

Address by
Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey
Vice President of the United States
at a Banquet
Honoring the 25th Anniversary of
Christianity and Crisis
New York, New York
February 25, 1966



"... our task (in Vietnam and elsewhere) is to help create the external conditions for social justice and for human dignity and for freedom"



Vice President Humphrey and Dr. John C. Bennett,
Chairman of the Editorial Board, *Christianity and Crisis*,
President of Union Theological Seminary.

This has been a night of good humor. I notice that all those who publish other fine magazines have sent their telegrams along with appropriate citations. I'm very pleased to know that my friends from the *New Republic* and the *Nation* and others have taken the time to seek a subscription or two on an occasion like this.

I don't recall any time that I've been at a dinner with such a serious purpose where I've heard such good humor—and I'm glad I heard it early.

I do feel that I at least have a protector here. He is a dear friend of a boyhood friend who was the Methodist minister's son in Doland, South Dakota where I grew up, Dr. Julian Hart of Yale University. John McGuire is a friend and student of his and John came up here not long ago and said, "If it gets too rough, Mr. Vice President, I'll rescue you."

But after I listened to John Brademas and then recalled that he was of Greek extraction, I have no fear at all. I remember the story of those Spartans at the Pass of Thermopylae. So if any of you Persians decide to attack, I'll call on John.

Now, since I can't talk in the Senate, I've searched out for audiences like this just to keep in practice. And tonight, I might add, it is not only the joy of being able to speak to you but the particular joy of being able to be included in this important colloquium on "The Crisis Character of Modern Society" and this 25th anniversary celebration of *Christianity and Crisis*.

When you think back over a quarter of a century it doesn't seem too long and yet a great deal has happened in that quarter of a century. Since the founding of *Christianity and Crisis*, this quarter of a century has been one of the most extraordinary in the history of mankind. It has been a period of great crisis—of great triumphs and great events. It surely has tested every spiritual tenet of our faith.

If we look back to the pages of the journal we honor—and Dr. Bennett has helped us do that—we can find a wisdom and vision about these events that other journals and perhaps our public policies have not always reflected. There are journals of huge circulation that we all simply must read just in order to know what is going on. But there are other journals that we want to read and should read in order to get some perspective, some insight, some guidance and reflection about what is going on. For me, *Christianity and Crisis* is foremost among the journals of the latter type. The quality of its words, its philosophy, its thought, has been a sustaining force in the intellectual, spiritual, and political life of this country.

The Great Work of Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr

With all respect to the many fine contributors and editors throughout the years—to Dr. John Bennett and to Wayne Cowan and all the others—I think we all know that to speak of *Christianity and Crisis* is to speak of Reinhold Niebuhr—our dear and valued friend. It is with a deep sense of privilege and humility that I join this very distinguished assemblage tonight in honoring one of America's and, I think, one of the world's most profound political philosophers, scholars, theologians, and prophets. And thank goodness he has given us the gift of his friendship.

The 1920's and the early '30's were empty years in American intellectual and political life. And it was in this moral vacuum that a new voice was heard. It was the voice of an unknown preacher serving a working class community in Detroit. And ever since that time Reinhold Niebuhr has been taming the cynics and pulling utopians back to earth.

No preacher or teacher, at least in my time, has had a greater impact on the secular world. No American has made a greater contribution to political wisdom and moral responsibility.

Reinhold Niebuhr, like Abraham Lincoln or Mark Twain, came out of that great Middlewestern river valley and he brought East with him his realism and his humor and his energy and a brooding thoughtfulness.

Like Lincoln and Mark Twain, Dr. Niebuhr brought a mixture of profundity and practicality. Like Lincoln, who I am sure has always been his favorite statesman, Dr. Niebuhr showed how to combine decisive action with a sensitive knowledge of the complexity of life, including politics.

Social Justice and Democracy

Now that combination is what Dr. Niebuhr taught to a whole generation of us as we came out of the great Depression. We knew there were urgent demands of social justice that required direct action and idealism. At the same time, we had to learn that politics was complicated and many-sided—that life wasn't simple. Dr. Niebuhr was the man more than any other, at least in my time, who put these two things together and showed how they are connected with our religious faith.

Yes—Dr. Niebuhr helped us to see that politicians and theologians had a mutual interest in sin and evil of the world. Martin Luther, I believe, once noted that the state was ordained by God because of man's sin—and the function of a state was to restrain evildoers.

Now if these words sound a bit old-fashioned and fundamentalist, I can assure you that when I was the mayor of the city of Minneapolis, one of my main jobs was to do just that—restrain evildoers. And I suspect that Mayor Lindsay is not wholly free of this burden in New York City.

James Madison expressed the same proposition in somewhat different and possibly more refined words in the *Federalist*. He said, "If men were angels, no government would be necessary." Well, the vocation of the politician includes the task of dealing with the fallen angels—of restraining evildoers—and of mitigating man's inhumanity to man.

In positive terms, our task is to help create the external conditions for social justice and for human dignity and for freedom. But we must be willing to accept man as he is—not as we want him to be, but as he is—and we must be willing to work with the material at hand. This is surely at the core of our democratic faith and democratic institutions. I guess this is what Lincoln meant when he talked about government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

Man, Righteousness, and Freedom

In a score of books and hundreds of articles, and thousands of lectures—in classroom and seminar, here and abroad, Reinie—yes, Dr. Niebuhr—has hammered away at this basic theme. These are his own words: "Man's capacity for justice makes democracy possible, but man's inclination to injustice makes democracy necessary."

By affirming man's capacity for justice and the possibility of a democratic society, Dr. Niebuhr has asserted his belief in the upper reaches of human nature. He has believed in what he has called "original righteousness"—that man is made in the image of God and that, at his best, man is capable of justice. That's my religion. This is why I love this man.

Man is capable of granting to other men their due. The achievement of democratic government, the most difficult and the least tried form of government, is not wholly beyond human attainment. I guess it was Winston Churchill who once said that democracy is the worst possible form of government except all others. It is fair to say that it is the most difficult to attain and to sustain.

Now, at the same time, Dr. Niebuhr has affirmed what we all know—that all men, including good men, have a tendency to pursue their private ambitions and interests, often to the detriment of the rights and interests of their fellow men. This he has called "man's inclination to injustice."

After the rhetoric is over, the case for democracy must rest on its realism. Democracy takes into account the full range of human nature, not the perfect man, not the imperfect man, but man. It is the only form of government that can guarantee both justice and freedom because it is the only one that seeks to recognize and respect the legitimate claims of all conflicting interests. With these insights into human nature and the human condition, our friend, Dr. Niebuhr, helped many of us understand our obligation to work for social justice without falling into soft utopian nonsense.

These were the essential truths that my generation of Americans had to hear and Reinhold Niebuhr spoke to us clearly and courageously. Yes—Dr. Niebuhr was not only a man of thought but of action and, in the realm of human affairs, a man of political action. It was this commitment to philosophy and action that led Dr. Niebuhr to spearhead, along with some of the rest of us, the formation of the American for Democratic Action. Yes—and the Liberal Party too.

In sum, then, Reinhold Niebuhr has contributed to American life and thought because he has been a realist without despair—and an idealist without illusion.

Social Idealism of the Young

But I believe that Dr. Niebuhr's wisdom should be heard by other generations as well—by the social activists of today—by the young left—the students—and the clergy and the civil rights workers who are speaking out with such conviction and courage. I for one applaud much of what they are doing. I am never happier than when I speak to a group of students and I might say I've never been more challenged either. The revival of social idealism among the young is one of the most heartening developments of the 1960's.

How well I remember the early 1950's. I'd be invited to speak to a college audience and the first thing the president of the college would say was, "Now I hope you're not going to speak on anything controversial." And this just sort of aroused glands inside of me and I said, "Well, I'll tell you, I don't even agree with the weather. I most likely will speak on something very controversial."

Those were the days when you played it safe—at least some people did. Those were the days when you got tagged if you didn't play it safe. Going through the great Depression is one way to develop a social conscience. I had that—I wouldn't say good fortune—but experience. But apparently it's not the only way. And thank goodness for that.

I know there has been a new burst of social idealism among the clergy and the laymen, as well as among students, even in this time of affluence and abundance. And one of the many side benefits of the civil rights movement is this new social conscience. It is, in fact, a testimonial to this nation that at the moment of its greatest wealth it is concerned about the poor and about poverty. But sometimes it occurs to me that the new generation of students and clergy might also need to sit at the feet of Reinhold Niebuhr, as many of us certainly did in the '30's and the '40's and '50's.

The Social Protest Movement—Some Failings

Now the great tradition of social protest in America—and a noble tradition it is—and I come from a land of it—of the Non-Partisan League—the Farmer Labor Party—the Populist movement—that tradition of social protest has failings that crop up regularly. And I think we ought to talk about them since we are among friends.

One failing is over-simplification and another is self-righteousness. Another is political naivete. Another is sweeping impatience with everybody in authority—the Establishment and the Power Structure is what they are now called. We had other names in my younger days but it meant the same. I think we talked about The System. Now if you'll go back to the abolitionists—and I've just been reading about the abolitionists—you would find along with their great contribution and moral idealism every one of these faults in capital letters. But they did some mighty good work too.

Reinhold Niebuhr demonstrated for us, as he demonstrates for the young social reformer today, the vital need for self-criticism—self-analysis—criticism of humane movements by those who believe in their purpose.

One aspect of this liberal self-criticism is to understand the limits of politics. Many idealists just picture what ought to be without enough attention to what can be. I would hope that every person who has a noble thought of humanitarianism would read the words of Abraham Lincoln, a man who is revered today for his idealism and his humanitarianism and yet was one of the most prudent and able politicians in American history.

Many idealists do not put themselves in the place of responsible officials. They seldom try to imagine what is possible and what isn't possible. I think it was Franklin Roosevelt who once said that he made little compromises in order to be in a position to make great decisions.

On one occasion Dr. Niebuhr illustrated this point by quoting the passage that Stephen Vincent Benet gives to Abraham Lincoln:

"They talk to me about God's will
In righteous deputations and platoons,
Day after day, laymen and ministers.
They write me Prayers from Twenty Million Souls
Defining me God's will and Horace Greeley's.
God's will in General This and Senator That;
God's will in this poor colored fellow's will.
It is the will of the Chicago churches;
It is this man's and his worst enemy's.
But all of them are sure they know God's will.
I am the only man who does not know it."

Now one thing about our good friend, Reinhold Niebuhr, he has never claimed to know God's will. But he has understood the importance of preserving in America the great liberal and humanitarian objectives we derive from our Anglo-Saxon heritage—the rule of law, consent of the governed, and fair play. And he has understood why this nation must be committed to the great Judeo-Christian values of human dignity and equality of opportunity and the dream of a better and more just society.

No Easy Way Out of Difficult Problems

He has been both a reformer and a prophet but has not been a crusader. He has steadfastly warned against the nostrum peddler, the salesmen of simple solutions, and the fixer, all of whom promise easy answers at bargain counter prices.

Yes, Dr. Niebuhr has always understood there is no easy way out of difficult dilemmas because there is no escape from the human situation. There is no painless remedy for racial prejudice and injustice which still exist in America. There is no quick or easy victory in war on poverty. And there is no simple solution to the complex, tragic situation facing America in Southeast Asia.

These are all complex matters and none of them is solved by emotion or even demonstration. The challenge is to recognize and to accept the complexity and difficulties of these tasks, yet, nevertheless, to face them in the knowledge that they cannot be evaded. In the words of Keats, "to bear all naked truths and to envisage all circumstances—all calm." And to do it with reasoned dialogue, conversation, and with conviction.

The Moral Issue of Human Misery

Yes, I agree with Dr. Morgenthau and with Dr. Bennett and others, there is a great moral issue at stake, not only here in America but in Southeast Asia and I suppose in many other areas.

In Southeast Asia, for instance, there is ample evidence of man's inclination to injustice. I have seen first hand in these past few days the desperate poverty—the unbelievable indescribable poverty of the ordinary people of that part of the world.

I have seen the tremendous gaps between the rich and the poor. We see the gaps between the rich and the poor nations widen too. I've seen the hungry in India and the poverty in Pakistan and I say tonight there may be more people dying from

starvation in India and Pakistan this next year than the total population of North and South Vietnam, unless nations more affluent and more fortunate are able to help these countries in their food emergency.

These are great moral issues. I wish that people would become as excited about the issue of starvation in a world that could have plenty as they are about how we adjust ourselves to Hanoi. I have seen young children undernourished—many without even the hope of education or without the hope of ever reaching adulthood.

And I have seen fields across which the soldiers of many nationalities and allegiances over the course of many years have fought, to the pain and misery of the peasants who ask just one thing—the chance to cultivate their fields in peace. Yes, there is a great moral issue at stake.

I have seen in Vietnam the marks left by terrorists and assassins who would subvert the strivings of nationalism for the purposes of totalitarianism. I remember a village where there were students from the University of Saigon who decided that rather than parade in the streets they'd work in the fields. And one night as they were working—building hospitals, schoolrooms, working in the fields, they were assassinated—decapitated—all of them. They were doing God's work—man's work. They were trying to help innocent people. I think there is quite a moral issue at stake.

But I have also seen in these past days ample evidence of something else—man's capacity for justice. I've seen national leaders who have literally, at the risk of life, devoted themselves to the betterment of their people when it would have been far easier for them to follow the paths of self-service and self-gain. We see this, thank goodness, so many times.

And I have seen men and women from more comfortable places, without direct obligation to those they help, working on the streets and farms so that their brothers in mankind might have some eventual share of abundance and well-being.

I have visited the International Voluntary Service headquarters outside of Saigon—young men and women giving of their lives—some of them who have been assassinated in cold blood because they tried to help plant a field or build a community.

I have seen human beings casting their lot with free institutions when those institutions offer little immediate material benefit and when their abandonment would, at least, today seem to be the easy course.

Achievements of American Armed Forces and Civilians

And, above all, I have seen Americans of every race, color and national origin waging their struggle with pride, honor and conscience. I have seen them in hospitals—I have seen them in their camps—I have talked to them personally and I've seen them waging their struggles not only with arms.

Yes, American troops in Vietnam are setting a good example for the rest of the world. They are participating in countless projects of community assistance and restoration—healing the sick—teaching the illiterate—building schools and hospitals and demonstrating in village and hamlet their courage and their compassion. And they are training others to do the same. We can be justly proud of the sacrifices which these young Americans are making in our behalf and they are a very good image of America, if that's the word people like to use these days. I think they represent the spirit and the soul of this nation.

And there are American civilians of equal courage, skill and determination fighting the battle against man's ancient enemies—disease, ignorance, hunger and poverty. I met one man—a doctor—who had a little mobile surgical unit that was taking cataracts from the eyes of the blind as his contribution to the betterment of mankind. A great physician—an American—who had given up his practice to give his life to the poor.

Yes, I've seen the forces of freedom and decency waging two battles: one to prevent the success of aggression—and there is aggression—and the other to build a new society of promise and of hope. And from all I've seen I've come away convinced that as we must continue to work here at home—often with imperfect means and insufficient understanding toward social justice, self-determination and human dignity—so also must we continue to strive in Southeast Asia, in Latin America, in the Indian subcontinent, in Africa—even with the same imperfect means and insufficient understanding—even as violence is the pattern of the day.

The Menace of Totalitarian Aggression

I happen to be one who believes in and respects not only the right of dissent but also the right of advocacy. I believe that today in Vietnam our liberal means and objectives are being tested by totalitarians who have never had anything but contempt

for those means and objectives. I believe that a liberal and a progressive can never find himself in philosophical and spiritual harmony with a totalitarian.

We are being tested in a struggle which demands both courage and conscience—both determination and dedication—in which the answers are hard to find and in which the truth is not easy to locate.

I have come away from Asia and the Pacific convinced that the spiritual and material resources of America are essential ingredients in winning this struggle. And I have come away convinced that whatever our contribution may be—and it is substantial—it will be surpassed by the peoples themselves of those embattled nations. But, I might add, other nations can contribute a great deal more in this struggle for a better life. And I'm not asking for military forces now—I'm speaking of the struggle for social betterment.

With a deep sense of self-respect and self-achievement, the free peoples of Asia and the Pacific look to America for understanding and assistance—just exactly as the peoples of Europe looked to America twenty years ago, in their fight against the injustices of the past and the threat of aggression and subversion—just exactly as the people of Berlin look to America for their very safety today.

And that is why in these past days I have reemphasized America's commitment to preventing the success of aggression and assuring the triumph of self-government and economic development, social progress, and peace. A big order—not the work of a generation but possibly of decades and centuries. But a beginning must be made.

The Danger to Vietnam, Laos, India, Thailand

May I say most respectfully—there is international aggression in Vietnam and Southeast Asia. Less than a week ago I visited with Souvanna Phouma, the neutralist in Laos. His first words to me were, "Mr. Vice President, I shall fight to the death the Communist aggressor in my country." And he told me, "I apologize, Mr. Vice President, for the fact that there are not many groups here to meet you. They're in the battlefield."

And there has been international aggression in India. Why does India today have to spend the lion's share of its budget in a poverty-stricken country for divisions on the frontier be-

tween China and India? Is it because India is the aggressor? Is it because she wishes conquest?

And in Thailand, only within the past month—50 village chiefs in Northeast Thailand—killed. Teachers kidnapped—young people abducted and taken back into Communist China. I think that's aggression.

And I saw the Dalai Lama at the late Prime Minister Shastri's funeral in Tibet—he thought it was aggression and he thanked the people of the United States for their understanding—for their help. And I think that was aggression—a moral issue.

I am one who believes that lawlessness does not provide the proper environment for social betterment. Of course, trying to stop aggression and hoping to assure the triumph of self-government, economic development, social progress, and peace is a far more difficult course to pursue than the course of withdrawal. It's a far more difficult course than that of unlimited violence and massive escalation. We want neither.

A Social Revolution for Human Dignity

Ours is the course which faces with realism and responsibility the complex and difficult business of fostering the conditions conducive to the expansion of social justice, yes, social revolution and human dignity and the hope of freedom. And this is the course which we seek to pursue—the course which President Johnson and the American people are determined to pursue—a course fully consistent with our own social and ethical values.

With full knowledge of the difficulties ahead—and there are dangerous days ahead and great difficulties—we reaffirm our intention to sustain the struggle against the forces of Communist expansion and against the forces of poverty and illiteracy, famine, disease for as long as the cause of freedom and human decency requires it. We can do no less. Never has a nation been so blessed as America. Never has a people been given so much. And the honor of leadership gives you no privileges and few luxuries. What it does is to impose burdens and responsibilities.

Limited Use of Military Power

We affirm our intention of using military power of almost limitless quantity in a measured and limited degree. This is an act of national self-discipline. This will be the most difficult act

of self-discipline that this nation has ever had to face. Whenever I hear about the doves and the hawks I'm reminded of what Senator George Aiken said: "We ought to be like an owl—with a sense of judgment—with one eye open all the time and two most of the time, day and night."

Our Sole Military Objective in Vietnam

In Vietnam we have one and only one military objective—the halting of forceful conquest of South Vietnam—the prevention of the success of aggression.

We contributed to that objective in Greece—in the Eastern Mediterranean. We've made contributions in the past to preventing the success of aggression time after time. Today in Western Europe 250,000 Americans stand guard at great cost to you because there is a belief in the American nation and among allies that this is necessary for peace.

I would ask this audience: what do you think would happen in Western Europe tonight if we were to say that no longer would we keep our commitments—no longer would we be interested in Berlin? Whatever may be your views as to whether or not we should be there, just imagine the consequences.

But as we pursue the peace and this defense of freedom, let us do so with the same wisdom and faith which prompted Reinhold Niebuhr to write these words in *Christianity and Crisis* almost twenty years ago: "... We recognize the tragic character of the human drama, including the particular drama of our own day, and we call upon the mercy of God to redeem us, not from the contemporary predicament of democracy but from the perennial human predicament."

Now may I be permitted this final observation on this 25th anniversary of *Christianity and Crisis*?

These have been 25 productive years and challenging years. I wouldn't have missed them for the world nor would have you. They have been years true to the original vision and purpose of Reinhold Niebuhr and the other founders of this Christian journal of opinion.

The Challenging Future

Now what of the future? Well, I hope that *Christianity and Crisis* will continue publishing for another quarter of a century—and for many more quarters of a century beyond that. I hope to be around to read it and to show you of my interest. We are

going to need *Christianity and Crisis* because two things are not going to go away: the claims of social justice and the complexity of politics. Yes, we need in these times journals like *Christianity and Crisis* to stimulate the critical faculties of both our leaders and our citizens.

I understand in the words of your Managing Editor that *Christianity and Crisis* has now been "surrounded by the establishment." I listened to the list of achievements that Dr. John Bennett gave here tonight. You're one of the "ins." You're really a part of the establishment. And I guess that has certain disadvantages as well as advantages. But I have every confidence that your unwavering commitment to social justice—to honest and perceptive controversy and your profound understanding of the intricacies of the democratic process—will provide ample copy for months and years ahead. I think there are enough potential contributors right here tonight to keep your publication going for quite a period of time.

Christianity and Crisis as a Christian journal must by definition have a perspective as wide as humankind and one eye on eternity. It cannot afford to reflect parochial nationalism or a short-run outlook. A journal like that—a perspective like that is the requirement of our time.

Borrowing from the pages of the current issue of another publication, one that has a little larger circulation—*Time Magazine*—Longtime Reader Hubert Humphrey, as I was termed, as well as the many others who honor you on this important birthday, are expecting you to live up to your reputation.

And your reputation is that of a publication which seeks not to tell men what to think but, above all, tries to rouse in them their desire to think—to think profoundly—to think not only of the present but of the tomorrows—and to sense the great social values not only of contemporary civilization but of that great continuity of civilization. This view of life has made possible what we are and what we hope to be. This has been the greatness of *Christianity and Crisis*. Thank you.

Ronald Reibach

Dr. Roger L. Shinn

REMARKS

✓ Norman Cousins ✓
✓ Steve McCarthy

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

"CHRISTIANITY AND CRISIS"

25TH ANNIVERSARY

NEW YORK CITY

FEBRUARY 25, 1966

5 minute Reale
4:45

ⓧ This should be an
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ⓧ Humor

ⓧ Sparta - Thermopylae

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⌞ The quarter century since the founding of
Christianity and Crisis has been one of the most
extraordinary in the history of mankind -- a period
of great crisis . . . great triumphs . . . great events.

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magazine we honor tonight, we could find a wisdom
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There are journals of huge circulation that we all must read, just in order to know what is going on. But ^{or should read -} there are other journals that we want to read, in order to get some perspective -- some insight and guidance and reflection -- about what is going on. For me, Christianity and Crisis is foremost among journals of the latter type.

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The 1920's and early '30's were empty years in American intellectual and political life. It was into this moral vacuum that a new voice was heard -- the voice of an unknown preacher serving a working class community in Detroit. Ever since that time, Reinhold Niebuhr has been taming cynics and pulling utopians back to earth.

^{or Teacher}
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L I applaud much that they are doing. I am never happier than when I can speak to a group of students, and the revival of social idealism among the young is one of the most heartening developments of the ¹⁹sixties.

L Going through the Great Depression is one way to develop a social conscience, but apparently it's not the only way.

L I know there has been a new burst of social idealism among the clergy and laymen too, as well as among students. One of the many side benefits of the civil rights movement is this new social conscience. But sometimes it occurs to me that the new generation of students and clergy also needs to sit at the feet of Reinhold Niebuhr -- as many of us certainly did in the '30's and '40's.

↳ The great tradition of social protest in America has failings that crop up regularly. ↳ One is oversimplification. Another is self-righteousness. ↳ Another is political naivete. Another is sweeping impatience with everybody in authority ("the establishment" and the "power structure" is what they are called now; we had other names in my *gangster days*).

↳ If you would go back to the Abolitionists you would find -- along with their great contribution and moral idealism -- all of those faults.

↳ Reinhold Niebuhr demonstrated for us -- as he demonstrates for the *young* social reformer today -- the vital need for self-criticism -- criticism of humane movements by those who believe in their purposes.

One aspect of this liberal self-criticism is to understand the limits of politics. Many idealists just picture what ought to be, without enough attention to what can be. They do not put themselves in the place of responsible officials, and try to imagine what is possible -- and what isn't possible.

On one occasion Dr. Niebuhr illustrated this point by quoting the passage that Stephen Vincent Benet gives to Abraham Lincoln:

"They talk to me about God's will

In righteous deputations and platoons,

Day after day, laymen and ministers.

They write me Prayers from Twenty Million Souls

Defining me God's will and Horace Greeley's.

God's will in General This and Senator That;

God's will is this poor colored fellow's will.

∠ It is the will of the Chicago churches;

∠ It is this man's and his worst enemy's.

∠ But all of them are sure they know God's will.

I am the only man who does not know it."

∠ Reinhold Niebuhr has never claimed to know God's
will. But he has understood the importance of preserving
in America the great ^{humanitarian} liberal objectives we derive from our
Anglo-Saxon heritage -- the rule of law, the consent of
the governed, and fair play. And he has understood why
this nation must be committed to the great Judeo-Christian
values -- human dignity, equality of opportunity, and
the dream of a better and more just society.

∠ He has been both a reformer and a prophet. But he
has not been a crusader. He has steadfastly warned
against the nostrum peddler, the salesman of simple
solutions, the fixer -- all of whom promise easy answers.

Dr. Niebuhr has always understood there is no easy way out of difficult dilemmas, because there is no escape from the human situation. There is no painless remedy for the racial prejudice and injustice which still exists in America. There is no quick or easy victory in the war on poverty, ^{and} There is no simple solution to the complex, tragic situation facing America in Southeast Asia.

The challenge is to recognize and accept the complexity and difficulty of these tasks, yet nevertheless to face them in the knowledge that they cannot be evaded -- in the words of Keats "to bear all naked truths . . . and to envisage all circumstances, all calm."

In Southeast Asia, for instance, there is ample evidence of "man's inclination to injustice."

I have seen firsthand in these past days the desperate poverty of the ordinary people of that part of the world.

yes, ~~there~~ there is a great moral issue at stake.

∠ I have seen the tremendous gaps there between rich
and poor. *I have seen hunger in India -*

∠ I have seen young children undernourished -- many
without hope for education, many without hope of ever
reaching adulthood.

∠ I have seen fields across which soldiers of many
nationalities and allegiances -- over the course of many
years -- have fought, to the pain and misery of the
peasants who ask the chance only to cultivate, in peace,
those fields. *- yes. there is a great moral issue -*

∠ I have seen, in Vietnam, the marks left by terrorists
and assassins who would subvert the strivings of nationalism
for the purposes of totalitarianism. ~~✱~~

∠ But I have seen, too, in these past days ample
evidence of "man's capacity for justice."

✓ I have seen national leaders who have, literally at risk of life, devoted themselves to the betterment of their people, when it would be far easier for them to follow paths of self-service and self-gain.

✓ I have seen men and women from more comfortable places -- without direct obligation to those they help -- working on street and farm so that their brothers in mankind might have some eventual share of abundance and well-being.

✓ I have seen human beings casting their lot with free institutions when those institutions offer little immediate, material benefit and when their abandonment would, at least today, seem to be the easy course.

And, above all, I have seen Americans of every
race, color and national/^{origin} waging their struggle with
pride, honor, and conscience -- and not only with
arms. yes, American troops in Vietnam are participating
in countless projects of community assistance and
restoration -- healing the sick, teaching the illiterate,
building schools and hospitals, and demonstrating in
village and hamlet their courage and compassion.

We can be justly proud of the sacrifices which
these Americans are making in our behalf. and in behalf of
the nation.

And, there are American civilians, of equal courage,
skill and determination, fighting the battle against man's
ancient enemies of disease, ignorance, hunger and poverty.

yes, I have seen the forces of freedom waging two battles:
one to prevent the success of aggression; the other to
build a new society of promise and hope. This is an

admirable

And from all I have seen, I have come away convinced that as we must continue to work at home -- yes, often with imperfect means and with insufficient understanding, toward social justice and self-determination and human dignity -- ^{also} so must we continue to strive in Southeast Asia. ^{L. Amer. Africa even} ~~with the same imperfect means and~~ ^{insufficient understanding.}

Today in Vietnam our liberal means and objectives are being tested by totalitarians who have never had anything but contempt for those means and objectives.

We are being tested in a struggle which demands both courage and conscience, both determination and dedication.

I have come away from Asia and the Pacific convinced that the spiritual and material resources of America are essential ingredients in winning this struggle. ^{this struggle} And I have come away convinced that whatever our contribution may be -- and it is substantial -- it will be surpassed by the peoples of these embattled nations.

✓ Proud of their own history, traditions, and culture, and with a deep sense of self-respect and self-achievement, the free peoples of Asia and the Pacific look to America for understanding and assistance in their fight against the injustices of the past and the threat of aggression and subversion today.

*And Ch. Bennett
There is International
Aggression -
India
Tibet
Laos
Haiti
Vietnam*

That is why, in these past days, I have ~~made known~~ *reemphasized* America's commitment to preventing the success of aggression and assuring the triumph of self-government, economic development, and social progress, and Peace.

✓ This is the course far more difficult to pursue than the course of withdrawal . . . far more difficult than the course of unlimited violence and massive escalation.

✓ This is the course which faces with realism and responsibility the complex and difficult business of fostering conditions congenial to the expansion of social justice, *yes Social* human dignity and freedom.

Revolution and

And this is the course which ^{the} President ~~(Johnson)~~ and the American people are determined to pursue -- a course fully consistent with our own social and ethical values.

With full knowledge of the difficulties ahead, we reaffirm our intention to sustain the struggle against the forces of Communist expansion ^{and} against the forces of poverty, illiteracy, famine, and disease -- for as long as the cause of freedom requires it.

We reaffirm our intention of using military power of almost limitless quantity in ^a measured, limited degree. In Vietnam we have one -- and only one ^{military} ~~no~~ objective:

the halting of forceful conquest of South Vietnam ~~by~~ North Vietnam ^{yes, to prevent the success of aggression}

We reaffirm our determination to search for peaceful negotiations in face of continued rejection of such negotiations by our adversaries.

^{yes,} We shall pursue peace and those who seek to avoid it.

The Task of statesman ship is to

We seek ~~no~~ conquest; we seek to destroy no regime or country;

20
We reaffirm our ~~support~~ dedication
to the Charter of the U.N. and to the support of
the United Nations and its agencies. ~~the U.N.~~
is mankind's most highly developed instrument for peace.
We reaffirm our devotion to the building of free

and democratic institutions in the face of violent
opposition from those with little regard for them.

We reaffirm our belief that ultimately those who
live by force, violence and terror will come to understand
that these devices are not acceptable means for settlement
of international disputes ~~we~~ and the cost is too high!

We cherish no illusion that this path is easy, or
without pitfalls, or guaranteed of immediate success. We
only know that in our judgment the defense of freedom and
the ultimate peace of the world require us to pursue it.

But let us do so with the same wisdom and faith
which prompted Reinhold Niebuhr to write these words in
Christianity and Crisis almost 20 years ago:

" . . . we recognize the tragic character of the human drama, including the particular drama of our own day, and call upon the mercy of God to redeem us, not from the contemporary predicament of democracy but from the perennial human predicament."

Now may I be permitted a final observation on this 25th anniversary of Christianity and Crisis? These have been twenty-five productive and challenging years. They have been years true to the original vision and purpose of Reinhold Niebuhr and the other founders of this Christian journal of opinion.

Now, what of the future? I hope Christianity and Crisis will continue publishing for another quarter of a century, and for many more beyond that. We are going to need it in the years that lie ahead. We are going to need it because two things are not going to go away:

the claims of social justice, and the complexity of
politics.

yes, We need, in these times, journals such as Christianity
and Crisis to stimulate the critical faculties of both our

leaders and our citizens. I understand, in the words of

your managing editor, that Christianity and Crisis has

been "surrounded by the establishment." That has, I

suppose, certain advantages as well as disadvantages. But

I have every confidence that your unwavering commitment

to social justice and your profound understanding of the

intricacies of the democratic process will provide ample

copy for the months and years ahead.

Christianity and Crisis, as a Christian journal, must
by definition, have a perspective as wide as humankind and
one eye on eternity. It cannot afford to reflect a
parochial nationalism or a short-run outlook.

*Your advocacy
has now
become
law! →*

*As John
Bennett
outlines
the achievement*

A journal like that, a perspective like that, is a requirement of our time.

Borrowing from the pages of the current issue of TIME magazine, "Long-time Reader" ~~Hubert Humphrey~~ Hubert Humphrey, as well as the many others who honor you on this important birthday, is expecting you to live up to your reputation.

#

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON, D.C.

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TRANSCRIPT

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

25th ANNIVERSARY BANQUET, CHRISTIANITY AND CRISIS

NEW YORK CITY

FEBRUARY 25, 1966

This has been a night of good humor. I notice that all those who publish other fine magazines have sent their telegrams along with appropriate citations. I'm very pleased to know that my friends from the New Republic and the Nation and others have taken the time to seek a subscription or two on an occasion like this.

I don't recall any time that I've been at a dinner with such a serious purpose where I've heard such good humor -- and I'm glad I heard it early.

I do feel that I at least have a protector here. He is a dear friend of a boyhood friend who was the Methodist minister's son in Doland, South Dakota where I grew up, Dr. Julian Hart of Yale University. John McGuire is a friend and student of his and John came up here not long ago and said, "If it gets too rough, Mr. Vice President, I'll rescue you."

But after I listened to John Brademas and then recalled that he was of Greek extraction, I have no fear at all. I remember the story of those Spartans at the Pass of Thermopylae. So if any of you Persians decide to attack, I'll call on John.

Now, since I can't talk in the Senate, I've searched out for audiences like this to just keep in practice. And tonight, I might add, it is not only the joy of being able to speak to you but the particular joy of being able to be included in this important colloquium on "The Crisis Character of Modern Society" and this 25th anniversary celebration of Christianity and Crisis.

When you think back over a quarter of a century it doesn't seem too long and yet a great deal has happened in that quarter of a century. Since the founding of Christianity and Crisis, this quarter of a century has been one of the most extraordinary in the history of mankind. It has been a period of great crisis -- of great triumphs and great events. It surely has tested every spiritual tenet of our faith.

If we look back to the pages of the journal we honor -- and Dr. Bennett has helped us do that -- we could find a wisdom and vision about these events that other journals and perhaps our public policies have not always reflected. There are journals of huge circulation that we all simply must read just in order to know what is going on. But there are other journals that we want to read and should read in order to get some perspective, some insight, some guidance and reflection about what is going on. For me, Christianity and Crisis is foremost among the journals of the latter type. The quality of its words, its philosophy, its thought, has been a sustaining force in the intellectual, spiritual, and political life of this country.

With all respect to the many fine contributors and editors throughout the years -- to Dr. John Bennett and to Wayne Cowan and all the others -- I think we all know that to speak of Christianity and Crisis is to speak of Reinhold Niebuhr -- our dear and valued friend. It is with a deep sense of privilege and humility that I join this very distinguished assemblage tonight in honoring one of America's and, I think, one of the world's most profound political philosophers, scholars, theologians, and prophets. And thank goodness he has given us the gift of his friendship.

The 1920's and the early '30's were empty years in American intellectual and political life. And it was into this moral vacuum that a new voice was heard. It was the voice of an unknown preacher serving a working class community in Detroit. And ever since that time Reinhold Niebuhr has been taming the cynics and pulling utopians back to earth.

No preacher or teacher, at least in my time, has had a greater impact on the secular world. No American has made a greater contribution to political wisdom and moral responsibility.

Reinhold Niebuhr, like Abraham Lincoln or Mark Twain, came out of that great Middlewestern river valley and he brought East with him his realism and his humor and his energy and a brooding thoughtfulness.

Like Lincoln and Mark Twain, Dr. Niebuhr brought a mixture of profundity and practicality. Like Lincoln, who I am sure has always been his favorite statesman, Dr. Niebuhr showed how to combine decisive action with a sensitive knowledge of the complexity of life, including politics.

Now that combination is what Dr. Niebuhr taught to a whole generation of us as we came out of the great Depression. We knew there were urgent demands of social justice that required direct action and idealism. At the same time, we had to learn that politics was complicated and many-sided -- that life wasn't simple. Dr. Niebuhr was the man more than any other, at least in my time, who put these two things together and showed how they are connected with our religious faith.

Yes -- Dr. Niebuhr helped us to see that politicians and theologians had a mutual interest in sin and evil of the world. Martin Luther, I believe, once noted that the state was ordained by God because of man's sin -- and the function of a state was to restrain evildoers.

Now if these words sound a bit old fashioned and fundamentalist, I can assure you that when I was the mayor of the city of Minneapolis, one of my main jobs was to do just that -- restrain evildoers. And I suspect that Mayor Lindsay is not wholly free of this burden in New York City.

James Madison expressed the same proposition in somewhat different and possibly more refined words in the Federalist. He said, "If men were angels, no government would be necessary." Well, the vocation of the politician includes the task of dealing with the fallen angels -- of restraining evildoers -- and of mitigating man's inhumanity to man.

In positive terms, our task is to help create the external conditions for social justice and for human dignity and for freedom. But we must be willing to accept man as he is, not as we want him to be, but as he is, and we must be willing to work with the material at hand. This is surely at the core of our democratic faith and democratic institutions. I guess this is what Lincoln meant when he talked about that government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

In a score of books and hundreds of articles, and thousands of lectures -- in classroom and seminar, here and abroad, Reinie -- yes, Dr. Niebuhr -- has hammered away at this basic theme. These are his own words: "Man's capacity for justice makes democracy possible but man's inclination to injustice makes democracy necessary."

By affirming man's capacity for justice and the possibility of a democratic society, Dr. Niebuhr has asserted his belief in the upper reaches of human nature. He has believed

in what he has called "original righteousness" -- that man is made in the image of God and that, at his best, man is capable of justice. That's my religion. This is why I love this man.

Man is capable of granting to other men their due. The achievement of democratic government, the most difficult and the least tried form of government, is not wholly beyond human attainment. I guess it was Winston Churchill who once said that democracy is the worst possible form of government except all others. It is fair to say that it is the most difficult to attain and to sustain.

Now, at the same time, Dr. Niebuhr has affirmed what we all know -- that all men, including good men, have a tendency to pursue their private ambitions and interests, often to the detriment of the rights and interests of their fellow men. This he has called "man's inclination to injustice."

After the rhetoric is over, the case for democracy must rest on its realism. Democracy takes into account the full range of human nature, not the perfect man, not the imperfect man, but man. It is the only form of government that can guarantee both justice and freedom because it is the only one that seeks to recognize and respect the legitimate claims of all conflicting interests. With these insights into human nature and human condition, our friend, Dr. Niebuhr, helped many of us understand our obligation to work for social justice without falling into soft utopian nonsense.

These were the essential truths that my generation of Americans had to hear and Reinhold Niebuhr spoke to us clearly and courageously. Yes -- Dr. Niebuhr was not only a man of thought but of action and in the realm of human affairs, a man of political action. It was this commitment to philosophy and action that led Dr. Niebuhr to spearhead, along with some of the rest of us, the formation of the Americans for Democratic Action. Yes -- and the Liberal Party too.

In sum, then, Reinhold Niebuhr has contributed to American life and thought because he has been a realist without despair -- and an idealist without illusion.

But I believe that Dr. Niebuhr's wisdom should be heard by other generations as well -- by the social activists of today -- by the young left -- the students -- and the clergy and the civil rights workers who are speaking out with such conviction and courage. I for one applaud much of what they

are doing. I am never happier than when I speak to a group of students and I might say I've never been more challenged either. The revival of social idealism among the young is one of the most heartening developments of the 1960's.

How well I remember the early 1950's. I'd be invited to speak to a college audience and the first thing the president of the college would say was, "Now I hope you're not going to speak on anything controversial." And this just sort of aroused glands inside of me and I said, "Well, I'll tell you, I don't even agree with the weather. I most likely will speak on something very controversial."

Those were the days when you played it safe -- at least some people did. Those were the days when you got tagged if you didn't play it safe. Going through the great Depression is one way to develop a social conscience. I had that -- I wouldn't say good fortune -- but experience. But apparently it's not the only way. And thank goodness for that.

I know there has been a new burst of social idealism among the clergy and the layman, as well as among students, even in this time of affluence and abundance. And one of the many side benefits of the civil rights movement is this new social conscience. It is, in fact, a testimonial to this nation that at the moment of its greatest wealth it is concerned about the poor and about poverty. But sometimes it occurs to me that the new generation of students and clergy might also need to sit at the feet of Reinhold Niebuhr as many of us certainly did in the '30's and the '40's and '50's.

Now the great tradition of social protest in America -- and a noble tradition it is -- and I come from a land of it -- of the Non-Partisan League -- the Farmer Labor Party -- the Populist movement -- that tradition of social protest has failings that crop up regularly. And I think we ought to talk about them since we are among friends.

One failing is over-simplification and another is self-righteousness. Another is political naiveté. Another is sweeping impatience with everybody in authority -- the Establishment and the Power Structure is what they are now called. We had other names in my younger days but it meant the same. I think we talked about The System. Now if you'll go back to the abolitionists -- and I've just been reading about the abolitionists -- you would find along with their great

contribution and moral idealism every one of these faults in capital letters. But they did some mighty good work too.

Reinhold Niebuhr demonstrated for us, as he demonstrates for the young social reformer today, the vital need for self-criticism -- self-analysis -- criticism of humane movements by those who believe in their purpose.

One aspect of this liberal self-criticism is to understand the limits of politics. Many idealists just picture what ought to be without enough attention to what can be. I would hope that every person who has a noble thought of humanitarianism would read the works of Abraham Lincoln, a man today who is revered for his idealism and his humanitarianism and yet was one of the most prudent and able politicians in American history.

Many idealists do not put themselves in the place of responsible officials. They seldom try to imagine what is possible and what isn't possible. I think it was Franklin Roosevelt who once said that he made little compromises in order to be in a position to make great decisions.

On one occasion Dr. Niebuhr illustrated this point by quoting the passage that Stephen Vincent Benet gives to Abraham Lincoln:

"They talk to me about God's will
In righteous deputations and platoons,
Day after day, laymen and ministers.
They write me Prayers from Twenty Million Souls
Defining me God's will and Horace Greeley's.
God's will in General This and Senator That;
God's will is this poor colored fellow's will.
It is the will of the Chicago churches;
It is this man's and his worst enemy's.
But all of them are sure they know God's will.
I am the only man who does not know it."

Now one thing about our good friend, Reinhold Niebuhr, he has never claimed to know God's will. But he has understood the importance of preserving in America the great liberal and humanitarian objectives we derive from our Anglo-Saxon heritage -- the rule of law, consent of the governed, and fair play. And he has understood why this nation must be committed to the great Judeo-Christian values of human dignity and equality of opportunity and the dream of a better and more just society.

He has been both a reformer and a prophet but has not been a crusader. He has steadfastly warned against the nostrum peddler, the salesmen of simple solutions, and the fixer, all of whom promise easy answers at bargain counter prices.

Yes, Dr. Niebuhr has always understood there is no easy way out of difficult dilemmas because there is no escape from the human situation. There is no painless remedy for racial prejudice and injustice which still exist in America. There is no quick or easy victory in war on poverty. And there is no simple solution to the complex, tragic situation facing America in Southeast Asia.

These are all complex matters and none of them is solved by emotion or even demonstration. The challenge is to recognize and to accept the complexity and difficulties of these tasks, yet, nevertheless, to face them in the knowledge that they cannot be evaded. In the words of Keats, "to bear all naked truths and to envisage all circumstances -- all calm." And to do it with reasoned dialogue, conversation, and with conviction.

Yes, I agree with Dr. Morgenthau and with Dr. Bennett and others, there is a great moral issue at stake, not only here in America but in Southeast Asia and I suppose in many other areas.

In Southeast Asia, for instance, there is ample evidence of man's inclination to injustice. I have seen first hand in these past few days the desperate poverty -- the unbelievable, indescribable poverty of the ordinary people of that part of the world.

I have seen the tremendous gaps there between the rich and the poor and we see the gaps between the rich and the poor nations widen too. I've seen the hungry in India and the poverty in Pakistan and I say tonight there will be more people die from starvation in India and Pakistan this next year than the total population of North and South Vietnam unless nations more affluent and more fortunate are able to help these countries in their food emergency.

There are great moral issues. I wish that people would become as excited about the issue of starvation in a world that could have plenty as they are about how we adjust ourselves to Hanoi. I have seen young children undernourished -- many without even the hope of education or without the hope of ever reaching adulthood.

And I have seen fields across which the soldiers of many nationalities and allegiances over the course of many years have fought, to the pain and misery of the peasants who ask just one thing -- the chance to cultivate, in peace, their fields. Yes, there is a great moral issue at stake.

I have seen in Vietnam the marks left by terrorists and assassins who would subvert the strivings of nationalism for the purposes of totalitarianism. I remember a village where there were students from the University of Saigon who decided that rather than parade in the streets they'd work in the fields. And one night as they were working -- building hospitals, schoolrooms, working in the fields, they were assassinated -- decapitated -- all of them. They were doing God's work -- man's work. They were trying to help innocent people. I think there is quite a moral issue at stake.

But I have also seen in these past days ample evidence of something else -- man's capacity for justice. I've seen national leaders who have literally, at the risk of life, devoted themselves to the betterment of their people when it would have been far easier for them to follow the paths of self-service and self-gain. We see this, thank goodness, so many times.

And I have seen men and women from more comfortable places, without direct obligation to those they help, working on the streets and farms so that their brothers in mankind might have some eventual share of abundance and wellbeing.

I have visited the International Volunteer Service headquarters outside of Saigon -- young men and women giving of their lives -- some of them who have been assassinated in cold blood because they tried to help plant a field or build a community.

I have seen human beings casting their lot with free institutions when those institutions offer little immediate material benefit and when their abandonment would, at least, today seem to be the easy course.

And, above all, I have seen Americans of every race, color and national origin waging their struggle with pride, honor and conscience. I have seen them in hospitals -- I have seen them in their camps -- I have talked to them personally and I've seen them waging their struggles not only with arms.

Yes, American troops in Vietnam are setting a good example for the rest of the world. They are participating in countless projects of community assistance and restoration -- healing the sick -- teaching the illiterate -- building schools and hospitals and demonstrating in village and hamlet their courage and their compassion. And they are training others to do the same. We can be justly proud of the sacrifices which these young Americans are making in our behalf and they are a very good image of America, if that's the word people like to use these days. I think they represent the spirit and the soul of this nation.

And there are American civilians of equal courage, skill and determination fighting the battle against man's ancient enemies of disease, ignorance, hunger and poverty. I met one man -- a doctor -- who had a little mobile surgical unit that was taking cataracts from the eyes of the blind as his contribution to the betterment of mankind. A great physician -- an American -- who had given up his practice to give his life to the poor.

Yes, I've seen the forces of freedom and decency waging two battles: one, to prevent the success of aggression -- and there is aggression -- and the other to build a new society of promise and of hope. And from all I've seen I've come away convinced that as we must continue to work here at home -- often with imperfect means and insufficient understanding toward social justice, self-determination and human dignity -- so also must we continue to strive in Southeast Asia, in Latin America, in the subcontinent of Asia, in Africa -- even with the same imperfect means and insufficient understanding -- even as violence is the pattern of the day.

I happen to be one who believes and respects not only the right of dissent but also the right of advocacy. I believe that today in Vietnam our liberal means and objectives are being tested by totalitarians who have never had anything but contempt for those means and objectives. I believe that a liberal and a progressive can never find himself in philosophical and spiritual harmony with a totalitarian.

We are being tested in a struggle which demands both courage and conscience -- both determination and dedication -- in which the answers are hard to find and in which the truth is not easy to locate.

I have come away from Asia and the Pacific convinced that the spiritual and material resources of America are essential ingredients in winning this struggle. And I have come away convinced that whatever our contribution may be -- and it is substantial -- it will be surpassed by the peoples themselves of those embattled nations. But I might add, other nations can contribute a great deal more in this struggle for a better life. And I'm not asking for military forces now -- I'm speaking of the struggle for social betterment.

With a deep sense of self-respect and self-achievement, the free peoples of Asia and the Pacific look to America for understanding and assistance -- just exactly as the peoples of Europe looked to America twenty years ago, in their fight against the injustices of the past and the threat of aggression and subversion -- just exactly as the people of Berlin look to America for their very safety today.

And that is why in these past days I have reemphasized America's commitment to preventing the success of aggression and assuring the triumph of self-government and economic development, social progress, and peace. A big order -- not the work of a generation but possibly of decades and centuries. But a beginning must be made.

May I say most respectfully -- there is international aggression in Vietnam and Southeast Asia. Less than a week ago I visited with Souvanna Phouma, the neutralist in Laos. His first words to me were, "Mr. Vice President, I shall fight to the death the Communist aggressor in my country." And he told me, "I apologize, Mr. Vice President, for the fact that there are not many troops here to meet you. They're in the battlefield."

And there has been international aggression in India. Why does India today have to spend the lion's share of its budget in a poverty-stricken country for divisions on the frontier between China and India. Is it because India is the aggressor? Is it because she wishes conquest?

And in Thailand, only within the past month -- 50 village chiefs in Northeast Thailand -- killed. Teachers kidnapped -- young people abducted and taken back into Communist China. I think that's aggression.

And I saw the Dalai Lama at the late Prime Minister Shastri's funeral in Tibet -- he thought it was aggression and he thanked the people of the United States for their understanding -- for their help. And I think that was aggression -- a moral issue.

I am one who believes that lawlessness does not provide the proper environment for social betterment. Of course, trying to stop aggression and hoping to assure the triumph of self-government, economic development, social progress, and peace is a far more difficult course to pursue than the course of withdrawal. It's a far more difficult course than that of unlimited violence and massive escalation. We want neither.

Ours is the course which faces with realism and responsibility the complex and difficult business of fostering the conditions conducive to the expansion of social justice, yes, social revolution and human dignity and the hope of freedom. And this is the course which we seek to pursue -- the course which President Johnson and the American people are determined to pursue -- a course fully consistent with our own social and ethical values.

With full knowledge of the difficulties ahead -- and there are dangerous days ahead and great difficulties -- we reaffirm our intention to sustain the struggle against the forces of Communist expansion and against the forces of poverty and illiteracy, famine, disease for as long as the cause of freedom and human decency requires it. We can do no less. Never has a nation been so blessed as America. Never has a people been given so much. And the honor of leadership gives you no privileges and few luxuries. What it does is to impose burdens and responsibilities.

We affirm our intention of using military power of almost limitless quantity in a measured and limited degree. This is an act of national self-discipline. This will be the most difficult act of self-discipline that this nation has ever had to face. Because when I hear about the doves and the hawks I'm often reminded of what Senator George Aiken said: "We ought to be like an owl -- with a sense of judgment -- with one eye open all the time and two most of the time, day and night."

In Vietnam we have one and only one military objective -- the halting of forceful conquest of South Vietnam -- the prevention of the success of aggression.

We contributed to that objective in Greece -- in the Southern Mediterranean. We've made contributions in the past to preventing the success of aggression time after time. Today in Western Europe 250,000 Americans stand guard at great cost to you because there is a belief in the American nation and among allies that this is necessary for peace.

We seek no conquest, my fellow Americans. We seek no territory and we seek to destroy no regime or country. In fact, when we speak of the development of the Mekong Valley, we speak of helping North Vietnam as well as South Vietnam. We seek to impose no conditions upon others. We seek to have the shooting stop and men gather around the table to substitute reason for violence.

We reaffirm therefore our determination to search for peaceful negotiations in face of continued rejection of such negotiations by our adversaries. And I can speak with some personal experience of this. I only left the President of India less than a week ago and he has been pursuing the cause of peace with a religious zeal. President Radhakrishnan, frequently a critic of the United States, can find no peace. But I asked him to continue to pursue it and to find those who seek to avoid it and to do anything that he possibly could to bring them to the table of negotiation, where we are prepared to sit and to talk and to reason. A strong nation ought never to fear negotiation, only the weak do so. And we do not fear it. Indeed, we seek negotiations.

We reaffirm our dedication to the Charter of the United Nations and to the support of the United Nations and its agencies. I saw those agencies at work too. The U.N. is mankind's most highly developed instrument for peace and we seek to use it for that purpose. We've supported it generously. We've given it our best. We've given it an Eleanor Roosevelt. We've given it an Adlai Stevenson. We've given it an Arthur Goldberg and we've given it many others. We never sent a second team to the U.N.

We reaffirm our devotion to the building of free and democratic institutions in the face of violent opposition from those with little regard for them. And we reaffirm our belief that ultimately those that live by force, violence and terror will come to understand that these devices are not acceptable means for settlement of international disputes. We seek to make that kind of conduct too costly -- too high-priced -- even for those that practice it.

We cherish no illusion that this is the easy way -- that this path is without pitfalls or that we are guaranteed immediate success. We only know that in our judgment the defense of freedom and the ultimate peace of the world require us to pursue this course.

I would ask this audience: what do you think would happen in Western Europe tonight if we were to say that no longer would we keep our commitments -- no longer would we be interested in Berlin? Whatever may be your views as to whether or not we should be there, just imagine the consequences.

But as we pursue the peace and this defense of freedom, let us do so with the same wisdom and faith which prompted Reinhold Niebuhr to write these words in Christianity and Crisis almost twenty years ago: "...We recognize the tragic character of the human drama, including the particular drama of our own day, and we call upon the mercy of God to redeem us, not from the contemporary predicament of democracy but from the perennial human predicament."

Now may I be permitted this final observation on this 25th anniversary of Christianity and Crisis?

These have been 25 productive years and challenging years. I wouldn't have missed them for the world nor would have you. They have been years true to the original vision and purpose of Reinhold Niebuhr and the other founders of this Christian journal of opinion.

Now what of the future? Well I hope that Christianity and Crisis will continue publishing for another quarter of a century -- and for many more quarters of a century beyond that. I hope to be around to read it and to show you of my interest. We are going to need Christianity and Crisis because two things are not going to go away: the claims of social justice and the complexity of politics. Yes, we need in these times journals as Christianity and Crisis to stimulate the critical faculties of both our leaders and our citizens.

I understand in the words of your Managing Editor that Christianity and Crisis has now been "surrounded by the establishment." I listened to the list of achievements that Dr. John Bennett gave here tonight. You're one of the "ins." You're really a part of the establishment. And I guess that has certain disadvantages as well as advantages. But I have every confidence that your unwavering commitment to social justice -- to honest and perceptive controversy and your profound understanding of the intricacies of the democratic process -- will provide ample copy for months and years ahead. I think there are enough potential contributors right here tonight to keep that publication going for quite a period of time.

Christianity and Crisis as a Christian journal must by definition have a perspective as wide as humankind and one eye on eternity. It cannot afford to reflect parochial nationalism or a short-run outlook. A journal like that -- a perspective like that is the requirement of our time.

Borrowing from the pages of the current issue of another publication, one that has a little larger circulation -- Time Magazine -- Longtime Reader Hubert Humphrey, as I was termed, as well as the many others who honor you on this important birthday, is expecting you to live up to your reputation.

And your reputation is that of a publication which seeks not to tell men what to think but, above all, tries to rouse in them their desire to think -- to think profoundly -- to think not only of the present but of the tomorrows -- and to sense the great social values not only of contemporary civilization but of that great continuity of civilization. This view of life has made possible what we are and what we hope to be. This has been the greatness of Christianity and Crisis. Thank you.

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Remarks
of
Vice President Hubert Humphrey
to the

CHRISTIANITY AND CRISIS

25th Anniversary Banquet

New York City

February 25, 1966

I am honored to be here this evening at this banquet honoring CHRISTIANITY AND CRISIS on its 25th anniversary.

The quarter century since the founding of CHRISTIANITY AND CRISIS has been one of the most extraordinary in the history of mankind--a period of great crisis...great triumphs...great events.

If we looked back through the pages of the magazine we honor tonight, we could find a wisdom and vision about these events that other journals--and perhaps our public policies--have not always reflected.

There are journals of huge circulation that we all must read, just in order to know what is going on. But there are other journals that we want to read, in order to get some perspective--some insight and guidance and reflection--about what is going on. For me,

CHRISTIANITY AND CRISIS is foremost among journals of the latter type.

With all respect to the many fine contributors and editors through the years, to Dr. John Bennett and to Wayne Cowan and all the others, we all know that to speak of CHRISTIANITY AND CRISIS is to speak of Reinhold Niebuhr.

It is with a sense of deep privilege and humility that I join this distinguished assemblage in honoring one of America's--and the world's--most profound political philosophers, theologians and prophets.

The 1920's and early '30's were empty years in American intellectual and political life. It was into this moral vacuum that a new voice was heard--the voice of an unknown preacher serving a working class community in Detroit. Ever since that time, Reinhold Niebuhr has been taming cynics and pulling utopians back to earth.

No preacher in our time has had a greater impact on the secular world. No American has made a greater contribution to political wisdom and moral responsibility.

Reinhold Niebuhr, like Abraham Lincoln and Mark Twain, came out of that great Middlewestern river valley, and he brought East with him realism and humor and energy and a brooding thoughtfulness.

Like Lincoln and Mark Twain, Dr. Niebuhr brought a mixture of profundity and practicality. Like Lincoln, who I think has always been his favorite statesman, Dr. Niebuhr showed how to combine decisive action with a sensitive knowledge of the complexity of life,

including politics.

That combination is what Dr. Niebuhr taught to a whole generation of us, as we came out of the Great Depression. We knew there were urgent demands of social justice that required direct action and idealism. At the same time, we had to learn that politics was complicated and many-sided--that life wasn't simple. Dr. Niebuhr was the man--more than any other--who fit these two things together, and who showed how they are both connected with our religious faith.

Dr. Niebuhr helped us to see that politicians and theologians have a mutual interest in the sin and evil of the world. Martin Luther, I believe, once noted that the state was ordained by God because of man's sin--and the function of the state was to "restrain evildoers."

If these words sound a bit old-fashioned, I can assure you that, when I was mayor of Minneapolis, one of my main jobs was to do just that--restrain evildoers. And I suspect Mayor Lindsay is not wholly free of this burden.

James Madison expressed the same proposition in somewhat different words in the Federalist: "If men were angels, no government would be necessary."

The vocation of the politician includes the task of dealing with fallen angels--of restraining evildoers--of mitigating man's inhumanity to man. In positive terms, our task is to create the external conditions for social justice, human dignity and freedom. But we must be

willing to accept man as he is--to work with the material at hand. This is surely at the core of our democratic faith and democratic institutions.

In a score of books, hundreds of articles, and thousands of lectures--in classroom and seminar, here and abroad, Niebuhr has hammered away at this one basic theme: "Man's capacity for justice makes democracy possible, but man's inclination to injustice makes democracy necessary."

By affirming "man's capacity for justice" and the possibility of a democratic society, Niebuhr has asserted his belief in the upper reaches of human nature.

He has believed in what he has called "original righteousness"--that man is made in the image of God--that at his best, man is capable of justice--of granting to other men their due. The achievement of democratic government--the most difficult and least tried form of government--is not wholly beyond human attainment.

At the same time, Niebuhr has affirmed what we all know--that all men, including good men, have a tendency to pursue their private ambitions and interests--often to the detriment of the rights and interests of their fellow men. This he has called "man's inclination to injustice."

After the rhetoric is over, the case for democracy must rest on its realism. Democracy takes into account the full range of human nature. It is the only form of government that can guarantee both

justice and freedom because it is the only one that seeks to recognize and respect the legitimate claims of all conflicting interests.

With these insights into human nature and the human condition, Dr. Niebuhr helped many of us understand our obligation to work for social justice without falling into soft utopian nonsense. These were essential truths that my generation of Americans had to hear--and Reinhold Niebuhr spoke to us clearly and courageously.

In sum, Reinhold Niebuhr has contributed to American life and thought because he has been a realist without despair and an idealist without illusion.

But I believe that Dr. Niebuhr's wisdom should be heard by other generations as well--by the social activists of today--the young left, the students and clergy and civil rights workers who are speaking out with such conviction and courage.

I applaud much that they are doing. I am never happier than when I can speak to a group of students, and the revival of social idealism among the young is one of the most heartening developments of the sixties. Going through the Great Depression is one way to develop a social conscience, but apparently it's not the only way.

I know there has been a new burst of social idealism among the clergy and laymen too, as well as among students. One of the many side benefits of the civil rights movement is this new social conscience. But sometimes it occurs to me that the new generation of

students and clergy also needs to sit at the feet of Reinhold Niebuhr--as many of us certainly did in the '30's and '40's.

The great tradition of social protest in America has failings that crop up regularly. One is oversimplification. Another is self-righteousness. Another is political naivete. Another is sweeping impatience with everybody in authority ("the establishment" and the "power structure" is what they are called now; we had other names in my day). If you would go back to the Abolitionists you would find--along with their great contribution and moral idealism--all of those faults.

Reinhold Niebuhr demonstrated for us--as he demonstrates for the social reformer today--the vital need for self-criticism--criticism of humane movements by those who believe in their purposes.

One aspect of this liberal self-criticism is to understand the limits of politics. Many idealists just picture what ought to be, without enough attention to what can be. They do not put themselves in the place of responsible officials, and try to imagine what is possible--and what isn't possible.

On one occasion Dr. Niebuhr illustrated this point by quoting the passage that Stephen Vincent Benet gives to Abraham Lincoln:

"They talk to me about God's will

In righteous deputations and platoons,

Day after day, laymen and ministers.

They write me Prayers from Twenty Million Souls
 Defining me God's will and Horace Greeley's
 God's will in General This and Senator That;
 God's will is this poor colored fellow's will
 It is the will of the Chicago churches;
 It is this man's and his worst enemy's.
 But all of them are sure they know God's will.
 I am the only man who does not know it."

Reinhold Niebuhr has never claimed to know God's will. But he has understood the importance of preserving in America the great liberal objectives we derive from our Anglo-Saxon heritage--the rule of law, the consent of the governed, and fair play. And he has understood why this nation must be committed to the great Judeo-Christian values--human dignity, equality of opportunity, and the dream of a better and more just society.

He has been both a reformer and a prophet. But he has not been a crusader. He has steadfastly warned against the nostrum peddler, the salesman of simple solutions, the fixer--all of whom promise easy answers.

Dr. Niebuhr has always understood there is no easy way out of difficult dilemmas, because there is no escape from the human situation. There is no painless remedy for the racial prejudice and injustice which still exist in America. There is no quick or easy

victory in the war on poverty. There is no simple solution to the complex, tragic situation facing America in Southeast Asia.

The challenge is to recognize and accept the complexity and difficulty of these tasks, yet nevertheless to face them in the knowledge that they cannot be evaded--in the words of Keats "to bear all naked truths...and to envisage all circumstances, all calm."

In Southeast Asia, for instance, there is ample evidence of "man's inclination to injustice."

I have seen firsthand in these past days the desperate poverty of the ordinary people of that part of the world.

I have seen the tremendous gaps there between rich and poor.

I have seen young children undernourished--many without hope for education, many without hope of ever reaching adulthood.

I have seen fields across which soldiers of many nationalities and allegiances--over the course of many years--have fought, to the pain and misery of the peasants who ask the chance only to cultivate, in peace, those fields.

I have seen, in Vietnam, the marks left by terrorists and assassins who would subvert the strivings of nationalism for the purposes of totalitarianism.

But I have seen, too, in these past days ample evidence of "man's capacity for justice."

I have seen national leaders who have, literally at risk of life, devoted themselves to the betterment of their people, when it would be far easier for them to follow paths of self-service and self-gain.

I have seen men and women from more comfortable places--without direct obligation to those they help--working on street and farms so that their brothers in mankind might have some eventual share of abundance and well-being.

I have seen human beings casting their lot with free institutions when those institutions offer little immediate, material benefit and when their abandonment would, at least today, seem to be the easy course.

And, above all, I have seen Americans of every race, color and national origin waging their struggle with pride, honor, and conscience - and not only with arms. American troops in Vietnam are participating in countless projects of community assistance and restoration - healing the sick, teaching the illiterate, building schools and hospitals, and demonstrating in village and hamlet their courage and compassion.

We can be justly proud of the sacrifices which these Americans are making in our behalf.

And there are American civilians, of equal courage, skill and determination, fighting the battle against man's ancient enemies of disease, ignorance, hunger and poverty.

I have seen the forces of freedom waging two battles: - one to prevent the success of aggression; the other to build a new society of promise and hope.

And from all I have seen, I have come away convinced that as we must continue to work at home - yes, often with imperfect means and with insufficient understanding, toward social justice and self-determination and human dignity - so must we continue to strive in Southeast Asia.

Today in Vietnam our liberal means and objectives are being tested by totalitarians who have never had anything but contempt for those means and objectives. We are being tested in a struggle which demands both courage and conscience, both determination and dedication.

I have come away from Asia and the Pacific convinced that spiritual and material resources of America are essential ingredients in winning this struggle. And I have come away convinced that whatever our contribution may be - and it is substantial - it will be surpassed by the peoples of these embattled nations. Proud of their own history, traditions, and culture, and with a deep sense of self respect and self achievement, the free peoples of Asia and the Pacific look to America for understanding and assistance in their fight against the injustices of the past and the threat of aggression and subversion today.

That is why, in these past days, I have made known America's commitment to preventing the success of aggression and assuring the triumph of self government, economic development and social progress.

This is the course far more difficult to pursue than the course of withdrawal . . . far more difficult than the course of unlimited violence and massive escalation.

This is the course which faces with realism and responsibility the complex and difficult business of fostering conditions congenial to the expansion of social justice, human dignity and freedom.

And this is the course which President Johnson and the American people are determined to pursue - the course fully consistent with our own social and ethical values.

With full knowledge of the difficulties ahead, we reaffirm our intention to sustain the struggle against the forces of Communist expansion - against the forces of poverty, illiteracy, famine, and disease - for as long as the cause of freedom requires it. We reaffirm our intention of using military power of almost limitless quantities in measured, limited degree. In Vietnam we have one - and only one - military objective: the halting of forceful conquest of South Vietnam by North Vietnam.

We reaffirm our determination to search for peaceful negotiations in face of continued rejection of such negotiations by our adversaries.

We reaffirm our devotion to the building of free and democratic institutions in the face of violent opposition from those with little regard for them.

We reaffirm our belief that ultimately those who live by force, violence and terror will come to understand that these devices are not acceptable means for settlement of international dispute.

We cherish no illusion that this task is easy, or without pitfalls, or guaranteed of immediate success. We only know that in our judgment the defense of freedom and the ultimate peace of the world require us to pursue it.

But let us do so with the same wisdom and faith which prompted Reinhold Niebuhr to write these words in *CHRISTIANITY AND CRISIS* almost twenty years ago:

"... we recognize the tragic character of the human drama, including the particular drama of our own day, and call upon the mercy of God to redeem us, not from the contemporary predicament of democracy but from the perennial human predicament."

Now may I be permitted a final observation on this 25th anniversary of *CHRISTIANITY AND CRISIS*? These have been twenty-five productive and challenging years. They have been years true to the original vision and purpose of Reinhold Niebuhr and the other founders of this Christian journal of opinion.

Now, what of the future? I hope CHRISTIANITY AND CRISIS will continue publishing for another quarter of a century, and for many more beyond that. We are going to need it in the years that lie ahead. We are going to need it because two things are not going to go away: the claims of social justice, and the complexity of politics.

We need, in these times, journals such as CHRISTIANITY AND CRISIS to stimulate the critical faculties of both our leaders and our citizens. I understand, in the words of your managing editor, that CHRISTIANITY AND CRISIS has been "surrounded by the establishment." That has, I suppose, certain advantages as well as disadvantages. But I have every confidence that your unwavering commitment to social justice and your profound understanding of the intricacies of the democratic process will provide ample copy for the months and years ahead.

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A journal like that, a perspective like that, is a requirement of our time.

Borrowing from the pages of the current issue of Time magazine, long time reader, Hubert Humphrey, as well as the many others who honor you on this important birthday is expecting you to live up to your reputation.



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