

wit Ferguson -

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Mr. Bill Heath -

Buffalo Club

Congressman "Max" McCarthy

John Galvin
Eugene McCarthy (Past President)
Judge - Charles Deemond

I am honored to be here this evening at this Democratic family gathering.

(Paul Fitzpatrick - Dem
Edwin J. Jackson - Rep)

It was ^{the} most natural thing in the world for me to be here this evening -- I am an experienced substitute speaker for Presidents of the United States.

I understand that your first president was Millard Fillmore, who was President of the United States.

I also understand that President Grover Cleveland was a ~~president~~ ^{member} of the Buffalo Club.

Dewey, Rocky RFK

I further understand that it has been the tradition for Presidents of the United States to deliver the address on this annual occasion.

I don't want anyone to draw any hasty conclusions from this, but your president will tell you that I have both applied for membership in the Buffalo Club and offered to come back each January between now and 1973.

Association with the Club!

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

BUFFALO CLUB

BUFFALO, N.Y.

JANUARY 6, 1967

Tonight I want to talk with you about the tasks

we Americans face in the world and the things that lie ahead.

I want to take up where we've left off - 50 yrs ago
There are a lot of questions being asked these days

about our American purposes and goals in the world.

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90 Pak
Antimat
Coop
United Nations*
Are we a nation with an "arrogance of power" or
a people bent on carving out new "spheres of influence"
around the globe?

I say we are not. I say our purposes and goals are
no more -- and no less -- than those expressed on behalf of
all peace-loving peoples in the Charter of the United Nations --
a charter which, under our constitutional system, is the law
of our land ... a charter we treat with the full respect
accordingly due it: "to save succeeding generations from the
scourge of war ...

↳ "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small ...

↳ "to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and

↳ "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom" -- yes, to resist aggression and promote self-determination.

↳ These are not the purposes and goals of an expansionist or arrogant nation.

↳ These are the purposes and goals which our America, in its wealth and power, has not only an opportunity but an obligation to pursue, if we are to be true to ourselves.

So I ask ↳ What today are the priorities we face in helping to build a world in which men and nations may live in just and enduring peace?

↳ Tonight I wish to touch on several of them.

First (and this priority is second to none among all our national priorities) -- is the need to slow down and halt the international arms race.

And this includes, specifically and urgently, the need to conclude an international nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

↳ Second, if we value peace, we must lead in the effort to narrow the gap between the rich and poor nations of the world.

And this includes, specifically and urgently, the need to wage all-out war on famine and hunger.

↳ Third, there is the priority of building international bridges of understanding -- bridges built upon every conceivable base of common effort -- among nations of differing political systems and ideologies.

↳ And this includes, specifically and urgently, the need to build such bridges of understanding and coexistence between our America and the peoples who live today in nations governed by Communist regimes.

↳ Fourth, there is the priority of continuing to help build international institutions and international law which can provide the lasting framework to bind men together -- institutions such as the United Nations; laws such as the treaty recently concluded there to keep outer space free of weapons.

↳ And underpinning these four priorities are two others: The necessity of resisting aggression before it can gain international momentum; the necessity of building here at home a strong and free America able to carry the burdens that are ours.

The New Arms Race.

↳ There must not be a World War III.

Today, in this 22nd year of the nuclear age, we still survive because men have not fallen victim to the madness of nuclear war.

In recent months it has become almost fashionable to "game" out all sorts of international scenarios which begin with the premise that nuclear weapons will never be used ... that nuclear stalemate will be lasting. In addition, I ~~have become accustomed to hearing~~ ^{there is the} the argument that, even if as many as 20 or 30 countries obtained nuclear weapons, we would be no more unsafe than today.

And I am alarmed.

~~I believe~~ these theories may have some power of logic, but that they do not take into account either past human history or the nature of man.

It is but a few years since Adolf Hitler.

~~Yes, Hitler was mad. But~~ he was not the first madman to achieve power in a major nation state. Nor do I believe he will be the last.

For that reason, I do not believe that we can afford to accept the premise that nuclear stalemate is permanent, or that there is safety in numbers when it comes to possession of such powerful destructive force.

↳ It is the policy of the United States that a treaty should be concluded which would halt nuclear proliferation and lead to the reduction of the number of weapons and delivery systems for such weapons.

↳ There is another threat.

↳ ~~to~~ Secretary McNamara has said, there is "considerable evidence" that the Soviet Union is deploying an anti-ballistic missile system -- a system of weapons capable of intercepting intercontinental ballistic missiles and destroying them in flight.

↳ If the Soviet Union were to go ahead with deployment of such a system it could set off a new spiral of armaments expenditures and development.

Secretary Rusk has made our policy in this regard absolutely clear:

"We would regret very much ^{the} ~~lifting of the arms~~
race to an entirely new plateau of major expenditures.

"As you know, we made earlier to the Geneva Conference proposals for freezes and limitations on the further production of offensive and defensive nuclear weapons.

"We would like to see some means developed by which both sides would not have to go into wholly new and unprecedented levels of military expenditure, with perhaps no perceptible result in the total strategic situation."

↳ There is no long run security in a great arms race --
only an increasingly volatile insecurity in which one mistake or miscalculation can trigger Armageddon. ↳ Each new weapon breeds a counterweapon.

↳ An arms race saps the resources of rich and poor alike. It sets in motion forces of power politics and mutual fear. It poisons the well-springs of international cooperation.

We see this ~~no more clearly than we do~~ today in the
Middle East and in Latin America.

In the Middle East, the cradle of civilization, we
see pressures and counterpressures which threaten conflict
among many nations.

There, we see the urgent need for all parties not
to develop nuclear weapons, and also to scale down the level
of their conventional armaments. 

↳ In Latin America we see precious and desperately-
needed national resources being devoted to armament far
beyond what is needed for defense and security.

↳ So long as this continues, the economic and social
aspirations of the people in these nations will be denied and
frustrated.

The time has come for the nations of Latin America to
consult with each other about the weapons they believe are
truly necessary for their security, as it has equally come for a

regional arms agreement which would bar the nuclear arms race from our hemisphere.

~~If the nations of Latin America were to support such an agreement they could be sure that the United States, as a member of the Organization of American States, would enthusiastically respond.~~

It is the policy of our government to halt and turn back the arms race wherever we can -- thus creating as an end result an even greater security for our nation than today.

The Rich-Poor Gap

I give you the words of Pope John 23rd in his encyclical Mater et Magistra:

"The solidarity which binds all men and makes them members of the same family requires political communities

enjoying an abundance of material goods not to remain indifferent to those political communities whose citizens suffer from poverty, misery, and hunger, and who lack even the elementary rights of the human person.

"This is particularly true since, given the growing interdependence among the peoples of the earth, it is not possible to preserve lasting peace of glaring economic and social inequality among them persist ...

"We are all equally responsible for the undernourished peoples. Therefore, it is necessary to educate one's conscience to the sense of responsibility which weighs upon each and everyone, especially upon those who are more blessed with this world's goods!"

↳ We sit here today comfortably examining this situation. But for the disinherited and left-out of this world, it is no matter for examination: It is a matter of day-to-day survival. *Life & Death*

↳ That is why I believe one of our most powerful weapons for peace is our food power.

yet There is still abroad in the land the general impression that we are a nation of bulging granaries and gigantic farm surpluses ... a nation with a clumsy embarrassment of agricultural riches.

↳ This is not true today. It will be less true tomorrow.

The surplus today is a surplus of hunger! We must do everything we can to defeat hunger or we shall soon have a surplus of trouble!

↳ World food production has increased in the past two years nowhere near enough to meet population growth, ~~that time the world has added nearly 140 million people~~ 80 per cent of them in lands least able to feed them.

↳ It is the policy of our government to give leadership to other "have" and food-surplus nations in providing assistance to the hungry nations ... and at the same time to help the hungry help themselves in meeting their own food needs.

The war on hunger can and must be won. We have joined the battle and will dedicate our resources and leadership to achieving victory.

■ A World Without Fences —'

↳ America is a nation determined to tear down the walls and fences that separate people and ^{attempt to} keep out ideas.

↳ And America, in its strength, can most afford to be the nation which can lead the way to a world without fences.

You live next to the world's greatest inland sea -- a sea shared in harmony by ourselves and by our good neighbor Canada.

↳ The spirit which makes possible thousands of miles of unfortified border ... which makes possible a St. Lawrence Seaway and its benefits to both countries ... which makes possible efforts by both our nations to preserve, for instance, the resources of shared shorelines and waterways -- this is

the spirit with which we pursue the task of building bridges
and of removing fences among all nations.

↳ There are those who argue it is dangerous, wrong,
and immoral to increase trade and cultural exchange with
the nations of Eastern Europe. Fortunately, most Americans,

including the organizations representing business, labor, and agriculture, support a policy of economic and cultural exchange.

The benefits to all people are self-evident.

Our democratic system has not been tainted because of our contact with those with whom we disagree. Rather, we have helped bring currents of change and liberality to nations and people desperately in need of them,

Current Business

Today, even as we are in armed conflict in Southeast Asia, we look toward the building of bridges and removal of fences between ourselves and the peoples who live in the Communist-governed nations of Asia.

National isolation breeds national neurosis.

That is why President Johnson is ~~today~~ making every effort not only to find the way to a just peace in Southeast Asia, but also to do all we can to open societies which today remain closed against themselves.

As the President said earlier this year at White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia.

"The peace we seek in Asia, ^{as described by the} ~~the President has said~~ ^{President}
"is a peace of conciliation between Communist states and their
non-Communist neighbors: between rich nations and poor;
between small nations and large; between men whose skins
are brown and black, and yellow and white; between Hindus
and Moslems, and Buddhists and Christians.

"It is a peace that can only be sustained through the
durable bonds of peace: through international trade; through
the free flow of people and ideas; through full participation
by all nations in an international ^{community} / under law; and
through a common dedication to the great task of human
progress and economic development."

I know, Our efforts so far have brought us nothing but
furious reaction and denunciation by Asian Communist leaders.

But I do not believe that is any reason for giving up.
It proves our point.
To ~~do so~~ ^{do so} would only serve the purpose of those who can
least afford to let in the outside world.

↳ This fresh air of freedom, once let in, quickly sweeps aside the stale, oppressive vapors of totalitarian control.

↳ It is the policy of our government to persist -- however long it may take -- in an effort to break down, by peaceful means, the barriers which today isolate a good share of the world's people from the community of nations.

“ A Framework for Peace ”

The fourth priority -- the building of institutions and of laws -- is perhaps the one that above all, tries man's patience *and faith*.

Yet when, through the United Nations, we can achieve something so important as a treaty banning nuclear weapons from outer space, all the months and years of effort are more than repaid.

But, —↳ There are those who complain of the loss of sovereignty involved in membership in the United Nations, or in the Organization of American States, or in NATO, or in signing any international treaty.

But without the rule of law, the rule of the jungle prevails.

And ^{so called} "sovereignty" is lost in the fire and dust of brute power and force.

The answer is to build useful institutions ... and to draft wise laws and treaties -- so that the sovereignty ~~is~~ ^{is}

independence of the modern nation state is strengthened and made meaningful by the freedom and safety gained by the cooperation of many nations.

Here is the agenda for the final 1/3 of the 20th century.

Halting the arms race ... closing the gap between the rich and poor nations ... removing fences ^{yes walls} of misunderstanding ... building institutions and laws to nurture the rights of man -- these are the priorities we face in the world around us.

And basic to all of these things, as I said earlier, are two other imperatives: That aggression shall not be allowed to feed upon itself; and that the fabric of our nation should be strong.

Today, in Southeast Asia, we are engaged with our allies in an effort to stem aggression.

There are those who say we have no business there ... that we belong in our own hemisphere ... or that we should limit ourselves to concern for the European lands of our ancestors.

~~There are many things to be said in response to this.~~

I will only say this: In this nuclear and space age, no point in this world is more than a few minutes' distant from any other -- as the ballistic missile flies. *There is no place to hide!* If there is today a proper American "sphere of influence", it is this fragile sphere called earth upon which all men live and share a common fate ... a sphere where our influence must be for *freedom* peace and justice.

↳ It is precisely in the most remote corner of the earth that the small disorder can grow to the larger conflict which can draw all of us into war against our wills.

Today we are engaged in Southeast Asia so that such a great war may never take place.

And at this point I would like to give you the words of a wise American President:

"We have ... states which face the Pacific and without anything else they make us a real Pacific power ..."

And then he went on, in discussion of a war in a distant place:

"It is wise for us to stop the event before it shall spread and ^{we should} assist in stopping a local fire before it shall spread into general conflagration ... Somebody inquired:

"Would you be willing to have your son lose his life in a controversy over (a) ... remote question with which we have nothing to do?" And the answer very promptly came: 'If that was to ~~involve~~ ^{stop} the spread of that local war into a general world war and into a retrograde step in human civilization, his life could not be sacrificed in a higher cause.'

The wise American President was William Howard Taft, and his words were uttered in these club rooms 50 years and 2 days ago.

He reminded us of our American responsibilities

President Eisenhower described the other and final imperative we face: "The firm base ... leading the world toward the achievement of human aspirations -- toward peace with justice in freedom -- must be the United States."

We must build an America so strong, so free, so prosperous, so able to lead, that there may be no question about our purpose or our endurance.

If we are to do it, we shall have to undertake something that no other nation has ever undertaken or achieved: To make every citizen in our society a full and productive member of our society.

We shall have to make national investments in our country and in our people -- investments in productivity, in economic growth, in opportunity, in enterprise, in greater social justice, in self-help.

Education of the highest quality ... war against poverty ... programs of retraining and redevelopment ... better and safer cities and transportation ... an even more productive agriculture ... yes, equality at the ballot box and before the law -- these are the most basic investments of all in an America able to keep its commitments at home and abroad.

↳ But it will -- and must -- take more than the efforts of the federal government to build our stronger and better America. ~~Can't make a party~~

↳ What is needed is a partnership in which our public and private institutions, working together, can meet public and private need without any one institution or sector of our society becoming a dominant force. ↳ There are conflicting designs for national growth and strength being pursued in today's world.

For those nations which have lost or forsaken freedom, it is collectivism.

For us -- a nation seeking to enhance and nourish freedom -- it must be a partnership of free men.

No one can go it alone in meeting these challenges. We need a new working relationship ... new confidence and understanding among all parts of our society if we are to meet the priorities of international responsibility.

In closing, may I say a word about the nature of that responsibility.

Leadership today requires more than the ability to go it alone -- although we must not be afraid to do so when necessary.

Leadership today requires understanding of the problems we face ... of the resources at hand ... and of the objectives we seek.

It requires the ability, perhaps even more, to lead and inspire others -- to lead and inspire in a sense of common enterprise.

For strong and rich as we may become, our goal of a just and peaceful world will never be achieved by America alone.

It will be achieved only when the resources of strong and weak, of rich and poor alike are allocated, in the most effective manner possible, to challenges that are far too great for any one nation to attempt to overcome.

This, then, is the test we must set ourselves: Not to march alone, but to march in such a way that others will wish to join us.

I will add one caveat: In ^{none} / of this should we expect either friendship or gratitude.

I think the most we can expect is this: That those who question us will one day find no reason to question; that in the world there may be no doubt that Americans have the vision, the endurance and the courage to stand for what we believe and to see it through.

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PROCEEDINGS

of the

CENTENNIAL BANQUET

Hemlock
of

THE BUFFALO CLUB

Room
held at

10:30 P.M., FRIDAY, JANUARY 6, 1967.

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,

Guest Speaker.

GORDON H. KUNKEL

OFFICIAL SUPREME COURT REPORTER

1754 STATLER HILTON BUILDING

BUFFALO 2, N. Y.

TL 4-1306

1 MR. FERGUSON:

Good evening, gentlemen.

2 Mr. Vice President, honored guests,
3 members of the Buffalo Club, and
4 friends, I convey sincere greetings
5 to you all from the officers and
6 directors as well as the past presidents
7 as we observe the 100th Anniversary
8 of The Buffalo Club.

9 Special honor and thanks are
10 accorded you, Mr. Vice President, for
11 joining our Centennial Celebration.
12 We greatly appreciate having you with
13 us to make memorable this occasion
14 and we invite you to return to this
15 home whenever your schedule permits.
16 Recognition of your visit to Buffalo
17 has been noted nationally, made evident
18 by this week's stock market advance.
19 You know, I had in my notes that I
20 was also going to recognize the good
21 luck he brought us with the Buffalo
22 Bills, but I had to cut that out.

23 (Laughter)

1 I will say that your coming has pro-
2 vided wonderful weather for winter,
3 and especially today on this nice
4 sunny day, providing the 38 degrees.
5 It is all right for everyone except
6 the skiing enthusiasts, but they have
7 had snow in the south, I understand,
8 and they are getting along all right
9 too. I was talking to a man the other
10 day who said that a year ago this date
11 when the Vice President was here it
12 was 3 degrees above zero at the Polish
13 ~~Centennial~~^{MILLENNIUM}. We are having a little
14 better luck.

15 The theme of our Centennial cele-
16 bration here is Service. We recognize
17 a segment of history in which our
18 members have aided progress in the
19 Niagara Frontier in constant effort
20 for a better life for its citizens.
21 A Centennial Book has been published
22 and distributed to the membership
23 enumerating some of our accomplishments

1 of the past decades. A special
2 edition has been provided for our
3 Vice President. This, I hope, sir,
4 you will take with you. It has in-
5 scribed on it, "To the Honorable
6 Herbert Hubert Humphrey". I knew I
7 was going to say "Herbert".

8 (Laughter)

9 I know he will enjoy the history con-
10 tained therein, and we hope he will
11 really get better acquainted with
12 Buffalo from reading it.

13 (Applause)

14 The history of the Buffalo Club
15 is in good measure the story of Buffalo
16 for the two have been made virtually
17 inseparable by their service to each
18 other. We tell of a past, not irre-
19 vocably gone, but alive, interesting
20 and memorable.

21 We honor our founders tonight -
22 Millard Fillmore, William Fargo,
23 William Dorsheimer and their friends

1 who filed the certificate of incorp-
2 oration on January 2nd, 1867, and
3 invited others to join in forming this
4 organization.

5 They rented a house not far from the
6 present clubhouse on Delaware Avenue,
7 bought fumiture, china and silverware;
8 fixed up the wood burning stove and
9 were in operation. They were determined
10 to provide an atmosphere of good fellow-
11 ship and friendliness where they could
12 dine, relax and consider creatively
13 "What's Good for Buffalo".

14 Here our Park System was originated,
15 our steel plants brought to Buffalo,
16 and our Charity Drives organized.
17 The University of Buffalo, our hospitals
18 and music center expansions were planned
19 here by our members.

20 As we study the Centennial Story
21 we recognize old Buffalo names in the
22 list of officers and directors before
23 1895. They include Hutchinson, Jewett,

1 Richmohd, Rumsey, Sprague, Ganson,
2 Hudson, Lansing, Bowen, Allen, Rich,
3 Warren, Rochester, Cary, Stevenson,
4 Germain, Plumb, Spaulding, Gratwick,
5 Sidway, Mathews, Bissell, Lockwood,
6 Hayes, Wilcox, Gorham, Roswell Park,
7 Ramsdell, Urban, Norton, Lautz and
8 Cleveland, and many others. As these
9 men of the past look down on our meeting
10 this evening, I am sure that they
11 would approve of our efforts to raise
12 the competency of our citizens and
13 our constant desire to spread peace
14 throughout the world.

15 In 1917 Walter P. Cooke was chair-
16 man of the Golden Anniversary program
17 and toastmaster of the Banquet.

18 Walter Cooke made a scrapbook at that
19 time which we have here with some
20 official letters handwritten from
21 President Taft. Another Past Presi-
22 dent of the Club, John G. Milburn
23 was one of the principal speakers.

1 He spoke of the Club and its accom-
2 plishments in the days when they could
3 identify a carriage passing along the
4 street by the coachman and horses and
5 told of the many efforts then made
6 affecting the public interest and
7 municipal progress.

8 Mr. William H. Glenny, a charter
9 member, expressed the hope that, "this
10 Club may, at its 100th Anniversary,
11 be able to look back with as much
12 satisfaction to the fifty years between
13 now and then as we look back between
14 now and the date of its foundation."
15 The honored guest, William Howard Taft,
16 reviewed some of his experiences during
17 the Presidency and the position of the
18 United States regarding our entrance
19 into the European war, World War I.

20 In our Centennial Book are stories
21 of the use of the Club as a temporary
22 White House during the last days of
23 President McKinley. We are also told

of the membership of Grover Cleveland and his accomplishments in the State and Nation.

At the President's Dinner last month we very seriously considered the "borrowing" aspect of our membership. We have borrowed the idea of a Club from earlier gatherings in Athens and Rome - and later clubs in London and New York. In the life of our last hundred years, the Club has become a gathering place for men and women as a natural way of providing a home for fellowship.

We have borrowed from our City - our Club members past and present - following the mandates of the Athenians to "transmit this city not only, not less, but greater, better and more beautiful than it was transmitted to us."

I have felt that the entire theme of our celebration should be one con-

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cerning lifetimes of service of our members, service toward a better life for our citizens concerned with the welfare of people.

We have borrowed from each other's ability and reputation - oftimes the young from the more mature, the inexperienced from those who have greater background, and the less imaginative from the brighter scholar - all to the advantage of both.

And we have borrowed, while here at the Club, a life of congenial companionship in the friendly spirit felt within these walls of good will and concern for others.

Through this borrowing and through returning what we have borrowed with liberal interest, we trust that the fondest hopes of our founders have been and are being realized; that our members are continuing to make significant contributions to the culture and

1 the economic stature of Buffalo; and
2 that, building upon the experiences of
3 the past, we may look forward to an
4 even more brilliant second Century of
5 Service. Thank you.

6 (Applause)

7 I would like to now call upon the
8 immediate Past President of The Buffalo
9 Club, who helped supervise and
10 coordinate the planning of the Centennial
11 Celebration. During his administration,
12 our committee of Past Presidents
13 organized the Memorabilia Exhibit and
14 directed the completion and distribution
15 of the Centennial Book. It was in this
16 100th year that Carl Reed and his
17 Banquet Committee completed all plans
18 for tonight's celebration and to them
19 we are extremely grateful. Arrange-
20 ments have also been perfected for the
21 Grand Ball in February and the Stag
22 Night in April.

23 I would like to have you all con-

gratulate our President of 1966,
Eugene F. McCarthy.

(Applause)

MR. McCARTHY:

Mr. Vice President, Mr. Ferguson,
and fellow members; as the most recent
addition to the list of Past Presidents
it is a real honor and pleasure for
me to be asked to represent this dis-
tinguished group of members here
tonight. As President during the
100th year of the Buffalo Club I and
my fellow directors have taken great
interest and pride in planning and
~~counter-planning~~ ^{IMPLEMENTING} the several events
celebrating our Centennial of which
this event is the highlight. ^P During the
first century of the Buffalo Club,
Ninety-one men have held the office
of President, and ~~and~~ ^{Of} these gentlemen
eighteen are alive today, and twelve
are here this evening. It is my
privilege now to introduce those
gentlemen to you, asking them to stand

1 and remain standing until we have an
2 opportunity to give them our applause
3 at the end.

4 Heading the list is our Senior
5 Past President, a member of this Club
6 since 1920, which makes him the ninth
7 oldest living member; our ~~Past~~ Presi-
8 dent in 1933 who has traveled from
9 Florida to be here tonight, Mr. ^{LEWIS} ~~Louis~~
10 G. Harriman.

11 Following him as Past President I
12 present Charles H. Diefendorf, Howard
13 W. Pearce, Edwin F. Jaeckle, David
14 J. Laub, Carl N. Reed, Whitworth Ferguson
15 R. Maxwell James, Crawford Wettlaufer,
16 Charles E. Masters, and ^{NEWELL} ~~William L.~~
17 Nussbaumer. Gentlemen, we salute you.

18 (Applause)

19 MR. FERGUSON:

20 Thank you Gene. We are very proud
21 to give special honor to our older
22 members and Past Presidents.

23 We have seriously considered in these
weeks of our Centennial Celebration

1 the great deeds of the past and
2 those of our founders. We have surveyed
3 with satisfaction our condition of well
4 being in the present. So let us now
5 turn our faces to the future as we
6 enter upon the second century resolving
7 to so conduct the affairs of this
8 Club that it may continue to grow in
9 usefulness year after year. Our leader-
10 ship in 1967 is in the competent hands
11 of a new President and new Officers.
12 I now relinquish the podium to the
13 man honored at the Centennial Reception
14 earlier this week, our new President
15 for 1967, William R. Heath.

16 MR. HEATH:

17 Mr. Ferguson, Mr. Vice President,
18 Mr. Chairman, and fellow members of
19 the Buffalo Club, I take great pleasure
20 in introducing to you the officers
21 for the ensuing year, the first year
22 of the Second Century of the Buffalo
23 Club. Our first Vice President is
Mr. Milton L. Baier; second Vice

1 President Mr. Albert H. Laub; third
2 Vice President Mr. G. Douglas Clucas;
3 Secretary, Mr. Walter S. DelaPlante;
4 Assistant Secretary, Mr. Moir P.
5 Tanner, and the Treasurer, Mr. Albert
6 L. Morris.

7 Gentlemen, I believe these fellow
8 Officers take a special pride this year
9 in being accorded the distinct honor
10 of being, and starting off as your
11 representatives in the Second Century
12 of The Buffalo Club. We appreciate it,
13 on this, our Centennial year. Thank
14 you, Mr. Ferguson.

15 MR. FERGUSON:

16 Bill, I think you forgot to announce
17 the historian you appointed. We are
18 going to have Gene McCarthy as Historian
19 of the Club for the coming year.
20 Thank you, President Bill Heath, and
21 Officers of The Buffalo Club.

22 Our Club has considered itself most
23 fortunate in having Millard Fillmore
as its first President, and other out-

standing citizens of Western New York
as its officers and directors over the
years. We have been honored by having
another President of the United States,
Grover Cleveland, as a member and
having a third President, William Howard
Taft, as the speaker for the 50th
Anniversary Celebration. This evening
we are fortunate indeed to have as our
Centennial Guest, Vice President
Hubert H. Humphrey.

His splendid public service through-
out many years as Mayor, United States
Senator, and in various other capacities
has firmly fixed for all time his place
upon the page of history and in the
hearts of the people. He must have
the satisfaction of knowing that as
the years go by, he is gaining a firm
hold upon the respect, esteem and
affection of his countrymen. I am sure
he has done that here tonight.

He honors us by his presence, and

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we are proud to do honor to him.

Gentlemen, it is a privilege and a great pleasure to be permitted to present Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey, Vice President of the United States.

(Standing ovation)

* * * * *

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you very much, Mr. Ferguson, Whit Ferguson, and newly elected President Bill Heath. I always hesitate to talk about any newly elected President --

(Laughter)

unless it is a matter of succession in office.

(Laughter)

And Gene McCarthy and the Officers of the fine, and noted, and respected Buffalo Club, my fellow Democrat John Galvin.

(Applause)

1 I am sure that everyone of you know
2 that I have had a very, very happy
3 and delightful evening. There comes a
4 time in the life of every man, indeed
5 of every person, that a certain amount
6 of pain and anguish is required to
7 make you appreciate the joy and
8 happiness that you have already ex-
9 perience. That moment has arrived.

10 (Laughter)

11 So just lean back, and get ready,
12 and one of the most esteemed Jurists
13 of your great State was with us to-
14 night and he will see that justice
15 is meted out to all of us. Judge
16 Charles Desmond is here with us, and
17 I know that he will see that everything
18 comes out all right.

19 (Applause)

20 I took a look at my watch when I got
21 up here. It is an old habit to which
22 I pay very little attention. I thought
23 you ought to know.

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(Laughter)

But I haven't come here under any false pretenses, and you knew what you were going to get before I arrived.

(Laughter)

I feel that is a fair deal, and you were foolish enough to come, and I was happy to be here, this is the way it is.

(Laughter)

I think I should say, however, that I did come here under some illusion that my friend, Vince Gaughan, called me and talked to me about this wonderful evening, and he indicated to me that this was a Democratic party rally.

(Laughter)

He said, I want you to know that Joe Crangle will be here tonight, Paul Fitzpatrick, Mayor Frank Sedita, and Congressman Max McCarthy, John Galvin, they will all be here, and you are in the home of Jim Reed, and a

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member of the Club was Grover Cleveland.

(Laughter)

Judge Desmond will be here. He didn't tell me about Ed Jaeckle.

(Applause & laughter)

If he had told me, I would have come sooner. Ed, I am delighted to see you. Ed Jaeckle is one of the wonderful fine citizens of this community.

(Applause)

I will tell you, I listened to all these other fellows because that makes it equal.

(Laughter)

I have many things that I wanted to say, and I most likely will before we are through here.

(Laughter)

This evening I have a host of notes here. I thought maybe we ought to get some certain common denominators, and the last time I was here/^{was} for the

Polish ^{MILLENNIUM}~~Committee~~. (Laughter)

1 There was a blizzard and you made
2 me feel very much at home. We had
3 one in Minnesota on the same day.
4 Tonight I arrive and I find that one
5 of the most distinguished of your
6 members,¹⁵ Past President Eugene McCarthy,
7 my Senior Senator from the State of
8 Minnesota, and one of my closest per-
9 sonal friends is Eugene McCarthy, a
10 great United States Senator, so I felt
11 very, very much at home. Then I saw
12 what happened to the Buffalo Bills
13 and the Minnesota Vikings, so I felt
14 very much at home.

15 (Laughter)

16 And just to show you how loyal I am
17 to Buffalo, I am not going to Los
18 Angeles for the Super Bowl.

19 (Laughter)

20 And I think you ought to know, I have
21 been invited, but after what happened
22 to me in Wisconsin in 1960 let them
23 fight it out on their own.

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(Laughter)

There are a few of you that knew why,
I can see that.

(Laughter)

The rest of you I will see a little
later and I would like to explain it
to you.

I notice tonight amongst the
Officers, after Mr. Heath had pre-
sented the Officers of the Buffalo
Club in the Centennial year that you
have three Vice Presidents. I told
President Johnson last night of the
bargain he was getting with me.

(Laughter)

(Applause)

I was in New York City not long ago
speaking at the International Ladies
Garment Workers Union and they had
twenty-one Vice Presidents.

(Laughter)

I might add, all paid better than the
one that you are ~~first~~ looking at.

(Laughter)

1 This office of the Vice President is
2 not exactly the most attractive, except
3 for those of us who want *IT*, I would
4 like to discourage any New Yorker
5 from ever wanting this job.

6 (Laughter & applause.)

7 I thought you would get that.

8 (Laughter)

9 That is bipartisan, I might add.

10 (Laughter)

11 We up-State boys have to stick together.

12 (Laughter)

13 I have got one convert, he is going to
14 take the little wife.

15 (Laughter).

16 I want to say a few words tonight
17 about my office and then I want to
18 talk to you about a few other things,
19 but maybe as you sit out here you will
20 notice that, this is looking at your
21 program, and by the way, I _{do} want to
22 thank Mr. Ferguson and Mr. Heath and
23 others for the Centennial edition.

1 It is a very special edition which
2 they have presented to me tonight.
3 I did see the edition which you have
4 made available to your membership and
5 sort of cribbed a few notes out of
6 there, and I am very honored to be
7 here. I must say that one of the
8 reasons I came here is because, knowing
9 that you were celebrating your 100th
10 birthday it made me feel good to think
11 that you had enough confidence in the
12 future and enough respect for the
13 past to finally invite a Democrat to
14 speak to you.

15 (Laughter & applause)

16 But you knew I had a lot of Republican
17 friends back in Minnesota, and then
18 you knew a little bit about this
19 office of the Vice Presidency because
20 I note that everybody that has been
21 associated with this Club has been a
22 President. Well, one was a Vice
23 President for a short period of time,

1 President Fillmore, and then of course ,
2 there was Grover Cleveland, and then
3 in this Club and its facilities, of
4 course the beloved President McKinley
5 who had his Cabinet that met here as
6 he was in his final days of his service
7 to his country.

8 But I must speak to you just a
9 moment; I am a student of the Vice
10 Presidency. I figured I ought to get
11 acquainted with it.

12 (Laughter)

13 And you will notice that you have
14 known for a long time that the
15 Presidency, the President has his
16 official seal. The seal of the
17 President is a majestic seal and it
18 encompasses within it in the artistry
19 of it the majesty of this office
20 and the President. The great American
21 eagle which is a magnificent bird
22 that shows all the vitality, the alert-
23 ness, the alacrity of the American

1 people. And the wings of the Presi-
2 dential eagle, the seal, as you notice
3 the eagle looks strong and vigorous.
4 His wings are up and his head cocked
5 looking to the claws that are holding
6 a whole cluster of olive branches as
7 our dedication to peace. Then you
8 will notice to the right of the Presi-
9 dential seal a whole sheaf of arrows,
10 the strong mighty eagle.

11 Well, in 1947 the Congress decided
12 they ought to do something for the
13 Vice President. ~~Since~~ Nothing much had
14 been done for him up until then.

15 (Laughter)

16 So they gave him a seal, and you notice
17 it is right before you. There is
18 the American eagle looking like a
19 victim of the war on hunger, as a
20 matter of fact.

21 (Laughter)

22 Those of you that are aeronautically
23 inclined you notice he looks like he

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is ready for a crash landing.

(Laughter)

But he is true to his President. His head is cocked looking to the claws that hold ~~gone~~ little old olive branch, which indicates that whatever vitality he has ~~it~~ ^{STRICTLY} ~~stately~~ is for peace.

(Laughter)

And you will notice that ⁱⁿ the other set of ~~paws~~ ^{CLAWS} is the one arrow. This is a way to make the Vice President understand his position in the Government.

(Laughter)

It gives you a kind of official humility which is required by this position.

(Laughter)

&
Applause)

But I want Al Kirkover and others to know that I am saving that arrow.

(Laughter)

There is much more I could say here tonight, but you had enough fun. I

1 think it is time we settle down to
2 serious work.

3 Can I just say first of all to you
4 that the many things Buffalo Club
5 reminds me, as I said tonight to our
6 friends at the table, and to many of
7 you that I have met, it reminds me so
8 much of the Minneapolis Club in my
9 home city where I served as Mayor for
10 two terms. And whatever you may
11 have heard, I want you to know we did
12 get along pretty well. They did let
13 me in.

14 (Laughter)

15 We had a lot of fun together, and Mrs.
16 Humphrey and I have enjoyed the wonder-
17 ful hospitality of that Club. Of
18 course, it is somewhat like yours;
19 she has to come in the back door.

20 (Laughter)

21 It is one time that we men are in
22 charge, I'll tell you that, only for
23 a moment. But I do feel so much at

1 home as I sat there tonight in the
2 dining room, and I couldn't help but
3 feel that here were men that I have
4 known in my own home city and I wanted
5 to really just get up and say "hello
6 fellows", because I have the joy and
7 the pleasure of having many friends
8 back home. I kind of like to feel
9 that wherever we go is home, because
10 when you get to be Vice President,
11 or any National officer, you ought to
12 feel that you're home and not just to
13 have a limited and narrow parochial
14 interest.

15 I know that I am in a Club that
16 has a unique history. I know it
17 even if I hadn't read what your
18 Centennial Book reveals to us. You
19 will be interested to know that this
20 afternoon I read the address of William
21 Howard Taft as delivered, I believe,
22 on the 4th day of January, 1917, to
23 this Club. And quite frankly I want

1 to tell you something; I almost just
2 threw away what I was about to say
3 and just read that speech, and I would
4 have except I just didn't want to
5 think that all my Republican friends
6 had captured me completely.

7 (Laughter)

8 Even though I must say you came pretty
9 close on November 8th.

10 (Laughter & applause)

11 I think I should announce here
12 that while you may think that Max
13 McCarthy is a non-partisan in Buffalo,
14 down in Washington he is considered a
15 rabid Democrat.

16 (Laughter)

17 Where is Max here? Even though he
18 does a mighty good job for you,
19 and I am proud of him.

20 I want to talk to you tonight very
21 seriously, not as a politician, just a
22 fellow citizen and as one of your
23 public officials. I am sure you know

1 I am very honored to be here, very
2 honored to be in the Club that had
3 as its first President the President
4 of the United States, a member of
5 this Club, a great President, President
6 Grover Cleveland who did a marvelous
7 service for his country. I am sure
8 you also know that I can't help but
9 feel that in these days when we have
10 so many new -- well, new types of
11 psychoanalysis, and new ways of
12 association, that the one that some-
13 thing occasionally is written about,
14 it is just kind of nice to be in the
15 environment of where people seem to get
16 places. And I thought I would just
17 come up here and see if I couldn't
18 just absorb a bit of it.

19 So I want to talk to you tonight
20 about some very serious matters
21 effecting our country. I will talk
22 to you as responsible Americans. I
23 think the joy of this country is

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that we know how to be both responsible,
and at the same time enjoy life.
Remember what our founding fathers said,
Gentlemen, life, liberty and the pur-
suit of happiness. They didn't say
just life, liberty and survival, be-
cause strange creatures survive. But
mankind was intended to be happy,
and I think that one of the statements
that differentiates the American system
and the American life from that of
many other societies is that we are not
only dedicated to just living. They
live in countries under totalitariansm.
They live in countries that have no
civilization. It isn't only that we
have life and that we have liberty,
sometimes liberty is abused, and there-
fore, it does not become a quality of
progress. But we want happiness, and
that happiness really means is that
you develop individually. And in
that individual development there is

1 a collective, or a, should I say,
2 a consummate good.

3 Now, there are many questions
4 that we have a right to ask ourselves
5 these days, and people are asking
6 about us, just as well as we are asking
7 each other. And we are a very, very
8 critical society. Critical of our-
9 selves, critical of our public
10 officials, critical of our industry,
11 critical of labor, questions about
12 our religion. We are a questioning
13 people which is a sign of health.
14 Some people are asking, are we a
15 Nation with an arrogance of power.
16 That is a title of a book now, and
17 many people believe that. Or a people
18 that are bent on carving out big
19 spheres of influence all around the
20 globe. And I have an answer for all
21 of those questions. The answer is,
22 we are not. We are not arrogant and
23 we seek no sphere of influence. I

1 say that our purposes and our goals
2 are no more and no less than those
3 that are expressed by decent people.
4 In fact, peace loving peoples. Peace
5 loving peoples that put their
6 names to the Charter of the United
7 Nations. Not all people that were
8 peace loving did that, but I know that
9 we did. A Charter which, by the way,
10 under our Constitutional system is a
11 supreme law of the land and a Charter
12 which we treat with full respect that
13 is due.

14 Now, what does that Charter say?
15 And this is our purpose, and don't
16 forget it. Don't sell ourselves short
17 Gentlemen. With all of our criticism
18 and all of our questioning about our-
19 selves, keep in mind what we are.
20 It is only a strong society that
21 dares question its purpose. Weak
22 people never do. They are very, very
23 much braggadocio filled with false

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pride. That Charter to which we have
committed ourselves says that we are
destined and committed to save
succeeding generations from the scourge
of war. And I am looking at Fathers
tonight, just as I am, to reaffirm
faith in fundamental human rights,
and in the dignity and the worth of
the human person, in the equal rights
of men and women, and Nations large
and small. Now, that is to what we
are committed, to establish conditions
under which justice and respect for
obligations arising from treaties and
other sources of International Law
to be maintained. And to promote
social progress and better standards
of life in a larger freedom. And
then may I add, that that Charter
to which you as a citizen are committed
by an Act of Congress in which there
were only two dissenting votes to
resist aggression and to promote self

1 determination.

2 Now, Gentlemen, I know that we
3 don't always live up to our protes-
4 tations and our committments. There
5 is a fallability about human nature,
6 not an infallability, but these are
7 our standards and these are not
8 purposes or goals of an arrogant and
9 prideful and belligerent people.
10 These are purposes and goals which are
11 American in its wealth and power
12 and thank God for it for its wealth
13 and its power. Has not only an
14 opportunity but an obligation to
15 pursue. Don't be apologetic for
16 what we have. Remember that it has
17 been used to help more people by
18 one Nation than has ever been helped
19 by any one Nation in the history of
20 the world. And American wealth,
21 and American power has not been a
22 source, or has not been a force for
23 evil.

1 So I ask, yes, and I think I can
2 to this highly intelligent and
3 responsible audience, what today are
4 the priorities that we face helping
5 to build a world in which men and
6 Nations may live in a just and an
7 enduring peace. Because the truth
8 is if we don't have peace you can
9 just forget it all, because there
10 is really no alternative.

11 I would like to touch on just
12 several of these priorities, and I
13 will do it as quickly as I can be-
14 cause you have been here some time.
15 First, there is the need to slow
16 down and to halt, if possible, the
17 international armaments race. Costly,
18 dangerous, armaments race, and this
19 includes, Gentlemen, specifically and
20 urgently the need to conclude an
21 international nuclear non-prolifera-
22 tion treaty that is meaningful and binding

23 Second, if we value peace, and I

1 know that we do, we must lead in an
2 effort to narrow the gap between
3 the rich and poor Nations of the earth.
4 And I am going to talk to you about
5 that, and this includes the need to
6 wage an all out war on famine and
7 hunger. There is no need in this
8 time for God's children to be without
9 bread. There was a time when that
10 could be, because we knew not what
11 to do, but today we know better.

12 And third, there is the priority
13 of building what I call the bridges
14 of understanding, the bridges of
15 tolerance, bridges built upon every
16 conceivable base of common effort
17 among nations of different political
18 systems and ideology. Because whether
19 we like it or not, Gentlemen. this
20 is the only world we have. And if
21 William Howard Taft said to you fifty
22 years ago and two days, "this is the
23 world that we have, and you can't get

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off. It is here".

Now, this includes specifically and urgently the need to build bridges of understanding in coexistence between our American, and peoples who live today in Nations governed by other philosophies, even Communist regimes.

And fourth, there is the priority of continuing to help to build international institutions, and international law, which can provide the lasting framework to bind men together. Institutions like the United Nations, and right in this Club fifty years ago a man stood here and asked you to help build such a Nation. Fifty years ago. To help build such an international society, as he put it, a League of Nations. We call it a United Nations.

Laws such as the treaty recently concluded to keep outer space free of weapons. Now, Gentlemen, I am

1 the Chairman of the Space Council.
2 I think I should tell you in somewhat
3 of a spirit of levity, that every
4 time the Congress gives me something
5 to do, it seems to be either in
6 outer space or in the bottom of the
7 ocean.

8 (Laughter &
9 applause)

10 I am Chairman of the Space Council
11 and Chairman of the Council on
12 Oceanography. I suppose some people
13 might read something into that. I
14 refuse to do it.

15 (Laughter)

16 But I know that we are in the
17 space age and my friends here at Bell
18 Aircraft know it too. And under-
19 pinning these four priorities that
20 I have mentioned, are two others
21 that are not only supplemental,
22 but are fundamental. The necessity,
23 painful, dangerous, costly as it is

1 of resisting aggression before it
2 can gain international momentum.
3 That isn't new. And a necessity of
4 building here at home a strong and
5 free America to carry on the burdens
6 that are ours. Because, believe me,
7 this is the last best hope on earth.
8 Don't forget it. Don't forget it
9 as you read every column, every
10 editorial, everybody that speaks
11 about it says the way to get ahead-
12 line in this country is to condemn us,
13 and you know I tell you the truth.
14 Just remember that despite our weak-
15 nesses there has never been a society
16 that has more justice, more opportunity
17 more freedom, more of the good things
18 of life than the one of which you are
19 a member today.

20 (Applause)

21 I don't think I need to tell wise
22 and prudent men of success that the
23 sure way to lose all of this is a

1 world war. You know better than I
2 know if we go through the third one
3 the freedom that you know today
4 will vanish. Who will pick up the
5 pieces, I ask you. Who do you expect
6 to bail us out of the debris. We
7 bailed out Europe and Asia. Who
8 do you expect to do it the next time?
9 I'll let you answer that question.
10 There is no one else. So we got to
11 just frankly say, there cannot be,
12 and there must not be a world war three.

13 The highest duty of statesmanship
14 today is to prevent that catastrophe.
15 Now, this is the 22nd year of the
16 nuclear age. It isn't very long, is it
17 It is the 17th year of the computer
18 age. It is the 6th year of the space
19 age. You know, I am a member of the
20 a regent.
21 Smithsonian Institution. I finally
22 made it. I became a member of the
23 Institution of Education,

(Laughter)

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I was over to the Smithsonian not long ago, and the first computer that man ever knew is in that Smithsonian, 17 years old. Revolutionized industry. The first space capsule of John Glenn, six years old, and it is a museum piece. That is how fast things are changing. But thank goodness, and this is the 22nd year of the nuclear age we still survive, and I think we survive in a large measure because of our own self discipline and our own power, and also because men haven't fallen victim to the madness of nuclear war.

In recent months it's become somewhat fashionable to game out all sorts of things, you know, in your exercises in theory, and some people even argue that you could have twenty or thirty countries that are nuclear powers and you would still be just as safe. This is the same as saying

1 back in the days of the West, instead
2 of having one man that was the bully
3 of the town, and the brigand, so to
4 speak, the man that came in with
5 pistols on his side usually get along
6 just as well with thirty, and the
7 same Constable, or the same one
8 Marshall. You know better. If you
9 don't, stop believing and look at
10 "Rifleman" or "Bonanza", and catch on.

11 (Laughter)

12 I, frankly, am alarmed by these
13 kind of academic theoretical studies.
14 These theories may have some power
15 of logic, and they make good drama,
16 but they don't take into account
17 what you and I know to be the past
18 human history and the nature of man.
19 In case I have to remind you, may I
20 mention Adolf Hitler. He was not
21 only a mad man, but he also was the
22 Chancellor of the Reich. And he was
23 the first to achieve power in a major

1 Nation State, but I don't think he
2 is necessarily the last. Or may I
3 say that he was one of several to
4 achieve power in a Nation State. And
5 for that reason I do not believe that
6 we can afford to accept the premise
7 that the nuclear stalemate today be-
8 tween ourselves and the Soviet Union.
9 Addition, Britain and France and now
10 the rising threat of the Chinese, and
11 don't under estimate them, my friends.
12 Everybody else has been. I have been
13 in this Government a long time and
14 I have heard people in Washington say
15 that it would be ten years before they
16 had a device and it turned out to be
17 five. I heard them say that it would
18 be seven years before they had a
19 delivery system, and it turned out
20 to be two. Don't under estimate them.
21 So I say that nuclear proliferation
22 is dangerous. There is no safety
23 in numbers.

1 Now, it is the policy of your
2 Government, and we pursue it day in
3 and day out. and I am one of that
4 Government, that a treaty should be
5 concluded as soon as possible which
6 would halt nuclear proliferation
7 and lead to the reduction of the number
8 of weapons and delivery systems for
9 such weapons.

10 Oh, I know, it is difficult, but it
11 is not as difficult as having one of
12 those weapons detonated. I don't
13 think I have to tell some people in
14 this audience what one of those weapons
15 means. All I can say to you is,
16 my dear friends, is when I sit in the
17 National Security Council and hear
18 them talk about any nuclear exchange
19 means one hundred million dead in
20 the first twenty-four hours, I
21 wonder then what is the rest of us
22 supposed to do. And out of that
23 hundred million that survive I suppose

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I am supposed to be one, but what of my wife and my children, and you. Many protections for your President and your Vice President, and even your Congress, but what about you? Do you think you can run this country? with Government? With what do we fight back, and for what do we fight? So we have to ask ourselves some very deep and profound questions. But there is yet another threat that is on the horizon, and I don't come here to frighten you, because I do not believe that free people ought to be motivated out of fear, but rather out of reason.

Secretary McNamara has said recently there is considerable evidence, and I quote him now, "that the Soviet Union is deploying an anti-ballistic missile system. A system of weapons capable of intercepting intercontinental ballistic missiles and destroying

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them in flight". If the Soviet Union were to go ahead with the deployment of such a system it could set off a new spiral of armaments expenditures and development, likes of which the world has never known. And we are at that stage now, my fellow Americans, tonight, not tomorrow; tonight.

Secretary Rusk, speaking for your Government, has made our policy clear in regard to this serious matter. He says it in what you and I would call State Department language, but it is understood, and if not, I will explain it to you. He said, "We would regret very much the lifting of the arms race of an entirely new plateau of major expenditures", which is another way of saying, this is a dangerous thing. "As you know", he said, "we made earlier to the Geneva conference proposals for freezes and limitations on the further production of offensive

1 and defensive nuclear weapons. We
2 would like to see some means developed
3 by which both sides, would not have to
4 go into wholly new and unprecedented
5 levels of military expenditure, with
6 perhaps no perceptible result in the
7 total strategic situation".

8 What does that mean? It means that
9 you don't gain anything by going
10 into this new dimension of unbelievable
11 cost, and you will pay for it, and
12 they'll pay for it because these
13 weapons do not come at bargain counter
14 prices.

15 Now, my friends, I speak to you as
16 one who serves in the highest councils
17 of this Government, and there is no
18 partisanship when it comes to security.
19 There is no long run security in a
20 great arms race. There is only an
21 increasing volatile insecurity in
22 which one mistake or miscalculation
23 can trigger Armageddon. Each new

1 weapon breeds a counterweapon. An
2 antiballistic missile breeds an anti-
3 antiballistic missile ad infinitum,
4 and each day you arrive more and more
5 at that danger point of explosion.
6 An arms race saps the resources of
7 the poor and even of the rich. It
8 sets Nations, or I should say it sets
9 in motion forces of power, politics
10 and mutual fear. It poins the well-
11 springs of international cooperation.
12 It signs, in other words, a sort
13 of mortgage on the life of your loved
14 ones.

15 Now, we see this today, for example,
16 in the Middle East and Latin America,
17 in the Middle East, the cradle of
18 civilization, it could be the death
19 bed. We see pressures and counter
20 pressures which threaten conflict.
21 We see the urgent need for all parties
22 not to develop nuclear weapons and
23 to scale down the level of their

1 conventional armaments. And then
2 there are neighbors to the south, in
3 Latin America. And by the way, you
4 are all familiar with the Alliance
5 for Progress. Our nation puts into
6 that area of the world around five
7 hundred, six hundred million dollars
8 a year. I think you ought to know
9 that we spend over -- that they spend
10 over two billion dollars a year on
11 armaments, and they are considering
12 now the possibility of expanded
13 armament. So long as this continues
14 the economic and social aspirations
15 of the peoples of these Nations
16 will be denied and frustrated. When
17 those social and economic aspirations
18 are denied the prospect of Communist
19 control, dictatorship, all of that
20 is expanded and increased.

21 This is only to say that it is the
22 policy of your Government to halt
23 and turn back the arms race wherever

1 we can, and thereby, to create
2 greater security for our Nation than
3 it has today.

4 Now, let me speak to you of a
5 second priority for just a moment,
6 the rich and the poor gap. I want to
7 talk to you now in the words of Pope
8 John the 23rd in his great Encyclical
9 "Mater et Magistra". And here is
10 what that beloved churchman said, and
11 I happen to think that this great
12 spiritual leader was one of the most
13 important forces in the twentieth
14 century. He may very well have changed
15 the whole future of mankind.

16 He said, "The solidarity which binds
17 all men and makes them members of the
18 same family requires political
19 communities enjoying an abundance of
20 material goods not to remain indifferent
21 to those political communities whose
22 citizens suffer from poverty, misery,
23 and hunger". He went on to say in

1 simple language that where there is
2 constant want there is no peace.
3 The greatest threat to your peace in
4 Buffalo, the peace in my State of
5 Minnesota, and this Nation is the
6 growing want of millions and millions
7 of God's children. There was a time
8 when these people would sit by idly
9 and die quietly. The fact is, they
10 can no longer do so.

11 Now, we sit here tonight comfortably
12 examining the situation, but for the
13 disinherited and the left-out of this
14 world it is not a matter of examina-
15 tion. It is a matter of survival,
16 life or death. And that is why I
17 believe, I call to your attention in
18 this city of grain millers, like my
19 own city o Minneapolis, of agri-
20 business in upstate New York, here on
21 the Great Lakes, that food today is
22 a powerful weapon for peace. There
23 is still aboard in this land the

1 impression that we have unlimited
2 surplus. I will tell you that is
3 over. But you can just thank God
4 Almighty you had them, because
5 possibly the surpluses of food and
6 fiber have saved us thus far. It
7 will be the tomorrow the surplus of
8 today, I should say is the surplus
9 not of grain, but of hunger, and we
10 as a Nation must do everything we
11 can to defeat this hunger, or we shall
12 soon have a surplus of trouble.

13 World food production has increased
14 in the past two years somewhat, but
15 nowhere large enough to meet population
16 growth. It is the policy of your
17 Government, and I come here to tell
18 you about that policy; not to try to
19 feed the world, because we can't.
20 With all of our desires no matter how
21 generous you may want to be, no matter
22 what the spirir of my dear friend
23 may be, Monsignor Loftus here tonight,

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or the other Reverend clergy, we cannot feed the world, but we can give leadership to the other half Nations in providing assistance to the hungry Nations. And to help the hungry people themselves to feed themselves. And I come here tonight to tell you that the answer to the needy of the world is not merely charity, but self help. You help them to help themselves in We had the emergency period/which we could cushion for a while the imminent disaster of hunger and famine. The time is now at hand my fellow Americans where we must teach other people and help other people to help themselves. And my fellow Americans, the time is also at hand to ask others who are half Nations to face up to their morale and political responsibilities.

(Applause.)

I have wrote down here a little

1 theme that I called a "world without
2 fences" and I want to just cite what
3 I mean. We don't want to be walled
4 in. Fences destroy communities.
5 They separate people, and some people
6 even think they keep out ideas, but
7 ideas have a way of being able to
8 move over fences. And in our country
9 we are the ones that can most afford
10 to be the Nation that can lead the
11 world. It is a society without
12 fences, the open society, and we have
13 everything to gain with it. You live
14 next door to the world's greatest
15 inland sea. We are on the other end
16 of it, the Lake Superior, in my State.
17 A sea ~~that~~ is shared in harmony by
18 ourselves and our good neighbor to
19 the north, Canada. The spirit which
20 makes possible thousands of miles
21 of unfortified border is the St.
22 Lawrence Seaway and its benefits
23 which makes possible efforts by both

1 Nations to preserve the resources
2 of shared shorelines and water ways.
3 This is the spirit that we need to
4 use by example and experience to pursue
5 the task of building bridges, and
6 removing fences among all Nations.

7 Now, I know there are a lot of
8 people, and there may be some in
9 this audience tonight that are going
10 to argue that it's dangerous and wrong
11 and hazardous and immoral to increase
12 trade in culture and exchange with
13 Nations of eastern Europe. These
14 are the Communist dominated Nations.
15 I don't want to avoid, or evade the
16 question, but fortunately most
17 Americans, the Chamber of Commerce,
18 the great labor movement of this
19 country, the agricultural organizations,
20 support a policy of economic and cul-
21 tural exchange. And why? Because
22 the benefits are evident.

23 Our Democratic system hasn't been

1 tainted because of our contact with
2 a few people with whom we disagree.
3 Rather we have helped create currents
4 of change and liberality, to bring
5 those currents to people desperately
6 in need of them. I happen to believe
7 that if we could turn loose in eastern
8 Europe ten thousand American business
9 men that are really convinced of
10 the vitality, and of the strength
11 of the free enterprise system, that
12 we do more good than all the foreign
13 aid we could put together in that
14 part of the world.

15 (Applause.)

16 Now, I used to talk this way when
17 I was in the Senate and I couldn't
18 get enough of you to listen.

19 (Laughter)

20 But I believed it, because I am
21 unafraid. I think that we Americans
22 have sold ourselves short. We are
23 not going to become Communists, or

1 Socialists by seeing their failures.
2 They might well become somewhat
3 inspired for freedom by our examples.
4 This is why I believe in opening up
5 as best we can the gates. And this
6 is why I understand why they are re-
7 luctant to have it done. And the
8 only reason that it is being done
9 is because the people in those countries
10 even with a totalitarian regime,
11 demand some contact. There is some
12 public opinion.

13 Now, today, I, even as we are en-
14 gaged in armed conflict in southeast
15 Asia we look forward to building these
16 bridges and to removing fences between
17 ourselves and the people who are com-
18 pelled to live in Communist governed
19 Nations in Asia and Europe. The fact
20 is that national isolation breeds
21 national neurosis. That is why your
22 President is making every effort to
23 find the way to a just peace in south-

1 east Asia, and I understand that a
2 just peace doesn't come by merely
3 saying that we want it.

4 I came through the gate here tonight
5 to this fine Club, and I heard, I am
6 sure, very dedicated and sincere young
7 people, and others say, "stop the
8 war in Vietnam". My fellow Americans,
9 I pray for that every night. Of
10 course, we want to stop the war in
11 Vietnam, but we do not want to stop
12 that war at the sacrifice of our
13 honor, of our obligations, and the
14 freedom of millions and millions of
15 people, and our own national interests.
16 Stopping war is not a one way street.
17 You can stop law enforcement in this
18 city if you turn it over to the
19 criminals.

20 (Applause)

21 The peace that we seek in Asia,
22 I think has been described rather
23 well by our Government, and in fact,

1 has been described by our President.
2 It is a peace of conciliation between
3 Communist states and their non-
4 Communist neighbors; between rich
5 nations and poor; between small
6 nations and large; between men whose
7 skins are brown and black, and yellow
8 and white; between Hindus and Moslems,
9 and Buddhists and Christians. It
10 is a peace that can only be sustained
11 through durable bonds of peace,
12 through international trade, through
13 a free flow of people and ideas,
14 through full participation by all
15 nations in the international community
16 under law, and through a common
17 dedication to the great task of human
18 progress and economic development.

19 I know that our Nation, that our
20 efforts so far have brought us nothing
21 but furious reaction and denunciation
22 by Asian Communist leaders. Can I
23 call to your attention that the fact

1 that we are denounced by our peace
2 appeals is one of the reasons that
3 we should keep it up, because I think
4 it proves our point to give up would
5 only serve the purpose of those
6 who can least afford to let in the
7 outside world. It is my view that
8 the fresh air of freedom that you
9 breath every day once let in to the
10 closed countries of the totalitarians
11 quickly sweeps aside the stale,
12 oppressive vapors of totalitarian
13 control. Communist regime resists
14 our appeal for freedom with every
15 power at its command, but it's the
16 policy of your Government, as long
17 as I am a part of it, and as long as
18 our two political parties stand
19 together, to persist, however long
20 it may be in an effort to break down
21 by peaceful means the barriers today
22 which today isolate a good share
23 of the world's people from the

1 community of Nations.

2 (Applause)

3 Finally, gentlemen, the fourth
4 priority, and I have kept you, I am
5 afraid, a little too long. The build-
6 ing of institutions and laws is perhaps
7 the one above all, tries man's patience,
8 and faith. And you know what our
9 enemies are expecting of us, that
10 we will tire. You know what people
11 are asking about us, can we take it.
12 There are those who are the doubters
13 and the cynics that wonder that in
14 our prosperity and our affluence do
15 we have the moral fiber for leadership.
16 Because make no mistake about it,
17 leadership is not a luxury, you know
18 it; you are leaders in your community.
19 You are expected to do more, and many
20 of you have grumbled as I have, why
21 do people expect me to do this.
22 Why doesn't somebody else do it. The
23 truth is that if you want to have your

1 name in the chapters of leadership
2 expect to pay a price for it. Leader-
3 ship isn't a luxury.

4 (Applause)

5 But I submit that when you can through
6 the United Nations, for example, achieve
7 something so important as a treaty
8 banning nuclear weapons in outer
9 space which we can expect, and know,
10 will be enforced, all the months
11 and years of effort are more than re-
12 paid.

13 And let me tell you tonight, my
14 dear friends, that had we not been
15 able to attain that treaty, and it
16 must be ratified by the Senate, of
17 course, before it becomes law, that
18 it would be possible for the Soviet
19 Union or any other country to put
20 in orbit nuclear weapons and keep
21 them in orbit for years and detonate
22 them on target at any time. I wish
23 I had the time to tell you of the

1 mysteries and wonders, and the com-
2 plexities, and dangers of what we live
3 in now called the space age. Of
4 this I know a little.

5 There are those who complain about
6 the loss of sovereignty every time
7 you join an international organization.
8 It makes a good speech, and I have
9 made my fair share.

10 (Laughter)

11 But let me say quite frankly without
12 the rule of law there is only one
13 other rule, and it is the rule of the
14 jungle. And so-called sovereignty
15 is lost in the fire and the dust of
16 brute power and force. And you haven't
17 been brought up that way. Your
18 religion, your background, your ex-
19 perience runs counter to brute power
20 and force. So the answer is to build
21 institutions and to draft wise laws
22 and treaties so that sovereignty and
23 independance of modern Nation States

1 is strengthened and made meaningful by
2 cooperation. So that freedom and
3 safety is gained by the cooperation
4 of many Nations.

5 Here is the agenda for you and for
6 me for the last third of the twentieth
7 century and we are in that period
8 now. There is only thirty-three more
9 years before we finish out the
10 twentieth century. Halting the arms
11 race before it halts us; closing the
12 gap between the rich and the poor,
13 before that gap widens and destroys
14 us out of frustration and bitterness;
15 removing the walls and the fences
16 of misunderstanding before mankind
17 locks himself into his own prison;
18 building institutions and laws to
19 nurture the rights of men. These are
20 the priorities that we take. And
21 basic to all of this, as I said,
22 are two imperatives, that aggression
23 shall not be allowed to feed on

1 itself, that the brute and the bully
2 shall not become the symbol of the
3 twentieth century.

4 (Applause)

5 And that means that the fabric of
6 our Nation should be strong. It
7 will do you no good to say that others
8 should do it. There are no others.
9 Not England, not France, not Germany,
10 Italy. There are no others. I don't
11 know why it happened this way, my
12 fellow Americans, but here we are.
13 This is what William Howard Taft
14 talked to you about fifty years ago.

15 "This unique creation called America
16 with incredible promise, unbelievable
17 power, and unequalled wealth". Today
18 in southeast Asia we are in a
19 miserable war; the most unusual, the
20 most difficult, the most grievous war
21 that we have ever known. I can only
22 tell you this: That we have today
23 a generation of young people, who on

1 the one hand some protest, and in
2 good conscience, and others fight as
3 they have never fought before.

4 (Applause)

5 Now, there are those, and they are
6 sincere -- You know, I am not one
7 just
8 that flinches/because people don't
9 agree with me, they are wrong. It
10 just may be that we have a different
11 point of view. There are those who
12 say that we have no business there.
13 There are those who say we ought to
14 stay right here in our own hemisphere.
15 But I will say only this; that in
16 this, the nuclear and the space age,
17 the age of the jet, no point in this
18 world is more than a few hours, or a
19 few minutes distant from any other.
20 This is a small neighborhood and you
21 can't stop the world and get off,
22 and even if you think we are going to
23 go to the moon there will only be four
in the first three or four years.

1 There is no place to hide, and if
2 there is today a proper American sphere
3 of influence that we hear a lot about
4 that, it is this fragile sphere that
5 is smaller every day, and Wendell Wilki
6 talked about it as the one world upon
7 which all men live and share a common
8 faith. A sphere where our influence
9 must be for freedom, not for domination,
10 for peace, not for war, for justice,
11 and not for conquest. It is precisely
12 and the most remote corner of the
13 earth that some small war, or some
14 small disorder could blossom into the
15 largest conflict that would draw us all
16 into the terrible struggle that we
17 know is World War Three.

18 Now, we are there in southeast
19 Asia to prevent this from happening.

20 It is my honest view, Gentlemen,
21 and I have no answer to a quick solution;
22 I want you to know that, or I wouldn't
23 be here tonight. And we are tonight

1 trying to prevent World War Three.

2 And it is a costly, it is a dangerous,
3 and it is a demanding requirement.

4 Let me give you the words, therefor,
5 of a wise American President, and here
6 is what he said: "We have states which
7 face the Pacific, and without anything
8 else they make us a real Pacific power".
9 And then he went on in the discussion
10 of a war in a distant place, and he
11 said, "It is wise for us to stop this
12 event before it shall spread, and we
13 should assist in stopping a local fire
14 before it shall spread into a general
15 conflagration." Somebody inquired,
16 "Mr. President, would you be willing
17 to have your son lose his life in a
18 controversy over a remote area and a
19 remote question with which we have
20 nothing to do?" And the answer very
21 promptly came: "If that was to stop
22 the spread of that local war from
23 becoming a general world war, and to

1 put us in a retrograde step in human
2 civilization, his life could not be
3 sacrificed in a higher cause".

4 That wise President said those
5 words here, and his name was William
6 Howard Taft, and his words were uttered
7 50 years and 2 days ago.

8 (Applause.)

9 President Eisenhower described
10 the other and final imperative. He
11 said, "The firm base, leading the world
12 toward the achievement of human
13 aspirations, toward peace with justice
14 in freedom, must be the United States."
15 Lincoln said it the same way, as I
16 told you, "the last best hope on earth"
17 Therefore, we must build an America
18 so strong, so prosperous, so able to
19 lead, that there can't be any question
20 about our purpose or our endurance.
21 And if we are to do it, we shall
22 have to undertake something that no
23 other nation has ever undertaken or

1 achieved. To make every citizen in
2 our society a full and productive member
3 of our society. We shall have to make,
4 Gentlemen, national investments in our
5 country, and that means you will have
6 to make them; in our people, investments
7 in productivity, in economic growth,
8 in opportunity, in enterprise, in
9 greater social justice, in greater
10 help, - self help. But I must tell you
11 this cannot be done by Government
12 alone. I think we have learned some
13 lessons. It will and it must take
14 more than the efforts of the Federal
15 Government, yes, but what is needed
16 is a partnership, and you are one of
17 the partners, in which our public and
18 private institutions, working together,
19 can meet public and private need
20 without any one institution or sector
21 becoming the dominant force. The
22 problems today are too big for a free
23 country, and a free Government in a

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free country, I should say.

Your Government is but a segment of total power of this country, and a free people are to do the job required of them, then free institutions, free business, free labor, free enterprise, voluntary institutions must become a working partner, and for those of us of Government it means we must find that formula. For you lose not your identity or your purpose, but you contribute your strength.

And may I just say a word then about this responsibility of leadership. It requires more than the ability to do it alone. I have heard many American say, we must lead the world, well and good. But that doesn't mean that we can do it alone. It requires understand of the problems that we face; it requires the ability to lead and inspire others to do what they ought to do. For strong and rich as we are

1 and may become, our goal of a just
2 and a peaceful world can never be
3 achieved by America alone, and even
4 if it could, you have a right to ask,
5 should we do it alone?

6 It will be achieved only when the
7 resources of the strong and weak,
8 of the rich and the poor are allocated
9 in the most effective manner possible
10 to the challenges that are far too
11 great for any one person, Nation, or
12 group to attempt to overcome. This
13 then is the test that we must set for
14 ourselves. Not to march alone, but to
15 march in such a way that others will
16 want to follow.

17 I will add this caveat: No one
18 should either expect friendship or
19 gratitude, you know better, you are
20 grown up, you know that you don't get
21 it. I have been in public life too
22 long to know that that is going to
23 happen. I think that the most we can

1 expect is this: That those who
2 question us will one day find no reason
3 to question. That in the world there
4 may be no doubt that Americans have
5 the vision, the endurance, and the
6 courage to stand for what we believe
7 in. And not only to stand, but to see
8 it through, because this is the only
9 way that I know that the kind of a
10 world you dream of is possible.
11 Gentlemen, don't shirk the task. This
12 is our time, and I am delighted
13 that I have been here tonight to have
14 a chance to share these thoughts with
15 you, because I know that I am in the
16 company of men who are unafraid. You
17 have demonstrated that by your own
18 success. Thank you very much.

(Applause)

19
20 MR. FERGUSON:

Mr. Vice President, I am sure that you
21 realize from the enthusiastic applause
22 that we have enjoyed your remarks, and
23 we are greatly indebted to your serious,

1 constructive and scholarly address.
2 We will now close this memorable
3 occasion with a Benediction and a
4 feeling of loyalty to the purpose of
5 The Buffalo Club. May it retain its
6 hold upon our affections so that when,
7 in the fullness of time, a celebration
8 is held on the 150th Anniversary,
9 our memory may be worthy of the same
10 respect and veneration that we accord
11 tonight the memory of its founders.

12 The Benediction will be pronounced
13 by the Pastor of St. Mark's Church,
14 and Director of the Datholic Charities
15 Appeal, Monsignor Eugene A. Loftus.

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17 * * * * *

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19 MR. FERGUSON:

The meeting is adjourned.

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21 * * * * *



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