HAVE
MORE FAITH IN OUR SYSTEM THAN THAT.

LIKE TRUE LOVE, THE COURSE OF REAL FREEDOM NEVER HAS RUN SMOOTH. [AUGUST HECKSHER ONCE SAID: "IN ONE SENSE, FREEDOM IS ALWAYS IN CRISIS, JUST AS BEAUTY IS, AND HONOR AND TRUTH — ALL THOSE THINGS WHICH MAN HAS MADE FOR HIMSELF AS A GARMENT AGAINST THE EVER-PRESENT BLASTS OF THE BARBARIAN SPIRIT."

I DO BELIEVE THAT MANY WHO DISSENT-- AND I DON'T MEAN THE HARD-CORE SUBVERSIVES WHO HATE AMERICA, BUT THOSE WHO CODDLE AND SYMPATHIZE WITH THESE RADICAL DISSENTERS -- SHOULD LOOK DEEPER INTO WHAT THIS KIND OF CONDUCT EXEMPLIFIES. IT IS NOT INDEPENDENCE. CONTEMPT FOR LAW IS STUPIDITY, NOT INDEPENDENCE. USE OF DEADLY DRUGS IS FOLLY, NOT INDEPENDENCE.

TRUE INDEPENDENCE IN AMERICA GIVES EVERYONE THE RIGHT TO WORK WITHIN

THE SYSTEM. NO BETTER FORM OF GOVERNMENT
EVER HAS BEEN LAID BEFORE THE PEOPLE.
CHANGE CAN BE WORKED, BUT NOT BY ^{the} TYRANNICAL
MINORITY AT THE EXPENSE OF THE PUBLIC AT
LARGE. DEBATE OFFERS THE OPPORTUNITY TO
MAKE DIVERGENT VIEWS CLEARLY DEFINED. THE
VOTE GIVES US THE DECISION POWER -- FREE AND
UNFETTERED, UNINFLUENCED AND UNREGIMENTED.

~~I HAVE OUTLINED ONLY BRIEFLY
HERE SOME OF THE THINGS THAT ARE RIGHT
ABOUT AMERICA.~~ THE SPIRIT OF AMERICA IS
NOT DEAD. IT LIVES WITHIN US. WE MUST NOT
LET THE SOPHISTRY OF THE MALCONTENTS BLUR
OUR CLEAR VISION OF JUST HOW WONDERFUL IT
IS TO BE AN AMERICAN. WE MUST NOT ALLOW
OURSELVES TO BE DELUDED THAT BECAUSE WE
ARE NOT PERFECT WE ARE NOT BASICALLY GOOD.
WE MUST NOT ALLOW THOSE WHO HAVE

WANDERED FROM THE PATHS OF COMMON SENSE INTO THE QUICKSANDS OF IMMORALITY AND LAWLESSNESS TO CLOUD OUR RESPONSIBILITIES TO KEEP OUR COUNTRY ON AN EVEN KEEL. WE MUST NOT ALLOW THE INTEMPERANCE OF THEIR ACTIONS TO DIMINISH OUR UNDERSTANDING AND STRIVING FOR THE RIGHT.

-- END --

Let me close with two quotes -

Winston Churchill / Democracy is the worst form of govt in history of mankind, but it is better than anything that has ^{ever} been tried before.

About 200 yrs ago.

Ben Franklin / What have you given us - a ^{MONARCHY} monarchy or a Republic.

A Republic, if you ^{can keep it.} are ^{best} strong enough to keep it.

I have no fear - We are not sunshine patriots & summer soldiers / WE LOVE AMERICA

61st Annual Sunday Session Meeting of U.S. Chamber of Commerce, April 29, 1973.

Thank you very, very much, Mr. Davis. It is a very high honor and a very great privilege for me to participate in this program, "A Salute to America," for the United States Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Davis, I thank you very greatly for that kind introduction. I have some grave doubts that I'm the man you have described, but it was very nice to hear what you had to say.

Just a few weeks ago, I and literally millions of Americans had the exhilarating and thrilling experience of watching on television the return of some 500-plus American prisoners of war who had come back after many years of suffering mental and physical torture, hardship, privation. It was obvious to me as it was to all of you that they have never lost their faith in God, their family, and their country.

I reacted as most Americans did. I was proud of them. They stood tall and they spoke out. They embraced their loved ones. They offered prayers for their return, and some actually kissed the soil upon which they had returned. These brave and heroic men who have spent five, six, seven years in the hands of the enemy under the worst kind of conditions, to me represented the very best in America.

What they have gone through we're slowly learning. It's not a pretty story. In time perhaps we'll even hear worse than what we've heard so far. But one, myself or you, couldn't help but feel they were the patriots of this decade. And we were proud of them, but even happier that they're back. They have done as much in this day and age as other legendary heroes--Paul Revere and those that followed. I suspect that their deeds and their words will live far longer and far more favorably in the pages of history than those of such as Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden.

But what about ourselves? What have we, you and I, done in the six and seven years that they've been gone?

While our POW's were gone we have seen some very sharp changes in America, in the fabric of our society, in the things that we have done or have failed to do. We have seen hair grow longer on our youth. We've seen riots on our campuses and in our streets. We've seen the heavy hand of government reach longer and perhaps more restrictively. We often seem to have forgotten that a government big enough to give us everything we want is a government big enough to take from us everything we have.

During this span of time, short to us but long to a POW, we haven't done too well. For example, our national participation in the electoral process has gone down. In 1960, it was something over 62 per cent of those eligible to vote. In '68 it was less. And in '72 it was even less--55 per cent. It's not a very good record. We should be embarrassed as we look at the sacrifices they made while we did less.

The nation they left was still our society, and it's our society today. Philosophically we still have freedom and individuality. But I raise the question: Do we have enough dedication and discipline?

Let me shift gears for just a moment if I might. We have the idea that all of our problems today are unique. Many believe that what has gone before has no bearing on today. Old guidelines are no longer applicable, they say. Today is different. But is it?

Because we have more money floating around; because we have a bewildering array of goods and services at our beck and call; because we have federal programs, state programs, grants, loans, insurance, and a host of other schemes and plans little dreamed of by those who gave this nation its start; does that all mean that old values are unimportant and invalid? Hardly. Our problems may have changed to some extent, but people are still people. And principles remain as inviolate and as much a beacon for our guidance as ever.

You think our problems are unique in the 1970's? Listen for a moment ~~to~~ this quotation: "There are persons who constantly clamor, they complain of oppression, speculation and pernicious influence of wealth. They cry out loudly against all banks and corporations as a means by which small capitalists become united in order to produce important and beneficial results. They carry on mad hostility against all established institutions. They would choke the fountain of industry and dry all streams." Is this Vice President Agnew talking about the radical left? No. It's Daniel Webster speaking back in 1835 before the United States Senate. Today, just as in Webster's time, we have those who attack our system, downgrade our institutions, criticize and ridicule our industrial might, and undermine our defenses.

Let's take a moment to look at America. What's right with America? I think too many of us sometimes cannot see the forest for the trees. We are

subjected to such a constant barrage of complaint, protest, dissent, vitriolic attacks, sneers and denigration that we may be inclined to forget just what kind of a country we have built.

You of the older generation, those of today's generation, and those who will provide the leadership for tomorrow's America, let's hit some of the high spots. We all know about our trillion-dollar economy. A sum so vast that it cannot have much meaning to most people, except that if you strung one trillion dollar bills together, they would reach to the moon some 23,000 miles away nearly 400 times. We will add to our production of goods and services this year more than the entire economy of Italy.

This is more than ever the land of opportunity. Since World War II alone, we have increased college attendance from two million to nine million. And only one per cent of our entire population today is illiterate. We will spend almost \$98 billion on education at all levels in this year of 1973. Education is no longer the privilege of the rich but the attainable goal of any American who wants to work for it. Federal grants, loan programs, scholarships, foundation grants, GI benefits, all bring education within reach of more young people today than at any other time in our Nation's history.

Since World War II we've added five years to the human life span in America. The death of new-born babies has dropped 44 per cent, and the maternal death rate has dropped 76 per cent. The number of Americans covered by health insurance has gone from 42 million to 183 million. While our population has gone up 67 per cent we had a jump of 335 per cent in health care coverage. Twice as many Americans own their own homes today--some 40 million of us. American families have \$448 billion in the bank, and personal income has risen to \$935 billion.

We have more programs to feed the poor, take care of the destitute, train the unskilled and look after the elderly. We have mass transit, airport improvement, and interstate highway systems. All in all, there are more than 1,000 federal programs that see to the wants and the aspirations of Americans of all races, creeds and colors.

With all of this going for us, why are there wails of discontent in America? I think it can be summed up by the phrase, "too much too soon." We have been inundated with material blessings without a parallel development of our awareness, without a growth of understanding in spiritual background. Maybe we can learn

something from our prisoners of war who had so little while we had so much.

We hear cries of "freedom now." Freedom from what? From a republic that offers help to all levels of society? From a government that gives every citizen the opportunity to vote to change any of its institutions, from the smallest hamlet to the national government itself? Freedom from justice unmatched anywhere in the world? Do they want freedom from opportunity unsurpassed by any other nation on the earth?

I know that many are not sharing in our abundance in the measure that they expect. We are working on this. But they must work also. Meanwhile we are helping them to get the necessities of life. Poverty today in America is a matter of degree. Our poor live better than the so-called middle classes in many nations. But we know that that is not good enough. We know that our goal is a decent life--an unbounded opportunity to make something of ourselves for every American. It is a goal. It cannot be whipped up like a milkshake. It must be earned.

I do not view today's dissent with the alarm that many profess. I have more faith in our system than that. Like true love, the course of real freedom has never run smoothly.

I do believe that many who dissent--and I don't mean the hard-core subversives who hate America, but those who coddle and sympathize with the radical dissenters--should look deeper into what it is this kind of conduct exemplifies. It is not independence. Contempt for law is stupidity, not independence. Use of deadly drugs is folly, not independence.

True independence in America gives everyone the right to work within the system. No better form of government has ever been laid before the people. Change can be worked, but not by the tyrann^{nic}al minority at the expense of the public at large. Debate offers the opportunity to make divergent views clearly defined. The vote gives us the decision power--free, unfettered, uninfluenced and unregⁱmented.

The spirit of America is not dead. It lives within us. We must not let the sophistry of the malcontents blur our clear vision of just how wonderful it is to be in America. We must not allow ourselves to be ~~deluded~~^{deluded}--that because we are not perfect we are not basically good. We must not allow those who have wandered from the paths of common sense into the quicksands of immorality and lawlessness to cloud our responsibility^y to keep our nation on an even keel. We must not allow the intemperance of their actions to diminish our understanding

and our striving for the right.

Let me close with just two quotes. A great statesman, Sir Winston Churchill, once said: "Democracy is the worst form of government, except that it's better than anything that's been tried before."

And then some 200 years ago about 55 elected representatives to the Constitutional Convention met in the city of Philadelphia from May 'til September, and they labored long and hard to put together a document for a new nation. And after many compromises, preceded by arguments pro and con on this issue and that, they concluded their labors. According to the story, Ben Franklin, who was one of the delegates, left the hall. And as he came to the street he was accosted by a bystander. The bystander asked him the question: "Mr. Franklin, what have you given us? A monarchy or a republic?" And Mr. Franklin replied, "We have given you a republic if you can keep it."

I'm an optimist. I believe that we are not sunshine soldiers and summer patriots. We love America. Thank you very much.

#

61st Annual Sunday Session Meeting of U.S. Chamber of Commerce, April 29, 1973.

Thank you very, very much, Mr. Davis. It is a very high honor and a very great privilege for me to participate in this program, "A Salute to America," for the United States Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Davis, I thank you very greatly for that kind introduction. I have some grave doubts that I'm the man you have described, but it was very nice to hear what you had to say.

Just a few weeks ago, I and literally millions of Americans had the exhilarating and thrilling experience of watching on television the return of some 500-plus American prisoners of war who had come back after many years of suffering mental and physical torture, hardship, privation. It was obvious to me as it was to all of you that they have never lost their faith in God, their family, and their country.

I reacted as most Americans did. I was proud of them. They stood tall and they spoke out. They embraced their loved ones. They offered prayers for their return, and some actually kissed the soil upon which they had returned. These brave and heroic men who have spent five, six, seven years in the hands of the enemy under the worst kind of conditions, to me represented the very best in America.

What they have gone through we're slowly learning. It's not a pretty story. In time perhaps we'll even hear worse than what we've heard so far. But one, myself or you, couldn't help but feel they were the patriots of this decade. And we were proud of them, but even happier that they're back. They have done as much in this day and age as other legendary heroes--Paul Revere and those that followed. I suspect that their deeds and their words will live far longer and far more favorably in the pages of history than those of such as Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden.

But what about ourselves? What have we, you and I, done in the six and seven years that they've been gone?

While our POW's were gone we have seen some very sharp changes in America, in the fabric of our society, in the things that we have done or have failed to do. We have seen hair grow longer on our youth. We've seen riots on our campuses and in our streets. We've seen the heavy hand of government reach longer and perhaps more restrictively. We often seem to have forgotten that a government big enough to give us everything we want is a government big enough to take from us everything we have.



During this span of time, short to us but long to a POW, we haven't done too well. For example, our national participation in the electoral process has gone down. In 1960, it was something over 62 per cent of those eligible to vote. In '68 it was less. And in '72 it was even less--55 per cent. It's not a very good record. We should be embarrassed as we look at the sacrifices they made while we did less.

The nation they left was still our society, and it's our society today. Philosophically we still have freedom and individuality. But I raise the question: Do we have enough dedication and discipline?

Let me shift gears for just a moment if I might. We have the idea that all of our problems today are unique. Many believe that what has gone before has no bearing on today. Old guidelines are no longer applicable, they say. Today is different. But is it?

Because we have more money floating around; because we have a bewildering array of goods and services at our beck and call; because we have federal programs, state programs, grants, loans, insurance, and a host of other schemes and plans little dreamed of by those who gave this nation its start; does that all mean that old values are unimportant and invalid? Hardly. Our problems may have changed to some extent, but people are still people. And principles remain as inviolate and as much a beacon for our guidance as ever.

You think our problems are unique in the 1970's? Listen for a moment ~~at~~ ^{to} this quotation: "There are persons who constantly clamor, they complain of oppression, speculation and pernicious influence of wealth. They cry out loudly against all banks and corporations as a means by which small capitalists become united in order to produce important and beneficial results. They carry on mad hostility against all established institutions. They would choke the fountain of industry and dry all streams." Is this Vice President Agnew talking about the radical left? No. It's Daniel Webster speaking back in 1835 before the United States Senate. Today, just as in Webster's time, we have those who attack our system, downgrade our institutions, criticize and ridicule our industrial might, and undermine our defenses.

Let's take a moment to look at America. What's right with America? I think too many of us sometimes cannot see the forest for the trees. We are



subjected to such a constant barrage of complaint, protest, dissent, vitriolic attacks, sneers and denigration that we may be inclined to forget just what kind of a country we have built.

You of the older generation, those of today's generation, and those who will provide the leadership for tomorrow's America, let's hit some of the high spots. We all know about our trillion-dollar economy. A sum so vast that it cannot have much meaning to most people, except that if you strung one trillion dollar bills together, they would reach to the moon some 23,000 miles away nearly 400 times. We will add to our production of goods and services this year more than the entire economy of Italy.

This is more than ever the land of opportunity. Since World War II alone, we have increased college attendance from two million to nine million. And only one per cent of our entire population today is illiterate. We will spend almost \$98 billion on education at all levels in this year of 1973. Education is no longer the privilege of the rich but the attainable goal of any American who wants to work for it. Federal grants, loan programs, scholarships, foundation grants, GI benefits, all bring education within reach of more young people today than at any other time in our Nation's history.

Since World War II we've added five years to the human life span in America. The death of new-born babies has dropped 44 per cent, and the maternal death rate has dropped 76 per cent. The number of Americans covered by health insurance has gone from 42 million to 183 million. While our population has gone up 67 per cent we had a jump of 335 per cent in health care coverage. Twice as many Americans own their own homes today--some 40 million of us. American families have \$448 billion in the bank, and personal income has risen to \$935 billion.

We have more programs to feed the poor, take care of the destitute, train the unskilled and look after the elderly. We have mass transit, airport improvement, and interstate highway systems. All in all, there are more than 1,000 federal programs that see to the wants and the aspirations of Americans of all races, creeds and colors.

With all of this going for us, why are there wails of discontent in America? I think it can be summed up by the phrase, "too much too soon." We have been inundated with material blessings without a parallel development of our awareness, without a growth of understanding in spiritual background. Maybe we can learn

something from our prisoners of war who had so little while we had so much.

We hear cries of "freedom now." Freedom from what? From a republic that offers help to all levels of society? From a government that gives every citizen the opportunity to vote to change any of its institutions, from the smallest hamlet to the national government itself? Freedom from justice unmatched anywhere in the world? Do they want freedom from opportunity unsurpassed by any other nation on the earth?

I know that many are not sharing in our abundance in the measure that they expect. We are working on this. But they must work also. Meanwhile we are helping them to get the necessities of life. Poverty today in America is a matter of degree. Our poor live better than the so-called middle classes in many nations. But we know that that is not good enough. We know that our goal is a decent life--an unbounded opportunity to make something of ourselves for every American. It is a goal. It cannot be whipped up like a milkshake. It must be earned.

I do not view today's dissent with the alarm that many profess. I have more faith in our system than that. Like true love, the course of real freedom has never run smoothly.

I do believe that many who dissent--and I don't mean the hard-core subversives who hate America, but those who coddle and sympathize with the radical dissenters--should look deeper into what it is this kind of conduct exemplifies. It is not independence. Contempt for law is stupidity, not independence. Use of deadly drugs is folly, not independence.

True independence in America gives everyone the right to work within the system. No better form of government has ever been laid before the people. Change can be worked, but not by the tyrannical minority at the expense of the public at large. Debate offers the opportunity to make divergent views clearly defined. The vote gives us the decision power--free, unfettered, uninfluenced and unregimented.

The spirit of America is not dead. It lives within us. We must not let the sophistry of the malcontents blur our clear vision of just how wonderful it is to be in America. We must not allow ourselves to be ~~deluded~~ ^{deluded}--that because we are not perfect we are not basically good. We must not allow those who have wandered from the paths of common sense into the quicksands of immorality and lawlessness to cloud our responsibilities to keep our nation on an even keel. We must not allow the intemperance of their actions to diminish our understanding

and our striving for the right.

Let me close with just two quotes. A great statesman, Sir Winston Churchill, once said: "Democracy is the worst form of government, except that it's better than anything that's been tried before."

And then some 200 years ago about 55 elected representatives to the Constitutional Convention met in the city of Philadelphia from May 'til September, and they labored long and hard to put together a document for a new nation. And after many compromises, preceded by arguments pro and con on this issue and that, they concluded their labors. According to the story, Ben Franklin, who was one of the delegates, left the hall. And as he came to the street he was accosted by a bystander. The bystander asked him the question: "Mr. Franklin, what have you given us? A monarchy or a republic?" And Mr. Franklin replied, "We have given you a republic if you can keep it."

I'm an optimist. I believe that we are not sunshine soldiers and summer patriots. We love America. Thank you very much.

#

