

REMARKS

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UNIVERSITY OF SANTA CLARA

CONVOCATION

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Somebody once said that politicians receive testimonials while statesmen receive honorary degrees.

I will confine my remarks to statesman-like themes. I will not mention the Democratic Party, the party of the people . . . the party that stands for progress . . . the party of Jefferson and Johnson . . . not even once.

This is a happy time of year. Christmas, 1965, will be a merry holiday for most of our citizens.

this year, more Americans than ever before can truly enjoy the fruits of freedom and the opportunity to lead full and satisfying lives.

Today, we are enjoying the highest standard of living in human history. Most of us are well fed, well housed and well clothed. We are secure. We are free. And we are prosperous. Most of us can realize mankind's oldest ambition for a satisfying and rewarding life.

Yes, we have much to be joyous about this Christmas.

But the fact is that human suffering far outweighs human joy in this world of ours. For our planet seethes with discontent and disorder, violence and revolution, danger and uncertainty. And we Americans cannot seclude ourselves on an island of contentment amid this angry sea of dissatisfaction and despair.

In the words of the great and good Pope John:  
"Given the growing interdependence among peoples of the earth, it is not possible to preserve lasting peace if glaring economic inequality among them persists."

✓ The mere existence of deep poverty in the world is not only unjust -- it is an invitation to freedom's destruction. ( We must realize that this gigantic task of helping others to help themselves, of resisting aggression and protecting freedom can only be sustained if our country -- the leader of free nations -- truly meets its responsibilities to mankind.

✓ It has often been said -- and it is true -- that the true measure of a nation's greatness is not its wealth or power, but rather its spirit of compassion and concern for those without wealth or power.

✓ Today we manifest compassion and concern for the less fortunate in our own society. ✓ In our strength, we acknowledge our weakness -- and are dedicated to correcting inequality, injustice and lack of opportunity existing inside our affluence.

↳ In the same spirit, we must do all within our  
~~considerable~~ power to help create a more secure, free  
and just world.

↳ In the past twenty years we have undertaken  
international initiatives which, indeed, have helped men  
move closer to that goal. The Marshall Plan . . .  
Point Four . . . the United Nations . . . the Alliance  
for Progress . . . the Peace Corps . . . Food for Peace  
. . . the Asian Development Bank - ~~these have come~~  
~~from initiatives worthy of our position of leadership.~~

- These have been initiatives serving both world security  
and human betterment. (~~And I am proud of my own~~  
~~association with these initiatives.~~)

↳ I am especially proud of the dramatic leadership the  
United States undertook in the founding of the United  
Nations, and of the <sup>continuing</sup> leadership we have offered there.

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

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

*and* The United States is wholeheartedly committed to building even further its usefulness as an international instrument *for peace + freedom.*

~~One place where~~ the UN requires immediate strengthening is in its peacekeeping machinery. ~~Given~~ the scope and the scale of major power interests and commitments around the world -- we are required to assume that any armed conflict may bear within it the seeds of a nuclear disaster.

So a workable peace system must be able to resolve by ~~non-violent means the kinds of~~ <sup>the</sup> disputes which in the past have led to wars -- and to keep ~~disruptive change in~~ ~~non-violent channels~~.

~~Here we can begin to see just how operational a~~  
~~peace system must be~~ to visualize peacekeeping machinery ~~in being and in action.~~

Recently, members of the General Assembly -- including, I am proud to say, the United States -- voted for a resolution calling for the convening of a world disarmament conference by 1967.

~~It was nine years and nine months ago that some of us in the Senate advocated discussion by all nations of the pre-eminent problem confronting mankind -- the threat of nuclear weapons.~~

Today in the year 1965 we must recognize that the next major step in controlling the nuclear arms race may require us to look beyond the narrow U.S. - Soviet competition of the past. For the explosion of a nuclear device by Communist China in 1964 has impressed upon us once again that the world of today is no longer the bi-polar world of an earlier decade. Nuclear competition is no longer limited to two super-powers.

The efforts of the United States and Europe to enable the nations of Europe to have a greater share in nuclear defense policy -- without encouraging the development of independent national nuclear deterrents -- constitute a recognition of this.

~~In addition to Europe,~~ <sup>W</sup> we now have the problem of finding ways of preventing the further proliferation of nuclear weapons in Asia, Latin America, Africa and the Middle East.

< Nuclear weapons would serve no useful purpose in preserving their security. The introduction of these weapons could, in fact, provoke a rivalry that would imperil the peace of these continents. It would endanger the precarious economies of countries which already possess military forces too large for their own security needs and too expensive to be maintained without outside assistance.

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



↳ Both rich and poor might well take heed.

↳ The business of peace and peaceful development is the business of all men -- of all nations.

↳ Today a small fraction of the human race living around the North Atlantic enjoys per capita incomes of 1,000 to 2,800 dollars per year. Two-thirds of humanity subsists on a per capita income of less than 200 dollars per year.

↳ Since 1960, the gap between the two groups has accelerated. To understand why it has been growing, one need only recall that in 1964 <sup>alone</sup> the United States added 30 billion dollars to its gross national product -- the equivalent of 50 per cent of the total national income of Latin America and 100 per cent of the income of Africa.

↳ We who live in the Western world have a special responsibility for it was we who launched the technological revolution that has produced dazzling wealth in the midst of squalor.

↳ We not only initiated the technological revolution but we have spread it to the world at large. And today we tolerate -- by limited exertion if not by inaction -- inconceivable disparities of wealth and destitution.

↳ It is obvious that problems of poor nations will not be solved by external efforts alone. No transfer of resources from the rich nations to the poor will alone be sufficient.

↳ It requires a massive effort by local leaders in ~~each~~ country to end the shocking inequality between privileged and impoverished, between glittering capitals and festering slums, between privileged urban enclaves and neglected rural areas.

↳ It requires not only the availability of technical resources -- but vision and will and determination on the part of those who would break the tyranny of poverty and bring to their peoples the wonders of the modern world.

↳ But our recognition of this fact should not blind us to the compelling truth that nations that are poor and undeveloped stand little chance of success without the help of those which are rich.

↳ It is not necessary here to engage in a detailed analysis of the process of development in undeveloped nations. Once we recognize the existence of a universal common good and of international social justice -- and show a willingness to commit ourselves to it -- the technical problems of assistance can be solved. Not without difficulty -- but they can be solved.

↳ Americans must work toward the time when men may learn to put aside their quarrels as irrelevant obstacles to great and overriding goals of all mankind -- a better life, a fuller human dignity, and above all peace.

↳ We must rally all the nations of the world -- developed and developing, strong and weak alike -- in a spirit of both self-help and mutual benefit to. *we must champion*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

These incomparable material and political assets -- along with our deep spiritual and cultural tradition --

represent our true power, our ultimate ability to influence the world in the direction of peace and order and tolerance and prosperity.

↳ Each new generation of Americans faces new challenges, new opportunities.

The generation represented by the students of Santa Clara faces perhaps the most awesome challenge of all: The challenge of preserving life when weapons exist to destroy all life.

↳ But today's young generation faces even greater opportunity: The opportunity of extending, in this rich and wondrous world, mankind's benefits to all mankind.

↳ I have faith in today's new generation of Americans. This is a generation committed to the world . . . involved . . . deeply concerned. This is a generation possessing unprecedented knowledge, talent, ambition.



# There is the Volun<sup>teer</sup> Generation -

In the hands of this generation lies the chance  
to make the promise of America come true . . . the  
promise of a free and enlightened people striving forward  
not only for their own gain, but for the gain and good  
of all humanity. ~~It is this generation~~

It is in the life of this  
generation that the  
solid foundation ~~being~~  
~~for~~ of Peace is being laid.

{ The U.N. - For Aid - Peace Corps.  
Food for Peace - Nato -  
Voluntary assistance -  
Cultural Exchange -

We build for Peace - We Pursue  
Peace.

S. F. Chronical

Dissent  
Meet - The Right  
of Protest



(1)

notes for speech by the  
Vice President for Inclusion  
in speech at University of  
Santa Clara Academic Convocation  
Saturday, Dec. 4, 1965 Calif.

In Vietnam today the new face of  
aggression is represented by a  
highly trained, skillful and determined  
force whose weapons are murder,  
assassination, terror, propaganda -  
carrying forward the new concept  
of warfare - Mao Tse Tung's so called  
"War of Liberation",

In effect, we see in Vietnam the  
testing ground for this new concept  
of warfare - which - if successful  
will spread - proliferate -  
not only through S. E. Asia  
but in every area of the world  
where ~~there is~~ the economic  
& social conditions can be used  
by the Communist Party Apparatus.

We do not intend to permit this  
new form of aggression to succeed.  
Aggression in any form at any time is  
a threat to Peace - Aggression  
unchecked in this nuclear age is an  
invitation to catastrophe.

We know that this diabolical, brutal  
yet simple form of aggression is not  
to be defeated through military  
power alone - But

2

There is no substitute for the  
use of armed force when  
assassins <sup>are</sup> determined to kill  
+ pillage - attack and  
destroy - run wild.  
One cannot reason or argue  
with a bullet -

Therefore we have mounted  
mounted a twin effort in  
South Vietnam - meeting +  
reuniting ~~our~~ <sup>our</sup> ~~heretic~~ <sup>heretic</sup> forces with  
our armed forces + those of South  
Vietnam - and the mobilization  
of our resources of men + material  
to help the Vietnamese people  
build a nation - organize  
a social system - which is  
humane, free and responsive  
to the needs of the people.

### Military Action + Civilian Action

We fight alongside the brave S. Vietnamese  
people - ~~but for~~ <sup>for</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>their</sup> ~~right~~ <sup>right</sup> of self-determination -  
for their right to choose their  
way of life - for their right  
to be free.

We seek no dominion - ~~than~~ <sup>count</sup> no  
territory - ask no thanks.  
We seek a world of peace -  
We offer peace to those who  
wish to have it -

We offer assistance in peace  
to friend & foe alike.

President Johnson in his great  
address at Johns Hopkins U. pledged  
this nations help & assistance  
to all S. E. Asia - All Vietnam  
North & South - if the tragedy  
of war and destruction can be  
stopped.

We seek peace now &  
tomorrow - We are ready  
to negotiate, ~~now~~ <sup>at any time</sup> &  
any place. ~~with no preconditions~~  
The threat to peace is not in  
Washington. It is in Hanoi - Peking -  
in the Vietcong. We have appealed  
to all nations to pursue every  
possibility of peace - We seek  
no war. There are no  
war-mongers in our government.

So may I respectfully suggest  
to those who cry out for peace -  
to the protesters - the demonstrators -



4

Direct your appeals to  
the communists & mobilize  
the Conscience of Mankin.  
~~to~~ Bring the Moral force  
of all who love peace to  
bear upon Hanoi &  
Peking & ~~this~~ Hanoi.



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