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[ca. Aug. 1954]

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

I don't mind admitting that when I first began to consider what I was going to talk about today I was somewhat puzzled by the announced title of my speech. It seemed to me to be somewhat ambiguous and in its narrowest interpretation to call for some rather specific forecasting. While there are people who believe that they can tell you what the stock-market is going to do and when it is going to do it or just exactly how little prosperity we are going to have six months or a year from now, I must confess that I am not one of these and that I do not possess the clairvoyance to make such specific predictions.

After some reflection, however, I came to the conclusion that there was a broader approach to the subject and that I didn't have to borrow a crystal ball after all. We can, by standing aside for the moment from the tumult of our daily lives and avoiding the confusion of our immediate affairs, perceive at work certain deeper forces which in some measure portend the future and define the kind of world we may expect to ^{live} ~~live~~ in and the obligations we will have to meet. It is this approach I would like to follow today.

On the National Archives Building in Washington there is engraved the motto "What is past is prelude." In these words is to be found the guiding principle for any one who undertakes the difficult task of trying to picture even the broadest outlines of the future. Only by reviewing what has gone before and understanding what is going on now can we gain any insight into what is to come. To answer the question "Where do we go from here?" we must begin by finding out where we are.

Whether we like it or not, the most significant factor in the world today is the Communist drive toward world domination. The leaders of



this evil conspiracy having consolidated their position in Russia, are embarked upon a program of expansion, aggression, and subversion which has as its goal the subjection of the entire world to their dreadful tyranny. While the intensity of their effort may ebb and flow and the direction of their path may change from time to time they never lose sight of the ultimate objective laid down for them by their false prophets and all of their activities are directed to this end. Indeed, the variation in pressure and the zigzag course are an integral part of the strategy ~~of~~ prescribed by Lenin, ^{their} ~~this~~ master planner.

The men in the Kremlin are not motivated by a desire for territorial aggrandizement alone, but are guided by a philosophy which abjures all of the religious, moral, and social values of the free world and which denies the validity of the fundamental principles upon which these values are based. They covet not only the land and wealth of the free nations; they seek also to destroy the civilization achieved by these nations and to replace it with a way of life molded in their own distorted pattern. They would replace our ^{faith} ~~faith~~ in God and our belief in man's salvation with their materialistic atheism; they would ^{substitute} ~~substitute~~ for our devotion to the principles of truth and honor among men the amorality of their belief that the end justifies any means; and they would supplant our reliance upon freedom and co-operation with their dependence upon force and conformity. In the view of the Communist leaders, the nations they rule and those they would conquer are not composed of individuals endowed with an immortal soul and capable of living in freedom, but are merely masses to be held in subjection and regulated in every phase of their lives.

Because the final objective of this monstrous conspiracy is the total destruction of freedom everywhere and the enslavement of all mankind, its attack is all-encompassing and there is no limit to the tactics and weapons it employs. It attacks in all spheres - diplomatic, economic, and military.



The propagandist, the spy, the traitor and the subversive are its servants and when these are not enough it turns to the seldier to advance its conquests.

The sciences, the arts, the professions, and even religion are not regarded as independent spheres of activity with their own goals, but are considered merely techniques to be used in the promotion of this awful tyranny. All phases of human endeavor, regardless of their significance in the total scheme of things must be directed to the service of this evil cause.

The threat of world communism, furthermore, is not a temporary one. Its leaders plan not for decades or even centuries, but for an entire historical era. They recognize the long drawn-out character of the struggle they have initiated and are preparing themselves accordingly. They may be expected to continue in their chosen course until they are made to realize that the light of freedom cannot be extinguished and that further aggression on their part will only lead to their destruction.

This, then, is the nature of the threat which we now face and which we are likely to face for some time to come. The United States is the richest and freest nation on earth and as such we epitomize all that the Communists fear and despise. Possessing only six percent of the world's population we have acquired almost fifty percent of its wealth and we have developed the highest standard of living ever achieved by mankind. Following the ways of freedom, our people as a whole enjoy a degree of comfort and personal security which even the mightiest in the Communist hierarchy cannot hope to achieve.

Because this is so, we are the principal obstacle in the path of the would be world rulers in the Kremlin and we are the main object of their attack. They envy our wealth, of course, but more importantly they fear



and despise our freedom for it stands in sharp contrast to the system of slavery they have imposed upon their own people and these they have conquered and holds out to their subjects the promise of a better way of life if they but destroy the evil tyranny that has overwhelmed them.

The mantle of leadership of the free world has thus been thrust upon the United States and we are the bulwark of its resistance to the awful threat which it faces. A substantial part of our attention and effort in the days to come, therefore, will have to be devoted to the problems of strengthening our national security and to achieving unity among the nations which are on our side in this colossal struggle.

First and foremost, we will have to maintain and develop our military strength to meet ~~the~~ whatever form of aggression our enemy may undertake. We will have to continue to manufacture atomic and hydrogen bombs and to build the aircraft capable of delivering them to the targets for only by being ready and able to retaliate with even greater force^c can we hope to avoid an attack upon us with these horrible weapons of mass destruction. Slim though this hope may be, we must rely upon it for to neglect our preparation in this respect would leave us without any fully effective means of avoiding the ultimate attack. While history has shown that the power of retaliation has often failed to deter aggression, it must be recognized that never before has that power been so sure and so complete, and it is inconceivable that even the leaders of Soviet Russia, bent as they are upon world rule, would be willing to destroy themselves and their people to achieve their goal.

In preparing for total war, however, we must recognize that it is also a part of ^{the} tactics/ of the leaders of world communism to engage in localized



attacks, such as those which were launched in Korea and Indo-China, whereby they seek to bring within their realm peoples and resources now outside of the Iron Curtain. This piecemeal gnawing at the free world must be resisted and to do so we will have to maintain the numerical strength of our armed forces and continue to equip them with the conventional weapons of warfare. This means, of course, that military training will continue to be the lot of our young men and we must be prepared to expand this obligation if and when circumstances require such action. We must also develop and maintain our reserves and establish adequate programs of training, for only by doing so can we build the strength and flexibility which our armed services require.

While the Communist attack is centered upon the United States, we are not alone in this struggle for survival and there are other nations whose liberty and independence are as much at stake as ours. In the days to come, much of our attention will have to be devoted to uniting these nations with ourselves into a solid bloc in opposition to Communist ambitions. Of course, we are concerned as a matter of principle in maintaining the integrity and well-being of these countries ^{which share} ~~who share~~ our devotion to freedom and who seek to work out their own destinies, but we must also recognize that they bring to our cause resources and manpower which we vitally need to match the strength of our enemy and that they provide bases which substantially increase the effectiveness of our air power. Our programs of military assistance and economic aid cannot be judged solely in humanitarian terms but must be considered also as expenditures for our defense, for in building the strength of our friends and helping in the maintenance of their prosperity ~~we~~ are contributing to our own national security as well as to theirs.

In recent weeks our efforts to build the collective security of the free world have received some setbacks which have given encouragement



to these who would have us reverse our policy and "go it alone." We must remember, in evaluating events like the unhappy settlement in Indo-China and the failure of France to ratify the European Defense Treaty, that, unlike our enemy who achieves unity through conquest, we are striving for the unity of sovereign nations through co-operation and we must not lose hope because our progress is not always uninterrupted. Our role is one of leadership, not compulsion, and we must demonstrate our capacity for that leadership by finding new bases for agreement when a proposed course of action fails to receive the necessary approval of our allies. The task before us is indeed difficult, but we must not diminish our efforts lest the Communist aggressors achieve that division in the free world so essential to their victory.

It appears, then, that matters of national defense and foreign affairs are likely to absorb much of our attention in the foreseeable future, ~~to defeat their evil designs.~~ Important as these matters are, however, they must not become our sole concern and they must not deter us from maintaining a strong economy devoted principally to the production of the goods of peace and advancing the standard of living of all our citizens. Indeed, in achieving these objectives we will be forging our strongest weapon against the Red tyrants, for by showing what can be achieved by free men working without fear we will demonstrate the falseness of the doctrines they preach and hold forth to their subjects the promise of participating in a better life if they but throw off the despotism which restrains them.

But what are our prospects in this connection? Do we face the depression and collapse which have been predicted by some since the end of World War II or do we stand at the threshold of a period of expansion and prosperity never even dreamed of a few short years ago? What course must



we follow to avoid the one and achieve the other?

I could attempt to provide an answer to these questions by talking about such things as changes in the gross national product, the ~~xxx~~ rise and fall of disposable personal income, and similar statistical measurements, but I don't think it would be very helpful. There are some who place great store in the past performances of our economy in its various aspects and who profess to find the key to the future in comparisons of last month's or last quarter's results with results in the same period last year. While I do not wish to find fault with this technique or to underestimate the importance of statistics of this sort, I should like to point out that the conclusions which are drawn from these comparisons all too frequently depend upon the predilections and the political philosophy of the one who draws them and that the same set of figures are often quoted in support of ~~diametrically~~ diametrically opposed views. It also seems to me that this approach deals with effects rather than causes and tends to emphasize the details while overlooking some of the underlying, and sometimes qualitative, factors which are operating to shape our economic future.

Let us look at some of these factors:

First, there is the tremendous production^{ive} capacity which this country possesses. We have the facilities, tools, and equipment to manufacture more steel, copper, and aluminum than any other nation and to fabricate these basic metals into more automobiles, household appliances, and the other consumers' goods which are necessities to us but luxuries elsewhere, and we can, and do, produce more food and clothing than any other country.

In some quarters our great production^{ive} capacity is looked



upon with misgiving and regarded as a burden upon the orderly functioning of our economy. I am wholeheartedly and unqualifiedly in disagreement with this point of view. It seems to me that there is a twisted logic in the argument that we are unfortunate because we are able to produce so many of the necessities and comforts of life. Our machines and ^{tools} are not like a miser's coin to be cherished for themselves, but find their justification only in the goods which they can produce and their very existence created a pressure for their use. They are the reason for our ever increasing productivity and a necessary condition to the advancement of our standard of living.

A second important element portending our future is to be found in the rapid rate at which our population is rising. I remember when I was in college not so many years ago some of our sociologists viewed with great alarm the trends which they purported to find in our census figures and predicted a dire future for the United States as a decadent and declining nation. These prophets of doom must be embarrassed, to say the least, by the fact that today we are a country of over 162 million people, that our population is growing at a faster rate than it ever has before, and that for the past six years it has grown at a faster rate than it did in the previous forty years.

This increasing population, of course, means^a/growing market for the houses, the automobiles, and the other goods which we are capable of turning out and will insure the utilization of our present production capacity and more.

A third basic factor, and one which is not capable of statistical measurement, ~~lies~~ lies in the genius of our scientists and inventors



and in the organizing ability of our industrial engineers. These men are constantly developing new products to satisfy our wants and devising new techniques for producing our goods more efficiently, and developments in the atomic sciences have opened to them new vistas which were beyond comprehension only a decade ago. After contemplating the ~~the~~ ^{tremendous} power generated in atomic fission, the miracles of television and radar, and the wonder of supersonic speed, who is bold enough to predict what new products and technological advances will come out of our laboratories in the years which ~~like~~ lie ahead?

These three factors - tremendous productive capacity, an expanding market, and a talent for invention and organization - give promise of an era of unlimited expansion and prosperity for all. An era in which we can conquer all of the ills which beset us and provide a standard of living which transcends our imagination.

Yes, the basic ingredients for tremendous advancement are present today and we need only provide the "climate" necessary to enable these forces to bring to actuality the promise which they hold forth.

We must never forget that we have reached our present high estate and have built the basis for our future progress only because we have been able to accumulate our savings and have been free to risk our capital in expanding old and building new enterprises. Freedom of enterprise, individual initiative, and competition are the basic forces which have brought us to where we are and they are the only means by which we can hope to move forward to the heights before us.

If proof of this be needed, we have only to consider the conditions prevailing in Soviet Russia today to find it. Despite their



tremendous man power and material resources, the Communists have achieved comparatively little improvement in the standard of living of the people they rule and they continue to live in conditions of poverty and wretchedness. The productivity of their agricultural and industrial labor is at a very low level and they lack not only the comforts but even the necessities that modern technology is capable of providing. Because these people have not been free but have labored under an overwhelming bureaucracy which has regulated every phase of their lives and dictated the direction of all their activities,, they have been able to realize virtually none of the gains which lay within their power.

The warning in their experience is clear to us. Our citizens must be able to work and risk their savings free of government regulation and their capital must not be consumed in support of a burdensome and unproductive bureaucracy. Only by adhering to and developing the economic freedom which made this nation great can we hope to retain the political and civil liberties which we cherish and achieve the wealth and security ~~which~~ which is available to us.

We live in difficult times and the path before us is steep and tortuous, but we must not lose sight of the goals which lie before us. We stand not at the end of our greatness, but at the beginning of an era of opportunity for advancement heretofore undreamed of and if we strengthen our freedom and maintain our faith in God and ourselves we will surmount the obstacles and reach the heights.

