

The original documents are located in Box D22, folder “Commencement Address, Albion College, Albion, MI, June 11, 1967” of the Ford Congressional Papers: Press Secretary and Speech File at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS, ALBION COLLEGE, JUNE 11, 1967

A COMMENCEMENT SPEAKER BY TRADITION APPEARS BEFORE GRADUATES IN THE ROLE OF ADVISER. USUALLY THIS IS A RATHER UNCOMFORTABLE ASSIGNMENT BECAUSE IT PRESUMES GREAT WISDOM ON THE PART OF THE SPEAKER. HOWEVER, MY TASK TODAY IS MADE RELATIVELY EASY BECAUSE I UNDERSTAND FROM AN EDITORIAL IN THE PLEIAD THAT ANY ADVICE I GIVE IS NOT EXPECTED TO BE AT ALL PROFOUND. *I am really grateful to be stripped of this burden.*

ALLOW ME FIRST OF ALL, TO CONGRATULATE YOU. YOU HAVE PURSUED THE ARTS AND SCIENCES FOR FOUR YEARS AND HAVE SUCCESSFULLY EARNED A DEGREE. *each & everyone?*

YOU ARE ASSEMBLED HERE FOR THE LAST TIME. *although I hope you will maintain your interest + see each other at many subsequent* MINE MAY BE THE LAST WORDS YOU WILL HEAR AT THIS FINE INSTITUTION OF LEARNING. I CAN ONLY HOPE YOU WILL LONG REMEMBER AND SERIOUSLY NOTE WHAT I SAY HERE. *the occasion to some degree*



TODAY I SPEAK TO YOU ACROSS A GENERATION GAP.

A YOUNG MAN, LIKE THE HERO IN THOMAS WOLFE'S NOVELS, STRIDES ABOUT UNDER THE STARS AND A VOICE WITHIN HIM CRIES OUT, "I AM YOUNG AND 21 AND I CAN NEVER DIE." THE OLDER PERSON SAYS MORE OFTEN THAN NOT, "NOBODY GETS OUT OF THIS WORLD ALIVE."

MAN IS SUPPOSED TO ACCUMULATE WISDOM WITH THE PASSING YEARS. IN THE WORDS OF EURIPIDES, "IF WE COULD BE TWICE YOUNG AND TWICE OLD, WE COULD CORRECT ALL OUR MISTAKES."

IT IS TRUE, OF COURSE--AS THE IRISH PROVERB HAS IT-- THAT THE YOUNG DO NOT KNOW WHAT AGE IS, AND THE AGED FORGET WHAT YOUTH WAS."

BUT I AM HARDLY AGED AT THIS POINT--SO I THINK WE CAN BRIDGE THE GENERATION GAP AND COMMUNICATE WITH EACH OTHER.

AT THE OUTSET, LET ME OFFER YOU SOME NON-INTELLECTUAL ADVICE WHICH HAS TO DO WITH ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT FACETS



OF YOUR LIVES--MARRIAGE. MANY OF YOU PROBABLY WILL BE GETTING MARRIED SOON. SOME OF YOU MAY ALREADY BE MARRIED. TO YOU I SAY, ON THE BASIS OF 18-PLUS YEARS EXPERIENCE WITH THE BONDS OF MATRIMONY, IT TAKES TWO TO MAKE A MARRIAGE A SUCCESS BUT ONLY ONE TO MAKE IT A FAILURE.

A KENTUCKY CONGRESSMAN WHO IS A FRIEND OF MINE WOULD ADD, "KISSIN' DON'T LAST, BUT GOOD COOKIN' DO."

WHenever I AM CALLED UPON TO COUNSEL ANYONE, I AM REMINDED OF THE STORY ABOUT A. A. MILNE AND THE ASPIRING YOUNG AUTHOR.

THE BEGINNING WRITER ASKED MILNE HOW TO SUCCEED IN HIS CHOSEN WORK. MILNE PROMPTLY REPLIED, "NEVER TAKE ANYONE'S ADVICE."

"BUT, SIR," THE YOUNG MAN PROTESTED, "IF I TAKE YOUR ADVICE, I WON'T TAKE IT- / AND IF I DO NOT TAKE IT, THEN I WILL BE TAKING IT."



difficult

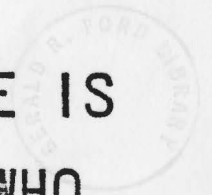
- an obvious incongruity

NOW THERE'S A ~~PRETTY PARADOX FOR YOU~~. I INJECT IT HERE BECAUSE IT FITS WITH ALL I WILL SAY ~~TO YOU~~ ON THIS OCCASION.

THE THRUST OF MY MESSAGE IS THAT YOU MUST CULTIVATE SOUND JUDGMENT AND THEN RELY ON IT. HAVE CONFIDENCE IN YOURSELF. DON'T PAY TOO MUCH ATTENTION TO WHAT OTHERS TELL YOU. SIFT THROUGH ALL THE AVAILABLE INFORMATION AND THEN DECIDE FOR YOURSELF WHAT IS RIGHT.

AS GRADUATES OF ALBION COLLEGE, YOU ARE MOST FORTUNATE. YOU HAVE COME INTO CONTACT WITH THE BEST THAT HAS BEEN SAID AND DONE IN THE WORLD. YOUR ATTENTION HAS BEEN DIRECTED TOWARD THE MORAL AND ETHICAL STANDARDS THAT MAKE A MAN "JUST A LITTLE LESS THAN THE ANGELS." YOU ARE IN A POSITION TO BECOME LEADERS AMONG MEN.

ONE OF THE TRUTHS I HAVE DISCOVERED IN MY OWN LIFE IS THAT THE TIME-HONORED VIRTUES ARE EXACTLY THAT. THOSE WHO PRETEND TO BE "SWIFT" AND "HIP" ARE REALLY LOST SOULS WHO HAVE



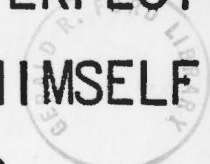
BECOME ALIENATED FROM SOCIETY.

WHAT I AM SAYING IS / THAT YOU SHOULD DARE TO BE SQUARE
IF YOUR INNER SELF TELLS YOU THAT IS WHAT IS RIGHT.

RIGHT NOW YOU ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE YEARS IMMEDIATELY
AHEAD. DESPITE THE FINE EDUCATION YOU HAVE RECEIVED AT
ALBION, MANY OF YOU MAY BE ASSAILED BY SELF-DOUBT AND FEARS
OF HOW YOU WILL PERFORM IN YOUR CHOSEN CAREER.

TO YOU I COMMEND A FAVORITE PASSAGE OF MINE FROM WILLIAM
JAMES, WRITTEN SOME 75 YEARS AGO AND STILL JUST AS FULL OF
WISDOM:

JAMES WROTE: "LET NO YOUTH HAVE ANY ANXIETY ABOUT THE
UPSHOT OF HIS EDUCATION, WHATEVER THE LINE OF IT MAY BE. IF
HE KEEP FAITHFULLY BUSY EACH HOUR OF THE WORKING DAY, HE MAY
SAFELY LEAVE THE FINAL RESULT TO ~~HIMSELF~~^{HIMSELF}. HE CAN WITH PERFECT
CERTAINTY COUNT ON WAKING UP SOME FINE MORNING TO FIND HIMSELF
ONE OF THE COMPETENT ONES OF HIS GENERATION, IN WHATEVER



PURSUIT HE MAY HAVE SINGLED OUT. SILENTLY, BETWEEN ALL THE DETAILS OF HIS BUSINESS, THE POWER OF JUDGING IN ALL THE CLASS OF MATTER WILL HAVE BUILT ITSELF WITHIN HIM AS A POSSESSION THAT WILL NEVER PASS AWAY."

JAMES ITALICIZED THE WORDS, "POWER OF JUDGING." HE DID SO BECAUSE IT IS NOT ENOUGH THAT A PERSON WORK HARD, THAT HE "KEEP FAITHFULLY BUSY EACH HOUR OF THE WORKING DAY." CERTAINLY A MAN MUST BE INDUSTRIOUS IF HE IS TO SUCCEED. BUT HE MUST ALSO DEVELOP THE POWER TO JUDGE PERSONS AND EVENTS FOR HIMSELF AND TO MAKE PERSONAL DECISIONS.

UNTIL YOU DEVELOP THIS POWER OF JUDGING, YOU WILL NEVER FULLY FIND YOURSELF. WITHOUT THE POWER OF JUDGING, YOU WILL NEVER ATTAIN A FULL MEASURE OF MATURITY. AND WE MUST ATTAIN GENUINE MATURITY TO KNOW REAL HAPPINESS.

MATURITY IS A DEEP NEED FOR ALL OF US--NOT ONLY AS INDIVIDUALS, BUT AS A NATION.



A NATION IS, AFTER ALL, SIMPLY A COLLECTION OF INDIVIDUALS. AND THE CHARACTER OF A NATION IS THE COLLECTIVE CHARACTER OF ITS PEOPLE. IT FOLLOWS, THEREFORE, THAT THE QUALITY OF A NATION'S DECISIONS DEPENDS ON THE COLLECTIVE JUDGMENT AND MATURITY OF ITS CITIZENS.

TODAY OUR NATION IS SHAKEN BY DEEP DIVISIONS ON NATIONAL POLICY--A GREAT DEBATE OVER VIETNAM, / THE CONTINUING CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION, / THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES IN A WORLD CRACKLING WITH SOCIAL UPHEAVAL IN EMERGING NATIONS, / AND THE UNCEASING EXPANSIONIST EFFORTS OF WORLD COMMUNISM.

WE HAVE WITNESSED A VARIETY OF PROTEST MOVEMENTS IN RECENT MONTHS AND YEARS.

I BELIEVE FIRMLY IN THE RIGHT OF RESPONSIBLE DISSENT. IT IS A TESTIMONIAL TO THE STRENGTH OF A FREE AMERICA THAT WE CURRENTLY ARE PERMITTING A DEGREE OF DISSENT FROM GOVERNMENT POLICY WHICH IS UNPRECEDENTED IN WARTIME.

OF YOUNG MEN IS THEIR STRENGTH."

BUT THAT STRENGTH IS GLORIOUS ONLY IF IT IS EMPLOYED IN A GREAT CAUSE, NOT DASHED AGAINST THE ROCKS OF ALIENATION IN REBELLION-FOR-REBELLION'S-SAKE.

~~THE~~ ^{THE} ~~YOUR~~ ^{OF YOUNG AMERICANS} STRENGTH WILL BE GREAT ONLY IF ^{they couple it with} ~~YOU~~ DISCIPLINE, ~~IT~~, DIRECT IT TO WORTHY GOALS AND BIND ^{THEM} ~~YOUR~~SELVES TO PURPOSES THAT ARE LARGER THAN ANY ONE PERSON'S EGO AND NOBLER THAN THE COMMON GOALS OF MEN.

TO REALIZE GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS, A MAN MUST PROPERLY ASSESS HIS OWN VALUE, / ASSUME FULL RESPONSIBILITY FOR ALL OF HIS ACTIONS, AND SO CONDUCT HIMSELF THAT HIS LIFE REFLECTS LOVE AND RESPECT FOR OTHERS.

BELIEVE ALONG WITH ME THAT IN EACH ^{PERSON} ~~MAN~~ THERE IS SOMETHING PRECIOUS. ^(I WANT TO SEE AMERICANS) FIGHT FOR ^{THEIR} ~~YOUR~~ IDEALS, ^{AND} HELP ~~BE~~ CLOTHE WITH TRUTH THE PRONOUNCEMENT THAT "ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL." ^{LET US} ~~A~~ BEAT INJUSTICE TO EARTH--BUT DO SO IN REASONED DEFENSE OF LIBERTY,



NOT IN EMPTY-MINDED DEFIANCE OF LAW AND ORDER. ACHIEVE FOR YOURSELF THE FULL MATURITY THAT COMES WHEN A MAN IS MASTER OF HIMSELF AND A TRUE SERVANT OF GOD. ONLY THEN CAN YOU KNOW SUCH HAPPINESS AS MAY BE AFFORDED TO MORTAL MEN.

With some trepidation

I HAVE DARED TO OFFER YOU THIS COUNSEL DESPITE THE WARNING WORDS OF PHILIP STANHOPE, EARL OF CHESTERFIELD, WHO ONCE OBSERVED: "ADVICE IS SELDOM WELCOME; AND THOSE WHO WANT IT MOST ALWAYS LIKE IT LEAST."

I LEAVE YOU WITH THIS FINAL CAPSULE OF WISDOM:

FOUR THINGS A MAN MUST LEARN TO DO

IF HE WOULD MAKE HIS RECORD TRUE;

TO THINK WITHOUT CONFUSION CLEARLY,

TO LOVE HIS FELLOW MEN SINCERELY,

TO ACT FROM HONEST MOTIVES PURELY,

TO TRUST IN GOD AND HEAVEN SECURELY.

THANK YOU.

-END-



COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS BY
REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH.
AT ALBION COLLEGE, JUNE 11, 1967

A MEASURE OF MATURITY

A commencement speaker by tradition appears before graduates in the role of adviser. Usually this is a rather uncomfortable assignment because it presumes great wisdom on the part of the speaker. However, my task today is made relatively easy because I understand from an editorial in the Pleiad that any advice I give is not expected to be at all profound.

Allow me first of all, to congratulate you. You have pursued the arts and sciences for four years and have successfully earned a degree.

You are assembled here for the last time. Mine may be the last words you will hear at this fine institution of learning. I can only hope you will long remember and seriously note what I say here.

Today I speak to you across a generation gap.

A young man, like the hero in Thomas Wolfe's novels, strides about under the stars and a voice within him cries out, "I am young and 21 and I can never die." The older person says more often than not, "Nobody gets out of this world alive."

Man is supposed to accumulate wisdom with the passing years. In the words of Euripides, "If we could be twice young and twice old, we could correct all our mistakes."

It is true, of course--as the Irish proverb has it--that "the young do not know what age is, and the aged forget what youth was."

But I am hardly aged at this point--so I think we can bridge the generation gap and communicate with each other.

At the outset, let me offer you some non-intellectual advice which has to do with one of the most important facets of your lives--marriage. Many of you probably will be getting married soon. Some of you may already be married. To you I say, on the basis of 18-plus years' experience with the bonds of matrimony, it takes two to make a marriage a success but only one to make it a failure.

A Kentucky congressman who is a friend of mine would add, "Kissin' don't last, but good cookin' do."

Whenever I am called upon to counsel anyone, I am reminded of the story about A. A. Milne and the aspiring young author.

The beginning writer asked Milne how to succeed in his chosen work. Milne promptly replied, "Never take anyone's advice."

"But, sir," the young man protested, "If I take your advice, I won't take it--and if I do not take it, then I will be taking it."

(more)

Now there's a pretty paradox for you. I inject it here because it fits with all I will say to you on this occasion.

The thrust of my message is that you must cultivate sound judgment and then rely on it. Have confidence in yourself. Don't pay too much attention to what others tell you. Sift through all the available information and then decide for yourself what is right.

As graduates of Albion College, you are most fortunate. You have come into contact with the best that has been said and done in the world. Your attention has been directed toward the moral and ethical standards that make a man "just a little less than the angels." You are in a position to become leaders among men.

One of the truths I have discovered in my own life is that the time-honored virtues are exactly that. Those who pretend to be "swift" and "hip" are really lost souls who have become alienated from society.

What I am saying is that you should dare to be square if your inner self tells you that is what is right.

Right now you are concerned about the years immediately ahead. Despite the fine education you have received at Albion, many of you may be assailed by self-doubt and fears of how you will perform in your chosen career.

To you I commend a favorite passage of mine from William James, written some 75 years ago and still just as full of wisdom:

James wrote: "Let no youth have any anxiety about the upshot of his education, whatever the line of it may be. If he keep faithfully busy each hour of the working day, he may safely leave the final result to ~~him~~ himself. He can with perfect certainty count on waking up some fine morning to find himself one of the competent ones of his generation, in whatever pursuit he may have singled out. Silently, between all the details of his business, the power of judging in all the class of matter will have built itself within him as a possession that will never pass away."

James italicized the words, "power of judging." He did so because it is not enough that a person work hard, that he "keep faithfully busy each hour of the working day." Certainly a man must be industrious if he is to succeed. But he must also develop the power to judge persons and events for himself and to make personal decisions.

Until you develop this power of judging, you will never fully find yourself. Without the power of judging, you will never attain a full measure of maturity. And we must attain genuine maturity to know real happiness.

Maturity is a deep need for all of us--not only as individuals, but as a Nation.

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A nation is, after all, simply a collection of individuals. And the character of a nation is the collective character of its people. It follows, therefore, that the quality of a nation's decisions depends on the collective judgment and maturity of its citizens.

Today our Nation is shaken by deep divisions on national policy--a great debate over Vietnam, the continuing civil rights revolution, the role of the United States in a world crackling with social upheaval in emerging nations and the unceasing expansionist efforts of world communism.

We have witnessed a variety of protest movements in recent months and years.

I believe firmly in the right of responsible dissent. It is a testimonial to the strength of a free America that we currently are permitting a degree of dissent from government policy which is unprecedented in wartime.

Ironically, however, the precious right of freedom of speech is being threatened by the dissenters themselves.

The judgment of some Americans caught up in Vietnam War protests and the civil rights movement is being badly impaired by the passion of their beliefs.

At the same time, the judgment of certain Americans who resent the actions and views of the anti-war and civil rights advocates also is clouded by emotion.

This Nation therefore is torn by attempts at suppression both by the repressive right and the irresponsible left.

This is a time of deep crisis for our Nation. We are ripped by racial strife, and we are embroiled in a strange kind of war that is testing the will and determination of Americans as never before.

Certainly this is a time when Americans must set a check-rein on their emotions, must examine the Nation's problems rationally and must employ the most careful judgment.

It is imperative that all Americans today become thinkers--that they obtain all necessary information on the issues that divide us and then proceed to make a reasoned judgment.

Therefore I am deeply concerned about the recent actions of some Americans.

Is it the way of a thinking American to shut the other side up...to prevent a government official from speaking at a university or to assault persons with pacifist views? I refer first to the group of Howard University students who recently drove Draft Director Lewis B. Hershey from the stage of the university. In the latter case, I speak of the high school students who beat up seven anti-war youths in Boston last year.

(more)

Is it the way of a thinking American to rough up the Secretary of Defense as a group of Harvard students did recently because they disagree with U. S. policy on Vietnam?

Is it the way of a thinking American to plant and set off a bomb at the Berkeley, California, headquarters of the anti-war Vietnam Day Committee, as occurred last year?

Is it the way of a thinking American to heckle and threaten a former governor when he speaks on a college campus? I refer now to the incident last May 3 at Dartmouth College when former Alabama Governor George Wallace was harassed during his speech, and his car damaged and nearly overturned by students incensed by his presence and his views.

Such behavior is destructive of our liberties whether engaged in by know-nothings who pelt Dr. Martin Luther King with rocks or by college students who try to turn off those with whom they disagree.

If yours is a turned-on generation, then it should be turned on in defense of the right to dissent no matter whose voice is raised.

Attacks on the right of dissent--whether from the right or the left--tend to erode the freedoms for which Americans fought and gave their lives when this Nation was born.

When violence and fear impair the freedom of any American to speak out or otherwise express his views in a lawful manner on matters of public policy, then the freedom of all Americans is threatened.

We must resist such incursions on freedom of speech both from the repressive right and the irresponsible left.

We must be ever mindful of the words of Judge Learned Hand, who said, "That community is already in the process of dissolution where...orthodoxy chokes freedom of dissent; where faith in the eventual supremacy of reason has become so timid that we dare not enter our convictions in the open lists and win."

If we love America, let us not engage in excesses that cripple or destroy freedom of dissent or seek to deny it to others while reserving it to ourselves.

In this time of crisis, I would like to see this Nation united in purpose, as nearly of one mind as possible in meeting the threat of aggression in the world.

If unity eludes us, let us then cooperate in preserving freedom at home while our Nation defends it abroad.

It was the great French liberal, Jean Jacques Rousseau, who said:

"Where is the man who owes nothing to the land in which he lives? Whatever

(more)

the land may be, he owes to it the most precious thing possessed by man, the morality of his actions and the love of virtue."

Do the American draft dodgers who flee to Canada owe nothing to their native land?

What do young Americans who seek to disrupt the American war effort owe to their country?

Ask yourself whether you admire the poem written by a 22-year-old Vermonter before he was arrested with 12 others for lying down in Pentagon doorways. He wrote:

"This is the Pentagon./ you are throwing your soul against it./ it really does blow your mind sometimes./ what a groovy thing to be doing./ what a vitally important, groovy thing to be done."

Although we may disagree with government policy, let us not give aid and comfort to the enemy or pray for the defeat of our country.

If you disagree with those in authority, argue your case on its merits, employ the cool light of reason and not the hot winds of violence.

Every right carries with it a responsibility. When Stokely Carmichael speaks out on the civil rights and Vietnam issues, for instance, he should be responsible enough not to urge Negroes to shoot policemen instead of carrying a gun in Vietnam. When a Negro policeman shoots another Negro in self-defense, no responsible Negro leader should tell all Negroes to buy guns on the pretext of protecting themselves.

It is significant, I think, that Negro singer Eartha Kitt recently remarked that Stokely Carmichael "doesn't really have much to say." I would add my own comment that, by contrast, there is much wisdom in a Negro leader like Roy Wilkins.

There is in most young people a ferment--a ferment of ideas and ideals. Often this evidences itself in a crusade to make right everything that is wrong with the world or to challenge all older persons and their views.

This ferment can be productive, as in the case of the Peace Corps--or it can be destructive, as in the case of the "New Left" at the University of California.

The power that young people wield is tremendous--and with it comes great responsibility.

It is written in the Book of Proverbs that "The glory of young men is their strength."

But that strength is glorious only if it is employed in a great cause, not dashed against the rocks of alienation in rebellion-for-rebellion's-sake.

Your strength will be great only if you discipline it. Direct it to worthy

(more)

goals and bind yourselves to purposes that are larger than any one person's ego and nobler than the common goals of men.

To realize great achievements, a man must properly assess his own value, assume full responsibility for all of his actions, and so conduct himself that his life reflects love and respect for others.

Believe along with me that in each man there is something precious. Fight for your ideals. Help to clothe with truth the pronouncement that "all men are created equal." Beat injustice to earth--but do so in reasoned defense of liberty, not in empty-minded defiance of law and order. Achieve for yourself the full maturity that comes when a man is master of himself and a true servant of God. Only then can you know such happiness as may be afforded to mortal men.

I have dared to offer you this counsel despite the warning words of Philip Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, who once observed: "Advice is seldom welcome; and those who want it most always like it least."

I leave you with this final capsule of wisdom:

Four things a man must learn to do
If he would make his record true;
To think without confusion clearly,
To love his fellow men sincerely,
To act from honest motives purely,
To trust in God and heaven securely.

Thank you.

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At the same time, the judgment of certain Americans who resent the actions and views of the anti-war and civil rights advocates also is clouded by emotion.

This Nation therefore is torn by attempts at suppression both by the repressive right and the irresponsible left.

This is a time of deep crisis for our Nation. We are ripped by racial strife, and we are embroiled in a strange kind of war that is testing the will and determination of Americans as never before.

Certainly this is a time when Americans must set a check-rein on their emotions, must examine the Nation's problems rationally and must employ the most careful judgment.

It is imperative that all Americans today become thinkers--that they obtain all necessary information on the issues that divide us and then proceed to make a reasoned judgment.

Therefore I am deeply concerned about the recent actions of some Americans.

Is it the way of a thinking American to shut the other side up...to prevent a government official from speaking at a university or to assault persons with pacifist views? I refer first to the group of Howard University students who recently drove Draft Director Lewis B. Hershey from the stage of the university. In the latter case, I speak of the high school students who beat up seven anti-war youths in Boston last year.

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Is it the way of a thinking American to rough up the Secretary of Defense as a group of Harvard students did recently because they disagree with U. S. policy on Vietnam?

Is it the way of a thinking American to plant and set off a bomb at the Berkeley, California, headquarters of the anti-war Vietnam Day Committee, as occurred last year?

Is it the way of a thinking American to heckle and threaten a former governor when he speaks on a college campus? I refer now to the incident last May 3 at Dartmouth College when former Alabama Governor George Wallace was harassed during his speech, and his car damaged and nearly overturned by students incensed by his presence and his views.

Such behavior is destructive of our liberties whether engaged in by know-nothings who pelt Dr. Martin Luther King with rocks or by college students who try to turn off those with whom they disagree.

If yours is a turned-on generation, then it should be turned on in defense of the right to dissent no matter whose voice is raised.

Attacks on the right of dissent--whether from the right or the left--tend to erode the freedoms for which Americans fought and gave their lives when this Nation was born.

When violence and fear impair the freedom of any American to speak out or otherwise express his views in a lawful manner on matters of public policy, then the freedom of all Americans is threatened.

We must resist such incursions on freedom of speech both from the repressive right and the irresponsible left.

We must be ever mindful of the words of Judge Learned Hand, who said, "That community is already in the process of dissolution where...orthodoxy chokes freedom of dissent; where faith in the eventual supremacy of reason has become so timid that we dare not enter our convictions in the open lists and win."

If we love America, let us not engage in excesses that cripple or destroy freedom of dissent or seek to deny it to others while reserving it to ourselves.

In this time of crisis, I would like to see this Nation united in purpose, as nearly of one mind as possible in meeting the threat of aggression in the world.

If unity eludes us, let us then cooperate in preserving freedom at home while our Nation defends it abroad.

It was the great French liberal, Jean Jacques Rousseau, who said:

"Where is the man who owes nothing to the land in which he lives? Whatever

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the land may be, he owes to it the most precious thing possessed by man, the morality of his actions and the love of virtue."

Do the American draft dodgers who flee to Canada owe nothing to their native land?

What do young Americans who seek to disrupt the American war effort owe to their country?

Ask yourself whether you admire the poem written by a 22-year-old Vermonter before he was arrested with 12 others for lying down in Pentagon doorways. He wrote:

"This is the Pentagon./ you are throwing your soul against it./ it really does blow your mind sometimes./ what a groovy thing to be doing./ what a vitally important, groovy thing to be done."

Although we may disagree with government policy, let us not give aid and comfort to the enemy or pray for the defeat of our country.

If you disagree with those in authority, argue your case on its merits, employ the cool light of reason and not the hot winds of violence.

Every right carries with it a responsibility. When Stokely Carmichael speaks out on the civil rights and Vietnam issues, for instance, he should be responsible enough not to urge Negroes to shoot policemen instead of carrying a gun in Vietnam. When a Negro policeman shoots another Negro in self-defense, no responsible Negro leader should tell all Negroes to buy guns on the pretext of protecting themselves.

It is significant, I think, that Negro singer Eartha Kitt recently remarked that Stokely Carmichael "doesn't really have much to say." I would add my own comment that, by contrast, there is much wisdom in a Negro leader like Roy Wilkins.

There is in most young people a ferment--a ferment of ideas and ideals. Often this evidences itself in a crusade to make right everything that is wrong with the world or to challenge all older persons and their views.

This ferment can be productive, as in the case of the Peace Corps--or it can be destructive, as in the case of the "New Left" at the University of California.

The power that young people wield is tremendous--and with it comes great responsibility.

It is written in the Book of Proverbs that "The glory of young men is their strength."

But that strength is glorious only if it is employed in a great cause, not dashed against the rocks of alienation in rebellion-for-rebellion's-sake.

Your strength will be great only if you discipline it. Direct it to worthy

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goals and bind yourselves to purposes that are larger than any one person's ego and nobler than the common goals of men.

To realize great achievements, a man must properly assess his own value, assume full responsibility for all of his actions, and so conduct himself that his life reflects love and respect for others.

Believe along with me that in each man there is something precious. Fight for your ideals. Help to clothe with truth the pronouncement that "all men are created equal." Beat injustice to earth--but do so in reasoned defense of liberty, not in empty-minded defiance of law and order. Achieve for yourself the full maturity that comes when a man is master of himself and a true servant of God. Only then can you know such happiness as may be afforded to mortal men.

I have dared to offer you this counsel despite the warning words of Philip Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, who once observed: "Advice is seldom welcome; and those who want it most always like it least."

I leave you with this final capsule of wisdom:

Four things a man must learn to do
If he would make his record true;
To think without confusion clearly,
To love his fellow men sincerely,
To act from honest motives purely,
To trust in God and heaven securely.

Thank you.

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