

International Development Conference  
Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C.  
March 22-23, 1966.

The Vice President of the United States  
Mr. Hubert H. Humphrey

MR. HUMPHREY: Thank you, Wally, and members of the conference, Dave Bell. First, I might just as well make a confession. I'm just crowding in on Dave Bell today. I found a letter over in my office dated February 25 from Wally Campbell when I was snooping around the office the other night and I understand that somebody had told Wally that most likely I wouldn't be here. I went to New York last evening to have dinner, by the way, with our friend Eugene Anderson, Ambassador Anderson, and Ambassador Goldberg. A few of us got together and solved all the problems. That's why the President felt free to leave the Capitol today for a little while. We solved Viet Nam, we solved budgetary problems, passed the Foreign Aid Bill. (LAUGHTER) The only problem we didn't solve was Minnesota politics. Other than that we came up with all the answers. (LAUGHTER) Since I couldn't be with you last evening (and I noticed in that letter it said if you have time we'd like you to drop around Wednesday for the luncheon) and I gather that somebody said to Wally, "he can't do it." Well, when I saw that letter and knew what was going on here I said, "well, I'm going to do it; just rearrange the schedule." They said well, "Dave Bell is going to be over there; you're just going to horn in on his speech." I said, "Dave Bell is used to abuse." (LAUGHTER) (APPLAUSE) Not only that, everybody knows that Dave Bell is man of great character, fine qualities. All of this has been developed

because of the abuse he's had to take. (LAUGHTER) The refiner's firing of Congressional interrogation, Vice Presidential interruption and Presidential intercession. You've had all the benefits, David, that come out of organized democratic government. I'm not going to intrude, however, on the exposition that Mr. Bell will give you today on the emphasis of our Foreign Aid Program. My role in foreign aid is to be of help to this Government and to be of help to you, help to Mr. Bell to get that bill passed and get it through as quickly as possible. I might add that the greatest service you can give to your country in the next few months will be to once again speak to your friends in Congress, speak to those that have responsibility for this legislative program and urge prompt action on the foreign aid proposals.

I wish that we had a better name than foreign aid because it seems to have some negative connotations amongst a number of our people. Really what we're doing is investing in the enrichment and development of human resources as well as capital resources. And if we will think upon our foreign aid program, as an investment program, as a program of development, as a program of enrichment, as a program of achievement, I think we will have made one breakthrough, at least on the psychological front that will be very helpful to us.

I've looked over your program. I've been talking to Wally Campbell about it. You've had the most amazing and, I think, the most enlightened and interesting group of men and women as your panel participants and your spokesman and speakers of any conference

that ever came to Washington. These are top-grade people that have but one thought in mind -- how to make this world a little better place in which to live; how to produce the conditions in which this very fragile product called peace can be obtained and sustained; how to produce an environment in which mankind can live a peaceful life. Because to me the word peace is not something that comes from diplomacy alone, or related to diplomacy. The word peace is related to life. It's related to development. It's related to jobs. Peace means jobs. It means housing, it means shelter, it means health, it means education. We ought to start to define this magnificent, beautiful word that's peace in the realistic terms that it really underscores or that it truly represents.

So often we have spokesman say well we must get peace as if peace was something that was designed at a conference table. The process to peace may be decided at a conference table, but peace itself is decided in the daily lives and the daily work, and the year in and year out activities and achievements of peoples and nations. It takes a long time. I've sometimes used an analogy or simile that for me, at least, portrays what I mean by peace and how you achieve it. I do not believe that you get peace by the wishing for it. I don't think you get it by the stroke of the pen. Nor do I think it comes just out of the hope and the prayer for it, interesting and as important as both may be. Peace is like a mighty cathedral. It takes a great deal of time to construct it. It also



requires the dream and the creativity and the imagination of a master architect and the labors of many and the dedication of generations.

I've always been impressed when I've travelled in Europe to see these great and beautiful cathedrals. This is man's way of releasing his spirit and things tangible. These are man's monuments to his faith and to his religion, to his God. We know that these monuments take many times decades, as I've said, and even sometimes centuries to create. But each generation adds another layer of the building block, so to speak. Builds another vestibule or another chapel or another great spire that reaches into the heavens. I think that each one of us each year are doing the same thing.

We were talking here at this table about 5 years ago when John Kennedy came here to address you. I had been privileged to be here on that same day. He had had that little accident with the planting of the tree up in Canada and he was on crutches that day. Well, at that meeting we talked about the involvement of our cooperatives and our savings and loan people, our voluntary action groups in the foreign aid program. That was a building block to peace and it was only one of many. Since that time many other stones and blocks have been added. There are so many great building blocks of peace at work today in building this great cathedral, this structure of the hope of peace and the realization of peace that we trust will be a reality; the United Nations and all of its special agencies, our foreign aid program; the World Bank; the International Monetary Fund;

the Interamerican Development Bank; The Asian Bank; the churches, the trade unions, the many great institutions of learning, the fine philanthropic charitable organizations, the doctors, the teachers, great business. All of these are a part of the structure of a cathedral of peace.

So I summarize it by saying to you that peace is jobs and it is learning, it is education, it is health, it is hope and it is achievement, it's life and the pursuit of happiness, the wishing for it and the working for it.

I want to mention the specific that I have in mind. The Honolulu Declaration has called this nation to fight a war that Harry Truman talked about some years past. You remember that memorable inaugural address of Mr. Truman's, and I can only paraphrase it. The only war we want to fight is against man's ancient enemy -- disease, hunger and illiteracy, the fear and prejudice, etc.

President Lyndon Johnson took his inspiration from those words and when he went to Honolulu to meet with the leaders of Viet Nam the Honolulu Declaration was primarily directed towards the other war; the war against social misery, the war against the injustices of the past. Practically every hearing that we've had recently in America, has been about the military war. You and I know that no matter how many battles we win on the military front, peace will not come to Viet Nam through military victory alone, nor can there really be any victory with just the achievement of a military success.

This is a different kind of a war. It's a war in which there is a constant seepage of the enemy even as you move ahead with military success. This is why General Westmoreland whom I talked to when I was in Viet Nam has spent half of his time talking about programs of social construction, pacification, rural construction and, as the Prime Minister says, social revolution. Not a single military action is taken without a reference to and a reference point to what this means in terms of the lives of the people of the country, the rebuilding of the villages, the modernization of agriculture, the extension of education, the fight against disease. It's all tied together and I would hope that those of us that have given a great deal of our time and energy to economic development and the enrichment and development of human resources, those of us who call ourselves the humanitarians, the progressives or the liberals or whatever tag you want to wear, that we would accept this challenge. I think this is the most exciting challenge that has been offered us for many a year.

First of all, it's specific; it's not general. We are really challenged today to find out whether or not we have the intellectual capacity, the spiritual vitality, the technical know-how, the diplomatic finesse to be able to help build an entire new society in an ancient part of the world. This is the challenge that ought to bring out the best in us.



I happen to believe that our military is very competent. I don't think they really need my advice. I think that if they need it we've wasted a lot of money at West Point. I think they know how to fight a war, but I think our military also knows that you can't fight a war alone any longer on the military front, as I've said. Therefore the question is, what kind of generals and colonels, what kind of captains and lieutenants and sargeants and privates do you have in the civilian ranks to fight the other war and win that one.

I'm here on a recruiting mission. I have not been sent by General Wheeler. In fact, I haven't been sent by anybody. I'm here as a self-appointed recruiter for people to engage in the other war and defeat the oldest enemies that we've ever known. Long before there were any communists, long before there were any militarists, long before there were any military, long before there was any military aggression. Those ancient enemies that today beset and besiege more than half of God's children. Those enemies that I've talked about and that you know about. Pestilence, disease, ignorance, apathy, backwardness, hopelessness.

This is really where we ought to get excited and I'm going to say to you what I said to a group of congressmen yesterday. Quit trying to be General Wheeler, General Eisenhower, General Robert E. Lee. You don't know any more about fighting a war than I do and I lay no claim to knowing anything about it. Why don't we do what we're equipped to do. We're equipped to talk about social action. We're

legislators. Most of us are people who have been deeply involved in great humanitarian works. Most of us grew up in the philosophy of the T.V.A., the R.E.A. and the cooperative movement and private capital. We grew up in the philosophy of the programs of our respective religions. CARE, Catholic Relief, World Church Service and all the other many great programs of labor and voluntary organizations. Why don't we get ourself organized. Why don't you hold some hearings on that. Then I think we'll be able to do something. Let's let the world know that not only do we have brave marines, massive fire power, tremendous mobility, but we also have brave civilians. We have creative minds. We're undaunted by the problems of yesterday.

Any nation that can land 150,000 troops in one port and put them in the field in a few months and do what this country has done militarily ought to be ashamed of itself if it can't do what it pledges to do on the social, economic and political front.

I call you to arms to wage the other war. Let's make an inventory of our resources. Let me tell you that what we've done thus far is not enough. What we've done through government will never be enough. What we can do through government will never be enough. We're going to need voluntary resources of America and the rest of the world.

I've had the privilege of saying to some of my social democratic friends in other parts of the world that have been somewhat critical of our policies in Viet Nam that it's your right and your privilege.



But, instead of just being critical of what we've done militarily, join us in the fight against oppression and injustice. Join us in the struggle to build a new society. This is your meat and your drink. This is really what we need. We've got to get out of this rut of self-analysis and criticism. Yes, exercise our right to dissent, hold our hearings, but also commit ourselves. We need doctors. We need farm cooperatives. We need to get people excited in America about the Mekong Valley. I went there to see it. We really need to talk about a T.V.A. for that part of the world, or whatever you wish to call it. Not only talk about it; get it done. Don't tell me that it costs too much. We've spent more money fighting the war in Viet Nam than all the money that will be required to develop the Mekong Valley.

We can do anything we want to do. I've heard about how costly foreign aid is for Asia. Well, I'm not here with the calculator, but I bet Dave Bell can tell you that we've already had to spend more money militarily in the little country called South Viet Nam than we've spent in all of Asia for economic aid. I want you to think about it just a little while because the total population of Africa and Latin America together does not equal the population of India.

The subcontinent, Pakistan, India, Ceylon are very, very important. Yet I do hear repeatedly it said that it's very difficult for us to find the resources to do what we ought to do in these areas. I know it's difficult, but I must say out of conscience,

I must say with great sincerity of feeling that if we were engaged militarily there we would have no trouble finding the resources. Therefore, before we have to be engaged militarily (pray God that never happens) let us find the resources.

How do we find them? When you want to find them. Help build public opinion to find them. When you show the way. This is what representative government is all about. This is why Hubert Humphrey strongly supports the hearings that are going on in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee today. Not because I agree with everything that's being said there; quite obviously I don't. I think the duty of the Senate and the responsibility of the Senate is to pioneer, to probe, to inquire, to get a dialogue going in this country, to make people stand up and be counted, to think out loud. I don't have very much time for these silent meditators. They don't communicate.

Democracy requires a little noise, conversation. When you get the noise of conversation of thoughtful people, then you begin to develop a public opinion. Teddy Roosevelt, I think, once said that American public opinion is like an ocean; don't try to stir it with a teaspoon. You have to get big issues, big dreams, goals and you have to go at it.

So, be of good cheer, my friends. I'm always accused of being (what's the word they used the other day) slightly bullient (?) or somebody said I was effervescent and somebody even dared to say I was optimistic. I plead guilty to all three. (LAUGHTER) I want to

leave this little thought with you. I don't think you prove yourself any more informed by looking miserable. I do not believe that you improve your college aptitude tests or acceptance tests by showing somehow or another you have a chronic stomachache. I think what is more important is what's in your head and possibly what's more important than that, what's in your heart.

If we have the right thoughts in our head, the right spirit in our heart, we have the most powerful force working for us in the world. We have it.

I hope that I can be back with you on other occasions to share some of this spirit that you have and gain some from you. I get a little weary like all of you at times, but I haven't lost my devotion or dedication to the things we're trying to do. I don't think foreign aid has worn out its welcome. Not a bit. In fact, if it has you better open up the gates again. (APPLAUSE)

Well, David, that's an introduction for the man of the day. I want to tell you you're mighty lucky, my fellow Americans, to have a David Bell as the Head of our Aid Administration. You're mighty, mighty lucky because he's a power of strength.

Thank you, very much. (APPLAUSE)





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