

THE FOUR ENEMIES OF FREEDOM

Commencement Address by

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey

Brandeis University —

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"THE FOUR ENEMIES OF FREEDOM"

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The theme of this commencement--
"Social Welfare"-- is significant
both for a growing nation and a
restless world.

Today, in awarding its first
doctoral degrees in social welfare,
Brandeis University fittingly
emphasizes and honors this basic
American concept.

And ~~our presence here~~ ^{*this Commencement*} rightfully
honors the work and the heritage of
Louis Brandeis, whose life was
dedicated to justice, freedom and
human welfare and dignity.

Your emphasis on social welfare today is needed. *required.*

For too long, social welfare programs in the United States have been downgraded and derided by defenders of the status quo.

Shrugging aside carping and criticism, men and women dedicated to social welfare have continued to improve and to humanize the processes of democratic government.

The goal of leaders in the social welfare movement has been to assure every American the basic security, dignity and opportunity that is his birthright. We have moved far away

from that long, sad epoch of
indifference to basic human needs,
of exploitation of women and
children, of the arrogation to a
privileged few of the fruits of
industry. In housing, in health,
in education -- in all the branches
of social welfare, we move ever
closer to the goal of a Nation
with a just, compassionate and
practical program for the welfare
of every citizen.

In one very real sense, the
United States is and has always
been a welfare society, and we
should be proud of it.

Our Constitution specifies but two mandates to our government-- to provide for the common defense and to promote the general welfare.

and For Americans, welfare ~~has never~~ *must signify*
~~mean~~ *not* only ~~simply~~ aid to the suffer-
ing, the poor and the needy. It
means all of this and more. It
means adjustment of social
inequities. *an all-out Attack*
It means ~~the elimination~~
~~of~~ bigotry, intolerance and
discrimination. It means not only
charity, but also the privilege for
every citizen ~~for~~ education and
health. It means not merely economic
security, but *social and* economic opportunity.

~~The welfare state is not a restrictive state. It is an humanitarian state.~~

We ~~have~~ ^{must} demonstrate that a democracy can mobilize its energies for the welfare of its citizens. This is the message we should take to the world. This is the ^{true} voice of America, the spirit of our continuing revolution.

The terse statistics of human need--83 per cent of the world's people underfed; 62 per cent illiterate; 70 per cent sick or poorly housed--these ugly facts must challenge us to be the

the revolutionaries -

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reformers of the twentieth century.

Old tyrannies continue to suppress and to exploit people.

And new tyrannies--masquerading as liberation--plunge people from one misery to another. The old and the new tyrants think not of human welfare but of their own arrogant power. To tyrants, old and new, man is flesh, not spirit and soul.

In vast regions of the world we see the results of the failure to promote human welfare and protect human rights. It is this failure that is the ally of dictatorship and the enemy of freedom.

If freedom is to ⁻⁷⁻ survive — then
We must concentrate our
resources and our energies in the
direction of reform, social
progress, the general welfare of
the people at home and abroad ~~if~~
~~freedom is to survive.~~

and
The real, ~~the basic~~, the vital
challenge in the world today is
not the dogmatic militancy of a
Mao, nor the design and plan of
a Khrushchev.

The real challenge is to defeat
the ancient adversaries of mankind,
the loyal allies ~~and hand maidens~~
of tyranny, the four enemies of
freedom--poverty, hunger, disease
and ignorance.

These are the conditions which have darkened the lives of untold millions, and still grip vast regions of the earth. On this broad base of misery and despair, tyranny has strutted, marched, conquered and destroyed.

But, this need not be. *It must not be.*

The great zone of misery which circles the earth--including Latin America, Africa, the Middle East and Asia--is being transformed by the knowledge that there can be a better life.

Decision is replacing despair.
Passion for change is replacing passive acceptance of the status quo.

Action is replacing submissiveness to the old conditions, and the old injustices.

It is time for Americans to abandon the travelogue approach to Latin America, Asia and Africa. We must think of Africa as a land of vital people demanding freedom and not as the setting for Hollywood jungle dramas. We must realize that the "quaint charm" of the Orient is a fragile veil covering squalor and starvation. We should know that Latin America is no longer the "land of Mañana"

Could be cut

characterized by sleepy villages,
but rather a region of ferment in
which a vibrant people expect and
demand change and improvement today.

✓ The conditions of poverty, hunger,
disease and ignorance are not new.

and, The challenge to release mankind
from their grip is not new.

✓ ✓ But the pressing need for a
sense of urgency is new. The
restless millions of the world are
awake and rising. They are not
willing to wait for slow, evolutionary
change which might, perhaps--
sometime in the distant future--
bring security, dignity and justice

to their children or grandchildren.

Yes A revolutionary wave is sweeping across the world's underdeveloped areas.

⌞ This is not a revolution for communism; it is a revolution against the intolerable conditions of the past.

And ⌞ The Khrushchevs did not create the conditions of this revolution. But they seek to manipulate it, to channel its force and its millions of participants toward their vision of a communist world.

⌞ The peaks of this revolutionary wave--the moments of crisis and violence have come more frequently

in recent months.

It has been all too easy to simplify a complex matter by labeling the revolutionary wave as Communist-inspired, Communist-motivated, Communist-organized.

Such over-simplification has given the Communists credit for victories which they did not earn or deserve. Revolutions have succeeded and corrupt governments have been toppled without Communist direction or intervention.^{and} When we brand^{ALL} uprisings as "Communist," Khrushchev happily sees the restless millions of the world

accept our impetuous and inaccurate
assessment.

~~Yes, the Communists do attempt~~
~~to usurp specific revolutions.~~

~~They do sometimes succeed in~~
~~capturing popular uprisings.~~

But why should we hand them
free victory after free victory?

We must understand that the
overriding character of the world
struggle is political and social
--that ideas, ^{backed by Action} not arms, will
prevail in a world of nuclear
stalemate.

We must turn away from the
tolerance ^{AND} support of dictators,

and identify ourselves with the new forces of liberation.

∠ We must be more than mere anti-Communists.

∠ We must prove that we are pro people--pro freedom.

∠ If we are content to hide in the storm cellars of anti-Communism, we may indeed survive for a time. But we will emerge to find a world that has fallen away from us, left us alone and friendless in a waste of totalitarianism.

∠ A policy based only on anti-Communism is a castle built on sand.

✓ The cathedrals of freedom are built by positive, creative, and affirmative dedication to the welfare of human beings everywhere.

✓ The cornerstone of world freedom will be laid when we have joined those who revolt against the tyranny of poverty, the slavery of disease, the corruption of ignorance.

✓ An historic change in American policy is now underway, ~~and it is symbolized by the President's aid program for Latin America--the "Alliance for Progress."~~

✓ We are now determined that our foreign aid will be used as an

incentive for economic, political and social reform. It will be used to develop and strengthen a true alliance for progress.

↳ We are determined that our aid will be used to help the people of other nations to help themselves.

↳ This is the new, democratic dimension to our foreign aid.

↳ We are expressing our true and deep concern for the aspirations of the restless millions of the earth for freedom, ^{and} ~~for dignity~~, ~~for justice~~, for progress.

With the new principle of the "Alliance for Progress," we must

lead a massive cooperative program of economic aid and technical assistance.

and *L* More of our efforts must be channeled through the organization and agencies of the United Nations. *State Dept*

L An expanded Peace Corps must send more skilled Americans to other lands. *Work together*

L Our Food for Peace programs must be increased to use America's agricultural abundance to banish hunger and spur economic progress.

L An American White Fleet of mercy ships must be designed and launched to speed relief to peoples struck by disaster, and to play a creative

role in training for modern health
and sanitation.

✓ We must help others expand and improve their educational systems, to provide schools and teachers for the battle against ignorance and illiteracy. Teachers - Not Warriors ✓

✓ We must revamp and redesign our embassies and missions overseas, stressing the use of social welfare professionals, scientists, agricultural and labor specialists and educators.

✓ Our embassies should reflect American society as it is. ^{and} We are not just diplomats. We are doers.

We are builders. We are teachers.

We are filled with the love of
learning, with the excitement of
achievement, with the dedication
to human welfare.

and Our overseas missions should
reveal the true American character.

Let us strive to improve and
refine that character. We can no
longer tolerate ^{*our*} slums, inadequate
schools and hospitals, unemployment,
hunger and the twisted lives that
are the result of our failure to
complete the work of social welfare
in America. —

Above all, our own human
relations must catch up with the

revolutionary epoch in which we live. If ever there was a time when brotherhood was a requirement of our national security, it is

now. *Our foreign Policy a reflection of the domestic scene*

↳ Denial of human rights in the United States represents a social malignancy more dangerous than any physical disease and more threatening to our security than any weapon of mass destruction.

*Politically undesirable
Morally wrong
Security - very dangerous*

↳ To live the life of human dignity, to practice freedom of conscience, to believe in and exemplify human brotherhood-- these are the essential requirements for the expression of freedom. *yes*

These are the requirements of an effective foreign Policy.

It is far better for a nation to have "freedom riders" than secret police. It is far more noble to have spiritual leaders who speak up for the rights of man than to be led by political demagogues ^{offering} ~~willing~~ to trade men for tractors.

The 1960's must and can become the decade of America's mighty effort for the progress and freedom of mankind.

We must internationalize the concept and practice of ~~American~~ social welfare, seeking for others throughout the world the same goals

we seek for our own citizens. — (Pause)

✓ We live in an era of potential catastrophe or potential glory.

The same technology which produces weapons of destruction and death

can--in our time--open the

mysteries and wonders of outer-

space, cleanse the earth of

disease, bring forth from the earth

the food ^{AND} fiber to feed the hungry

and to clothe the naked.

✓ This is a wonderful time in which

to live. ~~This time~~ challenges the

best in us. It calls for doing the

impossible--performing miracles.

✓ Mediocrity must give way to

excellence; timidity to daring;

fear to courage.

We dream of sending a man to the moon in this decade. We know that dream will be fulfilled with sacrifice, a commitment, a plan, and a program. (~~But we shall do it.~~)?

Our greater responsibility--a more demanding challenge--is to achieve mankind's dream and hope of a better ^{peaceful} world--through sacrifice, commitment, a plan, and ~~a program.~~ ^{and improved leadership.}

With such standards, our Nation will be known not for the power of our weapons, but for the power of our compassion and the strength of our dedication to human welfare.

Our strength as a nation--your
strength as a generation--is not
to be measured only by our military
force, our industry, our technology.

The real strength of a free
society is its people--and their
commitment to freedom and social
justice.

*To this strength
Boulder has given

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