

EISENHOWER MEMORIAL

U.S. COMMISSION OF FINE ARTS

LIGHTING DESIGN AND INSCRIPTION DESIGN LAYOUT

MEETING DATE: FEBRUARY 19, 2015

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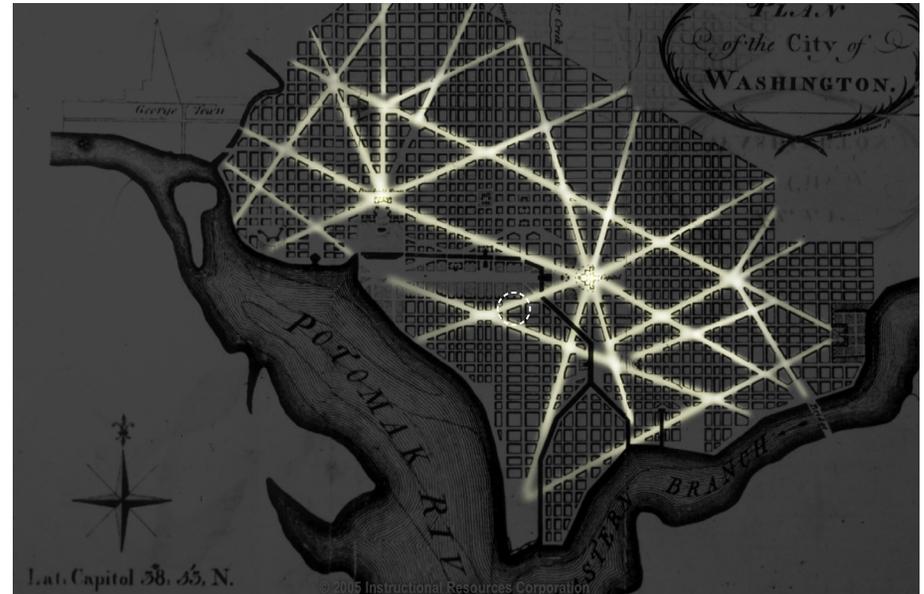
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1.0 LIGHTING CONCEPT



MEMORIAL AS FOCAL POINT OR ICON

The avenues of Washington D.C. masterplan terminate at focal points, which often exhibit the city's memorials. These nodes create a critical identity for the city, as the avenues create view corridors directly to the Memorial elements on a series of axes. During the day the memorials are highlighted by their placement within these nodes. However their hierarchy in relationship to their surroundings is actually even more accentuated at night where the lighting amplifies their presence. As the memorials become termini for the views around the city, the lighting of the memorials evokes the very nature of the masterplan's structure. They become the glowing icons of the nation's capital.



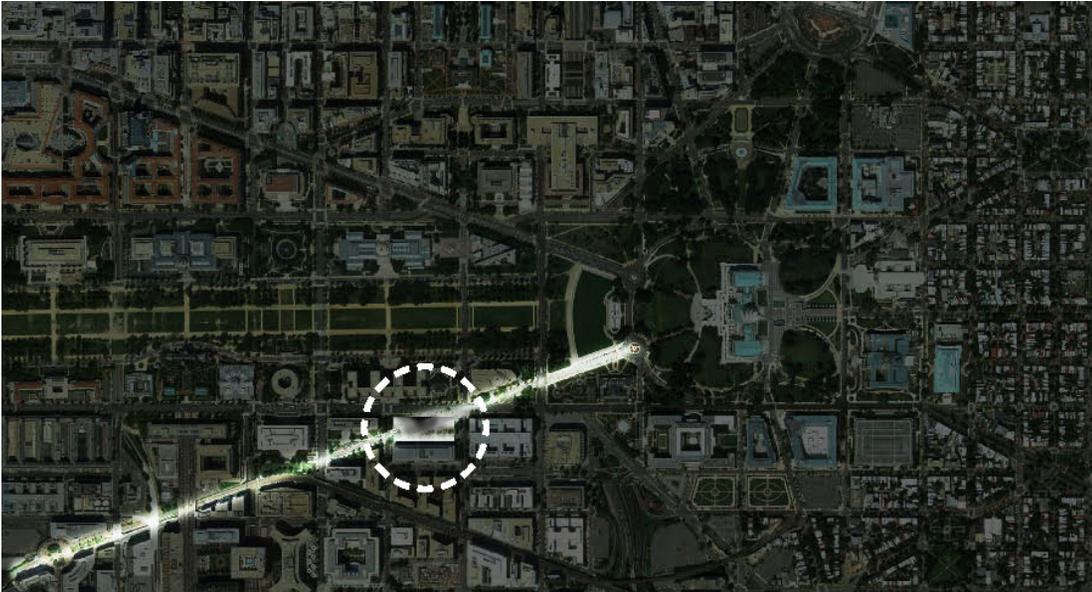
AVENUES AS VOLUMES OF LIGHT

Perhaps as critical to the perception of the memorials as the sculptures and buildings themselves, are the avenues that bind the city together. An avenue in this context affords the view of the icons that dot the urban plan, creating an axially intense foreground through which the Memorial can be viewed from a distance. During the day, these avenues create a spatial axis of view toward the memorials, often flanked by trees or adjacent buildings.

During the night these avenues become consistent corridors of illumination where the 'volume' of the street is filled with light. In counter balance with the icons, the avenue has a presence that is defined by its binding surfaces, the street surfaces and the adjacent facades. The termini of the avenues are defined by icons, whereas the avenues that bind them are defined by volume.



1.0 - LIGHTING CONCEPT

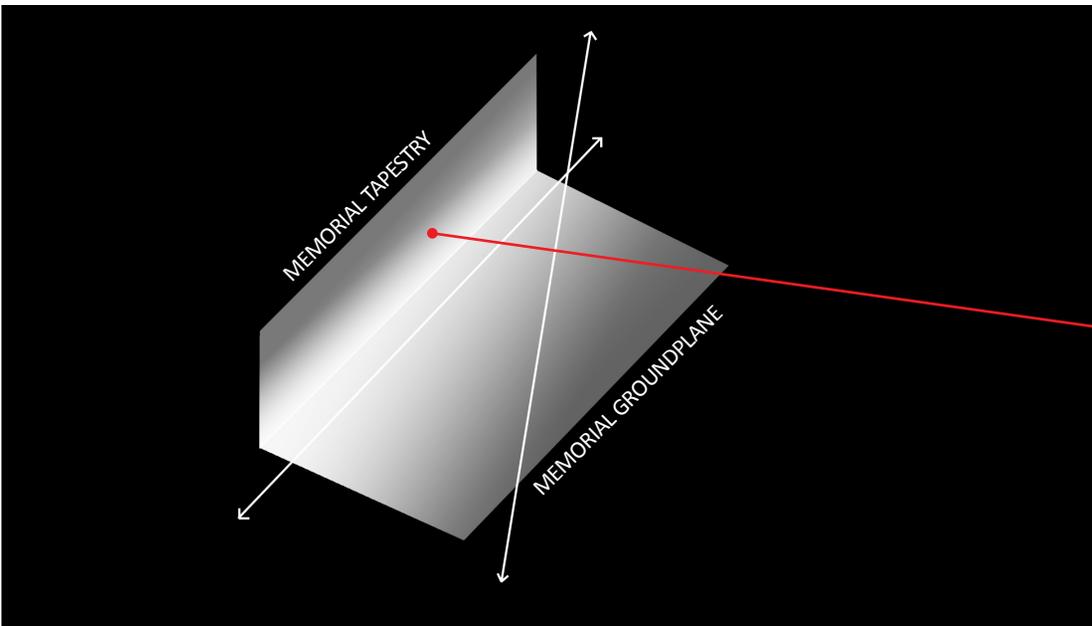


THE SITE AND ITS AVENUE AS AN URBAN ROOM

The site for the Eisenhower Memorial is a part of the network of avenues that bind the D.C. landscape. As a part of this network of avenues, the lighting concept responds to the Eisenhower Memorial as a volume of light. Just as the other avenues of the city are bound spatially by the roadway surface and the surrounding buildings, the Eisenhower Memorial uses the tapestry, Memorial elements, and horizontal landscape plane as its binding lighting elements.

The lighting enhances the context that is embraced by the surfaces of the Memorial elements as opposed to lighting the pieces of the Memorial as individual objects or icons. This approach is more in keeping with the contextual relationship of the Eisenhower Memorial to its urban surroundings.

The lighting within the site is made up of continuous uplighting for the Memorial elements, and a more accented, organically distributed downlighting for the rest of the Memorial site. This creates a horizontal and vertical layering of light through the site, creating a place that is at once a Memorial, an avenue, and a landscape.



The Memorial uses the Tapestry, Memorial elements, and the horizontal landscape plane as its binding lighting elements.



TAPESTRY MOCK-UP
ILLUMINATED AT NIGHT



VIEW TOWARDS THE MEMORIAL FROM MARYLAND AVENUE



NIGHT VIEW TOWARDS THE MEMORIAL FROM MARYLAND AVENUE

SITE LIGHTING

The lighting concept is a horizontal layering of light. This layering allows the light to reinforce the transition from human scale to the larger Memorial elements. In some cases, this layering keeps the illumination at the surfaces of the pathways themselves to reduce the glare of light as one looks at the Memorial and surrounding contexts and iconic views. At an intermediate height, the lighting allows for the subtle illumination of Memorial objects or landscape that is above human height. Along with the pathway lighting, this layer creates a sense of intimacy that is crucial in an urban context dedicated to a memorial. The upper layers of lighting will illuminate the tapestry. The overall intent of layering the lighting is to make illumination feel like it is originating from the areas around the Memorial objects themselves, similar to a group of people drawn to a candle in the center of an otherwise a dark room.

When looking into the Memorial site from surrounding streets, subtle view corridors are embraced by the layering of light. In the foreground of this image, the ambient light from the street will create a subtle boundary. As you look past this boundary, the larger trees in the foreground are rendered in silhouette. The glow of the green space and Memorial elements behind the trees renders them in subtle shadow. This allows for the Memorial core to glow at the center of the entire site. The rest of the lighting that is seen other than these Memorial elements is at the human scale; the lighting simply dances along the surfaces of the grass and the paved pathways.

EISENHOWER MEMORIAL

Gehry Partners • AECOM Joint Venture

LIGHTING CONCEPT - 1.0



VIEW OF MARYLAND AVENUE VIEWSHED TOWARDS CAPITOL



NIGHT VIEW OF MARYLAND AVENUE VIEWSHED TOWARDS CAPITOL

The lighting concept allows the visual progression of Maryland Avenue axis through the site. This corridor will allow for a view to the Capitol to remain unimpeded from issues such as glare or lighting of too large a scale. Keeping the light sources close to the ground at the pedestrian level allows the eye to wander beyond the site to surrounding area, and on to the Capitol itself.

In this particular view, the tapestry on the right side is dark above the tree canopies due to the fact that the light source is uplighting the tapestry from below and fades intentionally as it reaches the top of the tapestry and because the light source illuminates only the north side of the tapestry from this view. The south side of the tapestry will be less bright as illustrated in the view.



VIEW ALONG MARYLAND AVENUE TOWARDS CAPITOL



NIGHT VIEW OF MARYLAND AVENUE VIEWSHED TOWARDS CAPITOL

As one moves within the site along the Maryland Avenue axis, the layering of light begins to be recognized fully. Although the Maryland Avenue view to the Capitol remains distinct, the green space that defines our site is illuminated differently from a typical avenue or street. As a nod to the fact that the axis continues through the site; we light it. However, the light is

directed downward to the natural greensward surface. Instead of ambient street poles that would otherwise distract the view upward to the Capitol, the lighting within the site quietly falls on the ground, with glare from the light fixtures kept to a minimum.



VIEW OF MEMORIAL CORE FROM MARYLAND AVENUE



NIGHT VIEW OF MEMORIAL CORE FROM MARYLAND AVENUE

As the central glowing Memorial elements are approached, the lighting becomes more continuous and more densely layered. A continuous linear uplight helps to define each element, but in different ways. The linear uplighting of the tapestry floating above provides the backdrop for the entire site and fades as it reaches the top of the tapestry surface blending into the night sky above. Another continuous uplight subtly illuminates the Eisenhower inscription wall. This uplight is

of a human scale, and helps to ground the area immediately underneath the tapestry as a part of the Memorial core's glowing center. The Memorial elements on the right and left also maintain continuous linear uplighting to help bind them to both the tapestry and the inscription wall, but they utilize it as a backlight to help reinforce the silhouette of the statues standing in front as well as to bring out the subtle textures of the bas relief walls.

The final layers of lighting in this view are for the statues themselves. The statues are illuminated specifically from the front, with the light focused specifically on the sculptural figures and nothing else. The statue of young Eisenhower is illuminated differently. This statue is lit from above and behind creating a subtle edge glow when seen from this view.

EISENHOWER MEMORIAL

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LIGHTING CONCEPT - 1.0



VIEW OF PRESIDENT EISENHOWER MEMORIAL ELEMENT

1.0 - LIGHTING CONCEPT



NIGHT VIEW OF PRESIDENT EISENHOWER MEMORIAL ELEMENT



VIEW OF GENERAL EISENHOWER MEMORIAL ELEMENT

1.0 - LIGHTING CONCEPT



NIGHT VIEW OF GENERAL EISENHOWER MEMORIAL ELEMENT



MEMORIAL ENTRANCE PLAZA AT 4TH STREET & INDEPENDENCE AVENUE



NIGHT VIEW OF MEMORIAL ENTRANCE PLAZA AT 4TH STREET & INDEPENDENCE AVENUE



VIEW TOWARDS MEMORIAL LOOKING WEST



NIGHT VIEW TOWARDS MEMORIAL LOOKING WEST

From this view looking along the paved pathways that lead from the site's urban edges to the Memorial core, the layering of light is made up of the 'human scale' illumination of the paving

surface, achieved by downlighting from the poles flanking the path, as well as from the glow that is emitted from the underside of the benches. The next layer of intimate lighting

is the uplighting of the understory tree canopies that flank this path. They will create a kind of natural glowing corridor that embraces the pathway.

EISENHOWER MEMORIAL

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LIGHTING CONCEPT - 1.0



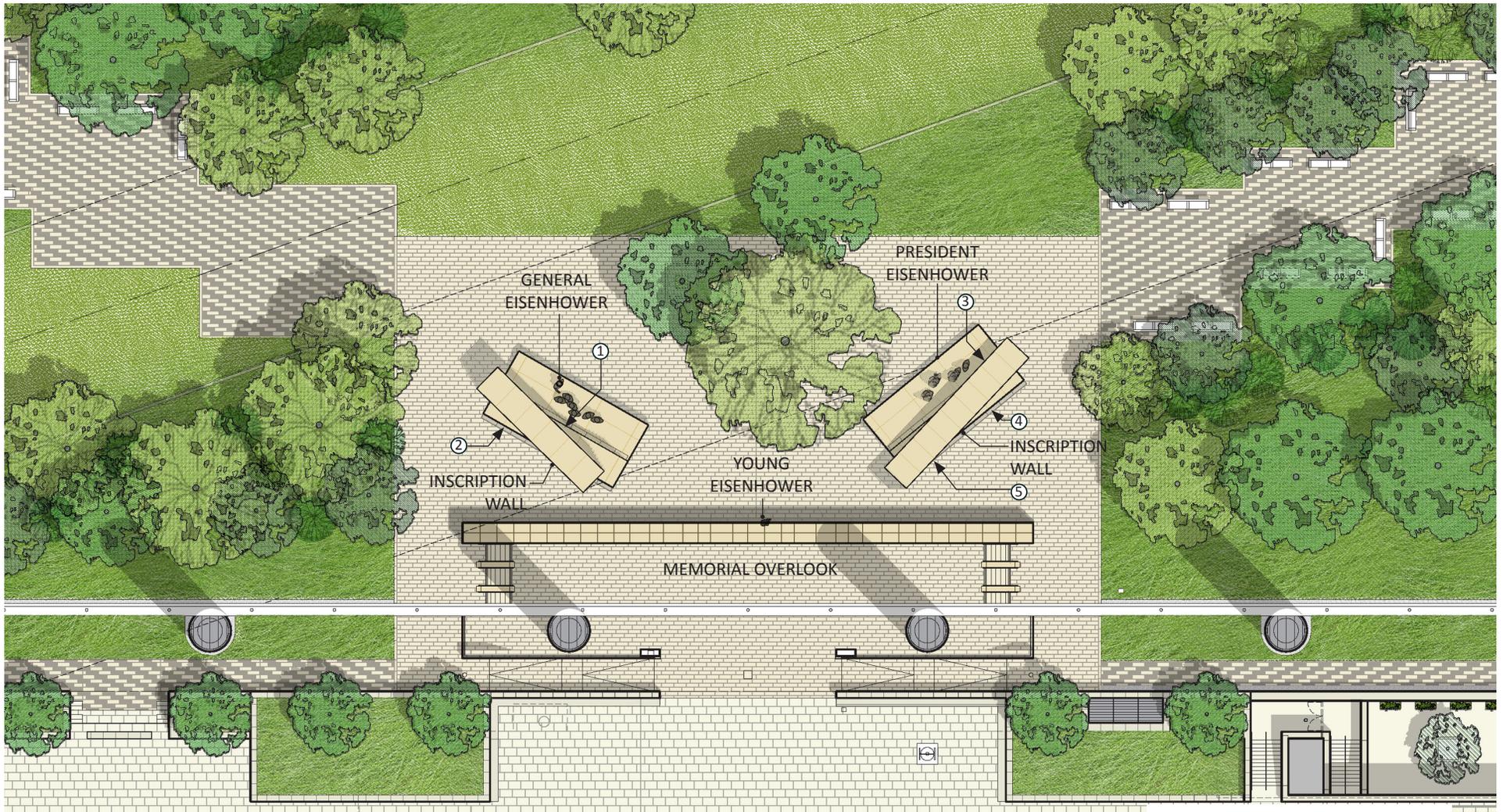
VIEW TOWARDS EAST COLUMN THROUGH MEMORIAL WALKWAY

1.0 - LIGHTING CONCEPT



NIGHT VIEW TOWARDS EAST COLUMN THROUGH MEMORIAL WALKWAY

2.0 INSCRIPTION DESIGN LAYOUT



MEMORIAL CORE PLAN

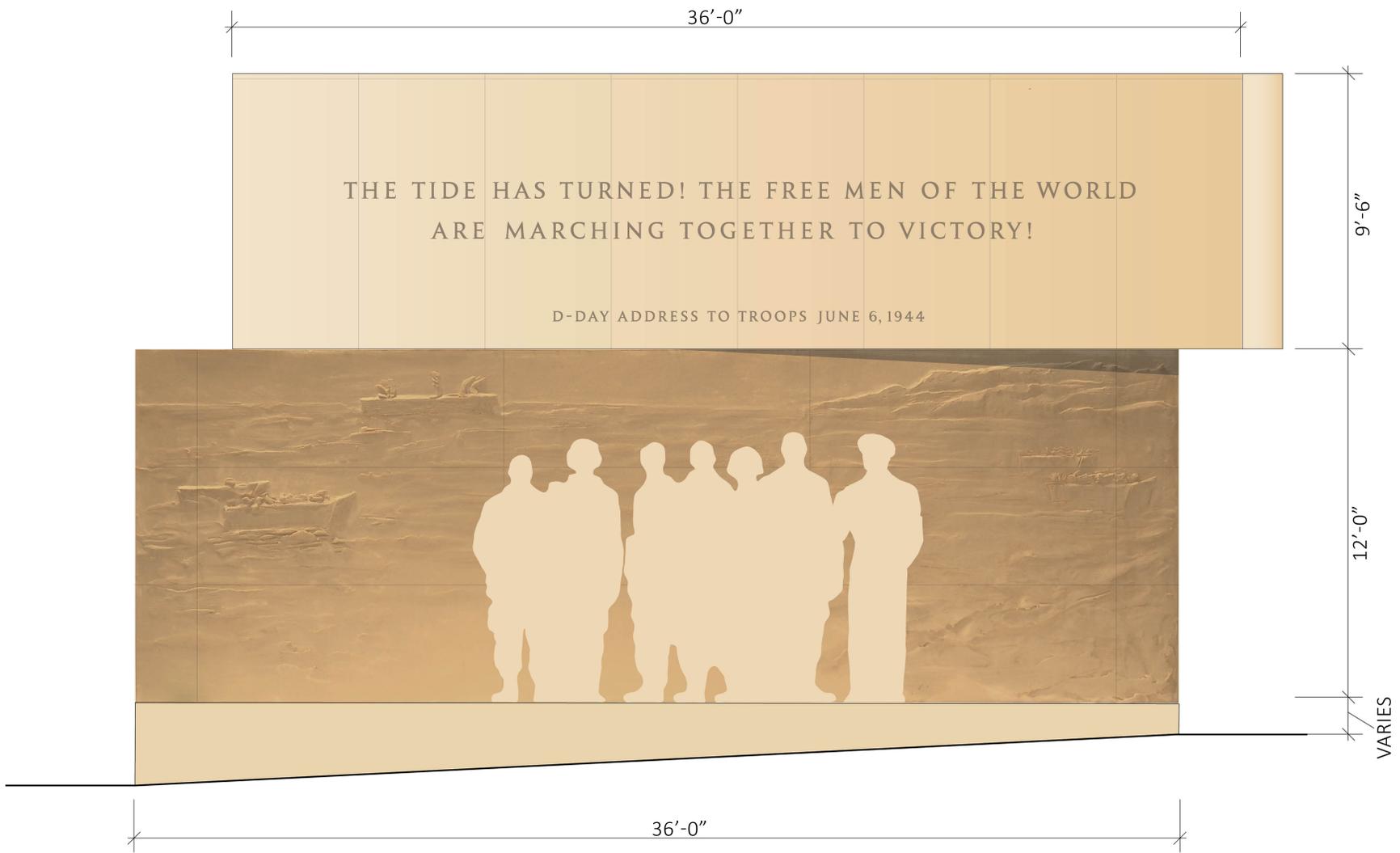
- ① GENERAL EISENHOWER LINTEL INSCRIPTION: D-DAY ADDRESS TO TROOPS
- ② GENERAL EISENHOWER INSCRIPTION WALL: GUILDHALL ADDRESS
- ③ PRESIDENT EISENHOWER LINTEL INSCRIPTION: SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS
- ④ PRESIDENT EISENHOWER INSCRIPTION WALL: FAREWELL ADDRESS
- ⑤ PRESIDENT EISENHOWER INSCRIPTION WALL: FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS



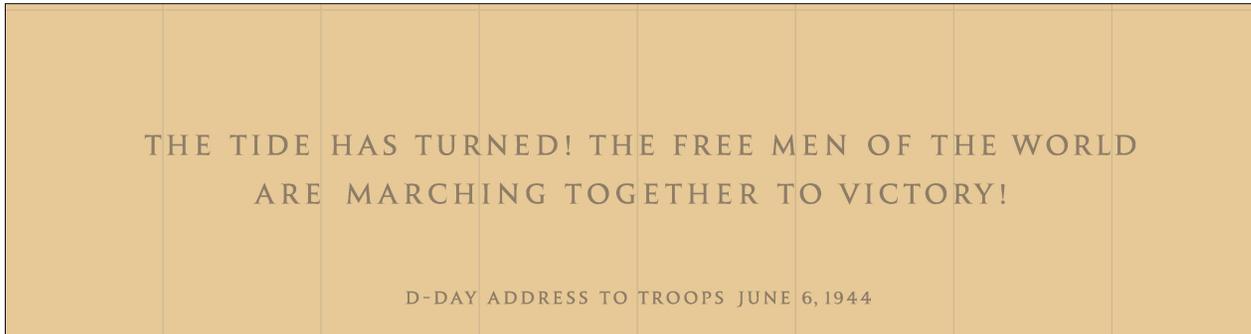
2.0 - INSCRIPTION DESIGN LAYOUT



VIEW TOWARDS THE MEMORIAL FROM MARYLAND AVENUE



SCULPTURE AND LINTEL INSCRIPTION ELEVATION



GENERAL MEMORIAL LINTEL ELEVATION

LINTEL QUOTE

The lintel above the General Eisenhower statue group contains a quote from Eisenhower's D-Day Address to the Troops from June 6, 1944.

Historical Context: As Eisenhower sent his men to storm the beaches of Normandy, he relayed a message to them over the radio. The Invasion of Normandy, was a critical moment in World War II and one of the most important engagements in military history. General Eisenhower's role in planning the invasion was crucial to securing an Allied defeat of Nazi Germany.

INSCRIPTION WALL

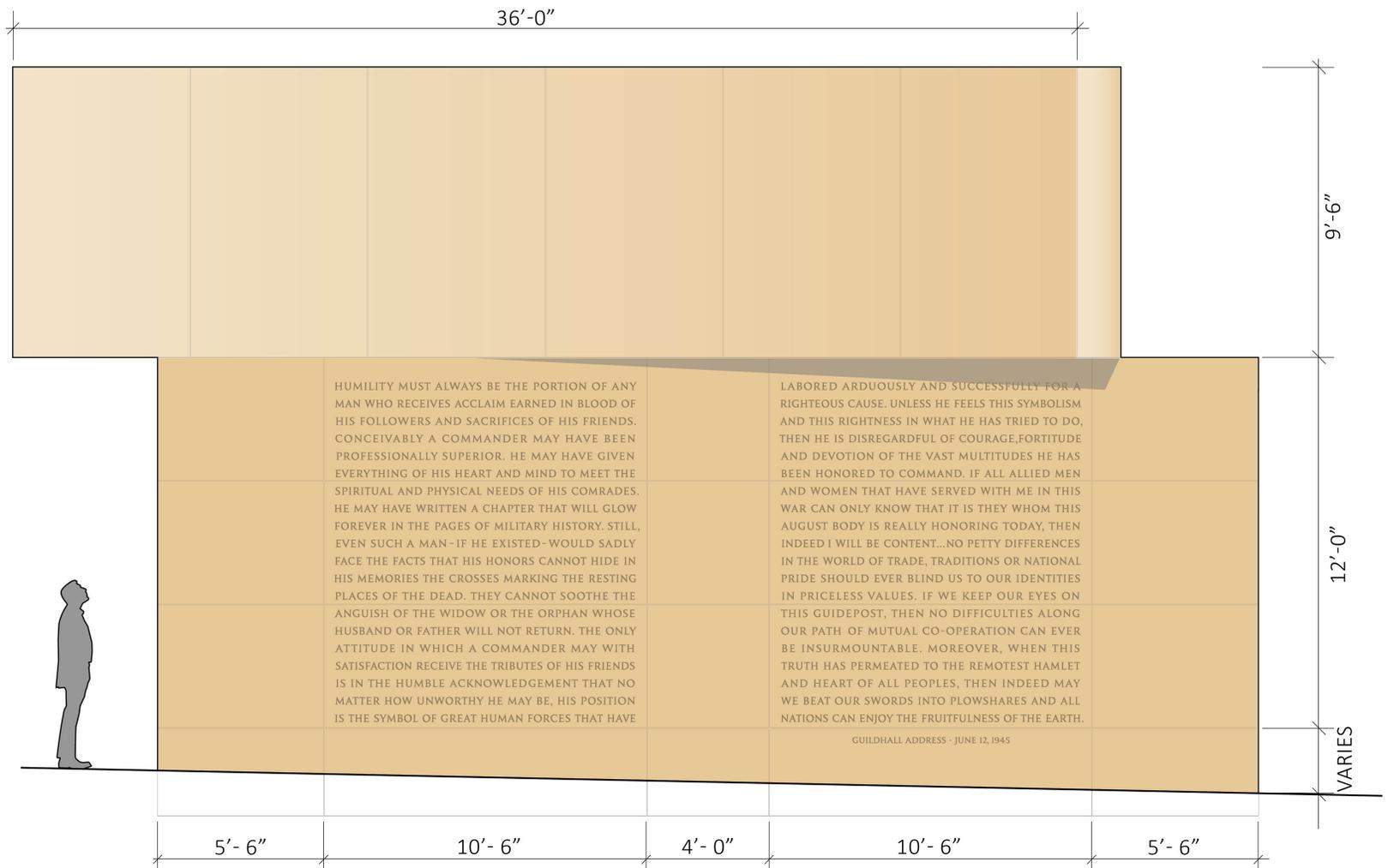
Excerpts from the Guildhall Address of June 12, 1945 are carved into the Inscription Wall behind the sculptures.

Historical context: Following the Allied defeat of Nazi Germany, General Eisenhower returned to London to celebrate the Allied victory and to receive honors from the British Nation. From the war-battered and ancient London Guildhall, Eisenhower delivered his speech upon receiving the "Freedom of the City of London" award from Lord Mayor Sir Frank Alexander, with Prime Minister Churchill and his cabinet looking on. That night Eisenhower also became the first American to receive the "Order of Merit" when King George VI presented the honor to him.

Eisenhower's humble acceptance of these honors is one of the most noteworthy components of the "Guildhall Address." He praised the sacrifices of his soldiers and recalled the hardships borne by the British people. Eisenhower remarked that, although he himself was far from his hometown - Abilene, Kansas - he had grown closer to the British people. Shared values united the two countries, for "kinship among nations

is not determined in such measurements as proximity, size, and age. Rather we should turn to those inner things - call them what you will - I mean those intangibles that are the real treasures free men possess ... When we consider these things, then the valley of the Thames draws closer to the farms of Kansas and the plains of Texas."

"Guildhall Address" was a rhetorical triumph. The next day, British newspapers lauded Eisenhower for his words; the *Daily Express* even printed the full speech alongside Lincoln's "Gettysburg Address." The excerpt from the speech adds to the sculpture a verbal statement from a Supreme Commander who was comfortable with his troops, who wanted to see them as they prepared for their great mission, who understood that some of those individuals to whom he was speaking would die the next day in the service of their country.



INSCRIPTION WALL ELEVATION

GUILDHALL ADDRESS

June 12, 1945

Humility must always be the portion of any man who receives acclaim earned in blood of his followers and sacrifices of his friends.

Conceivably a commander may have been professionally superior. He may have given everything of his heart and mind to meet the spiritual and physical needs of his comrades. He may have written a chapter that will glow forever in the pages of military history.

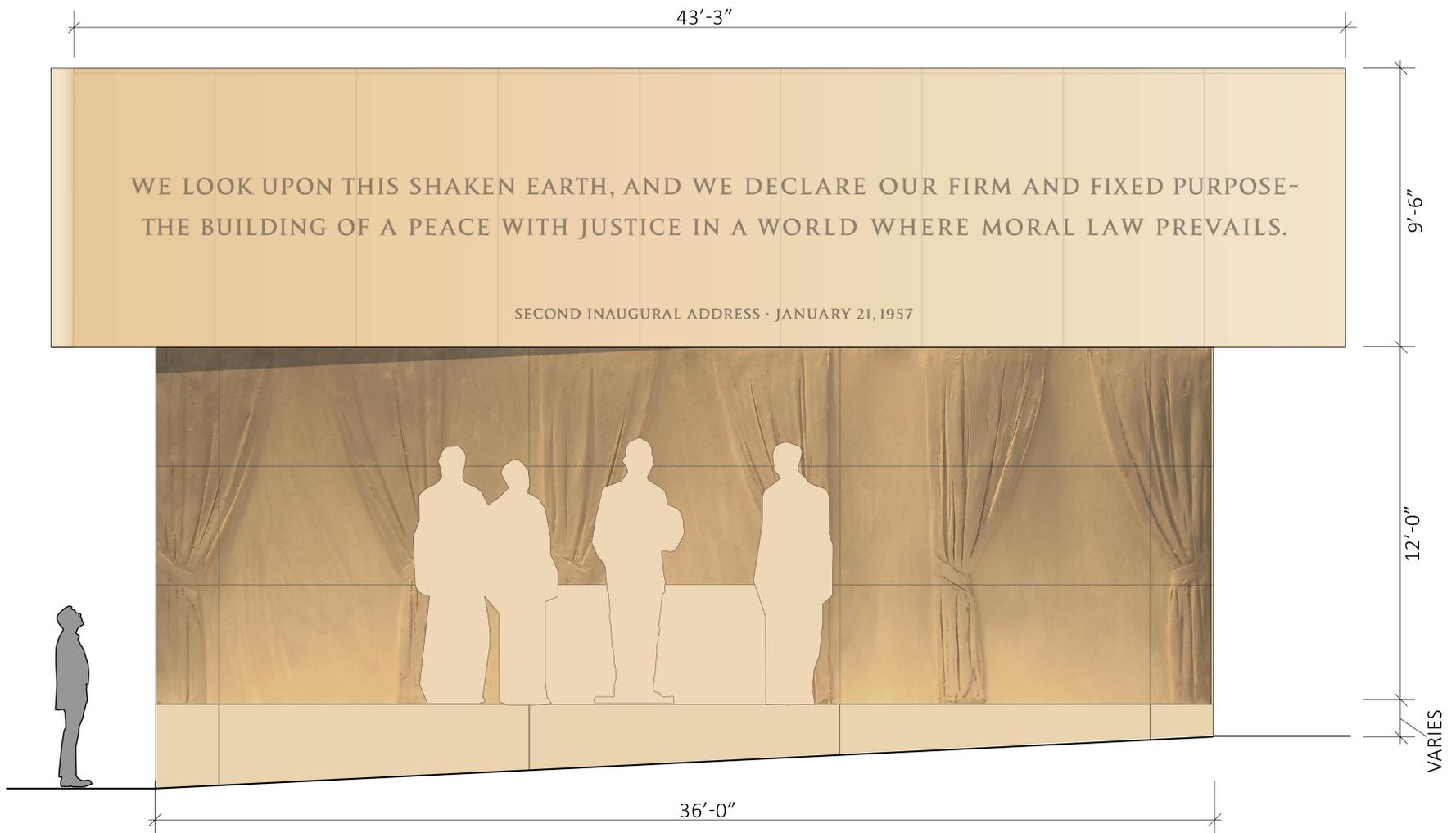
Still, even such a man—if he existed—would sadly face the facts that his honors cannot hide in his memories the crosses marking the resting places of the dead. They cannot soothe the anguish of the widow or the orphan whose husband or father will not return.

The only attitude in which a commander may with satisfaction receive the tributes of his friends is in the humble acknowledgment that no matter how unworthy he may be, his position is the symbol of great human forces that have labored arduously and successfully for a righteous cause.

Unless he feels this symbolism and this rightness in what he has tried to do, then he is disregarding of the courage, the fortitude and the devotion of the vast multitudes he has been honored to command. If all Allied men and women that have served with me in this war can only know that it is they whom this august body is really honoring today, then indeed I will be content....

No petty differences in the world of trade, traditions or national pride should ever blind us to our identities in priceless values.

If we keep our eyes on this guidepost, then no difficulties along our path of mutual co-operation can ever be insurmountable. Moreover, when this truth has permeated to the remotest hamlet and heart of all peoples, then indeed may we beat our swords into plowshares and all nations can enjoy the fruitfulness of the earth.



SCULPTURE AND LINTEL INSCRIPTION ELEVATION

WE LOOK UPON THIS SHAKEN EARTH, AND WE DECLARE OUR FIRM AND FIXED PURPOSE-
THE BUILDING OF A PEACE WITH JUSTICE IN A WORLD WHERE MORAL LAW PREVAILS.

SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS · JANUARY 21, 1957

PRESIDENTIAL MEMORIAL ELEMENT LINTEL ELEVATION

LINTEL QUOTE

On the lintel above the president statuary, is a quotation from the “Second Inaugural Address” on January 21, 1957.

Historical Context: Like the First Inaugural Address, Eisenhower’s Second focused on values of foreign policy. The previous year, 1956, had been a turbulent one; the uprising in Hungary, the Suez Crisis were fresh in Eisenhower’s mind. Thus, Eisenhower focused on unity, and equality between nations. He said, “there must be law, steadily invoked and respected by all nations, for without law, the world promises only such meager justice as the pity of the strong upon the weak.” Unlike Soviet leaders, who sought “to rule by force” Eisenhower wanted the United States to “heal a divided world.”

INSCRIPTION WALL

The left side of the inscription wall will contain an excerpt from the President’s First Inaugural Address, on January 20, 1953.

The right side of the inscription wall will contain an excerpt from the President’s Farewell Address, on January 17, 1961.

Historical Context: Having defeated the great statesman Adlai Stevenson in the 1952 presidential election, Eisenhower was sworn in by Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson using two bibles: one used by Washington at the first inauguration, and one he received from his mother upon graduating West Point. Eisenhower spoke of the role American values would play in the Cold War.

Foreign policy was the central theme of Eisenhower’s address. He remarked that the Cold War was a struggle in which the “forces of good and evil are massed and armed and opposed as rarely before in history.” Eisenhower saw the conflict in moral terms, a global struggle between freedom and slavery. Stressing the benefits of interdependence and the necessity of peace, he laid out nine principles to guide American foreign policy. The quotation is closely coordinated with the statuary showing Eisenhower providing leadership in civil and military relations. He emphasized the importance through his presidency of remaining strong without undercutting the private and public values that made America a society worthy of our respect and support. During his presidency, he largely

abided by his commitments to those principles. The right side of the inscription wall contains a passage from President Eisenhower’s Farewell Address January 17, 1961.

Historical Context: Eisenhower’s Farewell Address is one of his best known speeches. In many ways, Eisenhower modelled his speech upon the one George Washington gave at the end of his Presidency. In Washington’s Farewell Address, he encouraged Americans to seek unity and to resist faction. He also warned of the dangers of permanent alliances and spoke against “overgrown military establishments which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty.”

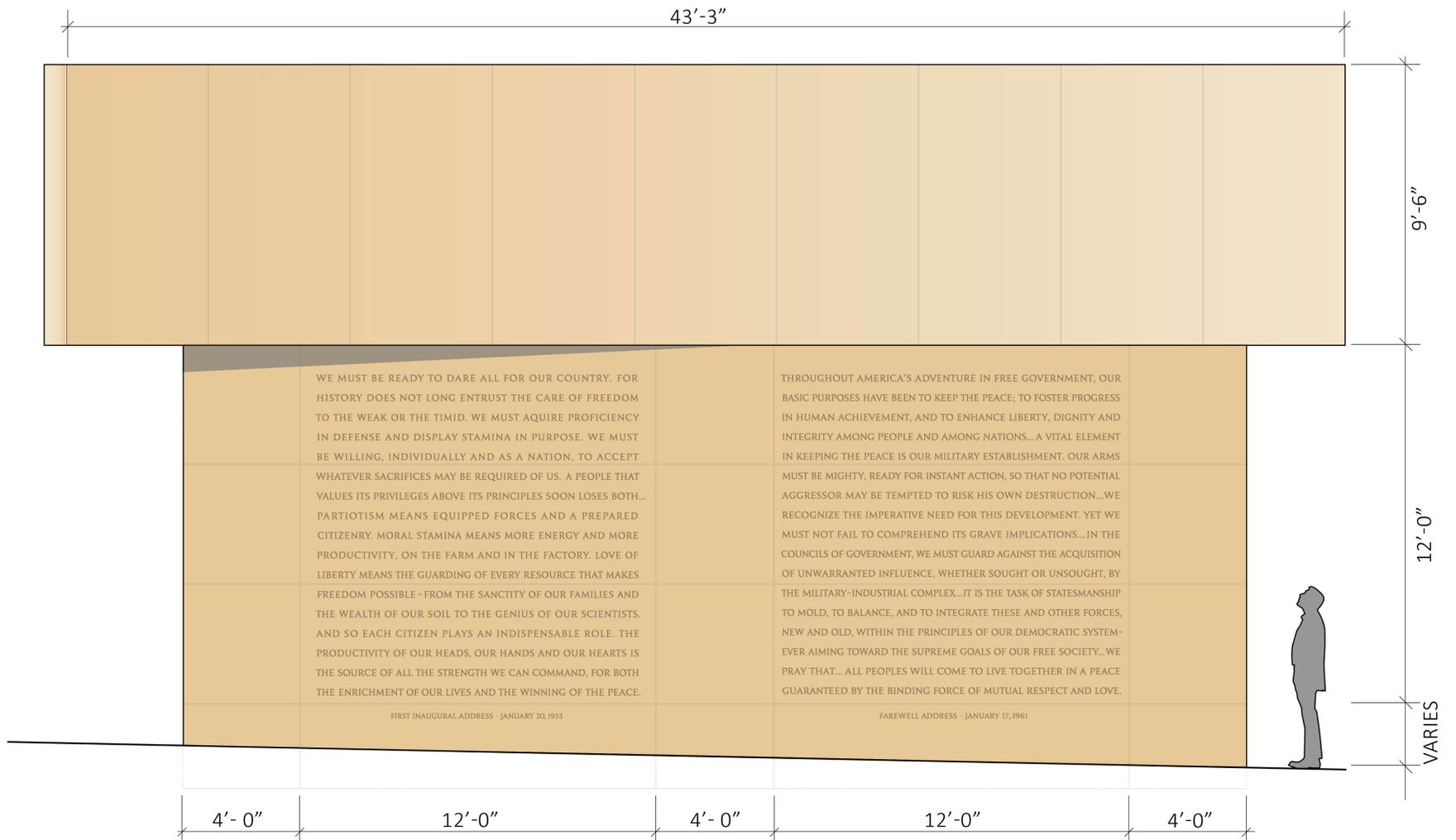
Eisenhower approached his own Farewell Address similarly, praising the values which make America strong, but also giving words of caution. He warned the American people of the dangers that come with unjustified increases in military expenditures during peacetime. Although Eisenhower knew that a strong military was essential during the Cold War, he was cautious of the growing lobby of private military-industrial interests. To many it was sobering that a former professional soldier would relay such a message. The excerpts from this famous speech capture two elements shown in the statuary, that is the military and civilian spokesmen; Eisenhower saw his role as balancing military strength with the strength of a free society and a productive economy. The “middle way” was Eisenhower’s way.

MEMORIAL ELEMENT PROPOSED QUOTATIONS

EISENHOWER MEMORIAL

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INSCRIPTION DESIGN LAYOUT - 2.0



INSCRIPTION WALL ELEVATION

FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS

January 20, 1953

We must be ready to dare all for our country. For history does not long entrust the care of freedom to the weak or the timid. We must acquire proficiency in defense and display stamina in purpose.

We must be willing, individually and as a Nation, to accept whatever sacrifices may be required of us. A people that values its privileges above its principles soon loses both....

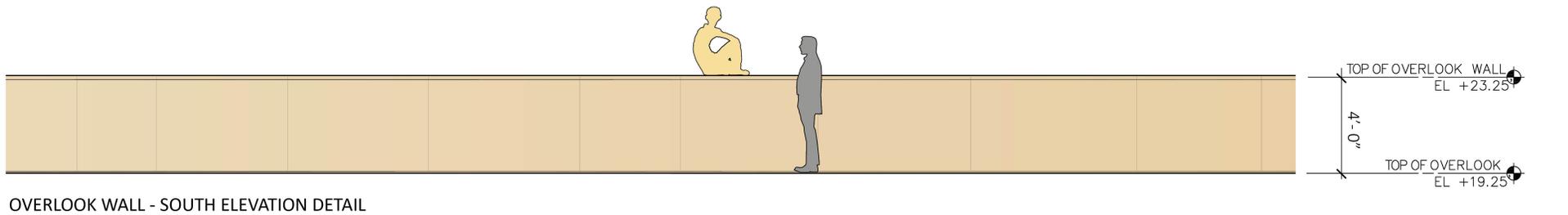
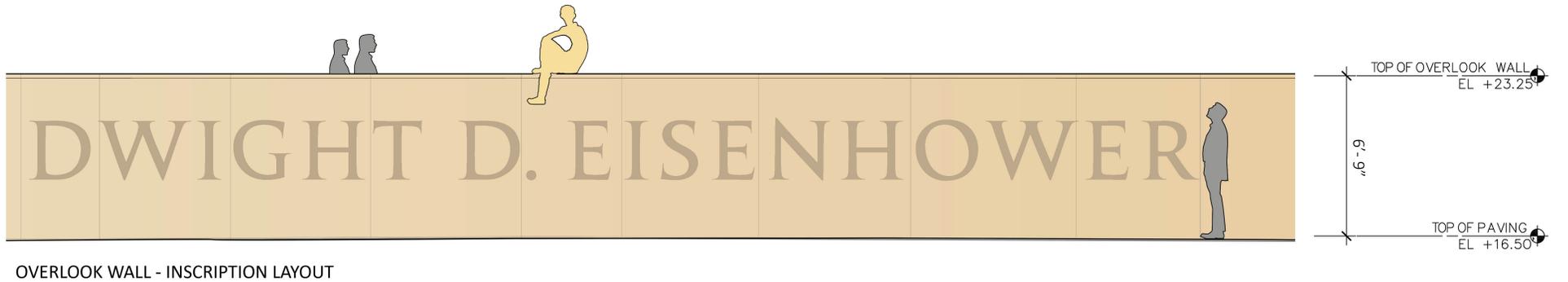
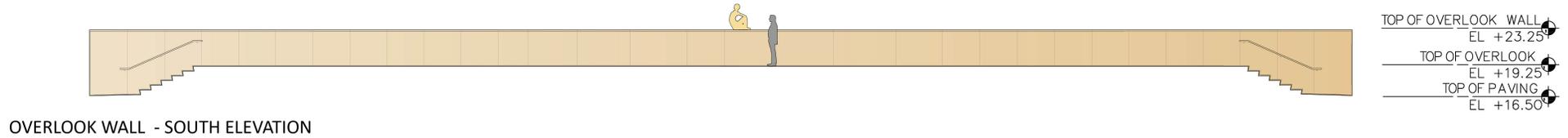
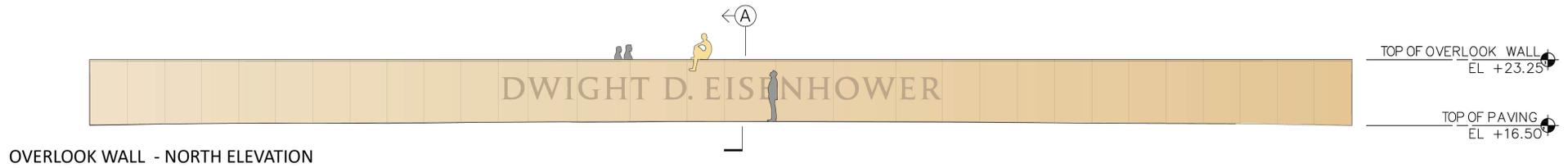
Patriotism means equipped forces and a prepared citizenry. Moral stamina means more energy and more productivity, on the farm and in the factory. Love of liberty means the guarding of every resource that makes freedom possible—from the sanctity of our families and the wealth of our soil to the genius of our scientists. And so each citizen plays an indispensable role. The productivity of our heads, our hands and our hearts is the source of all the strength we can command, for both the enrichment of our lives and the winning of the peace.

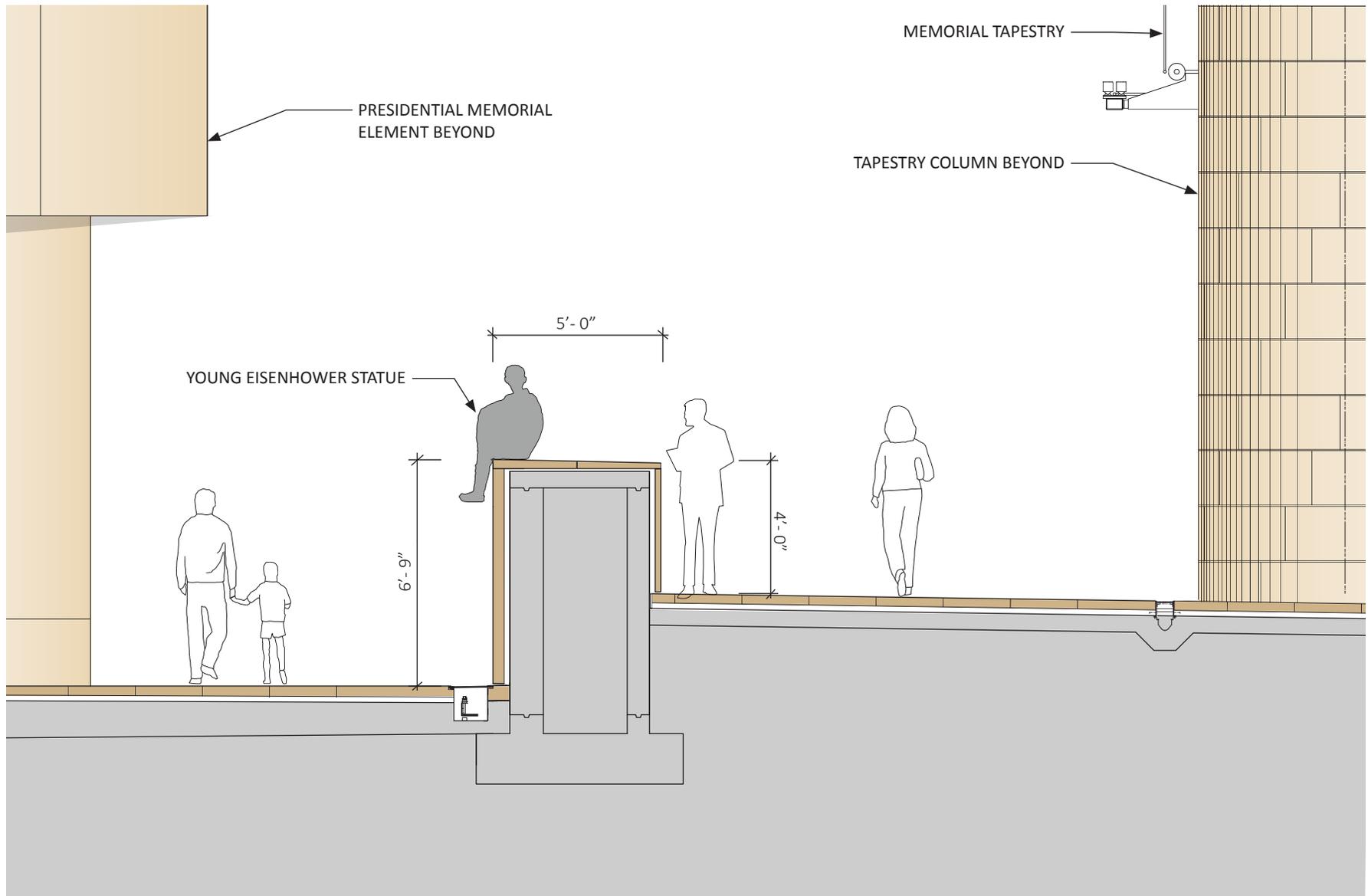
FAREWELL ADDRESS

January 17, 1961

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....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....

We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications....In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex....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...We pray that..all peoples will come to live together in a peace guaranteed by the binding force of mutual respect and love.



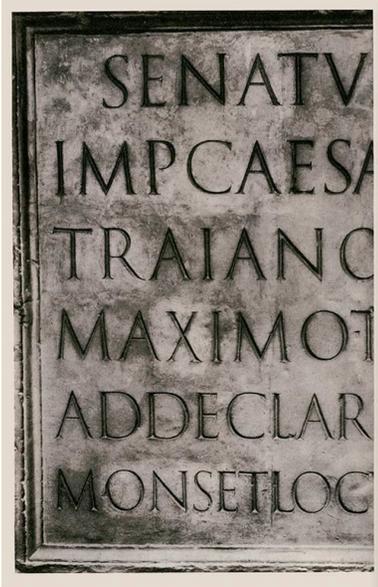


SECTION A THROUGH MEMORIAL OVERLOOK WALL

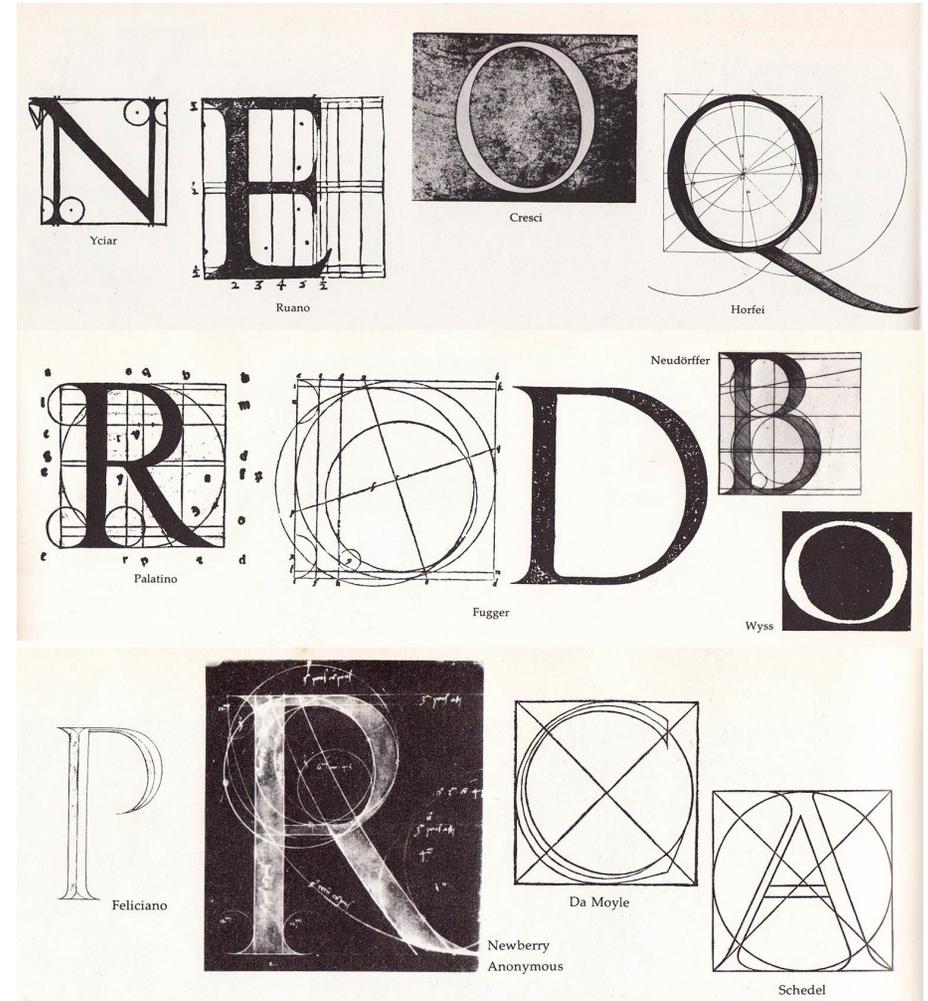
This detail section clarifies the design at the Overlook and the grade difference at the Memorial Core. The wall is wide, with the Young Eisenhower statue seated on the edge facing towards the Memorial Core. Visitors are discouraged from easily sitting on the wall, or touching the statue from the Overlook due to the height and width of the wall.

TYPEFACE PRECEDENT

The Trajan inscription on the base of Trajan's Column in Rome is widely recognized as the archetypal example of classical Roman capital lettering. The design was initially painted onto the surface of the stone using a broad edge brush. A stone carver then used the painted layout as a guide to incise v-sections into the stone to produce the inscription. This particular inscription is a thing of profound beauty and is the culmination of hundreds of years evolution in form and technique.



The skill and subtlety that was used to produce classical Roman capital lettering was lost at the end of the Roman Empire. It was not until the Renaissance that interest in the classic forms was rekindled. Scholars and artists believed that Roman letters were produced using geometric formulae, and that anyone using these mechanical methods could construct the ancient forms. In fact, this was not the case, but their efforts gave birth to a new letter that is referred to as neoclassical Roman.



2.0 - INSCRIPTION DESIGN LAYOUT

WHILE THE INAUGURAL
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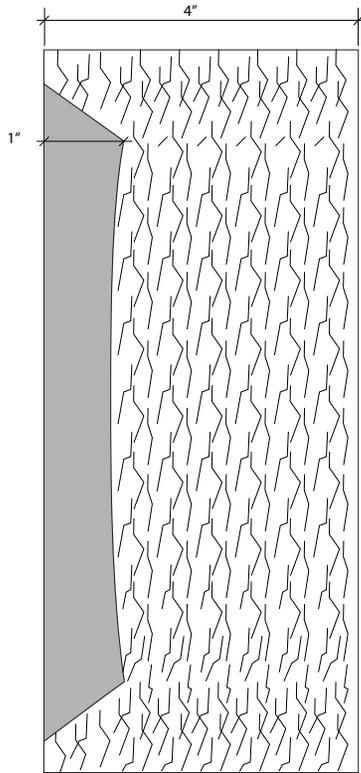
ADVANCE THE INTEREST
MINISTRATIVE VIGILANCE
TION IN THE MARCH OF

COMMERCE
AMONG NATIONS
SHOULD BE FAIR AND
EQUITABLE — FRANKLIN

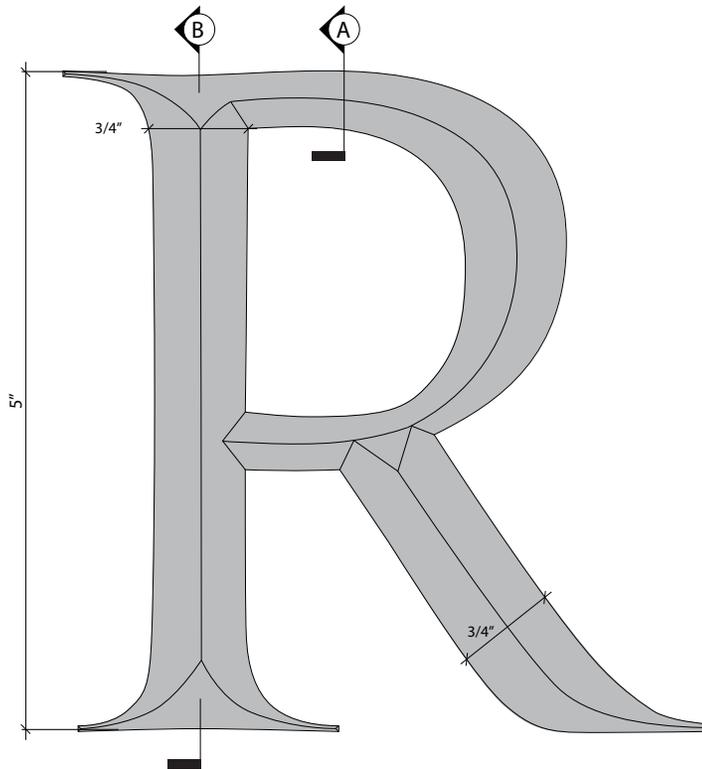
FRANKLIN DELANO
ROOSEVELT

TYPEFACE PRECEDENT

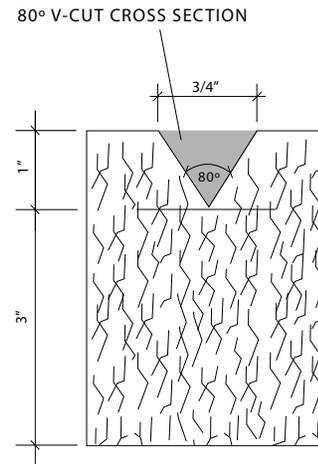
The neoclassical method for typeface design was generally considered the true formula for designing Roman capital lettering up until the mid-twentieth century. Unique variations of the form are woven into the architectural fabric of Washington, DC, and are meant to evoke a sense of authority, security and stability. These emotions and sentiments are the hallmarks of General and President Eisenhower's legacy. The best traits of these neoclassic letters were referenced to develop an alphabet that ties neatly into this well established aesthetic.



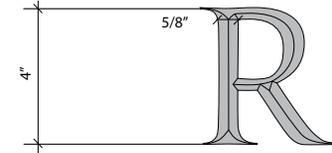
SECTION B



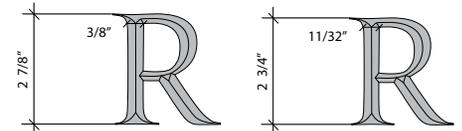
SAMPLE LETTER • LINTEL



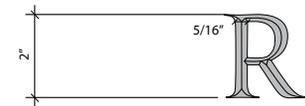
SECTION A



LINTEL QUOTATION SOURCES AND DATES



MEMORIAL ELEMENT INSCRIPTION WALL



MEMORIAL ELEMENT INSCRIPTION WALL
QUOTATION SOURCES AND DATES

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ • 1234567890



CARVED LINTEL LETTER SAMPLE IN AMBAR LIMESTONE

PROPOSED EISENHOWER TYPEFACE DESIGN

EISENHOWER MEMORIAL
Gehry Partners • AECOM Joint Venture

INSCRIPTION DESIGN LAYOUT - 2.0

3.0 APPENDIX: EISENHOWER SPEECHES FOR REFERENCE

The Eisenhower Memorial Commission has engaged a small group of scholars to analyze and recommend excerpts to be engraved in the memorial. The Quotations Committee members are Dr. Richard Striner, Professor of History at Washington College, Dr. Daun van Ee, former historian for the Library of Congress and Co-Editor of The Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower, and Professor Lou Galambos who is a Professor of History at Johns Hopkins University and also Co-Editor of The Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower.

A challenge of any memorialization process is the selection of words which accurately and effectively capture the essence of the values and accomplishments of the honored subject. Dwight D. Eisenhower left future Americans and their leaders with inspiring and pertinent advice, comforted the American public when international tensions arose, and strengthened the nation's resolve to win the Cold War. He did this without sacrificing his humility or the personal values grounded in his upbringing in Abilene, Kansas.

The primary challenge facing the Quotations Committee has been to choose appropriate language to represent to the public the qualities and accomplishments of General and President Eisenhower and to do so having in mind posterity – the monument that will be here in another century.

The recommendations of the Quotations Committee are meant to provide an historical foundation and reference points for the selection process. The process has undergone analysis from Gehry Partners, the engraver, the Eisenhower Memorial Commissioners, and the National Park Service, along with input from the public. The final decision, however, will be made by the Eisenhower Memorial Commissioners, with approval from the Commission of Fine Arts, the National Capital Planning Commission, and the National Park Service.

GENERAL EISENHOWER MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION WALL

THE GUILDHALL ADDRESS LONDON – JUNE 12, 1945

The high sense of distinction I feel in receiving this great honor from the city of London is inescapably mingled with feelings of profound sadness. All of us must always regret that your great country and mine were ever faced with the tragic situation that compelled the appointment of an Allied Commander-in-Chief, the capacity in which I have just been so extravagantly commended.

Humility must always be the portion of any man who receives acclaim earned in blood of his followers and sacrifices of his friends.

Conceivably a commander may have been professionally superior. He may have given everything of his heart and mind to meet the spiritual and physical needs of his comrades. He may have written a chapter that will glow forever in the pages of military history.

Still, even such a man – if he existed – would sadly face the facts that his honors cannot hide in his memories the crosses marking the resting places of the dead. They cannot soothe the anguish of the widow or the orphan whose husband or father will not return.

The only attitude in which a commander may with satisfaction receive the tributes of his friends is in the humble acknowledgment that no matter how unworthy he may be, his position is the symbol of great human forces that have labored arduously and successfully for a righteous cause. Unless he feels this symbolism and this rightness in what he has tried to do, then he is disregardful of courage, fortitude, and devotion of the vast multitudes he has been honored to command. If all Allied men and women that have served with me in this war can only know that it is they whom this august body is really honoring today, then indeed I will be content.

This feeling of humility cannot erase of course my great pride in being tendered the freedom of London. I am not a native of this land. I come from the very heart of America. In the superficial aspects by which we ordinarily recognize family relationships, the town where I was born and the one where I was reared are far separated from this great city. Abilene, Kansas, and Denison, Texas, would together equal in size, possibly one five-hundredth of a part of great London.

By your standards those towns are young, without your aged traditions that carry the roots of London back into the uncertainties of unrecorded history. To those people I am proud to belong.

But I find myself today five thousand miles from that countryside, the honored guest of a city whose name stands for grandeur and size throughout the world. Hardly would it seem possible for the London council to have gone farther afield to find a man to honor with its priceless gift of token citizenship.

Yet kinship among nations is not determined in such measurements as proximity, size, and age. Rather we should turn to those inner things – call them what you will – I mean those intangibles that are the real treasures free men possess.

To preserve his freedom of worship, his equality before law, his liberty to speak and act as he sees fit, subject only to provisions that he trespass not upon similar rights of others – a Londoner will fight. So will a citizen of Abilene.

When we consider these things, then the valley of the Thames draws closer to the farms of Kansas and the plains of Texas.

To my mind it is clear that when two peoples will face the tragedies of war to defend the same spiritual values, the same treasured rights, then in the deepest sense those two are truly related. So even as I proclaim my undying Americanism, I am bold enough and exceedingly proud to claim the basis of kinship to you of London.

And what man who has followed the history of this war could fail to experience an inspiration from the example of this city?

When the British Empire stood – alone but unconquered, almost naked but unafraid – to defy the Hitler hordes, it was on this devoted city that the first terroristic blows were launched.

Five years and eight months of war, much of it on the actual battle-line, blitzes big and little, flying V-bombs – all of them you took in your stride. You worked, and from your needed efforts you would not be

deterred. You carried on, and from your midst arose no cry for mercy, no wail of defeat. The Battle of Britain will take its place as another of your deathless traditions. And your faith and endurance have finally been rewarded.

You had been more than two years in war when Americans in numbers began swarming into your country. Most were mentally unprepared for the realities of war – especially as waged by the Nazis. Others believed that the tales of British sacrifice had been exaggerated. Still others failed to recognize the difficulties of the task ahead.

All such doubts, questions, and complacencies could not endure a single casual tour through your scarred streets and avenues. With awe our men gazed upon the empty spaces where once had stood buildings erected by the toil and sweat of peaceful folk. Our eyes rounded as we saw your women, serving quietly and efficiently in almost every kind of war effort, even with flak batteries. We became accustomed to the warning sirens which seemed to compel from the native Londoner not even a single hurried step. Gradually we drew closer together until we became true partners in war.

In London my associates and I planned two great expeditions – that to invade the Mediterranean and later that to cross the Channel.

London's hospitality to the Americans, her good-humored acceptance of the added inconvenience we brought, her example of fortitude and quiet confidence in the final outcome – all these helped to make the Supreme Headquarters of the two Allied expeditions the smooth-working organizations they became.

They were composed of chosen representatives of two proud and independent peoples, each noted for its initiative and for its satisfaction with its own customs, manners, and methods. Many feared that those representatives could never combine together in an efficient fashion to solve the complex problems presented by modern war.

I hope you believe we proved the doubters wrong. And, moreover, I hold that we proved this point not only for war – we proved it can always be done by our two peoples, provided only that both show the

D-DAY ADDRESS TO THE TROOPS
PORTSMOUTH, ENGLAND – JUNE 6, 1944

same good-will, the same forbearance, the same objective attitude that the British and Americans so amply demonstrated in the nearly three years of bitter campaigning.

No man alone could have brought about this result. Had I possessed the military skill of a Marlborough, the wisdom of Solomon, the understanding of Lincoln, I still would have been helpless without the loyalty, vision, and generosity of thousands upon thousands of British and Americans.

Some of them were my companions in the High Command. Many were enlisted men and junior officers carrying the fierce brunt of battle, and many others were back in the United States and here in Great Britain in London.

Moreover, back of us always were our great national war leaders and their civil and military staffs that supported and encouraged us through every trial, every test. The whole was one great team. I know that on this special occasion three million American men and women serving in the Allied Expeditionary Force would want me to pay a tribute of admiration, respect, and affection to their British comrades of this war.

My most cherished hope is that after Japan joins the Nazis in utter defeat, neither my country nor yours need ever again summon its sons and daughters from their peaceful pursuits to face the tragedies of battle. But – a fact important for both of us to remember – neither London nor Abilene, sisters under the skin, will sell her birthright for physical safety, her liberty for mere existence.

No petty differences in the world of trade, traditions, or national pride should ever blind us to our identities in priceless values.

If we keep our eyes on this guidepost, then no difficulties along our path of mutual co-operation can ever be insurmountable. Moreover, when this truth has permeated to the remotest hamlet and heart of all peoples, then indeed may we beat our swords into plowshares and all nations can enjoy the fruitfulness of the earth.

My Lord Mayor, I thank you once again for an honor to me and to the American forces that will remain one of the proudest in my memories.

PROPOSED SOURCE: DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, "THE GUILDHALL ADDRESS," IN *AT EASE: STORIES I TELL TO FRIENDS*.

To Troops of A.E.F.

Soldiers, Sailors and Airmen of the Allied Expeditionary Forces!: You are about to embark upon the Great Crusade, toward which we have striven these many months. The eyes of the world are upon you. The hopes and prayers of liberty-loving people everywhere march with you. In company with our brave Allies and brothers-in-arms on other Fronts you will bring about the destruction of the German war machine, the elimination of Nazi tyranny over oppressed peoples of Europe, and security for ourselves in a free world.

Your task will not be an easy one. Your enemy is well trained, well equipped and battle-hardened. He will fight savagely.

But this is the year 1944! Much has happened since the Nazi triumphs of 1940-41. The United Nations have inflicted upon the Germans great defeats, in open battle, man-to-man. Our air offensive has seriously reduced their strength in the air and their capacity to wage war on the ground. Our Home Fronts have given us an overwhelming superiority in weapons and munitions of war, and placed at our disposal great reserves of trained fighting men. **The tide has turned! The free men of the world are marching together to Victory!**

I have full confidence in your courage, devotion to duty and skill in battle. We will accept nothing less than full victory!

Good Luck! And let us all beseech the blessings of Almighty God upon this great and noble undertaking

PROPOSED SOURCE: DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, "TO TROOPS OF A. E. F.," IN *PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PAPERS OF DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER, THE WAR YEARS: III*.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION WALL

FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS JANUARY 20, 1953

My friends, before I begin the expression of those thoughts that I deem appropriate to this moment, would you permit me the privilege of uttering a little private prayer of my own. And I ask that you bow your heads:

Almighty God, as we stand here at this moment my future associates in the Executive branch of Government join me in beseeching that Thou will make full and complete our dedication to the service of the people in this throng, and their fellow citizens everywhere.

Give us, we pray, the power to discern clearly right from wrong, and allow all our words and actions to be governed thereby, and by the laws of this land. Especially we pray that our concern shall be for all the people regardless of station, race or calling.

May cooperation be permitted and be the mutual aim of those who, under the concepts of our Constitution, hold to differing political faiths; so that all may work for the good of our beloved country and Thy glory. Amen.

My fellow citizens, the world and we have passed the midway point of a century of continuing challenge. We sense with all our faculties that forces of good and evil are massed and armed and opposed as rarely before in history.

This fact defines the meaning of this day. We are summoned by this honored and historic ceremony to witness more than the act of one citizen swearing his oath of service, in the presence of God. We are called as a people to give testimony in the sight of the world to our faith that the future shall belong to the free.

Since this century's beginning, a time of tempest has seemed to come upon the continents of the earth. Masses of Asia have awakened to strike off shackles of the past. Great nations of Europe have fought their bloodiest wars. Thrones have toppled and their vast empires have disappeared. New nations have been born.

For our own country, it has been a time of recurring trial. We have grown in power and in responsibility. We have passed through the anxieties of depression and of war to a summit unmatched in man's history. Seeking to secure peace in the world, we have had to fight through the forests of the Argonne to the shores of Iwo Jima, and to the cold mountains of Korea.

In the swift rush of great events, we find ourselves groping to know the full sense and meaning of these times in which we live. In our quest

of understanding, we beseech God's guidance. We summon all our knowledge of the past and we scan all signs of the future. We bring all our wit and all our will to meet the question:

How far have we come in man's long pilgrimage from darkness toward the light? Are we nearing the light—a day of freedom and of peace for all mankind? Or are the shadows of another night closing in upon us?

Great as are the preoccupations absorbing us at home, concerned as we are with matters that deeply affect our livelihood today and our vision of the future, each of these domestic problems is dwarfed by, and often even created by, this question that involves all humankind.

This trial comes at a moment when man's power to achieve good or to inflict evil surpasses the brightest hopes and the sharpest fears of all ages. We can turn rivers in their courses, level mountains to the plains. Oceans and land and sky are avenues for our colossal commerce. Disease diminishes and life lengthens.

Yet the promise of this life is imperiled by the very genius that has made it possible. Nations amass wealth. Labor sweats to create—and turns out devices to level not only mountains but also cities. Science seems ready to confer upon us, as its final gift, the power to erase human life from this planet.

At such a time in history, we who are free must proclaim anew our faith. This faith is the abiding creed of our fathers. It is our faith in the deathless dignity of man, governed by eternal moral and natural laws.

This faith defines our full view of life. It establishes, beyond debate, those gifts of the Creator that are man's inalienable rights, and that make all men equal in His sight.

In the light of this equality, we know that the virtues most cherished by free people—love of truth, pride of work, devotion to country—all are treasures equally precious in the lives of the most humble and of the most exalted. The men who mine coal and fire furnaces, and balance ledgers, and turn lathes, and pick cotton, and heal the sick and plant corn—all serve as proudly and as profitably for America as the statesmen who draft treaties and the legislators who enact laws.

This faith rules our whole way of life. It decrees that we, the people, elect leaders not to rule but to serve. It asserts that we have the right to choice of our own work and to the reward of our own toil. It inspires the initiative that makes our productivity the wonder of the world.

And it warns that any man who seeks to deny equality among all his brothers betrays the spirit of the free and invites the mockery of the tyrant.

It is because we, all of us, hold to these principles that the political changes accomplished this day do not imply turbulence, upheaval or disorder. Rather this change expresses a purpose of strengthening our dedication and devotion to the precepts of our founding documents, a conscious renewal of faith in our country and in the watchfulness of a Divine Providence.

The enemies of this faith know no god but force, no devotion but its use. They tutor men in treason. They feed upon the hunger of others. Whatever defies them, they torture, especially the truth.

Here, then, is joined no argument between slightly differing philosophies. This conflict strikes directly at the faith of our fathers and the lives of our sons. No principle or treasure that we hold, from the spiritual knowledge of our free schools and churches to the creative magic of free labor and capital, nothing lies safely beyond the reach of this struggle.

Freedom is pitted against slavery; lightness against the dark

The faith we hold belongs not to us alone but to the free of all the world. This common bond binds the grower of rice in Burma and the planter of wheat in Iowa, the shepherd in southern Italy and the mountaineer in the Andes. It confers a common dignity upon the French soldier who dies in Indo-China, the British soldier killed in Malaya, the American life given in Korea.

We know, beyond this, that we are linked to all free peoples not merely by a noble idea but by a simple need. No free people can for long cling to any privilege or enjoy any safety in economic solitude. For all our own material might, even we need markets in the world for the surpluses of our farms and our factories. Equally, we need for these same farms and factories vital materials and products of distant lands. This basic law of interdependence, so manifest in the commerce of peace, applies with thousand-fold intensity in the event of war.

So we are persuaded by necessity and by belief that the strength of all free peoples lies in unity; their danger, in discord.

To produce this unity, to meet the challenge of our time, destiny has laid upon our country the responsibility of the free world's leadership.

So it is proper that we assure our friends once again that, in the discharge of this responsibility, we Americans know and we observe the difference between world leadership and imperialism; between firmness and truculence; between a thoughtfully calculated goal and spasmodic reaction to the stimulus of emergencies.

We wish our friends the world over to know this above all: we face the threat--not with dread and confusion--but with confidence and conviction.

We feel this moral strength because we know that we are not helpless prisoners of history. We are free men. We shall remain free, never to be proven guilty of the one capital offense against freedom, a lack of staunch faith.

In pleading our just cause before the bar of history and in pressing our labor for world peace, we shall be guided by certain fixed principles. These principles are:

1. Abhorring war as a chosen way to balk the purposes of those who threaten us, we hold it to be the first task of statesmanship to develop the strength that will deter the forces of aggression and promote the conditions of peace. For, as it must be the supreme purpose of all free men, so it must be the dedication of their leaders, to save humanity from preying upon itself.

In the light of this principle, we stand ready to engage with any and all others in joint effort to remove the causes of mutual fear and distrust among nations, so as to make possible drastic reduction of armaments. The sole requisites for undertaking such effort are that--in their purpose--they be aimed logically and honestly toward secure peace for all; and that--in their result--they provide methods by which every participating nation will prove good faith in carrying out its pledge.

2. Realizing that common sense and common decency alike dictate the futility of appeasement, we shall never try to placate an aggressor by the false and wicked bargain of trading honor for security. Americans, indeed, all free men, remember that in the final choice a soldier's pack is not so heavy a burden as a prisoner's chains.

3. Knowing that only a United States that is strong and immensely productive can help defend freedom in our world, we view our Nation's strength and security as a trust upon which rests the hope of free men everywhere. It is the firm duty of each of our free citizens and of every free citizen everywhere to place the cause of his country before the comfort, the convenience of himself.

4. Honoring the identity and the special heritage of each nation in the world, we shall never use our strength to try to impress upon another people our own cherished political and economic institutions.

5. Assessing realistically the needs and capacities of proven friends of freedom, we shall strive to help them to achieve their own security and well-being. Likewise, we shall count upon them to assume, within the limits of their resources, their full and just burdens in the common defense of freedom.

6. Recognizing economic health as an indispensable basis of military strength and the free world's peace, we shall strive to foster everywhere, and to practice ourselves, policies that

courage productivity and profitable trade. For the impoverishment of any single people in the world means danger to the well-being of all other peoples.

7. Appreciating that economic need, military security and political wisdom combine to suggest regional groupings of free peoples, we hope, within the framework of the United Nations, to help strengthen such special bonds the world over. The nature of these ties must vary with the different problems of different areas.

In the Western Hemisphere, we enthusiastically join with all our neighbors in the work of perfecting a community of fraternal trust and common purpose.

In Europe, we ask that enlightened and inspired leaders of the Western nations strive with renewed vigor to make the unity of their peoples a reality. Only as free Europe unitedly marshals its strength can it effectively safeguard, even with our help, its spiritual and cultural heritage.

8. Conceiving the defense of freedom, like freedom itself, to be one and indivisible, we hold all continents and peoples in equal regard and honor. We reject any insinuation that one race or another, one people or another, is in any sense inferior or expendable.

9. Respecting the United Nations as the living sign of all people's hope for peace, we shall strive to make it not merely an eloquent symbol but an effective force. And in our quest for an honorable peace, we shall neither compromise, nor tire, nor ever cease. By these rules of conduct, we hope to be known to all peoples.

By their observance, an earth of peace may become not a vision but a fact.

This hope--this supreme aspiration--must rule the way we live.

We must be ready to dare all for our country. For history does not long entrust the care of freedom to the weak or the timid. We must acquire proficiency in defense and display stamina in purpose.

We must be willing, individually and as a Nation, to accept whatever sacrifices may be required of us. A people that values its privileges above its principles soon loses both.

These basic precepts are not lofty abstractions, far removed from matters of daily living. They are laws of spiritual strength that generate and define our material strength. **Patriotism means equipped forces and a prepared citizenry. Moral stamina means more energy and more productivity, on the farm and in the factory. Love of liberty means the guarding of every resource that makes freedom possible--from the sanctity of our families and the wealth of our soil to the genius of our scientists. And so each citizen plays an indispensable role. The productivity of our heads, our hands and our hearts is the source of all the strength we can command, for both the enrichment of our lives and the winning of the peace.**

No person, no home, no community can be beyond the reach of this call. We are summoned to act in wisdom and in conscience, to work with industry, to teach with persuasion, to preach with conviction, to weigh our every deed with care and with compassion. For this truth must be clear before us: whatever America hopes to bring to pass in the world must first come to pass in the heart of America.

The peace we seek, then, is nothing less than the practice and fulfillment of our whole faith among ourselves and in our dealings with others. This signifies more than the stilling of guns, casing the sorrow of war. More than escape from death, it is a way of life. More than a haven for the weary, it is a hope for the brave.

This is the hope that beckons us onward in this century of trial. This is the work that awaits us all, to be done with bravery, with charity, and with prayer to Almighty God.

My citizens--I thank you.

PROPOSED SOURCE: DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, "INAUGURAL ADDRESS," IN *PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES*, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER: 1953.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION WALL

FAREWELL ADDRESS
JANUARY 17, 1961

My fellow Americans: 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 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.

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. 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 at 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 which 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 action of the moment and the national welfare of the future. Good judgment seeks balance and progress; lack of it eventually finds imbalance and frustration.

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 peace time, 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 State 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 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 ideas and scientific discovery, has experienced a revolution in the conduct of research. Partly because of the huge 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 difference, 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 find something 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 inspiration:

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.

PROPOSED SOURCE: DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, "FAREWELL RADIO AND TELEVISIONS ADDRESS TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE," IN *PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES*, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER: 1960-61.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER MEMORIAL LINTEL

SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS THE PRICE OF PEACE
JANUARY 21ST, 1957

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Vice President, Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. Speaker, members of my family and friends, my countrymen, and the friends of my country, wherever they may be, we meet again, as upon a like moment four years ago, and again you have witnessed my solemn oath of service to you.

I, too, am a witness, today testifying in your name to the principles and purposes to which we, as a people, are pledged.

Before all else, we seek, upon our common labor as a nation, the blessings of Almighty God. And the hopes in our hearts fashion the deepest prayers of our whole people.

May we pursue the right--without self-righteousness.

May we know unity--without conformity.

May we grow in strength--without pride in self.

May we, in our dealings with all peoples of the earth, ever speak truth and serve justice.

And so shall America--in the sight of all men of good will--prove true to the honorable purposes that bind and rule us as a people in all this time of trial through which we pass.

We live in a land of plenty, but rarely has this earth known such peril as today.

In our nation work and wealth abound. Our population grows. Commerce crowds our rivers and rails, our skies, harbors, and highways. Our soil is fertile, our agriculture productive. The air rings with the song of our industry--rolling mills and blast furnaces, dynamos, dams, and assembly lines--the chorus of America the bountiful.

This is our home--yet this is not the whole of our world. For our world is where our full destiny lies--with men, of all people, and all nations, who are or would be free. And for them--and so for us--this is no time of ease or of rest.

In too much of the earth there is want, discord, danger. New forces and new nations stir and strive across the earth, with power to bring, by their fate, great good or great evil to the free world's future. From the deserts of North Africa to the islands of the South Pacific one third of all mankind has entered upon an historic struggle for a new freedom; freedom from grinding poverty. Across all continents, nearly a billion people seek, sometimes almost in desperation, for the skills and knowledge and assistance by which they may satisfy from their own resources, the material wants common to all mankind.

No nation, however old or great, escapes this tempest of change and turmoil. Some, impoverished by the recent World War, seek to restore their means of livelihood. In the heart of Europe, Germany still stands tragically divided. So is the whole continent divided. And so, too, is all the world.

The divisive force is International Communism and the power that it controls.

The designs of that power, dark in purpose, are clear in practice. It strives to seal forever the fate of those it has enslaved. It strives to break the ties that unite the free. And it strives to capture--to exploit for its own greater power--all forces of change in the world, especially the needs of the hungry and the hopes of the oppressed.

Yet the world of International Communism has itself been shaken by a fierce and mighty force: the readiness of men who love freedom to pledge their lives to that love. Through the night of their bondage, the unconquerable will of heroes has struck with the swift, sharp thrust of lightning. Budapest is no longer merely the name of a city; henceforth it is a new and shining symbol of man's yearning to be free.

Thus across all the globe there harshly blow the winds of change. And, we--though fortunate be our lot--know that we can never turn our backs to them.

We look upon this shaken earth, and we declare our firm and fixed purpose--the building of a peace with justice in a world where moral law prevails.

The building of such a peace is a bold and solemn purpose. To proclaim it is easy. To serve it will be hard. And to attain it, we must be aware of its full meaning--and ready to pay its full price.

We know clearly what we seek, and why.

We seek peace, knowing that peace is the climate of freedom. And now, as in no other age, we seek it because we have been warned, by the power of modern weapons, that peace may be the only climate possible for human life itself.

Yet this peace we seek cannot be born of fear alone: it must be rooted in the lives of nations. There must be justice, sensed and shared by all peoples, for, without justice the world can know only a tense and unstable truce. There must be law, steadily invoked and respected by all nations, for without law, the world promises only such meager justice as the pity of the strong upon the weak. But the law of which we speak, comprehending the values of freedom, affirms the equality of all nations, great and small.

Splendid as can be the blessings of such a peace, high will be its cost: in toil patiently sustained, in help honorably given, in sacrifice calmly borne.

We are called to meet the price of this peace.

To counter the threat of those who seek to rule by force, we must pay the costs of our own needed military strength, and help to build the security of others.

We must use our skills and knowledge and, at times, our substance, to help others rise from misery, however far the scene of suffering may be from our shores. For wherever in the world a people knows desperate want, there must appear at least the spark of hope, the hope of progress--or there will surely rise at last the flames of conflict.

We recognize and accept our own deep involvement in the destiny of men everywhere. We are accordingly pledged to honor, and to strive to fortify, the authority of the United Nations. For in that body rests the

best hope of our age for the assertion of that law by which all nations may live in dignity.

And, beyond this general resolve, we are called to act a responsible role in the world's great concerns or conflicts-- whether they touch upon the affairs of a vast region, the fate of an island in the Pacific, or the use of a canal in the Middle East. Only in respecting the hopes and cultures of others will we practice the equality of all nations. Only as we show willingness and wisdom in giving counsel--in receiving counsel--and in sharing burdens, will we wisely perform the work of peace.

For one truth must rule all we think and all we do. No people can live to itself alone. The unity of all who dwell in freedom is their only sure defense. The economic need of all nations--in mutual dependence-- makes isolation an impossibility; not even America's prosperity could long survive if other nations did not also prosper. No nation can longer be a fortress, lone and strong and safe. And any people, seeking such shelter for themselves, can now build only their own prison.

Our pledge to these principles is constant, because we believe in their rightness.

We do not fear this world of change. America is no stranger to much of its spirit. Everywhere we see the seeds of the same growth that America itself has known. The American experiment has, for generations, fired the passion and the courage of millions elsewhere seeking freedom, equality, and opportunity. And the American story of material progress has helped excite the longing of all needy peoples for some satisfaction of their human wants. These hopes that we have helped to inspire, we can help to fulfill.

In this confidence, we speak plainly to all peoples.

We cherish our friendship with all nations that are or would be free. We respect, no less, their independence. And when, in time of want or peril, they ask our help, they may honorably receive it; for we no more seek to buy their sovereignty than we would sell our own. Sovereignty is never bartered among freemen.

We honor the aspirations of those nations which, now captive, long for freedom. We seek neither their military alliance nor any artificial imitation of our society. And they can know the warmth of the welcome that awaits them when, as must be, they join again the ranks of freedom.

We honor, no less in this divided world than in a less tormented time, the people of Russia. We do not dread, rather do we welcome, their progress in education and industry. We wish them success in their demands for more intellectual freedom, greater security before their own laws, fuller enjoyment of the rewards of their own toil. For as such things come to pass, the more certain will be the coming of that day when our peoples may freely meet in friendship.

So we voice our hope and our belief that we can help to heal this divided world. Thus may the nations cease to live in trembling before the menace of force. Thus may the weight of fear and the weight of arms be taken from the burdened shoulders of mankind.

This, nothing less, is the labor to which we are called and our strength dedicated.

And so the prayer of our people carries far beyond our own frontiers, to the wide world of our duty and our destiny.

May the light of freedom, coming to all darkened lands, flame brightly--until at last the darkness is no more.

May the turbulence of our age yield to a true time of peace, when men and nations shall share a life that honors the dignity of each, the brotherhood of all.

PROPOSED SOURCE: DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, "SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS," IN *PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES*, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER:1957.