

Good evening -
MY FELLOW AMERICANS

FIRST, I ^{*should like to*} ~~must~~ express my gratitude
to the radio and television networks
of ~~the nation~~ for the opportunities
they have given me, over the years,
to bring ^{*reports and*} ~~special~~ messages to our
~~people.~~ ^{*nation.*}

My special thanks go to them
for the ^{*privilege*} ~~opportunity~~ of addressing
you this evening.



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THREE DAYS from now,
after half a century in the service
of our country, I shall lay down
the responsibilities of office as,
in traditional and solemn ceremony,
the authority of the Presidency
is vested in my successor.

THIS EVENING I come to you
with a message of leave-taking
and farewell, and to share
a few final thoughts with you,
my countrymen.



LIKE EVERY OTHER CITIZEN,

I wish the new President, and all who will
labor with him, Godspeed.

I pray that the coming years
will be blessed with peace and prosperity
for all.

* * * * *

OUR PEOPLE expect their President
and the Congress to find essential agreement
on issues of great moment,
the wise resolution of which will better
shape the future of the Nation.

MY OWN RELATIONS

with the Congress, which began on a remote and tenuous basis when, long ago, a member of the Senate appointed me to West Point, have since ranged to the intimate during the war and immediate post-war period, and, finally, to the mutually interdependent during these past eight years.

IN THIS FINAL RELATIONSHIP,
the Congress and the Administration have,
on most vital issues, cooperated well
to serve the national good
rather than mere partisanship,
and so have assured that the business
of the Nation should go forward.

So, my official relationship
with the Congress ends in a feeling,
on my part, of gratitude
that we have been able to do so much
together.

* * * * *

WE NOW STAND ten years past the
midpoint of a century that has witnessed
four major wars among great nations.

Three of these involved
our own country.



Despite these holocausts America
is today the strongest,
the most influential and the
most productive nation in the world.

Understandably proud of this
pre-eminence, we yet realize
that America's leadership
and prestige depend, not merely
upon our unmatched material progress,
riches and military strength,
but on how we use our power
in the interests of world peace
and human betterment.

* * * * *

the many decades
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THROUGHOUT AMERICA'S ADVENTURE
in free government, our basic purposes
have been to keep the peace;
to foster progress in human
achievement, and to enhance liberty,
dignity and integrity among people
and among nations.



To strive for less would be unworthy
of a free and religious people.

And - Any failure traceable to arrogance,
or our lack of comprehension
or readiness to sacrifice
would inflict upon us grievous hurt
both at home and abroad.

PROGRESS TOWARD THESE noble goals
is persistently threatened
by the conflict now engulfing the
world.



It commands our whole attention,
absorbs our very beings.

We face a hostile ideology --
global in scope, atheistic in
character, ruthless in purpose,
and insidious in method.

Unhappily, the danger it poses
promises to be of indefinite duration.

To meet it successfully, there is called for, not so much the emotional and transitory sacrifices of crisis, but rather those which enable us to carry forward steadily, surely, and without complaint the burdens of a prolonged and complex struggle with liberty the stake!!!

ONLY THUS SHALL we remain, despite every provocation, on our charted course toward permanent peace and human betterment.

CRISES there will continue to be.

In meeting them, whether foreign or domestic, great or small, there is a recurring temptation to feel that some spectacular and costly action could become the miraculous solution to all current difficulties.

A huge increase in newer elements of our defense; development of unrealistic programs to cure every ill in agriculture; a dramatic expansion in basic and applied research -- these and many other possibilities, (each possibly promising in itself,) may be suggested as the only way to the road we wish to travel.

BUT EACH PROPOSAL must be weighed
in the light of a broader consideration:
The need to maintain balance in
and among national programs --
balance between the private and the
public economy; balance between cost
and hoped for advantage;
balance between the clearly necessary
and the comfortably desirable;
balance between our essential
requirements as a nation and the duties
imposed by the nation upon the
individual; balance between actions
of the moment and the
national welfare of the future.

Good judgment seeks balance
and progress; lack of it
eventually finds imbalance
and frustration.



long years
THE RECORD of many ~~decades~~
stands as proof that our people
and their government have, in the main,
understood these truths and have
responded to them well, in the face
of stress and threat.

But threats, new in kind
or degree, constantly arise.

I mention two only.

* * * * *

A VITAL ELEMENT in keeping the peace is our military establishment.

Our arms must be mighty, ready for instant action, so that no potential aggressor may be tempted to risk his own destruction.



OUR MILITARY ORGANIZATION today bears little relation to that known by any of my predecessors in peacetime, or indeed by the fighting men of World War II or Korea.

UNTIL THE LATEST of our world conflicts, the United States had no armaments industry.



AMERICAN MAKERS of plowshares could,
with time and as required, make swords
as well.

But now we can no longer risk
emergency improvisation
of national defense;
we have been compelled to create
a permanent armaments industry
of vast proportions.

Added to this, three and a half
million men and women are directly
engaged in the defense establishment.

WE ANNUALLY spend on military
security more than the net income
of all United States Corporations.

THIS CONJUNCTION of an immense
military establishment
and a large arms industry is new
in the American experience.



The total influence -- economic,
political, even spiritual --
is felt in every city, every State house,
every office of the Federal government.

We recognize the imperative need
for this development.

Yet we must not fail to comprehend
its grave implications.

Our toil, resources and livelihood
are all involved; so is the very
structure of our society.

IN THE COUNCILS of government,
we must guard against the acquisition
of unwarranted influence,
whether sought or unsought,
by the military-industrial complex.

The potential for the disastrous
rise of misplaced power
exists and will persist.

WE MUST NEVER let the weight
of this combination endanger
our liberties or democratic processes.

We should take nothing for granted.

Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together.



AKIN TO, and largely responsible for the sweeping changes in our industrial-military posture, has been the technological revolution during recent decades.

IN THIS REVOLUTION, research has become central; it also becomes more formalized, complex, and costly.

A steadily increasing share is conducted for, by, or at the direction of, the Federal government.

TODAY, the solitary inventor, tinkering in his shop, has been overshadowed by task forces of scientists in laboratories and testing fields.

In the same fashion, the free university, historically the fountainhead of ~~free~~ ^{new} ideas and scientific discovery, has experienced a revolution in the conduct of research.

Partly because of the ~~huge~~ ^{great} costs involved, a government contract becomes, virtually, a substitute for intellectual curiosity.



For every old blackboard
there are now hundreds of new electronic
computers.

THE PROSPECT of domination
of the nation's scholars by Federal
employment, project allocations,
and the power of money is ever present --
and is gravely to be regarded.

YET, in holding scientific research
and discovery in respect, as we should,
we must also be alert to the equal
and opposite danger that public policy
could itself become the captive
of a scientific-technological elite.



IT IS THE TASK of statesmanship
to mold, to balance, and to integrate
these and other forces,
new and old, within the principles
of our democratic system --
ever aiming toward
the supreme goals of our free society.

* * * *

ANOTHER FACTOR in maintaining
balance involves the element of time.

As we peer into society's future,
we -- you and I, and our government --
must avoid the impulse to live
only for today, plundering,
for our own ease and convenience,
the precious resources of tomorrow.

We cannot mortgage the material assets
of our grandchildren without risking
the loss also of their political
and spiritual heritage.



We want democracy to survive
for all generations to come,
not to become the insolvent phantom
of tomorrow.

* * * *

DOWN THE LONG LANE of the history
yet to be written, America knows that this
world of ours, ever growing smaller,
must avoid becoming a community
of dreadful fear and hate, and be,
instead, a proud confederation
of mutual trust and respect.

SUCH A CONFEDERATION must be one of equals.

The weakest must come to the conference table with the same confidence as do we, protected as we are by our moral, economic, and military strength.

That table, though scarred by many past frustrations, cannot be abandoned for the certain agony of the battlefield.

DISARMAMENT, with mutual honor and confidence, is a continuing imperative.



Together we must learn how to compose
differences, not with arms,
but with intellect and decent purpose.

Because this need is so sharp
and apparent I confess that I lay down
my official responsibilities
in this field with a definite sense
of disappointment.

As one who has witnessed the horror
and the lingering sadness of war --
as one who knows that another war
could utterly destroy this civilization
which has been so slowly and painfully
built over thousands of years --
I wish I could say tonight
that a lasting peace is in sight.

HAPPILY, I can say that war
has been avoided.

Steady progress toward our ultimate goal
has been made.

But, so much remains to be done!

As a private citizen, I shall never
cease to do what little I can to help the
world advance along that road.

* * * *

SO -- in this, my last good night to you
as your President -- I thank you
for the many opportunities you have given me
for public service in war and peace.

I trust that in that service
you will find some things worthy;
as for the rest of it, I know
you will find ways to improve
performance in the future.



YOU AND I -- my fellow citizens --
need to be strong in our faith
that all nations, under God, will reach
the goal of peace with justice.

May we be ever unswerving in devotion
to principle, confident but humble
with power, diligent in pursuit
of the Nation's great goals.

TO ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD,

I once more give expression
to America's prayerful and continuing
aspiration:

We pray that peoples of all faiths,
all races, all nations, may have
their great human needs satisfied;
that those now denied opportunity
shall come to enjoy it to the full;
that all who yearn for freedom
may experience its spiritual blessings;
that those who have freedom will understand
also, its heavy responsibilities;
that all who are insensitive to the needs
of others will learn charity;

that the scourges of poverty,
disease and ignorance will be made
to disappear from the earth,
and that, in the goodness of time,
all peoples will come to live together
in a peace guaranteed by the binding
force of mutual respect and love.

how - on Friday noon I
am to become a foreign
citizen of the U.S.
I am proud to do so.
Thank you -
and goodnight