

OFFICE OF
GENERAL EISENHOWER

March 28, 1950

Dear Mr. Carter:

I thought you might like a copy of the lecture the
General gave last Thursday evening here in New
York.

With kind regard and best wishes,

Cordially,



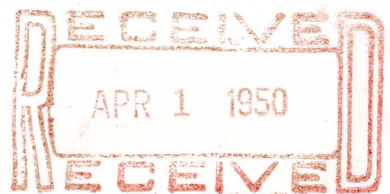
Robert L. Schulz
Major, Aide de Camp

Mr. Amon Carter

Fort Worth Star-Telegram

Fort Worth, Texas

Enclosure



NOTES FOR THE GABRIEL SILVER LECTURE

“World Peace—A Balance Sheet”

An address by President Dwight D. Eisenhower of Columbia University, delivered at McMillin Academic Theater, Thursday evening, March 23, at 8.30 P.M. It is the first of a series of lectures dedicated to the cause of international peace. The lectureship is endowed by Mr. Leo Silver in memory of his father and will be sponsored annually by the School of International Affairs.

On behalf of Columbia University, I thank Mr. Leo Silver for the generous gift that will make the Gabriel Silver Lecture on Peace a recurring feature of the University calendar. His endowment will permit us at regular intervals to call on selected individuals for reports on peace. Perhaps there will be added new strength to the philosophical and social foundations of peace, and a stronger light thrown on the hazards within the international economy that endanger its permanence. Possibly there will be launched new attacks on inequities and injustices in which lurk some of the causes of war.

Mr. Silver has established a worthy memorial to his father and we are grateful that he has chosen Columbia University as its home. On my own behalf, I want to thank him for the honor paid me in his request that I deliver this inaugural of the series. Without his intervention, I should not be so presumptuous as to appear in this role before a distinguished gathering of Columbia faculty and graduate students because you are, in our country, part of the great body especially qualified to be the architects of world peace.

To you that classification may seem exaggeration beyond any warrant of fact. Quite the contrary. Any man who underestimates the importance of the American teacher in world affairs is misleading himself. Under our system, high governmental policy expresses the considered will of the people, and the will of the people, in the last analysis, is compounded out of the convictions, the idealisms, the purposes fostered in the classrooms of the nation's schools. What you teach is what the country does.

I come before you solely as a witness of things that have happened and of the impressions those have made upon me.

For some years, I was in the thick of war and reconstruction after war. A war that—despite all its terrors, its destruction, its cost—was, for the Allied Nations, a crusade in the best sense of an often misused word, a reconstruction after war that—despite its bickerings, its suppression of freedom in many places and its disheartening cynicism—has established in the political sphere at least a temporary—even if teetering—balance. These years and these experiences have served to ripen and enlarge my devotion to peace. I trust that they have also served to sharpen my powers of perception and judgment of the factors which seem always to balk man's efforts to close forever the doors of the Temple of Janus.

In discussing war and peace, we incline to paint one all black and the other all white. We like to repeat “There never was a good war, or a bad peace.” But war often has provided the setting for comradeship and understanding and greatness of spirit—among nations, as well as men—beyond anything in quiet days; while peace may be marked by, or may even be the product of, chicanery, treachery and the temporary triumph of expediency over all spiritual values.

The pact of Munich was a more fell blow to humanity than the atomic bomb at Hiroshima. Suffocation of human freedom among a once free people, however quietly and peacefully accomplished, is more far-reaching in its implications and its effects on their future than the destruction of their homes, industrial centers and transportation facilities. Out of rubble heaps, willing hands can rebuild a better city; but out of freedom lost can stem only generations of hate and bitter struggle and brutal oppression.

Nor can we forget that, as Professor Lyman Bryson of Teachers College recently said: “There are even greater things in the world than peace.” By greater things, he meant the ideals, the hopes and aspirations of humanity; those things of the soul and spirit which great men of history have valued far above peace and material wealth and even life itself.

Without these values, peace is an inhuman existence. Far better risk a war of possible annihilation than grasp a peace which would be the certain extinction of free man's ideas and ideals.

Clearly it was a choice between these two extremes that the British people were forced to make back in the dark summer of 1940. Whatever may be history's final judgment on the total war record of that nation, her people in that dire season of fear and foreboding proved themselves heroic and mighty in their spiritual greatness.

Twenty miles beyond their South coast, thinly manned by men—and women—armed with little more than their own courage, there was arrayed an invasion force of stupendous military might, hardened and flushed by sweeps from the Vistula to the Atlantic, from the Arctic to the Alps. Other members of the British Commonwealth of nations, though loyal, could do little to relieve the frightening crisis that suddenly faced the Mother Country.

In all Europe and Asia, from the Bay of Biscay far into the Pacific, men awaited the blow that would destroy the British. The multitude of millions that dwelled in those two continents—even those who lately were allies—had been corrupted into a conviction that material force was unfailingly greater than the spirit of free men.

Throughout most of the rest of the world, there seemed to be an appalling ignorance that the defeat of Britain would mean the eventual extinction of the freedom for ideas and ideals that her people had done so much to win and support for all mankind. So, in her hour of gravest trial she stood largely alone—another David to champion a righteous but apparently hopeless cause.

But the British spurned all offers of peace and their great leader asked for battle—on their beaches, in their towns, along the lanes of England. His faith was rewarded in the final and complete Allied victory of 1945.

Millions of Americans, who saw what the British endured—broken towns,

years of austerity, staggering debts and near-destitution—must be witnesses all our lives to the greatness of spirit in that people. *Their decision* to fight on gave freedom a new lease on life and gave all free peoples more space in time to destroy a vicious dictator and regain an opportunity to work out an enduring peace.

Our memories are short indeed, or we have failed to read the lesson of that experience, if we in 1950 are fearful of the future and allow despair to paralyze our efforts to build a lasting peace.

By this allusion to the British record, I do not in any way belittle the war-time contributions of the other allies, including Russia; nor dull one whit the sharp fact that victory over the enemy could *not* have been accomplished without the giant strength of a united America. I dwell on the British role in 1940 and thereafter for two reasons. First, there is a tendency among us today to write off our friends in the Western nations because they are weak in numbers and weapons. Second, there is a parallel tendency to measure a possible enemy solely by the area he rules and the manpower he controls.

Many of us—even among professional soldiers—too easily accept as unfailingly true Napoleon's cynical statement: "God is on the side of the heaviest battalions." *Napoleon*, himself, lived and ruled and fought by that dictum—but his reign from coronation to final exile was shorter by months than even Hitler's; his fellow believer in the dominance of force.

Because there is one towering force in the world that often seems bent upon engulfing as much territory and as many people as it can, a great many surrender their hopes for peace as curtly as they write off our friends in Western Europe. Such pessimism invites disaster. Such an attitude, if it were founded on reason, would mean that the handful of men who dictate the policy of the Soviet system also dictate the fate of this globe. To any one ready to study the history of yesterday and the facts of today, that is a repugnant absurdity.

Granted that at any moment some one powerful nation could choose to follow a policy of world conquest by war. Nevertheless, the world has seen so many examples of this that, today, such a war would imply either an incredible stupidity, weakness, disunity and unreadiness on one side or a miscalculation equal to the insanity and moral guilt on the side of the predatory nation. Until war is eliminated from international relations, unpreparedness for it is well nigh as criminal as war itself.

What then is the nature of the peace that we seek? What are the characteristics that distinguish it? These questions must be answered, if we are to know our objective, calculate our distance from it, decide on the measures necessary to its attainment.

Almost certainly, most men would agree that peace, to merit the name, should possess a reasonable assurance of permanence, should be the product of cooperation between all major nations, and should be secure against arbitrary violation by any power or group of powers. It is apparent, however, that we constantly use the word "*peace*" in two senses which differ sharply. One is the peace of our dreams—a peace founded in noble impulses, universally shared. It is always the ideal, the pole star that guides us on the proper path. The other peace is *something* of an armed truce; but today a half-loaf is better than none. By the improvisations, expediencies and agreements under which we strive to maintain a peace based as much upon force and power as upon concepts of justice and fair play, we hope to reach the point where this peace becomes the starting point of the *real* peace we seek.

But permanence, universality and security cannot be achieved *merely* by covenant or agreement. Treaties are too often scraps of paper; in our age the signal for two World Wars was the callous repudiation of pacts and pledged word. There must be a universal urge to decency.

This fact compels the observation that they are thinking wishfully who pin their hopes of peace upon a single "high level" conference and a resulting paper that would bear the promise of governmental heads to observe all the rights of others. An agreement, though it should bear the seal and ribbon of every chancellery in the world, is worth no more than the confidence placed by each signer in the good faith and integrity of every other. We must sadly acknowledge that today such world-wide confidence does not exist.

By all means let us continue to confer—especially with the view and purpose of reaching the required level of mutual faith and confidence, or—as a substitute—of developing practical and mutually enforceable measures and reciprocal arrangements calculated to lessen the danger of war. But, equally, let us not delude ourselves that, in 1950, establishment of real peace is merely a matter of Very Important Personages signing papers or "talking tough" in Paris, Geneva, Washington or Tahiti.

It is obvious that an enduring world-wide and secure peace must be founded on justice, opportunity and freedom for all men of good will; be maintained in a climate of international understanding and cooperation; be free from militaristic menace; and be supported by an accepted and respected police power representing all nations. Critical factors in the problem of building such a peace are the needs of a human society comprised of individuals; and, further, the needs of a human society that is divided into independent nations, each sovereign within its own borders and competing with all others to promote the interests of its own citizens, often at the expense of others. There are two sides to the coin of peace, the individual and the national; if one is defective the coin is spurious.

On the side of the individual, peace requires an international society that is free from vicious provocations to strife among men. These are rooted in inequities so glaring that, to those who suffer them, they seem to make attractive any alternative. The gamble of war lures the desperate, for even overwhelming defeat can hardly worsen their state; while victory, if it gives the survivors any improvement, will be worth its cost in blood. It is possible, even probable, that hopelessness among a people can be a far more potent cause of war than greed. War—in such case—is a symptom, not the disease.

On the collective side of the coin, peace requires an international society liberated from the threat of aggression by neighbor on neighbor, a threat forever present when one or more nations are committed to the building or maintenance of gigantic military machines. No sane man will challenge, under present circumstances, the need for defensive strength designed to secure

against internal or external attack the independence and sovereignty of a free state. But the continued existence of even one purely offensive force—a force for which there is no apparent need based in the logic of self-defense—denies enduring peace to the world. Those who have spawned such a force must either eventually destroy it by demobilization and find justification for the heavy cost already laid on their people; or use it, tacitly or actively, as a threat or as a weapon. There is no middle course.

Always it has been difficult to distinguish between offensive and defensive armaments. Advancing science has obliterated whatever qualitative differences that once existed; today even the atom bomb is included in defensive arsenals. But differences do exist—vital differences. They are found, partially, in the quantitative factor.

The world forms its own sound opinion of a nation's martial purposes, primarily by the size and combinations of armaments supported, and by their geographical disposition and estimated state of readiness. To be considered also is the record of the particular nation—the extent to which it observes the ordinary rules of decency, courtesy, fairness and frankness in dealing with others.

It is by such combinations of standards that we must today classify the world's armaments. For America, with whose professional security forces I have been intimately associated for almost forty years, I bear witness to peaceful intent. In all those years, I have never heard an officer of the Army, the Navy or the Air Force, or any responsible official of government, advocate, urge, discuss or even hint at the use of force by this country in the settlement of any actual or potential international problem.

And here it seems appropriate, in view of my insistent belief that the world must finally disarm or suffer catastrophic consequences, to assert my conviction that America has already disarmed to the extent—in some directions even beyond the extent—that I, with deep concern for her *present* safety, could possibly advise, until we have certain knowledge that all nations, in concerted action, are doing likewise.

I might state here also that the Baruch plan for the control of the atomic bomb was not only evidence of our peaceful intent, but was the most generous action ever made by any nation, equivalent in its field to the Marshall Plan.

Moreover, without American leadership in the search, the pursuit of a just and enduring peace is hopeless. Nowhere in the world—outside this land—is there the richness of resources, stamina and will needed to lead what at times may be a costly and exhausting effort. BUT leadership cannot be exercised by the weak. It demands strength—the strength of this great nation when its people are united in purpose, united in a common fundamental faith, united in their readiness to work for human freedom and peace; this spiritual and economic strength, in turn, must be reinforced in a still armed world by the physical strength necessary for the defense of ourselves and our friends.

Only by deliberate lies can the propagandist—foreign or domestic—stretch our arms program into more than the reasonable posture for defense that General Washington urged on his countrymen. And the heads of state everywhere, even the most suspicious and fearful, know that it is below even that level. Our processes are open to the inspection of all—we spend hardly a dollar or add a platoon to the military establishment without long and public debate.

Our 20th Century international record, the statistics of our military forces, and the open procedures of our political system—all provide proof of our peaceful purposes; they prove also that our support of programs, in which universal peace will be secure, is as honest as it is sturdy.

The two requisites to an enduring peace—the elimination of deep-seated incitements to strife and hopelessness, and the elimination of armament for aggression—are, or should be, within the realm of feasible attainment. But man can remake the face of his physical environment and can harness all the powers of the universe more easily, it seems, than he can learn control of his temper as a member of the international community. Nevertheless, those who term these twin requisites utopian and visionary are cut from the same bolt of cloth as those of an earlier day who claimed that epidemics were an inescapable companion to human existence and denounced the preachers of sanitation as balkers of God's will.

To prevent the crime of war, all nations and all ideologies can unite without sacrifice of principle. But lest self-interest in minor matters breed a carelessness toward the gravity of this problem, there is required unity of understanding concerning the facts of modern war. After the world-wide devastation that grows daily more possible, none may be able to distinguish between the victor and the vanquished of a future conflict. Confronted by that outcome to another World War, all of us—East and West—are in the same boat. The boat can be swamped in a series of atomic blasts; but, sustained by understanding of a common peril, it can also carry us through to final peace. Thus, the possibility of total destruction, terrible though it is, could be a blessing as all nations, great and small, for the first time in human history, are confronted by an inescapable physical proof of their common lot. Franklin's "If we don't all hang together, we shall each hang separately," has its international application today. There is no prod so effective as a common dread; there is no binder so unifying.

And we know the formula of success: First, justice, freedom and opportunity for all men; Second, international understanding; Third, disarmament; Fourth, a respected United Nations.

First of all, justice among men can be attained only by the universal and equitable satisfaction of human hungers that are threefold in their nature because man is at once a physical creature who must be clothed and fed and sheltered; a thinking being who is forever questioning and must be answered or given the opportunity to find the answers; a spiritual being within whom burns longings and aspirations that cannot be quenched by all the goods of this world. Starvation and hardship, ignorance and its evils, oppression and discrimination are the fuel of war—the raw materials of strife.

So far as the world's food is concerned, all peoples must learn together to make proper use of the earth on which we live. Hovering even now over our

shoulders is a specter as sinister as the atomic bomb because it could depopulate the earth and destroy our cities. This creeping terror is the wastage of the world's natural resources and, particularly, the criminal exploitation of the soil. What will it profit us to achieve the H-bomb and survive that tragedy or triumph, if the generations that succeed us must starve in a world, because of our misuse, grown barren as the mountains of the moon?

By every step that the nations take toward more productive and efficient use of land, toward better production and distribution of food, toward raising the living standards of even the least of the world's tribes; by every school house that is built where none was before; by every plague spot that is cleansed and made healthful; by every increase in the sum of universally shared knowledge and the consequent increase in each man's mastery of his environment; by every measure that enlarges men's opportunity to develop all their talents and capacities—by that much we reduce the stockpile of grievance, injustice and discontent on which war feeds.

You say in objection: "Those are fine words, but all history proves that as man has advanced in material and intellectual strength, wars have not lessened in frequency but have grown in the tragedy and terror of their impact."

To that objection I retort: The unrest that has gripped the world is, at least partially, due to the failure of the more fortunate to realize that their own self-interest requires them to teach others the techniques of raising human standards of existence. Thus, ostentatious wealth in fortunate areas has occasioned bitterness and envy in other localities where these could have been eliminated at no greater cost than that involved in teaching man to make the best use of the material resources surrounding him.

By no means do I believe that the wealthy of this world can solve this great problem of disparity merely by sharing what they now possess with the less fortunate. What is needed is the knowledge and understanding—the technical progress—that will allow all men to make the best use of nature's bounty. Progress in this direction is already an announced American purpose. Past failures to do more in this line have provided the demagogues and the propagandists of history with much of the ammunition they have used; and the war-maker is first of all a propagandist.

The nations now have the technical knowledge and skill to end some flagrant disparities. The same measures that banished the scourge of cholera or of typhus or malaria from the American city can largely banish all pestilence from all the continents of the earth. The machines that have released the peoples of the West from the age-old drudgeries of a hand-to-mouth existence can liberate the peoples of all lands whose bitter bread is earned in exhausted bodies and shortened lives. And, certainly, there is no need for starvation at any spot in a world that is glutted in so many places with crops, great beyond domestic needs, that must rot or be destroyed.

Here again we must not be discouraged by the inescapable slowness of world progress. However disappointing may be the lack of speed, every new evidence of advance brings immediate hope of a brighter morrow to millions; and peoples hopeful of their domestic future do not use war as a solution to their problems. Hope spurs humans everywhere to work harder, to endure more now that the future may be better; but despair is the climate of war and death. Even America, without American optimism, can accomplish nothing beyond the needs of each day.

Now, while we attack the physical evils, we must battle the ignorance which permits them. And I mean not only ignorance in the individual human being, but those attitudes, policies and prejudices which balk the free exchange between the nations of information and knowledge that will make human living a more full expression of man's dignity. No scrap of knowledge, whose only effect is to make life better, should be denied any nation by any other nation. Even the Soviets, living behind a curtain woven from fear, could afford to work with the rest of us, *now*, for this decent and human objective. Though we may be generous, we can still expect rebuffs and gibes. But there is always the chance and the hope that hostile governments will understand, over the years, the honesty of our motives and join with us in their realization. If or when they do, we will all profit and we—both West and East—will sleep easier of nights.

Another thing—the stresses and strains of fear are intensified in our day because everywhere the superstitions of materialism are increasing their holds on the minds of men. Hundreds of millions live within the Communist orbit where the official doctrine makes mankind the helpless pawn of economic forces.

But man's spiritual side is still the dominant one. No human, whatever his position in the social hierarchy or his job in the working economy, merits more respect than any other animal of the woods or fields unless we accept without reservation the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God. If men are not creatures of soul, as well as of body, they are not better than the field mule, harnessed to the plough, whipped and goaded to work, cared for in the measure of his cost and value. But too often, today, we incline to describe the ultimate in human welfare as a mule's sort of heaven—a tight roof overhead, plenty of food, a minimum of work and no worries or responsibilities. So far have we strayed in our sense of values. Unless we rekindle our own understanding, can we hope to make Marxist devotees see that things of the spirit—justice, freedom, equality—are the elements that make important the satisfaction of man's creative needs? If I doubted that man is something more than mere educated animal I should personally be little concerned in the question of war or peace.

Even under the most propitious of circumstances, the obstacles to growth of understanding are legion in number and staggering in their mass. Hundreds of millions behind the Iron Curtain are daily drilled in the slogan: "There is no God, and religion is an opiate." But not all the people within the Soviet accept this fallacy; and some day they will educate their rulers—or change them. True enough, too, there are many places where men of one color seem bent on degrading men of another color, shearing them of their dignity and standing as fellow-beings. But the human conscience comes gradually to recognize this injustice and men of good purpose will grasp at any reasonable solution to eliminate it.

We cannot, of course, attain perfection in human relations even within the

smallest community, no matter how many laws we pass or policemen we hire. The rogue and the villain skulk on dark corners. But as we put street lamps on these corners so that decent folk may walk abroad after dark, so we can re-light the lamps of brotherhood where they have been extinguished among men. Again we see that the fortunate will serve their own best interests by eliminating injustice and its consequent urge toward strife.

While we strive in this effort which is primarily concerned with the living standards of individual human beings, we can break down at the same time many of the barriers of misunderstanding that exist among the nations. Misunderstanding among neighbors is perilous in the atomic age. Unreadiness by free nations for joint defensive action against an aggressor is only one of the evils that stem from it. Through these same misunderstandings there is certain to be suffered economic loss and therefore ineffectiveness in the satisfaction of human hungers. Worst of all, even the slightest misunderstanding among the nations not committed to communism is another chink in the defenses against an aggressive ideology which overlooks no opportunity to subvert and destroy. In the situation of 1950 it is crystal clear that self-interest and the common interests of free nations go hand in hand.

There is no need to remake the world, outside the Soviet system, in the likeness of the United States or any other country. What I do suggest is that we recognize that every culture developed in the world has been worked out by its possessors to meet the circumstances of their own environment. Each race and each nation can learn from every other. There is none so close to self-sufficiency that it can do without the help and cooperation of others; none so primitive that it has not amassed a wisdom that can possibly enlighten even the most advanced.

The free world has already committed itself to attainment of our two basic conditions for permanent peace—the satisfaction of human hungers and a climate of international understanding and good will. Much has been done toward their achievement. The transformation of the world thus far accomplished is at least half a miracle. Moreover, the spokesmen of the Soviets declare that they too are dedicated to the same purpose. Parenthetically, I might add, if *their* methods succeed, it would be, to us, a complete miracle.

Nevertheless, all governments pay an equal lip service to the common purpose of satisfying human hungers and promoting international understanding. Everyone of them, if challenged, can point to laws and policies that are noble beyond criticism. Why, then, is not world peace automatically ours?

Simply because the positive elements in the construction of peace can be nullified by any powerfully armed nation, whose motives are suspect, unless all are committed to disarmament and there is some means of enforcing peace among them. All the sanitary safeguards ever designed will not secure a community against disease if the residents of one block flaunt them; and the violators will not be persuaded to amend their ways until health officers, backed by the police and the laws, enforce the ordinances.

When even one major power, surreptitiously or flagrantly, builds and maintains a military machine beyond the recognized needs of reasonable security, a war of aggression is a constant threat to peaceful nations. At the very least, these armaments become the gangster's gun—a notice that might and might alone shall serve as judge and jury and sheriff in the settling of international dispute. That is the only realistic interpretation, since no government otherwise would squander its revenue or exhaust its economy on so sterile an enterprise. It is clear that international disarmament is essential to a stable, enduring peace.

In a disarmed world—should it be attained—there must be an effective United Nations, with a police power universally recognized and strong enough to earn universal respect. In it the individual nations can pool the power for policing the continents and the seas against *international* lawlessness—those acts which involve two or more nations in their *external* relations.

I do not subscribe to any idea that a world police force or a world organization should be permitted entrance to any nation for the purpose of settling disputes among its citizens, or for exercising any authority not specifically and voluntarily accorded by the affected nation. At this stage of civilization's progress any effort to push to this extreme the purpose of international law enforcement will defeat legitimate objectives. National sovereignty and independence have been won by most at too great cost to surrender to an external agency such powers. But by the establishment of a United Nations police of properly defined and restricted but effective powers, no nation would surrender one iota of its current national functions or authority, for none, by itself, now possesses a shred of responsibility to police the world. To an international peace organization, a nation would give up nothing beyond its equitable share in men and money. How this organization is to be constituted or how it is to be controlled, has yet to be worked out, but with the principles honestly accepted, the procedural problems would be easy of solution.

I have spoken thus briefly of these two elements in world peace—disarmament and United Nations authority—because they are in a manner corollaries or sequels to the other two—justice, freedom, opportunity for all men of good will; and a climate of mutual understanding and cooperation among the nations. Progress is bound to come from slow, evolutionary processes rather than from violent revolution in national and individual thinking.

But it is especially important that we do not fall prey to pessimism and defeatism. To describe the attitudes of many of us toward the current international scene, I give you the following quotation:

“It is a gloomy moment in history. Not for many years, not in the lifetime of most men who read this paper has there been so much grave and deep apprehension; never has the future seemed so incalculable as at this time.

“In France the political cauldron seeths and bubbles with uncertainty; Russia hangs as usual a cloud, dark and silent upon the horizon of Europe; while all the energies, resources and influences of the British Empire are sorely tried and are yet to be tried more sorely.

“It is a solemn moment and no man can feel indifference—which happily no man pretends to feel—in the issue of events.

“Of our own troubles no man can see the end.”

That, ladies and gentlemen, though so vividly descriptive of today, appeared in Harpers Weekly, Saturday, October 10, 1857. Possibly we are wrong when we fearfully conclude that for the first time in history the governments regard each other with fear and suspicion.

What, actually, is the outlook today? In my opinion, far better than most of us normally judge; the world of 1950 is a far brighter and better place than the world of 1850. Starvation is no longer endemic among many millions on every continent—China is the one tragic exception. Illiteracy has vastly diminished in the masses of almost every nation. In the west at least, there is a new and increased appreciation of spiritual values. Even Russia, despite its all-powerful police and purges, is for the average Russian a vast improvement compared to the Russia of 1850.

As to those countries outside the Curtain, I doubt that we can point to any era or any decade when there was as much intelligent comprehension of each other's purposes as now characterizes their relationships. And in the broader scope, the United Nations, however halting its progress may be, however much its sessions are torn by the jeers and vetoes from one sector, is a visible and working entity—substantial evidence of developing hopes and purposes, an earnest of better things to come.

All of us have come a long way in the past century; none of us should despair when we think of what our situation was, and our prospects, as recently as the summer of 1940. What then can be done now—by this University, by the United States, by the free peoples—to further the cause of peace?

The University, since its removal to Morningside Heights, has become an international center whose graduates can be found on every continent and whose influence has been a leaven for physical progress, intellectual fellowship and spiritual growth among all peoples. The purpose of this University, without over-simplification, can be epitomized in one phrase—the good of humanity.

We hope to build here on the campus a Nutrition Center in which the world's scientists will find concentrated all the knowledge, the tools, the facilities that will enable them to devise better, more productive and more effective techniques for the use of physical resources and the satisfaction of man's physical needs. We already have—and in every recent term we have further amplified—an Institute of International Affairs where we hope the political and social leaders of the world will find concentrated the materials, the information, the masses of data that will enable them to adjust the stresses and needs of one area to the strains and surpluses of another.

We hope to establish here a Chair for Peace, possibly an Institute. The purpose will be to study war as a tragic social phenomenon—its origins, its conduct, its impact, and particularly its disastrous consequences upon man's spiritual, intellectual and material progress. All this we should study in a scholarly atmosphere, free from emotional bias and the daily crises of public life. No American university, I am told, has ever undertaken this comprehensive task. For me, there is something almost shocking in the realization that, though many millions have been voluntarily donated for research in cancer of the individual body, nothing similar has been done with respect to the most malignant cancer of the world body—war.

We are presently engaged in a study of the Conservation of Human Resources—restricted, as of now, to the United States—but which will be of immeasurable benefit to all the world in furthering the dignity of man as a human being. Another hope is to conduct an exhaustive study into the ways and means of applying to every man's good, in today's intricate economy, *all* the resources of America, in such way as to maintain and enlarge every freedom that the individual has enjoyed under our system. There are other projects, under way or under discussion, that will take their places beside or even in front of these. Each of them will help Columbia University a little better to fulfill its purpose—the peace, freedom and good of America, and, therefore, of humanity.

As citizens of the United States, you and I—and all Americans in every corner of our land—must be forever mindful that the heritage of America and the strength of America are expressed in three fundamental principles: First, that individual freedom is our most precious possession; Second, that all our freedoms are a single bundle, all must be secure if any is to be preserved; Third, that freedom to compete and readiness to cooperate make our system the most productive on earth. Only within the framework of these principles can we hope to continue the growth that has marked our history. Only thus can our millions reach the fullness of intellectual, moral and physical welfare that is justly ours—and avoid any risk of submission to the all-powerful state. Moreover, only thus can the world have any hope of reaching the millennium of world peace—for without the example of strength, prosperity and progress in a free America, there is nothing to inspire men to victory in today's struggle between freedom and totalitarianism.

As friends of free people everywhere in the world, we can by our own example—our conduct in every crisis, real or counterfeit; our resistance to propaganda and passion; our readiness to seek adjustment and compromise of difference—we can by our own example ceaselessly expand understanding among the nations. We must never forget that international friendship is achieved through rumors ignored, propaganda challenged and exposed; through patient loyalty to those who have proved themselves worthy of it; through help freely given, where help is needed and merited. In this sense there is no great, no humble among us. In rights and in opportunity, in loyalty and in responsibility to ideals, we are and must remain equal. Peace is more the product of our day-to-day living than of a spectacular program, intermittently executed.

The best foreign policy is to live our daily lives in honesty, decency and integrity; at home, making our own land a more fitting habitation for free men; and, abroad, joining with those of like mind and heart, to make of the world a place where all men can dwell in peace. Neither palsied by fear nor duped by dreams but strong in the rightness of our purpose, we can then place our case and cause before the bar of world opinion—history's final arbiter between nations.