

OPENING REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

WASHINGTON, D.C.

NOVEMBER 29, 1965

It is a politician's highest reward to speak to people who are already convinced. It is my reward today.

I do not delude myself into thinking that I will today create any converts to the cause of international cooperation. But perhaps, together, we can spread the gospel to those who could stand an occasional sermon on that subject.

Churchill said that jaw, jaw is better than war, war. In this conference we will apply that principle.

There was a crusty old farm leader in Washington during the early days of the New Deal. His name was George Peek. George Peek said: "The common characteristic of all uplifters is an unquenchable thirst for conversation. They are all chain talkers."

So be it. Let us talk. Let us think. Let us agree and disagree.

*We Seek
Your
Views*

But this conference can result in more than talk alone, and international cooperation can result in more than the avoidance of war alone.

Our task here is to increase the areas of man's interdependence so that we may decrease the areas of possible conflict -- so that we may ourselves be more secure.

↳ But it is also our task to bring about practical, positive steps which men may take together, to make life not just safer, but also happier and more rewarding for all mankind.

↳ It is easy for people and for governments -- even a government as responsive to its citizens as I believe ours is today -- to follow paths of least resistance, to stay with the familiar and comfortable.

↳ You can help us break out of familiar and comfortable paths.

↳ I have seen the recommendations of your working committees. Many of those recommendations can lead us to new paths. Many of them are controversial. So much the better.

↳ In the past 20 years great international achievements have come from proposals that broke from the old patterns.

∠ The Marshall Plan . . . Point Four . . . the United Nations . . . the Alliance for Progress . . . the Peace Corps . . . the International Monetary Fund . . . Food for Peace . . . the Asian Development Bank -- these have come from international initiatives worthy of our position of leadership. These have been initiatives serving both world security and human betterment. (And I am proud of my own association with these initiatives).

∠ I am proud of the support our country has given to building an effective inter-American system in this hemisphere, based on the Organization of American States.

∠ The inter-American system is a flexible instrument, capable of institutional development to meet new needs.

∠ The Alliance for Progress was a bold response to the glaring need for modernization of the political, social and economic institutions in the nations of our hemisphere.

↳ This past week at the Rio de Janeiro Conference, Secretary Rusk conveyed President Johnson's pledge to continue our assistance under the Alliance into the next decade.

↳ Just as the Alliance for Progress developed to meet new pressing needs in our hemisphere, so we now face the necessity of developing new institutions to guarantee the immunity of all American nations to subversion *and Aggression*.

↳ We must keep in mind the distinction between the challenges posed by shocking social and economic inequality, and the threat to individual nations posed by armed intervention or internal subversion.

↳ The Alliance for Progress is designed to meet the first -- and I am confident it will do so.

To meet the second, however -- to meet it in a way that is both effective and that safeguards the legitimate independence of individual nations -- we must develop new peacekeeping machinery within the inter-American system.

∟ No American nation desires unilateral intervention in the affairs of another. But all American nations know that effective multilateral institutions are needed to preserve peace and democratic institutions in our hemisphere.

∟ I am proud, too, of the dramatic leadership the United States undertook in the founding of the United Nations, and of the leadership we have offered there since.

∟ While our nation was still in the midst of world war, President Franklin Roosevelt dreamed of new institutions of peace. And President Truman, after him --

in a time when this nation stood in a position of unchallenged prestige and strength in the world -- committed our prestige and strength to the cause of the United Nations.

↳ The United Nations has survived twenty tumultuous years -- and that in itself is a saving miracle. But it has done much more than survive -- it has grown in prestige and in power for good.

↳ The United States is wholeheartedly committed to building even further its importance as an international instrument, ^{this} as President Johnson made abundantly clear when he appointed Arthur Goldberg as a worthy successor to Adlai Stevenson.

There is, in fact, no better testimony to our faith in the United Nations than the stature of the citizens appointed by successive American Presidents as our Ambassadors to the UN: From Warren Austin to Mrs. Roosevelt . . . to Ambassadors Lodge and Stevenson . . . to Ambassador Goldberg today.

↳ In an age in which old and new nationalisms have multiplied and jostled one another for a place in the world, it has offered the means to channel national energies and ambitions for constructive purposes and to achieve, more often than most people realize, a general consensus of mankind.

But / The United Nations is more than a place where the world's peoples gather and talk. It and its specialized agencies -- FAO, the Special Fund, UNESCO, ILO, WHO,

But the U.N. has an even greater function - namely Peace Keeping - yes Peace Keeping by ~~promoting~~ helping to create the conditions conducive to Peace - Peace Keeping by negotiation - Peace Keeping by making available military forces under U.N. command to ~~preserve~~ preserve peace - to maintain order & fight on the agenda of U.N. should be the reaching of an agreement on the ~~the~~ creation of a Permanent Peace Keeping force ready to respond ~~when the Peace~~ Act.

UNICEF (which was recently and rightly honored by the Nobel Prize) -- these and other UN agencies are where the people of all nations work together for the common good.

← The UN is the most articulate expression of modern man's desire for international cooperation and of his recognition of interdependence -- cooperation without domination, interdependence without dependence.

← How far the UN has brought man indeed: Last week, members of the General Assembly -- including, I am proud to say, the United States -- voted for a resolution calling for the convening of a world disarmament conference by 1967. *a conference to which all nations, including China, would be invited*

It was nine years and nine months ago that some of us in the Senate advocated discussion ^{of a conference} by all nations of the pre-eminent problem confronting mankind -- the threat of nuclear weapons *and the intensification of the arms race.*

∠ Although the hour is now late, it is never too late to face frankly the risks of continued nuclear competition. ^{while} ~~Although~~ there is no certainty that all nations will respond, there is certainty about the validity of the initiative.

∠ For every day the arms race proceeds, man not only increases his risk of annihilation, but ~~decreases~~ his possibilities for a more satisfying life on earth.

∠ If the arms race is a strain on the economy of rich nations, it is an intolerable burden on that of poor nations.

∠ A pioneer statesman of the nuclear era, the late Senator Brien McMahon, proposed almost two decades ago that resources diverted from the arms race could be set aside to meet the unmet social and economic needs of mankind. His counsel remains valid today.

Both rich and poor might well take heed.

The business of peace and peaceful development is the business of all men, *everywhere.*

For today two-thirds of mankind continues to live in squalor, sickness, poverty and illiteracy. The world is filled with hundreds of millions of striving, hungry, fearful people -- people exposed to modern communication who see unshared affluence in the world around them, who desperately seek their own place in the sun.

No little ideas . . . no little plans will bring the world safely through this volatile time. Nor will little ideas or plans be worthy of an American nation which professes -- I think rightly -- to lead a world revolution toward freedom, justice and human dignity.

↳ There are those with a highly-developed sense of realpolitik who scoff at such starry-eyed "evangelism."

But to them I reply: You are the ones who misread reality.

↳ To be realistic today is to be visionary. To be realistic is to be starry-eyed.

↳ Today man bounces signals off distant stars and walks in space. ↳ Today man conquers illness which once was hopeless.

↳ The devices of our computer-geared, technologically-interconnected world society leap over international frontiers. Space vehicles, communication, medicine, meteorology -- art and ideas -- pay little attention to the imaginary boundaries men have drawn between themselves.

↳ Interdependence is a fact and cooperation proceeds already on many levels, even among countries divided by wide political gulfs.

Stellman
Kennedy
Pope John
Nehru + Pres Johnson.

↳ This is what Prime Minister Nehru told the UN General Assembly in 1961, when he first proposed an International Cooperation Year.

↳ "Even today," he said, "between countries which are opposed to each other in the political or other fields, there is a vast amount of cooperation. Little is known, or little is said, about this cooperation that is going on."

↳ You do not have to reconcile conflicting ideologies to agree on international safety standards for aerial navigation, on the international allocation and use of radio frequencies, and on a global weather reporting system.

↳ The technological imperatives of the modern world have long since transcended national frontiers.

↳ We are coming to recognize, also, that human needs are the same the world over. The pains of disease are the same, the pangs of hunger the same.

∟ Illiteracy shuts off its victim not only from his own written language, but from all languages. And we are beginning to accept the need for a common, concerted attack upon these ancient enemies of mankind.

∟ We have agreed that there shall be no physical frontiers in Antarctica. We are on the way to agreeing that there are no frontiers in human needs and aspirations.

∟ When the technology exists to make international cooperation a sensible affair . . . when national leaders perceive the existence of a common interest in working together . . . and when international institutions exist or can be designed, you have all the necessary elements for another step forward in international organization for some definable, specific purpose.

∟ We need big blueprints and ideas.

∟ We need, too, small and practical steps in every part of human activity where men can find any possibility of common effort.

∟ We must create a world environment in which the habit of cooperation is learned by doing and becomes ingrained -- an environment where, in time, men may learn to put aside their quarrels as irrelevant obstacles to great and overriding goals of all mankind -- a better

life, a fuller human dignity, and above all peace. That means, among other things: ~~Just~~ surviving goals --

-- Making sure that every child everywhere in the world is sufficiently well-nourished to attain full stature in body, mind, and spirit;

-- Making education so widely available that every human being has the opportunity to realize his full potentialities;

Scientific
Cultural
Educational
Changes

↳ -- Making the UN Declaration on Human Rights as effective in fact as it is eloquent in words;

↳ -- Making the atom the servant rather than the master of mankind;

↳ -- Making science and technology not monopolies of nation states, but rather tools for improving the state of man;

↳ -- Making peace not only in our time, but for all time.

↳ It is to these causes that our American power must and will be devoted.

↳ It is to these causes that we must rally all the nations of the world -- developed and developing, strong and weak alike -- in a spirit of both self-help and mutual benefit.

↳ Here is the long-term significance of our great wealth, our great industrial and agricultural systems, our great scientific community and -- yes -- our great social inventions which have created a nation devoted to the opportunity and welfare of all citizens while retaining a free economic system.

↳ These incomparable material and political assets -- along with our deep spiritual and cultural tradition -- represent our true power, our ultimate ability to influence the world in the direction of peace and order and tolerance and prosperity.

↳ When nations undertake cooperative action on the basis of fairly sharing the responsibility, the very weight of our economic, financial and technical resources require us to accept a position of leadership.

Let there be no doubt about it. Our capacity to help build a cooperative and progressive international community, based on common interest, is unequalled -- and we shall use that capacity.

↳ If we do not lead, who will?

Well, I have enjoyed this sermon to a congregation of true believers.

In these next few days I hope that you will renew yourselves and your devotion to our cause. For it is the true believers who, inevitably, must provide the hard thought, hard work and dedication -- as you have -- so that others may follow.

On behalf of the President, I thank you for your efforts and ask for more.

(over)

In his words:

'The American covenant called on us to help show the way for the liberation of man. And that is today our goal. Thus, if as a nation there is much outside our control, as a people no stranger is outside our hope.'

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Mr. Charyk

James Webb
Arnold Flettner
Homer Newell
Prof Perkins
Lee Atwood
Dick Porter

Burster

OPENING REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

SESSION ON INTERNATIONAL SPACE COOPERATION

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

NOVEMBER 29, 1965

Jim No Expert -
by an advocate

- Pump Peanuts -
- Godly - Strong with
- Jim Gray

As chairman of the Space Council, may I congratulate the National Citizens' Commission Committee on Space, and its government consultants, for the report that is before us.

It is a valuable record of what already has been accomplished.

It has only been seven years since Congress made it national policy to explore space in cooperation with other nations. Since then, NASA's international programs have involved 69 nations and touched every continent.

President's deep interest in
Space

Agreements already reached for past, present, and future projects provide for:

- American launching of 14 contributed international satellites;
- 16 foreign experiments contributed by foreign scientists for flight on NASA satellites;
- some 200 cooperative sounding rocket experiments conducted in every quarter of the globe;
- ground-based experiments coordinated with NASA satellite missions by scientists in more than 50 countries;
- support for the operation of American tracking and data acquisition stations in 18 countries; and
- coordinated satellite launchings and data exchange with the Soviet Union.

David Johnson

Meanwhile -- as the result of initiative by this government and by the Communications Satellite Corporation -- a Global Commercial Communications Satellite System has become an operational reality.

This system answers the call made by the United Nations General Assembly for satellite communications available to the nations of the world, as soon as practicable and on a global and nondiscriminatory basis.

Next, I ~~want to~~ commend to your attention the recommendations in this afternoon's report. They are interesting and imaginative, but the thing I like best about them is that they are specific.

They call for definite, manageable projects.

↳ I know that the Committee on Space has canvassed the field carefully, but it may be that additional, realistic, and promising opportunities for future cooperative projects can be formulated.

↳ For all recommendations, there remains the practical question: "How can they be put into effect?"

↳ Since considerable sums and governmental commitments are involved, this is largely but not exclusively a matter for those of us in government.

Finally, I want to support what I understand to be the central argument of the report.

We have done well so far in pursuing our objective of international cooperation. -

We register with the U.N. what we put into outer space
U.N. outer space committee

space law -

U.N. Resol. prohibiting orbiting weapons of mass destruction in outer space.

Our cooperative projects have borne witness to our peaceful aims in space . . . involved foreign intellectual and material resources in our programs . . . and established patterns of cooperation that further our goal of a stable world.

But the future demands a new level of effort.

A broad and deepening technical capability is appearing in Europe, Canada, and Japan. And interest is appearing the world over.

There are new opportunities for American leadership.

The Atlantic alliance seeks new areas of common and peaceful effort -- areas appropriate to a changing world situation. Certainly, cooperative, peaceful projects in space should be of high priority within the alliance.

There is the need, too, for increasing interchange of technical documents and information between governments, universities and centers of research in developed and developing countries alike. Such interchange with the developing countries is, particularly, a way of both recognizing and encouraging their maturity and their capabilities.

But we need more than interchange of data and documents. We need interchange, too, of scientists, engineers, technicians, teachers, students.

Certainly science and technology are universal. We in the United States can give great impetus to such programs of interchange.

And there is another opportunity for leadership.

Why not better use of equipment which has served its purpose in our advanced research and application in space, but which would be highly useful in other places? Far better that this equipment be put to additional good purpose now than that it be placed a few years hence in the courtyard of the Museum of Modern Art.

↳ And there is the opportunity to provide better equipment of all kinds to institutions in developing countries -- institutions often staffed by scientists and technicians trained in the United States, able to use that equipment, and discontent with anything less.

↳ These are challenges for tomorrow.

Finally, we must not only take initiative toward greater international interdependence in space. We must be open to initiatives of others.

If we both lead and respond, I believe we will move far closer to what all of us must seek: a world of peace, security and justice where science and technology may serve, above all, the common interest of humanity.

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Mr Benjamin
Mr Alico
Mr Nasher

Mr Catron

11/29/65

PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT

I have called this Conference for one reason: I am determined that the United States shall actively engage its best minds and boldest spirits in the quest for a new order of world cooperation.

This nation recognizes that international cooperation is not merely a lofty ideal. It is a fact of life, a necessity of our age.

The General Assembly of the United Nations has designated this year International Cooperation Year, and by proclamation of its President and resolution of its Congress, the United States rededicated itself in 1965 to the ideal and practice of international cooperation.

Throughout its history, by word and deed, this nation has always demonstrated its understanding of the wisdom of cooperative efforts to solve world problems. And we know that a great nation remains great because it remembers that it can always do better.

I believe this Conference will show us specific ways to do better.

I have directed the agencies of our government to participate in your deliberations -- and to study your recommendations with a view to immediate action.

Together we seek

- New ways to raise the world's millions up from poverty.
- New policies to conserve and develop the world's resources.
- New methods to rid the world of destructive disease.
- New means to increase commerce between nations.
- New safeguards against the overriding danger of war.
- New avenues to world peace.

This conference is a town meeting of leaders of the nation. Its purpose is peace and cooperation.

Let us raise our sights to the limits of this goal.

And let us free our imaginations to the tireless pursuit of this high ideal.

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P R O C E E D I N G S

[The conference convened at 9:15 a.m.]

MR. SISCO: I am Joseph Sisco, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizational Affairs.

May I first ask that all of us stand for a moment of silent prayer.

[Prayer was observed.]

MR. SISCO: Thank you very much.

It is a privilege for me to welcome this distinguished group at this Opening Plenary of the White House Conference on International Cooperation. I thank you for being here.

Last night we had the thrilling experience of hearing Stephen Spender read what he called "a first draft" of his poem dedicated to the White House Conference on International Cooperation. He recalled that man is not an island, and added that in these days there are no islands. He said, "The world that we invent is where what we do makes what we are." And further, he said, "When we say cooperate, this means we must unwind our faith."

It seems to me that in these few words we summarize

very succinctly the purpose of this conference. This conference brings together great talent and an enormous range of experience in every sphere. It brings together deep erudition. But this meeting is inspiring, not so much for the wealth of talent as for what it shows about the vitality of our society. The efforts of private individuals and Government is the essence of our Democratic process. In an earlier, simpler time, the difficulties of foreign policy could be handled by a few professionals. Today we all realize international contact encompasses every field and touches on the experience of every citizen. And that is why your advice here is indispensable. And that is why President Johnson called for this conference and has given our work throughout the year his fullest support, and this is why he has said to us that we have before us the assignment of the century.

You have come here voluntarily and have performed this work with magnificent enthusiasm and dedication. Your labors have brought forth a wealth of ideas in twenty-nine reports.

The result is not just another blur on international togetherness, but rather specific proposals with specific recommendations for

action which I hope will help your government in the quest for world order.

American inventiveness has built this nation into a great international force. American minds have contributed much to the technology which has made the nations of the world interdependent. We can be proud that this same inventiveness is being used to make the bonds between nations more solid and their relations more productive. This conference furthermore demonstrates to the world our willingness to devote our energies to the problems of international cooperation in a frank and open way. We welcome all of your views, including those that criticize or dissent. As the Book of Ecclesiastes says, "It is better to hear the rebuke of the wise than for a man to hear the song of fools."

It is my pleasure now to introduce to you the Special Assistant to the President, Mr. Douglass Cater.

[Applause.]

MR. CATER: Among the events of this busy year that are destined to live beyond the daily headlines, I believe surely the White House conferences that have been called by the President will loom large. In May there was the Conference on Natural Beauty. In July, Education. In November,

Health. And later that month Civil Rights. They all share two basic missions, to take stock of where we stand on problems of pressing importance and to stimulate a healthy discontent to do more and do better in meeting those problems.

They were not designed to reach resolutions, but to explore ideas. There was to be no bar on boldness. In fact, after the first day of the White House Conference on Education, a newspaper report complained that the conferees were only nibbling with their subject. Doctor John Gardner, who was Chairman of the conference, called on the conferees to engage it with big barracuda-like bites. Doctor Gardner soon became Secretary of H.E.W. And I would suggest there is a lesson in this for any ambitious Cabinet member.

[Laughter.]

Already the fallout from those conferences -- to use that awful imagery -- has justified all the dreams and the drudgery that went into them. Now this conference must carry out its mission in a far larger arena than any of its predecessors. You face the challenge to add a world dimension to our hopes and plans and ambitions. The President has made clear time after time that our hopes for a Great Society cannot be allowed to stop at the water's edge. We have too much

to give and too much to gain from international cooperation.

Those of us who work for the President are happy to extend his greetings this morning, and his warm welcome to this gathering. We plan to watch your deliberations and to profit from your celebrations. We look forward to joining you at the President's home on Wednesday afternoon.

But my main mission this morning is to be brief and to introduce to you a man who has a divine gift for stimulating discontent to do more and do better. Ladies and Gentlemen, the Vice President of the United States.

[Standing ovation]

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you, Mr. Cater.

Chairman Bob Benjamin, Mr. Sisco, and Mr. Nasher, the participants and delegates to this White House Conference on the International Cooperation Year, I first of all am privileged to bring you a message from the President of the United States. The President asked me to deliver this statement in his behalf, and I read it as given to me:

"I have called this Conference for one reason. I am determined that the United States shall actively engage its best minds and boldest spirits in the quest for a new order of world cooperation.

"This nation recognizes that international cooperation is not merely a lofty ideal. It is a fact of life, a necessity of our age. The General Assembly of the United Nations has designated this year International Cooperation Year. And by proclamation of its President and resolution of its Congress, the United States rededicated itself in 1965 to

the idea and practice of international cooperation.

"Throughout its history, by word and deed, this nation has always demonstrated its understanding of the wisdom of cooperative efforts to solve world problems. And we know that a great nation remains great because it remembers that it can always do better. I believe this Conference will show us specific ways to do better.

"I have directed the agencies of our Government to participate in your deliberations and to study your recommendations with a view to immediate action. Together we seek new ways to raise the world's millions up from poverty, new policies to conserve and develop the world's resources, new methods to rid the world of destructive disease, new means to increase commerce between nations, new safeguards against the overriding danger of war, and new avenues to world peace.

"This Conference is a town meeting of the leaders of this nation. Its purpose is peace and cooperation. Let us raise our sights to the limits of this goal, and let us free our imaginations to the tireless pursuit of this high ideal.

Lyndon B. Johnson,
President of the United States"

I consider it a high honor to be able to deliver the President's statement to you and one that I think appropriately sets the tone for this great Conference.

I must ask myself at this moment whether it was even necessary for the Vice President to make any statement, but I am on the program--

[Laughter]

--and, since I am a victim of schedules, I shall abide by the dictates of that schedule.

It's the politicians highest reward, of course, to speak to people who are already convinced.

[Laughter]

And I think I sense that there is a common

feeling amongst us this morning, and therefore it's my reward today to speak to the convinced.

But I do not delude myself into thinking that I will today create any converts to the cause of international cooperation. I think you have already been converted. But perhaps, together, we can spread the gospel to those who could stand an occasional sermon on that subject. I live in the hopes that some of these thoughts that we express during these days may get beyond the confines of this hall. And if you happen to find someone that doesn't agree with this important matter of international cooperation, you are at liberty may I say, to exercise any powers of conversion and persuasion that you have.

[Laughter]

Churchill said that jaw, jaw is better than war, war. By the way, I noticed one of the editorials in either the New York Times or one of the Washington papers recently--I was on five days vacation and I didn't keep up too much with all these important pronouncements, but I noticed those same words by Mr. Churchill, jaw, jaw is better than war, war. And

in this conference, I suggest that we apply that principle.

And then there was a crusty old farm leader in Washington during the early days of the New Deal. His name was George Peek, and George Peek said: "The common characteristic of all uplifters"--that is what we are--"is an unquenchable thirst for conversation. They are all chain talkers."

I found out what happened to me, you see. So in the words of George Peek, so be it. Let us talk aloud. Let us think aloud. And let us agree and disagree if we must.

But this conference can result in more than talk alone, and international cooperation can result in more than just the avoidance of war alone.

Our task here is to increase the areas of man's interdependence so that we may decrease the areas of possible conflict--and so that we may be ourselves a bit more secure.

But it is also our task to bring about practical, positive steps which men may take together, to make life not just safer, but also happier and more

rewarding for all of mankind.

Now, it is easy for people and for governments-- even a government as responsive to its citizens as I believe ours is today--to follow the paths of least resistance, or to stay with the familiar and the comfortable.

You are here for the purpose of helping us break out of those familiar and comfortable paths, at least if those paths of comfort and familiarity lead us nowhere.

Now, I have seen the recommendations of your working committees. And many of those recommendations can lead us to new paths. Give us good and constructive new proposals. Many of them are controversial. So much the better. A little heat of controversy may develop some light.

In the past 20 years great international achievements have come from proposals that broke from the old patterns. Let me give you a few examples:

The Marshall Plan, taken now very much for granted, but it was breaking away from the past. Point Four; the United Nations; the Alliance for Progress; the

Peace Corps; and the Food for Peace Program; and the International Monetary Fund, and now the Asian Development Bank, these, amongst others, have come from international initiatives worthy of our position of leadership. And many of these ideas have their seeds, so to speak, in the discussion amongst the citizenry of this land and others. And then Government proceeded to adopt or to accept those ideas. These have been initiatives serving both world security and human betterment.

And, if I might say, I was somewhat proud in my own public life to have had some association with these initiatives.

I am very proud of the support our country has given to building an effective inter-American system in this Hemisphere, based on the Organization of American States. The inter-American system is a flexible instrument, it should and will grow with the Hemisphere itself, and it's capable of institutional development to meet new needs.

The Alliance for Progress was a bold response to the glaring need for modernization of the political,

social and economic institutions in the nations of our Hemisphere. And I digress for a moment to note that the Alliance for Progress is not merely an economic program. It also has political and ideological substance. Because, important as economic development is, it does not represent the ultimate for free men. This past week at the Rio de Janeiro Conference, Secretary Rusk conveyed President Johnson's pledge to continue our assistance under the Alliance into the next decade.

Just as the Alliance for Progress developed to meet new pressing needs in our own Hemisphere, so we now face the necessity of developing new institutions to guarantee the immunity of all American nations to subversion, and aggression.

We must keep in mind the distinction, however, between the challenges posed by shocking social and economic inequality, and the threat to individual nations posed by armed intervention or internal subversion.

The Alliance for Progress is designed to meet the first--the social and economic inequality--and I am confident it will do so.

Sten/lock

To meet the second, however--and to meet it in a way that is both effective and yet safeguards the legitimate independence of individual nations--we must develop new peacekeeping machinery within the inter-American system, within the inter-American system.

No American nation desires unilateral intervention in the affairs of another. But all American nations know that effective multilateral institutions are needed to preserve peace and democratic institutions in our Hemisphere.

I am proud, too, of the dramatic leadership that our country has given and undertook in the founding of the United Nations, and the leadership that we have offered there since its founding.

While our nation was still in the midst of war, of World War II, President Franklin Roosevelt dreamed of new institutions of peace. And President Truman, after him--in a time when this nation stood in a position of unchallenged prestige, power and strength in the world--committed our prestige, our power and our strength to the cause of the United Nations.

Now, the United Nations has survived twenty tumultuous years--and that is in itself a rather saving miracle. But I think it has done much more than survive, and I wish to pay tribute to it today. It has grown in prestige and in power for good.

The United States is wholeheartedly committed to building even further the United Nations importance as an international instrument for peace and security, as President Johnson made abundantly clear when he appointed Arthur Goldberg as a worthy successor to our beloved Adlai Stevenson.

There is, in fact, my fellow citizens, no better testimony to our faith in the United Nations than the stature of the citizens appointed by successive American Presidents as our Ambassadors to the United Nations. Let me mention but a few: From Warren Austin to Mrs. Roosevelt; to Ambassadors Lodge and Stevenson; and to Ambassador Goldberg today.

In an age in which old and new nationalisms have multiplied and jostled one another for a place in the world, the United Nations has offered the means to channel national energies and ambitions for constructive

purposes and to achieve, more often than most people realize, a general consensus of mankind.

But the United Nations, to me at least, is more than a place where the world's peoples gather and talk. It is, I should say it and its specialized agencies--FAO, the Special Fund, UNESCO, the ILO, WHO, UNICEF (which was recently and rightly honored by the Nobel Prize)--these and other United Nations agencies are where people of all nations work together for the common good.

But the UN has an even greater function than is spelled out in the work of these specialized agencies. That greater function is peacekeeping. Yes, peacekeeping by helping create the conditions in this world that are conducive to a just and enduring peace. This is the long pull, peacekeeping by diplomacy and negotiation. We witnessed that in the corridors of the United Nations, in the Berlin airlift of the late 1940's, and then peacekeeping as we know it more specifically in recent days by making available military forces under UN command, to preserve the peace and to maintain order, and to put

down struggle and disorder before it erupts into world conflagration.

High on the agenda, therefore, of the United Nations, fully supported by this Government, should be the reaching of an agreement on the creation of the permanent peacekeeping force, ready to respond and ready to act to the threat of the peace of this world.

[Applause]

We tend to take our UN, this great international instrument for peace and good, very much for granted. I think it needs a rededication of our faith, and a reemphasis by citizen and diplomat alike.

How far the United Nations has brought man, indeed: Last week the members of the General Assembly--including, I am proud to say, the United States thinking through our Ambassador, Mr. Goldberg--voted for a resolution calling for the convening of a conference to which all nations, including Communist China, would be invited.

[Applause]

There is no greater business before mankind than the subject of disarmament.

It was nine years and nine months ago that some of us in the Senate--at the time I served in the Foreign Relations Committee--advocated such a conference and full discussion on all matters of disarmament, arms control, by all nations. We felt it was the pre-eminent problem confronting mankind, and so said by resolution, conference and discussion of the threat of nuclear weapons and the intensification and the dangers, I should say, involved in the intensification of the arms race.

Although the hour is now late, it is never too late to face frankly the risks of continued nuclear competition. The danger of nuclear proliferation hangs over our head like a sword suspended on a thin thread. While there is no certainty that all the nations will respond, there is certainty about the validity of the initiative, the initiative that calls for a world conference to deal with this threat to the very survival of mankind.

Every day the arms race proceeds, man not only increases his risk of annihilation, but decreases his

possibilities for a more satisfying life on earth.

If the arms race is a strain on the economy of rich nations--and it is--it is an intolerable burden on that of the poor nations.

A pioneer statesman of the nuclear era, the late Senator Brien McMahon of Connecticut, proposed almost two decades ago that resources diverted from the arms race could be set aside to meet the unmet social and economic needs of mankind. His proposal was adopted by the Congress of the United States in resolution, was then and remains the policy of this Government. His counsel remains valid today. What it needs is adherence, supporters. These are the things, my fellow Americans, that we ought to be talking about, not merely the dangers that confront mankind, but the hopes that can be fulfilled.

Both rich and poor might well take heed of this wise statesman's intent.

And the business of peace and peaceful development is the business of all men, rich and poor, from every continent, everywhere. This is not only our

business. Let the world know it. The threat of war has not come only through confrontation of major problems. It can come from the miscalculation of the smaller.

Today two-thirds of mankind continues to live in squalor, in sickness, poverty and illiteracy. This within itself is a threat to the peace, a continuing one and a growing one. The world is filled with hundreds of millions of striving, hungry, and fearful people-- people exposed to modern communication who see the unshared affluence in the world around them, who desperately seek their own place in the sun.

I read just the other day where this great nation of ours was producing almost 50 percent of the total gross national product of the world. My fellow Americans, is it any wonder that we are called upon to share greater burdens than others? And that we have greater responsibilities than others? Therefore, I submit that no little ideas, no little plans will bring the world safely through this volatile time. I think we are stuck in a rut, and we need some new thought, some new ideas, or at least an objective examination of the old ones.

Nor will little ideas or plans be worthy of an American nation which professes--and I think rightly--to lead a world revolution towards freedom, and justice and human dignity. And we have been participating in some of those revolutions, such as the revolution in the Alliance for Progress. And let it be known that we are the true revolutionaries in the sense that a revolution designed for emancipation, for opportunity, for justice, and for freedom is the true goal of a revolution.

There are those with a highly-developed sense of what was known as realpolitik, who scoff at such starry-eyed "evangelism" as I'm preaching. But to them I reply: You are the ones who misread reality.

To be realistic today is to be visionary. To be realistic is to be a bit starry-eyed.

Today man bounces signals off from distant stars and he walks in space. That didn't come about because somebody felt that man should always be earth-bound. Today man conquers illness which once was hopeless.

Now, the devices of our computer-gearred, technologically-interconnected world society leap over international frontiers. There is no place to hide. Every area is our neighborhood. Space vehicles, communication, medicine, meteorology, art and ideas, pay little attention to the imaginary boundaries that men have drawn between themselves.

Interdependence is a fact of our life, of our time, and cooperation proceeds already, thank goodness, on many levels, even among countries divided by wide political gulfs.

This is what Prime Minister Nehru told the UN General Assembly in 1961, when he first proposed an International Cooperation Year. I quote his words:

"Even today", he said, "between countries which are opposed to each other in the political or other fields, there is a vast amount of cooperation. Little is known, or little is said, about this cooperation that is going on."

I suppose it's the old story that bad news is news. Good news you just accept and take for granted. How difficult it is to get the real knowledge or the

real report of the cooperation that does go on day in and day out.

Now, you do not have to reconcile conflicting ideologies to agree on international safety standards, for example, for aerial navigation, on international allocation and use of radio frequencies, on a global weather reporting system. The technological imperatives of the modern world have long since transcended national frontiers.

And we are coming to recognize, also, that human needs are the same the world over. Pain is pain; hunger is hunger, wherever it may be. The pains of disease are the same, the pangs of hunger the same.

Illiteracy. Illiteracy shuts off its victim not only from his own written language but from all languages. Illiteracy is an enemy of understanding, of freedom and progress. And we are beginning to accept the need for a common, concerted attack upon these ancient enemies of mankind. I sometimes feel that if we could put the same amount of enthusiasm, determination and commitment of resources into that attack upon

these ancient enemies as we do in the exploration of space, that we would make so much progress.

[Applause]

Now, we have agreed in the international arena that there shall be no physical frontiers in Antarctica. This is no insignificant matter. It represented, and today represents, a singularly important international agreement, and I believe that we are on the way to agreeing that there are no frontiers in human needs and aspirations.

[Applause]

For, my fellow Americans, when the technology exists to make international cooperation a sensible affair, when national leaders perceive the existence of a common interest in working together, and when international institutions exist or can be designed, you have all of the necessary elements for another step forward in international organization for some definable, specific purpose.

But we need big blueprints and ideas. And that is what you're here for.

We must once again tap the great resources of the American people to obtain from you the intellectual ferment that is in this country, the many ideas that have been expressed in place after place but have never caught the headline, nor have never been able to be brought to the attention of the leaders of government.

We need, too, my friends, small and practical steps in every part of human activity where men can find any possibility of common effort.

We must create a world environment in which the habit of cooperation is learned by doing and becomes ingrained--the habit of cooperation in science, in the cultural exchanges, in education. Yes, these non-political, if you please, approaches, learning through functional activities, learning through the less controversial areas, how to live together, and how to work together.

We must create an environment where, in time, men may learn to put aside their quarrels as irrelevant obstacles to great and overriding goals of all mankind-- a better life, a fuller human dignity, and above all peace. Now, that means, amongst other things, such

overriding goals as these, and I want to outline what our goals should be, even if unobtainable for the moment. Because I believe that it is necessary for we mortals to understand that our lifetime is but a fleeting second in the history of mankind. And yet, in that second which is ours, we have a duty to make a contribution to a better world.

Many times I have mused and spoken aloud of my dream and conception of peace. I am not one that believes that it's merely the avoidance of war. Nor is it negative. It is a positive, creative force. It represents to me the harmony between peoples. It represents life itself, growth and change.

Because peace, like life, is a process not to be obtained by the miracle or the wishing for it or even the expressed hope, but yet to be nourished by the hope of it. I have compared peace for my own vision to the creation of the building of a mighty cathedral. A great cathedral had to be the dream of a master architect, and yet it represents the labors of many. And it requires the dedication of generation after

generation. And it is constructed block by block, piece by piece. It does not come about for the asking, or the wishing. And, like any great edifice, it requires the continuity of attention, the love and the care of those who do care.

So to me the building of peace is the dream of the ancients, but a dream into which each of us can make some contribution. I believe that we must have this personal identification. Otherwise peace becomes the business of others. And, until peace becomes your business, and my business, and the business of every individual on the face of this globe, there can be no peace. And we should start that commitment here.

So the overriding goals, to me--and I'm sure they meet with your general conception of the goals of peace--are making sure that every child everywhere in the world is sufficiently nourished to attain full stature in body, mind, and spirit. And, my fellow Americans, there was a time when mankind could weep over the curse of hunger and know that he could do nothing about it. But that time is long past. The time

is now that mankind can conquer hunger and that the prayer of daily bread can be a fact of life. Therefore, the goal of making sure that every child everywhere is sufficiently well-nourished to attain full stature in body, mind and spirit is not an idle dream. I submit that it is a responsibility for decent people.

The second goal-- making education so widely available that every human being has the opportunity to realize his full potentialities, there was a time that this could not be. But I submit to these distinguished citizens of this great Republic that that time is long past. Modern educational techniques, modern communication makes it possible for man to know and for the blessings of enlightenment to be the possession of every person.

And the goal of making the UN Declaration on Human Rights effective in fact as it is eloquent in words, we are doing something about that goal in this nation. But I submit that the cause of human rights knows no frontier. And, of all the nations on the face of the earth that ought to insist [striking the lectern with

his fist for emphasis], with a sense of moral commitment unexceeded any time by any person[striking the lectern with his fist for emphasis], it should be the United States of America that insists upon the UN Declaration of Human Rights.

[Applause]

The goal of making the atom the servant rather than the master of mankind;

Of making science and technology not the monopolies of nation states, but rather tools for improving the state of man;

And making peace not only in our time, but for all time.

It is to these causes that our American power, American wealth, American know-how, must and with your help and God's help will be devoted.

It is to these causes that we must rally all the nations of the world--developing and developed, strong and weak alike--in a spirit of both self-help and mutual benefit.

Here then is the long-term significance of our

great wealth, our great industrial and agricultural systems, our great scientific community and--yes--our great social inventions which have created a nation devoted to the opportunity and the welfare of all citizens while retaining a free economic system.

These incomparable material and political assets that are ours--along with our deep spiritual and cultural tradition--represent our true power, our ultimate ability to influence the world in the direction of peace and order and tolerance and progress and prosperity.

When nations undertake cooperative action on the basis of fairly sharing the responsibility, the very weight of our economic, financial and technical resources require us to accept the position of leadership, and with leadership the responsibility.

Let there be no doubt about it. Our capacity to help build a cooperative and progressive international community, based on common interest, is unequalled, if we but use it. And I submit that the purpose of the International Cooperation Year is that we dedicate ourselves

to use it to capacity.

If we do not lead, who will? This question should be asked in every panel, in every discussion, because leadership is not a luxury. It is a burden. It is not the cloak of comfort. It is the robe of responsibility.

Well, I have enjoyed this sermon to a congregation of true believers.

[Laughter]

In the next few days I hope that you will renew yourselves and your devotion to our cause. For it is the true believers, you know, who must inevitably provide the hard thought, hard work and dedication, as you have, so that others may follow.

I have been highly honored to be the keynoter of this International Cooperation Year Conference, and on behalf of the President, I thank you for your efforts and, on his behalf, I ask you for more.

In the President's own words, here is our charge:

"The American covenant called on us to help show the way for the liberation of man. And that is today our goal. Thus, if, as a nation, there is much outside our control, as a people no stranger is outside our hope."

Go to work. Give us the benefit of your counsel and your advice and, above all, be true believers, advocates for the cause of international cooperation, for the cause of international justice, and unrelentingly for the cause of peace, which is the main business of any person in the 20th Century.

[Standing ovation]

MR. SISCO: I want to thank you, Mr. Vice President, for your very inspiring message. He is the man who has admitted that being only number two he has to try harder.

[Laughter]

[Applause]

I might add that we all know that Hubert Humphrey was already trying harder, working longer, and achieving more for international cooperation than just

about anyone else around long before he became number two.

Thank you very much, Mr. Vice President.

[Applause]

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