

Sp: June 7, '64
Clay Mace.

THE WORLD ARENA TODAY AND TOMORROW

Man was born to believe. At the center of the liberal tradition in America is the belief in the dignity of the individual man who holds within himself the reflection of a Divine Being and the principle of individual freedom within a just and peaceful world community. Another is the reach of his beliefs outward from his home toward all mankind. A third is the commitment he makes to work for a world of order and justice which recognizes the diverse demands of individual freedom.

President Kennedy, one of the great liberal leaders of our time, a year ago this month at American University launched this nation on a new course. In elaborating his strategy for peace he laid the basis for the nuclear test-ban treaty -- which has ushered in an era of conciliation

and limited accommodation between the super powers.

We must have strength to defend justice and our democratic values; strength to resist aggression; strength to exercise restraint in the face of provocation.

✓ We must have freedom to speak, to worship, to write,
to voice opinions of whatever shade. Freedom to protest
against injustice; freedom to vote, to own a home;
freedom to work for a decent living. Freedom for the
poor as well as the ^{rich} ~~powerful~~, for the middle class
intellectual as well as the middle class businessman must
be our aim. Freedom is our goal for the citizens of all
states.

Those who are strong and free have a special responsibility to seek to understand the growing complexity of the modern world and to work for justice and peace. As a man seeks to provide for the material, spiritual and moral needs of his family, he must help to bring beauty and

justice to his community. While a man must play his part in maintaining the strength of his nation, he also has a responsibility to strive to bring into being a world community in which justice and order prevail.

In speaking about a world community in which justice and order prevail, I have placed considerable emphasis on the role of strength -- preserving the strength of the Western Alliance -- and particularly of its most powerful member -- the United States. I have done this deliberately.

For the past several months it appears that there has been some sort of thaw in the Cold War. There has even though been a moderate easing of tensions, ~~but~~/the fundamental conflict between the Communist rulers and the United States and the other free nations continues. ~~and~~ This thaw

should however not lead us to delude ourselves. Whatever our strategy for American foreign policy, we must always keep in mind that there is not only competition between the Communist bloc and the West, but there is also a continuing struggle to influence the shape of the world. Khrushchev meant exactly what he said when he promised to bury us. That can be interpreted many ways. I do not interpret it as a threat of military attack. I believe Khrushchev understands the folly of this. But I do interpret his pronouncement of burial of the West as a continuing commitment and objective of the Communist group.

Now, how do we react to this challenge? How do we act in this contest, knowing that the Communist leaders and the forces of international Communism are going to be constantly testing us, and engaging us in various

areas of the world? I believe that the key is in the inaugural address of President Kennedy's where he laid down the beginnings of his strategy for peace. It was peace through strength -- peace through negotiation -- peace as a long-range, bit by bit, step by step process -- a process he later outlined in his June 10th, 1963, speech at American University. But before one can negotiate, he must have the strength that makes negotiation meaningful. This is what President Kennedy meant when he said that we must never negotiate from fear, but at the same time, never be afraid to negotiate. If this proposition is to have any validity, it requires that the West, and particularly the United States, have uncontested military and economic strength, backed up by the most astute and effective type of diplomacy, plus foreign economic policy.

And an effective diplomacy includes the capability of recognizing and seizing opportunities for meaningful negotiations where some real basis for accommodation exists.

~~It cannot be emphasized too emphatically that~~

But strength today is more than military strength. It

includes strengthening of alliances and broadening

their base. It includes consultation with allies and

yet, at the same time, leading allies, giving them a

sense of direction and be willing to take the responsi-

bility of leadership. It includes effective economic

policies abroad, such as foreign aid to be sure, but

also foreign trade. Most important of all perhaps

is the quality of leadership,

the quality of will and intellect demonstrated by

those who make decisions to use or withhold the

tremendous power we have amassed. Among the several

ingredients in the U.S. response to the Soviet Union

in the confrontation over Cuba in October 1962, perhaps

the most important factor in shifting the world balance of

power in our favor was not the gradated array of

military weaponry -- but the evident willingness to

use our power to achieve certain goals. A firm

resolve and steady nerves, coupled with restraint,

are as essential to preserving our strength as is

modern military weaponry.

In our dealings with the Russians, because it is the Russians today that provide the main source of competition -- and the Chinese or others in the future -- we are dealing with subtle, supple, flexible leaders. And we must recognize that while there may be a temporary let-up by the Soviets in some areas of the world, that is no proof that the Soviet leaders have basically changed their objectives or their long-range policies. The Soviet policies are clearly preferable to the Chinese -- but this does not mean that the Soviets have changed their fundamental aims. In conducting our foreign policy, we must recognize the need to continue to sacrifice at home to defend our view of the world abroad. We must not just sit back and relax.

In earlier years we carried on just enough of a defense program in the United States so that the Russians could match it without severely straining their economy. One of the important things that President Kennedy did, in terms of facing up to the Soviets upon returning from Vienna in

June of 1961, was to recognize that America was facing a powerful, subtle and resourceful foe. He was shocked by the small regard which the Soviet leaders had for the strength of the U.S. Government. So Kennedy set to work to increase our national strength. Due to Kennedy's efforts -- and with the active cooperation of Congress -- some 17 billion dollars was added to our defense budgets over those three years. This is over and above anything that the Eisenhower Administration had proposed. By 1964, January, we had the most powerful military machine the world has ever known. And this military strength has given us that extra margin of power which commands respect from the Soviet leaders. But President Kennedy realized that strength is not an end in itself -- and must be used as an instrument for preserving peace. He realized that our competition with the Soviet Union must not blind us to new opportunities for accommodation,

must not freeze us in a tide of mutual recrimination.

On one occasion he admonished us:

"The world was not meant to be a prison in which man awaits his execution. Too many of us think peace is impossible ... a dangerous, defeatist belief. It leads to the conception that mankind is doomed, that we are gripped by forces we cannot control".

President Kennedy sensed that Soviet leaders had undergone a change in attitude following the Cuban crisis, that they were now ready to undertake serious negotiations to contain the nuclear arms race, to slow down the proliferation of nuclear weapons. The nuclear test-ban treaty which resulted from these negotiations will go down as one of the accomplishments of this decade, as one of the last^{ing}/achievements of the Kennedy era. For it set us on the road to a more peaceful

world, a world where conciliation and accommodation play a growing role in settling conflicts between East and West.

Today both the Soviet Union and the United States could accelerate the "peace race" by certain mutual actions.

If the Soviet Union would respond with similar actions, we should be prepared to discard obsolete weapons, to close unneeded bases, to scale down excess military equipment. But the process should be a reciprocal one -- not a unilateral one. And we should be prepared for some persistent hard bargaining with the Soviets to reach agreement on these mutual actions. The Russians now know that we have the resources -- and the will to use these resources -- to maintain a high level of strength and a high standard of living at the same time. The Soviet economy cannot

match the American in this respect -- nor will it be able to in the foreseeable future. For if the Soviets desire a higher standard of living for their people, they can get it only by reducing their defense budget. Our task is to convince them that we have both the will to perservere in the competition with them as long as is necessary -- but also the wisdom to divert our resources to non-defense areas if they demonstrate a real desire to take measures toward true disarmament.

We should remember too ^{that} ~~the~~ events within the Communist world may encourage the Soviet Union to give more serious consideration to proposals for arms control than in previous decades. The presence of a militant China, now looming on the Soviet border as a dangerous menace rather than a loyal ally, may inspire in the Soviet Union a more moderate position in relations with the West. The disaffection of her Eastern European

Satellites is but another pressure on the Soviet Union to continue and expand its policy of peaceful coexistence.

And despite all the evils of our time,
there is much that is good & inspiring
^{Conscience of the nation has been stirred}
America has awakened to the injustices
and poverty that infects our
body politic -

(1) We wage war on Poverty.

(2) We seek to destroy discrimination.

(3) We need the full participation
of everyone - we seek to
give meaning to opportunity -
& we can! -

abroad - Western Europe Prosperous
new nations - new hopes

Seek to develop the underdeveloped

Seek to know the Stranger

Seek to build Community

1 U.S. & Soviet - some talk

2 U.N. - met up at 20th anniv.
- it lives, it keeps the peace.

In discussing the need for preserving the strength of the U. S., I have emphasized the permanent continuing factors in the world in which we live. But the world which you are about to enter is also a world of rapid change, change accelerated as never before by the advance of modern science and technology.

If science and technology will not solve all the political and social problems of the present or the future -- as some have mistakenly claimed -- they will nevertheless play a major role in shaping the world in which we will live in the future.

Science and technology have offered new means by which man in recent centuries has increased his control over his physical environment. In the nineteenth century this control was the prerogative of a limited number of industrial states of European origin. Technology provided the means to meet the basic needs of the

population and to enhance national power. In the twentieth century the spread of technology has become world-wide, arousing everywhere the expectation that its application will make a nation prosperous and powerful.

At the same time the scientific and technical competence of the established centers of technical excellence has continued to improve. The United States, Europe, Japan and the Soviet Union are now engaged in technical efforts which require, indeed compel, world-wide political arrangements if the potential advances are to fully serve the needs and desires of mankind. Moreover, the older industrial centers will in your lifetime be joined by China, India, Brazil Mexico and others. Thus, technology both strengthens the existing territorial units and requires the

organization of a larger political framework if

it is to ultimately fulfill its promise. The concrete possibilities of achievement are truly dazzling.

Simply by applying existing agricultural techniques to an additional two percent of the world's arable land each year, the world's population -- increasing the meanwhile -- can have an abundance of food as you finish your life's work.

Health measures now known can provide all nations a life span the average of ours. In the meantime the vast research programs of the industrialized nations of the northern hemisphere seem destined to extend the life span of your generation beyond that of the present one. New hazards there may well be, but they seem unlikely to equal the advances of medical science.

Advances in industrial technology have already

some of
lifted/the most greivous burdens from the back
of man. Full automation of industrial production
is within the view of the most farsighted. Labor,
in the blue collar meaning of the term, is disappearing
from the list of occupations of modern society, just
as in the past generation machines have replaced many
forms of agricultural labor. As these changes occur
the burden is best borne by the whole society and not
alone by those who have served it well until the
moment of change.

The profound changes in communications and trans-
portation also seem destined to continue. Since
World War II the volume of long distance phone calls
have multiplied a thousand times in America. America
is linked by conversation which speeds discovery,
development and production of the ever-increasing

range of products to meet the welfare and security needs of each of us. Communications satellites will expand many fold our ability to converse with men throughout the globe. They hold future promise of world-wide direct radio and television broadcasting.

In 1937 an eminent group of analysts concluded that the aviation industry had about reached its peak. Hard work by men who believed in the future of aviation has resulted in a continuing expansion of service ever since -- in peace and war. Today when but four hours separates Boston and San Francisco the same thing is being said by some. Yet the supersonic transport plane is now on the drawing boards. In your time, trips to Bombay and Singapore may be all in a day's work.

Moreover, as you must know full well, in your lifetime great new dimensions of work and action are being added to man's existence. In your lifetime giant laboratories will be circling the earth, scientists and engineers will be moving across the face of the moon, the entire solar system will be opened to understanding and exploration. As we enter the twenty-first century our eyes will truly be on the stars.

And as we move out in space, vast new prospects open here on earth. The weather -- long said to be a thing everyone talks about and nobody does anything about -- will be open to scientific prediction -- some would even say to control. The earth is a single great heat engine deriving its energy from the sun and performing like a single system. Weather satellites linked with ground stations throughout

the world have begun to collect and analyze the data from which vast new enterprises will ultimately flow.

But down below other world-wide enterprises are also underway. Systematic study and development of the ocean depths is now being supported on a large scale. The oceans represent the world's largest common property. They can be great sources of food and minerals as men move beyond that land locked territoriality which has for ages past dominated human societies.

All these -- and many other future potentialities -- loom on the horizon as part of the world in which you will live. But science and technology provide no guide for the future. For this we must look to what I call the liberal tradition.

The liberal tradition with its deep regard for the dignity of man asserts that man's political associations no less than his technology must be judged by how well they serve the needs of the individual. In a world of nation states the liberal tradition emphasizes that societies must be striving always to provide for military security combined with the private wants of the individual. But equally in a world of intercontinental thermonuclear weapons capable of destroying civilizations within the hour -- the liberal tradition is the first to dedicate itself to the building of a just and progressive world order.

Man, in the liberal tradition, abhors injustice, remains open to change and committed to work for a society and a technology that serve the individual

and the community.

The life of a liberal man is both hazardous and exciting. It is hazardous because the forces throughout the world which impede the attainment of justice and progress are great. In our day, as in days gone by, an ultimate willingness to place one's life in jeopardy to advance the cause of freedom is required. It is exciting because possibilities for progress in the modern world remain immense -- despite periodic setbacks.

As you leave the university to go out into the world, you would do well to reflect on the words of a man from Massachusetts who loved and served his country well. Recall the exhortation of President John F. Kennedy at the close of his inaugural address:

"With a good conscience our only sure
reward, with history the final judge of our
deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love,
asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that
here on earth God's work must truly be our own."

Ben Abzug for Civil Rights and
to eliminate Poverty
Representative Robert

© Janet Blue

Our struggle for Civil Rts and
To eliminate Poverty
represents moral Rebirth

⑧ Invest Educ

"With a good conscience our only sure
reward, with history the final judge of our
deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love,
asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that
here on earth God's work must truly be our own."

what we seek to do is to give
practical meaning to Human
Dignity -

F.D.R. - gave us the Four Freedoms -

(1) Freedom of speech

Freedom to worship

Freedom from hunger

Freedom from fear

We add a 5th - Freedom of Dignity.

It is this principle of Human Dignity
that underlies the meaning of
liberty and freedom. It is this belief
in Human Dignity that inspired Jefferson
to proclaim "those unalienable rights
of life, liberty, & the pursuit of Happiness".
It is this faith - this article of faith
in Human Dignity that represents
the contest between the Democratic
Society & the Totalitarian system.
It is our commitment to
Human Dignity that challenges
us to seek Justice and to search
for Peace, and expand the areas of freedom
& opportunity!

Mr John Lederle - Univ. of Massachusetts
~~John Lederle~~ Bd Trustees
Gav Peabody
MSG - Power

In Front Boyden
(Boyden Hall)
Deerfield
Academy
Chairman
of Trustees

Commonwealth
of
Massachusetts

You are graduating at a time when the world may

be moving into one of the most constructive eras in

I speak of the future -

human history. I know it is commonplace to worry

about the troubles young people ^{will} face. But I am not a

pessimist. I am an optimist. Your future will be a

future filled with exciting and demanding challenges and opportunities.

Problems to challenges - Difficulties to opportunities

The second half of the 20th Century can see man

create a better and more just society on this earth.

It also can see mankind reach out to the heavens to

conquer space and, in a real sense, find new worlds in

which to live. ^{emancipation} It can ~~see~~ be the Century of
freedom, A Peace!

These can be more than just hopes and dreams - if we so will it.

But the problems of today are the same as
in times past -

Hunger, sickness, ignorance, fear, ~~and~~
prejudice and war

The Hopes are the same - Freedom, Justice,
Security, and peace -

what is new is that we now have the
Resources to do something about these problems

all of these hopes & dreams

- 25 -

~~They~~ will become realities if we make our standard of

human endeavor one of excellence. Peace requires the

best that is within us. And this age of scientific,

economic and social revolution requires the best

trained minds we can find -- in all fields - natural

science, the humanities and the social sciences. We

can settle for nothing less than excellence.

L I am confident your generation will apply these

skills and this dedication to excellence--and in your

lifetime you will see great progress toward the

elimination of tyranny, poverty, hunger, disease and

war itself.

As you leave the university to go out into the

world, you would do well to reflect on the words of

a man from Massachusetts who loved and served his

country well. Recall the exhortation of President

John F. Kennedy at the close of his inaugural address:

*Your
Educ
+
Resp - to
nation*

*Be Enthusiastic
Advocates*

"With a good conscience our only sure
reward, with history the final judge of our deeds,
let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking
His blessing and His help, but knowing that here
on earth God's work must truly be our own."



Minnesota Historical Society

Copyright in this digital version belongs to the Minnesota Historical Society and its content may not be copied without the copyright holder's express written permission. Users may print, download, link to, or email content, however, for individual use.

To request permission for commercial or educational use, please contact the Minnesota Historical Society.



www.mnhs.org