

"YOUTH'S RESPONSIBILITY IN CITIZENSHIP TRAINING"

Address of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, National Y.M.C.A.
Youth and Government Assembly, June 26, 1952, Washington, D.C.

Thank you very much, Mr. Hendricks, and fellow citizens -- fellow students. I have two speeches for you this morning. I thought you would like to be notified about that. One speech is written out. You can come up and look at it any time you want to. I always do that. And I am going to give you another speech that is entirely different from the one I have written out. The one I am about to give you now is going to be entirely extemporaneous. I just want to talk to you about a few things that I have on my heart which I think may be of some interest to you.

I want to talk to you about your government, about your place in this government and about your responsibilities as citizens. But I'm not going to tell you about your rights. Everybody knows about his rights. The American people are long on rights but we are a little bit short on our responsibilities. Every American, young or old, fully appreciates his right to condemn his government, to criticize his government, to say things about his neighbors, to exercise a right to do almost anything, to have an occupation, to go to school, to have employment, even to break the law -- he sometimes thinks he has that right. ~~We have people~~ We have people who talk about more than individuals' rights; we have people who talk about states' rights -- they spend a lot of time talking about states' rights. We have others who talk about national rights. We even have people today who talk about their

right to certain sections of the world. There's been enough talk about rights in this country. I want to spend a little time with you talking about responsibilities; individual citizens' responsibilities and opportunities, states' responsibilities and opportunities, and the national government's responsibilities and opportunities.

I am a politician and I am proud of it. I never go before any audience to apologize for my chosen career because I selected this career. I think there is nothing finer, nothing more noble, nothing more decent, nothing more inspiring than to be selected by your fellow citizens to serve them in any capacity in public service, whether that capacity is as a justice of the peace, as a township committeeman, as a county commissioner, as a city alderman, as a member of a state legislature, as a state official such as the state treasurer or governor, or as a member of the House of Representatives, as United States Senator, or as the President of the United States. People who are elected to public office are not only privileged people in the sense that they have been given a vote of confidence by their fellow citizens, but they are the most honored individuals in all of the world. Some people think they are born to a certain status in life. Other people want to be appointed to a certain position, but I am here to say today that the elected public official can say that he comes from the people. He represents the people, and he can honestly say that it is the greatest honor that can be bestowed upon one of the people. That's the way I feel about my job. I am a United States Senator. I ran

for office in the state of Minnesota. I did not get appointed; I was elected by the people in an election in which over one million, four hundred thousand people out of a three million population, cast their votes. Now that is a sizable portion of the electorate.

Why do I tell you this? Because I am confident that throughout America today something has happened that is not good. I believe that there have been too many people convinced that politics is evil, that it is necessarily corrupt, and bad. I am convinced that this kind of talk and this kind of thinking drives good people out of political participation and may drive you away from it. Now my friends, let me let you in on something. Democracy is the people's business -- everybody's business -- and it is up to the people to take care of their business -- up to everybody to take care of their own business. Democracy is both a philosophy and a form of government which represents the interests of the people. It requires the participation of the people. A great French philosopher by the name of Montesquieu said that democracy requires the wisdom and the virtue of the people. But what do we hear today? We have a number of people who have control over means of communication, or at least use it -- columnists, commentators, people in public life, lecturers, and others who are going up and down America telling young Americans how rotten their government is. Let me let you in on a secret. Your government is no better nor any worse than you are. Government in a democracy is the image of the public, and if you look at your government at a city level -- and I have been a mayor of a large city-- and it looks a little dirty, all you are seeing is your own dirty face as you look into the mirror of your municipality.

I have heard a lot of nice pious people talk about corruption in city government but they never have the courage to go out and clean it up. I have heard a lot of nice pious people talk about corruption or inefficiency in state government, but they will never tell to their sons and daughters to get into the fight and try to clean it up. I don't think a man has a right to complain about his government unless he is willing to do something to improve it, unless he is willing to give some of his energy, some of his time, and take some of the fight that has to go with it and some of the punishment that comes from politics, to go out and clean it up. I served as a mayor of a city of over five hundred thousand people and we had hoodlums and racketeers. How easy it was for people to sit on the sidelines and say, "Well, mayor, you take care of it." I told the people in my town they didn't pay me enough to take care of it alone; not only that, I was just one individual out of a half million and one individual out of a half million, even with the powers of government, was helpless before the relentless, persevering forces of evil, bribery, thievery, and corruption. It takes more than one. I went into church after church, as some people in this audience know, and challenged the ministry of my city and the young people and the old people, and said, "If you want clean government get into the fight and you can have it, but don't leave it up to me alone because if you are going to do that you are not going to get it done because this is more than a one-man job".

We have a lot of people in this country who like to talk about how bad it is to have one-man government; they are always worried

that the President is going to get too much power or that he is going to exercise too much power. But those very same people aren't willing to do one thing whatsoever to improve their government or to take on the responsibility. Now, what am I saying to you? I am telling you that if you want a better America you have got to make it that way. No one is going to deliver it to you. If you think politics is dirty get in and clean it up, there is lots of room. Get yourselves some political soap and start floating around in this bath of politics that we have here. Don't stand on the sidelines and unfurl the cynic's band and tell me that the Democratic party or the Republican party is corrupt. There is a lot of room in either one of them for anybody in this hall. The welcome mat is out. You can get in. Of course you can't start at the top; you are going to have to earn your way. We have too many people today who want to be national chairman or the Presidential candidate the first week. You have to start right at the bottom doing the chores, doing things other people tell you to do, ask you to do. That's the price of good government.

I have heard a number of people tell me that they are political independents. That's fine. We need a certain number of politically independent people, but let me let you in on a secret, now not as a politician at this moment but as a professor; government of the United States is party government. You don't elect people, you know, just because they are good fellows. You elect them because they are on the Democratic ticket or on the Republican ticket. Now, there are some people who never want to get touched with the political stigma of partisanship. They are the kind of folks who say, "Well, I believe

in God but I don't want to join the church." They are the kind of people who say, "Well, I believe that the Lord's work ought to be done but I don't want to contribute one dime to getting it done." They are the kind of folks who say, "Well, it is fine for people to build churches, but don't come around and ask me to contribute to the building of the church." Listen, we wouldn't have much of a faith, we wouldn't have much Christian religion, if it were not for some of the institutions of Christianity. Now, I am not saying that the institution is more important than the faith; I am merely saying that the institution is what keeps the faith alive. It takes a very wise and a very solemn type of person to be able to carry on his politics, to carry on his religion, without any of the symbolism that comes along with it or any of the institutionalism. There are only a few like that, very few. There aren't many in this room, and I am not one of them.

Here is the month of June, 1952. A great decision is going to be made in November, 1952 and that decision is going to affect your life -- it is going to affect your life more than your grandfather's. He isn't going to live long, but it is really going to be right at the very heart of your future. What are you going to do between now and November? Just look up at the stars and say, "Look at those politicians". Well, if that is all you are going to do then don't complain if you get in trouble. You can do something. You have been capable of making many decisions. You are high school students. Some of you are beginning to get ready to go to college, some older. You are capable of making decisions. You can get out and choose the candidate of your selection. Work for him. Seek out his views and express

your views to him. Participate in a political party. Do the chores at a precinct, at a caucus, level. Get out and get your neighbors to participate in American public life. Let them exercise the muscles of democracy. The gymnasium for the exercise of those muscles is the ballot box in every election.

We have a lot of Americans who talk about freedom but are unwilling to do very much about preserving it. No free country in the world casts fewer votes than are cast in the United States of America for the continuance of democratic government. Only about fifty to fifty-two percent of the eligible electors of this country take time out on Election Day to cast a vote. So, if you don't like the government, well, after all, most of the people didn't even vote for it. If we spent as much time perfecting our election laws and our political processes, as we do our chewing gum or our air conditioning we would really have a going democracy.

I used to have a little saying in the early days of my political life when people would come into my office and start complaining -- this is when I was mayor of my city. You always have people come in to complain, you can rest assured of that. They will come in and tell you how to run the city. They will tell you how iniquitous the community is. They will tell you about the injustice of the law, etc. I would have these folks come in to see me many times and I was busy -- I was working eighteen hours a day -- by the way, if you are not willing to work that long don't get in politics because if you want one of those short days you are in the wrong business.

I would be in my office and I would be working. The office would start in the morning at eight, we would finish up at six or seven, and I would have five or six meetings after that until midnight. I couldn't take too much time with complainers. I would say to them, "Now just one question. I want to listen to your complaint; I am anxious to get your point of view, but there is one question I want to ask you 'Did you vote in the last election?' Because if you weren't willing to take ten minutes out of your life on Election Day to tell the community just who you wanted in public office, I haven't got ten minutes two months after Election Day to listen to your complaint." And then I would always end up by saying, "Don't fool me because I have the election registry downstairs. We can go down and find out whether you voted." You would be surprised how much time I saved. People are quite honest. They would say thank you and be on their way.

Friends, I say these things to you rather sharply and rather candidly because I have a mission and I feel this mission very strongly. I want to encourage more young people to take an active part in their political life. I want you to take an interest in your city, in your town, in your school district, in your counties, in your states. I want you to understand what it is that makes American government, American government is not just a form of government. There are several forms, several layers of government in this system of federalism. American government is essentially an attitude and a spirit of the people participating in the processes of government, and this American government of ours is just as strong or just as weak as the will and the spirit of the people, just as strong or just as weak as the

participation of the people.

You have a job to do. We are out to help save the world today, and I am for that. But before we can export democracy, before we can export American good neighborliness, before we can export what the world sadly needs -- a spirit of compassion and understanding and humanitarianism, a spirit of democratic living -- before we can export any of it we have got to have some of it at home and enough so that we can export it without wringing ourselves dry. You generally export that which you have in surplus or that which you can spare. Now, before America is going to be able to give leadership to the world -- the kind of leadership that this world cries out for today, leadership that is built upon the understanding of people's problems, leadership that has its sense of direction towards making the democratic spirit a living force -- we are going to have to develop a little of that at home. We must have a surplus. And how do we get that? We get it by young men and women taking on their responsibilities in every community. I am for the eighteen-year old vote. I think it is a good idea, ~~and~~ and I will tell you why I believe that you should be asked to vote at eighteen. I believe that it is a good idea to get young Americans actively interested in political participation early in life. By the time they are twenty-one they have too many bad habits, too many bad habits of political apathy. When they are eighteen they come out of school filled with idealism, filled with the spirit of creativity. It is at that time that they should have their first experience as participating American citizens. I think that it would be good for America. What would this do for America that would be so good? Well, it would

take a little of the stuffiness out of this country. Just think of this country. We are young and yet we are beginning to act so old. Why, this is the America that Thomas Jefferson wrote about. This is the America of Andy Jackson. This is the America of Tom Paine, of Samuel Adams. This is the America where we did away with the idea of the divine right of kings, where the only aristocracy we ever respected in this country was the aristocracy of talent, of what you could create. This is the America where we were not interested in what a man's background was, we were interested in what his present and his future was going to be. We judged people on their merits, not on their blood.

Now America has lost a little of that, and I will give you some good examples. When the Congress of the United States passes an act like the McCarran immigration bill we have lost some of the spirit that made America great. After all America is a result of a composite of many forces in this world, and this America that you and I love so much is more than just a territory; it is more than a spot on the map; it is more than a geographical area; it is more than a legal jurisdiction. America is a living embodiment of the doctrine of human equality. That is what America should be at least. This is its faith; this is its creed; this is its purpose. America is what Bobbie Burns, the poet, once said, "A man's a man for a' that and a' that." America represents a fight, represents liberty, and it represents the pursuit of happiness. A hundred percent American isn't one who came over on the "Mayflower", A hundred percent American, if there is such a creature, is one who understands the doctrine of human equality, and not only understands it but practices it, is one who understands that

a nation such as ours dedicated to democratic principles must have first of all faith in a God, and I have said this in every classroom that I have ever taught. You can not understand democratic equality unless you believe in God Almighty. It is impossible. There must be something more strong and more capable than man himself. He has to walk humbly in the presence of his Almighty. Once a man understands that then he can start to be a democrat, with a small 'd' -- a believer in democratic institutions. I say, therefore, that young people have a great place in this. And why? Because young people are audacious; they are vivacious; they are creative; they are imaginative; they are filled with zeal. And you know what America needs today? -- people who possess zealousness, strength with humility and kindness with power. We need people today who really carry a true story of the United States. You can help do that. As a matter of fact, you are either going to be better citizens, participating citizens, citizens who take time out to make their democracy work, or you are going to be in a uniform and you are going to be slaughtered. Now I am going to lay it right on the line as I try to do every place. There are only a couple of choices in life today, either we are going to live for democracy or we are going to die for it. Take your choice. It may not always be in your hands if you let it go too long.

I am not against national defense. I am a member of the Congress. I voted for national security. I am willing to pay the bill too. I don't think that America can live in the kind of world in which it lives without this shield of security, but I do not think that bullets will stop Communism. You've got to have a better idea to

combat that idea. We have to have people as vigilant, as militant, and as zealous as those we are opposing. Now, the churches of America have something to do. There used to be a missionary spirit in our country, and the need for missionaries today is even greater than it used to be. We need all kinds of missionaries -- political missionaries, economic missionaries, spiritual missionaries, teaching missionaries--all kinds, all over the world. I have said to many an audience that I think choices like this are going to be upon the parents of America. The choice will be as follows: do you want your sons and your daughters to go over and fill the ditches so that other people's bodies may be protected, their souls and minds? Do you want to have your sons and your daughters go on over and irrigate the land with the water that is there, or do you want them to irrigate those lands with their blood? These are the choices. This is the kind of world you're living in.

But it is a wonderful thing -- you have a choice. And you can do something about this choice; you can ask your government to understand these things. You can say, for example, that the recent Mutual Security Act did not have enough in it for economic and technological and scientific aid. Do you know how much there was in it? Do you know how much this country is preparing to spend in the whole country of India with three hundred and fifty million people?

Well, we have a lot of people up here in Congress who want to talk about what happened to China. Well, now, it is unfortunate what happened. I am not happy about what happened. I do not know all of the answers either by any stretch of the imagination, but you know if we had half as much foresight as we have hindsight we would all be

better off by a darned sight, and maybe we ought to try to get a little foresight. India is a nation of three hundred and fifty million people with potential resources second to none, with great cultures, great universities, harbors, ports, great deposits of strategic minerals, great possibilities. Do you know what your government is authorized for all of that? We authorized twenty-three million dollars less than we did for Formosa. We authorized seventy-seven million dollars. Seventy-seven million dollars for three hundred and fifty million people, for a great program of technological, scientific and economic assistance. I am glad they should get that much money, but all I say again is that shows the lack of understanding, because day after day ships and planes and guns go out and no one lifts a finger, and no one complains, but the minute that we start to send young men and young women for technological assistance, the minute we start to send dollars to help improve the economic living conditions of people in the under-privileged areas, right away we have trouble. We have more trouble in Congress over a hundred million dollars of economic and scientific aid than we do over fifty billion dollars of military preparations. Now whose fault is that? Not Congress! - Congress just reflects the public. I will tell you whose fault it is, it is yours and it is mine that we haven't done a job of teaching. It is the fault of the church because too many people are looking for easy answers to difficult problems and there are no easy answers. Too many people think that all we have to do is to be militarily strong. I say to you that military strength is but one of the many things that we need to make this a better world. We have to be willing to do some self-sacrificing.

We have to be willing to quit~~ting~~ complaining so much about taxes and about the suffering of our people.

Let me just end up by this. Out in your community I venture to say that you have heard many a person say that if your government continues doing what it is doing it will go bankrupt. I venture to say that you have heard many people in your community say that there is terrible waste, that there is terrible this and terrible that. Now, I am not talking about the normal aspects of government, I am talking now about the things that we do for other people. Well, I want to first of all set my record straight with you. I am one of those so-called political liberals. Some people think that means being liberal with other people's money. That is not true, because my money is involved too. I am one of those people who believes that "whatever ye do unto the least of these, ye do it unto me also". And I think that if you can say ~~it~~ on Sunday -- if you can pray for it, you can practice it. I am one of these people who believes that if the Humphrey children have a good school everybody's children ought to have one, and that I ought to be willing to help pay for it. I am one of those people who believes that my home and my family is not secure until you are secure. I am one of those who believes that if they can discriminate against Negroes, and Catholics, and Jews or somebody else they can also discriminate against Norwegians and Swedes and Protestants. I am one of those people who believes that if private property is good for some it is good for everybody. I don't think the government owes them a living but I think the government of the United States, the religious, the spiritual, the economic institutions of this great

nation, should direct their energies toward seeing to it that people have an opportunity for a good life, and to enlighten them as to the possibilities. I am one of those persons who believes that the United States of America cannot live as an island of luxury in a sea of misery for long. I am one of those who believes that American cannot isolate herself either physically or ideologically, politically, or economically, from the rest of the world. In other words, I am one of those persons who believes that there is a kind of brotherhood of mankind and that there is a family of nations and a family of people and that we have to do some sharing and we have to do some work at understanding in this family.

I have said to many people that I am not down here in Washington to see whether or not I can save you a dime. I am going to say this right out in my home state and I don't care how many of you people say that. I have been accused many times of being a spender. That's right, I am more willing to spend your dollars than your sons, and I think there are some people in this country who are more interested in their profits than they are in peace. I think there are some people in this country who are more interested in their privilege than they are in some of the realities of life, and I think there are some people in this great America of ours today who ought to get down on their knees and ask God for forgiveness for what they have done and what they have said, and how they have acted.

Now, to what am I directing my remarks? I am directing my remarks to people who complain about how much we have given to other people when they are wallowing in their own luxury until it is almost

evil and sinful. There are people in this country who are complaining because the government takes some of their money to help somebody else, which means ~~they~~ they only have five cadillacs instead of six and three yachts instead of four when other people don't even have a wheelbarrow. I want to say to you, my young friends, that the United States of America has got to learn how to sacrifice. The United States of America must learn how to share and to share kindly. "Lead kindly light". Did you get the word -- kindly light? It is more difficult to give and still be loved than it is to receive and America has done itself more harm not because of what we have given but how we have given it. The words go along with it. I remember Indian wheat. I was the first man in Washington to talk about wheat for India. I am proud of it. I was the first one to go to the Secretary of State, the first one to go to the President. I took Bishop Pickett of New Delhi, India over to see the President. I went from the President down to the lowest echelon of the State Department three times begging our government to take an interest in the hunger of the people of India. At long last other people got interested and we got something done, but before we got it done we talked about how they wouldn't stand by us, and why didn't they feed their own, and not only that but look at the crazy habits they had, and what's wrong with their religion, and so on. Well, I suppose this is one of the excesses of democracy and I hope the people of India understood it, but how much better it would have been to have done it kindly, to have remembered some good Christian admonitions, "It is better to serve than be served". "He who would be first let him be last." "I come not to be ministered unto but to minister".

These are things that we were taught and you can practice these in politics too and it is the best politics in the world because politics is nothing more nor less than human relations. Politics is just knowing people and how to work with them, understanding their emotions and their temperaments, and being able to do things with people -- working with people creatively. The difference between democratic, politics and totalitarianism is that in democracy we appeal to people's good; in a totalitarian system they appeal to people's evil, their bad instincts.

Now when you go back home I want you to think of something. You will see beautiful things here in this city, and not only will you see them along the big boulevards but in any city in America you will see more clothing, more cars, more homes, more of everything than you ever dreamed possible. You see, I am a boy of the depression. I remember America when it ^{wasn't} quite this good. Yes, indeed, I do. I remember when I was at the University of Minnesota, when we lived on potato soup. I remember the working conditions, twelve and fifteen cents an hour, and I was a registered pharmacist.

Now you are living to see another great experience and experiment. You are living to see America become the Good Samaritan. You are living to see America have the most noble and wonderful opportunity that was ever given to a people. Sometimes in my superstition I think we were destined for it, the only nation out of World War II that was not bombed, the United States of America. We are the only one, you know, the only nation out of World War II that came out stronger politically, economically, financially than when we went in. The

rest of the world was in ashes, and until you have been there you will never know we were the only nation in the world where families were still intact, where industry was still productive, where agriculture could still give more food to the American people in this nation. I think that God Almighty literally looked down upon the American people and said, "This is your opportunity; you failed once in 1920". The American people walked out on the League of Nations, we turned our backs on world responsibility but we were given a second chance; we were given a chance not to write a declaration of independence, my dear friends, but a declaration of inter-dependence, and we have been doing something about that declaration of inter-dependence.

You know what we have been doing since 1945? I want to tell you what we have been doing. Get the New Testament out and take a look. We have been feeding the poor. Did you ever hear about that? We have been healing the sick. We have been leading the blind. We have been teaching the illiterate. We have been binding up the wounds. We have anointed people's heads with oil, and their feet. In all of the symbolism of the Scripture we have done what we were expected to do. Do you know what else we have done? We have cast our bread upon the water and it has come back a thousand fold. With fishes we have fed the multitude. You thought those were miracles in the Bible, didn't you, but they are truths. Some people thought they were merely legends or myths but they are truths. It is literally true that you can feed the multitude where it seems as if in the basket there is an inadequate number of loaves. We have proven it. Let me tell you what

has happened. Every year in America we have had a better crop than the year before, with fewer farmers on the farm and fewer acres under production. Yet we produced more wheat, more corn, more of everything than the year before. We have not only fed ourselves better than we have ever been fed but we have helped feed half the world. Every year we have produced more goods out of our factories, expanded our capital plants, trained more people for skills so they could produce. Not only have we been able to export millions and billions of dollars under aid programs but we have had a higher standard of living back in America than ever before in our lives. We have proven that "cast your bread upon the waters and it comes back many fold."

Let me ask you this final question. Have you missed any meals? I don't think you look very emaciated to me. You are not victims of malnutrition and I bet most of your parents are on a diet because they have overeaten. I only want to say that a country that has that kind of abundance, a nation that has been privileged to have this kind of prosperity, this kind of production, is a nation~~ff~~ that not only should but must share; it must! Either we share or we will be destroyed because you cannot live on a hill in your righteous, pious glory, your prosperity, and your abundance, and have around you a sea of poverty and misery. No, we are doing the right thing, and I am very impatient with people who go around saying it is costing us something. Of course it is costing something! It cost you something to come here. If you want to save money quit eating. If that is all your life's goal is, if your life's goal is just to see how much of a checking account you can have, there are many ways you can do that.

I am a young married man. I have four children. I know a way I can increase my checking account, just quit buying my children clothes, quit sending them to school, lock my wife up in a room, that's a way to save money. But is that what life is for, to see how big a checking account you can get? Not on your life, money is to be used for good purposes, and that is what we have been doing, and I am here this morning to say that my government has been doing something good and noble, not something evil. I am not here to say that we haven't wasted -- of course we have because we are Americans. We are the greatest wasters in the world. If you don't believe it look at the garbage cans. Go up in your attics. See how many toys your little brothers and sisters have that they don't need. Of course we have wasted. I am not condoning it. I just say it is part of the American pattern.

But I want to repeat, that we have been given a privilege, we have been given the privilege to "lead, kindly light." We have been given a privilege to give a sense of direction, we have been given a privilege to share. What a wonderful thing. How would you have liked it if you had been a recipient of a CARE package? How would you have liked it if you had had to grovel in the dirt waiting for somebody to send you some cast-off clothing? How would you have liked it if you had had to be told every day that the food that you got came from France with a label on it, or came from England, and reminded over the radio, 'don't forget that we are sending this to you.' Would you like that? You don't remember the WPA lines, some of you, but one of the things that happened in America was the stigma that was put on good

people in this country) because they had to go on relief. They didn't like it; no man liked it.

So I appeal to young Americans today to lift up their voices in the good things and good causes, to be zealous, to be filled with good zeal, and to remember this, that we have got the greatest opportunity in the world. For every time that there is a set of problems there is a set of opportunities; it just depends upon whether you are an optimist or a pessimist. Some people always have problems. They wouldn't be happy if they didn't have problems. They just look miserable with problems; they run around weighted down with them. Other people have opportunities, and we have got an opportunity. We have an opportunity today to prove that Christian ideals are practical. We have an opportunity today to prove that Christian virtues can be practiced and lived by and that they work. We have an opportunity today to prove that Christianity and democracy are the same substance, at least in their philosophy, and that it is a practical working philosophy, a living philosophy. We have got an opportunity to prove that idealism and practical politics work. The only kind of politics that doesn't work is the other kind where you try to be too expedient. Every mistake I have ever made politically was when I thought I was being cute. Every time I have ever made a good mistake was when I planned to outsmart someone. What the American people want and what the world wants are people who say what is on their hearts, speak from their hearts, speak their convictions, speak of ideas, and don't you be afraid to talk about ideas either. It won't always be like this. I know that they have the lid on now and if you have any new ideas you are a little

dangerous, but don't let that hang on to you.

What America needs today is more and more new ideas because new ideas produce new things. If it is a bad idea it will be knocked out in the market place of competition of idea. Remember what Thomas Jefferson said at his first inaugural. He said, "If there is anyone amongst you that doesn't believe in this republic, doesn't believe in the Constitution, let him speak out, let him be heard, because that will be the test of the strength of our freedom and our republic". I am not one of those who believes that because people disagree with me they should be hushed. I happen to believe so strongly in the democratic program, in the democratic faith and in a government of the people, and by the people, and for the people, that I am not at all afraid to let Communists or Fascists say their piece because what they say is the doctrine of falsehood and the public will recognize it when it is exposed for what it is. And don't you be afraid either. You have got to keep this intellectual vigor, this physical vigor, this spiritual vigor that is so important to a free society.



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