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REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

NEW HAMPSHIRE COUNCIL ON WORLD AFFAIRS

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It is an honor to address this distinguished
group of New Hampshire citizens.

It is a pleasure to return to the state where
the Constitution of the United States was brought to
life. New Hampshire was the ninth state to ratify it.
It was this vote -- taken on June 21, 1788 at the Old
North Meeting House in Concord -- that made the
Constitution operative.

↳ This meeting today is descended from that one, and from the straightforward democracy of the New England town meeting. And as a confrontation of citizens and their elected leaders in an open discussion of the issues, it is just as basic and important to the democratic idea.

↳ In Daniel Webster's day, the hundreds of peoples and cultures and religions -- speaking thousands of tongues in hundreds of thousands of dialects -- were separated by vast gaps of distance, time, and knowledge.

↳ Today, all of mankind is interdependent.

↳ In today's world we must wrestle with this same great compound of divergency suddenly molded together.

↳ Think of our own past disputes and divisions. We have learned, through many years of experience in

democratic government, to ease these differences and conflicts.

But now consider that in our foreign policy we must deal with some 120 nations, each of which also has its diverging personalities, its domestic political cross-currents and external interests. Many of them are new nations which have not yet evolved governmental stability so that official changes in policy sometimes gyrate from one day to the next.

In Past
yr -
over
50
govts
Changed!

In an average year there are thirty or forty changes of government in the world and many of them hardly come about through what we would consider orderly processes.

There are, as we ^{all know} ~~are all only too~~ aware, other factors increasing our interdependence today.

Fact

↳ Tonight, then, let us face facts.

↳ We must face the fact that two-thirds of the world is poor, hungry, and sick and that the gap between rich and poor nations widens each year.

↳ We must face the fact that the globe is exploding with people.

↳ We must face the fact that we are engulfed in great waves of scientific and technological change which we do not fully understand, and which can overcome us or save us.

↳ We must face the fact that there are people in this world who would make it a totalitarian world -- a world in which man would live to serve the state, and not the state man.

↳ We must face the fact, too, that there are modern weapons which can destroy the civilized world in a half-hour's time.

We must face the fact that -

~~the~~ existence of nuclear weapons has made

the need for peaceful settlements not just desirable,
but imperative.

It has made all the more urgent the work of
the world's principal peace-keeping organization,
the United Nations.

The United Nations, ~~as you know~~, celebrated its
20th birthday this year. In that score of years, we
in the United States have paid two and a half billion
dollars toward the financing of UN operations.

Two and a half billion dollars is a lot of money.
But let us put it in perspective.

U.N.

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✓ In 1964 we in ~~this country~~ spent close to eight billion dollars for tobacco and over eleven billion dollars for alcoholic beverages. In other words, our total contribution to all the activities of the UN in the last two decades is less than fourteen per cent of what we spend for liquor and tobacco in a single year.

✓ I think that what we have gotten for our money can be considered a pretty good bargain by any process of accounting.

✓ Take just what the UN has done in keeping the peace. The organization has acted to prevent carnage in over fifty different situations.

✓ A dozen peacekeeping missions have been set up -- four of which are still in being. ✓ Even leaving aside Korea, over 142 thousand men from 54 nations have participated in these operations.

✓ Ten thousand UN troops continue to dampen the flames of discord in Cyprus and the Middle East.

✓ Peacekeeping efforts have spanned a range of actions, from one man with a briefcase mediating between the parties, to factfinding commissions sent by the Security Council, or military observer groups. ✓ At times, as in the Congo, there have been sizeable field forces. ✓ ~~In a number of these operations, UN action prevented unilateral intervention on the part of some nation.~~ ✓ In many cases, UN action clearly prevented a minor flame from turning into a major conflagration.

✓ Peacekeeping is a ~~good deal~~ like fighting a forest fire. ✓ Its task is to prevent the fire from spreading, and, if possible to put it out. ✓ The planting of new trees and replenishing the forest is a separate long-range job. *The same is true of rebuilding nations.*

It is an area where success so far has been limited, but the UN shall increasingly have to address its attention to it.

This fact has been recognized by the distinguished Secretary-General, U Thant, himself. He recently observed that peacekeeping missions often contained "the limitations of their own success." He suggested that these operations by isolating explosive situations sometimes reduce the sense of urgency required to reach a permanent solution.

A UN Emergency Force has, for instance, been present on Israeli-Arab borders since 1956 without any indication that it can be withdrawn in the foreseeable future.

But, It is not enough just to keep the combatants
apart. We must begin advancing to the more
difficult errand of overcoming underlying grievances.

↳ If it is to be effective as a long term agent for peace,
the UN will have to do more than act as a politiative *fire-brigade*.

It will have to strive for workable solutions.

↳ One of the most significant resolutions passed
by the current session of the General Assembly is
the call for a World Disarmament Conference not
later than 1967. ↳ Our vote for this resolution
demonstrated once again our willingness to try any
approach that can possibly turn back the arms race.

↳ Our reservations over the World Disarmament
Conference have not been based on the thought that
Communist China should be excluded from disarmament
negotiations.

↳ We are willing and eager to talk to anyone concerning disarmament if it will help to advance us toward the objective. ^{of peace.} Nothing would be more welcome than some indication of Communist China's interest in promoting this cause.

↳ What skepticism we harbor rests on the unhappy fact of continued Chinese Communist rebuffs on disarmament. Our channels for discussion with the Chinese Communists have remained open. ↳ A number of friendly governments, including three nuclear powers, are represented in Peking, ^{China.} We ourselves talk to Communist China's representatives in Warsaw. One hundred twenty-seven such talks, to be precise about it, have taken place.

Not one of them, unfortunately, has given any evidence of Communist China's interest in accepting any meaningful measure of disarmament, ^{over seeking Peace} ~~We are,~~ however, ~~willing to participate constructively in any effort that could achieve the goal of general and complete disarmament.~~ Nuclear Proliferation

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

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

A pioneer statesman of the nuclear era, the late Senator Brien McMahon, proposed almost two decades ago that resources diverted from the arms

McMahon

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.

↳ For the business of peace and peaceful development is the business of all men, of all nations.

I would like to turn now to the subject of most immediate concern to all here tonight -- Vietnam.

Today young Americans are dying in Vietnam.

↳ Why must this be so?

↳ Why are we in Vietnam?

↳ We are not there to establish any American colony or base. We are not there to enrich ourselves or to subjugate others to our will.

2 We are there because, once again in history, it must be proved to aggressors that the price of their aggression comes far too high -- and that armed aggression in this nuclear age cannot be an acceptable instrument of national policy.

∟ The aggression we face in Vietnam is not one in which massed armies attack across national frontiers.

2 It is one in which the battlefield is often the homes of men. It is one in which the innocent suffer to the pain of all of us.

∟ The aggression in Vietnam is one which deals in organized assassination and terrorism yet masks itself as a "war of liberation." ∟ It is waged by hard and callous men who seek to prove that force and Communist militancy can win the future -- by men convinced that democratic societies are soft and weak and unable to meet their form of warfare.

∟ To these, we say: Do not be misled. ∟ Do not misunderstand the processes of a free society. ∟ Do not mistake our respect for the right of dissent for internal division or lack of resolve.

∟ We will remain in Vietnam until a just and lasting
peace can be established there.

∟ At the same time we shall now -- and after
establishment of that peace -- dedicate ourselves to
creating conditions which will enable all the people of
Vietnam, North and South, and all of Southeast Asia
to look forward to a tomorrow without danger of attack,
without hunger, and with social justice and security.

∟ There are times when American power must be
used -- when there is no alternative in face of determined
aggression.

∟ But military power alone will not provide stability
and security unless it is accompanied by political, social
and economic effort -- and the promise to the people of
a better life. And thus we work with the Vietnamese
people toward that goal.

↳ In the past decade, rice production has been doubled. Corn output is expected to be four times as large next year as it was in 1962. Pig production has more than doubled since 1955.

↳ The average Vietnamese can expect to live only 35 years. Yet there are only 200 civilian doctors. A new medical school we are helping to build will graduate that number of new doctors each year. Meanwhile, we have helped vaccinate more than 7 million people against cholera and millions more against other diseases. More than 12,000 hamlet health stations have been built and stocked with medical supplies.

↳ In Vietnam -- as everywhere -- "civilization is a race between education and catastrophe."

↳ Education is the foundation of any country's future.

For it is impossible to run a government, local or national, to man factories or to enrich the national life without trained and educated people. Elementary school enrollment was 300,000 in 1955 -- it is five times that number today. Vocational school enrollment has quadrupled. The university population is increasing steadily.

∠ This progress has been achieved against the most appalling odds. It has been made in face of a carefully planned and executed program of terror.

∠ Yet the effort goes on despite terror. Brave and tireless Vietnamese continue to take seeds and fertilizer and farming know-how to the villagers . . . teachers continue to man the schools . . . medical teams go into the country despite the clear and always present danger.

And at their side -- I am proud to say -- go American civilian workers. And they, too, have been killed and kidnapped.

These men and women, Vietnamese and American -- and increasingly of other nationalities -- are the unsung, unpublicized heroes of this phase of the struggle. So long as they persevere, "wars of national liberation" can be defeated.

We are in Vietnam -- with guns, with men, with aid -- because we are determined that, in our time, we shall not weaken before men with an appetite for power... for geography ... for national adventure, lest the peace -- lest, indeed, human life -- be lost forever.

Peace will not come in Vietnam -- or anywhere else -- through military victory alone.

↳ Nor will peace come by good intention. Peace comes
to those who earn it . . . work for it . . . sacrifice
for it in many places, at many times, in many ways.

↳ Peace will be won only through the untiring
practical efforts of this generation and others to follow --
efforts to improve the conditions of man's life.

↳ It will be won only when all men realize that
they share a common destiny on this planet.

↳ Peace will be won when starvation, ignorance and
injustice are eradicated from a world which has the
resources to defeat them.

↳ Finally, this evening, in the spirit of the old
town meeting, I call on each one of you to exert
leadership wherever you can in the cause of peace
and responsibility in the world.

It may involve no more than voting at the next election or writing a letter to your editor. It may involve as much as devoting precious years of your life to the Peace Corps or to private volunteer service overseas. It may involve running for public office and making right what you consider wrong.

It may involve at some time -- yes -- a stand on principle against popular opinion or expression . . . a risk of reputation, perhaps even a risk of life.

But if we Americans will resolve ourselves to leadership both as citizens and as a nation, history may yet write that we lived through this dangerous time into a new era of human freedom and self-expression. May it be so.



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