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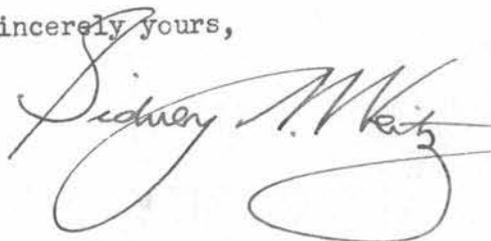
Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

As per conversation with you, I have had the speech which you delivered at The Temple last Sunday transcribed and am enclosing a transcript herewith. This covers all that appeared upon the record but does not include the last few minutes of your talk, as this was not recorded.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,



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A DECLARATION OF FAITH IN AN ERA OF FEAR

Delivered at The Temple, Cleveland, Ohio
January 13, 1952

by
SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

My friends of this magnificent congregation, I feel this a great and a high privilege to occupy this pulpit for the moments that are mine this morning. It is seldom that a man in public office - I was almost going to say a politician - enjoys this kind of respectability, and I trust, this sort of acceptability. I have been inspired by being able to share in your worship on this Sunday morning, and as I listened to the lovely music of the psalmist and the poetry and the words of the Prophets, one really appreciates what we mean by "a declaration of faith", and I need not remind this congregation in this lovely and magnificent and inspiring Temple, that there is a fear that grips this world, a fear that grips the hearts of practically every man, woman and child in this world, some more than others, some more obviously than others. Yet, wherever one travels, with whomever he may speak, whether consciously or subconsciously, there is a sense of insecurity, a sense of fear, with the exception of a few.

That inner peace that comes from understanding and faith is lacking all too often, and I feel that it is my duty, as well as privilege, to try to remove some of this understanding and this sense of insecurity, not by any great profound message that can just lift you out of your troubles, but by an objective, and yet at the same time, a reasoned and I do hope an inspiring way of pointing out what are some of the factors and problems that confront us, seeing them clearly and boldly, and then once coming to grips with them, getting that sense of security and understanding.

Let's just stop for a moment on this whole concept of fear. After all, if you were a psychiatrist - and I am not - or a psychologist, you would understand more about what we say and what we mean when we say "fear". I think it is easy to say and also somewhat appropriate, that fear is a disease; at least, it's a psychological disease. It's almost like a cancerous or a malignant growth. It feeds on itself, and the only answer to fear is the recognition of truth. And of course, the seeking of the truth

is a long and difficult task. But this morning I think we can put some of the records straight.

Now, I have never assigned to myself the prerogatives of the clergy or of the rabbi. I am just one person in public life, but I recognize today that the public life of America is meaningless unless it is motivated by some spiritual qualities. I recognize that the material strength of this country is meaningless, and it will be indeed futile, unless it is supported by a spiritual understanding and a spiritual faith. And there is a common faith that unites all of our people if we but seek it, and that faith has been expressed over and over and over again this morning; a faith that is placed in the recognition and the acceptance and the acknowledgment and the praise of One God - that is the keystone; and a faith that reveals itself in a brotherhood of humanity, a brotherhood that is based upon understanding, upon compassion, upon humility, and upon a willingness to accept one another for what we are.

Well, now just let's see - let's take a look at this psychological pestilence, this emotional disease that grips the world. What is this fear? Well, first of all, it is the fear of war. Wherever you go - and I just came back from a six weeks' trip - I won't say tour because there was more work to it than to a tour - in eight of the countries of Western Europe. My legislative counsel in my office, Max Kemperman, came back a tour of the Near East. My administrative assistant in my office went another direction because we wanted to be able to put these observations together so that we could build a common knowledge and a better understanding of the many problems that face men in public life in the Congress of the United States today and those who are associated with them. The fear of war is present - sometimes it's subconsciously present, and other times overtly. The fear of bankruptcy is present apparently from what I read in the papers. I've never been able to quite understand why those who talk about the country going into bankruptcy so much have the least chance of going bankrupt.

I don't know whether this is a sense of guilt that continues to express itself, or what it is. But time after time I read in the American press, I hear over the radio, that the country is becoming insolvent, it's going bankrupt, that generally those words are enunciated by people that are as far away from going bankrupt as I am from Mars. But there are some other sincere souls that are somewhat concerned - at least in other parts of the world where the obvious economic factors reveal some insolvency and some possibility of bankruptcy. There are even those today that are afraid of prosperity. And that kind of fear grips some. It's a conjured up kind - they have to work hard on that one, but they have it.

But the greatest fear in the world today is the fear of an idea, particularly if the idea is not an orthodox idea, and since some people are somewhat dubious about the ideas that are orthodox or what ideas are orthodox, and since there is no safety without having those kind of ideas, the best way to be safe is to have no ideas - just be a placid, mobile jellyfish. No ideas! No intellectual curiosity! No creativeness! Do not challenge the norm of conduct! Do not challenge the mores of the day lest you do, you may be branded! You may be driven out. If not driven out, your life made miserable.

Well, all of this, of course, is very irrational. You've added this up in your own mind and you're saying to yourself, "How can one man say so many contradictory things?" Well, that's fear itself - a contradiction. It is not based upon reason. It is based upon irrationality. But this fear drives us to a frenzy, and sometimes it drives us to despair, and I see both of these things in America today. There is a frenzy on the part of some people to get on with the thing and get the whole business over, and when I say "the business", I mean the impending war that some seem to feel is right upon us. Therefore, they say, "Let us have a preventive war, or let's call the bluffs." And then there are others who say it's hopeless. Let's withdraw. We can't win it anyhow, and even if we could, what would we do with it. Not only that,

it's costing too much. It's too uncertain. All of the programs that we have and policies seem too confused, so there's a sense of despair and a sense of cynicism.

Now, I have tried in words to paint the picture, as confusing as it is, and as bleak and as despairing as it is, but out of all this, there is something else that can be found if we but look for it. This nation today, the United States of America, represents a beacon light of hope, a beacon light of freedom, a beacon light of opportunity, of guidance and direction in the black night of despair. This is what our country represents. America is no longer just a geographical piece of the globe of the earth. America is no longer just a jurisdiction or a sovereign nation state. This nation in which we live, of which we are justly proud of our citizenship, represents a magnificent, a glorious idea. And it's an idea that has been expounded from pulpit and from platform, in schools - public, private and parochial. It's an idea that has been talked about, that somehow or another we fail to get that kind of inner understanding of it so that it becomes a militant, overwhelming idea that grips our very spirit and body.

What is the idea? Why, it's as old as the prophet Amos. It's the idea of justice and of righteousness. It's as old as the lessons of history. America's idea didn't start with the Declaration of Independence. The Declaration of Independence was the neat, concise, summation of the refining processes of history, and Thomas Jefferson's great contribution to the world was the fact that out of thousands and thousands of years of recorded history, out of the philosophy of all peoples, he was able to put together these golden strands of truth, and to weave a fabric of political and social philosophy the likes of which the world has never witnessed before. And I as an American want to proclaim this great idea and great declaration of faith. "We hold these truths to be self-evident." That beginning phrase acknowledges the supremacy of Divine Providence. In other words, we hold certain truths to be so self-evident

that even the most blind and ignorant can accept them and see them. What are these self-evident truths?

Now, I know every janitor in every school room knows this preamble. They have read it more often than the teachers. Every custodian knows the preamble because he has looked at a facsimile of the Declaration of Independence and dusted it off. But what we need is not the dusting off, but the reception of the spirit of it, and then the translation of that spirit into positive program of action and objectives.

Well, what are these self truths? "That all men are created equal." That is indeed a powerful truth, a truth that many people in this world are unwilling to accept, but it's still the truth. And they are endowed, given - didn't have to purchase it, didn't have to bow down and scrape for it. They were endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, and amongst these were life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. These are not all of the rights - these are just amongst those unalienable rights. Now, we said that, and we repeat it again and again, and what I am appealing for this morning - again I repeat, as a man in public office - is a recognition of the obligations and the duties and the privileges that this great declaration of faith imposes upon us. As I have said, it ties up in one neat and concise package, the very essence of everything in which we believe - our religion, our politics, our social mores or the sound social habits and customs, our aims, our ambitions, and our ultimate goals. Now, if that doesn't sound a lot better than the Communist Manifesto, then my taste for good literature and my analysis for the great philosophies that have been preached throughout the ages is entirely wrong. If this spiritual directive, if this acceptance of self-evident truth is not more convincing and more compelling than dialectical materialism, of which I have read my fair share, then I know nothing of the human spirit. Because it is true that man does not live by bread alone. It is true that mankind has been most glorious and most magnificent when he appealed to the inner strength and that sense of faith that he holds so precious to himself. This is what

made Britain so great in her hour of despair. This is to what Churchill referred in the Battle of Britain in 1940. These qualities of faith, these spiritual qualities, these are the qualities that made Americans great, the colonial troops great at Valley Forge and at Bunker Hill. These are the traits and these are the spiritual qualities that have motivated men of science and men of art and men of literature and men of music and men of politics whenever they have become great people and whenever they have been acknowledged as the masters. And this is exactly the kind of a spirit that needs to grip this America today if it's going to fulfill its obligations in a sad and weary and a sick world.

Now, I know that I have mentioned our faith, and I think I have documented it sufficiently well - possibly I should say that it was drawn from the writings of the Prophets; it was drawn from the philosophy of the stoics, men like Cicero. It came from the great Greeks such as Pericles, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. It came out of the middle ages, from the writings of men like St. Augustine and later on, Thomas Aquinas, the great Catholic philosopher who enunciated the doctrine of divine and natural and spiritual law. It came out of the period of the Renaissance with the rediscovering of the Aristotelian thought, and the Reformation when Martin Luther stood up and said, "Every man his own priest." And it came out of that great and intellectual period of human history when there were the Rissoles and the Voltaires, and later on, when there were the Benthums and the James Newells and the John Stuarts and the John Lockes, and all the rest. What a heritage! You see, America has been privileged to be almost the receptacle for all of this that has been good, and it is as if we were now called upon to protect this heritage.

A gentleman said to me on the plane last night, a business man. We were visiting about everything else except business - he wanted to talk about something else. He was a fine man, and he said, "You know, I think America is being called upon to pay its second installment on liberty." He used a businessman's term and he had something

to say. We are now being called upon to pay the second installment - maybe not the second, maybe the third, but surely not the first, on liberty and freedom. And that is indeed true.

Now, how does this all compare with the opposite, because there is an antithesis. There is a contradiction, and I think that contradiction can be pretty well stated. Let me just give you a little quotation from a speech that was made before the United Nations, and I think you will plainly see it.

The State does not come in first place (speaking now of Western civilization and of the democratic faith); it comes in tenth or fifteenth place. The university is higher than the State. The tradition of free inquiry is higher than the State. The church is higher than the State. The family is higher than the State. Natural law is higher than the State. God is higher than the State. And within limits, free economic activity is higher than the State.

There you have it succinctly stated, that in this way of life, in this free area of the world, these precious institutions are higher than the state. Music, literature, art, science, technology are higher than the state and should not be used for the purposes of control by the state. Yet, in the other world - and I come right down to well-known phrases and words in the Communist world, in the slave world, in the totalitarian world - it is the opposite, and that opposite is clearly documented when one understands that the state is declared supreme, and then the state is identified with not some myth or legend but with personalities. The law is of the man and the man is the law, and the family, the church, the economic life, the university, medical science, the art, literature, the music - every single thing that man creates is used for the purposes of enriching and empowering the state, nothing above it.

Well, those are not then the unalienable rights, the natural rights, because the state controls. This is the menace that besets us and this is the conflict that's at loose in this world. And don't anybody underestimate it one bit. Let me just give you a typical example of what I mean.

It was not long ago that Mrs. Humphrey and I were in Vienna, Austria, and I saw with my own eyes and I heard with my ears that which I never dreamed was possible. Oh, I dreamed about it, but I never thought I would visualize it. On a Sunday morning we wanted to hear the Viennese Boys Choir, that beautiful choir - a choir, I should say, that gives forth that magnificent, thrilling, inspiring and beautiful music. We are not of Catholic faith, but we attended the High Mass in one of the great cathedrals of Vienna. The cathedrals are inspiring even in their architecture. And as we walked into that cathedral, mark my words, only 100 paces from the gate of that cathedral was the red star, and the picture or I suppose, the caricature of Stalin. And there were at least 200 Soviet troops, grim-faced, firm and determined, strong indeed in their physical nature, and I said to myself, "This is it. This is it." No, it wasn't a matter of having a Cadillac or a beautiful home; it wasn't a matter of the pleasures which I love just as you do. It was actually that here were the two worlds - on the one hand, grim and determined and strong and sure, but the amoral, or at least the repudiation of our sense of morality, the Communist Soviet power; and on the other hand, the gates, the beautiful gates of the great cathedral open wide and the music, the beautiful music of civilization coming out and just filling the air, and there humble people, rich and poor, young and old, with no uniforms on, clad as they were in their clothes, some good and some bad, some new and some old, walked on in in silence and in the spirit of prayer and meditation to worship their God. It gripped me because I'm a sentimental guy, and the tears literally welled up in my eyes because there I actually saw the conflict, and I said unto myself, what tragedy it would be if people did not love music for the love of music, who love not art for the love of art, and who love not literature because of its great and wonderful qualities for the love of literature, who didn't love people for the love of people, and above all, who did not love a God, should dominate this earth! Think of what they could do to us with the meanness and the hate that is in the hearts of each and every one because this is a constant war that goes on within our own nature between good

and evil. And I thought to myself, think of it if we have a political, a social and a spiritual system which put honor upon and which put prestige upon and which sort of endowed or enriched the bad qualities of mankind, which said that there was no such thing as brotherhood, that there ought to be conflict; which said that, for example, there is no such thing as God, that all there is is matter; which said that man does not have a soul, all he has is a body; which said in no unmistakable words ^{with} ~~that~~ the power of the firing squad behind it that the state is supreme, that the family is secondary. Just imagine what would happen if this world were taken over by that kind of a system.

Well, it can't happen. It must not happen, because if it does there'll be no more synagogues; there'll be no more cathedrals - oh, there'll be cathedrals but no worship within them. There'll be no more of what I call the intimacy of privacy. There'll be no more of the opportunity to develop one's likes for the good that life can give to someone else. All of this will be gone, and I never believed it quite so much as I do today, because I have been able to see and to talk to people who have been robbed of their souls, who have been denied a chance to live. They're walking around, they're breathing, they're eating, but they're not living, because that man who has had his faith destroyed, a man who has literally been robbed of those spiritual and soul-like qualities that differentiate man from the beast in the fields - he's dead! And there's a lot of this world today that is nothing more or less than organized zombies, men that walk as if out of the grave and destroy, a pestilence on this earth.

Well, now what are we going to do about it, now that we know this is it? Well, I'll tell you what we're going to do about it. We shall proclaim our faith and we shall be militant, courageous and conquering people with a spirit, and that's what we've been doing in some areas of the world. Oh, I know we've fumbled the ball; we've messed it up occasionally, because we Americans are not great world scholars. We have

never been the world's greatest diplomats. As a matter of fact, I think it would be well for us to just hesitate a moment to find out why we have failed at times. Well, first of all, we've had a continent of our own to conquer, an expanse of American wilderness, a tremendous area in our country to be under social organization, to be made into a political structure and to make a self-governing entity. We have become specialists in this great nation of ours in the art of self-government. No other nation on the face of this earth has the American skill for self-government. I say that as a political scientist and it can be documented.

We know the art of human relations within our own confines and within our own political structure. With all of the democracy of the Scandinavian countries and of Britain itself, with all of the great achievements of other peoples in the realm of free government, never in the history of the world has so vast an area been so closely integrated by the art of self-government and free government as the country of the United States of America. This has been our specialty. Therefore, you can't do everything at once, and we have more or less ignored some of our greater responsibilities.

Europeans know more about international trade in one week than we know in a year, their average citizen, because international trade is their life. When we recruited a whole new civil service or foreign service to carry out the many programs that our government has launched in the spirit of our democracy, we recruited some people that were not capable, but basically we recruited thousands of people who, because of their background and their environment and their previous experiences, were not equipped for the moment to do these great world-shaking jobs in the seven corners of the earth. But they have learned. And let me summarize it quickly, because I want to put across a few points this morning, that within five years the United States of America, its government and its people, has mobilized the greatest force of foreign service officers, labor specialists, business specialists, educational specialists, medical specialists, to

send around the world of any nation in the history of the world. Other countries took three centuries to do it. We had to do it in five years, and as I have said, it is easy to condemn the man that fails, and it is easy to generalize from the mistakes and misdoings and misgivings of the few, but I ask you in all fairness and objectivity: don't you think, in view of our limitations, in view of the time limit that we have in which to work, that a magnificent job has been done? Many of the people that we recruited didn't even know the place to where they were being sent. They couldn't find it on the map much less pronounce it. They knew not of the culture of the people they would work with, or the political structure of the economic system. They knew nothing about it. They were from Kansas or Arizona or South Dakota or Minnesota or Ohio. They knew not, but they could learn! And if we were but a little patient, they did learn. And thousands upon thousands of them have become experts in the art of diplomacy, which is nothing more or less than human relations.

This is one of the problems that we've had. One of the other reasons that things are difficult, that progress does not seem to come so rapidly as you and I would like it, progress in terms of - to again use the phrases that we know - winning the Cold War, progress in terms of making democracy a much more aggressive, dynamic institution or philosophy - one of the reasons is because of how long it took us to get into trouble. You know, you don't cure yourself over night from a disease. After you have dissipated and abused your body for 35, 40, 50 years - two days over to the club, gentlemen, in the steam bath room will not repair the damage, nor will a half a dozen rub-downs or two or three sessions under the lamp - it takes more than that. Nor even a week in Arizona or Florida. It takes more than that. Well, this world has been abusing itself over a long period of time, and particularly within the lifetime of the people within this congregation. And we're not going to be able to correct the results of that abuse, we're not going to be able to more or less relieve ourselves from the pain and the misery and the anguish of the troubles that we've gotten into by some

miracle formula. It takes longer than that.

What is this abuse and what's happened? Well, let me give you an example. World War I, World War II, world-wide depression - we all know about that. But do we know what happened? For example, how easy it is to criticize the French today. And I have done so myself, as you have, many times. But how many people in this splendid congregation know that in World War I ~~the~~ in a population of only 35,000,000 valiant souls, France lost 1,700,000 of her finest young men on the battlefield - dead, no wounded, dead. And America today with 100,000 casualties - with 100,000 casualties - may weep, and justly so. We have great sorrow in 100,000 or more homes of America. But 155 million people to absorb that number, but one million, seven hundred thousand dead Frenchmen in an equal number of homes in World War I. Two million, seven hundred thousand wounded out of a population of thirty-five million! Britain lost a million, three hundred thousand dead, and over two million wounded! You want to know why Europe is sick - because she's anemic. Her best blood has been destroyed - at least some of it.

And then the terrible toll of the depression, and much of that is due to ourselves, and one of the reasons, I believe, that my country has such an obligation today to declare its faith and to resist what's happening and to take the leadership is because we literally let the world down and ourselves down after World War I. When one of the great men, one of the great saints, one of the great prophets - indeed if there were room in Holy Scriptures, he should be found there - Woodrow Wilson - he had a dream, he had a vision - of what? Of peace, of a justly enduring peace and a League of Nations, a society of nations, to do away with war which is such a destructive force that it is almost incredible to describe. And they drove him literally out of high office. They put his body on the rack, and Woodrow Wilson went down in defeat; not only Woodrow Wilson but the ideas for which he stood were besmirched and destroyed and burned, by whom?

Well, first of all, not by whom but by just ignorance, prejudice, and a type of social illiteracy. But the leaders of this force of ignorance and prejudice and social illiteracy were men in high places, belonged to the United States Senate and in other places in the country. And they appealed to the prejudices of people, they appealed to the bigoted natures of some. And they appealed to the social ignorance and the political illiteracy. And they won their fight - that's right. They defeated Wilson and the League, not only these things, but they defeated the philosophy which was behind it, the philosophy of brotherhood. Is it any wonder that the Ku Klux Klan rose up into new strength after that? You do not kill a great idea of brotherhood and compassion and humanitarianism and kindness and peace without having a harvest of all the little evils of the world, too. Is it any wonder that anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism and Ku Klux Klan-ism and bigotry grew rampant in this land from the twenties to the thirties and even now?

You bet we reap the harvest, and we also reap the harvest across the seas as nation after nation tries to be self-sufficient, nation after nation puts its pride above its principle, and soon we reaped an Adolph Hitler. We got in the meantime just as a started that phony, that little man, Benito Mussolini. And earlier than that, out of the social chaos that was behind in the Czar's regime, there was a Lenin and a Stalin. And over on the other side of the world there were the Japanese imperialists because the whole world was made to order for them, because the seeds of decency had been snuffed out - or I should say, the flames of decency. The seeds were never planted. And then we not only reaped this kind of a harvest, of brutal nationalism and of the most obvious and militant type of fanaticism, but we reaped a depression which brought America literally to her knees in ashes and sackcloth, as well as every other nation. And it was then that we began to live again. Isn't it interesting that out of our misery, we began to live? It was only through that misery that men and women began to find out that they depended on each other. It was during that period of our difficulty that we began to think in terms not only of the dollar, not only of the

economic power, but in terms of human life. And I surely will not transgress upon your rights and your privileges this morning to give you a political lecture in terms of political philosophy in the period from 1930 to 1940, only I will say this without fear of contradiction; that it was during that period of time that the American people learned something about the purposes of government; namely, that government was to serve; namely, that they were the government and that it was within their destiny and within their power to rectify things. They learned some of the great lessons which had already been written into history but which they began to practice. And we sort of got ahold of ourselves then. And then that madman of Germany, Hitler, set the world on fire, and out of that came, of course, the great conflagration of World War II, and then again, you saw what happened. You know about it. Your own people, our people, know about it. Every country was laid low. Two out of every five buildings in Western Europe were either destroyed completely or damaged; railroad systems wrecked, factories uprooted and burned to pieces, harbors damaged, wharves burned and blasted. Hundreds upon thousands, over 15 million casualties in Europe!

Then we wonder why it takes a little while to put it back together. How many people in this audience have suffered five years of enemy occupation? How many people in this audience have had their families ripped apart for month on month and year on year, and possibly never able to bring them back together? Maybe some here. How many people, when we talk about how much it costs to live these days and we talk about high taxes, how many of us have seen governments just disappear, our government disappear from under us, and the money we saved - the investments, the insurance - everything gone, everything! And all you had left was an obligation to pay off debts for the new government. This is the experience of Europe. This is the experience of Norway. I was there and talked with their people; the experience of France; yes, even of Germany and of Austria. Go to Germany. Eighty-five out of every one hundred buildings ^{in Cologne} have been destroyed. Sixty out of every 100 in Dusseldorf. Go to Britain and see the East side.

Go up into Northern Norway and see what happened - the scorched earth policy - a little country. It took 500,000 Nazis to hold 2,300,000 Norwegians under their hand and under their yolk.

Well, I'm not going to go into the detail of that, only to tell you that America should be more careful about how it conducts itself these days. Let me point out to you that if you believe in the faith as declared here this morning, of individualism; if you believe in the faith of human freedom and the dignity of man; if you believe in freedom of inquiry; if you believe in freedom of conscience; if you believe in brotherhood; if you believe in these things, then we'd better make up our minds they're worth defending. We better make sure that no matter what may be the cost or the sacrifice, that these principles are more valuable. To put it in the vernacular, are you more interested in your dollars or your boys? Are you more interested in your profits or your principles? Because if you're going to worship dollars and profits, you are going to lose both the boys and the principles, and it's about time we woke up to it. And as Americans we must understand the importance of walking in humility. We must be a humble people these days because we're the only peoples left on the face of this earth that still have luxury - the only people! Remember that about 70% of mankind on the face of this earth today is just barely getting by in subsistence and many of them below in subsistence levels.

May I also point out that most of the peoples of the world are colored, not white. They're the little brown men and the little red ones and the yellow ones and the black ones. And you know what? They're beginning to want to have their place in the sun. They're no longer willing to lie down in the dirt, and either we're going to give them the privilege of having their great forward advance, their great revolution of which they are now experiencing, within the confines of democratic principles, or they're going to go some place else, and there's only one place else to go. Either we're going

to work with them to try to channel and direct their energies along the principle of the recognition of a Divine Providence, of the recognition of human liberty and of individualism - either that or they're going the other way. If they go the other way, our days of good living and of protecting that in which we believe so much, are limited. We've got to get this clear.

There is no such thing as being neutral. There is no way that you can run away from these problems. We tried that once before. There is only one way - we have to come to grips with them, make up our mind which we're going to do and go about the job of getting it done. Now, we've been doing this in part; in fact, in the main we have been doing fairly well. But all too often we think these problems will be solved only by armament. We think these problems are solved only by atom bombs, and the atom bomb will solve nothing. It will just dissolve something. It'll solve no human problems. It may dissolve some factories and some bodies, but it will not solve the problem.

We're putting far too - I won't say too much emphasis - but we're putting too little emphasis upon the tool kit of our freedom, the weapons which we have in abundance. We're putting too little emphasis upon human relations, person to person, too little emphasis upon knowing the people rather than just the governments because governments come and go, but the people are here forever. We're putting too little emphasis upon projecting the spirit of generosity and of kindness and of enlightenment and of joy that are so much a part of America. We are putting all the emphasis upon America's power and her might and her money, and we're putting far too little emphasis on the compassionate spirit that motivates our people.

I know what I'm talking about. I know that throughout the world today people are becoming fearful even of our country, just as they are of another, and the only reason is that because we are not interpreting ourselves for what we are. Now, there are ways to overcome this. One is to make it quite clear that whatever we do is done within the spirit of our faith, done because we do believe in human equality, because we do

believe in rights and liberty and the pursuit of happiness. And when we make the mistake that loses us a few dollars and saves us some lives, let's quit complaining about it. And we ought to tell Congressmen and Senators to shut their mouths when they start complaining about it, as long as lives are saved and hope is still kept alive. We need fewer talks about the bombs that are going to be dropped. If we're strong, we don't need to advertise it, and we're not going to become strong as quickly as we should if we keep talking about how strong we are because that takes energy, too.

Let's build our strength. I believe in rearmament. My record in Congress is perfect in terms of voting tremendous appropriations to arm my countries and our allies. I've supported mutual security, military assistance in every single program, and supported it without grumbling, too. But I know that's not enough. It is not enough just to have a strong sword. It is not even enough just to have a strong arm to direct that sword. You also have to have a strong spirit, a goodheart, and the kind of attitude that holds that sword in check so that it is not swung around wildly, and reserves and conserves the strength that may be needed in the hour of crisis.

Well, maybe I should just say then, in conclusion, to you that while there are many things that we have done which you and I surely acknowledge as being grand and desirable, there is much more yet to be done. Where does the emphasis need to be placed? I'll just give you a few specific examples.

We need to get to know each other better. We need to know our friends, our alleged and hoped-for friends better. We need to have hundreds and hundreds of young people from other lands get to know the young people in this congregation, and they need to know them, too. We need to have the laboring people from the other countries of Europe and Asia and Africa get to know our laboring people, and vice-versa; our farmers to know their farmers; our business people to know their business people; our little people to know their little people, because there are so many of them and they do most of the fighting. In other words, we need to develop and to increase our exchange programs. Simple things! But instead of trying to build magnificent new factories

abroad, one of the things that we could do that would cost us much less and be equally effective and a lot more so would be to have a few friends from abroad live in our homes a while with us, or in our communities, not just in New York or Washington because that is not all of America. Cleveland is part of America and so is Minneapolis and so is Topeka, Kansas, and so is the smallest town in the states, and the Europeans and the Asiatics will never understand America until they meet America's small-town people. They'll never understand America until they meet the people that attend our churches and our synagogues and our cathedrals. They'll never understand America until they go into our schools and our welfare organizations and see our fraternal organizations and try to see the town meeting spirit that grips this country.

And we'll never understand them if you just go and stay at the Hotel Regina and the Hotel Crillon in Paris. We'll never understand France until we meet the farmers and peasants, the tradesmen, the little guy, the independent shopkeeper. You cannot possibly understand another nation by only visiting its capital because the capitals are nothing more or less than a facsimile of that which they represent.

I appeal to America to do one thing, and through their churches and through their many religious organizations, to step up this program of exchange, to continue our program of CARE and CROP, to continue this great humanitarian relief. I have spoken all over America to United Jewish Appeal, for example, and I know what this has meant to people in Israel, and so do you. And I have said repeatedly if we take care of the people, if we work with the people in these countries, we'll never have to worry about their governments because the governments in any country that has any kind of a representative government are the product of the people. We've spent far too much time on some premiers that don't last six months, and far too little time on the people who will be there for four generations.

Person to person; people to people. And one other thing all over the world, that grand and desperate need, not for money, not for that kind of symbol of wealth, but for science, for education, for health. As the President said not long ago, and I think it

was one of the best statements that he or any other President has ever made, "The only war we want to fight is the war against pestilence, disease and poverty." And may I say this is the war we are best equipped to fight. This is the war of our spirit. This is what has made America great. That is why we are so sanitation-conscious. This is why we constantly talk about the standard of living. This is why American industry today is the most socially welfare conscious industry in the world. And I know a lot of my labor friends sometimes begin to feel that industry is tough on them, but let me tell you there is no management in the whole world that is as socially conscious as is American industrial management.

And it is true that in our country, by our politics and our economic system, have been able to bridge the gap between the extreme wealth on the one hand and extreme poverty on the other. There is greater sharing in America than any place else in the world.

Now, what can we do with some of this that we've learned? Well, mothers, let me say a word to you. I'll give you a choice. Would you rather have your son put on a uniform and fall on his face in a ditch with a bullet through his chest or his head in the Far East, in the Near East or in Africa or any place else, or would you rather have your son become an engineer, a doctor, a medical technician, an agricultural scientist, and have him go out and drain the ditches of their swamps, of their filth and of their dirt and reclaimed land? Would you rather have them go out and reclaim the land rather than to have it drenched with their blood? It's that kind of a choice. This nation today needs to recruit thousands and thousands of young men and women and old men and women who are willing to make a sacrifice, a voluntary sacrifice, before they are compelled to make it by force of law, to march out into the fields of the world with the great power that is ours of science and education and technology, and to help these people lift themselves up. This is what they call the Point Four program, and it's had about as much enthusiastic support as last year's calendar. Every-

body wants to talk about the Marines. I'm for the Marines, too. Everybody wants to hear about the new bombers. This is the thing that grabs the headlines. Everybody is interested in the guided missile program, the atomics program - I'm interested in it, too, and I know we need it, and I'm not in anyway discouraging the purpose of it. But I'm here to tell you that's not the answer. This is ~~px~~ but a part of our shield, this armament. This is what we may call the safety valve. This is what we must resort to at the last. This is the last that's left. But over here on the other side is the forward movement that we need, and too little emphasis is being placed upon it.

If the men in Congress, in your government, do not have the courage to place emphasis upon this, then there must be a re-awakening in the American people, and the time is long overdue for this re-awakening. I have heard enough talks about the need of leadership in America. I have heard enough talks about how we need higher moral standards in America. All I can say is if you want higher moral standards, there's no better place than to start at home, and if you start there, it'll work its way up. It may be a little bit delayed, but it'll ultimately get there. And if you want better leadership in America, I know of no better place to start than in your own soul, in your own mind, in your own community. And if there's enough of it around, it will scatter throughout the American terrain and populace; it'll get up. It's bound to come on up. The trouble is that everybody wants somebody else to do it. You say, we hire these people to lead. You can't hire leaders. They're born to it. They're educated to it. You can't hire them.

You can pay for morals. You either have them or you don't, and you earn them by experience, understanding, by placing certain values on certain actions, and that starts ^{at} home. So if you want good government, clean government, if you want government that understands America's responsibilities in this world, if you want the kind of an America that is literally the constant missionary of peace, if you want an America that is dedicated to emancipation, to liberty, if you want an America that is dedicated to freedom and opportunity, not only here but abroad, we must practice it at home. Think

about it, do something about it, and insist upon it being the policy, and insist upon the emphasis being placed upon that kind of a policy. And with that emphasis I submit that we have hope. I don't know whether it will be a hope that will be realized. No one can be sure. Everything is a gamble. There are all sorts of risks being taken in these days, and this is a good risk to take. But as we enter upon it, let's not sell ourselves short. Let's not defeat ourselves by our own cynicism. Communism is not going to overrule America. The Commies haven't got a chance to take this country over unless we become so cynical, so frustrated, so despairing that we have no resistance. If this nation fails in its duties and responsibilities for leadership in this world, it will be because we let it fail, not because some psychopathic political came in and tried to take over. It will be because the good, normal, average people became not good, not normal and not average.

That's why I believe that we need to do a little more talking about these subjects in churches and cathedrals and synagogues and in temples, because it's time to practice our religion and not time just to mumbo-jumbo it. It's time to put these principles into action in our broader and broader front throughout the world, and if we do that, then we'll have this totalitarian philosophy on the run. I'm sicked and tired of having Communism talked about as the militatn philosophy. It's the decadent philosophy, and it's being preached byma decadent and amoral people. The philosophy of democracy, the philosophy of individualism, the philosophy of individual responsibility, the philosophy of morality, the philosophy of Godand brotherhood, is the philosophy that should be militant, and it is the philosophy that should be backed up by the kind of aggressive, socially aggressive people that are willing to take this message to the world, and not only to take the message, but to take the goods and the products and the services that come from the message, and do it without complaint, and to do it in the recognition that it is the best thing to do, and if you want to evaluate it in dollars, the cheapest thing to do, and if you want to evaluate it in terms of



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