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The importance of my country, 1952.

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THE IMPORTANCE OF MY COUNTRY

January 6, 1952

The man without a country is a tragic figure, as tragic as a people without a country. He is in exile. He has no roots in a fixed society. He is not nourished and sustained by the culture, the laws, the language, the government, the group discipline, and the historic memories and associations which make up a country and a people. He does not share in the nation's heritage.

Every human being is a social being, a political being, and it is from his people and from his country that a man really acquires his blueprint for life, his pattern of outlook, and a way of life so close and so intimate that they become an object of love to him and of devotion. We call that sentiment, patriotism.

Thomas Paine said, "My country is the world." But that is only a figure of speech. It is rhetorical, not realistic. The world is composed of many countries and many peoples, and possesses a vast variety and diversity of cultures and ways of life, and no individual man can be fully at home in it in the same way as he is at home in his own country. Others have said, "My country is where I am well off." That, too, is a figure of speech, only a half-truth, as every emigre can testify. Men may enjoy all the comforts of life in a foreign country, but after a time they long to return to their own home, to their own physical and spiritual soil, to their own people.

Now, there have been those who have attempted to wipe out patriotism and national loyalties in some international program of human solidarity; international socialism and communism have attempted to do that; other systems of thought. In fact, they held up to contempt the sentiments of patriotism, of national loyalty, of love of one's fatherland. They looked upon these as reactionary notions and deterrents to human progress. One notes, however, that even in the Soviet Union today, patriotism and love of the fatherland are again being consistently fostered and inculcated, and while the international character of Communism is not being abandoned, of course, the nobel virtues of Russian patriotism are invariably extolled today.

The great religions of mankind have been super-national in their appeal. At times they believed that they could substitute for or supplant national divisions and identities in some universal society of the faithful, but the experiences of the centuries have demonstrated that that is not possible. Even as the world has moved forward towards closer communications, speedier communications among nations, even as the world exchanged its goods and ideas and uniform ways of production and conditions of life have developed among peoples, even as manifold international cultural and scientific and political organizations to draw nations together have developed, the spirit of national loyalty and patriotism have not only not diminished in the world. They have actually increased.

It should be clear that the task of civilization tomorrow is not to attempt to wipe out of existence these national loyalties. It simply cannot be done, and if it were done, it would be a distinct loss to mankind. The task of civilization is to find ways of coordinating these strong group loyalties, of organizing them into voluntary and mutually helpful forms of coordination on an international scale. Just as individuals are citizens of a nation without losing their individualities, their distinctive identities, so nations can become citizens of the world without necessarily abandoning their national character and their national loyalties.

I have spoken of the importance of my self, the importance of my family, the importance of my neighbor - but our country is also very important to us. It does not follow that one should identify one's country exclusively with a certain political apparatus of its government, that is, with the state, and then exalt the state as some German philosophers of the school of Hegel have attempted to do, into some mystic omnipotence - the supreme law and the source of all meaning in life and of all authority in society. The evils of state idolatry we ourselves witnessed; we saw it illustrated in our day in the bloody aberrations of Fascists and Nazis who sought to build up the state, the holy of holies, to mankind.

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Every sound idea, my dear friends, when it is driven to its illogical, socalled logical conclusion, becomes a putrefaction, a cesspool of corruption.

One should love his country. One should revere and respect his government. One should be loyal to both of them. Yet at the same time, one should recognize first of all that there are other relationships that a human being stands in besides the relationship to his country and to his government. He has a relationship to God. And one should also recognize that there are other countries and governments in the world who are entitled to the same measure of security and peace as one wants for one's own country. One should also recognize that governments come and go. Some are good; some are bad; some are indifferently good or bad. And when all is said and done, all governments are made up and run by human beings, fallible, subject to error, subject to wickedness. Love of one's country, therefore, should never become violently competitive, passionately exclusive, predatory, chauvinistic, nor should the love of our country be blind and uncritical. One does not love one's family by hating all other families or refusing to cooperate with other families, or by being blind to the failings and the shortcomings of the members of the family.

The nurse, Edith Cavell, on the eve of her execution in Brussels during the First World War, confessed to her chaplain. She said, "Standing as I do in view of God and eternity, I relaize that patriotism is not enough. I must have no hatred nor bitterness towards anyone."

The true patriot has room in his heart for the whole of humanity. Loyalty to one's country does not exclude loyalty to the highest moral principles of mankind, which is another way of saying loyalty to humanity.

When he love our country truly, we try to make it exemplary, just and noble. Our pride in our country increases as it gains and grows in these virtues. We do our utmost to make it worthy of pride and admiration. "He loves his country best who strives to make it best," said a great American. A free country, to survive, must in the last

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analysis deserve the love and gratitude of its citizens. Of course, we do not abandon our country when it is in the wrong, any more than we abandon our children when they do things wrong. We do our mutmost to set them right. We betray the best interests of our country when we fail to try to set it right. This is the very nub of democracy and this is the very text of patriotism. Our desire to set our country right on its true course, its real destiny.

Patriotism can be and frequently is a cloak for all forms of corruption. It was Samuel Johnson who said, you will recall, that "patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel". That is frequently the case. You and I know of how many profiteers and war mongers and merchants of death have spread time and again the cloak of patriotism over their dark, nefarious activities. We know how many office-holders have prostituted their office, how many legislators have abused their legislative immunity in the name of patriotism; how many bigots and racial and religious fanatics, poisoned with hate and bitter against the world, have waved the flag of their country over their polluted altars. You and I know how much of witch-hunting and attempts at suppressing of basic American freedoms and human rights have traveled under the aegis of Americanism.

Yes, patriotism can be a cloak for many evils. There is a simple test of what is patriotism, a simple test that we can put ourselves to. Are we earnestly trying to set our country right on the true course where it wants to go, where it should go? We know where it wants to go. The road map is there before us - the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the Bill of Rights - that's the road map, indelible, indubitable, for all to see. Now, the true patriot will endeavor to guide his country through the difficult maze of choices in a confused and everchanging world, keeping steadfastly before him in his mind the true goal of its destiny. The fake patriot will either guide his country wrong to serve his selfish purpose - his profit, or his prejudice or his lust for power - or will not attempt to guide his country at all, being merely content to shout on all occasions from the

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housetops, "My country right or wrong !", or to proclaim, as did some of the patriots during the Civil War, to quote the keen observer, Artemus Ward. Patriots in his day, some of these fake patriots, are quoted as saying, "I have already given two cousins to the war, and I stand ready to sacrifice my wife's brother rather than not see the rebellion crushed !" There are such patriots who are wreckless of the sacrifices that other people should make of their country.

Our country is important, of these United States of America , very important, to us and to the world. Our country has given us and to generations of men a standard of living, a range of hope and freedom and opportunity unknown except to a privileged few in the whole recorded history of mankind. The importance of our country, my dear friends, is to be found not alone in its vast material resources, which is after all the gift of a kind Providence and not of our own making, nor in the great production machinery of our country, its technological and scientific skill and achievements which are the achievements of our people; but the importance of our country is to be found in the rich, treasure-troves of exp political and social traditions, the wealth of new and emancipating ideas which pioneer and settler of the wilderness of the new world, which Pilgrim and Puritan and immigrant and revolutionist bequeath to us as heritage. What these people gave to us and to mankind was something new. De Tocque ville, the historian of early America, sensed it when he sp Your availa of his day as the great experiment. He wrote, "In that land the great experiment of the attempt to construct society upon a new basis was to be made by civilized man; andit was there for the first time that theories hitherto unknown or deemed impracticable, were to exhibit a spectacle for which the world had not been prepared by the history of the past." A great experiment, something new!

Now, what was this something "new" which has become the legacy of the American people? Something new is the idea of the inalienable rights of every human being, the dignity of man, his right to achieve his heart's desire through equality of opportunity and equal political rights.

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No man-made barriers should stop a man from fullest self-realization. No artificial distinctions and discriminations of caste or class or creed; no ancient privileges should permit one man to exploit another. No dogmatic proscriptions of free inquiry and the free expression of thought and the right to differ or to change the laws of his country. This was the something "new" which came to the world as a revolutionary idea for the first time incorporated in a living society, in political institutions, ina way of life. Those ideas did exist in the world in the minds of philosophers and academicians and scholars; they were discussed in schools; they were written in books; but for the first time in the history of mankind, they made an effort to translate these great ideas into concrete living forms of life, social practices in laws and political institutions. And for more than a century and a half we, the American people, have lived under this regimen of life which was forged in the first gave form and substances to these ideas.

And the/world caught fire from the sparks of these ideas as theywere being forged in the smithy of the Western world. As our Founding Fathers foresew, one nation after another in the Old World caught fire from the flamesof the American Revolution and began to throw off the galling yoke of tyranny, to break the shackles of their enslavement, to strike out for their own freedom. Our country helped those nations to freedom, not by going out into the world as a military power crusading for freedom, as Napoleon attempted to do in the name of the ideal of the French Revolution liberby, equality and fraternity , and bring them to the world at the spearpoint of a military force not at all We helped other nations to freedom by building freedom here at home, by the example of inspiring others to do likewise.

James Madison who expressed this conviction of the founders of this country; he said, "The free system of government we have established here is so congenial with reason, with common sense and with a universal feeling, that it must produce approbation

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and a desire for imitation Our country, if it does justice to itself, will be the workshop of liberty to the civilized world, and do more than any other for the un-

This America, favored by God with material resources, blessed with skills, initiative, enterprise on the part of our people, endowed above all with this gift of a political and social tradition which stimulates and exalts the individual - this America is important to us. It will be important to our children, for all that it can mean to us, to them, if so we and they do not squander our heritage - all that it can mean of freedom and human rights, of tolerance and good will, of hope and opportunity. Think what this country has meant to us as individuals, to those who came here - we or our fathers or their fathers - for what want and poverty they came for what lands of persecution they came - from what restrictions and intolerances and chains of disabilities they came. What this country did for them, forus, it can mean as much and more to our children in the days to come.

And our loyalty to it will be measured not in bullets, not in protestations, and not in annual celebrations. Our loyalty to this country, which has meant so much to us, will be measured in terms of our efforts to preserve it in its character, in its strength and in its greatness. It will be measured by the quality of our responsible citizenship, by the rectitude of our dealings with our fellow-citizens, by the faithful and honorable observance of its laws, by our readiness to subordinate selfish interests to public welfare, by our impatience with every form and manifestation of corruption and incompetence-in government, by our willingness to recognize and acknowledge what is wrong or unjust or unworthy in our national life, in our domestic conditions or in our foreign policy, and by our firm resolution to correct them and to set things right. That is patriotism. That is the only gauge and measure of patriotism.

America is important to us. It is also important to the world, to the free world, to the world of tomorrow.

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I am not at all concerned by what Europe thinks of us, or Asis, for that matter. It is not important for us to be approved by Europe or by the rest of the world. In a sense, I am afraid that Americans are all too concerned about the world's like for dislike Europe needs us more than we need Europe. Asia needs us more than we need Asia. At the moment and for some time now, we have been helping them and not the other way round. And doing what we should do for the world, our criterion should be not whether the European peoples approve of us or like us or love us or don't like us or don't love us. You can't purchase love or approbation anyhow. The criterion should be doing that which we as Americans move by our cwn conditions, and our own conception of our role in the world, feel we ought to do.

It has been our tradition to aid other peoples and to share the blessings which a kind Providence has showered upon us with those who are in dire need. Generosity has always been a characteristic, a proud characteristic of the American way of life. Well, the world is desperately in need today. It has been ravaged by wars. It never recovered from the First World War, certainly not from the Second World War. And in such measure as we can, without doing hurt to our own economy andour own wellbeing, we should share, we should aid and help men and women to a better way of life. There are backward nations in the world who from time immemorial have lived under unspeakable degradation, misery and privation, not to speak of serfdom and political exploitation. It has always been the American ideal to radiate light and hope into every corner of the world, to the extent that we can aidthem to achieve a higher standard of diving, to the extent that we can help them organize their economy and develop their industry and improve their agriculture and raise their standard of health and literacy. To that extent we should be doing that which is intrinsically American, and we should be doing it gladly. If we can help them and the world, in my judgment, in an even more fundamental way, now and in the days to come, and that is by of keeping alive during these darkening days and the menace of dictatorship in the world - keeping alive here at home the light of freedom. "For what shall it profit a man to gain the whole world

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and lose nis own soul." This is a quotation from the text-book of the master of Christianity, and it is a true observation.

In our eagerness to save the world, we must not lose our own soul. In our desire to bring freedom to other peoples and to save other peoples from tyranny and dictatorship and Communism, we might so militarize our own life and become so intolerant of the expression of free thought in our own midst as to destroy the very thing We are trying to save.

The vision of James Madison is still true today. By doing justice to ourselves here at home, to our own ideals, we can keep the light of freedm and of hope undimmed in the world. Democracy, my dear friends, ishard to make and is easily damaged and is easily destroyed. That was known to many a thinker of our country. It is hard to achieve. It took centuries of war, of strife, civil war, suffering, to establish a democratic society. It is easily damaged and easily destroyed. Nobody has underwritten the future of democracy. No one has guaranteed its survival. The survival of democracy is not an automatic thing at all. It can be destroyed. It was destroyed time and again in many parts of the world, largely as the result of the break of morale on the part of its citizens which make up the democracy.

It is for us to see that it is not destroyed. The price we have to pay for our country is a very high price. It is not necessarily the price that is paid on the battlefield. That, too, unfortunately must some times be paid. But the price is to be paid daily in terms of day-by-day vigilance, in terms of day-by-day loyalty. Once we come to look upon our country as unimportant, as something to which we need to pay no attention, as something which will go on irrespective of what we do about it, we have prepared the way for the ultimate loss of all those precious things for which in our mind our country stands. We are destroying ourselves and the future of our children. In these days particularly, in these dangerous days in which we live, we should

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very, very seriously of how important our country is to us, to our children, to our fellowmen.



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