

The original documents are located in Box D20, folder “Commencement Address, Parsons College, Fairfield, IA, June 11, 1966” of the Ford Congressional Papers: Press Secretary and Speech File at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS--PARSONS COLLEGE, JUNE 11, 1966

"NOW IS THE HOUR"

File
WHENEVER A MAN IS ASKED TO SPEAK TO A GRADUATING CLASS, HE AUTOMATICALLY THINKS BACK TO HIS OWN GRADUATION DAY.

THIS IS ALWAYS A RATHER DISCOURAGING EXPERIENCE BECAUSE I REALIZE THAT WHATEVER THE ADVICE MY UNIVERSITY COMMENCEMENT SPEAKER GAVE ME--I JUST CAN'T REMEMBER IT.

I HAVE NO ILLUSIONS AS TO THE FATE OF MY MESSAGE--^{*Today*}
BUT I'LL TRY.

YOU HAVE PURSUED THE ARTS AND SCIENCES FOR FOUR YEARS, AND HAVE SUCCESSFULLY EARNED A DEGREE.



YET, WE ALL KNOW THAT RECEIVING A COLLEGE DIPLOMA DOES NOT AUTOMATICALLY CONFER A LIBERAL EDUCATION ON YOU. IF ANYTHING, IT GIVES YOU, HOPEFULLY, THE ADDED ABILITY TO COMPREHEND AND COPE WITH WHAT IS GOING ON AROUND YOU. IT GIVES YOU THE ADDED SECURITY AND CAPACITY TO LEARN, TO THINK FOR YOURSELF. THIS IS THE MOST IMPORTANT ATTRIBUTE OF AN EDUCATED, ENLIGHTENED MAN.

from kindergarten to your degree here this afternoon
YOUR EDUCATION QUALIFIES YOU TO THINK FOR YOURSELF.

IF I GIVE YOU ANY PARTING WORDS OR SUGGESTIONS TODAY FOR A FULLER LIFE---THEY ARE---"NOW IS THE HOUR" TO EXPRESS YOURSELF; "NOW IS THE HOUR" TO THINK FOR YOURSELF.

I DO NOT MEAN YOU SHOULD NEVER THINK LIKE OTHER
PEOPLE. I MEAN | YOU SHOULD NEITHER BE A "KOOK" WHO
PRIDES HIMSELF ON BEING COMPLETELY DIFFERENT FROM
OTHERS--NOR A SHEEP WHO FOLLOWS OTHERS BLINDLY.

NOW IS THE HOUR FOR YOU TO RAISE PENETRATING BUT
CONSTRUCTIVE QUESTIONS ABOUT WHAT IS HAPPENING AROUND
YOU IN THIS COUNTRY AND IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD.

TO ILLUSTRATE--I COULD NOT BE TRUE TO MYSELF OR TO
MY CONSTITUENTS--IF I DID NOT INDEPENDENTLY MAKE
SUGGESTIONS, HELPFULLY I TRUST, TO OTHER PUBLIC
OFFICIALS, INCLUDING THE PRESIDENT, ACCORDING TO THE
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LET ME HASTEN TO ADD--WORDS ARE NOT ENOUGH--ONE

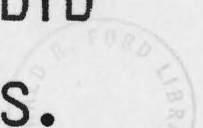


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NOW IS THE HOUR--TO PERSIST IN BEING HEARD, *sometimes alone, on other occasions with the help of some troops. But if you BELIEVE; BE HEARD.*
THINKING A PROBLEM THROUGH, BEING TRUE TO YOUR PRINCIPLES, IS THE INALIENABLE RIGHT GIVEN TO EVERY CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

NOW IS THE HOUR--WHEN WE DESPERATELY NEED AN INFORMED PUBLIC OPINION IN AMERICA. THIS IS ESPECIALLY TRUE IN THE AREA OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

A UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN SURVEY IN 1964 REVEALED THAT MORE THAN 25 PER CENT OF THOSE PERSONS QUESTIONED DID NOT KNOW THAT MAINLAND CHINA IS RULED BY COMMUNISTS.



ALMOST AS HIGH A PERCENTAGE, LESS THAN 2 YEARS AGO,
WERE UNAWARE THAT A WAR WAS GOING ON IN VIETNAM.

THAT SOUNDS INCREDIBLE. YET, THAT'S WHAT THE
SURVEY SHOWED.

WE DESPERATELY NEED AN ACCURATELY INFORMED AND ALERT
PUBLIC OPINION--FOR WE ARE IN THE MIDST OF A PERILOUS
AGE. THE FUTURE OF OUR GREAT COUNTRY, AND NO DOUBT
THE WORLD, LIES IN THE EXERCISE OF GOOD JUDGMENT BY
CITIZENS SUCH AS YOURSELF. PUBLIC OPINION DOES EXERCISE
A GUIDING AND RESTRAINING INFLUENCE ON YOUR GOVERNMENT.

EVERY CITIZEN WHO EXPRESSES HIMSELF IS AN IMPORTANT
CATALYST IN GETTING HIS LOCAL, STATE AND FEDERAL
GOVERNMENT TO PUT HIS CONVICTIONS TO WORK.




THOSE OF YOU IN THE ATTENTIVE PUBLIC WHO ARE ACTIVISTS--WHO THINK ABOUT FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND TRANSMIT YOUR IDEAS TO OTHERS--ARE THE IMPORTANT PEOPLE. YOU SERVE AS A KIND OF TRANSMISSION BELT BETWEEN THE POLICY MAKERS AND THE TOTAL PUBLIC. IN THE VIETNAM CRISIS, WHERE THERE ARE CURRENTS AND CROSS CURRENTS, SOME OBVIOUS, SOME DEVIOUS, THIS ROLE IS OF MAJOR CONSEQUENCE.

NOW IS THE HOUR--WHEN PEACE IS AN ISSUE OF GREAT URGENCY. THERE IS A DESPERATE NEED NOW TO THINK THROUGH THE ISSUE OF NUCLEAR EXTINCTION OR SURVIVAL. THERE IS A DEMAND FOR THE COMMON SENSE TREATMENT OF WORLD AND NATIONAL AFFAIRS. WE HAVE RARELY, IF EVER, HAD TOTAL WORLD PEACE.

NOW IS THE HOUR--WHEN OUR ANXIETIES ARE FURTHER
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BY COMMUNIST CHINA.

NOW IS THE HOUR--WHEN WE MUST SEEK TO LAY THE BASIS
FOR A DURABLE AND JUST PEACE. NOT PEACE AT ANY COST!
NOT PEACE BY APPEASEMENT OR CAPITULATION!

SOME THINK THAT PEACE CAN BE ATTAINED BY AN OVERNIGHT
CHANGE OF POLICY ON THE PART OF THE UNITED STATES TOWARD
COMMUNIST CHINA. BUT, ^{*"Containment but not isolation" is a new catch phrase.*} IT IS NOT ACCURATE TO CONTEND THAT
THE U.S. HAS KEPT COMMUNIST CHINA OUT OF THE UNITED
NATIONS. RED CHINA HAS SHUT ITSELF OUT OF THE UNITED
NATIONS BY REFUSING TO COMPLY WITH THE ^{*intent + purpose of the*} U.N. CHARTER
AND BY DEMANDING IMPOSSIBLE CHANGES IN THE U.N. AS



CONDITIONS FOR HER ENTRY INTO THAT ORGANIZATION.

SOME WOULD ADMIT COMMUNIST CHINA TO THE U.N. ON THE
BASIS OF A PROMISE TO LIVE UP TO THE CHARTER.

NOW IS THE HOUR--TO SAY ^{by Red China} A PROMISE IS NOT ENOUGH.

RED CHINA SHOULD PROVE BY ACTIONS THAT SHE IS WORTHY
OF U.N. MEMBERSHIP^① BY AGREEING TO MEANINGFUL PEACE
NEGOTIATIONS ON VIETNAM,^② BY ENDING ANY AND ALL
PARTICIPATION IN AGGRESSION, AND^③ BY CALLING FOR AN
IMMEDIATE CEASE-FIRE IN THAT BATTLE-FATIGUED NATION.

LET RED CHINA PROVE BY DEEDS, NOT JUST BY WORDS,
THAT SHE HAS ABANDONED AGGRESSION. THEN ONE OF THE
MAJOR OBSTACLES TO HER ENTRANCE INTO THIS INTERNATIONAL
ORGANIZATION WILL BE REMOVED.

THE UNITED STATES HAS LONG DEMONSTRATED ITS DEEP DESIRE TO ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF PEACE THROUGH THE RECONSTRUCTION OF A WAR-TORN WORLD AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THOSE BACKWARD AREAS ON A GLOBAL BASIS.

Let me mention & illustrate: WE HAVE INVESTED \$13 BILLION TO RESTORE WAR-DEVASTATED EUROPE.

THE UNITED STATES HAS DEVOTED \$116 BILLION IN AID TO 118 NATIONS DURING A 20-YEAR SPAN SINCE WORLD WAR II.

WE'VE INVESTED HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS TO SPEED AGRICULTURAL GROWTH IN THE UNDER-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD TO MEET FAMINE AND THE SPECTRE OF AN EVER-WIDENING POPULATION EXPLOSION.




WE'VE SPENT MILLIONS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD TO FIGHT DREAD DISEASES.

OUR CITIZENS HAVE SENT TEAMS FROM 71 AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES TO 38 COUNTRIES TO PROVIDE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE.

WE'VE PROVIDED TECHNICAL TRAINING TO FOREIGN VISITORS AT 126 AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES UNDER AID CONTRACTS TOTALLING \$185 MILLION.

WE'VE BUILT 237,000 CLASSROOMS IN OTHER COUNTRIES IN FIVE YEARS AND HAVE HELPED TO SET UP FOREIGN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES WHICH SINCE HAVE GRADUATED MORE THAN 637,000 TEACHERS.

A faint circular library stamp is visible in the bottom right corner of the page. The text within the stamp is partially legible and appears to read "UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARY" around the perimeter.

YES, AMERICANS ARE AN IDEALISTIC, GENEROUS PEOPLE;
BUT THEY ALSO ARE A COMMON-SENSE PEOPLE.

MOST RECOGNIZE THAT OUR FOREIGN ASSISTANCE HELPS
TO BREAK DOWN STAGNANT SOCIAL ORDERS WHICH TEND TO
KEEP THE MASS OF THEIR PEOPLE IN ECONOMIC SERFDOM, AND
OUR AID HELPS TO TRANSFORM BACKWARD ECONOMIES INTO *productive*
INDUSTRIAL NATION-STATES.


THE AMERICAN PEOPLE RECOGNIZE, TOO, THAT THESE
TRANSITIONS CAN BE HELPFUL BUILDING BLOCKS OF WORLD
PEACE.

IT MAY SEEM STRANGE TO TALK OF PEACE AS WE READ
REPORTS OF INCREASING AMERICAN CASUALTIES IN VIETNAM.

MANY IN THIS GRADUATING CLASS LEAVE THIS CAMPUS NOT TO ENGAGE IN THE WORKS OF PEACE AND PROGRESS FOR WHICH YOU HAVE BEEN EDUCATED BUT TO FIGHT A WAR. TO THOSE WHO WILL BEAR SACRIFICE, RISK, AND DANGER SO THAT MEN MAY BE FREE, THIS NATION OWES A DEBT OF GRATITUDE THAT CAN NEVER BE ADEQUATELY REPAID.

THE LEAST THE NATION CAN DO FOR THOSE WHO ARE SUBJECTED TO EXTRAORDINARY RISK AND SACRIFICE IS TO TAKE EVERY POSSIBLE STEP TO MINIMIZE AMERICAN CASUALTIES AND END THE CONFLICT HONORABLY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

THE NATION IS NOT DOING ALL THAT IT CAN TOWARD THESE OBJECTIVES WHEN IT FAILS TO USE ITS FULL ECONOMIC AND DIPLOMATIC RESOURCES IN SUPPORT OF ITS NECESSARY



MILITARY EFFORT. TO GIVE ONE EXAMPLE, THE NATION IS NOT USING THESE RESOURCES TO THE MAXIMUM WHEN THE SHIPS OF OUR ALLIES CONTINUE TO CARRY SUPPLIES, CERTAINLY SOME WEAPONS, TO NORTH VIETNAM, THEREBY PROLONGING THE CONFLICT AND INCREASING AMERICAN LOSSES.

I RETURN TO THE THEME OF PEACE, FOR THERE WILL BE AN END TO THE WAR IN VIETNAM, *if we stand firm against communist aggression & terror, and when the enemy realizes its terror & aggression cannot prevail. We do not insist on unconditional surrender of N/V. We do insist on the unconditional security of S.V.*
NOW IS THE HOUR--TO SPEED THAT DAY. AND LET US WORK TO MAKE THIS CONFLICT HOPEFULLY THE LAST CLASH OF ARMS, NOT THE PRELUDE TO ANOTHER BIGGER WAR.

NOW IS THE HOUR--WHEN DESPITE THE WHINE OF BOMBS AND BULLETS, WE MUST START ACTIVELY TO BUILD FOR PEACE.

APART FROM NEGOTIATIONS AT THE DIPLOMATIC LEVEL,
ANOTHER AVENUE TOWARD THE BUILDING OF PEACE--IS DOWN
THE PATH OF CULTURAL EXCHANGE. SCIENCE AND MUSIC ARE
UNIVERSAL LANGUAGES.

IN ALL COUNTRIES THE INTELLECTUALS CONSTITUTE AN
ISLAND OF INDEPENDENCE, EVEN WHEN SURROUNDED BY A SEA
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BELT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE TOTAL POPULATION;
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WHILE FURIOUSLY WHIPPING THEIR PEOPLE TOWARD INDUSTRIAL AND MILITARY GOALS.

THE CHANGES THE INTELLECTUALS CAN BRING ABOUT IN THE WORLD OF NATIONS WILL, I BELIEVE, IN THE END, PROTECT THE IDEAS OF PEACE AND PROGRESS FROM THE CRUSHING BLOWS OF HISTORY.

PERHAPS NO INTELLECTUAL, ^{even one} WITH A GREAT FACILITY FOR SELF-EXPRESSION, COULD CONVEY MORE CLEARLY THIS CONVICTION I HOLD THAN AN ASIAN STUDENT WHO HAD PONDERED LONG THE GREAT QUESTIONS OF WAR AND PEACE IN OUR TIME.

IN A LETTER TO A STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL, THIS STUDENT SAID IN MOST INTRIGUING ENGLISH: "SLOW BY SLOW,

IN THE LONG OF TIME, WE WILL SUCCESS."

WE CAN MOVE TOWARD PEACE IF WE OPEN UP LINES OF COMMUNICATIONS WITH PEOPLE EVERYWHERE; *if we stand firm on principle; if we insist on performance, not promises; and if we believe, really believe, in the blessings of America.*
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-17-

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FOR, NOW IS THE HOUR.

-END-



f from the desk of

William B. Prendergast

I have written in suggested changes by hand on the first 10 pages. The remaining pages are a re-write . The pitch is drastically changed from that of the original manuscript after page 10.

WBP



2nd Draft.

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS BY REP. GERALD R. FORD AT PARSONS COLLEGE

"NOW IS THE HOUR"

Whenever a man is asked to talk to a graduating class---
he automatically thinks back to his own graduation day.

This is always a rather discouraging experience for me,
because I realize that whatever the advice my university
commencement speaker gave me----I just can't remember it.

~~I could tell all of you to go out and live life to the
fullest, but that might be a pretty dangerous suggestion.~~

You have pursued the arts and sciences for four years,
and have successfully earned a degree.

Yet, we all know that receiving a college diploma does
not automatically confer a liberal education on ^{you}~~anyone~~. If
anything, it gives you, hopefully, the added ability to
comprehend and cope with what is going on around you. It
gives you the added security and capacity to learn to
think for yourself. This is the most important attribute



-2-

of an educated, enlightened man.

Your education qualifies you
~~YOU MUST LEARN~~ TO THINK FOR YOURSELF.

If I give you any parting words or suggestions today
for a fuller life,----they are----NOW IS THE HOUR to
express yourself and NOW IS THE HOUR to think for yourself.


I do not mean that you should never think like other
people. I mean you should neither be a "kook" who prides
himself on being completely different from others---nor
be a sheep who follows others blindly.

NOW IS THE HOUR.

raise questions about
for you to ~~evaluate~~ what is happening around you
in this country and in other parts of the world.

~~For example, as a life-long Republican and as the~~
~~Minority Leader of the House of Representatives, I will~~
~~always obey my Commander-in-Chief, the President of the~~
~~United States.~~

~~But,~~ I could not be true to myself or to my constituents,---
if I did not independently make constructive suggestions to
my President according to the best of my sincere beliefs---



and continually fight for their acceptance.

NOW IS THE HOUR

to persist in being heard.

Thinking ~~and following a thought and~~ a problem through,---
being true to your principles, ~~is not tyranny or un-American~~
~~it~~ is the inalienable right given to every citizen of the
United States.

NOW IS THE HOUR

when we desperately need an informed public opinion in
America. This is especially true in the area of foreign
affairs.

A University of Michigan survey in 1964 revealed that
more than 25 per cent of those persons questioned did not
know that mainland China is ruled by Communists.---Almost
as high a percentage were unaware that a war was going on
in Vietnam.

Do we have proof of this?



That sounds incredible doesn't it? Yet, that's what the survey showed.

We desperately need informed and alert public opinion,---
for we are now in the midst of a perilous age. The future
of our great country, and no doubt the world, lies in the

good judgment
~~effective~~ exercise of ~~this opinion~~ by people such as yourself.

For public opinion does exercise a guiding and restraining
~~Popular attitudes don't necessarily indicate specifically~~
influence on your government.

~~what action our government should take in a crisis. But, they~~

~~serve to let governmental leaders know what the boundary lines~~

~~are for their actions.~~

~~Why have I talked about the importance of an enlightened~~
~~electorate?~~

~~Because,~~ *Every* citizen who ~~succeeds in expressing~~
himself, ~~and not merely in feeling and thinking,~~ is an
important catalyst in getting his local, state and federal
government to put his convictions to work.

Those of you in the attentive public who are activists,
who think about foreign affairs and transmit your ideas to



others, ---are the important people. You serve as a kind of transmission belt between the policy makers and the total public.

NOW IS THE HOUR

peace is issue of great urgency
when ~~there~~ is a ~~great urgency in this land of ours~~

There is a demand for the common sense treatment of world and national affairs.

There is a desperate need to think through the issue of nuclear extinction or survival. ~~--- These, of course, are merely fancy modern words for the old issue of war and peace. ---~~

~~If you reflect for a moment, you will realize that we have *rarely, if ever, had* total world peace, for over 50 years, since the administration of William Howard Taft. --- We may not have had all-out war in the ensuing years, but we most certainly have never had all-out peace.~~

NOW IS THE HOUR

when our anxieties are further accentuated by the latest nuclear explosion touched off by Communist China.

NOW IS THE HOUR

sees to lay the basis for a durable and just peace.
when we must ~~move towards peace~~

Not peace at any cost!

~~Not peace by blindly throwing open our arms to Red~~

~~China~~

Not peace by capitulation!

Some think that peace can be obtained by a change of policy on the part of the United States toward Communist China. But it is not accurate to believe that the U.S. has kept Communist China out of the United Nations. Red China has thus far effectively shut itself out from the United Nations by demanding impossible changes in the UN as conditions for her entry into it. refusing to comply with the U.N. Charter and by

~~the U.S. government has~~
~~opposed Red China's admission to the UN, but~~
~~now the administration has offered to drop this opposition.~~

~~All the Administration asks of Red China is that she~~
~~abandon the conditions for UN admission, that she herself~~

~~has set, and pledge to live up to the UN Charter.~~
Some would admit Communist China to the UN on the basis of a promise to live up to the Charter. I say this is not enough.

a promise
~~I say~~ Red China should prove that she is worthy of

UN membership by agreeing to peace negotiations on Vietnam, *by ending her and its participation in aggression,*
and by calling for an immediate cease-fire there. Let Red



by deeds not just by words that she has abandoned aggression.
China prove ~~herself fit for admission to the UN, not merely,~~
Then one of the major obstacles ^{to her} entrance into this organization
as the Administration suggests, ~~promise to abide by the UN~~
of "peace-loving" states will be removed.
~~Charters~~

~~We must set some ground rules for direct negotiations~~
~~with Red China, --- to move forward. After all, you wouldn't~~
~~play a game of bridge or baseball without a set of rules. And,~~
~~therefore, there is no reason why we should abandon this time-~~
~~worn and logical concept in our international dealings.~~

~~The back door approach now being used by our Ambassador~~
~~to Poland, who in turn is negotiating with Rumania's Polish~~
~~Ambassador, who in turn, we are told, is talking with Red China's~~
~~Ambassador, certainly seems pretty devious to me, --and it must~~
~~seem pretty confusing to most of you.~~

~~Last week the administration suggested another series~~
~~of indirect negotiations in Geneva. This is just another~~
~~game of international musical chairs.~~

~~How can we expect Red China to trust and respect~~
~~us with all of these indirect machinations, and how,~~
~~without a set of rules, can they expect us to trust and~~

~~respect them?~~

~~Remember, it is only this trust and respect, and not fear,~~
~~among the nations and people of the world that will insure~~
~~world peace---finally.~~

~~NOW IS THE HOUR---~~

~~for us to move forward openly, slowly, and cautiously---~~
~~For~~ ~~only then will we be moving toward peace. I feel this~~
~~deeply within me despite the fighting in Vietnam--and despite~~
~~Red China's possession of the atomic bomb.~~

The United States has long demonstrated its deep desire
to advance the cause of peace. *through the building up of a war torn world & the development of these backward areas on a global basis.*

~~We took the initiative in establishing NATO and have~~
~~contributed far more than our share in men and money to~~
~~keep it strong.~~

We have invested \$13 billion to restore war-devastated
Europe under the Marshall Plan.

We've devoted \$116 billion in ~~economic and military~~
aid to 118 nations during a 20-year span since World War II.



We've invested hundreds of millions of dollars to speed agricultural growth in the under-developed countries of the world.

We've provided aid ~~for 50 water projects in Africa,~~ ^{to Africa,} Asia and Latin America, ~~helping~~ to irrigate more than a million acres in India, a half million each in Pakistan and Korea, and 100,000 in Tunisia, Ecuador, Morocco, Taiwan and Afghanistan.

We've spent millions ~~in Southeast Asia~~ ^{throughout the world} to fight ~~such~~ dread diseases, ~~as cholera.~~

We've sent teams from 71 American universities to 38 countries to provide ~~them with~~ technical assistance.

We've provided technical training to foreign visitors at 126 American universities and colleges under AID contracts totalling \$185 million.

We've built 237,000 classrooms in other countries in five years and have helped to set up foreign colleges and universities which ~~since~~ have graduated more than 637,000 teachers.



Yes, Americans are a generous people, but they also are a common-sense people.

THEY RECOGNIZE

^ The fact that foreign aid helps to break down stagnant social orders which tend to keep the mass of their people in economic serfdom, ^{AND aid} helps to transform ^{backward economies} ~~these societies~~ into industrial nation-states.

The American people recognize, too, that ~~in~~ these transitions ^{can be the} ~~lies the~~ ^{blocks} building of world peace.

~~In the long view of history, helped along by the generosity and wisdom of the American people, peace will prevail.~~

~~NOW IS THE HOUR to move and move we must. We cannot afford to wait.~~

~~I became aware of the need, as I read and heard of the~~ ^{FOR AMERICA} ~~It may seem strange to talk of~~

~~peace as we read~~
reports of increasing American casualties in Vietnam.

~~This nation today is the greatest military power in the world has ever seen. We have spent 800 billions of dollars on defense since 1947. We have developed this tremendous military strength, with the hope that we would never have to use it.~~



perhaps too limited & perhaps too late

~~But we have used that strength in a limited way in Vietnam~~
~~to preserve a freedom of choice of government for that little~~
country. In doing so, however, we have sacrificed thousands
of American young men;--more than 3,460 of our men have lost
their lives there since January of 1961.

I do not agree that we can do nothing but throw more
young men into the conflict to protect our position in that
country.

trial

If by negotiating, we can save the life of one young
American, I will feel that we have made a major gain.

To paraphrase a well-known safety slogan, "the life
thus saved may very well be your own".

I am not looking at this aspect from an ivory tower.--
As a father of three young sons, I view the Vietnam conflict
with apprehension. I do not want my sons, or any other young
American men, thrown into a remote struggle which shows no
signs of abating---under our present policies;--a struggle
which the Administration has made no effort to end by
direct negotiations.



Our young men----YOU---are not sacrificial lambs to be led to slaughter. But, that is exactly what will happen to thousands of young, healthy American boys--unless we make a concerted, open and honest effort to end the Vietnam disaster by negotiation based on a set of rules mutually acceptable to both sides---with the North Vietnamese and with Red China. Unless the Administration begins direct peace negotiations---NOW---it will be guilty of the wanton murder of thousands of Americans.

If one doesn't try to stop a murderer---then one is just as guilty as the killer.

The present Administration has watched this wanton murder too long---without taking steps to stop it.

How long will we allow this?

We must put the blame---the guilt---where it belongs.

In the lap of the Administration.

NOW IS THE HOUR.



for you---for us all--to persist for what we believe
is right, to persist for the truth.

History has shown that, when asserted, the will of the
American people has always prevailed in good times and bad.

NOW IS THE HOUR

for us all to search ourselves.

NOW IS THE HOUR

When we must start actively to build for peace.

Apart from negotiations at the diplomatic level,
another avenue toward the building of peace--is through the
medium of cultural exchange. Science and music, for example,
are universal languages.

~~We should accelerate efforts to arrange with Red China
for the cultural exchange of newsmen, scholars, doctors,
artists, musicians and other cultural groups-as we've done
most successfully, in the past, with the Soviet Union.~~

In a country ~~like Communist China~~, the intellectuals
even when surrounded by
constitute an island of independence, in a sea of authoritarianism.

~~Here~~, The intellectual is an instrument for sanity in this world. In America as shapers of foreign policy and as a transmission belt between the government and the total population; in Communist nations as a moderating influence on rulers preaching a mad nationalism, while furiously whipping their people toward industrial and military goals.

The changes the intellectuals bring about in the world of nations will, I believe, in the end, protect the ideas of peace and progress from the crushing blows of history.

Perhaps no intellectual, with a great facility for self-expression, could convey more clearly this conviction - I hold, than an Asian student who had pondered long the great questions of war and peace in our time.

In a letter to a State Department official, this student said in most intriguing English: "Slow by slow, in the long of time, we will success."

We can move toward
~~We can only hope for~~ peace if we open up lines of
& 2 we emphasize people everywhere
communications with ~~the~~ people on the Chinese mainland. ~~This~~
~~is most important~~ ~~Until we do, we cannot possibly~~



~~understand or trust each other freely, for we both know
so little of each other's heritage.~~

NOW IS THE HOUR

^{DIRECT}
for negotiations and cultural exchange. Make no

mistake! We cannot afford to wait!

Communist China has the atomic bomb!

Evidence in the case of the device she exploded last May ninth is that it had the power of at least two hundred kiltons. That's the equivalent of two hundred thousand tons of TNT, or roughly ten time the power of the atomic bomb we dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Apparently, at this very moment, Communist China could drop an atomic bomb on its neighbors from the air.

Sometime between 1967 and 1970, Red China will have developed intermediate range ballistic missiles, making it possible for her to commit nuclear aggression against other nations within a 500 to 700 mile radius.

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But I would guess that right today they could load up a suicide plane with an A-Bomb---and inflict great damage on this country if it slipped through our defenses.

And now our intelligence indicates, it may only be within nine months to a year that Communist China will have perfected a hydrogen bomb.

Taking this into account, we must also remember that the United States has already given its allies in Asia assurances against nuclear blackmail on the part of Red China.

Can we afford to wait?

Can we continue to sacrifice the lives of thousands of young men, without attempting to negotiate ^{DIRECTLY} and understand each other's problems and way of life?

The answer is NO-----

NOW IS THE HOUR.

Until now we have merely taken the expedient road.

NOW IS THE HOUR

to embark on the more difficult task--of bringing two divergent cultures together---on a common base of trust



13
~~17~~

~~and understanding~~

I can stand here and make many suggestions, but I am
only one man.

YOU are the future

~~YOU are the way.~~

YOUR cries will be heard and answered. It is you
who can and will turn the wheels of action!

And, this you must do!

You must be aware!

You must not follow ^{ANYONE} blindly!

You must search for truth as you see it!

You must evaluate circumstances and facts!

You must make up your mind!

~~You must assert yourself!~~

You must stand up and be counted!

For, NOW IS THE HOUR.



By Return

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS BY REP. GERALD R. FORD AT PARSONS COLLEGE

"NOW IS THE HOUR"

Whenever a man is asked to talk to a graduating class---
he automatically thinks back to his own graduation day.

This is always a rather discouraging experience for me,
because I realize that whatever the advice my university
commencement speaker gave me----I just can't remember it.

I could tell all of you to go out and live life to
the fullest, but that might be a pretty dangerous suggestion..

You have pursued the arts and sciences for four years,
and have successfully earned a degree..

Yet, we all know that receiving a college diploma does
not automatically confer a liberal education on anyone. If
anything, it gives you, hopefully, the added ability to
comprehend and cope with what is going on around you.



-2-

It gives you the added security and capacity to learn to think for yourself. This is the most important attribute of an educated, enlightened man.

YOU MUST LEARN TO THINK FOR YOURSELF.

If I give you any parting words or suggestions today for a fuller life, ----they are-----NOW IS THE HOUR to express yourself and NOW IS THE HOUR to think for yourself.

I do not mean that you should never think like other people. I mean you should neither be a "kook" who prides himself on being completely different from others----nor be a sheep who follows others blindly.

NOW IS THE HOUR.

for you to evaluate what is happening around you in this country and in other parts of the world.

For example, as a life-long Republican and as the Minority Leader of the House of Representatives, I will always obey my Commander-in-Chief, the President of the United States.

BUT, I could not be true to myself or to my constituents,---

if I did not independently make constructive suggestions to my President according to the best of my sincere beliefs--- and continually fight for their acceptance.

NOW IS THE HOUR

to persist in being heard.

Thinking and following a thought and a problem through--- being true to your principles---is not tyranny or un-American-- it is the inalienable right given to every citizen of the United States.

NOW IS THE HOUR

when we desperately need an informed public opinion in America. This is especially true in the area of foreign affairs.

A University of Michigan survey in 1964 revealed that more than 25 per cent of those persons questioned did not know that mainland China is ruled by Communists.-----Almost as high a percentage were unaware that a war was going on in Vietnam.

That sounds incredible doesn't it? Yet, that's what the survey showed.

We desperately need informed and alert public opinion,--- for we are now in the midst of a perilous age. The future of our great country, and no doubt the world, lies in the effective exercise of this opinion by people such as yourself.

Popular attitudes don't necessarily indicate specifically what action our government should take in a crisis. But, they serve to let governmental leaders know what the boundary lines are for their actions.

Why have I talked about the importance of an enlightened electorate?

Because, every citizen who succeeds in expressing himself, and not merely in feeling and thinking,----is an important catalyst in getting his local, state and federal government to put his convictions to work.

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There is a desperate need to think through the issue of nuclear extinction or survival.-----These, of course, are merely fancy modern words for the old issue of war or peace.---

If you reflect for a moment, you will realize that we have not had total world peace for over 50 years, since the administration of William Howard Taft.----We may not have had all-out war in the ensuing years, but we most certainly have never had all-out peace.

NOW IS THE HOUR

when our anxieties are further accentuated by the latest nuclear explosion touched off by Communist China.

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NOW IS THE HOUR

when we must move towards peace!

Not peace at any cost!

Not peace by blindly throwing open our arms to Red China, as a congressional colleague of mine suggested recently!

Not peace by capitulation!

But peace---by setting some [^]ground rules for direct negotiations with Red China,----and then moving forward.---
After all, you wouldn't play a game of bridge or baseball without a set of rules. And, therefore, there is no reason why we should abandon this time-worn and logical concept in our international dealings.

The back door approach now being used by our Ambassador to Poland, who in turn is negotiating with Rumania's Polish Ambassador, who in turn we are told is talking with Red China's Ambassador, certainly seems pretty devious to me,----and it must seem pretty confusing to most of you.

-7-

Last week the Administration suggested another series of indirect negotiations in Geneva. This is just another game of international musical chairs.

How can we expect Red China to trust and respect us with all of these indirect machinations?

It is a mystery to me.

Remember, it is only trust and respect, and not fear, among the nations and people of the world that will insure world peace----finally.

NOW IS THE HOUR---

for us to move forward openly, slowly, and cautiously---
~~for~~ only then will we be moving toward peace. I feel this deeply within me despite the fighting in Vietnam--and despite Red China's possession of the atomic bomb.

But, NOW IS THE HOUR to move---and move we must. We cannot afford to wait!

I became aware of the need, now, more than ever, as I read and heard of the reports of increasing American casualties in Vietnam.

I do not agree that we can do nothing but throw more young men into the conflict to protect our position in that country.

If by negotiating, we can save the life of one young American, I will then feel that we have made a major gain.

To paraphrase a well-known safety slogan, "the life thus saved may very well be your own."

I am not looking at this aspect from an ivory tower.---
As a father of three young sons, I view the Vietnam conflict with apprehension. I do not want my sons, or any other young American men, thrown into a remote struggle which shows no signs of abating---under our present policies---a struggle which the Administration has made no effort to end by direct negotiation.

Our young men-----YOU-----are not sacrificial lambs to be led to slaughter. But, that is exactly what will happen to thousands of young, healthy American boys---unless we make a concerted, open, and honest effort to end the Vietnam disaster by negotiation based on a set of rules mutually

-9-

acceptable to both sides---with the North Vietnamese and with Red China. Unless the Administration begins direct peace negotiations----NOW----it will be guilty of the wanton murder of thousands of Americans.

If one doesn't try to stop a murderer----then one is just as guilty as the killer.

The present Administration has watched this wanton murder too long-----without taking steps to stop it.

How long will we allow this?

We must put the blame ---the guilt---where it belongs.

In the lap of the Administration.

Most American boys will not be so fortunate---as to marry a desk job in Washington---rather than take the bitter medicine of Vietnam that their friends have to swallow.-----I think that fighting in Vietnam is pretty bad, but if our President orders that we must be there---then there should be no special exceptions. While hundreds of young American men are dying in Vietnam this August--a rather privileged young man will leave his desk in

Washington to be married.

To use an old, but ironically appropriate phrase, "what is good for the goose---should be good for the gander".

This sequence of events is every bit as scandalous as Bobby Baker, or as outrageous as the all out involvement in Vietnam where the people have not yet decided, by democratic means, just what type of government they prefer.

NOW IS THE HOUR

for you---for us all--to persist for what we believe is right, to persist for the truth.

History has shown that, when asserted, the will of the American people has always prevailed in good times and bad.

NOW IS THE HOUR

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Apart from negotiations at the diplomatic level, another avenue toward the building of peace---is through the medium of cultural exchange. Science and music, for example, are universal languages.

We should accelerate efforts to arrange with Red China for the cultural exchange of newsmen, scholars, doctors, artists, musicians and other cultural groups, as we've done most successfully, in the past, with the Soviet Union.

We can only hope for peace if we open up lines of communications with the people on the Chinese mainland. This is most important!-----Until we do, we cannot possibly understand or trust each other freely, for we both know so little of each other's heritage.

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Communist China has the atomic bomb!



-12-

Evidence in the case of the device she exploded last May Ninth is that it had the power of at least two hundred kiltons. That's the equivalent of two hundred thousand tons of TNT, or roughly ten times the power of the atomic bomb we dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Apparently, at this very moment, Communist China could drop an atomic bomb on its neighbors from the air.

Sometime between 1967 and 1970, Red China will have developed intermediate range ballistic missiles, making it possible for her to commit nuclear aggression against other nations within a 500 to 700 mile radius.

But I would guess that right today they could load up a suicide plane with an A-Bomb----and inflict great damage on this country if it slipped through our defenses.

And now our intelligence indicates, it may only be within nine months to a year that Communist China will have perfected a hydrogen bomb.

-13-

Taking this into account, we must also remember that the United States has already given its allies in Asia assurances against nuclear blackmail on the part of Red China.

Can we afford to wait?

Can we continue to sacrifice the lives of thousands of young men, without attempting to negotiate and understand each other's problems and way of life?

The answer is NO-----

NOW IS THE HOUR.

Until now we have merely taken the expedient road.

NOW IS THE HOUR

to embark on the more difficult task---of bringing two divergent cultures together----on a common base of trust and understanding.

I have today written a letter to the President of the United States embodying the thoughts I have just expressed and specifically asking him to embark on a program of direct and immediate peace negotiations.

I can stand here and make ^{MANY} suggestions, but I am only

one man.

YOU are the future.

YOU are the way.

YOUR cries will be heard and answered. It is you who
can and will turn the wheels of action!

And, this you must do!

You must be aware!

You must not follow anyone blindly!

~~You~~ You must search for the truth as you see it!

You must evaluate circumstances and facts!

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This is always a rather discouraging experience for me,
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You have pursued the arts and sciences for four years,
and have successfully earned a degree.

Yet, we all know that receiving a college diploma does
not automatically confer a liberal education on you. If anything,
it gives you, hopefully, the added ability to comprehend and
cope with what is going on around you. It gives you the added
security and capacity to learn to think for yourself. This is
the most important attribute of an educated, enlightened man.



YOUR EDUCATION QUALIFIES YOU TO THINK FOR YOURSELF.

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Every citizen who expresses himself is an important
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when peace is an issue of great urgency.

There is a demand for the common sense treatment of world and national affairs.

There is a desperate need to think through the issue of nuclear extinction or survival. We have rarely, if ever, had total world peace.

NOW IS THE HOUR

when our anxieties are further accentuated by the latest nuclear explosion touched off by Communist China.



NOW IS THE HOUR

WHEN we must seek to lay the basis for a durable and just peace. Not peace at any cost!

Not peace by capitulation!

Some think that peace can be attained by a change of policy on the part of the United States toward Communist China.

But it is not accurate to believe that the U.S. has kept Communist China out of the United Nations. Red China has shut itself out of the United Nations by refusing to comply with the U.N. Charter and by demanding impossible changes in the U.N. as conditions for her entry into it.

Some would admit Communist China to the U.N. on the basis of a promise to live up to the Charter.

I say a promise is not enough.

Red China should prove that she is worthy of U.N. membership by agreeing to peace negotiations on Vietnam, by ending this participation in aggression, and by calling for an immediate cease-fire there.

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China prove by deeds, not just by words, that she has abandoned aggression.

Then one of the major obstacles to her entrance into this organization of "peace-loving" states will be removed.

The United States has long demonstrated its deep desire to advance the cause of peace through the building up of a war-torn world and the development of those backward areas on a global basis.

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They recognize the fact that foreign aid helps to break down stagnant social orders which tend to keep the mass of their people in economic serfdom, and aid helps to transform backward economies into industrial nation-states.

The American people recognize, too, that these transitions can be the building blocks of world peace.


It may seem strange to talk of peace as we read reports of increasing American casualties in Vietnam.



Many in this graduating class leave this campus not to engage in the works of peace for which you have been educated but to fight a war. To those who will bear sacrifice, risk, and danger so that men may be free, this nation owes a debt of gratitude that can never be adequately repaid.

The least that the nation can do for those who are subjected to extraordinary risk and sacrifice is to take every possible step to minimize American casualties and end the conflict as soon as possible on a satisfactory basis. The nation is not doing all that it can toward these objectives when it fails to use its economic and diplomatic resources in support of its military effort. To give one example, the nation is not using these resources to the full when the ships of our allies carry goods to North Vietnam, prolonging the conflict and increasing American losses.

I return to the theme of peace, for there will be an end to the war in Vietnam. Let us work to speed the day. And let us work to make this conflict the end of war, not the prelude to another bigger war.



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I can stand here and make many suggestions, but I am only one man.

YOU are the future

YOUR cries will be heard and answered. It is you who can and will turn the wheels of action!

And, this you must do!

You must be aware!

You must not follow anyone blindly!

You must search for truth as you see it!

You must evaluate circumstances and facts!



You must make up your mind!

You must stand up and be counted!

For, NOW IS THE HOUR.

Final Draft

JUNE 11, 1966

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS--BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICHIGAN, AT PARSONS COLLEGE
FAIRFIELD, IOWA

As a congressman, I am interested in such things as reclamation projects.

That, I understand, is what this college is, in a sense. It's a kind of
huge human reclamation project.

This, I think, is good. In fact, I think it's great. There is nothing
so tragic as the waste of human resources, lives literally thrown away for
lack of another chance.

I'm glad Parsons College gave you that other chance. The fact that you
are gathered here today to receive your college diplomas is proof that for
many of you this is a reclamation project that pays valuable dividends.

To the young ladies in the audience, I must say that you are especially
fortunate. I understand the men students at Parsons College outnumber the
women four to one.

Now I know why the Parsons College campus is often referred to as a
happy hunting ground.

A commencement speaker usually is expected to give a graduating class

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PARSONS COLLEGE COMMENCEMENT

some special advice. Now what if I told you to go out and live life to the full? That might be a pretty dangerous suggestion.

I really don't think you need any pointers in that connection, anyway.

Having been asked to talk to you on your graduation day, I thought back to the commencement speech I heard when I received my college diploma. And, you know, I couldn't remember a word my commencement speaker had said! That's pretty discouraging, isn't it?

Well, just as many of you will be doing from this day forth, I will have to start from scratch except for what little wisdom I have been able to accumulate over the years.

We all know that receiving a college diploma does not automatically confer a liberal education on anyone.

But one thing I trust you have learned is to think for yourself. This is important, because the ability to think for oneself is the chief attribute of an educated man or woman.

We cannot all be intellectuals, of course, but it is significant that the intellectual in America no longer is sneered at as "an egghead who has never met a payroll."

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PARSONS COLLEGE COMMENCEMENT

In fact, we are entering upon what might be called the era of the college man.

The time is fast approaching--it may be here by 1985--when 50 per cent or more of American young people between the ages of 18 and 21 will be college students.

The intellectual--the person who likes to use his mind better than anything else he can do--has come to occupy a position of great importance in this nation. This is reason to hope that mankind is not destined for the ash heap after all.

Americans, of course, resist the idea of an intellectual elite. This is natural. There is no place in this country for what might be called snobbery of the mind.

But it is also important that Americans have the respect for the mind that has been commonplace in Europe for centuries. This is happening. And it augurs well for the future of America and the world.

Now why have I talked about the importance of the intellectual in America? Because every intellectual who engages in thinking and not merely

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PARSONS COLLEGE COMMENCEMENT

in feeling is a conduit between his government and the ^{all of this people} great mass of the people. I am talking about the responsible intellectual who is a willing and conscious member of society and not the spurious intellectual who rebels merely for the sake of rebellion.

I would guess you people belong among the some 19 per cent of the total public who might be called the attentive public.

Those of you in the attentive public who are activists, who think about foreign affairs and transmit your ideas to others are important people. You serve as a kind of transmission belt between the makers of foreign policy and the total public.

You, as the transmission belt between policy makers and the total public, must become aware that there is a great urgency in this land of ours today.

The demand is for thinking, for realism, for common sense treatment in America's foreign policy. The need is to think through the old issue of war and peace in the new shape it has assumed in today's world.

Communist China now has the bomb. The number of members in the nuclear club has grown to five. Is this reason to panic? I think not.

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Despite the fact they are out of touch with reality in many ways, the rulers of Red China know full well the United States would visit nuclear retaliation upon their country if they should order an A-bomb dropped on one of their neighbors.

The fact that Red China is expected to have intermediate ballistic missiles in the next few years and intercontinental missiles within a decade also is no reason to fall apart.

Nuclear power tends to make a nation militarily muscle-bound. A nuclear attack and nuclear retaliation are so horrible to contemplate as to be almost unthinkable.

There is today, therefore, less of a tendency to think in terms of big war than before the ^{development of the H-bomb.} bomb. In a sense, this is almost a reason to feel sanguine about prospects for peace.

Thus a nuclear power like the United States finds it necessary to develop tremendous supplementary power--~~conventional~~ and guerrilla forces. There is, after all, the constant threat of small wars like that in Vietnam.

We will almost surely have small wars from time to time in this age

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when the Communists seek to weaken the free world with what they cynically call "wars of liberation."

The world will also have small wars or police actions because of the ferment created by the political aspirations of a billion and a half humans who have been living in unspeakable poverty and neglect and now seek to climb out of the mire.

There is a seething potential for world disaster in a dozen spots as peoples struggle to attain their aspirations in Southeast Asia, Africa and Latin America. The lid is not really on in Europe, either, and indeed it may never be.

But it is in Southeast Asia that America is at a world crossroad.

We must ask ourselves whether we have a mission in Southeast Asia and, if so, what that mission is.

I believe we do have a mission in Southeast Asia, a mission based on realism, a mission based on the knowledge that the Communist aim of world domination will be greatly advanced if we shrug off this mighty burden.

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Our mission in Southeast Asia must be to give the countries there free choice, to help them be independent countries free to develop in their own ways.

Call it a fight for freedom or what you will, this is what we are doing in Vietnam. That is why we are there.

This is a mission we cannot abandon. To do so would be to place the security of not only the United States but ultimately the entire free world in jeopardy.

This much is certain. If America drops its burden in Southeast Asia, the free world will begin shrinking and the cause of freedom will begin to shrivel up. Freedom will begin to curl up and die not only in Southeast Asia but in every part of the world where the United States has a commitment.

Does any American think for a moment that the security of the United States will not ultimately be threatened if Communist China is permitted to make satellites of all the nations of Southeast Asia?

However, there is no reason to believe war between the United States and Red China--a direct confrontation--is inevitable.

Paranoiac as the Red Chinese rulers may be, they understand a policy of firmness--and that should be the core of our attitude toward Red China.

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We have found from experience that if the U.S. reaction to a Communist probe is prompt and strong, the Communists halt and draw back. If the U.S. hesitates, the Communists are encouraged to nibble a little more, take another bite.

Let's be realistic about the painful situation we find ourselves in in Southeast Asia.

Reason tells us that if we do not meet the challenge the Communists are presenting us in Southeast Asia we will soon meet the same tactics somewhere else in the world.

Vietnam is a testing ground for the so-called war of liberation that Mao Tse-tung sees as the major vehicle for the advance of world communism.

The peoples of Southeast Asia are on nobody's side but their own, of course, and that is why the struggle in Vietnam must be won on the political front as well as the military.

Our foreign policy for the sixties--a realistic, common-sense foreign policy--must be a careful blend of foreign aid, military power, and psychological warfare, skillfully employed for maximum effectiveness in places of our own choosing.

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The present administration talks of admitting Red China to the United Nations, asking only that she abandon the impossible conditions for UN entry that she herself has set.

I say that given Red China's record of aggression this is not enough. The American people deserve performance, not promises. I say Red China should prove herself worthy of UN membership by agreeing to peace negotiations on Vietnam and by calling for an immediate cease-fire there.

For its part, the United States has long demonstrated its deep desire to advance the cause of world peace.

This nation today is the greatest military power the world has ever known. We have spent \$800 billions of dollars on defense since 1947. We have developed tremendous military strength--but only with the hope we would never have to use it.

Because we have used that strength in a limited way in Vietnam to preserve freedom of choice for that little country, a prominent United States senator has branded our effort there as "arrogance of power."

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PARSONS COLLEGE COMMENCEMENT

Is it arrogance of power for this country to sacrifice thousands of its young men in the defense of freedom in Vietnam? More than 3,460 of our men have lost their lives there since January of 1961.

Were we being arrogant when we sacrificed 33,629 Americans on the battlefields of Korea? Is anyone really misguided enough to believe this was an arrogant display of power?

Were we being arrogant in pouring \$3.3 billion in aid into Korea since 1953 to prevent its being absorbed by Red China?

Were we being arrogant in spending an equal sum on economic aid to Vietnam since 1954?

Was it a display of arrogance for us to take the initiative in establishing NATO and to contribute more than our share in men and money to keep it strong?

Were we being arrogant in investing \$13 billion to restore war-devastated Europe under the Marshall Plan?

Have we been arrogant in devoting \$116 billion in economic and military aid to 118 nations during a 20-year span since World War II?

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Are we being arrogant in providing aid for 50 water projects in Africa, Asia and Latin America, helping to irrigate more than a million acres in India, a half million each in Pakistan and Korea, and 100,000 in Tunisia, Ecuador, Morocco, Taiwan and Afghanistan?

Are we being arrogant in spending millions in Southeast Asia to fight such dread diseases as cholera?

Are we being arrogant in sending teams from 71 American universities to 38 other countries to provide them with technical assistance?

Are we being arrogant in providing technical training to foreign visitors at 126 American universities and colleges under AID contracts totalling \$185 million?

Have we been arrogant in building 237,000 classrooms in other countries in five years and in helping to set up foreign colleges and universities which since have graduated more than 637,000 teachers?

Americans are an idealistic and a generous people. They have given of their substance because they feel for the suffering masses of humanity.

At the same time, they are a common sense people. They perceive that foreign aid is a direct answer to the Communist challenge.

(MORE)



PARSONS COLLEGE COMMENCEMENT

They know that ours would be a weak foreign policy, indeed, if it rested only upon weapons of war.

And so Americans give--for reasons of idealism, yes, but also because they wish to live in a world where peace is more than a newspaper cartoon of a foolish-looking dove with an olive branch in its beak.

They know the only sensible objective is to help build a new world order--a stable international community.

Cataclysmic forces will shake the world as it rides down the course of change. But the world will survive despite the crushing blows of history, and a common-sense American foreign policy will help preserve the ideas of peace and progress.

Perhaps no intellectual with a great facility for self-expression could convey more clearly this conviction I hold than an Asian student who had pondered at great length the question of war and peace in our time.

In a letter to a State Department official, this student said in most intriguing English: "Slow by slow, in the long of time, the free world will success."

This I wish every one of you--that you will success. Thank you.

By Return

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS by REP. GERALD R. FORD at PARSONS COLLEGE, FAIRFIELD, IOWA

June 11, 1966

"Now Is The Hour"

Whenever a man is asked to speak to a graduating class---he automatically thinks back to his own graduation day.

This is always a rather discouraging experience, because I realize that whatever the advice my university commencement speaker gave me---I just can't remember it. I have no illusions as to the fate of my message -- but I'll try.

You have pursued the arts and sciences for four years, and have successfully earned a degree.

Yet, we all know that receiving a college diploma does not automatically confer a liberal education on you. If anything, it gives you, hopefully, the added ability to comprehend and cope with what is going on around you. It gives you the added security and capacity to learn, to think for yourself. This is the most important attribute of an educated, enlightened man.

YOUR EDUCATION QUALIFIES YOU TO THINK FOR YOURSELF.

If I give you any parting words or suggestions today for a fuller life--they are--NOW IS THE HOUR to express yourself: NOW IS THE HOUR to think for yourself.

I do not mean you should never think like other people. I mean you should neither be a "kook" who prides himself on being completely different from others--nor a sheep who follows others blindly.

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for you to raise penetrating but constructive questions about what is happening around you in this country and in other parts of the world.

To illustrate, I could not be true to myself or to my constituents if I did not independently make suggestions, helpfully I trust, to other public officials, including the President, according to the best of my sincere beliefs. Let me hasten to add: words are not enough -- one must fight within the law for the acceptance of one's beliefs.

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to persist in being heard.

Thinking a problem through, being true to your principles, is the inalienable right given to every citizen of the United States.

NOW IS THE HOUR

when we desperately need an informed public opinion in America. This is



especially true in the area of foreign affairs.

A University of Michigan survey in 1964 revealed that more than 25 percent of those persons questioned did not know that mainland China is ruled by Communists. -- Almost as high a percentage less than two years ago were unaware that a war was going on in Vietnam.

That sounds incredible. Yet, that's what the survey showed.

We desperately need an accurately informed and alert public opinion, for we are in the midst of a perilous age. The future of our great country, and no doubt the world, lies in the exercise of good judgment by citizens such as yourself. Public opinion does exercise a guiding and restraining influence on your government.

Every citizen who expresses himself is an important catalyst in getting his local, state, and federal government to put his convictions to work.

Those of you in the attentive public who are activists, who think about foreign affairs and transmit your ideas to others, are the important people. You serve as a kind of transmission belt between the policy makers and the total public. In the Vietnam crisis, where there are currents and cross currents, some obvious, some devious, this role is of major consequence.

NOW IS THE HOUR when peace is an issue of great urgency.

There is a desperate need now to think through the issue of nuclear extinction or survival.

There is a demand for the common sense treatment of world and national affairs. We have rarely, if ever, had total world peace.

NOW IS THE HOUR when our anxieties are further accentuated by the latest nuclear explosion touched off by Communist China.

NOW IS THE HOUR when we must seek to lay the basis for a durable and just peace. Not peace at any cost!

Not peace by appeasement or capitulation!

Some think that peace can be attained by an over-night change of policy on the part of the United States toward Communist China. But it is not accurate to contend that the U.S. has kept Communist China out of the United Nations. Red China has shut itself out of the United Nations by refusing to comply with the U.N. Charter and by demanding impossible changes in the U.N. as conditions for her entry into that organization.

Some would admit Communist China to the U.N. on the basis of a promise to live up to the Charter.

NOW IS THE HOUR to say a promise is not enough.

Red China should prove by actions that she is worthy of U.N. membership by agreeing to meaningful peace negotiations on Vietnam, by ending any and all participation in aggression, and by calling for an immediate cease-fire in that battle-fatigued nation. Let Red China prove by deeds, not just by words, that she has abandoned aggression. Then one of the major obstacles to her entrance into this international organization will be removed.

The United States has long demonstrated its deep desire to advance the cause of peace through the reconstruction of a war-torn world and the development of those backward areas on a global basis.

We have invested \$13 billion to restore war-devastated Europe.

The United States has devoted \$116 billion in aid to 118 nations during a 20-year span since World War II.

We've invested hundreds of millions of dollars to speed agricultural growth in the under-developed countries of the world to meet famine and the spectre of an ever-widening population explosion.

We've spent millions throughout the world to fight dread diseases.

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The American people recognize, too, that these transitions can be helpful building blocks of world peace.

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The least the nation can do for those who are subjected to extraordinary risk

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I return to the theme of peace, for there will be an end to the war in Vietnam. NOW IS THE HOUR to speed that day. And let us work to make this conflict hopefully the last clash of arms, not the prelude to another bigger war.

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Apart from negotiations at the diplomatic level, another avenue toward the building of peace -- is down the path of cultural exchange. Science and music are universal languages.

In all countries the intellectuals constitute an island of independence, even when surrounded by a sea of dictatorship.

The intellectual has been and can be an instrument for sanity in this world. In America as participants in the shaping of foreign policy and as a transmission belt between the government and the total population; in Communist nations as a moderating influence on rulers preaching a mad nationalism and global domination, while furiously whipping their people toward industrial and military goals.

The changes the intellectuals can bring about in the world of nations will, I believe, in the end, protect the ideas of peace and progress from the crushing blows of history.

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