

From the Office of

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HUMAN DIGNITY KEY TO PEACEFUL WORLD, SENATOR HUMPHREY SAYS

The Demand for human dignity, like that for peace, will not be suppressed -- and both must find a new place in the formulation and conduct of world policy, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.) declared yesterday in an address before the 17th Annual Interfaith Day Ceremonies in New York's Grand Central Park Mall marking the opening of United Nations Week.

Excerpts from Senator Humphrey's address follow:

"Tidal forces have been released all over the world today, which can be summed up in a demand for increased human dignity.

"No sooner do we begin to be preoccupied with a general system to prevent atomic war than we begin to realize that security itself has meaning chiefly for those who have something to preserve. Two-thirds of the world today remains ill-clad, ill-housed, ill-fed. Too often these factors occur in the context of existing or recent colonial rule and racial discrimination, and together they produce an explosive situation.

"Recent events in Indochina, Indonesia, Goa, Cyprus, and North and South Africa have raised certain aspects of this issue into the forefront of public debate.....

"Basically, our long-range choice as Americans is whether we shall unconsciously hinder the still non-Communist people of these continents in the achievement of their aims, perhaps finally turning them into the hands of totalitarian enemies, or whether we shall find a way to join with them in democratic development."

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"We must meaningfully reaffirm the traditional American position, born of the period of our fight for freedom, that we recognize the support the principles of self-determination of nations. We must come to realize that it is in the best interest of the United States not to have satellites, but to have healthy, viable, stable friends in the world -- government with roots among their people, sound economies at work erasing the dreadful heritage of poverty which many of these governments have inherited from colonial days. We must do more than we have done yet to recognize and applaud the work of these newly free nations in support of the principle of responsible self-government throughout the world."

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"It will not be enough -- it no longer is enough -- for us to repeat our own democratic ideals to show that they are consistent with the long-run aspirations of these awakening peoples. The world is watching to see whether our great ideals are still relevant to our behaviour. When we say we believe in democracy, freedom, equality, do we realize what we are saying and mean it? Are we willing to push the application of these principles to situations where we see no immediate advantage to ourselves? Are we aware that great ideas, like all living things, can wilt from lack of nourishment and attention? Are our professed beliefs reflected in the diplomatic positions we take on colonial questions? Are our slogans consistent with our practice on racial issues here at home -- practices which are being increasingly scrutinized abroad?

"Great ideas grounded in our own commitment to human dignity are sweeping new areas of the world today, and they simply cannot be stifled, hampered, or ignored. We need affirmative policies, and the time has come when we must have them.

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"We must never forget that the image we as a nation cast abroad is mightily affected by what we do at home. One of the best criteria for predicting how a nation will behave in its international relations is its record of achievement among its own people. We judge the Soviets in this manner, and part of our skepticism about their sincerity on world issues is grounded in our awareness of how brutally the Kremlin has conducted its domestic policies.

"We should consider our own behavior from the same perspective. At times we have forgotten that we shall not enhance freedom by aping the enemies of freedom. Democratic institutions are not safeguarded by totalitarian techniques. To be strong we must be true to ourselves.

"With our rigid refusal to liberalize our discriminatory Immigration and Refugee Acts, we make a mockery of our basic principles.

"Ill-conceived and discriminatory immigration legislation has been a blemish on our democratic record. It is absolutely essential that so fundamental and significant an area of American life and law as immigration be revised so that prejudice may give way to understanding and expediency to justice.

"Our so-called "domestic" record on civil rights has also assumed worldwide importance today. The behavior of a white jury in Sumner, Mississippi, three weeks ago, crowded out all other news stories on the front pages of papers in Asia, Africa, and Even in Europe. The central principles on which America was founded are now being considered by others in their evaluation of us....Our responsibilities and the requirements of our national security no longer permit us the luxury of temporizing and evasion on civil rights here in the United States. Communist propaganda has recognized that issue clearly, and has effectively gone to work. Our proper response both to it and the threat of the new bomb is to do what we should have done anyway without them. Communism and the atom have only heightened our age-old dilemma of good and evil, and raised the stakes of moral choice.

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"Most of us have been preoccupied with Communism these past few years. Most of us think that its menace will be with us for a long time to come.

"The Communist threat demands firm and constant vigilance. But it is equally essential that we peer behind and beyond that threat long enough and deliberately enough to look steadily at basic problems that we would have to face even if there were not a Communist agent anywhere, even if Karl Marx had never lived.

"Most of these issues are problems of revolt against the status quo in the interests of a wider achievement of human dignity. This revolt takes many forms: nationalism and anti-colonialism in Asia and Africa; the struggle of the Negro against second-class citizenship in the United States; the fight for agrarian reform and industrialization in all underdeveloped areas. The Communists do not need to create these popular issues; they need only to exploit them.

"The important thing is the coinciding of these two major issues of peace and human dignity. The H-Bomb has heightened our military insecurity in the context of a world-wide revolt, and the interrelationship of the two problems cannot be forgotten. Peace and human dignity are both fraught with such explosive implications now that no one can dismiss either of them as pleasant abstractions. We cannot hope to meet either without meeting both. Nor can we allow our concern with immediate crises to blind us to these larger comprehensive problems."

HUMAN DIGNITY AND PEACE
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ADDRESS BY
SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
at
SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL INTERFAITH DAY CEREMONIES

New York
October 16, 1955

Nothing, believe me, could do me more honor nor give me a greater sense of satisfaction than to be your guest today at these 17th annual Interfaith Day ceremonies. I am also especially pleased to have a part in this International Festival program for United Nations Day, and to participate in this salute to the UN -- deserved not only for the UN's past achievements but, even more, for its magnificent future promise.

United Nations Day, just ten years after the organization was founded at San Francisco, is an obvious time for taking stock and charting our future course as citizens both of America and the world. By adhering to UN charter, the original 50 states, together with the ten additional ones which subsequently joined, solemnly pledged themselves to repudiate war and aggression forever. Equally important was the fact that they established the most promising and potentially

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effective international organization ever created.

The founders of the United Nations hoped to promote two fundamental objectives: human dignity and peace.

Spelled out these goals were:

- (1) To remove the causes of war by creating the conditions necessary for peace and friendly relations among people everywhere -- higher standards of living, improved health conditions, increased food production and adequate distribution, the improvement and expansion of commerce, and a broader acceptance of fundamental human rights.
- (2) To provide a means of adjusting the international differences which endanger peace and a means of building a collective defense against actual acts of aggression.

We Americans support the United Nations because the Charter expresses our fundamental principles and objectives in this difficult and complicated world. But that is not the only reason we support it. Americans across the length and breadth of the continent

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today are basically internationally minded. This is not at all unnatural when we consider that every state in the Union is a United Nations in miniature.

In my office in Washington is a map of the State of Minnesota entitled "Minnesota: The U. N. In Miniature". On it are located communities of more than 28 different ethnic origins, including nearly every country of Europe and many others elsewhere in the world.

This is a point that hardly needs emphasis in New York City -- the industrial, commercial, fine arts capital of the world. This city itself amounts to a total society, broadly representative of all the charm and variety of world affairs. There could be no more logical home for the UN.

To me all of this means that there is nothing more thoroughly in keeping with the American heritage and the American experience than the United Nations. I do not mean that any American would want the world remade in our image. It is not boasting but genuine pride that leads me to say that the UN is the noblest embodiment we have of 20th century Americanism.

Americans have learned that peoples of different backgrounds, races, national origins, and creeds can live together, work together, and build together. This achievement

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was made possible by a belief in and dedication to the fundamental principles of a free society -- the dignity of man, freedom of conscience, and a commitment to fraternity and brotherhood.

Our Declaration of Independence and our Constitution, our experience in self-government -- yes even our own revolutionary heritage in this world of revolutionary change -- are all today sources of strength. The fact that it has been possible to build a great nation whose destiny and progress is guided by these ideals, should help create in us the confidence that we and others together can build a world order that will enshrine these same principles of freedom and justice.

That confidence will be bolstered too by our own dramatic achievement toward national maturity during the last 25 years. On the domestic scene we met the worst depression of American history by learning that imaginative cooperation between industry, labor, farm, and government was entirely practicable as a joint venture for the common good. Japanese zeroes over Pearl Harbor blasted us out of our national nostalgia for isolationism, and taught us that national independence could be sustained and made meaningful only by a recognition of international interdependence. This

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process of rapid national maturity was a remarkable one, and history is likely to record that it has been without parallel.

But the crowning glory of this maturing process was our initiative in helping to create the United Nations, and it is heartening to know that ten years after its founding, the UN still commands the overwhelming support of the American people as recent opinion polls have clearly shown.

During those ten years American democracy has had an unmatched opportunity to prove itself in new and unexplored areas. Working through and alongside the UN, our list of achievements is impressive. Once the victory on the battlefield was won we did not turn our backs upon a stricken world. We mobilized our resources to help the needy, to feed the hungry, to heal the sick, to rebuild the devastated cities, to help others reconstitute free government, to reestablish commerce and trade, to rehabilitate the exhausted economies of friend and foe alike. Here was the true expression of the spirit of American Democracy. Here was a practical blending between applied democratic policy and the spirit of our religious teachings. Here was compassion and charity, here was forgiveness and kindness, here was the full expression of American generosity and faith.

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These constructive achievements were as vital to the health of the free world as the defense of South Korea in 1950 was to the whole notion of collective security. Today, rather than wearying after such historic achievements, we should declare to the world, day in and day out, that we will continue to proceed with confidence, determination, and perseverance to strengthen the UN and all of its agencies. This is especially essential for Americans. We are people of peace. Ours is a government of law. Ours is a society of equal opportunity. Surely these credentials are precisely those that best qualify any nation to be an increasingly active participant in the most hopeful organization we have ever had to promote these same goals of peace, law and equal opportunity on a world-wide scale.

All of us know, of course, that the fundamental barrier, which the UN has had to surmount and which its founders did not foresee, has been the Cold War. At the San Francisco Conference which organized the UN in the early summer of 1945 there was no general knowledge of the existence of atomic energy or of the impending earth-shaking explosion at Hiroshima. The delegates there did understand and fear the growing

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rift between the Communist states and the democratic Western powers, but they had no presentiment that that rift was to grow quickly into an awful chasm, with each side straining its resources to build up an arsenal of nuclear weapons and intercontinental carriers capable of utterly destroying the great centers of civilization on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

Happily, the Commemorative meeting at San Francisco this year came at a time when the first ray of light was breaking through the international storm clouds. For the first time Communist leaders were making serious efforts to begin constructive talks with the Western powers. And soon after the San Francisco meeting, the Big Four heads of government met at The Summit and gave us the new "Spirit of Geneva".

We have descended a bit from the summit today. To be sure the new atmosphere of soft words and courtesy in international affairs has persisted. But some of us ponder how much tangible progress has been made toward a reliable peace.

A few weeks ago there was another atomic explosion test in Russia, and there have been disturbing reports that the Soviets are ahead of us in developing ballistic missiles designed to carry A- or H-bomb war heads across the oceans at many times the

speed of sound. COPY

This is the awesome background for all of us now, for our public discussions and our private thoughts. But no sooner do we begin to analyze the problem of the bombs than we realize how inter-related are the age-old problems of peace and human dignity. And today neither peace nor human dignity is a problem that is either strictly foreign or strictly domestic. At Geneva, in the Disarmament Subcommittee of the United Nations, in the General Assembly, and in personal appeals to President Eisenhower, the Soviet leaders are saying that their "primary objective" is to end the armament race. As time goes on we shall be able to evaluate to what extent, if any, these Kremlin leaders mean what they say.

The question of disarmament is a tremendously important one for the American government and the President a few months ago directed special emphasis to be placed on this problem in the executive branch. The Senate has recently established its own special bipartisan subcommittee on disarmament. I have the sobering responsibility of serving as its chairman, and I am certain that every member approaches this huge assignment with the same hope and humility I do. But no one is more aware of the difficulties involved in this task than I am.

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One of these difficulties is the inescapable fact that pending a feasible, acceptable, operating disarmament program, this country must maintain its powerful defense forces. In the absence of a genuine peace achieved by disarmament, we must preserve the present uncertain peace the only way we can -- by bolstering our present policies of strength and collective security against aggression.

It will be a delicate operation to pursue objectively and sincerely a dual policy of preserving our defensive strength while simultaneously pressing for a workable system of disarmament.

Actually this dual policy, however, is not as contradictory as it might seem at first. The chance of negotiating any acceptable agreement for world disarmament itself depends on Western strength. I believe that we can take it for granted that the Communists are not going to reduce or liquidate their military power voluntarily unless and until they are thoroughly convinced that they cannot gain their objectives by the use or the threat of that power, now or in the future.

But in addition to security from atomic holocaust, there is another element in world affairs that in an even larger sense must make our world policy a dual one.

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From an over-all perspective, we can recognize it as the element of human dignity.

Today, however, it is clear that the cold war, with or without a smile, will not be won by reliance upon armed strength and clever diplomacy. Disarmament is impossible in a vacuum. It must be accompanied by a broad attack on the causes of strife. The conflict between totalitarian Communism and freedom is moving from the battleground into the areas of politics, economics, and social organization. Military strength does not solve the social and economic problems that invite aggression and revolt. Illiteracy, poverty, sickness and ignorance are no longer subjects of academic discussion. They are the almost exclusive daily concern of most of the people of the world. They will largely determine the political and social climate which can so easily tip the world balance of power. They are the breeding grounds of autocracy, mistrust and disaster.

Easing of tensions, important as that may be, still is not the same as the eradication of the causes of social disorder and chaos. It is entirely possible for Communism to win the underdeveloped and underprivileged areas of the world without ever firing a shot -- indeed the men in the Kremlin may find that they can do this

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most effectively with a smile. But this will only be possible if we permit it to be. Nothing is inevitable until after it has occurred.

Peaceful supporters of the UN everywhere and Americans most particularly most face this challenge squarely: the challenge of whether or not we will assert an effort equal to the Communists but directed toward the better purposes of a society where illiteracy retreats, where poverty is overcome by modern technology and science, where sickness surrenders to health and the strengthening resources of good food and medical care; where ignorance and prejudice are combatted by the righteous forces of education and human understanding.

Recent events in Indochina, Indonesia, Goa, Cyprus, and North and South Africa have raised certain aspects of this issue into the forefront of public debate. Some of these items are on the UN agenda. All of them are on the world's agenda.

No sooner do we begin to be preoccupied with a general system to prevent atomic war than we begin to realize that security itself has meaning chiefly for those who have something to preserve. Two-thirds of the world today remains ill-clad, ill-housed, ill-fed.

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Too often these factors occur in the context of existing or recent colonial rule and racial discrimination, and together they produce an explosive situation.

Tidal forces have been released all over the world today which can be summed up in a demand for increased human dignity. As Americans reconsider their relations with Asians, Africans, Latin Americans, and the people of other underdeveloped areas, of this much we may be sure: in this century, by one means or another, change is coming to every village. At the Bandung Conference in Indonesia last spring, the industrially backward continents of Asia and Africa formally moved on to the center of the world's diplomatic stage.

Basically our long-range choice as Americans is whether we shall unconsciously hinder the still non-Communist people of these continents in the achievement of their aims, perhaps finally turning them into the hands of totalitarian enemies, or whether we shall find a way to join with them in democratic development. It will not be enough -- it no longer is enough -- for us to repeat our own democratic ideals to show that they are consistent with the long-run aspirations of these awakening peoples. The world is watching to see whether

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our great ideals are still relevant to our behavior.

When we say we believe in democracy, freedom, equality, do we realize what we are saying and mean it? Are we willing to push the application of these principles to situations where we see no immediate advantage to ourselves? Are we aware that great ideas, like all living things can wilt from lack of nourishment and attention? Are our professed beliefs reflected in the diplomatic positions we take on colonial questions? Are our slogans consistent with our practice on racial issues here at home -- practices which are being increasingly scrutinized abroad?

Great ideas grounded in our own commitment to human dignity are sweeping new areas of the world today, and they simply cannot be stifled, hampered, or ignored. We need affirmative policies, and the time has come when we must have them.

Understandably we are concerned when our military plans are upset by the aspirations of people to be free. No one is more aware than I of the vital and essential importance of military factors in the determination of our foreign policy. But they must not be allowed to dominate it. I am disturbed whenever I come across an exclusively soldierly way of looking

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at things, an outlook that discounts nations which have no armored divisions.

Our very survival requires us to dilute the present dominance of military thinking in our national thinking by a stiff admixture of those moral principles which have taken such a beating lately in fashionable circles. For just as McCarthyism threatened to drain us of domestic decency, so the self-styled diplomatic and military realists are giving us an increasingly unprincipled posture in our dealings with the world. The naked power of arms as an instrument of policy is permissible, but as a determiner of policy it is intolerable.

Understandably we are likewise concerned when our European allies are upset by the aspirations of other people to be free. There is no denying the special importance of Europe to American policy, but our European friends must come to realize that that is no longer an adequate reason for Americans to view Asia and Africa through European eyes. The arguments for developing, responsibly but boldly, an American policy toward Africa, for instance, are becoming increasingly irrefutable.

Many of the so-called "crises" which suddenly

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burst upon us and, after all, perfectly predictable well in advance of their occurrence. The current debacle in North Africa is certainly a case in point. Almost all sober observers who watched the bitter rear guard action in Indochina last year, warned of similar prospects in North Africa. Those prospects are already upon us -- not only upon Frenchmen and Moroccans but upon all of us -- with what lasting cost and damage we cannot yet tell.

Understandably too, most of us have been preoccupied with Communism these past few years. Most of us think that its menace will be with us for a long time to come. The Communist threat demands firm and constant vigilance. But it is equally essential that we peer behind and beyond that threat long enough and deliberately enough to look steadily at the basic problems that we would have to face even if there were not a Communist agent anywhere, even if Karl Marx had never lived.

Most of these issues are problems of revolt against the status quo in the interests of a wider achievement of human dignity. This revolt takes many forms: nationalism and anti-colonialism in Asia and Africa; the struggle of the Negro against second-class

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citizenship in the United States; the fight for agrarian reform and industrialization in all underdeveloped areas. The Communists do not need to create these popular issues; they need only to exploit them.

The important thing is the coinciding of these two major issues of peace and human dignity. The H-bomb has heightened our military insecurity in the context of a world-wide revolt and the interrelationship of the two problems cannot be forgotten. Peace and human dignity are both fraught with such explosive implications now that no one can dismiss either of them as pleasant abstractions. We cannot hope to meet either without meeting both. Nor can we allow our concern with immediate crises to blind us to these larger comprehensive problems.

The Communists, however wrong they may be, are not blind to these problems. In a sense they are challenging us Americans to be true to ourselves and our own best traditions. As General Romulo of the Philippines has written recently: "To get closer to the heart of Asia, America must use its own heart more. The peoples of Asia will respond with understanding and sympathy to the freedom-loving, the generous-hearted,

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the deeply humane America of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt."

We must meaningfully reaffirm the traditional American position, born of the period of our own fight for freedom, that we recognize and support the principle of self-determination of nations. We must come to realize that it is in the best interest of the United States not to have satellites, but to have healthy, viable, stable friends in the world -- governments with roots among their people, sound economies at work erasing the dreadful heritage of poverty which many of these governments have inherited from colonial days. We must do more than we have done yet to recognize and applaud the work of these newly free nations in support of the principle of responsible self-government throughout the world.

Moreover we must never forget that the image we as a nation cast abroad is mightily affected by what we do at home. One of the best criteria for predicting how a nation will behave in its international relations is its record of achievement among its own people. We judge the Soviets in this manner, and part of our skepticism about their sincerity on world issues is grounded in our awareness of how brutally the Kremlin has conducted its domestic policies.

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We should consider our own behavior from the same perspective. At times we have forgotten that we shall not enhance freedom by aping the enemies of freedom. Democratic institutions are not safeguarded by totalitarian techniques. To be strong we must be true to ourselves.

With our rigid refusal to liberalize our discriminatory Immigration Refugee Acts, we make a mockery of our basic principles. Ill-conceived and discriminatory immigration legislation has been a blemish on our democratic record. It is absolutely essential that so fundamental and significant an area of American life and law as immigration be revised so that prejudice may give way to understanding, and expediency to justice.

Our so-called "domestic" record on civil rights has also assumed world-wide importance today. The behavior of a white jury in Sumner, Mississippi, three weeks ago crowded out all other news stories on the front pages of papers in Asia, Africa, and even in Europe. The central principles on which America was founded are now being considered by others in their evaluation of us. Brotherhood and equality of opportunity have now become central aspects of America's national

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image as it is ~~not~~ ~~an~~ ~~ideal~~. Just as Lincoln decided upon emancipation of the Negro slaves not only as an "act of justice", but as a "military necessity", so the achievement in America of racial equality and liberal immigration policies is now demanded on both those grounds. "What can conquer your unpardonable pride of race?" Gandhi asked of the whole Anglo-Saxon world, and we must answer him. Our responsibilities and the requirements of our national security no longer permit us the luxury of temporizing and evasion on civil rights here in the United States. Communist propoganda has recognized that issue clearly and has effectively gone to work. Our proper response both to it and to the threat of the new bombs is to do what we should have done anyway without them. Communism and the atom have only heightened our age-old dilemma of good and evil, and raised the stakes of moral choice.

As we re-examine these choices in the coming months, we shall have to relearn the roots of our common faiths: that since God is our Father, all men are our brothers. If there are any among us who somehow conceive of brotherhood as a restricted fraternity of people we know, we too must stretch our imagination beyond Christians and Jews, to include Moslems, Hindus and Buddhists. Brotherhood means giving to individuals

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of all other nations, races, and religions, the same dignity and rights we wish for ourselves.

Legislation alone will not give us brotherhood.

Inescapably we shall have to reaffirm our own capacity for mutual good will in the days ahead. At no time has it been more important for Americans to remember that neither the arrogance of the selfish, nor the self-pity of the envied, becomes us. Neither offers us even a basis for survival, much less a salvation from our current perplexities. In the last analysis it is a magnificent thing to be caught in a situation where not one of us can save himself without saving others.

The demand for human dignity, like that for peace, will not be suppressed. Both must find a new place in the formulation and conduct of world policy. And somehow permanently at the root of both demands is the moral obligation each of us has for fellowship. I can think of no better way to conclude than to remind you of those wonderful lines of William Morris:

"Fellowship is heaven, and the lack of fellowship is hell; fellowship is life, and the lack of fellowship is death; and the deeds that ye do upon the earth, it

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is for fellowman's sake that ye do them,
and the life that is in it shall live on
forever."



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