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My fellow Americans:

Two days from now, after a half 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.

Now with a full heart, I come to a time of leave-taking and farewell,

and the sharing of a few final thoughts with you, my countrymen.

I, like every other citizen, 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.

~~I trust and hope that the future~~

I hope fervently that the Executive and Legislative Branches of our government will find ~~common~~ essential agreement on the great issues ^{whose wise} ~~but~~ resolution will shake the future of our beloved country.

I My own relations with the Congress, which began fifty years ago when a member of the Senate appointed me to West Point, have ranged from the ~~tempestuous and distant~~ to ~~the years of intimate interdependence.~~

ranged from the tenuous and remote in earlier years, to the intimate in war and immediate post-war years, and, finally, to the mutually-interdependent in these last eight years.



In this final period, the Congress and the Administration have, on most vital issues, cooperated well. The business of the nation has gone forward. Clearly the national welfare, rather than partisanship, fills the hearts of most of our public servants. So my official relationship with the Congress/ now ends in a feeling, on my part of gratitude that we have been able to do so much together.

Certainly we need dedicated minds and hearts today, for everywhere the welfare of free men continues to face deadly dangers. The greatest of these is global

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is scope, ~~Atheistic~~ in character, ruthless in purpose, and insidious in method.

Unhappily this danger promises to be of indefinite duration. To meet it successfully

there is called for, not ~~merely~~ ^{so much emotional} the ~~supreme~~ sacrifice ~~demanded in a period of crisis,~~

~~But as those which enable us to~~ Rather we must gird ourselves to carry forward steadily, surely and without

complaint the burdens of a prolonged, ~~and ever increasing~~ ^{pervasive, complex} struggle to preserve

our freedoms.

~~But there are also dangers within our own society.~~

II

We now stand ten years past the midpoint of a century that has witnessed

four ~~amjor~~ wars among great nations. Three of these involved our own country.

Fortunately, America has emerged, despite these holocausts, as the strongest,

the most productive nation in the world. Gratifying as this is, it places upon us

in this time of peril heavy burdens to the far ends of the earth. It also ~~exists with~~,

~~and~~ helps to create problems which we can avoid only at the risk of damaging

ourselves, and our leadership and prestige in the world.

Leadership and prestige depend, not ~~primarily~~ ^{merely} upon our astonishing

material progress or our massive military strength, unmatched as these are —

^{also} but on how we use moral and material power in the interests of world peace and

human progress.



P. 3

Throughout our continuing adventure in free government, America's basic purposes have been to keep the peace; to foster progress in human achievement, and to enhance liberty and dignity and integrity among nations. To strive for less would be unworthy of a free and Christian people. Any failure traceable to our lack of effort, comprehension, or readiness to sacrifice would inflict upon us a grievous hurt both at home and abroad.

Day by day, year by year, the ideological conflict now engulfing the world persistently threatens progress toward our noble goals. It commands our whole attention, absorbs our very beings. But never must we fail to meet every crisis with steadfastness, courage, and understanding, so that we may remain, despite every provocation, on ~~a determined~~ ^{our chartered} course toward permanent peace.

III

In meeting the many crises of our time, there is a constant, sometimes almost impelling, temptation to feel that a particular action would be the the miraculous solution to ~~our~~ current difficulties. A massive, increase in newer elements of our defense; a spectacular attack on our deficiencies in education; a rapid expansion in basic and applied research — These and many other possibilities, each desirable in itself, seem to be the open sesame to the road we wish to travel.

Q4 T But each possible action must be weighed in the light of a larger consideration: the need to maintain balance — balance between the private and the public economy, balance in the distribution of influence and power, balance between the needs of the moment and the long-term ~~and~~ welfare of the nation.

I am satisfied that our people generally, as well as our government, have done reasonably well in this regard in the face of constant stress and threat, but I recognize that there are dangers. I mention only two as examples.

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IV

~~The secret and explicit of our military establishment — essential to keeping the peace — are surely~~

IV

Major — Everyone recognizes that a

One element ⁱⁿ of keeping the peace that compels our constant attention

is our military establishment. Our arms must be mighty, ready for instant action, so that no potential aggressor may be tempted to risk destruction. The era when peace could be maintained by an organized militia has long since passed. Our permanent military organization today bears little relation to that known by any of my predecessors in peacetime, or indeed

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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.

Now we can no longer risk emergency improvisation of national defense.

So we have created a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions.

Found
We have three and a half million ~~men~~ ^{and women} continuously engaged in defense

activities. We annually spend on military security more than the net income

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P. 5 of all United States corporations.

This
The 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, for not only are our toil, resources, and livelihood involved; so is the very structure of our society.

~~the~~
We must never let power, implicit in this combination, endanger our liberties or democratic processes. We should take nothing for granted. Only an alert, ~~and~~ ^{and} knowledgeable ~~and wise~~ citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge ~~industrial~~ ^{industrial} and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that both security and liberty may prosper.

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In the councils of government, we must ~~jealously~~ guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist. We can ignore it only at our peril.

~~IV~~ V

Closely akin to , and largely responsible for the sweeping changes in our industrial-military posture, has been the technological revolution in our society during recent decades.

P6 T

In this revolution, research has become central; it has also become 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 great task forces of scientists in laboratories and testing fields.

The free university has been, historically, the fountainhead of free ideas and scientific discovery. But now, partly because of the huge costs involved, research springs not so much from individuals engaged in random pursuit of knowledge, as from public agencies in grim pursuit of specific, predetermined results. 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 contracts 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.

~~Elsewhere there is yet another new development -- perhaps the most momentous of all in shaping the patterns of tomorrow. In the past fifteen years, while eight hundred million persons were being ^{blitzed} ~~lashed~~ into submission by the Communists, almost a billion others were winning political independence. Spurring this emancipation movement is the concept of equality among nations which, for the first time in history, has come to be recognized as a basic principle in international affairs. Acceptance of this principle is as yet imperfect. But even cynical totalitarians must give lip service to it, though by deed they cruelly defy it. The representatives of 99 countries now sit as equals in the General Assembly of the United Nations. The old patterns of naked power politics have been modified so that right has, at least, a voice against might before the bar of world opinion. To the concept of juridical equality, with justice for all, we of the United States have subscribed our ardent support. This is one sure ingredient in a total~~

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~~program for world peace; for without true justice there can be no genuine peace, and~~

~~without equality there can be no justice.~~ ^{P. 7}

^{VI}
Perhaps the most difficult task 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 ~~previous~~ ^{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.

^{VII}
America's heart-felt yearning
for the future is that this world
of ours, ever growing smaller, can
avoid becoming a ~~dreadful~~
community of dreadful fear
and hate, and be instead a
proud confederation of mutual
trust and respect.

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~~any and all attempts to force any negotiation even
elementary table of destruction certainly clear
VII
VIII~~

Protected by our moral, economic, and military strength we can

advance to the world's conference table with confidence. That table, scarred

though it may be by many frustrations and disappointments, must not be abandoned

for the certain ^{agony} ~~loss~~ of ^{a mutually-destructive, preposterous} nuclear war. Believing as I do in the sturdiness and
and in the abiding desire of peoples everywhere for peace with justice,
understanding of the American people, I have every confidence we ~~shall be able~~ ^{can}

sustain free world security and hold fast to ~~our~~ democratic ideals.

~~only~~ P. 8 VIII

So -- as I say goodnight to you on the eve of my departure from official

life, I thank you for the opportunities you have given me for public service in war

and peace. I trust that in it you ~~will~~ find some things worthy; as for the rest of it

possibly you can ^{develop} ~~find~~ methods for improvement. ^{RP} I bid you, my fellow citizens, to

be strong in your faith. Be ever unswerving in your devotion to principle, confident but

humble with power, true to noble purposes, diligent in pursuit of peace with justice.

— To all the peoples of the world, I give voice to these simple thoughts of our Nation, which have sustained me in my fifty years of service:

— We pray that peoples of all faiths, all races, all nations, may have their great human needs satisfied; that those who are now denied opportunity shall come to enjoy the advantages available to the privileged; that all who are deprived of education shall be enlightened by genuine knowledge and understanding; that all who yearn for freedom may experience its liberating force and its spiritual blessings; that ~~all~~ ^{those} who love freedom shall fully realize its heavy responsibilities; that all who are insensitive to the needs of others will learn charity, and that, in the goodness of time, all peoples shall live together in a peace guaranteed by the binding force of mutual respect and love.

29 I would not be candid if I did not
 confess that I ~~have~~ lay down my
 official responsibilities with one
 great sense of disappointment. As
 one who has witnessed the ~~horror~~
 horror and the lingering sadness
 of war, ~~as one~~ who knows that
 another war ~~could~~ utterly destroy
 this civilization ~~that~~ ^{which} has been so
 slowly and painfully built over
 thousands of years — I wish ~~that~~
 I could say ~~that~~ 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. ^{Very} Much remains to
 be done, and soon, as a private
 citizen, I shall do what little
 I can to keep us along the
 road toward our supreme goals.

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I must firmly believe that all of us who treasure freedom and know its
in the fullness of time
blessings can build a world where all nations, under God, can live in peace, with
true justice, and with the scourges of war, poverty, and disease no longer known
by the peoples of the earth.