

ADDRESS BY  
ADMIRAL R.A. SPRUANCE, U.S.N.  
AT HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT  
ON SEPTEMBER 30, 1947

IN CONNECTION WITH  
HARTFORD DEDICATION WEEK OBSERVANCES  
SPONSORED BY VETERANS COMMITTEE

GOVERNOR McCONAUGHY, MAYOR ALLEN, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS AND FELLOW VETERANS.

THIS IS MY FIRST APPEARANCE BEFORE THE PUBLIC IN THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT, BUT I FEEL THAT I HAVE A CONNECTION WITH BOTH THE STATE AND ITS CAPITAL THROUGH MY EARLY SERVICE IN THE NAVY.

THE BATTLESHIP CONNECTICUT, IN WHICH I SAW SERVICE AS AN ENSIGN, WAS FOR SOME YEARS THE FLAGSHIP OF THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ATLANTIC FLEET. SHE LED THE FLEET ON THE CRUISE AROUND THE WORLD, WHICH WAS ORDERED BY PRESIDENT THEODORE ROOSEVELT IN 1907. THIS CRUISE TOOK US AROUND SOUTH AMERICA, AS THE PANAMA CANAL WAS THEN UNDER CONSTRUCTION. IT TOOK US TO NEW ZEALAND AND AUSTRALIA, TO THE PHILIPPINES, JAPAN AND CHINA, AND BACK HOME TO HAMPTON ROADS THROUGH THE STRAIT OF MALACCA, WHERE SINGAPORE LIES, THE RED SEA AND THE SUEZ CANAL, THE MEDITERRANEAN AND ACROSS THE ROUGH ATLANTIC IN FEBRUARY 1909.

BY THE TIME WORLD WAR I COMMENCED THE CONNECTICUT WAS BECOMING OBSOLESCEMENT, BUT SHE DID GOOD WORK IN TRAINING OFFICERS AND MEN REQUIRED TO MAN MORE ACTIVE VESSELS SUCH AS NEW BATTLESHIPS, DESTROYERS AND TRANSPORTS. SHE WAS FINALLY SCRAPPED IN THE EARLY 1920'S AS A RESULT OF THE WASHINGTON TREATY FOR THE LIMITATION OF NAVAL ARMAMENTS.

THE FIRST SHIP IN WHICH I WENT TO SEA AFTER I ENTERED THE NAVAL ACADEMY -- FORTY-THREE YEARS AGO -- WAS THE OLD STEAM SLOOP HARTFORD. SHE DATED FROM BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR AND HAD BEEN ADMIRAL PARRAGUT'S FLAGSHIP AT THE BATTLE OF MOBILE BAY. IT WAS WHILE STANDING IN HER MIZZEN RIGGING, AS HIS FLEET FORCED THE ENTRANCE INTO MOBILE BAY, THAT PARRAGUT UTTERED HIS FAMOUS WORDS

-- "DAMN THE TORPEDOES. GO AHEAD."

THE HARTFORD IN MY TIME AS A MIDSHIPMAN WAS USED AS A TRAINING SHIP -- FOR MIDSHIPMEN DURING THE SUMMER AND FOR APPRENTICE SEAMEN DURING THE REST OF THE YEAR. SHE WAS BARQUE RIGGED, AND, WHEN SHE WAS UNDER SAIL, HER PROPELLER WOULD BE UNCOUPLED, FIRES WOULD BE HAULED IN HER BOILERS, AND HER SMOKE PIPE WOULD BE TELESCOPED TO CLEAR THE MAINSAIL. DURING OUR MIDSHIPMEN'S PRACTICE CRUISES NEW LONDON WAS ALWAYS AN IMPORTANT PORT ON OUR SCHEDULE.

TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE THE HARTFORD IS THE ONLY NAVAL VESSEL KEPT FROM OUR CIVIL WAR DAYS. I HOPE THAT SHE WILL CONTINUE TO BE PRESERVED, AS HAVE THE FRIGATES CONSTITUTION AND CONSTELLATION, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE EARLIER DAYS AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY. SHIPS SUCH AS THESE BECOME AN INCREASINGLY PRECIOUS PART OF OUR NATIONAL HERITAGE AS THE YEARS GO BY. ALL OF THEM STRUCK TELLING BLOWS THAT HELPED TO MAKE OUR COUNTRY STRONG AND TO PRESERVE AND INCREASE THE HERITAGE OF FREEDOM WHICH WE ARE CELEBRATING TODAY.

FREEDOM, AS WE AMERICANS HAVE IT, HAS NEVER BEEN KNOWN BY MANY OF THE PEOPLES OF THE EARTH. OTHERS, WHO HAVE ENJOYED A CONSIDERABLE DEGREE OF FREEDOM IN THE PAST, FIND THEMSELVES TODAY DEPRIVED OF MANY, IF NOT ALL, OF THE INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES WHICH THEY ONCE HAD.

OUR AMERICAN RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES UNDER THE LAW ARE THE RESULT OF A SLOW GROWTH OVER THE CENTURIES. THEY CAME TO THE COLONIES WITH THE FIRST SETTLERS, WHO BROUGHT THEM FROM ENGLAND, WHERE THEY HAD BEEN OBTAINED BY A LONG STRUGGLE, GENERALLY PEACE-

FUL BUT SOMETIMES VIOLENT, WITH THE CROWN.

IN THE COLONIES THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM AND HUMAN RIGHTS WAS STIMULATED BY FRONTIER LIFE, UNTIL IT CULMINATED IN OUR WAR OF INDEPENDENCE -- A WAR TO PRESERVE AGAINST THE ENCROACHMENTS OF THE BRITISH CROWN THOSE RIGHTS WHICH THE COLONISTS FELT BELONGED TO THEM.

WHEN THE "FREEDOM TRAIN" COMES TO HARTFORD ON SATURDAY, YOU WILL BE ABLE TO SEE FOR YOURSELVES IN THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE THOSE GREAT WORDS PROCLAIMING OUR "INALIENABLE RIGHTS -- TO LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS." YOU WILL BE ABLE TO SEE HOW OUR FATHERS PROTECTED THE LIBERTIES OF THE INDIVIDUAL BY INCORPORATING IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES AS ITS FIRST TEN AMENDMENTS THE BILL OF RIGHTS.

THESE ARE ONLY TWO OF THE MANY HISTORIC DOCUMENTS, BEGINNING WITH THE COPY OF THE MAGNA CARTA IN 1215 AND MARKING THE GROWTH OF HUMAN LIBERTIES OVER THE CENTURIES, WHICH YOU WILL BE ABLE TO SEE IN THE "FREEDOM TRAIN."

AS AMERICANS, WE HAVE BECOME SO ACCUSTOMED TO THE CIVIL LIBERTIES GIVEN TO US AND PROTECTED BY OUR CONSTITUTION, THAT WE HAVE COME TO TAKE THEM FOR GRANTED. IT IS ALMOST AS DIFFICULT FOR US TO THINK OF OUR LOSING THEM, AS IT WOULD BE TO IMAGINE OURSELVES BEING DEPRIVED OF THE AIR WE BREATHE.

THE SPREAD OF HUMAN LIBERTIES AND FREEDOM THROUGHOUT THE WORLD SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR I, AND PARTICULARLY SINCE THE ADVENT TO POWER IN GERMANY OF HITLER IN 1933, HAS NOT BEEN SUCH AS TO MAKE ONE OPTIMISTIC THAT ALL MANKIND WILL SOON ENJOY

THE BLESSINGS WHICH HAVE LONG BELONGED TO AMERICANS.

ON THE CONTRARY, IN THE TWO YEARS THAT HAVE PASSED SINCE THE ENDING OF HOSTILITIES OF WORLD WAR II AND THE OVERTHROW OF DICTATORIAL AND AUTOCRATIC POWER IN ITALY, GERMANY AND FINALLY JAPAN, WE HAVE WITNESSED THE WESTWARD SPREAD THROUGH CENTRAL EUROPE OF COMMUNIST CONTROLLED GOVERNMENTS. THESE COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS CRUSH AS QUICKLY AS THEY CAN ALL POLITICAL OPPOSITION. THE RIGHTS OF FREE SPEECH AND A FREE PRESS NO LONGER EXIST. THE INDIVIDUAL CITIZEN WHO ENDEAVORS TO EXERCISE HIS FORMER RIGHTS AS A FREE MAN IS LIABLE TO MIDNIGHT ARREST AND DISAPPEARANCE FROM HIS FAMILY AND FRIENDS. IF HE IS IMPORTANT ENOUGH TO WARRANT THE TROUBLE, HE MAY BE GIVEN A PUBLIC TRIAL FOR TREASON, CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED. THE RESULTS OF SUCH A TRIAL ARE FOREORDAINED.

IN OTHER COUNTRIES WHERE THE COMMUNISTS HAVE NOT YET BEEN ABLE TO SEIZE THE GOVERNMENT, WE SEE THEM PROMOTING CIVIL STRIFE AND DISTURBANCES WITH A VIEW TO BRINGING ABOUT SUCH HARDSHIPS AND CHAOS THAT ULTIMATELY THEY WILL BE ABLE TO TAKE OVER POWER. WHEN THEY DO, THE SECRET POLICE, ABLY ORGANIZED AND RUTHLESSLY USED, GIVES THEM A WEAPON WITH WHICH TO MAINTAIN THEMSELVES INDEFINITELY IN CONTROL BY SUPPRESSING ALL POLITICAL OPPOSITION AND BY DOING AWAY WITH MOST OF THE RIGHTS TO WHICH THE INDIVIDUAL CITIZEN HAS BEEN ACCUSTOMED.

WE, AS AMERICANS, MUST REALIZE THAT THERE WILL ALWAYS EXIST POWER HUNGRY OR PANATICAL MEN WHO WILL, IF THEY CAN, TAKE FROM US OUR FREEDOM AND OUR LIBERTIES. A REVIEW OF THE PRICELESS

DOCUMENTS IN THE FREEDOM TRAIN SHOULD CONVINCE US THAT THE CIVIL LIBERTIES WHICH WE ENJOY TODAY CAME ONLY AS THE RESULT OF CENTURIES OF STRUGGLE. IF WE ARE TO PRESERVE THESE LIBERTIES, WE MUST GUARD THEM JEALOUSLY AND BE PREPARED TO FIGHT FOR THEM.

OUR HERITAGE OF FREEDOM CAN BE MENACED FROM BOTH WITHIN THE UNITED STATES AND FROM WITHOUT. IF OUR LAWS ARE JUST AND ARE ENFORCED WITHOUT FEAR OR FAVOR, I HAVE EVERY CONFIDENCE IN OUR CITIZENSHIP BEING ABLE TO PRESERVE ITS LIBERTIES FROM ATTACK BY THOSE WITHIN THE COUNTRY.

TO PROTECT US FROM ATTACK FROM ABROAD, THE UNITED STATES MUST FIRST OF ALL HAVE A FOREIGN POLICY WHICH IS JUST, FAIR TO ALL COUNTRIES, AND NOT SUBJECTED TO AMERICAN PARTISAN POLITICAL ATTACK. WE MUST DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO SUPPORT THE CAUSE OF HUMAN FREEDOM THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, PARTICULARLY IN THE AREAS WHERE IT STILL EXISTS. THE COST OF DOING SO MAY APPEAR HIGH, BUT COMPARED WITH THE COST OF A WAR IT IS ACTUALLY LOW, AND WE MAY PREVENT A TREMENDOUS AMOUNT OF HUMAN SUFFERING. OUR MOST IMPORTANT TASK AT THE PRESENT TIME IS TO RESTORE THE STRENGTH OF WESTERN EUROPE. BY DOING SO, WE SHALL SAVE THESE COUNTRIES FROM COMMUNISTIC DOMINATION AND HELP THEM TO PRESERVE THE LIBERTIES OF THEIR CITIZENS. A STRONG WESTERN EUROPE WILL RE-ESTABLISH FOR THAT CONTINENT THE BALANCE OF POWER TO WHICH WE HAVE BEEN ACCUSTOMED AND WHICH WE SO GREATLY MISS AT THE PRESENT TIME.

WHILE WE ARE STRENGTHENING AND IMPLEMENTING OUR FOREIGN POLICY, WORKING BOTH THROUGH THE UNITED NATIONS AND DIRECTLY

WITH OTHER COUNTRIES, WE MUST MAINTAIN OUR ARMED FORCES IN FIRST CLASS CONDITION. STRENGTH, NOT WEAKNESS, IS WHAT IS HEARD WITH RESPECTFUL ATTENTION IN THE WORLD AS IT EXISTS AND AS IT ALWAYS HAS EXISTED. OUR ECONOMIC STRENGTH IS RECOGNIZED AND RESPECTED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, BUT TOO OFTEN IN THE PAST WE HAVE NOT KEPT OUR ARMED FORCES ON A PAR WITH OUR ECONOMIC STRENGTH. WITH THE COMMUNIST DESPOTISMS OF EASTERN EUROPE GIVING DAILY DEMONSTRATIONS OF THEIR HOSTILITY TO THE UNITED STATES AND TO EVERYTHING IN OUR WAY OF LIFE WHICH WE HOLD MOST PRECIOUS, THIS IS NO TIME FOR US TO RELAX OUR VIGILANCE AND TO DECREASE OUR STRENGTH.

THE UNITED STATES HAS NOW AN INCOMPARABLY STRONG GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF NATIONAL DEFENSE. SHE IS AN INSULAR COUNTRY WITH THE AREA AND RESOURCES OF A CONTINENT. THIS IS BECAUSE SHE HAS NO POWERFUL HOSTILE NEIGHBORS WHO CAN ATTACK HER BY LAND. ATTACKS ON HER CAN COME ONLY FROM ACROSS THE ATLANTIC OR PACIFIC OCEANS OR BY AIR. SO LONG AS OUR NAVY CONTROLS THOSE OCEANS AND KEEPS OUR POTENTIAL ENEMY ON THE FAR SIDES OF THEM, AIR ATTACKS ON THE UNITED STATES WILL HAVE TO COME FROM VERY GREAT DISTANCES. WE HEAR MUCH ABOUT THE SHORT DISTANCES FROM EUROPE AND ASIA TO THE UNITED STATES, BY WAY OF THE ARCTIC. AS A MATTER OF FACT, IF YOU WILL EXAMINE A GLOBE, YOU WILL FIND THAT THE SHORTEST DISTANCE FROM ANY POINT ON THE EURASIAN CONTINENT TO ANY POINT IN THE UNITED STATES PROPER IS ABOUT 3000 STATUTE MILES. THIS IS BETWEEN NORTHEASTERN SIBERIA ON BEHRING STRAIT AND THE NORTHWESTERN CORNER OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON.

I AM NOT MINIMIZING THE DAMAGE WHICH MIGHT BE INFLICTED ON US BY A SURPRISE ATTACK IN TIME OF PEACE, MADE BY AN UNSCRUPULOUS ENEMY USING LONG RANGE BOMBERS, LOADED WITH ATOMIC BOMBS AND FLYING TO THE LIMIT OF THEIR ENDURANCE ON A ONE WAY TRIP.

SUCH AN ATTACK WOULD, HOWEVER, BE A RAID; AND WARS BETWEEN COUNTRIES EQUALLY MATCHED AT THE BEGINNING ARE NOT WON BY A SINGLE RAID, REGARDLESS OF HOW DEVASTATING THE RESULTS OF SUCH A RAID MAY APPEAR TO BE BEFORE THE DEBRIS IS CLEARED AWAY.

IF OUR INTELLIGENCE SERVICES ARE UP TO THE STANDARDS WE EXPECT OF THEM, I TRUST THAT AN AIR ATTACK SUCH AS I HAVE DESCRIBED WOULD NOT COME AS A BOLT OUT OF THE BLUE. WITH REASONABLE WARNING OF AN IMPENDING ATTACK, OUR DEFENSIVE MEASURES SHOULD BE ABLE TO MINIMIZE GREATLY ITS EFFECTIVENESS, AND THEREAFTER ATOMIC BOMBS MAY NOT BE SO PLENTIFUL OR SO FREELY EXPENDED.

THE UNITED STATES IS A PEACE LOVING AND GENEROUS NATION. ONE COUNTRY CAN START A WAR, BUT IT TAKES TWO TO KEEP THE PEACE. I AM CONFIDENT THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL NEVER START A WAR, BUT WILL, ON THE CONTRARY, GO TO GREAT LENGTHS TO KEEP THE PEACE. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE, HOWEVER, A VIRILE AND INDEPENDENT RACE WHO VALUE THEIR IDEALS AND WILL NOT BE PUSHED BEYOND A CERTAIN POINT.

SHOULD WE BE SUBJECTED TO ANOTHER TREACHEROUS ATTACK SUCH AS THE ONE ON PEARL HARBOR, OR SHOULD WE BE OTHERWISE FORCED INTO WAR, I WOULD REMIND YOU THAT WARS ARE WON BY OFFENSIVE MEASURES. THE FIGHTING MUST BE CARRIED BY US TO THE ENEMY AND NOT BROUGHT



BY HIM TO US. ONLY BY SO DOING CAN WE KEEP OUR HOME TERRITORY INTACT AND RELATIVELY UNDEMANAGED, SO THAT IT MAY SERVE AS A BASE FOR THE OPERATIONS OF OUR ARMED FORCES IN DISTANT AREAS. WE MUST KEEP THE ENEMY SO BUSY PARRYING OUR BLOWS THAT HE HAS NO TIME TO THINK ABOUT HITTING US.

IF OUR PEOPLE MAINTAIN THEIR LOVE OF FREEDOM, AND THE INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE WHICH HAS CHARACTERIZED OUR CITIZENS AS THEY HAVE SPREAD OVER AND COLONIZED THIS GREAT COUNTRY OF OURS, I HAVE EVERY CONFIDENCE IN OUR ABILITY TO MAINTAIN OUR POSITION IN THE WORLD, WHETHER THE FUTURE BRINGS US PEACE OR WAR.

THE PROGRESS OF THE FREEDOM TRAIN THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD SERVE TO BRING HOME TO OUR PEOPLE A RENEWED REALIZATION OF THE VALUE OF THE LIBERTIES THEY NOW ENJOY AND A DETERMINATION TO MAINTAIN THESE LIBERTIES INTACT TO PASS ON TO THEIR DESCENDANTS.

Governor Mc Conaughy, Mayor Allen, distinguished guests and fellow veterans.

This is my first appearance before the public in the State of Connecticut, but I feel that I have a connection with both the State and its Capital through my early service in the Navy.

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The first ship in which I went to sea after I entered the Naval Academy - forty-three years ago - was the old steam sloop Hartford. She dated from before the Civil War and had been Admiral Farragut's flagship at the Battle of Mobile Bay. It was while standing in her mizzen rigging, as his fleet forced the entrance into Mobile Bay, that Farragut uttered his famous words - "Damn the torpedoes. Go ahead."

The Hartford in my time as a midshipman was used as a training ship - for midshipmen during the summer and for apprentice seamen during the rest of the year. She was barque rigged, and, when she was under sail, her propeller would be uncoupled, fires would be hauled in her boilers, and her smoke pipe would be telescoped to clear the mainsail. During our midshipmen's practice cruises New London was always an important port on our schedule.

To the best of my knowledge the Hartford is the

The battleship Connecticut, in which I saw service as an ensign, was for some years the flagship of the Commander-in-Chief of the Atlantic Fleet. She led the Fleet on the cruise around the world, which was ordered by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1907. This cruise took us around South America, as the Panama Canal was then under construction. It took us to New Zealand and Australia, to the Philippines, Japan and China, and back home to Hampton Roads through the Strait of Malacca, where Singapore lies, the Red Sea and the Suez Canal, the Mediterranean and across the rough Atlantic in February 1909.

By the time World War I commenced the Connecticut was becoming obsolescent, but she did good work in training officers and men required to man more active vessels such as new battleships, destroyers and transports. She was finally scrapped in the early 1920's as a result of the Washington Treaty for the Limitation of Naval Armaments.

only naval vessel left from our Civil War days. I hope that she will continue to be preserved, as have the frigates Constitution and Constellation, representatives of the earlier days at the turn of the century. Ships such as these become <sup>an</sup> increasingly precious part of our national heritage as the years go by. All of them struck telling blows that helped to make our country strong and to preserve and increase the Heritage of Freedom which we are celebrating to-day.

Freedom, as we Americans have it, has never been known by many of the peoples of the earth. Others, who have enjoyed a considerable degree of freedom in the past, find themselves to-day deprived of many, if not all, of the individual rights and liberties which they once had.

Our American rights and liberties under the law are the result of a slow growth over the centuries. They came to the colonies with the first settlers, who brought them from England, where they had been obtained by a long struggle, generally peaceful but sometimes violent, with the Crown.

In the colonies the struggle for freedom and human rights was stimulated by frontier life, until it culminated in our War of Independence - a war to preserve against the encroachments of the British Crown those rights which the colonists felt belonged to them.

When the "Freedom Train" comes to Hartford on Saturday, you will be able to see for yourselves in the Declaration of Independence those great words proclaiming our "inalienable rights - - to Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." You will be able to see how our forefathers protected the liberties of the individual by incorporating in the Constitution of the United States as its first ten amendments the Bill of Rights.

These are only two of the many historic documents, beginning with the <sup>copy of the</sup> Magna Carta in 1215 and marking the growth of human liberties over the centuries, which you will be able to see in the "Freedom Train".

As Americans, we have become so accustomed to the civil liberties given to us and protected by our Constitution, that we have come to take them

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for granted. It is almost as difficult for us to think of our losing them, as it would be to imagine ourselves being deprived of the air we breathe.

The spread of human liberties and freedom throughout the world since the end of World War I, and particularly since the advent to power in Germany of Hitler in 1933, has not been such as to make one optimistic that all mankind will soon enjoy the blessings which have long belonged to Americans.

On the contrary, in the two years that have passed since the ending of hostilities of World War II and the overthrow of dictatorial and autocratic power in Italy, Germany and finally Japan, we have witnessed the westward spread through central Europe of communist-controlled governments. These communist governments crush as quickly as they can all political opposition. The rights of free speech and a free press no longer exist. The individual citizen who endeavors to exercise his former rights as a free man is liable to midnight arrest and disappearance from his family and friends. If he is important enough to warrant the trouble, he may be given a public trial for

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Treason, condemned and executed. The results of such a trial are foreordained.

In other countries where the Communists have not yet been able to seize the government, we see them promoting civil strife and disturbances with a view to bringing about such hardships and chaos that ultimately they will be able to take over power. When they do, the secret police, ably organized and ruthlessly used, gives them a weapon with which to maintain themselves indefinitely in control by suppressing all political opposition and by doing away with most of the rights to which the individual citizen has been accustomed.

We, as Americans, must realize that there will always exist power hungry or fanatical men who <sup>if they can,</sup> will take from us our freedom and our liberties. A review of the priceless documents in the Freedom Train should convince us that the civil liberties <sup>which we enjoy</sup> to-day came only as the result of centuries of struggle. If we are to preserve these liberties, we must guard them jealously and be prepared to fight for them.

Our heritage of freedom can be menaced from both within the United States and from without. If our laws

are just and are enforced without fear or favor, I have every confidence in our citizenship being able to preserve its liberties from attack by those within the country.

To protect us from attack from abroad, the United States must first of all have a foreign policy which is just, fair to all countries, and not subjected to American partisan political attack. We must do everything possible to support the cause of human freedom throughout the world, particularly in the areas where it still exists. The cost of doing so may appear high, but compared with the cost of a war it is actually low, and we may prevent a tremendous amount of human suffering. Our most important task at the present time is to restore the strength of western Europe. By doing so, we shall save these countries from communistic domination and help them to preserve the liberties of their citizens. A strong western Europe will re-establish for that continent the balance of power to which we have been accustomed and which we so greatly miss at the present time.

While we are strengthening and implementing our foreign policy, working both through the United Nations



and directly with other countries, we must maintain our Armed Forces in first class condition. Strength, not weakness, is what is heard with respectful attention in the world as it exists and as it always has existed. Our economic strength is recognized and respected throughout the world, but too often in the past we have not kept our Armed Forces on a par with our economic strength. With the communist despotisms of eastern Europe giving daily demonstrations of their hostility to the United States and to everything in our way of life which we hold most precious, this is no time for us to relax our vigilance and to decrease our strength.

The United States has now an incomparably strong <sup>geographical</sup> position from the point of view of national defense. She is an insular country with the area and resources of a continent. This is because she has no powerful hostile neighbors who can attack her by land. Attacks on her can come only from across the Atlantic or Pacific Oceans or by air. So long as our Navy controls those oceans and keeps our potential enemy on the far sides of them, air attacks on the United States will have to come from very

great distances. We hear much about the short distances from Europe and Asia to the United States, by way of the Arctic. As a matter of fact, if you will examine a globe, you will find that the shortest distance from any point on the Eurasian continent to any point in the United States proper is about 3000 statute miles. This is between northeastern Siberia on Behring Strait and the northwestern corner of the State of Washington.

I am not minimizing the damage which might be inflicted on us by a surprise attack in time of peace, <sup>made</sup> by an unscrupulous enemy using long range bombers, loaded with atomic bombs and flying to the limit of their endurance on a one way trip.

Such an attack would, however, be a raid; and wars between countries equally matched at the beginning are not won by <sup>a</sup> single raid, regardless of how devastating the results of such a raid may appear to be before the debris is cleared away.

If our intelligence services are up to the standards we expect of them, I trust that an air attack such as I have described would not come as a bolt out of the blue. With reasonable warning of an impending attack, our defensive measures should be able to

minimize greatly its effectiveness, and thereafter atomic bombs may not be so plentiful or so freely expended.

The United States is a peace loving and generous nation. One country can start a war, but it takes two to keep the peace. I am confident that the United States will never start a war, but will, on the contrary, go to great lengths to keep the peace. The American people are, however, a virile and independent race who value their ideals and will not be pushed beyond a certain point.

Should we be subjected to another treacherous attack such as the one on Pearl Harbor, or should we be otherwise forced into war, I would remind you that wars are won by offensive measures. The fighting must be carried <sup>by us</sup> to the enemy and not brought by him to us. Only by so doing can we keep our home territory intact and relatively unclamaged, so that it may <sup>serve</sup> as a base for the operations of our armed forces in distant areas. We must keep the enemy so busy parrying our blows that he has no time to think about hitting us.

If our people maintain their love of freedom, and

the individual initiative which has characterized our citizens as they have spread over and colonized this great country of ours, I have every confidence in our ability to maintain our position in the world, whether the future brings us peace or war.

The progress of the Freedom Train throughout the United States should serve to bring home to our people a renewed realization of the value of the liberties they now enjoy and a determination to maintain these liberties intact to pass on to their descendants.