

**The original documents are located in Box D14, folder “P.T.A. Founders Day Banquet, Grand Rapids Civic Auditorium, February 17, 1954” of the Ford Congressional Papers: Press Secretary and Speech File at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.**

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Speech by Representative Gerald R. Ford Jr.

P. T. A. Frunders Day Banquet

Grand Rapids Civic Auditorium, Feb. 17, 1954

We Americans are a wealthy nation. We are wealthy not only in material things, the natural resources with which we have been blessed, and the high standard of living we have been able to produce from them, but we are wealthy as well because of the liberties we enjoy and the traditions of freedom which are so essential a part of our national heritage, and which have grown and strengthened in the one hundred and eighty years of our independence.

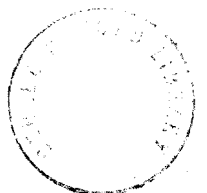
The freedom of enterprise and initiative, the personal liberties, and the freedom of election which we enjoy have been so long a part of our way of life that we sometimes forget that they are a part of our wealth, and that, like all articles of value, they must be guarded and protected. We also sometimes lose sight of the fact that he who possesses wealth also bears a corresponding responsibility, and that this applies as well to our wealth of freedom as it does to our physical ~~wealth~~ *& material assets*.

It is about the responsibilities which our freedom imposes upon us today, both as a nation and as individuals, that I would like to discuss tonight.

There are men in the world today who envy and fear us. They are jealous of our tremendous material wealth, but they fear us far more because of our priceless freedom, for it is that freedom which is the source of our strength, and which



constitutes the greatest threat to their power over hundreds of millions of people, and their aspirations to ruthless world dominance. The Communist nations possess the fertility of soil and the metal and mineral deposits to feed, clothe, and house themselves as well as we have, and to produce the other comforts and luxuries which modern science and industry have provided, but they have miserably failed to do so. They have failed solely because they are enslaved by a tyranny so all pervading that it puts to shame any that have gone before. The tyrannical rulers of these nations, conscious of their failure and inability to fulfill the promises by which they led their people to forego freedom, have turned their unrest and dissatisfaction toward the free world, and have entered upon a colossal effort to destroy it. The leaders of the Communist conspiracy know full well that the existence of freedom is the most immediate and direct threat to their power, for the longer their distressed people see before them the magnificent achievements of free men, the more likely they are to discover the true reason for their hardship and suffering under tyranny, and to break the Kremlin imposed bonds which prevent them from participating in those achievements.



This threat to our security, unfortunate and unnecessary as it appears to us, operates in large measure to define our responsibilities as free men in the world today. The United States, because it is spiritually and materially the wealthiest nation on earth, is the principal object of this Communist conspiracy, both from within and without, and consequently we will be the center of the resistance to its plans for world conquest. We are thus forced, against our will and desire, into a concern for some material things which we might otherwise avoid.

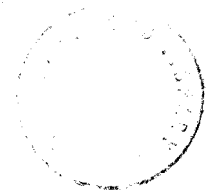
This then is our first responsibility as a nation under freedom. We must survive, and to do so, we must build and maintain our military strength so that we can defend ourselves against any attack, and we must be prepared to retaliate so surely and so destructively that our enemies will be convinced that their aggression will be suicidal. In so preparing ourselves, however, we must not lose sight of the fact that we are a peaceful nation, and that our primary effort must be directed toward maintenance and advancement of a standard of living which is the wonder of the world. Our military program, essential as it is, must not become the mainstay of our prosperity, but must be adapted to an economy directed toward the improvement of ourselves, and the sharing of our achievements with the less fortunate peoples of the world.





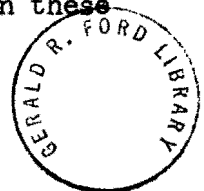
To do this we must strike a <sup>delicate</sup> balance, and this can best be accomplished by placing greater reliance upon the weapons and equipment which modern science has given us. Of necessity we must turn our attention and efforts to greater emphasis upon the atom bomb and hydrogen bomb, and to the means of delivering them to the target, for it is in these weapons that we find the greatest deterrent to our enemy. It is almost inconceivable that any national leader, even one in the Kremlin, knowing the tremendous destructive power of these weapons, would be so insane as to unleash them upon his people and bring upon them the horror and suffering which they can produce. We must expand our guided missile program, both in terms of production and research, for in this device apparently lies the key to the defense of our cities. You have all seen the recent releases about "Nike", that classically named marvel of electronics, almost unbelievable in its reactions, which when once launched, can locate its objective, direct itself toward it, and destroy it, all without human intervention. When we remember this device is the product of only a relatively few years of scientific research and technical effort, we can only wonder at the achievements which lie before us. //

By placing greater reliance upon these modern weapons, costly as such a program may appear, we can achieve our objective of a strong national defense while reducing its cost and its



effect upon our economy. We can thus reduce in some measure the tax burden which we must all bear, leave our industry largely free to produce the goods of peace, and limit the number of young men we must take into the armed services. If such a course accomplished nothing more, this last objective would be well worth the cost, for the maintenance of a large military force is the most expensive aspect of our defensive effort, both in terms of dollars and in terms of its impact upon the lives and careers of our sons. We cannot, and must not, in the name of defense, spend ourself into bankruptcy and mortgage our <sup>Nation's</sup> future to such an extent that our enemy will achieve, through our economic collapse, the victory he so ardently desires.

In developing and expanding our nuclear weapons we must not forget that the basic forces which they employ have tremendous and unforeseen potentialities for peaceful applications. In the small beginnings which have been made in the use of radioactive materials in medicine, we can see already the possibility of discovering the cause and cure of many maladies which afflict mankind and which have resisted our best efforts to control and eliminate them. The great energies released in atomic fission give promise of resources of power never even dreamed of a few years ago, and open before us a view of a world in which starvation and poverty have no place. In order to hasten the day when these



potentialities will be realized, we must as quickly and as fully as military necessities will permit, open these new fields to private initiative and enterprise. It was these forces, operating free of governmental control and direction, which brought us to our present high level, <sup>it makes sense that now</sup> and they should be given the new tools to work with. <sup>To see what practical benefits</sup> will accrue to all mankind.

We, of course, are not alone in our struggle against world communism. There are other nations who enjoy freedom and who cherish it as devotedly as we do. As President Eisenhower has so aptly stated, "More closely than ever before, American freedom is interlocked with the freedom of other people. In the unity of the free world lies our best chance to reduce the Communist threat without war. In the task of maintaining this unity and strengthening all its parts, the greatest responsibility falls to those who, like ourselves, retain the most freedom and the most strength."

Our job, therefore, is to strengthen and extend those alliances like the North Atlantic Treaty, in which we have joined with other nations, and by which we present a united front to <sup>Common</sup> our enemy. In doing so, however, we must not forget <sup>+</sup> that we are a sovereign nation among sovereign nations. We cannot dictate,



but must lead and we must recognize that each of our allies has its own background and problems which may result in attitudes and opinions different from ours. We must be tolerant of these differences, just as we are tolerant of differences amongst ourselves, and we must seek by persuasion and compromise to reach a common ground. To resort to any other course would be to follow the pattern of the Communists who are so unsure of themselves that they cannot cooperate, but must conquer <sup>& dictate</sup> to <sup>even superfluous</sup> ensure the loyalty of other peoples.

In dealing with our allies, however, we must insist upon the mutuality of our obligations. Although we are the largest and strongest of the free nations, our resources are not unlimited, and we cannot be expected to shoulder the burden of our common defense alone. To do so could only result in our ultimate weakness, and in bringing about the disaster we have united to prevent. Each nation must contribute to our mutual defense according to its ability, and none must be permitted to shirk its responsibility in this respect. By following this course, we will develop the spiritual unity which comes from sharing a common burden and our conviction of ultimate victory will be strengthened.



Unfortunately there are in the world some peoples and their leaders who would stand aloof from the basic struggle in which we are engaged. It is true some of these people have only recently achieved national independence and consequently are faced with domestic problems of overwhelming magnitude, comparable to those which our nation faced almost two centuries ago. To these we must extend our friendship, and we must stand ready to offer any reasonable material assistance that they need. This aid and assistance, however, must be intelligently and constructively limited, for only by self-reliance can they achieve the dignity of free men.

As concerned as we must be with the international aspects of our responsibilities as free men, we must not neglect our obligation to establish a strong and developing economy at home. Indeed, unless we maintain a high measure of domestic prosperity we cannot hope to achieve our international objectives, for it is that prosperity which supports our military program and underlies our efforts to make peace secure.

To achieve this goal, all segments of our people must cooperate, and none must seek to gain an <sup>unfair</sup> advantage at the expense of another. While there are, and will be, differences among us as to how our prosperity can best be obtained, and these differences will in some measure reflect our station in life and the way we earn our living, we must never permit them



to become crystallized into class attitudes. It is the theory of the class struggle, labor against capital, which underlies the Marxian philosophy, and this is the tool by which the modern Communist hopes to create dissension among us and to weaken our cause.

We are a rich nation and we are better nourished, better clothed, and better housed than any other people on earth. The automobile, the radio and television, and the telephone, which to us have become so commonplace, are still regarded as luxuries by the ordinary citizen in many other countries, and even the bathtub, to us a necessity, is as rare as a precious jewel in many areas. Although we have slums in our large cities, and some rural areas do not enjoy a full measure of modern comfort, we can, and will, eliminate these deficiencies.

Our prosperity must be achieved through the medium of private enterprise and initiative. It is because we have been free to accumulate capital, and to risk it in new and untried undertakings that we have been able to attain the high levels we have reached, and it is this freedom upon which we must rely to carry us forward. True progress can be made only if we are able,



through our own efforts, to make a little more than we need, and to use this surplus to earn more of the worlds goods for us. This freedom must be preserved and nurtured, for it is the foundation upon which our entire structure of liberty rests.

There are those among us who hold the view that our industrial society has become so complex that we no longer can afford to encourage private enterprise, but must look to the federal government as somewhat of a parent whose duty it is to feed and clothe its children, and to see that they are all properly sheltered. With this theory I cannot agree. We must remember that a parental government, once it undertakes the colossal job of directly clothing, feeding and sheltering its brood, inevitably must restrict their freedom and direct their day by day activities into rigid channels the all powerful government deems best for them. Our government, of course, has its rightful responsibilities in the promotion of our economic welfare, but its powers in this connection are, and must continue to be restricted to certain areas of activity. We must beware of, and avoid the tendency toward parental government, for in that direction lies the end of our freedom.

In the troubled times in which we live, it is only natural that the material aspects of our responsibilities under freedom



should give us so much concern and demand so much of our attention. Our entire way of life is under attack by an enemy motivated and guided by a materialistic philosophy, and we cannot afford to neglect those things in which he professes to find his strength, and by which he seeks to dominate the world. If we did otherwise we would fail to meet the challenge which has been laid down to us.

Despite this urgency, however, we must not forget our responsibilities to the spiritual and intellectual aspects of our freedom. It is these which distinguish us from our enemy, and which in the long run, constitute our greatest strength. The Communist regards man as only a part of a machine which must move in predetermined patterns dictated by the movements of other parts, and by the will of the state as the supreme operator. We, on the other hand, profess and uphold the dignity of man as an individual possessing a free will and capable of achieving his goals in cooperation with other men. We insist that men can determine what is best for themselves, only if they are free to think about and discuss alternative courses of action, and that there is no man, or group of men, so wise and so omniscient that they can lay down the objectives which should be sought, and the paths which should be followed. It is because

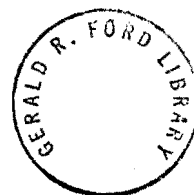




we adhere to these principles that we will ultimately triumph, for it is these which constitute our strongest appeal to the minds of men all over the world, and which will finally win over the ~~masses~~ <sup>untold millions</sup> which the Communist rulers have enslaved.

To achieve this end, our first responsibility is to strengthen our freedom here at home. We must preserve and strengthen the right of every man to formulate and hold to his own opinions on religious, political, and social questions, and we must guarantee his right to speak and discuss them. The problems which we face in these areas today, complex and vexing though they are, are no different in their basic nature than those which have troubled men since the time they first appeared on this earth. They have continued to plague man only because he was not free through the greater part of his history, to discuss them, but labored under one kind of oppression or another which forced him into patterns determined upon by rulers who thought that they had found the answers. The fact that these tyrannies passed away is clear proof that the tyrants were wrong and the same fate awaits their modern day imitators.

Opinions and ideas, like commodities, receive their greatest test in the free competition of the market place, and



it is only the best that can survive that competition. The great and far-seeing men who drafted our Constitution, and insisted upon inclusion of the Bill of Rights, recognized this principle, and nothing which has occurred since that day has weakened its truth. Man has enjoyed the rights of freedom of religion, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press only for a relatively few years, and in that period has made his greatest progress in his forward march. We must continue that progress by guarding and preserving the liberties which made it possible.

In order to formulate their opinions and ideas men must have access to knowledge and information, and we must encourage and develop the instrumentalities which disseminate them. Perhaps the greatest developments of our industrial age ~~is~~ <sup>are</sup> to be found in the field of communication, and the facilities which we have created must be free from governmental <sup>dictation</sup> ~~authority~~. The citizens who print our books and newspapers, and who operate our radio and television stations must be free of unnecessary & <sup>unwise</sup> control and censorship lest these devices be the means of imposing political oppression. In the hands of free men, these facilities are the tools of freedom, but in the hands of tyrants they are the means of establishing and maintaining power. The men who own and control them, of course, have the <sup>tremendous</sup> responsibility



of seeing that they serve their proper function and operate in the public good. They must not be used in such a manner that they promote sensationalism, hysteria, or crime. The owners and producers, if they live up to their responsibilities to society as a whole, will not seek temporary commercial success at the expense of the public good. Furthermore, as they must know, disregard for the public welfare will inevitably result in local, state and federal governmental interference in their day to day operations.

This access to knowledge, of course, must extend to all fields and must include theories and viewpoints which may be unpopular. Our scientists and scholars must be free to experiment and to challenge established beliefs for it is through such experimentation and challenge that we have made our greatest strides forward. Furthermore, we must all be given access to their findings and conclusions, for unless they are available to all, they lose their value.

Liberty, of course, is not license, and to advocate and defend freedom of speech and discussion does not mean that we must not protect ourselves against those who naively or willfully abuse them.

The leaders of world communism are ruthless and crafty men. One of the principal techniques they have used to facilitate



their conquests is that of creating dissension among the citizens of the nation they seek to overcome, and of having those among them who share their views insinuate themselves into positions of authority and power. In recent years, this has been one of the most serious threats which we have faced.

Unfortunately, there are here in America, some who have been so beguiled by the siren song of Communism that they have enlisted in its cause and sought to overthrow the system which nurtured them. Concealing their true motives and intentions, they have risen to positions of authority and power in our government, and by misguiding its policies and misdirecting its actions, have sought to weaken and ultimately destroy it. Many of these have been discovered and exposed to public view, but we must be vigilant lest others take their places.

To do this is not to destroy freedom, but to preserve it, for these people are the enemies of freedom. Professing a love of liberty, they have used it as a shield to carry on their insidious labors at the direction of a foreign power. This we cannot permit!



But in exposing and destroying this evil we must be careful. We must do it within the framework of the principles and guaranties upon which we place such high value, and we must not become like our enemy in our struggles against him. Our efforts must be directed against the true adherents of Communism and we must not be diverted to attacks upon the innocent simply because they hold opinions opposed to our own, or behave in a manner of which we do not approve. To do otherwise would permit the guilty to escape and allow them to carry on their nefarious work.

We are a diverse nation, composed of many different racial groupings and embracing many different religious beliefs and creeds. If we are to remain a free nation, each of us must become tolerant of our neighbors; tolerant not in the sense of putting up with something, as a parent is tolerant of a fractious child, but tolerant in the sense of understanding. While we all hold to our own beliefs and live up to them as our conscience dictates, we must recognize and defend the rights of others to pursue the same course. We must learn to value and appreciate each man for what he is, and to judge him upon the basis of what he has done, and we must oppose discriminations based upon race, creed, or color. This must be done not only



because it is fundamental to the principles we profess, but because the existence of such discrimination in our midst, small though it be, has been used by Communist propagandists in their efforts to gain the adherence of some peoples whose friendship we desire. But there is another and more positive reason why we must do this. We are engaged in a colossal task, and the problems which we face are almost overwhelming. To achieve success, we must draw upon our human resources to the fullest extent, and each of our citizens must be permitted to contribute ~~his~~ <sup>other</sup> share according to his ~~abilities~~ <sup>abilities</sup> and unhindered by artificial barriers. We cannot afford waste, and to deny a man the privilege of contributing to our common effort because of his color or religious beliefs is waste of the most inexcusable kind.

Another primary responsibility which is imposed upon us as free men, and one which is particularly important today, is that of educating our children in the ways of freedom. It is primarily for them that we labor and strive to preserve our heritage, ~~and~~ and we must give them a full appreciation and understanding of the values which have made this nation great. The youth of our nation is our greatest resource and we must not neglect it.



In the last fifteen years, circumstances forced us to devote the principal part of our energies to the winning of a major war, and the preparation of our military defenses, and we were not able to build the schools and other educational facilities which normally would have been constructed. The fact that in this period our population has increased tremendously has aggravated the inadequacy of our present equipment. In almost every area of the country we find schools that are old and dilapidated, classrooms that are overcrowded, and playground facilities that are inadequate.

Our first step, then, must be to build new schools, adequate to our present needs and the needs of the immediate future. This, of course, is a matter of community and state responsibility, and we as parents and teachers must see to it that our local governments take the necessary measures to remedy the situation. It is groups such as yours which must take the initiative in planning and preparing programs, for only you know best the needs of the community, and the means by which they can be most expediently met. All of us can be rightfully proud of the forward-looking action taken by our citizens in this area in meeting the school facilities problem. The results will pay big dividends in the years ahead and our children can thank those responsible for having accomplished the job within the community without interference or bureaucracy diminished dollars from Washington.

But even more alarming, and less easy to overcome, than the inadequacy of the physical equipment of our school systems,

is the shortage of teachers which exists throughout the nation. The reasons for this are apparent. The salaries which <sup>most communities</sup> we pay our teachers have not kept pace with the rise in the cost of living which has occurred over the past few years, and many young men and women who otherwise might have entered the profession have understandably turned to more profitable fields of endeavor. Regrettably many communities have neglected to uphold the dignity of the profession and to accord it the high respect it deserves. The teaching of our children is no menial task. Individually we should give rightful credit to our teachers who have played such an important part in shaping our own lives and <sup>in addition</sup> recognize the vital part they play in the future of our Nation.

We entrust to our teachers the guardianship and guidance of the minds of our children, and we must be sure that the men and women who undertake these tasks are well-qualified, well-paid and well-respected. Only by doing this can we be sure that we will attract into teaching the number and quality of men and women we so urgently need.

It is only through promoting and extending our ~~public~~ school systems that we can hope to equip our children properly for the tasks that lie before them in the atomic age which we





have created. Only if we can instill in them a profound appreciation of the value of freedom can we prevent them from becoming slaves of the materialism which now plagues and threatens us. This we must not fail to do.

Finally, there is one other responsibility which we must not forget. This is the responsibility of faith. We may build the strongest defense, acquire the greatest wealth, and prosper in all material things, but our accomplishments will have little meaning if they do not rest upon a firm spiritual foundation. It was strength of spirit which made possible the founding of this nation, and it was that strength which supported it through its adversities and brought it victory in the wars it has fought. We must renew and replenish that strength. With faith in God, faith in ourselves, and faith in our freedom, we will surmount the obstacles which lie before us and establish a secure peace in a world where free men may work and live without fear.



We Americans are a wealthy nation. We are wealthy not only in material things, the natural resources with which we have been blessed and the high standard of living we have been able to produce from them, but we are wealthy as well because of the liberties we enjoy and the traditions of freedom which are so essential a part of our national heritage and which have grown and strengthened in the one hundred and eighty years of our independence.

The freedom of enterprise and initiative, the personal liberties, and the freedom of election which we enjoy have been so long a part of our way of life that we sometimes forget that they are a part of our wealth and that, like all articles of value they must be guarded and protected. We also sometimes lose sight of the fact that he who possesses wealth also <sup>has a corresponding</sup> ~~possesses~~ responsibility and that this applies as well to our wealth of freedom as it does to our physical wealth. It is about the responsibilities which our freedom imposes upon us today, both as a nation and as individuals, that I would like to <sup>discuss tonight</sup> ~~talk to you~~.

There are men in the world today who envy and fear us. They are jealous of our <sup>tremendous</sup> material wealth, but they fear us far more because of our <sup>power</sup> freedom, for it is that freedom which is the source of our strength and which constitutes the greatest threat to their power over hundreds of millions of people, and their aspirations to <sup>ruthless</sup> world dominance. The Communist nations possess the fertility of soil and the metal and mineral deposits to feed, clothe, and house themselves as well as we have, and to produce the other comforts and luxuries



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As concerned as we must be with the international aspects of our responsibilities as free men, we must not neglect our obligation to establish a strong and developing economy at home. Indeed, unless we maintain a high measure of domestic prosperity we cannot hope to achieve our international objectives for it is that prosperity which supports our military program and underlies our efforts to make peace secure.

To achieve this goal, all segments of our people must cooperate and none must seek to gain an advantage at the expense of another. While there are, and will be, differences among us as to how our prosperity can best be obtained and these differences will in some measure reflect our station in life and the way we earn our living, we must never permit them to become crystallized into class attitudes. It is the theory of the class struggle, labor against capital, which underlies the Marxian philosophy and this is the tool by which the modern Communist hopes to create dissension among us and to weaken our cause.

We are a rich nation and we are better nourished, better clothed, and better housed than any other people on earth. The automobile, the radio and television, and the telephone, which to us have become so commonplace, are still regarded as luxuries by the ordinary citizen in many other countries and even the bathtub, to us a necessity, is as rare as a precious jewel in many areas. Although we have slums in our large cities and some rural areas do not enjoy a full measure of modern comfort, we can, and will, eliminate these deficiencies.

Our prosperity must be achieved through the medium of private enterprise and initiative. It is because we have been free to accumulate capital and to risk it in new and untried undertakings that we have been able to attain the high levels we have reached, and it is this freedom upon which we must rely to carry us forward. True progress can be made only if we are able, through our own efforts, to make a little more than we need and to use this surplus to earn more of the worlds goods for us. This freedom must be preserved and nurtured for it is the foundation upon which our entire structure of liberty rests.



There are those among us who hold the view that our industrial society has become so complex that we no longer can afford to encourage private enterprise, but must look to the federal government as somewhat of a parent whose duty it is to feed and clothe its children and to see that they are all properly sheltered. With this theory I cannot agree and I remind its adherents that while a parent has certain duties, he also has the right to discipline his children, to restrict their freedom and to direct their activities into the channels he deems best for them. Our government, of course, has its responsibilities in the promotion of our economic welfare, but its powers in this connection are, and must continue to be restricted to certain areas of activity. We must beware of, and avoid the tendency toward parental government for in that direction lies the end of our freedom.

In the troubled times in which we live, it is only natural that the material aspects of our responsibilities under freedom should give us so much concern and demand so much of our attention. Our entire way of life is under attack by an enemy motivated and guided by a materialistic philosophy and we cannot afford to neglect those things in which he professes to find his strength and by which he seeks to dominate the world. If we did otherwise we would fail to meet the challenge which has been laid down to us.

Despite this urgency, however, we must not forget our responsibilities to the spiritual and intellectual aspects of our freedom. It is these which distinguish us from our enemy, and which,

in the long run, constitute our greatest strength. The Communist regards man as only a part of a machine which must move in predetermined patterns dictated by the movements of other parts, and by the will of the state as the supreme operator. We, on the other hand, profess and uphold the dignity of man as an individual possessing a free will and capable of achieving his goals in co-operation with other men. We insist that men can determine what is best for themselves, only if they are free to think about and discuss alternative courses of action and that there is no man, or group of men, so wise and so omniscient that they can lay down the objectives which should be sought, and the paths which should be followed. It is because we adhere to these principles that we will ultimately triumph for it is these which constitute our strongest appeal to the minds of man all over the world, and which will finally win over the masses which the communist rulers have enslaved.

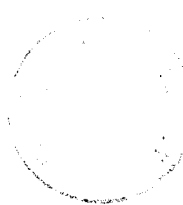
To achieve this end, our first responsibility is to strengthen our freedom here at home. We must preserve and strengthen the right of every man to formulate and hold to his own opinions on religious, political, and social questions, and we must guarantee his right to speak and discuss them. The problems which we face in these areas today, complex and vexing though they are, are no different in their basic nature than those which have troubled men since the time they first appeared on this earth. They have continued to plague man only because he was not free through the greater part of his history, to discuss them, but labored under one kind of oppression or another which forced him into patterns determined upon by rulers who thought that they had found the answers. The fact that these tyrannies passed



away is clear proof that the tyrants were wrong and the same fate awaits their modern day imitators.

Opinions and ideas, like commodities, receive their greatest test in the free competition of the market place, and it is only the best that can survive that competition. The great and far seeing men who drafted our Constitution and insisted upon inclusion of the Bill of Rights, recognized this principle and nothing which has occurred since that day has weakened its truth. Man has enjoyed the rights of freedom of religion, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press only for a relatively few years and in that period has made his greatest progress in his forward march. We must continue that progress by guarding and preserving the liberties which made it possible.

In order to formulate their opinions and ideas men must have access to knowledge and information and we must encourage and develop the instrumentalities which disseminate them. Perhaps the greatest developments of our industrial age is to be found in the field of communication and the facilities which we have created must be free from governmental authority. The citizens who print our books and newspapers and who operate our radio and television stations must be free of unnecessary control and censorship lest these devices be the means of imposing political oppression. In the hands of free men, these facilities are the tools of freedom, but in the hands of tyrants they are the means of establishing and maintaining power. The men who own and control them, of course, have the responsibility of seeing that they



serve their proper function and operate in the public good. They must not be used in such a manner that they promote sensationalism, hysteria, or crime, but the avoidance of this evil must be largely left to the owners themselves who must judge the worth of their product by the extent to which it finds acceptance in the market place.

This access to knowledge, of course, must extend to all fields and must include theories and viewpoints which may be unpopular. Our scientists and scholars must be free to experiment and to challenge established beliefs for it is through such experimentation and challenge that we have made our greatest strides forward. Furthermore, we must all be given access to their findings and conclusions, for unless they are available to all, they lose their value.

Liberty, of course, is not license and to advocate and defend freedom of speech and discussion does not mean that we must not protect ourselves against those who abuse them.

The leaders of world communism are ruthless and crafty men. One of the principal techniques they have used to facilitate their conquests is that of creating dissension among the citizens of the nation they seek to overcome and of having those among them who share their views insinuate themselves into positions of authority and power. In recent years, this has been one of the most serious threats which we have faced.

Unfortunately, there are here in America, some who have been so beguiled by the siren song of communism that they have enlisted



in its cause and sought to overthrow the system which nurtured them. Concealing their true motives and intentions, they have risen to positions of authority and power in our government and by misguiding its policies and misdirecting its actions have sought to weaken and ultimately destroy it. Many of these have been discovered and exposed to public view, but we must be vigilant lest others take their places.

To do this is not to destroy freedom, but to preserve it, for these people are the enemies of freedom. Professing a love of liberty, they have used it as a shield to carry on their insidious labors at the direction of a foreign power. This we cannot permit!

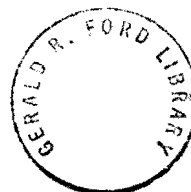
But in exposing and destroying this evil we must be careful. We must do it within the framework of the principles and guarantees upon which we place such high value, and we must not become like our enemy in our struggles against him. Our efforts must be directed against the true adherents of communism and we must not be diverted to attacks upon the innocent simply because they hold opinions opposed to our own, or behave in a manner of which we do not approve. To do otherwise would permit the guilty to escape and allow them to carry on their nefarious work.

We are a diverse nation, composed of many different racial groupings and embracing many different religious beliefs and creeds. If we are to remain a free nation, each of us must become tolerant of our neighbors; tolerant not in the sense of putting up with



something, as a parent is tolerant of a fractious child, but tolerant in the sense of understanding. While we all hold to our own beliefs and live up to them as our conscience dictates, we must recognize and defend the rights of others to pursue the same course. We must learn to value and appreciate each man for what he is and to judge him upon the basis of what he has done, and we must oppose discriminations based upon race, creed, or color. This must be done not only because it is fundamental to the principles we profess, but because the existence of such discrimination in our midst, small though it be, has been used by communist propagandists in their efforts to gain the adherence of some peoples whose friendship we desire. But there is another and more positive reason why we must do this. We are engaged in a colossal task and the problems which we face are almost overwhelming. To achieve success, we must draw upon our human resources to the fullest extent and each of our citizens must be permitted to contribute his share according to his abilities and unhindered by artificial barriers. We cannot afford waste, and to deny a man the privilege of contributing to our common effort because of his color or religious beliefs is waste of the most inexcusable kind.

Another primary responsibility which is imposed upon us as free men, and one which is particularly important today, is that of educating our children in the ways of freedom. It is primarily for them that we labor and strive to preserve our heritage, and we must give them a full appreciation and understanding of the values which have made this nation great. The youth of our nation is our greatest resource and we must not neglect it.



In the last fifteen years, circumstances forced us to devote the principal part of our energies to the winning of a major war and the preparation of our military defenses and we were not able to build the schools and other educational facilities which normally would have been constructed. The fact that in this period our population has increased tremendously has enhanced the inadequacy of our present equipment. In almost every area of the country we find schools that are old and dilapidated, classrooms that are overcrowded, and playground facilities that are inadequate.

Our first step, then, must be to build new schools, adequate to our present needs and the needs of the immediate future. This, of course, is a matter of community and state responsibility and we as parents and teachers must see to it that our local governments take the necessary measures to remedy the situation. It is groups such as yours which must take the initiative in planning and preparing programs, for only you know best the needs of your community and the means by which they can be most expediently met.

But even more alarming, and less easy to overcome, than the inadequacy of the physical equipment of our school systems, is the shortage of teachers which exists throughout the nation. The reasons for this are apparent. The salaries which we pay our teachers have not kept pace with the rise in the cost of living which has occurred over the past few years and the young men and women who otherwise might have entered the profession have turned to more profitable fields of endeavor. Many communities, furthermore, have neglected to uphold the dignity of the profession and to accord it the



respect it deserves. Regrettably, in some areas teaching is today looked upon as a menial task and those who engage in it are held in low esteem.

We must move, and move quickly, to remedy this situation. We entrust to our teachers the guardianship and guidance of the minds of our children and we must be sure that the men and women who undertake these tasks are well-qualified, well-paid, and well-respected. Only by doing this can we be sure that we will attract into teaching the number and quality of men and women we so urgently need.

It is only through promoting and extending our public school systems that we can hope to equip our children properly for the tasks that lie before them in the atomic age which we have created. Only if we can instill in them a profound appreciation of the value of freedom can we prevent them from becoming slaves of the materialism which now plagues and threatens us. This we must not fail to do.

Finally, there is one other responsibility which we must not forget. That is the responsibility of faith. We may build the strongest defense, acquire the greatest wealth, and prosper in all material things, but our accomplishments will have little meaning if they do not rest upon a firm spiritual foundation. It was strength of spirit which made possible the founding of this nation and it was that strength which supported it through its adversities and brought it victory in the wars it has fought. We must renew and replenish that strength. With faith in God, faith in ourselves, and faith in our freedom, we will surmount the obstacles which lie before us and establish a secure peace in a world where free men may work and live without fear.





Speech by -

REPRESENTATIVE GERALD R. FORD, JR.

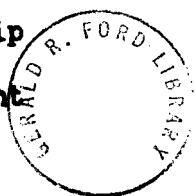
P. T. A. Founders Day Banquet

Grand Rapids Civic Auditorium, February 17, 1954

We Americans are a wealthy nation. We are wealthy not only in material things, the natural resources with which we have been blessed, and the high standard of living we have been able to produce from them, but we are wealthy as well because of the liberties we enjoy and the traditions of freedom which are so essential a part of our national heritage, and which have grown and strengthened in the one hundred and eighty years of our independence.

The freedom of enterprise and initiative, the personal liberties, and the freedom of election which we enjoy have been so long a part of our way of life that we sometimes forget that they are a part of our wealth, and that, like all articles of value, they must be guarded and protected. We also sometimes lose sight of the fact that he who possesses wealth also bears a corresponding responsibility, and that this applies as well to our wealth of freedom as it does to our physical and material assets. It is about the responsibilities which our freedom imposes upon us today, both as a nation and as individuals, that I would like to discuss tonight.

There are men in the world today who envy and fear us. They are jealous of our tremendous material wealth, but they fear us far more because of our priceless freedom, for it is that freedom which is the source of our strength, and which constitutes the greatest threat to their power over hundreds of millions of people and their aspirations to ruthless world dominance. The Communist nations possess the fertility of soil and the metal and mineral deposits to feed, clothe, and house themselves as well as we have, and to produce the other comforts and luxuries which modern science and industry have provided, but they have miserably failed to do so. They have failed solely because they are enslaved by a tyranny so all pervading that it puts to shame any that have gone before. The tyrannical rulers of these nations, conscious of their failure and inability to fulfill the promises by which they led their people to forego freedom, have turned their unrest and dissatisfaction toward the free world, and have entered upon a colossal effort to destroy it. The leaders of the Communist conspiracy know full well that the existence of freedom is the most immediate and direct threat to their power, for the longer their distressed people see before them the magnificent achievements of free men, the more likely they are to discover the true reason for their hardship and suffering under tyranny, and to break the Kremlin-imposed bonds which prevent them from participating in those achievements.



This threat to our security, unfortunate and unnecessary as it appears to us, operates in large measure to define our responsibilities as free men in the world today. The United States, because it is spiritually and materially the wealthiest nation on earth, is the principal object of this Communist conspiracy, both from within and without, and consequently we will be the center of the resistance to its plans for world conquest. We are thus forced, against our will and desire, into a concern for some material things which we might otherwise avoid.

This then is our first responsibility as a nation under freedom. We must survive, and to do so, we must build and maintain our military strength so that we can defend ourselves against any attack, and we must be prepared to retaliate so surely and so destructively that our enemies will be convinced that their aggression will be suicidal. In so preparing ourselves, however, we must not lose sight of the fact that we are a peaceful nation, and that our primary effort must be directed toward maintenance and advancement of a standard of living which is the wonder of the world. Our military program, essential as it is, must not become the mainstay of our prosperity, but must be adapted to an economy directed toward the improvement of ourselves, and the sharing of our achievements with the less fortunate peoples of the world.

To do this we must strike a delicate balance, and this can best be accomplished by placing greater reliance upon the weapons and equipment which modern science has given us. Of necessity we must turn our attention and efforts to greater emphasis upon the atom bomb and hydrogen bomb, and to the means of delivering them to the target, for it is in these weapons that we find the greatest deterrent to our enemy. It is almost inconceivable that any national leader, even one in the Kremlin, knowing the tremendous destructive power of these weapons, would be so insane as to unleash them upon his people and bring upon them the horror and suffering which they can produce. We must expand our guided missile program, both in terms of production and research, for in this device apparently lies the key to the defense of our cities. You have all seen the recent releases about "Nike", that classically named marvel of electronics, almost unbelievable in its reactions, which when once launched, can locate its objective, direct itself toward it, and destroy it, all without human intervention. When we remember this device is the produce of only a relatively few years of scientific research and technical effort, we can only wonder at the achievements which lie before us.



By placing greater reliance upon these modern weapons, costly as such a program may appear, we can achieve our objective of a strong national defense while reducing its cost and its effect upon our economy. We can thus reduce in some measure the tax burden which we must all bear, leave our industry largely free to produce the goods of peace, and limit the number of young men we must take into the armed services. If such a course accomplished nothing more, this last objective would be well worth the cost, for the maintenance of a large military force is the most expensive aspect of our defensive effort, both in terms of dollars and in terms of its impact upon the lives and careers of our sons. We cannot, and must not, in the name of defense, spend ourselves into bankruptcy and mortgage our nation's future to such an extent that our enemy will achieve, through our economic collapse, the victory he so ardently desires.

In developing and expanding our nuclear weapons we must not forget that the basic forces which they employ have tremendous and unforeseen potentialities for peaceful applications. In the small beginnings which have been made in the use of radioactive materials in medicine, we can see already the possibility of discovering the cause and cure of many maladies which afflict mankind and which have resisted our best efforts to control and eliminate them. The great energies released in atomic fission give promise of resources of power never even dreamed of a few years ago, and open before us a view of a world in which starvation and poverty have no place. In order to hasten the day when these potentialities will be realized, we must as quickly and as fully as military necessities will permit, open these new fields to private initiative and enterprise. It was these forces, operating free of governmental control and direction, which brought us to our present high level, and it makes sense that now they should be given the new tools to work with, to see what practical benefits will accrue to all mankind.

We, of course, are not alone in our struggle against world communism. There are other nations who enjoy freedom and who cherish it as devotedly as we do. As President Eisenhower has so aptly stated, "More closely than ever before, American freedom is interlocked with the freedom of other people. In the unity of the free world lies our best chance to reduce the Communist threat without war. In the task of maintaining this unity and strengthening all its parts, the greatest responsibility falls to those who, like ourselves, retain the most freedom and the most strength."

Our job, therefore, is to strengthen and extend those alliances like the North Atlantic Treaty, in which we have joined with other nations, and by which we present a united front to our common enemy. In doing so, however, we must not forget



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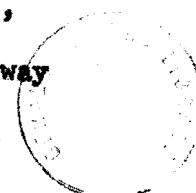
that we are a sovereign nation among sovereign nations. We cannot dictate, but must lead and we must recognize that each of our allies has its own background and problems which may result in attitudes and opinions different from ours. We must be tolerant of these differences, just as we are tolerant of differences amongst ourselves, and we must seek by persuasion and compromise to reach a common ground. To resort to any other course would be to follow the pattern of the Communists who are so unsure of themselves that they cannot cooperate, but must conquer and dictate to ensure even superficial loyalty of other peoples.

In dealing with our allies, however, we must insist upon the mutuality of our obligations. Although we are the largest and strongest of the free nations, our resources are not unlimited, and we cannot be expected to shoulder the burden of our common defense alone. To do so could only result in our ultimate weakness, and in bringing about the disaster we have united to prevent. Each nation must contribute to our mutual defense according to its ability, and none must be permitted to shirk its responsibility in this respect. By following this course, we will develop the spiritual unity which comes from sharing a common burden and our conviction of ultimate victory will be strengthened.

Unfortunately there are in the world some peoples and their leaders who would stand aloof from the basic struggle in which we are engaged. It is true some of these people have only recently achieved national independence and consequently are faced with domestic problems of overwhelming magnitude, comparable to those which our nation faced almost two centuries ago. To these we must extend our friendship, and we must stand ready to offer any reasonable material assistance that they need. This aid and assistance, however, must be intelligently and constructively limited, for only by self-reliance can they achieve the dignity of free men.

As concerned as we must be with the international aspects of our responsibilities as free men, we must not neglect our obligation to establish a strong and developing economy at home. Indeed, unless we maintain a high measure of domestic prosperity we cannot hope to achieve our international objectives, for it is that prosperity which supports our military program and underlies our efforts to make peace secure.

To achieve this goal, all segments of our people must cooperate, and none must seek to gain an unfair advantage at the expense of another. While there are, and will be, differences among us as to how our prosperity can best be obtained, and these differences will in some measure reflect our station in life and the way we earn our living, we must never permit them to become crystallized into class



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There are those among us who hold the view that our industrial society has become so complex that we no longer can afford to encourage private enterprise, but must look to the federal government as somewhat of a parent whose duty it is to feed and clothe its children, and to see that they are all properly sheltered. With this theory I cannot agree. We must remember that a parental government, once it undertakes the colossal job of directly clothing, feeding and sheltering its brood, inevitably must restrict their freedom and direct their day by day activities into rigid channels the all-powerful government deems best for them. Our government, of course, has its rightful responsibilities in the promotion of our economic welfare, but its powers in this connection are, and must continue to be restricted to certain areas of activity. We must beware of, and avoid the tendency toward parental government, for in that direction lies the end of our freedom.

In the troubled times in which we live, it is only natural that the material aspects of our responsibilities under freedom should give us so much concern and demand so much of our attention. Our entire way of life is under attack by an enemy motivated and guided by a materialistic philosophy, and we cannot afford to neglect those things in which he professes to find his strength, and by which he seeks to dominate the world. If we did otherwise we would fail to meet the challenge which

has been laid down to us.

Despite this urgency, however, we must not forget our responsibilities to the spiritual and intellectual aspects of our freedom. It is these which distinguish us from our enemy, and which in the long run, constitute our greatest strength. The Communist regards man as only a part of a machine which must move in predetermined patterns dictated by the movements of other parts, and by the will of the state as the supreme operator. We, on the other hand, profess and uphold the dignity of man as an individual possessing a free will and capable of achieving his goals in cooperation with other men. We insist that men can determine what is best for themselves, only if they are free to think about and discuss alternative courses of action, and that there is no man, or group of men, so wise and so omniscient that they can lay down the objectives which should be sought, and the paths which should be followed. It is because we adhere to these principles that we will ultimately triumph, for it is these which constitute our strongest appeal to the minds of men all over the world, and which will finally win over the untold millions which the Communist rulers have enslaved.

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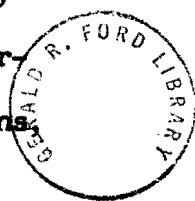
In order to formulate their opinions and ideas men must have access to knowledge and information, and we must encourage and develop the instrumentalities which disseminate them. Perhaps the greatest developments of our industrial age are to be found in the field of communication, and the facilities which we have created must be free from governmental dictation. The citizens who print our books and newspapers, and who operate our radio and television stations must be free of unnecessary and unwise control and censorship lest these devices be the means of imposing political oppression. In the hands of free men, these facilities are the tools of freedom, but in the hands of tyrants they are the means of establishing and maintaining power. The men who own and control them, of course, have the tremendous responsibility of seeing that they serve their proper function and operate in the public good. They must not be used in such a manner that they promote sensationalism, hysteria, or crime. The owners and producers, if they live up to their responsibilities to society as a whole, will not seek temporary commercial success at the expense of the public good. Furthermore, as they must know, disregard for the public welfare will inevitably result in local, state and federal governmental interference in their day to day operations.

This access to knowledge, of course, must extend to all fields and must include theories and viewpoints which may be unpopular. Our scientists and scholars must be free to experiment and to challenge established beliefs for it is through such experimentation and challenge that we have made our greatest strides forward. Furthermore, we must all be given access to their findings and conclusions, for unless they are available to all, they lose their value.

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But in exposing and destroying this evil we must be careful. We must do it within the framework of the principles and guaranties upon which we place such high value, and we must not become like our enemy in our struggles against him. Our efforts must be directed against the true adherents of Communism and we must not be diverted to attacks upon the innocent simply because they hold opinions opposed to our own, or behave in a manner of which we do not approve. To do otherwise would permit the guilty to escape and allow them to carry on their nefarious work.

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tage and we must give them a full appreciation and understanding of the values which have made this nation great. The youth of our nation is our greatest resource and we must not neglect it.

In the last fifteen years, circumstances forced us to devote the principal part of our energies to the winning of a major war, and the preparation of our military defenses, and we were not able to build the schools and other educational facilities which normally would have been constructed. The fact that in this period our population has increased tremendously has aggravated the inadequacy of our present equipment. In almost every area of the country we find schools that are old and dilapidated, classrooms that are overcrowded, and playground facilities that are inadequate.

Our first step, then, must be to build new schools, adequate to our present needs and the needs of the immediate future. This, of course, is a matter of community and state responsibility, and we as parents and teachers must see to it that our local governments take the necessary measures to remedy the situation. It is groups such as yours which must take the initiative in planning and preparing programs, for only you know best the needs of the community, and the means by which they can be most expediently met. All of us can be rightfully proud of the forward-looking action taken by our citizens in this area in meeting the school facilities problem. The results will pay big dividends in the years ahead and our children can thank those responsible for having accomplished the job within the community without interference or bureaucracy-diminished dollars from Washington.

But even more alarming, and less easy to overcome, than the inadequacy of the physical equipment of our school systems, is the shortage of teachers which exists throughout the nation. The reasons for this are apparent. The salaries which most communities pay our teachers have not kept pace with the rise in the cost of living which has occurred over the past few years, and many young men and women who otherwise might have entered the profession have understandably turned to more profitable fields of endeavor. Regrettably many communities have neglected to uphold the dignity of the profession and to accord it the high respect it deserves. The teaching of our children is no menial task. Individually we should give rightful credit to our teachers who have played such an important part in shaping our own lives and in addition recognize the vital part they play in the future of our nation.

We entrust to our teachers the guardianship and guidance of the minds of our children, and we must be sure that the men and women who undertake these tasks are well-qualified, well paid and well-respected. Only by doing this can we be sure that we will attract into teaching the number and quality of men and women we so urgently

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It is only through promoting and extending our school systems that we can hope to equip our children properly for the tasks that lie before them in the atomic age which we have created. Only if we can instill in them a profound appreciation of the value of freedom can we prevent them from becoming slaves of the materialism which now plagues and threatens us. This we must not fail to do.

Finally, there is one other responsibility which we must not forget. This is the responsibility of faith. We may build the strongest defense, acquire the greatest wealth, and prosper in all material things, but our accomplishments will have little meaning if they do not rest upon a firm spiritual foundation. It was strength of spirit which made possible the founding of this nation, and it was that strength which supported it through its adversities and brought it victory in the wars it has fought. We must renew and replenish that strength. With faith in God, faith in ourselves, and faith in our freedom, we will surmount the obstacles which lie before us and establish a secure peace in a world where free men may work and live without fear.



Speech by -

REPRESENTATIVE GERALD R. FORD, JR.

P. T. A. Founders Day Banquet

Grand Rapids Civic Auditorium, February 17, 1954

We Americans are a wealthy nation. We are wealthy not only in material things, the natural resources with which we have been blessed, and the high standard of living we have been able to produce from them, but we are wealthy as well because of the liberties we enjoy and the traditions of freedom which are so essential a part of our national heritage, and which have grown and strengthened in the one hundred and eighty years of our independence.

The freedom of enterprise and initiative, the personal liberties, and the freedom of election which we enjoy have been so long a part of our way of life that we sometimes forget that they are a part of our wealth, and that, like all articles of value, they must be guarded and protected. We also sometimes lose sight of the fact that he who possesses wealth also bears a corresponding responsibility, and that this applies as well to our wealth of freedom as it does to our physical and material assets. It is about the responsibilities which our freedom imposes upon us today, both as a nation and as individuals, that I would like to discuss tonight.

There are men in the world today who envy and fear us. They are jealous of our tremendous material wealth, but they fear us far more because of our priceless freedom, for it is that freedom which is the source of our strength, and which constitutes the greatest threat to their power over hundreds of millions of people and their aspirations to ruthless world dominance. The Communist nations possess the fertility of soil and the metal and mineral deposits to feed, clothe, and house themselves as well as we have, and to produce the other comforts and luxuries which modern science and industry have provided, but they have miserably failed to do so. They have failed solely because they are enslaved by a tyranny so all pervading that it puts to shame any that have gone before. The tyrannical rulers of these nations, conscious of their failure and inability to fulfill the promises by which they led their people to forego freedom, have turned their unrest and dissatisfaction toward the free world, and have entered upon a colossal effort to destroy it. The leaders of the Communist conspiracy know full well that the existence of freedom is the most immediate and direct threat to their power, for the longer their distressed people see before them the magnificent achievements of free men, the more likely they are to discover the true reason for their hardship and suffering under tyranny, and to break the Kremlin-imposed bonds which prevent them from participating in those achievements.



This threat to our security, unfortunate and unnecessary as it appears to us, operates in large measure to define our responsibilities as free men in the world today. The United States, because it is spiritually and materially the wealthiest nation on earth, is the principal object of this Communist conspiracy, both from within and without, and consequently we will be the center of the resistance to its plans for world conquest. We are thus forced, against our will and desire, into a concern for some material things which we might otherwise avoid.

This then is our first responsibility as a nation under freedom. We must survive, and to do so, we must build and maintain our military strength so that we can defend ourselves against any attack, and we must be prepared to retaliate so surely and so destructively that our enemies will be convinced that their aggression will be suicidal. In so preparing ourselves, however, we must not lose sight of the fact that we are a peaceful nation, and that our primary effort must be directed toward maintenance and advancement of a standard of living which is the wonder of the world. Our military program, essential as it is, must not become the mainstay of our prosperity, but must be adapted to an economy directed toward the improvement of ourselves, and the sharing of our achievements with the less fortunate peoples of the world.

To do this we must strike a delicate balance, and this can best be accomplished by placing greater reliance upon the weapons and equipment which modern science has given us. Of necessity we must turn our attention and efforts to greater emphasis upon the atom bomb and hydrogen bomb, and to the means of delivering them to the target, for it is in these weapons that we find the greatest deterrent to our enemy. It is almost inconceivable that any national leader, even one in the Kremlin, knowing the tremendous destructive power of these weapons, would be so insane as to unleash them upon his people and bring upon them the horror and suffering which they can produce. We must expand our guided missile program, both in terms of production and research, for in this device apparently lies the key to the defense of our cities. You have all seen the recent releases about "Nike", that classically named marvel of electronics, almost unbelievable in its reactions, which when once launched, can locate its objective, direct itself toward it, and destroy it, all without human intervention. When we remember this device is the produce of only a relatively few years of scientific research and technical effort, we can only wonder at the achievements which lie before us.





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By placing greater reliance upon these modern weapons, costly as such a program may appear, we can achieve our objective of a strong national defense while reducing its cost and its effect upon our economy. We can thus reduce in some measure the tax burden which we must all bear, leave our industry largely free to produce the goods of peace, and limit the number of young men we must take into the armed services. If such a course accomplished nothing more, this last objective would be well worth the cost, for the maintenance of a large military force is the most expensive aspect of our defensive effort, both in terms of dollars and in terms of its impact upon the lives and careers of our sons. We cannot, and must not, in the name of defense, spend ourselves into bankruptcy and mortgage our nation's future to such an extent that our enemy will achieve, through our economic collapse, the victory he so ardently desires.

In developing and expanding our nuclear weapons we must not forget that the basic forces which they employ have tremendous and unforeseen potentialities for peaceful applications. In the small beginnings which have been made in the use of radioactive materials in medicine, we can see already the possibility of discovering the cause and cure of many maladies which afflict mankind and which have resisted our best efforts to control and eliminate them. The great energies released in atomic fission give promise of resources of power never even dreamed of a few years ago, and open before us a view of a world in which starvation and poverty have no place. In order to hasten the day when these potentialities will be realized, we must as quickly and as fully as military necessities will permit, open these new fields to private initiative and enterprise. It was these forces, operating free of governmental control and direction, which brought us to our present high level, and it makes sense that now they should be given the new tools to work with, to see what practical benefits will accrue to all mankind.

We, of course, are not alone in our struggle against world communism. There are other nations who enjoy freedom and who cherish it as devotedly as we do. As President Eisenhower has so aptly stated, "More closely than ever before, American freedom is interlocked with the freedom of other people. In the unity of the free world lies our best chance to reduce the Communist threat without war. In the task of maintaining this unity and strengthening all its parts, the greatest responsibility falls to those who, like ourselves, retain the most freedom and the most strength."

Our job, therefore, is to strengthen and extend those alliances like the North Atlantic Treaty, in which we have joined with other nations, and by which we present a united front to our common enemy. In doing so, however, we must not forget

that we are a sovereign nation among sovereign nations. We cannot dictate, but must lead and we must recognize that each of our allies has its own background and problems which may result in attitudes and opinions different from ours. We must be tolerant of these differences, just as we are tolerant of differences amongst ourselves, and we must seek by persuasion and compromise to reach a common ground. To resort to any other course would be to follow the pattern of the Communists who are so unsure of themselves that they cannot cooperate, but must conquer and dictate to ensure even superficial loyalty of other peoples.

In dealing with our allies, however, we must insist upon the mutuality of our obligations. Although we are the largest and strongest of the free nations, our resources are not unlimited, and we cannot be expected to shoulder the burden of our common defense alone. To do so could only result in our ultimate weakness, and in bringing about the disaster we have united to prevent. Each nation must contribute to our mutual defense according to its ability, and none must be permitted to shirk its responsibility in this respect. By following this course, we will develop the spiritual unity which comes from sharing a common burden and our conviction of ultimate victory will be strengthened.

Unfortunately there are in the world some peoples and their leaders who would stand aloof from the basic struggle in which we are engaged. It is true some of these people have only recently achieved national independence and consequently are faced with domestic problems of overwhelming magnitude, comparable to those which our nation faced almost two centuries ago. To these we must extend our friendship, and we must stand ready to offer any reasonable material assistance that they need. This aid and assistance, however, must be intelligently and constructively limited, for only by self-reliance can they achieve the dignity of free men.

As concerned as we must be with the international aspects of our responsibilities as free men, we must not neglect our obligation to establish a strong and developing economy at home. Indeed, unless we maintain a high measure of domestic prosperity we cannot hope to achieve our international objectives, for it is that prosperity which supports our military program and underlies our efforts to make peace secure.

To achieve this goal, all segments of our people must cooperate, and none must seek to gain an unfair advantage at the expense of another. While there are, and will be, differences among us as to how our prosperity can best be obtained, and these differences will in some measure reflect our station in life and the way we earn our living, we must never permit them to become crystallized into class





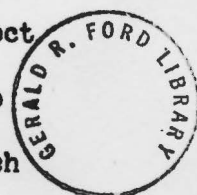
attitudes. It is the theory of the class struggle, labor against capital, which underlies the Marxian philosophy, and this is the tool by which the modern Communist hopes to create dissension among us and to weaken our cause.

We are a rich nation and we are better nourished, better clothed, and better housed than any other people on earth. The automobile, the radio and television, and the telephone, which to us have become so commonplace, are still regarded as luxuries by the ordinary citizen in many other countries, and even the bathtub, to us a necessity, is as rare as a precious jewel in many areas. Although we have slums in our large cities, and some rural areas do not enjoy a full measure of modern comfort, we can, and will eliminate these deficiencies.

Our prosperity must be achieved through the medium of private enterprise and initiative. It is because we have been free to accumulate capital, and to risk it in new and untried undertakings that we have been able to attain the high levels we have reached, and it is this freedom upon which we must rely to carry us forward. True progress can be made only if we are able, through our own efforts, to make a little more than we need, and to use this surplus to earn more of the world's goods for us. This freedom must be preserved and nurtured, for it is the foundation upon which our entire structure of liberty rests.

There are those among us who hold the view that our industrial society has become so complex that we no longer can afford to encourage private enterprise, but must look to the federal government as somewhat of a parent whose duty it is to feed and clothe its children, and to see that they are all properly sheltered. With this theory I cannot agree. We must remember that a parental government, once it undertakes the colossal job of directly clothing, feeding and sheltering its brood, inevitably must restrict their freedom and direct their day by day activities into rigid channels the all-powerful government deems best for them. Our government, of course, has its rightful responsibilities in the promotion of our economic welfare, but its powers in this connection are, and must continue to be restricted to certain areas of activity. We must beware of, and avoid the tendency toward parental government, for in that direction lies the end of our freedom.

In the troubled times in which we live, it is only natural that the material aspects of our responsibilities under freedom should give us so much concern and demand so much of our attention. Our entire way of life is under attack by an enemy motivated and guided by a materialistic philosophy, and we cannot afford to neglect those things in which he professes to find his strength, and by which he seeks to dominate the world. If we did otherwise we would fail to meet the challenge which



has been laid down to us.

Despite this urgency, however, we must not forget our responsibilities to the spiritual and intellectual aspects of our freedom. It is these which distinguish us from our enemy, and which in the long run, constitute our greatest strength. The Communist regards man as only a part of a machine which must move in predetermined patterns dictated by the movements of other parts, and by the will of the state as the supreme operator. We, on the other hand, profess and uphold the dignity of man as an individual possessing a free will and capable of achieving his goals in cooperation with other men. We insist that men can determine what is best for themselves, only if they are free to think about and discuss alternative courses of action, and that there is no man, or group of men, so wise and so omniscient that they can lay down the objectives which should be sought, and the paths which should be followed. It is because we adhere to these principles that we will ultimately triumph, for it is these which constitute our strongest appeal to the minds of men all over the world, and which will finally win over the untold millions which the Communist rulers have enslaved.

To achieve this end, our first responsibility is to strengthen our freedom here at home. We must preserve and strengthen the right of every man to formulate and hold to his own opinions on religious, political, and social questions, and we must guarantee his right to speak and discuss them. The problems which we face in these areas today, complex and vexing though they are, are no different in their basic nature than those which have troubled men since the time they first appeared on this earth. They have continued to plague man only because he was not free through the greater part of his history, to discuss them, but labored under one kind of oppression or another which forced him into patterns determined upon by rulers who thought that they had found the answers. The fact that these tyrannies passed away is clear proof that the tyrants were wrong and the same fate awaits their modern day imitators.

Opinions and ideas, like commodities, receive their greatest test in the free competition of the market place, and it is only the best that can survive that competition. The great and far-seeing men who drafted our Constitution, and insisted upon inclusion of the Bill of Rights, recognized this principle, and nothing which has occurred since that day has weakened its truth. Man has enjoyed the rights of freedom of religion, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press only for a relatively few years, and in that period has made his greatest progress in his forward march. We must continue that progress by guarding and preserving the liberties which made it possible.





In order to formulate their opinions and ideas men must have access to knowledge and information, and we must encourage and develop the instrumentalities which disseminate them. Perhaps the greatest developments of our industrial age are to be found in the field of communication, and the facilities which we have created must be free from governmental dictation. The citizens who print our books and newspapers, and who operate our radio and television stations must be free of unnecessary and unwise control and censorship lest these devices be the means of imposing political oppression. In the hands of free men, these facilities are the tools of freedom, but in the hands of tyrants they are the means of establishing and maintaining power. The men who own and control them, of course, have the tremendous responsibility of seeing that they serve their proper function and operate in the public good. They must not be used in such a manner that they promote sensationalism, hysteria, or crime. The owners and producers, if they live up to their responsibilities to society as a whole, will not seek temporary commercial success at the expense of the public good. Furthermore, as they must know, disregard for the public welfare will inevitably result in local, state and federal governmental interference in their day to day operations.

This access to knowledge, of course, must extend to all fields and must include theories and viewpoints which may be unpopular. Our scientists and scholars must be free to experiment and to challenge established beliefs for it is through such experimentation and challenge that we have made our greatest strides forward. Furthermore, we must all be given access to their findings and conclusions, for unless they are available to all, they lose their value.

Liberty, of course, is not license, and to advocate and defend freedom of speech and discussion does not mean that we must not protect ourselves against those who naively or willfully abuse them.

The leaders of world communism are ruthless and crafty men. One of the principal techniques they have used to facilitate their conquests is that of creating dissension among the citizens of the nation they seek to overcome, and of having those among them who share their views insinuate themselves into positions of authority and power. In recent years, this has been one of the most serious threats which we have faced.

Unfortunately, there are here in America, some who have been so beguiled by the siren song of Communism that they have enlisted in its cause and sought to overthrow the system which nurtured them. Concealing their true motives and intentions, they have risen to positions of authority and power in our government, and by



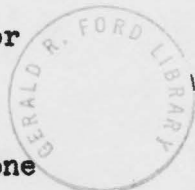
misguiding its policies and misdirecting its actions, have sought to weaken and ultimately destroy it. Many of these have been discovered and exposed to public view, but we must be vigilant lest others take their places.

To do this is not to destroy freedom, but to preserve it, for these people are the enemies of freedom. Professing a love of liberty, they have used it as a shield to carry on their insidious labors at the direction of a foreign power. This we cannot permit!

But in exposing and destroying this evil we must be careful. We must do it within the framework of the principles and guaranties upon which we place such high value, and we must not become like our enemy in our struggles against him. Our efforts must be directed against the true adherents of Communism and we must not be diverted to attacks upon the innocent simply because they hold opinions opposed to our own, or behave in a manner of which we do not approve. To do otherwise would permit the guilty to escape and allow them to carry on their nefarious work.

We are a diverse nation, composed of many different racial groupings and embracing many different religious beliefs and creeds. If we are to remain a free nation, each of us must become tolerant of our neighbors; tolerant not in the sense of putting up with something, as a parent is tolerant of a fractious child, but tolerant in the sense of understanding. While we all hold to our own beliefs and live up to them as our conscience dictates, we must recognize and defend the rights of others to pursue the same course. We must learn to value and appreciate each man for what he is, and to judge him upon the basis of what he has done, and we must oppose discriminations based upon race, creed, or color. This must be done not only because it is fundamental to the principles we profess, but because the existence of such discrimination in our midst, small though it be, has been used by Communist propagandists in their efforts to gain the adherence of some peoples whose friendship we desire. But there is another and more positive reason why we must do this. We are engaged in a colossal task, and the problems which we face are almost overwhelming. To achieve success, we must draw upon our human resources to the fullest extent, and each of our citizens must be permitted to contribute his share according to his abilities and unhindered by artificial barriers. We cannot afford waste, and to deny a man the privilege of contributing to our common effort because of his color or religious beliefs is waste of the most inexcusable kind.

Another primary responsibility which is imposed upon us as free men, and one which is particularly important today, is that of educating our children in the ways of freedom. It is primarily for them that we labor and strive to preserve our heri-





tage and we must give them a full appreciation and understanding of the values which have made this nation great. The youth of our nation is our greatest resource and we must not neglect it.

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