

The Task of American Leadership 1850
Strengthening the International Order

Excerpts from Address
by
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
before
Sunday Night Forum
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Univ of Arizona

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Dr Robert Humphrey

World
Peace
&
Under
Law!

The dream of a world living at peace and under law is as
old as civilized man. I share this dream, and I believe you
do, too. Yet we would be foolish indeed if we confused our
dream of one world under law with the tragic reality of two
worlds divided by Communism.

2 worlds

Nevertheless, we dare not surrender the dream. And we
cannot fail to take steps toward the ultimate goal of freedom,
peace, justice and human dignity for men and women everywhere.

our
Goal

There is no giant step that will take us where we want
to go, but there are small steps we can take.

Steps
Close

and others

Such along
our own

Many such steps can be taken through greater use of the United
Nations and its related agencies, such as the World Court.

Proper
Cultural
Mexico
L.A.
DLR

U.N.

3 Goals

- (1) Realize our full Economic Potential
Goals - Plans
- (2) achieve full dignity, freedom, opportunity
& justice for all
- (3) Just & enduring peace

functional

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-2-

U.N. - Nationalism + Interdependence

In fact, the U.N. and its agencies are the best bargains

in American foreign policy!

FORUM for U.S. Policy

We should be pressing for safeguarded disarmament through

DISARM

the U.N. We should be working for a well fed and healthy world

FOOD

through the Food and Agriculture Organization and the World Health

HEALTH

Organization. Plus our own We should be channelling more of our efforts to

Educ

help underdeveloped nations through the Technical economic agencies of the

Econ

United Nations.

World Court

Educ

We should be taking the lead in strengthening and broadening the powers of the World Court in solving disputes between nations.

And yet it is right here, in our relationship with the World Court,

that we have perhaps failed more significantly than in any other

area of international activity.

The so-called Connally Amendment, written on the Senate floor

in 1946 during debate, drastically limits our participation in the

International Court of Justice. By adding the words "as determined

Objectives
and ask others
USSR - to help!
Also Europe //

and 76

LAW

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10 Cases in
13 years -
15 Judges

by the United States" to the reservation of "disputes which are
essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States,"
the amendment made our high-sounding words about the "rule of law"
a hollow mockery.

L This reservation is entirely unnecessary, because the Court's
Statute itself denies the Court jurisdiction in the domestic
affairs of its participating states. Two-thirds of the States which
adhere to the Court have not adopted such reservations.

L In order to remove this road block to our fuller participation
in the World Court, I introduced last March Senate Resolution 94
to repeal the Connally Amendment. The Resolution has not been
acted upon, and I want to tell you why.

L President Eisenhower in his State of the Union message last
January said that our relationship to the World Court should be
re-examined "to the end that the rule of law may replace the rule

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of force in the affairs of nations." He implied that the Congress would

receive a more specific proposal along this line. No proposal

has been forthcoming.

L

Vitally important support for the Resolution has come from the

American Bar Association, which indeed has led the fight to strengthen

the Court.

ABA
Chas
Rhyme and L

Both the Department of State and the Department of Justice

have reported favorably on my Resolution to abolish the Court-

crippling amendment.

The President's words about "the rule of law" were followed

by other important statements addressed by the Vice President

and the Attorney General on this same subject. But while both

of these high Administration spokesmen reaffirmed the President's

concern with the problem of the Connally Amendment, neither

mentioned the Resolution before the Senate designed to solve the

problem.

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And in order to secure the two-thirds majority of the Senate needed to repeal the Connally Amendment, it is absolutely necessary that the great prestige and power of the Presidency be thrown behind a specific resolution.

It must have bipartisan support.

Without very strong backing from the President and the Administration we cannot muster the needed votes. And this means that we must have far more than speeches in general support of the idea, as important as such addresses may be.

I have, therefore, recently addressed a letter to the President commending him for his words in support of a strengthened World Court, and requesting his personal support of Senate Resolution 94.

~~Saying~~
I wrote the President that I felt it "particularly urgent now, after the recent visit of the Soviet Chairman, to make it doubly clear to the entire world that, while we shall strive

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mightily for a peaceful resolution of Soviet-U.S. differences,
our goal has not shifted toward a two-power world; rather, we
continue to look resolutely toward an international system in which
the rights of all nations will be respected, regardless of size
or military power."

✓ We must take every opportunity, for example, to use not only
the World Court, but also other related agencies of the United
Nations in carrying out the objectives of American foreign policy.

✓ It is quite true that the more we utilize the machinery of the
United Nations, the more we strengthen the international "family
of nations." Consistent use of the machinery of the World Court
would build up in custom and practice acceptance of a world
guided by the principles of justice rather than brute force.

✓ I do not suggest that the time has yet come when we can
expect the Soviet Union to submit to the rule of law, despite

the protestations of peace and friendship now emanating from the

Kremlin. But a nation which is based on the principle
of law and the rule of law, rather than the rule of men,
surely should take the lead in establishing an International
Court of Justice with the power of law. We in the U.S.
should act to remove the shackles which restrict the U.N. Court.

informant
(1) sanctions
Take
credit
censure

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On the contrary -- despite the possibility of coming to some kind of agreement on a safeguarded arms control program with the Soviets -- we can expect an ever fiercer economic and political competition from the Communists.

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Step 1

We need to understand the Russian people, their sense of drive, their desire for position in the world.

As to the second clear pattern in the Khrushchev visit, we must take quite seriously the Soviet determination to surpass us economically. It is a fact that Soviet production has been rising at an astonishing rate. It is a fact that most of this production has been hard, fat-free non-luxury production -- unlike our own, which has heavy proportions of luxury production.

Es
Compet

It is a fact that with still only a fraction of our total gross economic product, the Soviet Union has been

(40%)

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able to divert substantial amounts of production to economic

aid in the underdeveloped countries, to use its economic

strength for political purposes beyond its borders.

The Soviet leaders are not supermen, and the Russian system is not intrinsically superior. But we have seen what dogged purpose and determination and tenacity have been able to do with a system which has fundamentally less potential efficiency than our own system -- developed as it has been over a long period of trial and error. Yet no system -- no matter how well engineered and constructed -- can reach its full potential without vigorous leadership and coordination.

Let us realize that our superior system can win the economic competition only if our political and economic leadership is as hard-working, effective and tenacious as the monolithic leadership of Communist society.

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~~As a result~~, I wish to emphasize what I feel to be a most important consideration: that the basic issue between our free society and the Communist world is not whether one society can produce more than the other. This is important, but it is not more important than human dignity and the rights of man.

Basic Issue

The true issue is over which society can produce not only a life of material abundance, but also a life of individual freedom and dignity.

✓ The pattern of the Khrushchev visit has emphasized the announced policy of the Soviet Union to seek peace, and, specifically, to seek disarmament. Khrushchev has hammered away at this theme constantly.

Of course, he has scored a great propaganda triumph in this. Without a doubt he has been successful in many parts of the world in creating the image of a Soviet society bent on creating a better world.

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"peaceful coexistence" and, by implication, of Western society

dragging its feet, reluctantly, unwillingly entertaining the

idea of disarmament.

(This morning (P.M.))

But Khrushchev is perfectly capable of reaping what
propaganda he can out of what could be a serious proposal to
get down to cases on the question of arms control and disarmament.
Surely the Russian people long for peace. And -- understanding
that Khrushchev is fundamentally a political man preferring to
substitute guile and cunning and other nonviolent means for
brute force wherever possible -- it may well be that Khrushchev
himself would welcome the opportunity to shift a good share of
the Soviet production now going into arms into other types of
production.

It is even possible that he would agree to a rather thorough-
going system of inspection and controls to guarantee a disarmament
agreement -- which, of course, we must absolutely insist upon.

At any rate, until proved to be a hollow gesture, I believe that we must give Mr. Khrushchev's proposals serious attention and discussion.

And if it proves true that Mr. Khrushchev would be willing to agree to an enforceable disarmament program, then it is high time, and even overdue, that we begin to think through some of the implications of various types of disarmament.

For example, what would be the impact on our economy of a radical reduction in Government spending for arms? Would there be severe economic dislocation, unemployment? And what would Government have to do to make the adjustment? These are some considerations which my Subcommittee on Disarmament is preparing to study this fall.

I hope that the first tentative steps can be taken in discussions between our President and the Soviet leader toward

an eventual program of effective arms control. Certainly
there are far better ways to spend forty billion dollars
every year than in arms -- as vital and as necessary as that
spending now is.

But,

I want to emphasize that it would be the height of folly
to settle for an arms reduction program which jeopardized the
safety of our people. The only situation more conceivably
dangerous than the present possibility of an awesome and catastrophic
miscalculation and consequent nuclear holocaust would be the
day on which Soviet military power-in-being would not be
effectively deterred by Western power.

Emphasis

Premier Khrushchev has an opportunity now to demonstrate
the sincerity of his bold words about peace -- by taking steps
to broaden and extend the program of international cultural
exchange. He can move toward peaceful cooperation by concluding

specific agreements to carry on joint medical research programs,
and exchanges of scientific information about outer space.

~~Text~~
Example

But -- most of all -- Khrushchev could demonstrate the peaceful intentions of the Soviet Union by joining in accepting the jurisdiction of the World Court. That would truly be a benchmark of progress toward a world of law and order.

U.S.
must
lead

In the meantime, however, until some basic changes are made in Soviet thinking, it remains the task of American leadership to work toward a broader acceptance throughout the world of the substitution of diplomacy and law for threat and force. This is a task of great difficulty, but it can and must be undertaken.

10/21/59



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