

[To be delivered November 30, 1967
at the English Speaking Union, London
England - Speech + appearance was
DRAFT SPEECH Cancelled]

It is a privilege to be here at the center of the English-speaking world. The English language creates a remarkable community among a remarkable diversity of peoples all over the world. In some sense, it makes honorary Anglo-Saxons of us all. The United States is itself a good case in point. My own home state of Minnesota is a nursery of Scandinavian Anglo-Saxons. And my country, as that wise American barroom philosopher Mr. Dooley observed, represents a thoroughly Anglo-Saxon alliance of Irish and Africans, Germans, Poles, Puerto Ricans, Chinese, Scots, Welshmen etc. -- and even a few Englishmen. Someone once said that when an American speaks in Britain, "reporters are in a position to misrepresent him almost as though he were a native statesman." So I feel very much at home here among my fellow Anglo-Saxons.

I am particularly honored to be with you for the birthday of a remarkable Englishman who was, also, one of the greatest expositors of the English language. Soldier, journalist, novelist, biographer, historian, orator, wit, painter, statesman -- but preeminently and throughout a master of his native tongue, for this was the weapon with which Winston Churchill mastered his world. He played it like an orchestra, from tears to laughter, from gravity to wit. He enlarged it and enriched it, he stormed it and conquered it, and he left us with an extraordinary literature whose phrases have minted much of the common currency of our speech. I feel particularly

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close to him for his having once remarked "There is no such thing as a negative virtue. If I have been of service to my fellow man" he said, "it has never been by self repression but always by self expression." That is a sentiment I am widely believed to share.

So it is fitting to begin my remarks tonight with some of Sir Winston's wisdom. "Our cause", he said in 1952, "is sacred, Peace and Freedom. The way for us in Britain to serve this cause is plain. There are twined together the three circles I have often described. First, the British Empire, and Commonwealth of Nations growing in moral and physical strength. Secondly, the irrevocable association of the English-speaking world, around the great republic of the United States. Thirdly, the safety and survival of Europe in her ancient fame and long-sought unity. In all these circles we in this hard pressed but unvanquished island have a vital part to play and if we can bear the weight we may win the crown of honor." Presuming on your tolerance, I should like as an American to make some comments growing out of that wise statement, and address them to certain of your and our current preoccupations.

Sir Winston understood that we do live in a set of interlocked communities. There is at least one other that concerns us, even broader than those he was describing -- the community of free men in the Western tradition, committed to the goal of a peaceful and stable world in which men can work out their own destinies in security and well being.

We and you, Americans and Europeans, have over the more than two decades since World War II shared a special enterprise and a special responsibility toward the goals of that community. It has been a period of remarkable achievement in creating and evolving new institutions to serve these purposes. We have come a long way from the dangerous days of the Berlin airlift, and the beginnings of the Marshall Plan, to the strength and prosperity of the West today. Those decades have seen the creation and development of the United Nations; the recovery of Western Europe; the birth of the Atlantic Alliance and its institutional expression, NATO; of OECD, the IMF, the GATT -- a rich array of institutions to express a growing community and, as a particular contribution of European genius, the development of a new political and economic organization of Europe -- the European Communities -- with which Britain, in a historic decision, hopes to join her future.

I spoke a moment ago of special responsibilities that you and we share in the world. Power and principle do impose a particular and heavy responsibility for leadership on the strong. My country has made a considerable commitment to that shared responsibility. A quarter of a million of our young men are in Europe in uniform as part of our common defense. US nuclear weapons, deterrent and shield, are an umbrella that covers the Atlantic -- North America and Western Europe, alike and inseparable.

We pay this price, we make this commitment, because we firmly believe that your fate and ours, and with them the best hope for the peace of the world, rests heavily and jointly on how you and we maintain our responsibilities.

Our Atlantic community is built on a deep consensus. We want a permanent peace and just settlement in Europe. We want to see Europe continue to grow in strength and prosperity. We want to see the division of Europe healed, with the growth of intercourse and understanding between East and West. But none of us, I think, are under any illusion. Accommodation proceeds from strength. Our alliance and our solidarity give our hopes earth to stand on.

Yet alliance for security is not the whole of that ground. It can only exist because the deeper fabric of community exists. It would be idle for me to remind this audience of the deep and ancient roots of history and culture and moral tradition that we share. We are not bound together by empire or domination. Rather, Western civilization is rooted in a soil nourished by thousands of years of slowly acquired shared values, shared purposes, shared interests. We seek no conquests. We seek only a peaceful and stable world of free men and free nations. We want only progress and human well being, founded on free commerce and economic interchange and freedom for art and intellect to flourish.

I believe profoundly that this Atlantic community that we share is the best hope of a troubled and dangerous world. I know

I know that our consensus and our comity are not a magic solvent of all our practical problems. We still bargain hard around the conference table, argue the details of security policy -- our differences even descend, some times, to the level of wooden minesweepers. It would be remarkable if this were not so. Every community has its problems. But what is remarkable is the depth of our agreement and how well we solve our problems. Two decades of achievement testify to that.

Our material strength is the lever Archimedes sought to move the world.

Let me impose on you a few comparative statistics. Europe of the 6 is a community of 181,000,000 people. If Britain and the three other present applicants are added, Europe of the 10 would constitute 246,400,000 people. If we consider the entire Atlantic community as represented by the 21 countries of OECD including the United States and Canada, we constitute a community of 516,897,000 million people. For contrast, the population of the Soviet Union is 233,180,000. Consider gross national product, the best measure of total economic power. In 1966, for Europe of the 6: \$322.6 billion; for Europe of the 10: \$495.8 billion; for the OECD countries: \$1,427.4 billion. The Soviet Union, for contrast: (only have in rubles which are non-comparable - 192,600,000 million rubles). Total international trade: Europe of the 6: \$106,170 billion; Europe of the 10: \$149,746 billion; the Atlantic Community \$255,696 billion. The Soviet Union:

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\$16,751 billion. In crude steel production: Europe of the 6: 121,600,000 metric tons; Europe of the 10: 85,100,000 metric tons; the Atlantic Community 302,900,000. The Soviet Union: about 95,000,000 metric tons. In electronics, a field of the most advanced technology: Europe of the 6: (figures not available here); Europe of the 10: (figures not available here); the Atlantic Community: (figures not available here). The Soviet Union: (figures not available here). Automobile production: Europe of the 6: 6,204,000 vehicles; Europe of the 10: 7,807,000 vehicles; the Atlantic Community: 17,275,000 vehicles. The Soviet Union: 230,000. And finally but crucially important, the production of food: (figures not available here).

Those figures need no sermon. Such strength does carry a heavy responsibility. For never in the world's history has so much power been wielded by such a coherent community of nations, so agreed and so purposeful in pursuit of a world worth living in.

If I speak like an optimist it is because I am an optimist. So long as we preserve our community we preserve our lever to move the world. I believe we have the wisdom and the statesmanship to endure our day to day differences and stresses, the transient clash of interests and personalities, and yet hold to our firm purposes.

I know that Europe at times feels a little oppressed by the brotherly weight of the American embrace. I know that Europeans are sometimes overwhelmed by the sheer magnitude of the American

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economy, its giant organization of industry, the size and the rate of growth of its production of goods, its research and development, its technology. But these can be exaggerated. We need Europe, for our well being as much as Europe needs us. Our common purpose must be to reduce the disparities, enlarge our cooperation, improve our partnership. On both sides, this calls for forbearance, understanding, and generosity, drawing on that deeper and broader community of interests as our ultimate strength.

The future should not be obscured by the past. Europe is, in fact, growing out of the American shadow, and we welcome it. It is in this perspective that we have always supported Europe's increasing prosperity through the Communities. We look not with fear but with hope to the present prospect of their wider development as the embodiment of European strength and unity.

I hope it is no offense -- and no improper claim of a special relation -- for an American Minnesota Swedish Anglo-Saxon to comment briefly on this great matter which Britain and her European friends are now considering. It is, obviously, not a decision in which the United States has a part. I hope it is clear on the record that we consider this a matter for you in Europe to decide. I hope it is equally clear that, if Britain becomes part of Europe, we will welcome it as a notable advance -- not only for Europe, but as serving the wider purposes in which we are both, Americans and

Europeans, so deeply engaged.

We do not fear a Europe economically stronger and more competitive. As your Prime Minister said on this same occasion last year, we should (and I assure him we will) be delighted at the challenge of a more comprehensive and stronger European economy.

We do not fear the strength of a politically more united Europe -- a more secure and effective Europe. We are confident enough of the durability of our common goals and common enterprise to welcome a larger European role and contribution to the peace and stability of the world.

Finally, we are not afraid of the need for continuing change and adaptation of our institutions and our relations. We are engaged with Europe at the present time in a major study to prepare the alliance for new challenges and broader tasks. The Kennedy Round, the increasing effectiveness of OECD, the prospects for peaceful nuclear and technological cooperation are evidences to us of change and equally of progress.

These are American interests, therefore, that we can and do state candidly and clearly. They reflect a real and practical American concern and an obvious American stake in Europe's future. Yet we are clear that it is Europe's role in the world and how Europe organizes itself for its future that you in Europe have under discussion. And this is for you and your Continental friends, not for the United States, to settle.

I know this is a great and strenuous moment in British history. Sir Winston said of one of his Generals: "I sent him a signal 'improvise and dare', so he improvose and dore." That is good Churchill and good English prose. I know that when the next chapter of Europe's history is written it can be said that you improvose and dore.

So I come back again, at the end, to the English-speaking world. I cannot believe that Britain's future is in any conflict with the community of the English-speaking world. For our community rests fundamentally not on an often misconceived special relationship, but on a long living together within the range of a shared language, legal tradition and literature. Shaw once remarked that we in the English speaking world are separated by a common language. Philip Guedalla, even more impressed, thought that our diverse misuse of the English tongue contributes to "that complete misunderstanding, which is the sole safeguard against war" between us. I find both reflections reassuring. There is no greater testimonial to a genial family association than to be allowed to joke about it. Whatever other changes there may be in the character of the world we live in, I am confident of the survival power of the English speaking world. As a living community we will remain, to end with a Churchill phrase "foul weather friends."



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