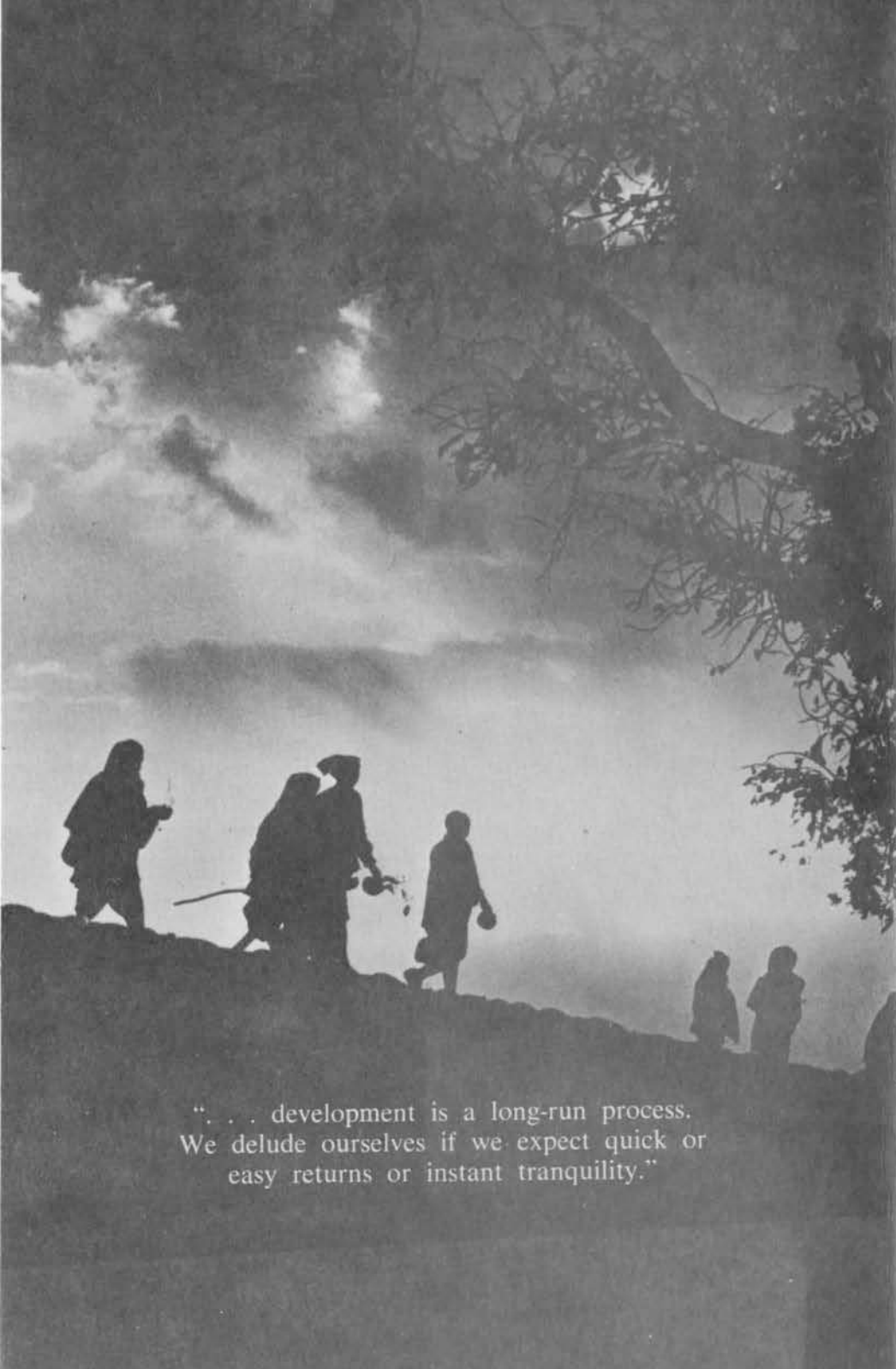


# NATION BUILDING AND PEACE BUILDING

Agency for  
International  
Development



"... development is a long-run process.  
We delude ourselves if we expect quick or  
easy returns or instant tranquility."

## NATION BUILDING AND PEACE BUILDING

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### **Hubert H. Humphrey**

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On February 7, 1967, Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey addressed the International Development Conference, held in Washington, D.C. **Nation-Building and Peace-Building** is excerpted from that address.

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"The new emphasis on cooperatives has opened a channel of technical and financial assistance to the rural masses."

I want to talk with you tonight about our foreign aid program—about the role of this country in nation-building and in peace-building.

About five years ago we were holding a hearing on foreign aid in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. There were requests in at that time totaling billions of dollars, but they always seemed to concern some massive project. There was not enough talk about *people* to satisfy me.

So I asked how many foreign aid agency officers were in the field organizing credit unions. After a pause and hurried consultations, the witness answered "None."

How many people did we have helping to organize savings and loan associations in the countries of Latin America and Africa? "None."

How many were employed to organize marketing or consumer cooperatives? The answer was the same—"None."

We did something about that.

Since the autumn of 1961, AID has carried out the mandate of the Humphrey Amendment, working with the organizations represented here tonight. On this fifth anniversary observance of the Humphrey Amendment, AID has contractual arrangements with ten major cooperative organizations. It has 97 cooperative personnel. It has involved 286 consultants. It reports 123 projects in 39 countries and 40,000 cooperatives with sixteen million members. During the past five years, it has committed \$50 million to cooperatives.

## The Humphrey Amendment

The underlying objectives of the Humphrey Amendment are as valid today as five years ago. I would single out four:

*First*, to help the people who most need it. Regardless of good intentions, government-to-government assistance always seems to trickle down slowly, if at all, to the poor people of developing nations—even where their governments honestly seek to help them.

*Second*, to help in the modernization of *rural* areas. In the assistance programs of the 1950's and the early 1960's, there was too much emphasis on industrial development—on steel mills, factories, and airports. The new emphasis on cooperatives has opened a channel of technical and financial assistance to the rural masses. The continents of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, we must not forget, are basically rural continents. And, as desperate as poverty may be in many of the cities of these continents, it is far more desperate in the countryside.

*Third*, to promote “pluralism”—that is, the development of a multiplicity of private institutions, as well as governmental, which involve varying elements in a society in the business of that society. The cooperative encourages decentralization in decision-making and helps provide the mechanics for making economic, social and political decisions at the grassroots level.

*Fourth*, to foster economic and social development within a specific democratic political framework.

During the past year the Congress has taken an additional step to encourage popular participation in the development process. Thanks to Congressman Don Fraser's Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act, AID is encouraged to make a more conscious and direct effort to promote the development of democratic institutions at all levels—national, regional and local.

One year ago, Pope Paul, in addressing a United Nations group in Rome, rightly stated that in today's world “development is the new name for peace.”

No fewer than 164 outbreaks of violence—outbreaks carrying *international* danger—have taken place in the last eight years in the “have-not” nations of the world. The World Bank classifies nations as “middle income,” “poor,” and “very poor.” Using this classification, serious violence has since 1958 visited 48 percent of the middle-income nations . . . 69 percent of the poor nations . . . and 87 percent of the very poor nations.

I do not contend that development efforts will, in the short run, end disorder—in fact, some disorder usually comes with economic and social transition. But we know that, in the long run, far greater disorder will follow if people are denied a share in the better life they see around them.

## The Facts of World Poverty

Just what are the facts of world poverty? The overwhelming and inescapable fact is that the gap between the rich nations and the poor continues to widen. Today 20 percent of the world's population disposes of 75 percent of the world's income. Last year, the rich nations of the West added \$106 billion to their total production—more than the *total* GNP of the Near East and South Asia, or of Latin America.

In 1966, we in the United States, with 190 million people, *increased* our GNP by \$58 billion. The less developed nations of Africa, with a population of 250 million, have a *total* GNP of only \$30 billion. Here in America, our GNP has now topped \$750 billion—three-quarters of a trillion dollars! Never have so few had so much—and with such blessings come responsibilities.

Yes, the gap continues to widen. But there is another fact we must face: many nations have not yet begun to climb the curve of growth. In most less developed coun-



tries, the population explosion and the debt explosion threaten to eat up all potential gains. The population of the poor nations increases each year by 2.5 percent, compared with 0.9 percent in Europe or 1.5 percent in the United States and Canada.

Schools cannot keep up. Since 1960, despite enormous investments in education, world illiteracy has grown by some 200 million people. Of 373 million children in developing nations, about 115 million—30 percent—are in school and about 258 million—or about 70 percent—are *not* in school.

World food production is well behind demand. It has barely risen over the past two years, while population in the less developed countries has increased by 40 million.

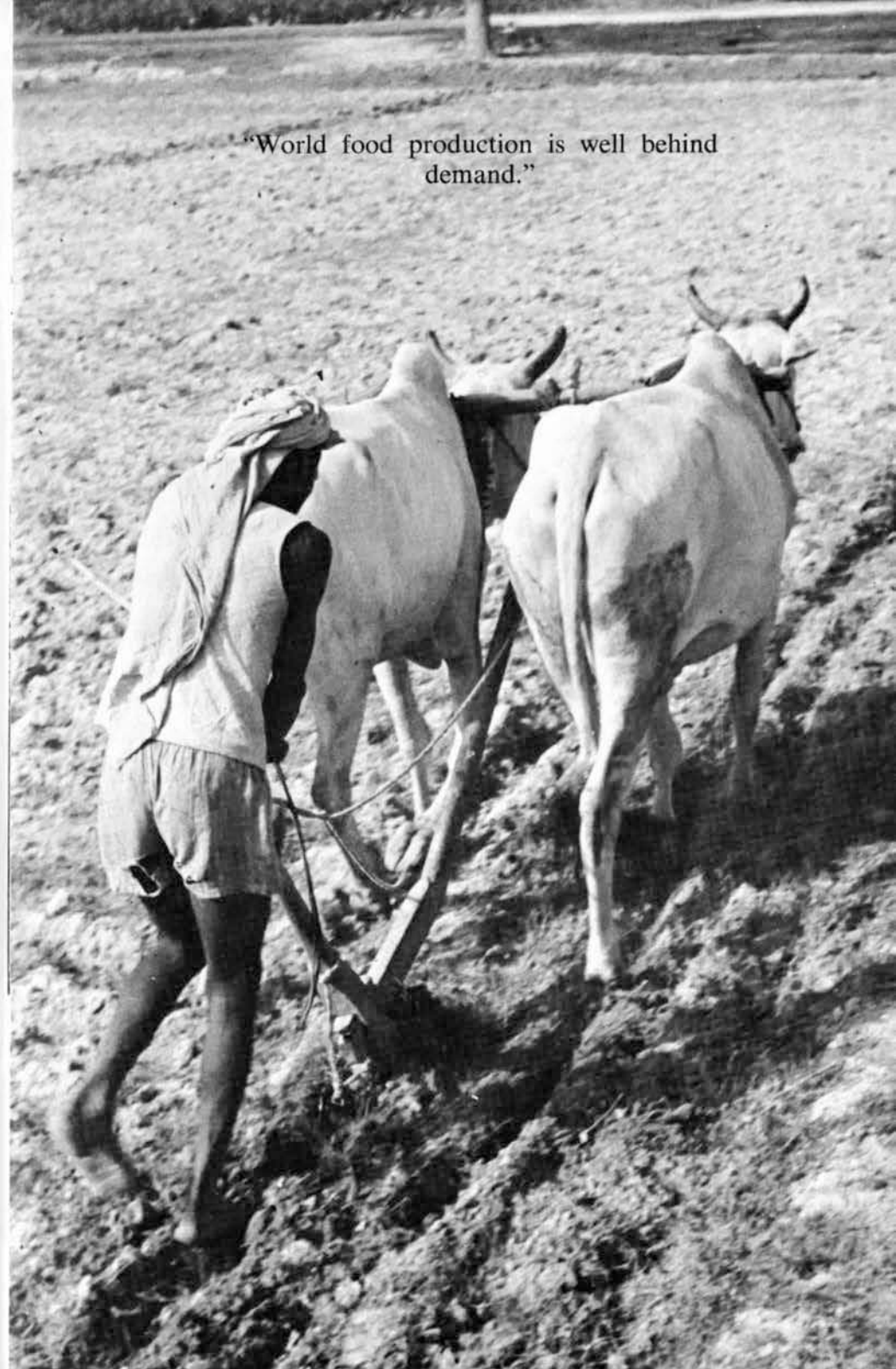
World per-capita production of food has not gained significantly in the past ten years and in some years bad crops have threatened acute and widespread famine.

In addition to the growing burden of supporting their populations, these countries have the growing burden of their foreign debt. Since 1956 the average annual rate of increase in foreign debt has been about 15 percent. Foreign debt has grown three times faster than the United Nations *target* of 5 percent for annual economic growth, and that economic growth target has not generally been achieved.

The debt burden to foreign governments and international agencies is only part of the story. Private producers in every developed country—usually under the protection of government guarantees—extend short-term credit for a wide variety of items which have no relation whatsoever to priorities and development plans in the developing nations. The temptation to consume now and pay later is seldom resisted.

No certain statistics are available on the volume of these private credits, but the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD estimates that developing countries paid back in 1965 for these private credits *twice* as much as the

"World food production is well behind demand."



repayment on aid loans. This would mean that the two reverse flows together ate up *three-fifths* of all aid.

All this adds up to a dismal picture. But it is a far from hopeless picture. The rich nations have greater resources for foreign assistance than ever before. And both the rich and poor nations have learned some lessons in these past few years about the business of peaceful nation-building.

Let me mention some of the lessons I believe we Americans have learned.

## The Need for Cooperation

As I have already pointed out, one lesson is that governments cannot do the job alone. Just as progress in our own nation requires a working partnership among *all* elements of society, so it does in other places.

Another lesson we have learned is that one country—the United States—cannot do the job of nation-building alone. All nations must participate. In his War on Hunger Message February 2, 1967, President Johnson expressed it clearly:

“If we are to succeed, *all* nations—rich and poor alike—must join together . . . with the same spirit, the same energy, and the same sense of urgency that they apply to their own national defense. Nothing less is consistent with the human values at stake.”

It is gratifying to observe that, as the other industrialized nations have arisen from the ashes of World War II, they *have* picked up this burden along with us. In the last nine years they have increased their flow of aid to the less developed countries from \$1.3 billion to more than \$2.5 billion—an increase much higher than the rate of increase in their incomes.

In the same period, the percentage of our national income devoted to foreign aid has decreased. Today, five industrialized countries spend a larger percentage of their national incomes on foreign aid than we do.

“Schools cannot keep up.”



There is another lesson: that regional development is far more effective than isolated national programs. In Latin America what started as an experiment in cooperation has become a way of life. Regional cooperation has become institutionalized in the Organization of American States . . . in the Inter-American Development Bank . . . and in the Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress, which reviews the development plans and policies of each of its members. Progress toward economic integration is encouraging. Obviously, such things as transportation, river valley development and communications do not stop at the edge of political boundaries. With the perfection of satellite systems, a regional educational television network which would reach vast millions in Latin America is now a realistic probability.

In Africa, the United States—in cooperation with international agencies and with other bilateral donors—is seeking to concentrate its assistance on region-wide projects, particularly in fields such as agricultural research, transportation and communications. And African nations themselves are increasingly cooperating on a regional basis.

In Asia, the doors of the \$1 billion Asian Development Bank have just been opened, with the majority of its capital provided by donors other than the United States. The Mekong River is being developed, even during this time of war, with dams in Laos and in Thailand. If we can get peace, there can be economic development through Southeast Asia—and a whole new life will come about.

Another lesson learned is that outside help does little good in the absence of sound policies and diligent self-help actions by the developing nations. To be effective, foreign aid must be used to support forces for reform which are at work in the developing nations, not merely to bail out the forces of reaction. I think we ought to support these forces of reform—let them know that we approve them, and encourage them.



“ . . . agriculture, education, and health have been made the three pillars of our development efforts.”



## The Need for Responsible Institutions

We have also learned that development cannot be achieved by technicians alone. The indispensable prerequisites for development are *political* leadership and responsive political institutions.

John Adams once observed that "Power always thinks it has a great soul."

We, as a great power, must beware the impulse to try to impose upon nations with far different traditions and histories our own political institutions in carbon copy. The world doesn't have to be trade-marked: "Made in the USA." In fact, we don't want it that way. We want diversity in the world, just as we have diversity in America. We don't want a Communist monolith or an American monolith. We want a world of many peoples and cultures and civilizations that enrich one another by virtue of their diversity.

But, at the same time, we must not hesitate to help other peoples—when they ask for help—to develop their own institutions, tailored to their own experience, which will meet the needs of their people.

Nowhere is this more imperative than in Vietnam today.

In Vietnam, a developing country, we are resisting Communist military force with force, and succeeding militarily. We are aiding the South Vietnamese in economic development, and succeeding economically. But the corner will not be fully turned there until *political* progress matches military and economic progress.

A new and powerful force is about to challenge the Viet Cong and North Vietnam—a freely elected, representative government in South Vietnam. It is an ever-growing probability that such a government will soon come into being. And that probability, I believe, is causing Hanoi and the National Liberation Front to have some second thoughts.

The barrage of threats, intimidation, and propaganda launched by North Vietnam and the Viet Cong against the

election for a constituent assembly last fall was a miserable failure. The people of South Vietnam *did* vote in overwhelming numbers. A constituent assembly was elected. These are not miracles, but they are solid steps towards peace, toward independence, and toward victory—not so much a victory *against* an enemy as a victory *for* freedom.

I believe the cause of peace will best be served if we patiently and perseveringly continue the course we have set for ourselves in Vietnam.

I say to you, in all sincerity, that nation-building and peace-building take time—time and sacrifice.

We must continue, as the President has said, to "fight a war of limited objectives" to halt aggression before it can spread. We must continue, with our allies, to mobilize manpower and resources for economic and social development. We must continue to press forward with pacification in the countryside. We must continue to help the South Vietnamese people build representative and responsive political institutions. And, at the same time, we must continue patiently and diligently to seek a just and lasting peace.

The world knows that we have the courage to resist aggression . . . that we keep our commitments. The world should also know that we have the even greater courage required to walk the extra mile which could bring peace to the long-tortured nation of South Vietnam. Yes, now is a time for self-discipline and for statesmanship. We Americans in this time of testing, must prove equal to the exercise of those qualities.

## The Long-Run Process

We have, I think, learned another painful lesson: that development is a long-run process. We delude ourselves if we expect quick or easy returns or instant tranquility. The most important changes are often those which take longest.

Development assistance has hitherto been regarded primarily as a weapon in the cold war. In that context, show-



"But participation—full participation of the citizens—is the vital ingredient which . . . makes possible peace and progress . . ."

piece projects often diverted resources from such important investments in nation-building as education, rural development and public health.

## Participation, Peace, Progress

Today—at the direction of your President—agriculture, education and health have been made the three pillars of our development efforts. And they will continue to be—even though they may not bring quick or flashy or dramatic results.

Today, as we face the challenge of a world of poverty and need, we increasingly realize that three elements, above all, are necessary if nations are to survive and grow.

These three elements—participation, progress, and peace—often conflict with one another. Even in the best of circumstances their reconciliation is difficult.

Peace—in the sense of domestic order—can temporarily be achieved by military dictatorship.

Progress—the more abundant and equitable provision of material goods and services to the citizens—can be achieved through technocracy.

But participation—full participation of the citizens—is the vital ingredient which, in the long run, not only insures the social stability which makes possible peace and progress, but also unleashes the full talents and energies of peoples who seek a better life.

Finally, may I say this: I think we must realize today that the business of nation-building *is* a marathon, not a 100-yard dash. What is more, it is a never-ending marathon. For the building of peace and of peaceful progress will be with us throughout our lifetimes, and the lifetimes of our children as well.

If we abdicate our responsibility . . . if we drop out of the race, who else will lead?

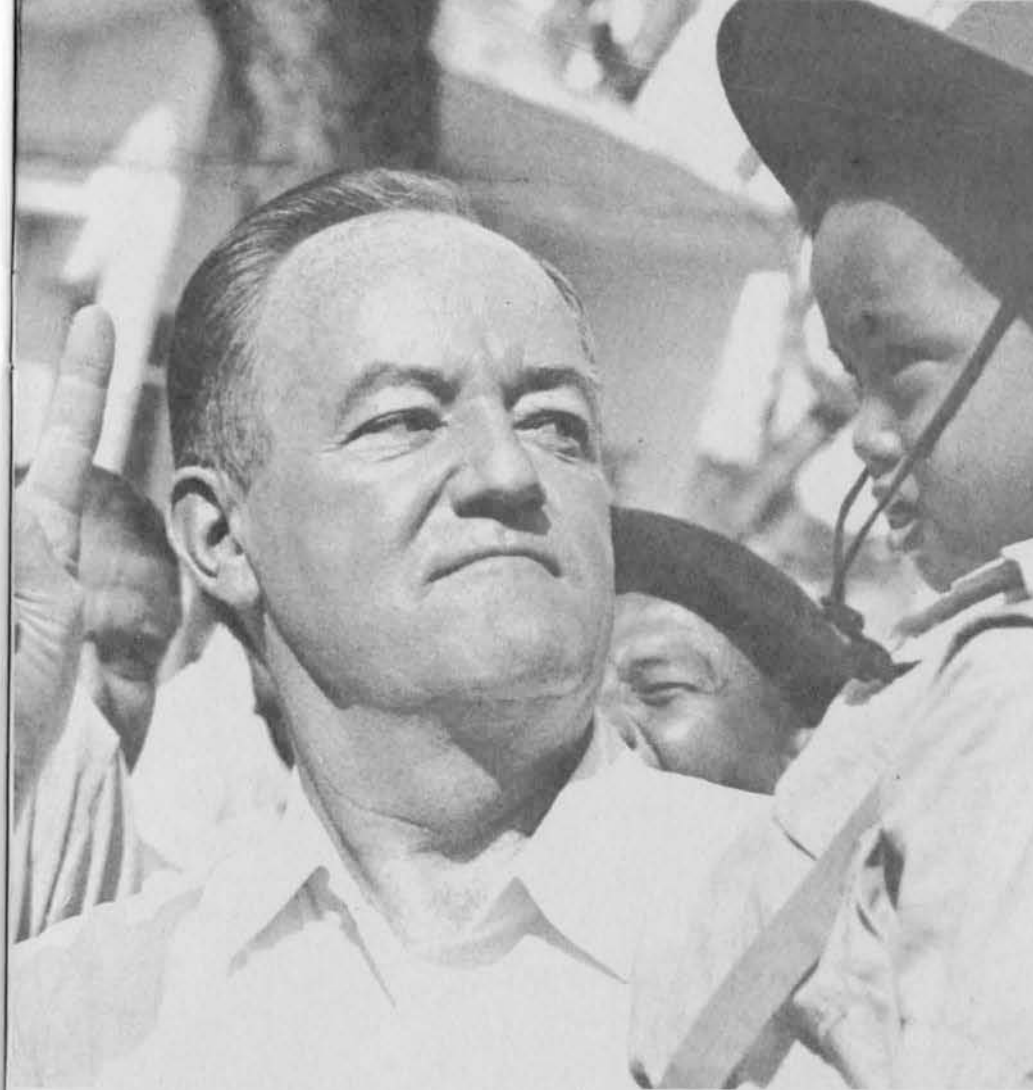
Our nation produces a third of the gross national product of the world. We, among all nations, are rich. Our



nation has interests which touch every corner of the globe. We, among all nations, have world-wide concerns. But—far more important—our nation, among all nations, is one which professes belief in the equality and brotherhood of man. Ours is a nation which seeks the common good, not only within our own borders, but in the world.

We must last out this marathon because it is in our own interest. We must last it out because of the perils involved if we do not. But we must, above all, last it out because it is right that we do.

I believe that we can, and that we will.



"We must continue to help the South Vietnamese people build representative and responsible political institutions. And, at the same time, we must continue patiently and diligently to seek a just and lasting peace."

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AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20523

FOR RELEASE: 2/8/67  
Wednesday AM's

EXCERPTS OF REMARKS MADE BY VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY TO  
THE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT CONFERENCE

Washington, D. C., Tuesday, February 7, 1967 . . . "The greatest single threat to the Viet Cong and to North Vietnam today is a freely-elected, representative government in South Vietnam," Vice President Hubert Humphrey told the International Development Conference meeting in Washington Tuesday night.

Humphrey predicted that the stable political leadership and responsive political institutions needed for such a government will soon become realities.

The Vice President said, "In Vietnam . . . we are resisting Communist military force with force, and succeeding militarily. We are aiding the South Vietnamese in economic development, and succeeding economically. But the corner will not be fully turned there until political progress matches military and economic progress."

Humphrey warned that, "We, as a great power, must beware the impulse to try to impose on nations with far different traditions and histories our own political institutions in carbon copy."

But, he said, "We must not hesitate to help them -- when they ask for help -- to develop their own institutions, tailored to their own ~~experience~~, which will meet the need of their people."

Humphrey said that the probability of a freely-elected, representative government in South Vietnam "is causing Hanoi and the NLF to have second thoughts."

He added, "The barrage of threats, intimidation, and propaganda launched by North Vietnam and the Viet Cong against the election for a constituent assembly last fall was a miserable failure. The people of South Vietnam did vote in overwhelming numbers.

"A constituent assembly was elected. It is at work.

"A constitution is today being written.

"Village and district elections will be held this spring.

"National elections are scheduled for this fall.

"These are solid steps toward peace and victory over Communist intimidation.

"And, in combination with our military and economic efforts, these are the steps which can in time inoculate a nation against terror, subversion and political agitation waged by a disciplined minority."

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FOR RELEASE: 2/8/67  
Wednesday AM's

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT CONFERENCE  
WASHINGTON, D. C.  
February 7, 1967

I remember a Hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1961. The subject was cooperatives.

Senator Hubert Humphrey asked how many foreign aid agency people were in the field organizing credit unions. After a pause and hurried consultations, the witness answered "None."

How many people did we have helping to organize savings and loan associations in the countries of Latin America and Africa? "None."

How many were employed to organize marketing or consumer cooperatives? The answer was the same -- "None."

We did something about it.

Since the autumn of 1961, AID has carried out the mandate of the Humphrey Amendment working with the organizations represented here tonight.

On this fifth anniversary observance of the Humphrey Amendment, AID has contractual arrangements with 10 major cooperative organizations. It has 97 cooperative personnel. It has involved 286 consultants. It reports 123 projects in 39 countries and 40 thousand cooperatives with 16 million members. During the past five years, it has committed 50 million dollars to cooperatives.

The underlying objectives of the Humphrey Amendment are as valid today as five years ago. I would single out four:

First, to help people who most need it. Regardless of good intentions, government-to-government assistance always seems to trickle down slowly, if at all, to the poor people of developing nations--even where their governments honestly seek to help them.

Second, to help in modernization of rural areas. In the assistance programs of the 1950's and the early 1960's there was too much emphasis on industrial development -- on steel mills, factories, and airports. The new emphasis on cooperatives has opened a channel of technical and financial assistance to the rural masses.

The continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America, we must not forget, are basically rural continents. And, as desperate as poverty may be in the many of the cities of these continents, it is far more desperate in the countryside.

Third, to promote "pluralism" -- that is, the development of a multiplicity of private institutions, as well as governmental, which involve varying elements in a society in the business of that society. The cooperative encourages decentralization in decision-making and helps provide the mechanics for making economic, social and political decisions at the grassroots level.

Fourth, to foster economic and social development within a specific democratic political framework.

During the past year the Congress has taken an additional step to encourage popular participation in the development process. Thanks to Congressman Don Fraser's Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act, AID is encouraged to make a more conscious and direct effort to promote the development of democratic institutions at all levels -- national, regional and local.

One year ago, Pope Paul, in addressing a United Nations group in Rome, rightly stated that in today's world "development is the new name for peace."

Poverty breeds disorder. Poverty breeds hate. Poverty breeds war.

No fewer than 164 outbreaks of violence -- outbreaks carrying international danger -- have taken place in the last eight years, in the "have-not" nations of the world.

Using the World Bank classification of nations as "middle-income;" "poor;" and "very poor;" since 1958 serious violence has visited 48 per cent of the middle-income nations . . . 69 per cent of the poor nations . . . and 87 per cent of the very poor nations.

I do not contend that development efforts will in the short run end disorder -- in fact, some disorder usually comes with economic and social transition. But we know that, in the long run, far greater disorder will follow if people are denied a share in the better life they see around them.

Just what are the facts of world poverty? The overwhelming and inescapable fact is that the gap between the rich nations and the poor continues to widen. Today, 20 per cent of the world's population disposes of 75 per cent of the world's income.

Last year, the rich nations of the West added 106 billion dollars to their total production -- more than the total GNP of the Near East and South Asia, or of Latin America.

In 1966, we in the United States, with 190 million people, increased our GNP by 58 billion dollars. The less developed nations of Africa, with a population of 250 million, have a total GNP of only 30 billion dollars.

Yes, the gap continues to widen. But there is another fact we must face: Many nations have not yet begun to climb the curve of growth.

In most less developed countries, the population explosion and the debt explosion threaten to eat up all potential gains. The population of the poor nations increases each year by 2.5 per cent compared with nine-tenths of one per cent in Europe or 1.5 per cent in the United States and Canada.

Schools cannot keep up.

Since 1960, despite enormous investments in education, world illiteracy has grown by some 200 million people. Of 373 million children in developing nations, about 115 million -- 30 per cent -- are in school and about 258 million -- or about 70 per cent -- are not in school.

World food production is well behind demand. It has barely risen over the past two years, while population in the less developed countries has increased by 40 million.

World per-capita production of food has not gained significantly in the past 10 years and in some years bad crops have threatened acute and widespread famine.

In addition to the growing burden of supporting their populations, these countries have the growing burden of their foreign debt. Since 1956 the average annual rate of increase in foreign debt has been about 15 per cent. Foreign debt has grown three times faster than the United Nations target of 5 per cent for annual economic growth, and that economic growth target has not generally been achieved.



The debt burden to foreign governments and international agencies is only part of the story.

Private producers in every developed country -- usually under the protection of government guarantees -- extend short-term credit for a wide variety of items which have no relation whatsoever to priorities and development plans in the developing nations.

The temptation to consume now and pay later is seldom resisted.

No certain statistics are available on the volume of these private credits, but the Development Assistance Committee of OECD estimates that developing countries paid back in 1965 for these private credits twice as much as the repayment on aid loans. This would mean that the two reverse flows together ate up three-fifths of all aid.

All this adds up to a dismal picture. But it is a far from hopeless picture.

The rich nations have greater resources for foreign assistance than ever before.

And both the rich and poor nations have learned some lessons in these past few years about the business of peaceful nation-building.

Let me mention some of the lessons I believe we Americans have learned.

As I have already pointed out, one lesson is that governments cannot do the job alone. Just as progress in our own nation requires a working partnership among all elements of society, so is this true in other places.

Another lesson we have learned is that one country -- the United States -- cannot do the job of nation-building alone. All nations must participate.

In his War on Hunger Message last week, President Johnson expressed it clearly:

"If we are to succeed, all nations -- rich and poor alike -- must join together . . . with the same spirit, the same energy, and the same sense of urgency that they apply to their own national defense. Nothing less is consistent with the human values at stake."

It is gratifying to observe that as the other industrialized nations have arisen from the ashes of World War II, they have picked up this burden along with us.

In the last nine years they have increased their flow of aid to the less developed countries from 1.3 billion dollars to more than 2.5 billion dollars -- an increase much higher than the rate of increase in their incomes.

Today, five industrialized countries spend a larger percentage of their nation incomes on foreign aid than we do.

There is another lesson: That regional development is far more effective than isolated national programs.

In Latin America what started as an experiment in cooperation has become a way of life. Regional cooperation has become institutionalized in the Organization of American States . . . in the Inter-American Development Bank . . . and in the Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress, which reviews the development plans and policies of each of its members. Progress toward economic integration is encouraging.

Obviously, such things as transportation, river valley development and communications do not stop at the edge of political boundaries.

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Another lesson learned is that outside help does little good in the absence of sound policies and diligent self-help actions by the developing nations. To be effective, foreign aid must be used to support forces for reform which are at work in the developing nations.

We have also learned that development cannot be achieved by technicians alone.

The indispensable prerequisites for development are political leadership and responsive political institutions.

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We, as a great power, must beware the impulse to try to impose on nations with far different traditions and histories our own political institutions in carbon copy.

But, at the same time, we must not hesitate to help them -- when they ask for help -- to develop their own institutions, tailored to their own experience, which will meet the need of their people.

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And, in combination with our military and economic efforts, these are the steps which can in time inoculate a nation against terror, subversion and political agitation waged by a disciplined minority.

We have, I think, learned another painful lesson: That development is a long-run process. We delude ourselves if we expect quick or easy returns or instant tranquility. The most important changes are often those which take longest.

Development assistance has been regarded primarily as a weapon in the cold war.

In that context, show-piece projects often as not diverted resources from such important investments in nation-building as education, rural development and public health.

Today, agriculture, education and health are the basic cornerstones of our development efforts.

And they will continue to be -- even though they may not bring quick or flashy or dramatic results.

Today, as we face the challenge of a world of poverty and need, we increasingly realize that three elements, above all, are necessary if nations are to survive and grow.

These three elements -- participation, progress, and peace -- often conflict with one another, and even in the best of circumstances their reconciliation is difficult.

Peace -- in the sense of domestic order -- can temporarily be achieved by military dictatorship.

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Finally, may I say this: Our critics always tell us that we Americans win the 100-yard dashes but lose the marathons.

I think we realize today that the business of nation-building is a marathon.

What is more, it is a never-ending marathon. For the building of peace and of peaceful progress will be with us throughout our lifetimes, and the lifetimes of our children as well.

If we abdicate our responsibility . . . if we drop out of the race,  
who will there be to lead?

Our nation produces more than half the Gross National Product of  
the world. We, among all nations, are rich.

Our nation has interests which touch every corner of the globe.  
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But -- far more important -- our nation, among all nations, is one  
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Ours is a nation which seeks the Common Good, not only within  
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We must last out this marathon because it is in our own interest.

We must last it out because of the perils involved if we do not.

But we must, above all, last it out because it is right that we do.

I believe that we can, and shall.

#####

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT CONFERENCE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

FEBRUARY 7, 1967

Wally Campbell  
Clyde Ellis

✓ Hurstwater

✓ Dan Bronheim

Sergio O. Sosa

(Family)

Father Vizzard

Jim Patton

Jerry Voorhis

✓ Your Excellencies  
members of Congress

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✓ We did something about it.



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Second, to help in modernization of rural areas.

In the assistance programs of the 1950's and the early 1960's ~~there was too much~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~emphasis~~ <sup>was</sup> on industrial development -- on steel mills, factories and airports. The new emphasis on cooperatives has opened a channel of technical and financial assistance to the rural masses.

The continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America, we must not forget, are basically rural continents. And, as desperate as poverty may be in many of the cities of these continents, it is far more desperate in the countryside.

Third, to promote "pluralism" -- ~~that is~~ <sup>I mean</sup> the development of a multiplicity of private institutions, as well as governmental, which involve varying elements in a society in the business of that society. The cooperative encourages decentralization in decision-making and helps provide the mechanics for making economic, social, and political decisions at the grassroots level.

✓ Fourth, to foster economic and social development within a specific democratic political framework.

and ✓ During the past year the Congress has taken an additional step to encourage popular participation in the

development process ✓ Thanks to Congressman Don

Fraser's Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act, AID

is encouraged to make a more conscious and direct effort

to promote the

7 Min

a Partnership of government and  
private voluntary organizations

Govt - the interplay - Voluntary  
Organizations - communities

Partnership of Govt and the People

(Dev't isolate - Partnership Alliance)

✓ Cena

✓ Church

Coops

Labour

Chamber of Commerce

Govt

development of democratic institutions at all levels -- national,  
regional and local. — (Partnership)

~~One year ago~~ One year ago Pope Paul, in addressing a United Nations group in Rome, rightly stated that in today's world

"development is the new name for peace."

↳ Poverty breeds disorder. ↳ Poverty breeds hate.

↳ Poverty breeds war.

↳ No fewer than 164 outbreaks of violence -- outbreaks carrying international danger -- have taken place in the last eight years, in the "have-not" nations of the world.

↳ Using the World Bank classification of nations as "middle-income", "poor", and "very poor," since 1958 serious violence has visited 48 per cent of the middle-income nations ... 69 per cent of the poor nations ... and 87 per cent of the very poor nations.

↳ I do not contend that development efforts will in the short run end disorder -- in fact, some disorder usually comes with economic and social transition.



↳ But we know that, in the long run, far greater disorder will follow if people are denied a share in the better life they see around them. This is what we mean by "Rising expectations!"

↳ Just what are the facts of world poverty? The overwhelming and inescapable fact is that the gap between the rich nations and the poor continues to widen. ↳ Today, 20 per cent of the world's population disposes of 75 per cent of the world's income.

↳ Last year, the rich nations of the West added 106 billion dollars to their total production -- more than the total GNP of the Near East and South Asia, or of Latin America.

↳ In 1966, we in the United States, with 190 million people, increased our GNP by 58 billion dollars. The less developed nations of Africa, with a population of 250 million, have a total GNP of only 30 billion dollars.

↳ Yes, the gap continues to widen. But there is another fact we must face: Many nations have not yet begun to climb the curve of growth.

↳ In most <sup>of the</sup> less developed countries, the population explosion and the debt explosion threaten to eat up all potential gains. ↳ The population of the poor nations increases each year by 2.5 per cent compared with nine-tenths of one per cent in Europe or 1.5 per cent in the United States and Canada.

↳ Schools cannot keep up.  
Since 1960, despite enormous investments in education, world illiteracy has grown by some 200 million people. ↳ <sup>in developing nations,</sup> Of 373 million children, / about 115 million -- 30 per cent -- are in school and about 258 million -- or 70 per cent -- are not in school.

↳ World food production is well behind demand. It has barely risen over the past two years, while population in the less developed countries has increased by 40 million.

↳ World per-capita production of food has not gained significantly in the past 10 years and in some years bad crops have threatened acute and widespread famine.

✓ In addition to the growing burden of supporting their populations, these countries have the growing burden of their foreign debt. ✓ ~~Since 1956 the average annual rate of increase in foreign debt has been about 15 per cent.~~

✓ ~~Foreign debt has grown three times faster than the United Nations target of 5 per cent for annual economic growth, and that economic growth target has not generally been achieved.~~

✓ The debt burden to foreign governments and international agencies is only part of the story.

✓ Private producers in every developed country -- usually under the protection of government guarantees -- extend short-term credit for a wide variety of items which have no relation whatsoever to priorities and development plans in the developing nations.

↳ The temptation to consume now and pay later is seldom resisted. Here or abroad!

↳ No certain statistics are available on the volume of these private credits, but the Development Assistance Committee of OECD estimates that developing countries paid back in 1965 for these private credits twice as much as the repayment on aid loans. This would mean that the two reverse flows together ate up three-fifths of all aid. *out*

↳ All this adds up to a dismal picture. But it is a far from hopeless picture.

↳ The rich nations have greater resources for foreign assistance than ever before.

↳ And both the rich and poor nations have learned some lessons in these past few years about the business of peaceful nation-building.

↳ Let me mention some of the lessons I believe we Americans have learned.



~~As I have already pointed out,~~ <sup>one</sup> ~~one~~ lesson is that (D)  
governments cannot do the job alone. Just as progress in  
our own nation requires a working partnership among all  
elements of society, so is this true in other places.

Another <sup>lesson</sup> we have learned is that one country --  
the United States -- cannot do the job of nation-building alone.  
All nations must participate.

↳ In his War on Hunger Message last week, President  
Johnson expressed it clearly:

"If we are to succeed, all nations -- rich and poor  
alike -- must join together ... with the same spirit, the  
same energy, and the same sense of urgency that they apply  
to their own national defense. Nothing less is consistent  
with the human values at stake."

↳ It is gratifying to observe that as the other industrialized  
nations have arisen from the ashes of World War II, they have  
picked up this burden along with us.

*out* L In the last nine years they have increased their flow of aid to the less developed countries from 1.3 billion dollars to more than 2.5 billion dollars -- an increase much higher than the rate of increase in their incomes.

Today, five industrialized countries spend a larger percentage of their national incomes on foreign aid than we do.

*Regional* L There is another lesson: That regional development is far more effective than isolated national programs.

L In Latin America what started as an experiment in cooperation has become a way of life. Regional cooperation has become institutionalized in the Organization of American States ... in the Inter-American Development Bank ... and in the Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress, which reviews the development plans and policies of each of its members. L Progress toward economic integration is encouraging.

Obviously, such things as transportation, river valley development and communications do not stop at the edge of political boundaries.

With the perfection of satellite systems, a regional educational television network, which would reach vast millions in Latin America is now a realistic probability.

*Africa*  
In Africa, the United States -- in cooperation with international agencies and with other bilateral donors -- is seeking to concentrate its assistance on region-wide projects, particularly in fields such as agricultural research, transportation and communications. And African nations themselves are increasingly cooperating on a regional basis.

*Asia*  
In Asia, the doors of the one billion dollar Asian Development Bank have just been opened with the majority of its capital provided by donors other than the United States.

Another lesson learned is that outside help does little good in the absence of sound policies and diligent self-help actions by the developing nations. To be effective, foreign aid must be used to support forces for reform which are at work in the developing nations.

We have also learned that development cannot be achieved by technicians alone.

The indispensable prerequisites for development are political leadership and responsive political institutions.

John Adams once observed that "Power always thinks it has a great soul."

We, as a great power, must beware the impulse to try to impose on nations with far different traditions and histories, our own political institutions in carbon copy.

But, at the same time, we must not hesitate to help them -- when they ask for help -- to develop their own institutions, tailored to their own experience, which will meet the need of their people.

Viet

Nowhere is this more clear than in Vietnam today.

⌞ In Vietnam, ~~an ancient~~ <sup>an ancient</sup> culture but -- a developing country -- we are resisting Communist ~~military force~~ <sup>attack, aggression</sup> with force, and succeeding militarily. ⌞ We are aiding the South Vietnamese in economic development, and succeeding economically.

⌞ But, the corner will not be fully turned there until political progress matches military and economic progress. ~~The~~ <sup>a new and powerful force challenging</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>will be</sup> ~~freely-elected,~~ <sup>freely-elected,</sup> ~~representative government~~ <sup>representative government</sup> in South Vietnam today is in South Vietnam.

⌞ It is the ever-growing probability that such a government will soon come into being; And that probability, I believe, is causing Hanoi and the National Liberation Front to have some second thoughts.

⌞ The barrage of threats, intimidation, and propaganda launched by North Vietnam and the Viet Cong against the election for a constituent assembly last fall was a miserable failure.



The people of South Vietnam did vote in overwhelming numbers.

A constituent assembly was elected. It is at work.

A constitution is today being written.

Village and district elections will be held this spring.

National elections are scheduled for this ~~Autumn~~ *summer or fall.*

*L* These are solid steps toward peace and victory.

~~over Communist intimidation~~

*L* And, in combination with our military and economic efforts, these are the steps which can in time innoculate a nation against terror, subversion and political agitation waged by a disciplined minority.

And here, may I add a few words concerning the many press reports you have seen recently concerning the possibilities of peace in Vietnam.

*This is delicate & sensitive period.*

~~This is an extremely delicate and sensitive time. The Tet truce period, immediately ahead, offers opportunity for rethinking by combatants in Vietnam.~~

*yes, the Tet truce period offers opportunity for rethinking by the Combatants in Vietnam.*

*But* L I do not believe the cause of peace would be served today by publicly speculating about the events of the next few weeks and months.

L I do believe the cause of peace can be served if we keep steady and level heads -- if we show no signs of weakness, impatience, or petulance.

L I believe the cause of peace can be served if we patiently and perseveringly continue the course we have set for ourselves in Vietnam -- the course to which I have just alluded.

*Nation building takes Time -  
Peace Building takes Time.*  
We must continue, as the President has said,

to "fight a war of limited objectives" to halt aggression before it can spread.

L We must continue, with our allies, to mobilize manpower and resources for economic and social development.

L We must continue to press forward with pacification in the countryside.

✓ We must continue to help the South Vietnamese people build representative and responsive political institutions.

✓ And, at the same time, we must continue patiently and diligently to seek a just and lasting peace.

✓ The world knows that we have the courage to resist aggression *and it needs to know* that we keep our commitments.

The world should also know that we have the even greater courage required to walk the extra mile which could bring peace to a long-tortured nation.

✓ Yes, now is a time for self-discipline and for statesmanship. ✓ We Americans, in this time of testing, must prove equal to the exercise of those qualities.

✓ We have, I think, learned another painful lesson: ~~That development is a long-run process.~~ ✓ We delude ourselves if we expect quick or easy returns or instant tranquility. The most important changes are often those which take longest.

✓ Development assistance <sup>*in the first*</sup> has been regarded primarily as a weapon in the cold war.

In that context, show-piece projects often as not diverted resources from such important investments in nation-building as education, rural development and public health.

↳ Today, agriculture, education and health are the basic cornerstones of our development efforts.

↳ And they will continue to be -- even though they may not bring quick or flashy or dramatic results.

↳ Today, as we face the challenge of a world of poverty and need, we increasingly realize that three elements, above all, are necessary if nations are to survive and grow.

These three elements -- participation, progress, and peace -- often conflict with one another, and even in the best of circumstances their reconciliation is difficult.

↳ Peace -- in the sense of domestic order -- can temporarily be achieved by military dictatorship.

↳ Progress -- the more abundant and equitable provision of material goods and services to the citizens -- can be achieved through technocracy.

↳ But participation (- full participation of the citizens -)  
is the vital ingredient which, in the long run, not only  
insures the social stability which makes possible peace  
and progress, but also unleashes the full talents and energies  
of people who seek a better life.

↳ Finally, may I say this: Our critics always tell us  
that we Americans win the 100- yard dashes but lose the  
marathons.

I think we realize today that the business of  
nation-building is a marathon. — and I believe  
We have the Stamina, the will,  
the means to do the job!



What is more, it is a never-ending marathon.

For the building of peace and of peaceful progress will be with us throughout our lifetimes, and the lifetimes of our children as well.

If we abdicate our responsibility ... if we drop out of the race, who will there be to lead?

Our nation produces more than half the Gross National Product of the world. ~~We, among all nations, are rich.~~

Our nation has interests which touch every corner of the globe. We, among all nations, have world-wide concerns.

But -- far more important -- our nation, among all nations, is one which professes belief in the equality and brotherhood of man.

Ours is a nation which seeks the Common Good, not only within our own borders, but in the world.

We must last out this marathon because it is in  
our own interest. We must last it out because of the perils  
involved if we do not. But we must, above all, last it out  
because it is right that we do.

I believe that we can, and shall. !

# # #

PRESENTATION BY  
THE VICE PRESIDENT OF  
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Before the  
INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT  
CONFERENCE

International Inn  
Washington, D. C.  
February 7, 1967

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P R O C E E D I N G S

MR. HUMPHREY: Thank you. Thank you, my dear friend, Clyde Ellis. Thank you for that bit of Humphrey fiction.

(General laughter.)

I do think Mrs. Humphrey did have a complaint or two which was fully justified, but I don't think I ought to let you in on our family squabbles. I'll only say I resisted moving, but we moved.

(General laughter.)

And I'm delighted. As usual she was right.

Wally, my friend Wally Campbell, my dear friend, Jim Patton. No man should be more honored than Jim Patton. And our friend that could not be with us tonight, Jerry Vorhees. You know, when I say Jim Patton and Jerry Vorhees I just start to feel warm all over. It's sort of like family. Isn't that the way you feel? Just wonderful friends.

(Applause.)

And our spiritual advisor as well as our activist, Father Bressard.

(General laughter.)

My old friend and former associate, still associate in a way, Herbie Waters, and the gentlemen that are here from our programs in AID other than Herb and Dave Bronheim, and my good friend from Chile who paid me a visit and gave me the privilege of visiting with him, Mr. Sergio Osso, the head of the program



1 similar to what we're trying to do right here in our War on  
2 Poverty and our programs of cooperative development, your  
3 excellencies and members of Congress, and friends.

4 When I heard Clyde talk about that oration that I gave back  
5 in 1961, I said to myself, "Well, I guess I should have prepared  
6 for one tonight." But instead of that I thought I'd just come  
7 over and visit with you. These are busy days for all of us,  
8 and I wanted to make this evening something more than rhetorical.  
9 I thought possibly we might make it a sort of a review of where  
10 we've been -- not too much time on that -- and then possibly a  
11 statement of where we should go. Now, I know there are some  
12 people that have ideas on where I should go.

13 (General laughter.)

14 I thought I'd just put it in the plural. Where we should  
15 go in our common efforts of trying to build a better country  
16 and a better world.

17 Wally, I want to commend you on the quality of your pro-  
18 gram, at least up to this moment. I have looked it over here  
19 this evening and before I arrived you have had Cabinet members,  
20 economists, cooperators, and businessmen, people from every  
21 walk of life that have addressed this group and will continue  
22 to do so tomorrow. You didn't need to worry about a snow storm.  
23 Most of us are somewhat accustomed to them out my way. In fact,  
24 I thought you had it come today just to make me feel at home  
25 for this particular occasion.

(General laughter.)

I want to reminisce with you just a little bit. Five years isn't long, and yet five years represents a tremendous amount of effort on the part of people in this room tonight and many that couldn't be with us. I want to reminisce with you about our foreign aid program, about the efforts of this country in what I call nation building and peace building. I want to do this in this spirit, that I would remind you that Scripture tells us that blessed are the peace makers. I want to underscore the word "makers". Not the peace talkers, not even the peace paraders, not even the peace sign carriers, all of those important. All have their role, but blessed are the peace makers, and it takes a lot of doing to make peace. It takes a good deal of hard work, building like a mighty cathedral, stone by stone, block by block, until one day man's dream, a world of peace, is a reality.

I haven't become any more patient than I was years ago. In fact, I'm a restless, impatient man, but I want to make it quite clear that that impatience should not, and I hope does not, cause one to take precipitous and dangerous action, but rather to encourage one to take steady strides, forward movement, constant effort in this business of making the peace.

I say those words to you because this is a time that our hearts go out and our voices are raised in the cause of peace because everybody is troubled, and rightly so, but to be

1 troubled is not enough. To know what to do is just about  
2 enough, and to search for what to do is the least that we can  
3 do.

4 Well, about five years ago, as was stated, we were holding  
5 a hearing over in the Senate down in the Senate Foreign Relations  
6 Committee room. There weren't very many people there. That's  
7 one of the problems we have on our program of foreign assistance.  
8 The critics are very vocal on the outside and sometimes the  
9 supporters are all too few on the inside. Well, I remember that  
10 Senate Foreign Relations Committee meeting in 1961. I'd been  
11 on that Committee since 1952. The subject came up because I'd  
12 raised it of cooperatives, voluntary organizations, the very  
13 organizations that are in this little brochure, where it says,  
14 "It is declared to be the policy of the United States to  
15 encourage the development and the use of cooperatives, credit  
16 unions, savings and loan associations, to discourage monopolis-  
17 tic practices, to improve the technical efficiency of industry,  
18 agriculture, commerce, and to strengthen free labor unions."  
19 That's what we were talking about there that day.

20 There were requests in at that time for many hundreds of  
21 millions, yes billions, of dollars, and every time I would  
22 listen to the presentation of those requests, it always seemed  
23 to deal with some massive big program and project and not  
24 enough talk about people to satisfy me. So, we decided to talk  
25 a little while. It's a wonderful thing to be a Senator. My,



1 what freedom of action you have.

2 (General laughter.)

3 And what freedom of inquiry. Ask any question -- and by  
4 the way, never downgrade that Congress, even when the Congress-  
5 men and the Senators ask questions that every Administration  
6 wishes were never asked. It's important that those questions  
7 be asked because it's in the Senate and in the House of Represen-  
8 tatives that the people's voice can be heard. You don't always  
9 like to -- you don't always have to like what you hear, and as  
10 I said to a group of young men and women at a meeting one time,  
11 you have the right to be heard, but you don't always have to be  
12 taken seriously unless what you say is worth being taken  
13 seriously. But at least everybody should be heard, and people  
14 should ask questions.

15 Well, I was one of those that was asking questions. I  
16 suppose that frequently my questions weren't too meritorious,  
17 but once in awhile if you keep at it you hit a good question,  
18 and you occasionally get a good answer. Senator Humphrey asked  
19 how many foreign aid agency people were in the field of organizing  
20 credit unions, cooperatives, savings and loan associations,  
21 and other voluntary economic groups, and after a pause and some  
22 hurried consultations with those that came in along with the  
23 witness, the witness answered candidly, "None."

24 Then the question was asked, "Well, how many people do we  
25 have helping to organize savings and loan associations in the

1 countries of Latin American and Africa?" The answer: "None."  
2 How many were employed to organize marketing or consumer  
3 cooperatives? The answer was the same, "None." So, we  
4 decided to do something about it.

5 Now, I thought it was so appropriate tonight that Herb  
6 Waters would make these presentations to Jim Patton and Jerry  
7 Voorhees because while at that time Herb had gone to the execu-  
8 tive branch of the Government, he was a consultant with me, as  
9 he is to this very day and as is my friend Dorothy here and  
10 others on this dais, and we sort of dreamed up tha t something  
11 ought to be done about it.

12 So, I can say to you that things are different now. Since  
13 the autumn of 1961 AID, the Agency for International Development,  
14 has carried out the mandate of that amendment that I read to  
15 you, the so-called "Humphrey Amendment", working with the very  
16 organizations that are represented here tonight. And on this  
17 fifth anniversary, this anniversary observance of that amend-  
18 ment, AID has contractual arrangements with ten major coopera-  
19 tive organizations. Five years ago it had none. It has 97  
20 cooperative personnel on its payroll. Five years ago, none.  
21 It has involved 286 consultants that know their business. That  
22 was unheard of five years ago. It reports 123 projects in 39  
23 countries and 40,000 cooperatives with 16 million members --  
24 in five years. Mr. Marcus, that's a good record for anybody,  
25 isn't it? And this is a successful man. He knows the definition



1 of success. During these past five years AID has committed  
2 \$50 million to cooperatives, and let me just add to my friends  
3 in AID, you can do better, and we want you to do better.

4 (Applause.)

5 You see, I'm still a bit restless.

6 Now, the underlying objectives of the Humphrey amendment  
7 are as valid today as five years ago, and I'd like to single  
8 out four of them because this is what we talked about and we  
9 designed this amendment, and we had many discussions. Wally  
10 was in on it. Jim Patton was in on it. I look up and down here  
11 and the author of the amendment was just by accident in the  
12 Senate. The people that helped work out the amendment just  
13 didn't get any of the credit for it then. But that's alright.  
14 I like a little credit once in awhile, so I'll just take it.

15 (General laughter.)

16 Now, what are the objectives that we had in mind? Well,  
17 first to help people who most need it. Regardless of good  
18 intention, government to government assistance always seems to  
19 trickle down slowly, if at all, to the poor people of developing  
20 nations even where their governments honestly seek to help them.  
21 When you start that business on top -- you know, I used to say  
22 that there were two Humphries in the Government at one time.  
23 There was trickle-down George and percolate-up Hubert, and --

24 (General laughter.)

25 I've never felt any differently about it.

(Applause.)

And all too often many of our programs start at the top and have a difficult time working their way down on time to the people that really need the help.

Now, what was the second objective? To help in the modernization of rural areas. In the assistance programs of the 1950's and the early 1960's the emphasis was upon industrial development, on the steel mills, the factories, and the airports. The new emphasis on cooperatives, on rural areas, has opened a channel of technical and financial assistance to the world masses, and I came back from that trip to Bogata, Colombia, and then, as you know, I travelled -- Clyde -- in other areas of Latin America and wrote a report for our Government. Just another Senator's report. And I went out to our farmers' union, GTA, in Minnesota and spoke in that November about that report, and Jim, you were there, and I said we simply must turn our aid program to the rural areas as well as to the cities because it's in the rural areas where we have massive poverty. The continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America, we must never forget, are basically rural continents and as desperate as poverty is and continues to be in many of the cities it is far more desperate in the countryside, and it was in the countryside where the enemies of freedom were making their progress and many was the time that I said, "You have a choice, my fellow Americans, between collectivism or cooperation." And I know that we do

1 not want collectivism. We believe in cooperation. You have a  
2 choice between the state and genuine free enterprise because a  
3 cooperative is free enterprise." And I think that we made the  
4 choice that had to be made and the right choice of cooperation  
5 and free economic institutions.

6 Now, the third objective was to promote pluralism. That's  
7 not a particularly good word, but it's the best one I could  
8 think of. I mean the development of a multiplicity of private  
9 institutions, as well as governmental, which involve varying  
10 elements in a society in the business of that society. The  
11 cooperative, the credit union, the savings and loan association,  
12 these individual private groups encourage decentralization in  
13 decision making and helps provide the mechanics for making  
14 economic, social and political decisions at the grass roots  
15 level.

16 And fourth, our objective was to foster economic and social  
17 development within a specific democratic political framework,  
18 and you can't have a democratic framework if people do not know  
19 how to make decisions, if they are inexperienced in managing  
20 their own affairs.

21 Now, during the past year, as has been noted, the Congress  
22 has taken a very important additional step to encourage popular  
23 participation in the development process, and that's thanks to  
24 Congressman Don Fraser, and by the way may I boast, from  
25 Minnesota.



(Applause.)

His amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act, AID is encouraged -- and might I say to my friends in AID, and I know they want to do this and they are -- not only encouraged, you are directed to make a more conscious and direct effort to promote the development of democratic institutions at all levels, national, regional and local.

One year ago Pope Paul, in addressing a United Nations group in Rome, rightly stated that in today's world development is the new name for peace.

There are some lessons that we know but we seem to forget. Poverty anyplace, at home or abroad, breeds disorder. When you see it in your own America remember that. Poverty breeds hate. When you see it in your own America remember that. Poverty breeds war, violence. No fewer than 164 outbreaks of violence, outbreaks carrying grave international danger, have taken place in the last eight years in the have-not nations of the world. Using the World Bank classification of nations as middle income, poor and very poor, since 1958 serious violence has visited 48 percent of the middle income nations, 69 percent of the poor nations, 87 percent of the very poor nations. Look at the waste of mankind and resources in that violence.

Now, I do not contend, of course, that development efforts will in the short run end disorder. We know better. In fact, some disorder usually comes with economic and social transition.

1 It's just exactly like two weather systems when you're flying.  
2 I use this analogy many times. We're having some troubles in  
3 our own America today, and it's because there's a great change  
4 in the social patterns of this country, and you know, when you  
5 look at that map and you are flying or you hear the morning  
6 news or the weather forecast, you will hear about a low and a  
7 high. Well, when you're in a plane and going through and the  
8 high and the low meet, when those two weather fronts meet, you  
9 have disorder until finally you break out into clean blue skies,  
10 and then there's smooth sailing.

11 Well, we're going through those fronts, so to speak, of  
12 confusion now and of social change, but we know that in the long  
13 run -- while in the short run you can't end disorder by these  
14 changes -- in the long run far greater disorder will follow if  
15 people are denied a share in the better life that they seek  
16 around them. This is what we mean by rising expectations. If  
17 people are denied what they know they ought to have, there is  
18 no power on this earth that can hold them in check, nor should  
19 they be.

20 Now, just what are the facts of world poverty. I know I'm  
21 talking to those that know it, but I'm an old teacher and I  
22 found out a long time ago that people are not necessarily slow  
23 learners. They're just busy.

24 (General laughter.)

25 And education is essentially saturation. Most of us have



1 to beget it by this process of osmosis, just be steeped in it.  
2 So, let's not forget these things. The overwhelming and  
3 inescapable fact is that the gap between the rich nations and  
4 the poor continues to widen. I remember what Pope John said.  
5 He said where there is constant want there is no peace. Well,  
6 if that gap continues to widen, it's the greatest threat to  
7 peace that we have.

8 Today 20 percent of the world's population disposes of 75  
9 percent of the world's income. Last year the rich nations of  
10 the West added \$106 billion to their total production, more than  
11 the total GNP of the Near East, South Asia and Latin America,  
12 all put together. In 1966 we in the United States with 190  
13 million people increased our GNP by \$58 billion, more than all  
14 of Latin America -- in our increase, mind you. The less developed  
15 nations of Africa with a population of 250 million have a total  
16 gross national product of \$30 billion, and my fellow Americans,  
17 we're over the 750 billion. Never have so few had so much, and  
18 with that blessing comes big responsibilities. The gap does  
19 continue to widen, yet there is another fact that we must face.  
20 Many nations have not yet begun to climb the curve of growth.  
21 They haven't made progress. In most of the less developed  
22 countries, or in many of them, the population explosion and the  
23 debt explosion threaten to eat up all the potential gains. The  
24 population of the poor nations increases each year by 2.5,  
25 about 2-1/2 percent, compared with 9/10 of one percent in

1 Europe, 1-1/2 percent in the United States and in Canada.

2 Schools cannot keep up. Since 1960 despite enormous investments  
3 in education, world illiteracy has grown by some 200 million  
4 people. Of the 373 million people in the developing nations --  
5 373 million children -- about 115 million, 30 percent are in  
6 school. About 258 million, or 70 percent are not in school.

7 World food production. Nobody knows more about that than  
8 my friend Mr. Patton or Secretary Freeman or Herb Waters, these  
9 men that are here. It's well behind demand. It has barely  
10 risen over the past two years while population in the less  
11 developed countries has increased by 40 million, and in fact  
12 we're consuming our cereal grains faster than we're producing  
13 them.

14 Oh, when I think of how we used to talk about "Don't be  
15 worried about these surpluses." You know, I haven't heard a  
16 word about surpluses for I don't know how many months.

17 (General laughter.)

18 And I went across this country telling people that the  
19 surpluses that we had in the Commodity Credit Corporation, while  
20 they were a burden to the farmer who received far less than he  
21 ever should have, were a god-send to humanity, and a god-send  
22 to this nation. I wonder where this world would have been today  
23 and would be tonight were it not for the fact that American  
24 agriculture was able to fulfill more than its responsibilities.  
25 Now, I've taken this message to New York City and Philadelphia

1 and Chicago and I got another chance to give it tonight. You  
2 ought to be reverently and prayerfully grateful for the sacri-  
3 fices that American agriculture has been making for this nation,  
4 and when they get a fair price, don't complain. They've long  
5 deserved it. Long overdue.

6 (Applause.)

7 I'll have to tell you. I said something like this in the  
8 campaign in October up in New York and they took me to task and  
9 said, "That just proves Humphrey's not for the consumer."

10 (General laughter.)

11 I'm for the consumer, but I'm for a fair wage for a worker  
12 and I'm for a fair price for the producer and I'm for a fair  
13 profit in business. Now, if that makes me a bad fellow, then  
14 you got a bad fellow.

15 (Applause.)

16 I just think it's right. Now, world per capita production  
17 of food has not gained significantly in the past ten years. In  
18 addition to the growing burden of supporting their populations  
19 these developing countries with all of their many problems --  
20 and all developing countries have them -- have the growing  
21 burden of their foreign debt. The debt burden to foreign  
22 governments and international agencies is only a part of the  
23 story. Private producers in every developed country, like ours,  
24 usually under the protection of government guarantees, extend  
25 short term credit for a wide variety of items which often has



1 little relation whatsoever to priorities and development plans  
2 in the developing nations. The temptation to consume now and  
3 pay later is seldom resisted here or abroad. The difference is  
4 here that there's a chance to pay.

5 Now, all this adds up to a very serious, dismal picture,  
6 but it is far from hopeless. The rich nations today have  
7 greater resources for foreign assistance than ever before, and  
8 both the rich and the poor nations have learned some lessons in  
9 these past few years about the business of peaceful nation  
10 building, and I hope tonight we leave this room as concerned  
11 about nation building as some people seem to be concerned about  
12 some other things. I want us to accentuate the positive. When  
13 I think of so many things that we need to do and then I see us  
14 pouring out our emotional energies on just one or two subjects --  
15 we need to be much broader gauged in our thinking.

16 (Applause.)

17 Now, let me mention just a few of the lessons that I hope  
18 that we Americans have learned. One lesson is, and I trust  
19 we've learned it, that governments cannot do the job alone.  
20 Let me tell you, my dear friends, I don't know of a single great  
21 problem facing the world today that governments alone can solve.  
22 We can't solve the problems of our own cities with government  
23 alone. We know that. Somehow, some way we're going to have to  
24 bring into the solution of our own urban problems the voluntary  
25 agencies, the non-profit corporation, the profit corporations,

1 the free enterprise, even put the profit motive and incentive  
2 into helping to rebuild our cities and helping to rehabilitate  
3 people. Government can be a catalyst. Government can be a  
4 working partner, and it should be, but it can't do it alone,  
5 and surely it can't do the job closing the gap between the rich  
6 and the poor or even narrowing that gap in the world today.  
7 Just as progress in our own nation therefore requires this working  
8 partnership among all elements of the society, so it is true in  
9 other places. The partnership of government, the private sector,  
10 private enterprise, voluntary organizations, the church, the  
11 trade unions, the universities -- and by the way, I want to get  
12 it in once more. The universities are doing a much better job  
13 today. They're joining the fight for a better life. I've said  
14 a thousand times if I'd said it once -- say universities should  
15 not be a meadow for meditation -- it should be a battlefield of  
16 action for social progress, and the professors and the experts  
17 are there, and ought to take their laboratory experiments out of  
18 the laboratory into the real world of action, particularly in  
19 the social sciences. We have too much investment today in our  
20 great universities to have them only be sort of retreats for re-  
21 flection. We need that too; reflection, meditation, action --  
22 action. I know of no other way that we can do what needs to be  
23 done. Now, we've learned another lesson: not only the need of  
24 partnership, we've learned that one country, for example, the  
25 United States, rich and powerful as it is, cannot do the job of



of nation-building alone. All nations must participate. Leadership is not going it alone. Leadership is the capacity to get others to do what they ought to do, and if we are going to lay claim to the title of leader, it not only means that we cast our lot, but it also means that we convince others to cast their lot with us, for the common objective. It's so easy to have what I call "check-book diplomacy;" we even bring up our families sometimes that way, rather than extend the love, and the time, and the care for our little ones and our children that's needed; we just buy them a gift -- write out a check -- when they really want to sit down and talk to you. There's no substitute for love, for attention, for just being a partner. This is true in personal life, it's true in international life. Now, in the war on hunger message last week, and I thought the President's message was an excellent one, and it's a state document that needs to be carefully studied, President Johnson expressed it this way. "If we are to succeed, all nations, rich and poor alike, must join together." The rich, yes; and the poor with the widow's mite. He didn't say that; I add that. Must join together with the same spirit, the same energy, and the same sense of urgency that they apply to their own national defense. Nothing less is consistent with the human values at stake. National defense; well, let me tell you the war on hunger is a war in which there can be no pacifists, no conscientious objectors, nobody that's removed from the scene of battle. Everybody



d2

1 is involved. It's gratifying to me to observe that as the  
2 other industrialized nations have arisen, literally, out of the  
3 ashes of World War II, they have -- they've helped, and they've  
4 picked up this burden along with us. We seldom give note to  
5 that in our country. In the last nine years, they've increased  
6 their flow of aid to the less developed countries from a billion,  
7 three hundred million dollars to two and a half billion dollars,  
8 an increase much higher than the rate of increase in their in-  
9 comes. In the last nine years, we've cut our percentage of  
10 foreign aid of our national income. And I appeal to my friends  
11 in the Congress that are here tonight, to look at the big pic-  
12 ture. I know there are mistakes; there are always some mistakes,  
13 because when you try you can err. The only man that never made  
14 a mistake is the man that never moved, never tried. But I re-  
15 mind you that America and what it is today is not the result of  
16 accumulated mistakes. It's the result of great achievements.  
17 And in those achievements there were some mistakes. But why do  
18 we have to-- as my minister said Sunday -- minimize the magnifi-  
19 cent and maximize the minutiae? And that's what we do. We max-  
20 imize the minutiae; find some little project that went wrong,  
21 and it is worth five days of stories, but find the great things  
22 that are happening, and believe me, it's hard to find them in  
23 print. Or even in word. I appeal to you to become advocates.  
24 Maybe we need Committees of Correspondence, like we had in our  
25 days of freedom. If some people won't write what's going on

d3 1 in the world, let's write to each other then, and let's find  
2 ways and means of communicating. Today, five industrialized  
3 countries spend a larger percentage of their national incomes  
4 on foreign aid than we do. And I ask at least that we do what  
5 we're being asked to do. But every time I pick up the paper,  
6 hear the TV, I hear two things that are going to happen: going  
7 to cut the War on Poverty, and going to cut foreign aid.  
8 Blessed are the poor. Is that the way we mean it? I don't  
9 think it's much use of attending church, if you're not going to  
10 do something about it during the week.

11 (General applause.)

12 Now, there's another lesson that we've learned. Not only  
13 not to go it alone, but that regional development is far more  
14 effective than isolated national programs. In Latin America,  
15 we've learned a great deal about this. What started out as an  
16 experiment in cooperation has become a way of life. The region-  
17 al cooperation has been institutionalized in the Organization of  
18 American States, in the Inter-American Development Bank, in the  
19 Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress, just  
20 to mention a few; and, of course, there's a Central American  
21 bank. The Central American Common Market, and now we're talk-  
22 ing openly about a great Common Market in this hemisphere. The  
23 Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress has used  
24 all the development plans and policies of each of its members.  
25 We're making progress; this is the good news. Progress towards



d4 1 economic integration is encouraging. Obviously, such things as  
2 transportation, river-valley development, communications, don't  
3 stop at the edge of political boundaries. With the perfection  
4 of the satellite systems of communication -- oh, what a wonder-  
5 ful new period we're entering. A regional educational televis-  
6 ion network, which would reach vast millions in Latin America,  
7 is now a realistic probability. Did you see, on Sunday, the  
8 Picasso show, from Texas, from Paris, from New York, from San  
9 Francisco? Communications satellite live transmission. Ladies  
10 and gentlemen, I predict that within less than a decade, most  
11 of our great graduate schools will have their professors on  
12 communications satellite from a dozen countries, lecturing to  
13 our students, live by television. This is a great new day. You  
14 can't find anyplace to hide any more. This is a smaller world,  
15 and the poverty of a man far away is apt to be your next door  
16 neighbor, whether you like it or not. So the only thing I know  
17 to do is to see that he lives a better life, lest I live one  
18 that's not so good.

19 In Africa, the United States, in cooperation with interna-  
20 tional organizations and other bilateral donors, is seeking to  
21 concentrate its assistance on region-wide projects, particularly  
22 in such fields as agricultural research, transportation communi-  
23 cations, and the African nations themselves are increasingly  
24 cooperating on a regional basis; and we've only begun there.  
25 In Asia, with all of the sad news from Asia, there's so much

d5 1 good news. I've been there three times the last year, and I  
2 can -- I didn't come back crying. I didn't come back pessimis-  
3 tic, despite the agony and the pain and the tragedy of war. I  
4 came back encouraged, because the doors of the one billion  
5 dollar Asian Development Bank have just been opened, with the  
6 majority of the capital provided by donors other than the  
7 United States. The Mekong River Valley development? That river  
8 has stood there as a -- well, as a threat to the lives and pro-  
9 perty of people for centuries; it is being today, even in this  
10 war, being developed. I've been in Laos, and watched the devel-  
11 opment of the dams; in Thailand. And soon, if we can get peace,  
12 in all of Southeast Asia. And a whole new life will come about.

13 Now, another lesson is learned, and that is that outside  
14 help does little good in the absence of sound policies and dili-  
15 gent self-help actions, by the developing nations. Now that's  
16 where you have to get down and be firm. You do not help people  
17 by just being generous; you help people by encouraging them to  
18 help themselves, and following policies that are sound and con-  
19 structive. To be effective, foreign aid must be used to support  
20 the forces of reform, not merely to bail out the forces of re-  
21 action. The forces of form and reform which are at work if we  
22 give them a chance in these developing nations, and I think we  
23 ought to support those nations that have the reform movements  
24 moving, and let them know that we -- that we approve, and we  
25 encourage. We've also learned that development cannot be

06 1 achieved by technicians alone. You know, we can improve the  
2 rate of communication, but it doesn't necessarily make us the  
3 wiser.

4 (End of Reel #1.)  
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-- for may I say respectfully, and I only single you out because you are our honored guest, may I say that that kind of political development and economic development make sense, and it makes us proud of those who are able to carry it out.

(Applause.)

Now, we do not want to be boastful people or arrogant. I've said so many times that we must recognize that you can be courageous and compassionate. You can be humble and strong. We don't need to be belligerent or bellicose, but we need to be as firm and resolute. John Adams once observed that power always thinks it has a great soul, and we have an awful lot of power. And we as a great power must beware of the impulse, and it's a natural impulse to try to impose on other nations with far different traditions and histories our own political institutions in carbon copy. You see, the world should be a mosaic. It doesn't have to be trade marked "Made In the USA". In fact, we don't want it that way. We want the diversity in the world we have in our own society, a pluralistic world, not a monolith. We don't want a Communist monolith and we don't want an American monolith. We want a world of peoples and cultures and civilizations that add to one another because we are diverse. Isn't that the way that we get the beauty of things? Imagine what it would be like if we, as the President once said, if we all liked the same girl.

(General laughter.)



Imagine what it would be like if all women liked the same hat. It's bad enough the way it is, gentlemen.

(General laughter.)

No, there is a richness and a beauty in this diversity, this multiplicity, but at the same time, we must not hesitate to help people when they ask for our help, help them to develop their own institutions tailored to their own experience to meet the need of their own people, and that requires patience, forbearance, tolerance.

My fellow Americans, I want you to get your history books out and remember about your own country. I've said this from many a platform but I'm going to repeat it because it needs to be said all over America. We weren't always a society that had soapettes, deoderant, and all of the so-called luxuries of life. We were once a rather primitive society. We didn't always have political stability and we still don't have all we should. There's still far too much violence in our country. I'm shocked and shamed when I read of embassies being bombed, of riots in our streets, assassinations. My fellow Americans, we ought to hang our heads in shame because this society has had so much it ought to do better, but I must say that we can help other people build their own way and we can be tolerant of them. You know, we changed our own capitol once eleven times before we got it finally settled in Washington. Oh yes. We've had secessions, civil war, traitors. We've had all kinds of trouble.

3 1 It wasn't always like this. Washington wasn't always this  
2 beautiful. After all, Abigail Adams did hang her laundry out  
3 from the East Room of the White House once.

4 (General laughter.)

5 After all, the British did chase us all up and down the  
6 seacoast. After all, we did have two constitutions, the  
7 Articles of Confederation and this one, and after all, this  
8 nation after almost 100 years fought a bloody war to determine  
9 whether this would be one nation or two. So, be patient, be  
10 tolerant, be understanding of others.

11 Now, no more of what I am saying is -- no more is this  
12 clear than in that troubled area of the world called Southeast  
13 Asia or of Vietnam. Now, I'm not here to convince you of a  
14 thing about this part of the world. We all have our own views.  
15 That's right to have our views. I surely respect the right of  
16 every person to have his view or her view, but I also ask for  
17 the same respect for those of us who have the other view. We  
18 get no place by shouting at each other. You cannot discuss in  
19 anger. There is no reason to believe that anyone has a monopoly  
20 on the desire for peace. I think we're all trying to get to the  
21 same objective, that is, most all at least, and what we need to  
22 do is quietly, in honesty, discuss our differences.

23 But Vietnam today surely is the point of attention. It's  
24 an ancient culture, an area of an ancient culture, and yet it  
25 is really a developing country, yet to become a nation. There



4 1 we're resisting aggression, Communist military force with force,  
2 and really we're succeeding militarily. I remember when I came  
3 back last year and said that. You would have thought that I  
4 had said something that was indecent, but we are succeeding  
5 militarily. We're aiding the South Vietnamese in economic  
6 development and we are succeeding in a good measure economically.  
7 But the corner will not be fully turned in Vietnam or any place  
8 else until political progress matches military and economic  
9 progress.

10 A new and powerful force is challenging the Viet Cong and  
11 North Vietnam today, and that new and powerful force will be the  
12 freely elected representative government in South Vietnam. It  
13 is the ever growing probability that such a government will soon  
14 come into being, and that probability, I believe, is causing  
15 Hanoi and the National Liberation Front to have some second  
16 thoughts. The barrage of threats, intimidation and propaganda  
17 that was launched by North Vietnam and the Viet Cong against  
18 the election for a constituent assembly last fall turned out to  
19 be a miserable failure. Didn't work. And over 400 American  
20 newsmen covered that election, and they're good newsmen and  
21 they didn't find much wrong. The people of South Vietnam did  
22 vote in overwhelming numbers. They voted about twice as much  
23 as we voted in America in 1966. Over 80 percent of their  
24 people voted. I think we got a little over 42 or 45 -- around  
25 45 percent -- in a country where we spent hundreds -- where we

millions -- hundreds of thousands of dollars to encourage people to vote and where there were no threats. Rather where there were inducements.

(General laughter.)

A constituent assembly was elected and it is at work tonight, and my dear friends, if it doesn't always seem to do as well as you think it ought to do, remember that when we had our constituent assembly we didn't let a single newspaper man in in Philadelphia not one minute, and they used to assign two people to Ben Franklin because he got a little garrulous late at night, lest he would talk.

(General laughter.)

We closed the doors, closed the window to get a Constitution that guaranteed free speech and free press.

(General laughter.)

In fact, that Constitution didn't really guarantee it when it came out. It took the ten -- the first Bill of Rights to get those guarantees, and it wasn't easy. I've said so many times. Over a hundred were invited. Fifty-five came. Forty stayed. Thirty-nine signed. And it took two years to get the last signature.

(General laughter.)

It wasn't easy, my fellow Americans. I used to teach those courses.

(General laughter.)



5  
1 But a constitution is being written today. Village and  
2 district elections will be held this spring. National elections  
3 are scheduled for this summer, or at the latest early fall,  
4 between three to six months after the constitution.

5 Now, these are not miracles, but these are solid steps  
6 toward peace, towards independence and towards the victory that  
7 we're talking about. Not victory over an enemy as much as the  
8 victory for freedom, and in combination with our military and  
9 economic efforts, these are steps which I think in time can  
10 inoculate a nation against terror, subversion and political  
11 agitation waged by a disciplined minority.

12 And here may I add just a few word concerning the many  
13 reports you have recently seen concerning the possibilities of  
14 peace in Vietnam and how we hunger for it. It's been said that  
15 this is a delicate and sensitive period. I think it's always  
16 that way. This is a very dangerous world we live in. It will  
17 continue to be so for a long time. There is what we call the  
18 Tet now, and the Tet truce period. Well, that may offer opportu-  
19 nity for rethinking by combattants in Vietnam as to what they  
20 want to do, but that's not what is most important. I do not  
21 believe that the cause of peace would be served today by publicly  
22 speculating about the events of the next few weeks and months  
23 in the areas of diplomacy and negotiation. I do not believe  
24 that the cause of peace can be served if we just talk too much  
25 about uncertainties. I do believe the cause of peace can be



46 1 served if we teach steady and level-heads, if we show no signs  
2 of weakness, no uncertainty, no impatience or petulance. I be-  
3 lieve the cause of peace can be served if we patiently and per-  
4 severingly continue the course we have set for ourselves, in  
5 Vietnam, the course to which I've just alluded.

6 I say to you, with all the sincerity that God Almighty has  
7 given me, that nation building takes time; peace building takes  
8 time, and sacrifice. The President has said that we must con-  
9 tinue to fight a war of limited objectives, to halt aggression  
10 before it can spread. And the Charter of the United Nations  
11 imposes upon every member, whether it carries those duties out  
12 or not; that's up to the members. But because someone shirks  
13 his duty is no reason that I should. That Charter calls upon  
14 us to suppress aggression, and to promote self-determination.  
15 It's the written word, it's there, it's an obligation. It is  
16 the supreme law of the land. Therefore, I say we must continue  
17 with our allies to mobilize manpower and resources for economic  
18 and social development, not just military. We must press for-  
19 ward towards pacification in the countryside, and I'd like to  
20 see the great universities of America, each of them, adopt a  
21 village, or a hamlet, to which they would give their attention  
22 and their abilities. Let the intellectual community of America  
23 use that intellectual capacity to build in those communities,  
24 and those villages --

25 (General applause.)

d7 1 -- I think that we must continue to help the Vietnamese people  
2 build representative and responsive political institutions, and  
3 that takes some doing. And at the same time, we must continue  
4 patiently, reverently, carefully and diligently to seek a just  
5 and lasting peace, through any and all contacts. Now, the world  
6 knows that we have the courage to resist aggression, and it knows  
7 that we keep our commitments. The world should also know, and  
8 I want it to know from the platform tonight, that we have the  
9 even greater courage, to walk the extra mile which could bring  
10 peace to a long-tortured nation. We do it bravely and strongly;  
11 not in weakness, but in strength. Yes; you see, I happen to  
12 believe that this is a time for self-discipline, and for the  
13 highest quality of statesmanship, which is the building of  
14 nations, and the attainment of peace. We Americans, in this  
15 time of testing -- and it is a time of testing -- must prove  
16 equal to the exercise of those qualities. You see, we have  
17 learned another painful lesson, that political and economic  
18 development is a long-run process, but it's the beginnings that  
19 are important. Getting at it. Look what we've done in five  
20 years here. Getting at it -- so much more to do -- I'll have  
21 to tell you a story about Churchill. He was once in a big poli-  
22 tical meeting, and he was immediately harassed and somewhat  
23 embarrassed by the calls from the audience of a lady that accused  
24 him of imbibing too much in whiskey and brandy. And she kept  
25 at him and kept at him, and finally, he said, "Alright, lady;"

d8 1 he said, "Now, now, now; wait a minute." He said, "I know that  
2 you feel that I am unworthy of your trust, and your confidence.  
3 But just how much whiskey do you think I have consumed?" And  
4 this lady became very angry. "Why?" she said. And he said --  
5 he interrupted her, and he said, "How high would it come, for  
6 example, in this room?" And she looked at him and she said, "It  
7 would come about to there on you, Sir Winston." And he looked  
8 at her and he said, "Oh, lady; and there's yet so much to do."

9 (General laughter.)

10 Now, there is yet so much to do. In everything that we  
11 have done, there is still so much to do. We delude ourselves  
12 if we think that there are any quick or easy returns, or  
13 instant tranquility. The big changes take the longest. Devel-  
14 opment assistance was once regarded as a weapon in the Cold War.  
15 No longer should it be that. In this context, the showpieces  
16 and projects, often as not, diverted resources from such impor-  
17 tant investments in nation-building as agriculture, rural devel-  
18 opment, and health. Today, thank goodness, at the instruction  
19 of your President, and I've heard him say directly to his Cab-  
20 inet, the three pillars of our foreign policy in economic assist-  
21 ance are agriculture, education and health.

22 (General applause.)

23 Those are his three pillars of policy. And I've heard him in-  
24 struct every member of his government to keep those three prin-  
25 ciples in mind. They're the basic cornerstone of our effort,



and they'll continue to be, even though they're not going to bring any quick or dramatic or flashy results. You don't educate a person overnight; you don't bring him great and good health, either, that way. Today, as we face the challenge of the world of poverty and need, we increasingly realize that three elements above all are necessary if nations are to survive and grow. These three elements: participation, progress and peace. Sometimes they seem to conflict with one another; even in the best of circumstances, their reconciliation is difficult. Peace, in the sense of domestic order, can temporarily be achieved by a military dictatorship. Progress, the more abundant and equitable provision of material goods and services, can be achieved through technocracy, but participation, full participation of the citizens, is the vital ingredient which, in the long run, not only insures the social stability which makes possible peace and progress, but also unleashes the full talents and energies of people who seek a better life.

Finally, may I say this? I -- our critics always tell us that we Americans win the hundred-yard dashes, but lose the marathons. Well, I think we realize today that the business of nation-building is a marathon. What is more, it's a never-ending marathon, for the building of peace and peaceful progress will be with us throughout our lifetime, and through the lifetime of our children and our children's children. I love to tell my sons that "don't worry; Dad isn't going to get it all done, boys."



d10  
1 Prepare yourself not only to remedy our mistakes but to make  
2 your own a success." But if we abdicate that responsibility,  
3 if we drop out of the race, my fellow Americans, who will there  
4 be to lead? This nation, that produces more, almost half the  
5 gross national product of the world, if we can't take it, who  
6 can? If we falter, why should you expect anybody else to stand  
7 firm? Our nation has interests that touch every corner of the  
8 globe. We, among all the nations, have worldwide concerns, if  
9 you want to put it on the basis of interest; but far more im-  
10 portant, our nation among all nations is the one which professes  
11 most loudly and constantly the belief in the equality and a  
12 brotherhood of man. We preach it from every platform. Ours is  
13 a nation which seeks the common good; isn't it? That's what we  
14 say. Not only within our borders, but in the world. Therefore,  
15 I suggest tonight that we must last out this marathon, because  
16 it's in our own interest. We must last it out also because the  
17 perils involved, if we falter, are beyond human comprehension.  
18 But we must, above all, last it out for just one simple reason;  
19 we must do what we need to do because it is the right thing to  
20 do --

(General applause.)

21 -- not out of fear -- and I think that what you're doing, in  
22 this great endeavor of mobilizing the private resources of this  
23 great land of ours, in cooperation with others, under the banner  
24 of cooperation, is the sure way to last it out, to win the  
25

d11 1 marathon, or at least to have it said, that as we depart from  
2 this earthly existence, that there went a good man, who feared  
3 not, who dared to try, and who gave of himself -- and when you  
4 give of yourself, what you really do is gain immortality, be-  
5 cause the giving of oneself to someone else is the assurance of  
6 the continuity of life here on earth, and in the hereafter.

7 Thank you very much.

8 (General applause.)

9 (End of proceedings as recorded.)

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REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

International Development Conference

Washington, D. C.

February 7, 1967

I want to talk with you tonight about our foreign aid program -- about the role of this country in nation-building and in peace-building.

The Scriptures tell us "Blessed are the peace-makers." I want to underscore the word "makers" -- not the peace-talkers ... not even the peace-paraders or the peace-placarders, although they all have their role. Blessed are the peace-makers, because it takes a great deal of hard work to make peace. It is like building a mighty cathedral, stone by stone -- until one day man's age-old dream, a world at peace, becomes a reality.

I haven't become any more patient than I was years ago. In fact, I'm still a restless and impatient man. But impatience should not, and I hope does not, cause one to embark upon precipitous and dangerous actions, but rather prompts one to take steady strides, to maintain a constant effort and forward momentum, in this business of making the peace.



I say this because these are times when everyone is troubled, and rightly so. But to be troubled is not enough. We must know -- or at least search out -- what to do.

About five years ago we were holding a hearing on foreign aid in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. There were requests in at that time totalling billions of dollars, but they always seemed to concern some massive project. There was not enough talk about people to satisfy me.

So I asked how many foreign aid agency officers were in the field organizing credit unions. After a pause and hurried consultations, the witness answered "none."

How many people did we have helping to organize savings and loan associations in the countries of Latin America and Africa? "None."

How many were employed to organize marketing or consumer cooperatives? The answer was the same -- "None."

We did something about it.

Since the autumn of 1961, AID has carried out the mandate of the Humphrey Amendment, working with the organizations represented here tonight.

On this fifth anniversary observance of the Humphrey Amendment, AID has contractual arrangements with ten major cooperative organizations. It has 97 cooperative personnel. It has involved 286 consultants. It

reports 123 projects in 39 countries and 40,000 cooperatives with sixteen million members. During the past five years, it has committed \$50 million to cooperatives.

The underlying objectives of the Humphrey Amendment are as valid today as five years ago. I would single out four:

First, to help the people who most need it. Regardless of good intentions, government-to-government assistance always seems to trickle down slowly, if at all, to the poor people of developing nations -- even where their governments honestly seek to help them.

You'll remember that, back in the '50's, I used to say that there were two Humphreys in government -- "trickle-down" George and "percolate-up" Hubert. And I've never felt any differently. All too often, our programs start at the top and have great difficulty working their way down in time to the people who really need the help.

Second, to help in the modernization of rural areas. In the assistance programs of the 1950's and the early 1960's, there was too much emphasis on industrial development -- on steel mills, factories, and airports. The new emphasis on cooperatives has opened a channel of technical and financial assistance to the rural masses.

The continents of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, we must not forget, are basically rural continents. And, as desperate as poverty may be in the many of the cities of these continents, it is far more desperate in the countryside.

Third, to promote "pluralism" -- that is, the development of a multiplicity of private institutions, as well as governmental, which involve varying elements in a society in the business of that society. The cooperative encourages decentralization in decision-making and helps provide the mechanics for making economic, social and political decisions at the grassroots level.

Fourth, to foster economic and social development within a specific democratic political framework.

During the past year the Congress has taken an additional step to encourage popular participation in the development process. Thanks to Congressman Don Fraser's Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act, AID is encouraged to make a more conscious and direct effort to promote the development of democratic institutions at all levels -- national, regional and local.

One year ago, Pope Paul, in addressing a United Nations group in Rome, rightly stated that in today's world "development is the new name for peace."

There are some things we know, but we seem too often to forget. Poverty, at home or abroad, breeds hate. Poverty breeds disorder - and you can see that there in America too. Poverty breeds violence and war.

No fewer than 164 outbreaks of violence -- outbreaks carrying international danger -- have taken place in the last eight years in the

"have-not" nations of the world.

The World Bank classifies nations as "middle income," "poor," and "very poor." Using this classification, serious violence has since 1958 visited 48% of the middle-income nations ... 69% of the poor nations ... and 87% of the very poor nations.

I do not contend that development efforts will, in the short run, end disorder -- in fact, some disorder usually comes with economic and social transition.

We're having some troubles of our own here in America, because a great change is taking place in the social patterns of this country. It's like when you're flying, and you're going from one kind of weather to another -- from an area of high pressure to an area of low pressure. Where the two areas meet, you have a region of turbulence to fly through before you get into the clear again.

We're going through a turbulent period of confusion and social change here in America. But here, as elsewhere, we know that, in the long run, far greater disorder will follow if people are denied a share in the better life they see around them.

Just what are the facts of world poverty? The overwhelming and inescapable fact is that the gap between the rich nations and the poor continues to widen. Remember what Pope John said: Where there is constant want, there is no peace. If that gap continues to widen, it will be a great threat to peace.



Today 20% of the world's population disposes of 75% of the world's income.

Last year, the rich nations of the West added \$106 billion to their total production -- more than the total GNP of the Near East and South Asia, or of Latin America.

In 1966, we in the united States, with 190 million people, increased our GNP by \$58 billion. The less-developed nations of Africa, with a population of 250 million, have a total GNP of only \$30 billion.

Here in America, our GNP has now topped \$750 billion - three-quarters of a trillion dollars! Never have so few had so much -- and with such blessings come responsibilities.

Yes, the gap continues to widen. But there is another fact we must face: many nations have not yet begun to climb the curve of growth.

In most less-developed countries, the population explosion and the debt explosion threaten to eat up all potential gains. The population of the poor nations increases each year by 2.5%, compared with .9 of 1% in Europe or 1.5% in the United States and Canada.

Schools cannot keep up. Since 1960, despite enormous investments in education, world illiteracy has grown by some 200 million people.

Of 373 million children in developing nations, about 115 million -- 30% -- are in school and about 258 million -- or about 70% -- are not in school.

World food production is well behind demand. It has barely risen over the past two years, while population in the less developed countries has increased by 40 million.

Remember how we used to talk about our so-called "food surpluses" here? I haven't even heard the word for many months. I wonder where this world would be today were it not for the fact that American agriculture fulfilled its responsibilities, and more. We ought to be reverently and prayerfully grateful to our farmers.

World per-capita production of food has not gained significantly in the past ten years and in some years bad crops have threatened acute and widespread famine.

In addition to the growing burden of supporting their populations, these countries have the growing burden of their foreign debt. Since 1956 the average annual rate of increase in foreign debt has been about 15%. Foreign debt has grown three times faster than the United Nations target of 5% for annual economic growth, and that economic growth target has not generally been achieved.

The debt burden to foreign governments and international agencies is only part of the story.

Private producers in every developed country -- usually under the protection of government guarantees -- extend short-term credit for a wide variety of items which have no relation whatsoever to priorities and development plans in the developing nations.

The temptation to consume now and pay later is seldom resisted.

No certain statistics are available on the volume of these private credits, but the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD estimates that developing countries paid back in 1965 for these private credits twice as much as the repayment on aid loans. This would mean that the two reverse flows together ate up three-fifths of all aid.

All this adds up to a dismal picture. But it is a far from hopeless picture.

The rich nations have greater resources for foreign assistance than ever before. And both the rich and poor nations have learned some lessons in these past few years about the business of peaceful nation -building.

Let me mention some of the lessons I believe we Americans have learned.

As I have already pointed out, one lesson is that governments cannot do the job alone. Just as progress in our own nation requires a working partnership among all elements of society, so it does in other places.

Another lesson we have learned is that one country -- the United States -- cannot do the job of nation-building alone. All nations must participate.

In his War on Hunger Message last week, President Johnson expressed it clearly:

"If we are to succeed, all nations -- rich and poor alike -- must join together .. with the same spirit, the same energy, and the same sense of urgency that they apply to their own national defense. Nothing less is consistent with the human values at stake."

It is gratifying to observe that as the other industrialized nations have arisen from the ashes of World War II, they have picked up this burden along with us.

In the last nine years they have increased their flow of aid to the less developed countries from \$1.3 billion to more than \$2.5 billion -- an increase much higher than the rate of increase in their incomes.

In the same period, the percentage of our national income devoted to foreign aid has decreased. I appeal to my friends from Congress who are here tonight to look at the big picture. I know there have been mistakes -- the only man who never makes a mistake is one who never tries to do anything.



But I remind you that America is not what it is today because of cumulative mistakes. It's the result of great achievements -- even though they were accompanied by some mistakes. But why do we have to -- as my minister said last Sunday -- minimize the magnificent and maximize the minutiae? That's what we too often do. We find some little project that went wrong, and devote five days of news stories to it. But it's hard to find the great things that are happening in print.

Today, five industrialized countries spend a larger percentage of their national incomes on foreign aid than we do.

There is another lesson: that regional development is far more effective than isolated national programs.

In Latin America what started as an experiment in cooperation has become a way of life. Regional cooperation has become institutionalized in the Organization of American States ... in the Inter-American Development Bank ... and in the Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress, which reviews the development plans and policies of each of its members. Progress toward economic integration is encouraging.

Obviously, such things as transportation, river valley development and communications do not stop at the edge of political boundaries.

With the perfection of satellite systems, a regional educational television network which would reach vast millions in Latin America is now a realistic probability.

Yes, there's no place to hide any more. This is a small world -- and the poverty of a man on another continent is the poverty of your neighbor. So we'd better see to it that he lives a better life, in our own self-interest.

In Africa, the United States -- in cooperation with international other agencies and with /bilateral donors -- is seeking to concentrate its assistance on region-wide projects, particularly in fields such as agricultural research, transportation and communications. And African nations themselves are increasingly cooperating on a regional basis.

In Asia, the doors of the \$1 billion Asian Development Bank have just been opened with the majority of its capital provided by donors other than the United States.

The Mekong River is being developed, even during this time of war, with dams in Laos and in Thailand.

If we can get peace, there can be economic development through Southeast Asia -- and a whole new life will come about.

Another lesson learned is that outside help does little good in the absence of sound policies and diligent self-help actions by the

developing nations. To be effective, foreign aid must be used to support forces for reform which are at work in the developing nations, not merely to bail out the forces of reaction. I think we ought to support these forces of reform -- let them know that we approve them, and encourage them.

We have also learned that development cannot be achieved by technicians alone.

The indispensable prerequisites for development are political leadership and responsive political institutions.

John Adams once observed that "Power always thinks it has a great soul."

We, as a great power, must beware the impulse to try to impose upon nations with far different traditions and histories our own political institutions in carbon copy.

The world doesn't have to be trade-marked: "Made in the USA."<sup>1</sup> In fact, we don't want it that way. We want diversity in the world, just as we have diversity in America. We don't want a Communist monolith or an American monolith. We want a world of many peoples and cultures and civilizations that enrich one another by virtue of their diversity.

But, at the same time, we must not hesitate to help other peoples -- when they ask for help -- to develop their own institutions, tailored to their own experience, which will meet the needs of their people.

My fellow-Americans, I recommend that you get out your history books and read about our own country. We were once a developing country ourselves. We didn't always have political stability, and we still don't have all that we should. There's still too much violence in our own country -- and, because our society has been so privileged, it ought to do better. Therefore, I believe that we should be more tolerant of other peoples as we help them build in their own way.

We've had secession, civil war, traitors. We've had two constitutions -- the Articles of Confederation and our present one. After we'd been a nation for almost a century, we fought a bloody civil war to determine whether ours would be one nation or two. So I urge that we be patient, tolerant, and understanding of the troubles of the new nations.

Nowhere is this more imperative than in Vietnam today.

In Vietnam, a developing country, we are resisting Communist military force with force, and succeeding militarily. We are aiding the South Vietnamese in economic development, and succeeding economically.

But the corner will not be fully turned there until political progress matches military and economic progress.



A new and powerful force is about to challenge the Viet Cong and North Vietnam -- a freely-elected, representative government in South Vietnam.

It is an ever-growing probability that such a government will soon come into being. And that probability, I believe, is causing Hanoi and the National Liberation Front to have some second thoughts.

The barrage of threats, intimidation, and propaganda launched by North Vietnam and the Viet Cong against the election for a constituent assembly last fall was a miserable failure.

The people of South Vietnam did vote in overwhelming numbers. A constituent assembly was elected. It is at work. A constitution is today being written.

Village and district elections will be held this spring. National elections are scheduled for this fall.

These are not miracles, but they are solid steps towards peace, toward independence, and toward victory -- not so much a victory against an enemy as a victory for freedom.

I believe the cause of peace will best be served if we patiently and perseveringly continue the course we have set for ourselves in Vietnam.

I say to you, in all sincerity, that nation-building and peace-building take time -- time and sacrifice.

We must continue, as the President has said, to "fight a war of limited objectives" to halt aggression before it can spread. We must continue, with our allies, to mobilize manpower and resources for economic and social development. We must continue to press forward with pacification in the countryside.

I'd like to see the great universities of America -- each of them -- adopt a village or a hamlet to which they could devote their attention and their abilities. I'd like to see the intellectual community of America use its intellectual capacity to build a better life in those villages.

We must continue to help the South Vietnamese people build representative and responsive political institutions.

And, at the same time, we must continue patiently and diligently to seek a just and lasting peace.

The world knows that we have the courage to resist aggression ... that we keep our commitments. The world should also know that we have the even greater courage required to walk the extra mile which could bring peace to the long-tortured nation of South Vietnam.

Yes, now is a time for self-discipline and for statesmanship. We Americans, in this time of testing, must prove equal to the exercise of those qualities.

We have, I think, learned another painful lesson: that development is a long-run process. We delude ourselves if we expect quick or easy returns or instant tranquility. The most important changes are often those which take longest.

Development assistance has hitherto been regarded primarily as a weapon in the cold war.

In that context, show-piece projects often diverted resources from such important investments in nation-building as education, rural development and public health.

Today -- at the direction of your President -- agriculture, education and health have been made the three pillars of our development efforts. And they will continue to be -- even though they may not bring quick or flashy or dramatic results.

Today, as we face the challenge of a world of poverty and need, we increasingly realize that three elements, above all, are necessary if nations are to survive and grow.

These three elements -- participation, progress, and peace -- often conflict with one another. Even in the best of circumstances their reconciliation is difficult.

Peace -- in the sense of domestic order -- can temporarily be achieved by military dictatorship.

Progress -- the more abundant and equitable provision of material goods and services to the citizens -- can be achieved through technocracy.

But participation -- full participation of the citizens -- is the vital ingredient which, in the long run, not only insures the social stability which makes possible peace and progress, but also unleashes the full talents and energies of peoples who seek a better life.

Finally, may I say this: Our critics always tell us that we Americans win the 100-yard dashes but lose the marathons.

I think we realize today that the business of nation-building is a marathon.

What is more, it is a never-ending marathon. For the building of peace and of peaceful progress will be with us throughout our lifetimes, and the lifetimes of our children as well.

If we abdicate our responsibility ... if we drop out of the race, who else will lead?

Our nation produces a third of the Gross National Product of the world. We, among all nations, are rich. Our nation has interests which touch every corner of the globe. We, among all nations, have world-wide concerns. But -- far more important -- our nation, among all nations, is one which professes belief in the equality and brotherhood of man.



Ours is a nation which seeks the common good, not only within our own borders, but in the world.

We must last out this marathon because it is in our own interest. We must last it out because of the perils involved if we do not. But we must, above all, last it out because it is right that we do.

I believe that we can, and that we will.

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