

having defined the kind of peace we want in the world, is to determine realistically what is required in times such as these to establish such a minimum peace, and then to accept those requirements as a normal and proper part of our national life as long as they are needed. No American who deserves the name could possibly want to do less...

“I cannot tell you the final solution, and consequently I cannot outline the various and specific sacrifices it will require. I am, in effect, asking you and the rest of the American people for those answers... But I should like to suggest to you some of the sacrifices we may have to make, as I see them in trying to think through this problem myself.

“Obviously, our logical first step, which we have already undertaken, is to expand and strengthen our armed forces and those of our allies as quickly as possible. This means that for the next several years we are going to have to devote a major portion of our national income and effort to defense needs. This means higher federal budgets, which will require higher taxes from all of us...

“First, we as a nation may have to curtail, for the time being, many fine programs we have long planned and hoped for. We may have to give up for the time being certain consumer goods that we might otherwise have... The higher taxes that we will have to pay means, in effect, lower incomes for all of us. We may have to endure controls of various types, on prices, wages, and allocations of materials... Finally, on a completely personal level, we shall have to accept the individual sacrifice that will be required of many of our young people who will have to interrupt their normal civilian pursuits and don uniforms...

“Whatever sacrifices are required of us to solve our present great problems in the world, we must prepare to accept them calmly as a citizen’s proper share in the preservation of this treasured freedom and prosperity which previous generations have established for us, which we have enjoyed, and which we desire for our children... I know that the

American people will make any sacrifice necessary, as they always have, to protect their country and all it stands for. But they will do this only if they clearly understand the problem and what is required to solve it. For that reason I feel strongly that it is a major responsibility of government officials to lay before the people our problems and the facts concerning them, in straightforward, honest fashion.

“That is the great strength of a democracy which no totalitarian nation can enjoy—the free enlightened thinking of all its citizens, and the resulting tide of ideas flowing to the top of government to guide the nation’s leaders as they try to solve the mighty problems that they deal with.

“We have never needed to exploit this great advantage more than today. We have never had greater requirement for the best thinking a democracy can provide. How we as a nation respond in this crisis may well affect the history of this country, and the entire world, for centuries to come.”

Joseph P. Kennedy: Entangling Alliances

The Honorable Joseph P. Kennedy was former ambassador to the Court of St. James when he addressed The Economic Club of Chicago on December 17, 1951.



“Peace is, of course, the broad objective of American foreign policy. The survival of our democratic institutions, our country, even our civilization depends upon how successful we are in attaining that objective.

For to fail means war, which in turn destroys lives, institutions and ideals, which no amount of money or energy can ever rebuild...

“But a foreign policy that is short of war has an overpowering influence on everything else we do. It, and not domestic needs, determines the size of our budgets and the amount of our taxes... That policy, and not the absence of some scheme of controls, is what is responsible for inflation, for the cheapening of the dollar and ever-higher prices—a process which has only just begun and whose end no one can foresee...

“Our foreign policy since 1946 is said to have been dominated by the threat of expansion on the part of Communist Russia... Russian tactics have, however, been directed toward weakening the democratic states of the world in order to permit the entry of Communism and its doctrines. If we measure the success of our foreign policy in terms of its checking of that tactic, we appear to be on the edge of failure...

“Just a year ago, at Charlottesville, in raising a series of questions with regard to our foreign policy, I touched off what became known as the Great Debate. I said then that we were wasting our resources in the pursuit of a dream which, worthy though it might be, was impossible of accomplishment. I said then that, instead of scattering our dollars and our troops throughout Europe, we would do well to think first of our own destiny and its realization, and second of how within our capabilities we could assist those whose ideals were such that they would wholeheartedly link their survival to ours. I also said then that the chief fortress of resistance must be ourselves, not Europe, not Korea, not even the United Nations...

“The Korean War becomes more ghastly, more utterly futile as each day follows the next... The Arab world, whose friendship had been ours, has turned against us. In Asia only those states where we or Western Europe have some semblance of control support us. Burma, Malaya, Iran, Egypt are all seething with revolt and, throughout the rest of Asia, America is no longer seen as a champion of democratic self-determination but as a nation indistinguishable from her imperial allies...

“Perhaps, worse than all these, is the fact upon

which all observers agree, the growing anti-Americanism of Western Europe. It manifests itself now openly at the highest levels of political expression...

“The basic difficulty is not merely administration... It is a policy that builds on the theory that our dollars can buy things that are not purchasable—the will to resist, the will to re-arm, the will to fight in another man’s cause...

“I come therefore to suggestions that I believe would make our foreign policy meaningful and make for our security as well as for the peace and security of the world. There are at least four of them.

“First: We must make certain of the economic, political, and military strength of this country. For, if America collapses, the democratic world collapses. No one will create a Marshall Plan for us...we cannot re-arm all the rest of the democratic world and expect also to arm ourselves. That burden would weigh so heavily upon us as to destroy the sense of individual incentive that is central to our democratic institutions and to American life. If we lose ideals because of making it impossible to realize them, we lost the very things we had hoped to save.

“Second: We must develop the resources of this hemisphere. We have put billions, by way of lend-lease and Marshall Plan aid, into the development of the resources of other nations in West Africa, in Iran, in Burma, in Malaya. They can too easily be imperiled... The oil of Venezuela and the tin of Bolivia lie closer to us than the oil of the Persian Gulf and the tin of Sumatra. It is just plain horse sense to shorten as much as possible the perimeter of self-sufficiency, rather than expand it to embrace the world.

“Third: We should make a realistic re-appraisal of the needs of Europe or the Middle East or any other region for that matter, and see what we can or should do about them. What we have done has produced neither political or economic stability in

Europe... If they are unwilling to do what it is within their power to restore their productivity, they will be useless allies in a fight... Western Europe's strength has been sapped greatly by war and the loss of portions of her colonial empires. We cannot pretend that this is not so and in an ostrich-like fashion seek to bury those facts by a flood of dollars. To do so is suicidal for Europe; it is equally suicidal for us.

"Fourth: We must seek to disentangle ourselves from the far-flung commitments that we have recently made. Today, a border incident in Norway is an act of aggression against the United States...whether such an act should be treated as a cause for war should be a matter for our determination and not that of some foreign power. And by our determination, I mean the determination of the Congress and not that of the President. In short, I would restore to Congress its constitutional power to make war.

"Disentanglement of our commitments requires a similar reversal of our attitude towards the United Nations. We can look to it for a forum to exchange ideas, but not for governance... To base, as our present spokesmen say they do, the core of their policy on the United Nations is simply to spread abroad as our policy the vacillation, the indetermination of that organization. America had a clearer voice when she spoke directly to the world rather than through the throat of that assembly.

"Peace, I said, is the objective of our foreign policy. But today there is no peace. There is the thunder of guns in the hills of Korea, the ever swelling lists of dead and wounded and missing. Gettysburg, Antietam, the Wilderness, all rolled together do not equal these. There are the clouds of dust cast up by atomic explosions in Nevada and in the wastes of Siberia. There is blood in Suez, in Malaya, in the Philippines. There are sirens in New York and in Seattle, and millions of men and women devoted not to productive enterprise but to the building of guns and tanks and guided missiles.

"We must somehow find stars to steer our course

by, somehow avoid the thunderheads of war and equally treacherous fog of an embattled peace. To do so will require the best that is in us. But with the help of God, we may again be able, as young men and old, to live not for today but for a morrow of dreams and freedom and an ever-abounding life."

Sylvester L. Weaver, Jr.: **Our Happy TV Future**

Sylvester L. Weaver, Jr. was vice chairman of the board of National Broadcasting Company when he addressed The Economic Club of Chicago on June 15, 1953, on television's future.



"Now television is quite a subject. Television is an exciting show business medium. It is a great marketing tool. It is a great civilizer and educator. It is a great industry.

"Television is also one of the keys to tomorrow's manufacturing and distribution systems. You know that industrial television units are used to observe dangerous operations, or remote controlled operations. But daily, new uses are found for the substitution of almost errorless electronic control and communications in place of human skill...

"The manufacturer of the future will concern himself less with memos, reports and meetings; more with watching his office television screen. With vidicon (or very small) cameras installed in his plants at significant points, he will observe operations, note the calculator totals at each operation and in a short time, by push button, can have visited his national operations, observed them, and checked their performance against his schedule.

"The same type of apparatus is available for the home. Vidicon tubes will pick up and relay to your