



FOR RELEASE

TUESDAY AM'S  
April 23, 1968

## OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

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REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB -- ANNUAL AWARDS DINNER  
NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK

Ours is the Century of Emancipation.

At home and abroad, the convulsive, turbulent processes of freedom are at work -- processes that are rarely quiet, seldom orderly or refined. Few people have ever gained -- and held -- their freedom without torment, difficulty, ferment and sacrifice.

World War II unleashed the great forces of liberation in the twentieth century, even as, paradoxically, it fastened a new type of tyranny upon vast numbers of people and many nations.

But even in those nations the seeds of emancipation -- the seeds of liberation -- were there. And they are beginning, at long last, to sprout.

I believe the ferment in China will lead toward a different China in the next decade -- hopefully a freer China . . . a China which will be a better neighbor.

In Eastern Europe the monolith of communism has been fractured. people are demanding -- and getting -- emancipation from rigid, inflexible state control.

In America, World War II required the participation of all Americans -- and a quest for full freedom for all Americans has dominated our domestic history ever since.

Once that process was started, you could not stop it, nor should you try.

The cries of "Freedom Now" . . . of "We Shall Overcome" have been the rallying force for millions of deprived and under-privileged Americans who are today asking the right to be citizens -- in the fullest sense of the word.

This, in a very real sense is the continuing American Revolution. The amazing thing is that it has come as peacefully as it has.

The test of our society will be whether or not we can make the necessary changes without destroying the good in what we have already built -- whether we can have change amidst order, and order that permits change.

I think we can.

I think the American political and social system has the flexibility and durability to accommodate these powerful forces of emancipation and freedom.

Yes, the same forces of emancipation and freedom are at work throughout the world -- restlessly, at times violently . . . fitfully.

The pages of history a hundred years from now will surely reveal that the last half of the 20th century saw the greatest move toward freedom that the world has ever known, and we will be very much part of that story.

Page 2

The chapter headings for our times will be "Self-determination," "Development," "Liberation," "Nationhood," "National Development."

This is the language of a new epoch in human development -- an epoch when tyranny has a terminal disease.

The idea of freedom can no longer be suppressed.

The members of the human race, increasingly, can read and write.

They will communicate and interchange ideas.

That is the world as it is today -- turbulent, dangerous, hopeful.

And that is the world as it will be for some time to come.

John F. Kennedy said it: "Peace and freedom do not come cheap, and we are destined -- all of us here today -- to live out most if not all of our lives in uncertainty and challenge and peril."

In such a world America's role is a demanding one.

We must do our part to protect world security by maintaining whatever strength is necessary to meet our commitments to the U.N. Charter and the regional treaties to which we are signatory.

But we are also obliged to concentrate on the arts of peace. Through affirmative action to meet human needs, we can build security and peace.

Today we seek peace in Asia.

I look forward to the day when all the peoples of Southeast Asia will be participants and partners in economic development, and will share in the aid we are able to offer.

I look forward to the day when the great Chinese people, no longer victimized from within, take their place in the modern world.

Surely, one of the most exciting and enriching experiences to which we can look forward is the building of peaceful bridges to the people of mainland China. I believe the power of the free idea will in time infiltrate mainland China -- as it has infiltrated and is infiltrating the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

There will be frustrations. We shall be rebuffed, no doubt, time and again.

But we must keep trying.

For continued national isolation breeds growing national neurosis -- in China as elsewhere.

\* \* \* \* \*

Among our highest priorities as we look ahead is achieving greater control over weapons of mass destruction, and taking steps that lead us away from the madness of the arms race.

These have been top priorities of mine throughout my career in public service -- as sponsor and chairman of the Senate Special Subcommittee on Disarmament . . . as the sponsor of legislation creating the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency . . . as a leader in the fight in the Senate for the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.

The danger to human survival that we face in nuclear weapons may have bred some pessimists and fatalists. But it has also called forth devoted and creative statesmanship.

I believe that we are today within sight of effective control. We have certainly demonstrated that progress toward nuclear disarmament is at least possible.

Let us not overlook the record of recent years.

The first breakthrough came in 1963 when we agreed with the Soviet Union and Britain to end nuclear testing in the air, in the sea and in outer space. Thus, the threat of radioactive pollution, once the terror of whole populations, was halted.

Last year, the United States and the Soviet Union signed a treaty in which each promised not to station nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction in outer space.

The most urgent immediate need is for control of nuclear proliferation.

Just 3 weeks ago, a notable start was made in Mexico City to meet this threat. Acting for the President of the United States, I affirmed our commitment to a treaty -- the first of its kind -- in which 21 Latin American countries banned nuclear weapons and explosives below the 35th parallel.

And just two days from now, the General Assembly of the United Nations will begin consideration of a draft treaty to halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

We urge its approval as a way of hastening international cooperation.

We urge its approval as a way of preventing the spread of new and increasingly destructive nuclear weapons systems.

In the end the treaty will have to depend in part on the self-discipline of nations and on their willingness to have faith in each other.

We have already offered to discuss with the Soviet Union limitations on both offensive and defensive weapons systems.

We must achieve full control not only of the weapons we have now but also of these which science and technology may develop in the future.

Our political ingenuity must match our technological ingenuity -- or we can all become the victims of a spiraling escalation of destructive capacity.

\* \* \*

There is another dangerous escalation in the world -- the escalation of already rising expectations which are going unfulfilled.

We see clear evidence, on all sides, that poverty and injustice in even the most remote nation can lead to the small disorder which causes the large conflict which spread to the major conflagration which can engulf all of us.

And we see -- indeed, as in our own America -- that people living trapped and impoverished in a wider society of mobility and affluence are easy victims of demagoguery, incitement and hate.

We have been trying to deal with this challenge.

Through their own efforts, and with some outside help, the developing nations are finding their feet. They are producing more food and more goods.

And we are beginning to learn.

We are beginning to transform the old and uncomfortable giver-receiver relationship into a joint assault on a mutual enemy -- want, wherever it exists.

The innovations and experiments of recent years do point the way for the future:

- family planning, but on a scale many times larger than what is now being considered;
- overwhelming emphasis in the developing nations -- and in our assistance programs -- on food production and the building of agricultural infrastructure;
- worldwide commodity agreements which stabilize prices enough so that the producing nations may have at least an even chance of earning their own way;
- international agreements and guarantees to produce a manifold increase in the flow of constructive private investment to the developing nations;
- multilateralism in aid programs along with a limited amount of funds for bilateral use in emergencies;
- greater reliance on such institutions as the World Bank, the U.N., and African, Asian and Latin American institutions for investment and development;
- economic and political regionalism so that others may enjoy the benefits of large units of people, resources and markets such as the United States and the European Community now possess;
- the unleashing of our scientific and technological knowledge about our own earth that we can gain from our new capabilities in space;
- the use of the transistor radio and communications satellite which can bring 21st century skills and education to even the most remote rural villager;
- the modernization of an international monetary system which must be able to provide the capital needed to finance the developing as well as the developed;
- the steady removal of barriers to trade among the prosperous nations, and the establishment of a global preference system for the goods of the underdeveloped.

These constructive initiatives are the nutrients of freedom and peace.

They are the things we Americans must be ready to do if we hope to keep our nation safe and free in a world of growth and change . . . rather than threatened and isolated in a world of strife.

\* \* \*



. . .A secure world, with past differences reconciled, in which men can determine their own destinies.

. . .A world free of nuclear peril.

. . .A world without starvation and poverty.

. . .A world in control of science, not victimized by it.

These are objectives worthy of a great people. Are they beyond our power to achieve?

We shall never know unless we try.

And try we must, with perseverance and determination.

Whether we like it or not, we live in a world so intricately interdependent that the possibility of withdrawal or isolation simply does not exist.

It is fashionable today to discuss foreign policy in terms of American power -- the limits, dangers, price, discipline of power.

It is a useful discussion, carried forward on a high level by thoughtful and patriotic men.

But in the process of emphasizing the alleged abuses of national power, they have left us in some danger of denying its positive uses.

We must choose our policies and priorities carefully -- yes.

But let us not delude ourselves into believing that we are not influencing developments in the world by not exercising our power. And I mean national power of all kinds -- economic, military, diplomatic, moral.

An American failure to participate would itself have enormous and, in my view, very dangerous consequences in the world.

It has been my observation over 20 years of public service that we have used our power the way we have because of the kind of world we live in and because of the kind of people we are.

We have not shrunk from the bitter necessity of helping to repel armed aggression with our armed might.

But the basic use of American strength has been in the peaceful and constructive pursuits of mankind. This is our unique contribution.

We may play our role imperfectly. But it must not be confused with the imperialist posturing of a dead past.

We are the nation that has helped bind up the wounds of our former enemies . . .that has helped Europe rebuild after a shattering war . . .that has sought to expand horizons of human welfare in every corner of the world . . .that has helped to liquidate Western colonialism and to contain Communist imperialism.

And we need not apologize for it.

\* \* \*

Page 6

Facing the problems . . .and looking at our chances, what may the future ultimately hold for us?

A few months ago, at Fulton, Missouri, I looked ahead toward the time when a world of Iron Curtains might be succeeded by a world of Open Doors.

That need not be a distant goal -- if we use our strength wisely both at home and in the world . . .if we deal maturely with the real opportunities and real perils before us on a scale which promises success.

Our policy and our ultimate vision could be no better than those set forth in the earliest and most dangerous days following World War II, by Winston Churchill:

"If we adhere faithfully to the charter of the United Nations and walk forward in sedate and sober strength, seeking no one's land or treasure, seeking to lay no arbitrary control on the thoughts of men . . .the high roads of the future will be clear, not only for us but for all, not only for our time, but for the century to come."

Let us get on with our work.

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Chris Hal Scherman

Chris Bob Conidine

Bob Hope

Have They -  
Will Travel  
But I left him!

REMARKS

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Report. deleting

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB OF AMERICA

ANNUAL AWARDS DINNER

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

APRIL 22, 1968

6 Award  
winners

1 Cong. medal of  
Honor Winner!

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America - Stand for Hope  
Hope - Stand for America

World War II unleashed the great forces of liberation in the twentieth century, even as, paradoxically, it fastened a new type of tyranny upon vast numbers of people and many nations.

But even in those nations the seeds of emancipation -- the seeds of liberation -- were there. And they are beginning, at long last, to sprout.

I believe the ferment in China will lead toward a different China in the next decade -- hopefully a freer China...a China which will be a better neighbor.

In Eastern Europe the monolith of communism has been fractured. People are demanding -- and getting -- ~~more~~ emancipation from rigid, inflexible state control!

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└ The test of our society will be whether or not we can make the necessary changes without destroying the good in what we have already built -- whether we can have change amidst order, and order that permits change.

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~~and~~ Yes, the same forces of emancipation and freedom are at work throughout the world -- restlessly, at times violently...

fitfully — but at work!

The pages of history a hundred years from now will surely reveal that the last half of the 20th century saw the greatest move toward freedom that the world has ever known, and we will be very much part of that story.

The chapter headings for our times will be "Self-determination," "Development," "Liberation," "Nationhood," "National Development."

This is the language of a new epoch in human development -- an epoch when tyranny has a terminal disease.

Mother's - "It is useless to close the  
Gates against Ideas. They overlap them."

-5-

↳ The idea of freedom can no longer be suppressed.

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↳ They will communicate and interchange ideas.

↳ That is the world as it is today -- turbulent, dangerous,  
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I look forward to the day when all the peoples of Southeast Asia will be participants and partners in economic development, and will share in the aid we are able to offer.

↳ I look forward to the day when the great Chinese people, no longer victimized from within, take their <sup>rightful</sup> place in the modern world.

↳ Surely, one of the most exciting and enriching experiences to which we can look forward is the building of peaceful bridges to the people of mainland China. I believe the power of the free idea will in time infiltrate mainland China -- as it has infiltrated and is infiltrating the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

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*Arms  
Race*

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↳ And we see -- indeed, as in our own America -- that people living trapped and impoverished in a wider society of mobility and affluence are easy victims of demagoguery, incitement and hate.

↳ We have been trying to deal with this challenge.

↳ Through their own efforts, and with some outside help, the developing nations are finding their feet. They are producing more food and more goods.

↳ And we are beginning to learn.

↳ We are beginning to transform the old and uncomfortable giver-receiver relationship into a joint assault on a mutual enemy -- want, wherever it exists.

The innovations and experiments of recent years do point the way for the future:

-- family planning, but on a scale many times larger than what is now being considered;

-- overwhelming emphasis in the developing nations -- and in our assistance programs -- on food production and the building of agricultural infrastructure;

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-- international agreements and guarantees to produce a manifold increase in the flow of constructive private investment to the developing nations;

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-- greater reliance on such institutions as the World Bank, the U. N. , and African, Asian and Latin American institutions for investment and development;

-- economic and political regionalism so that others may enjoy the benefits of large units of people, resources, and markets such as the United States and the European Community now possess;

-- the unleashing of our scientific and technological capacity to bring forth fertility from the desert . . . food from the sea . . . the practical knowledge about our own earth that we can gain from our new capabilities in space;

-- the use of the transistor radio and communications which satellite can bring 21st century skills and education to even the most remote rural villager;

-- the modernization of an international monetary system which must be able to provide the capital needed to finance the developing <sup>countries</sup> as well as the developed;

-- the steady removal of barriers to trade among the prosperous nations, and the establishment of a global preference system for the goods of the underdeveloped.

These constructive initiatives are the nutrients of freedom and peace.

They are <sup>some of the</sup> ~~the~~ things we Americans must be ready to do if we hope to keep our nation safe and free in a world of growth and change...rather than threatened and isolated in a world of strife.



...A secure world, with past differences reconciled,  
in which men can determine their own destinies.

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↳ And I mean national power of all kinds -- economic, military, diplomatic, moral.

↳ An American failure to participate would itself have enormous and, in my view, very dangerous consequences in the world.

↳ It has been my observation over 20 years of public service that we have used our ~~power~~ <sup>strength</sup> the way we have because of the kind of world we live in and because of the kind of people we are.

*not power for power sake - but Power for Peace!*

∟ We have not shrunk from the bitter necessity of helping to repel armed aggression with our armed might.

*as today  
in  
Oсетman!  
yesterday  
in  
Korea!*

∟ But the basic use of American strength has been in the peaceful and constructive pursuits of mankind. This is our unique contribution.

∟ We may play our role imperfectly. ∟ But, it must not be confused with the imperialist posturing of a dead past.

∟ We are the nation that has helped bind up the wounds of our former enemies...that has helped Europe rebuild after a shattering war...that has sought to expand horizons of human welfare in every corner of the world...that has helped to liquidate Western colonialism and to contain Communist imperialism.

*This is Nation Building -*

And we need not apologize for it.

\* \* \*

*- This is helping  
to create  
national security  
National  
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↳ Facing the problems... and looking at our chances, what may the future ultimately hold for us?

↳ A few months ago, at Fulton, Missouri, I looked ahead toward the time when a world of Iron Curtains might be succeeded by a world of Open Doors.

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"If we adhere faithfully to the charter of the United Nations and walk forward in sedate and sober strength, seeking no one's land or treasure, seeking to lay no arbitrary control on the thoughts of men..., the high roads of the future will be clear, not only for us but for all, not only for our time, but for the century to come."

Let us get on with our work.

# # #

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY  
OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB OF AMERICA  
ANNUAL AWARDS DINNER  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

APRIL 22, 1968

Tonight I want to talk about peace.

I want to talk about our country and to offer some thoughts  
about how we can stay alive and build a safer world environment in  
the years ahead.

I want to do so by referring briefly to the recent past, and  
more importantly by looking into the future.

I will say little or nothing about the struggle in Vietnam, even  
though it is still uppermost in our minds.

I believe diplomacy, at this moment, should be left alone to do  
its work there.

\* \* \*

If the young generation today has grounds for dissatisfaction, they also have reason for confidence in their parents' generation.

One cause for satisfaction and confidence is the fact that the non-Communist world, led by a free United States of America, was able to contain and defuse Stalinist Communism -- not without struggle, but without a total war and without nuclear holocaust.

And those who today would deny the validity of this struggle are free to do so precisely because it was won.

Although the record of the United States is not without its imperfections and serious lapses, the grand sweep of America's response to the challenge of post-war Communist tyranny is a story of which we can be proud.



I believe this struggle is coming to a successful conclusion. The idea of freedom can no longer be suppressed.

The members of the human race, increasingly, can read and write.

They will communicate and interchange ideas.

<sup>She</sup>  
~~I believe~~ power of the free idea will in time infiltrate mainland China -- as it is infiltrating the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

In such a world, tyranny is a terminal disease.

We must, ~~of course~~, stand by our commitment to world security through maintenance of our strength -- and through the regional treaties to which we are signatory.

But let us look forward to full concentration in the arts of peace. For affirmative action to meet human needs, we can build our security just as we do by what normally falls under the category of "rational security."

What are some of the challenges we face?

The liquidation of the military struggle in Vietnam will free us for the only role we really want to play in Asia -- or for that matter in any other part of the world.

That role is to help developing nations freely fulfill the needs of their people. We have, in this pursuit, already expended vast physical and human resources.

It is an effort to be carried forward solely on the basis of human need.

I look forward to the day, ~~for instance~~ when the people of North Vietnam will share in whatever aid we are able to offer anyone else.

Beyond that I see the great Chinese people, no longer victimized from within, taking their place in the modern world.

It is a whole generation since the bulk of the Chinese people were locked out of the world...and forced to become an ideological anthill.

This isolation must not last another generation.

Surely, one of the most exciting and enriching experiences to which we can look forward is the reestablishment of political, economic and cultural relations with mainland China. And I believe it must continue to be our urgent national business to reach outward peacefully to mainland China.

There will be frustrations. We shall be rebuffed, no doubt, time and again.

But we must keep trying.

For continued national isolation breeds growing national neurosis -- in China as elsewhere.

\* \* \*

There is another challenge.

There is no problem on which I have spent more time and energy during my public life than that of arms control and disarmament.

As some of you may know, I was the sponsor and chairman of the Senate Special Subcommittee on Disarmament. I was the sponsor of legislation creating the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. I led the fight in the Senate for the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.

The danger to human survival that we face in nuclear weapons may have bred a ~~(partial)~~ generation of pessimists and fatalists. But it has also called forth devoted and creative statesmanship.

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The first breakthrough came in 1963 when we agreed with the Soviet Union and Britain to end nuclear testing in the air, in the sea and in outer space. Thus, the threat of radioactive pollution, once the terror of whole populations, was halted.

*1 Vol*  
Almost all the nations of the world have signed the partial test ban treaty. The tasks for the future are to make France and Communist China signatories and to extend the treaty's provisions to include underground testing.

Last year, the United States and the Soviet Union signed a treaty in which each promised not to station nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction in outer space.

The most urgent, immediate need is for control of nuclear proliferation.

It is estimated that, in addition to the five nations now capable of making nuclear weapons, at least another 15 have the technical know-how and economic resources to do so.

Just 3 weeks ago, a notable start was made in Mexico City in meeting this threat. Acting for the President of the United States, I affirmed our commitment to a treaty --

the first of its kind -- in which 21 Latin American countries banned nuclear weapons and explosives below the 35th parallel. Nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes are permitted under an inspection system with the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Just two days from now, the General Assembly of the United Nations will begin consideration of a draft treaty to halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

A year ago I spent two productive weeks in Western Europe helping to bring that treaty closer to reality. We have continued our work since.

The provisions of this treaty have already been agreed upon by the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union.

The two main obstacles that we now face are significant signs of the times.

First, is the present unwillingness of France and Communist China to support the treaty. Second is the legitimate desire of non-nuclear nations for full protection against nuclear attack.

In the end the treaty will have to depend on the self-discipline of nations and on their willingness to have faith in each other.

The government of the United States hopes that nations will not wait until the world's political differences are resolved -- a day that will certainly not come in our lifetimes -- before signing this charter of survival.

We urge its approval as a way of hastening international cooperation...as an expression of faith and good will among nations.

There was a time not very long ago when our progress so far in controlling nuclear weapons would not have been thought possible.



We see clear evidence, on all sides, that poverty and injustice in even the most remote nation can lead to the small disorder which causes the large conflict which spreads to the major conflagration which can engulf all of us.

And we see elsewhere -- indeed, as in our own America -- that people living trapped and impoverished in a wider society of mobility and affluence are the fertile feeding ground for demagoguery, incitement and hate.

I have traveled, on several continents, through countries where the atmosphere of poverty so deeply permeates even the air that I have returned home asking this: Why isn't there more trouble? Why have we been so lucky to avoid dangerous involvement in many places?

We are doing our best to help deal with this challenge.

We are only beginning to learn how.

I have the feeling that, in the years ahead, we may find that many of the things we are only experimenting with today are going to be vital to any real solution:

- family planning on a scale many times larger than what is being considered now;

- first and overwhelming emphasis, in the developing nations -- and in our assistance programs -- on food production and the building of agricultural infrastructure;

- worldwide commodity agreements which stabilize prices enough so that the producing nations may have at least an even chance of earning their own way;

- international agreements and guarantees to produce a manifold increase in the flow of constructive private investment to the developing nations;

-- multilateralism in aid programs; and except for a limited amount of funds for bilateral use in emergencies, <sup>heavy</sup> nearly exclusive reliance on such institutions as the World Bank, the UN, and African, Asian and Latin American institutions for investment and development;

-- economic and political regionalism so that others may enjoy the benefits of large-scale units of people, resources and markets we already have in the United States and in the European Community;

-- the full unleashing of our scientific and technological capacity to bring forth fertility from the desert... food from the sea...the basic knowledge about our own earth that we can gain from our exploration of space.

-- the use of the transistor radio and communications satellite to bring 21st century skills and education to even the most remote rural villager.

-- the full modernization of an International Monetary System which must be able to provide the capital needed to finance both rich and poor;

-- the final removal of barriers to trade among the prosperous nations, and the at least temporary erection of <sup>a</sup> global preference system for the goods of the underdeveloped.

These are some of the things we as Americans must be ready not only to consider, but to do if we hope to keep our nation safe and free in a world of growth, rather than threatened and isolated in a world of strife.

\* \* \*

A secure world, with past differences reconciled,  
in which men can determine their own destinies?

A world free of nuclear horror?

A world without starvation and poverty?

A world in control of science, not victimized by it?

Are these objectives beyond our power to achieve? We will never know unless we are ready to fully use our power -- our political, economic, military and moral power -- in the attempt.

We are, whether we like it or not, moving into a world so intricately interdependent that the possibility of withdrawal or isolation simply does not exist.

And this brings me to a dangerous current I find running again throughout our nation -- not yet powerful, but clearly there.

Any attempt at partial withdrawal or isolation by America could be disastrous.

For while a generous and imaginative use of our resources might help to make a world of peace, freedom and plenty, a niggardly and nearsighted use of our resources invites the almost certain danger of failure and deepened frustration.

W. H. Auden  
1947

We cannot be half in and half out of the world.

And let us not delude ourselves into believing that we do not exercise our power simply by not exercising it.

One of the most effective ways to use American power is to withhold it.

It is fashionable today to discuss foreign policy in terms of American power -- the limits, dangers, price, discipline of power.

It is a useful discussion, carried forward on a high level by thoughtful and patriotic men. The nation is indebted to them.

But in the process of emphasizing the abuses of power, they have left us in some danger of denying its appropriate uses.

I spent 16 years in the United States Senate intimately involved with the reality of legislation which restrains or frees or guides the President of the United States in the carrying on of foreign policy.

*Contradict  
full use power  
in p. 18*

For more than 3 years, as Vice President, I have been intimately involved with problems of executing foreign policy during one of the most crucial periods in world history.

It is my observation that we have used our power as we have had to use it because of the kind of world we live in and because of the kind of people we are.

We have not shrunk from the bitter necessity of helping to repel armed aggression with our armed might.

But the basic thrust of American policy is in the peaceful and constructive pursuits of mankind. This is our unique contribution.

It is a role the world has never before seen from a great nation and we play it imperfectly. But it must not be confused with the imperialist posturing of a dead past.



We are the nation that has bound the wounds of our former enemies...that has helped Europe find its feet after a shattering war...that has sought to expand horizons of human welfare in every corner of the world...that has helped to liquidate Western colonialism and to contain Communist imperialism.

And we need not shrink from pride in it.

\* \* \*

President Johnson has often said that "the foreign policy of the United States is rooted in its life at home."

N<sup>20</sup> { The strongest act of statesmanship...the most beneficial thing our country may well be able to give to the world in these years ahead is to do nothing more or less than to live up to the words we often preach -- but live by not often enough.

For if we -- with our immeasurable wealth and power...  
with our diverse skills and resources -- cannot make democracy  
live and work, what hope, finally, may others have?

If we cannot create in America a society where every man  
can stand as a man, in dignity and self-respect, what  
hope may others have?

If we cannot set the example...if we cannot walk the  
extra step...if we cannot make the extra sacrifice...if we  
cannot have the courage to live for an ideal in our own  
nation, how can we expect others to do so?

We know, I think, the answer.

\* \* \*

Facing the problem...and looking at our chances what  
may the future ultimately hold for us?

A few months ago, at Fulton, Missouri, I looked ahead toward the time when a world of Iron Curtains might be succeeded by a world of Open Doors.

I do not believe that goal is impossible -- not if we use our power wisely both at home and in the world...if we do not withdraw from a human society that modern communication has finally made one society.

Our policy and our ultimate vision could be no better than those set forth in the earliest and most dangerous days following World War II, by Winston Churchill:

"If we adhere faithfully to the charter of the United Nations and walk forward in sedate and sober strength, seeking no one's land or treasure, seeking to lay no arbitrary control on the thoughts of men..., the high roads of the future will be clear, not only for us but for all, not only for our time, but for the century to come."

Let us get on with our work.

April 22, 1968

OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB SPEECHES

CONSIDINE: Thank you. Thank you, Mr. On Two. That's a true story about Severeid. He sued Truman. I thought it was kind of stuffy. Vice President, sorry he was a bit late. He was rereading the last paragraph of LBJ's recent bombshell speech, and we had --

(LAUGHTER)

We decided not to have any introductions from the floor. But there are a couple of guys out there I'd like to acknowledge the existence of; which is ending a sentence with a proposition, I guess.

I guess the youngest reporter here -- I hope he is -- is the -- is Dick McKittrick, who is the recipient of the 1967-68 Rex Smith Scholarship at the College of William and Mary.

Dick, it's a great honor. We were all proud of --

(APPLAUSE)

And maybe the oldest reporter here, had a very early interview with Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Jim Farley.

(APPLAUSE)

(PREPARED BY RADIO TV REPORTS, INC.)

A biography of Senator Clifford P. Case reads something like a chapter from JFK's "Profiles in Courage." Quality, integrity, and courage have become synonymous with the name of Senator Case. These characteristics have been indelibly imprinted in the public understanding of Senator Case by his first vote of making the House Committee on UnAmerican Activities a permanent committee of the house; by his first speech in the House of Representatives when he took the floor to attack a racist speech made by Congressman Rankin of Mississippi; by his stand against McCarthyism in the early 1950s; by the bitter attacks on him by extremists; by his record throughout his career in Congress.

He's a member of the two most important committees of the Senate, Foreign Relations and Appropriations. Senator Case's work has been praised and recognized by leaders both in and out of Congress. And not long ago he was selected as one of the Senate's ten ablest men by fifty leading Washington columnists and correspondents.

Ladies and gentlemen, Senator Case of New Jersey.

(APPLAUSE)

SENATOR CLIFFORD P. CASE: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Vice President, Mr. President, my colleague John Tower, guest of honor Bob Hope, and distinguished guests all. I shouldn't have been first. The reason was that the Vice President decided to stay overnight, so I couldn't go fly back with him, so I've got to catch the last shuttle.

And the management here with great consideration allowed me to come now. This has many advantages for you as well as for me. One of the advantages for me is not that I shall miss the Vice President's speech, because I always treasure this. The advantage for you is obvious, that I'll get on and off rather quickly.

First let me thank the Vice President, as a Republican, for his interest in our selection of a candidate, his desire to be helpful. I appreciate this very much. When he suggested that Mr. Nixon was going to be harder to beat this year than in 1960, I don't know how much harder you can be to beat and still be beaten.

The Vice President undoubtedly is counting on Chicago, but perhaps he hasn't heard that Mayor Daley this year is one of our Republican hidden assets.

(APPLAUSE AND LAUGHTER)

But I can say only this further about the Vice President, that whatever happens to him, we in the Senate will miss him very greatly. And I say this --

(LAUGHTER)

I didn't mean to get a laugh on that one. Because we mean it very much. We missed him when he left to be Vice President. We shall miss him no matter why he goes this time, as presiding officer, because he still has retained the affection, and still always will of course retain the affection of all his colleagues, as I know he will of all Americans.

Now I'm not sure --

(APPLAUSE)

I'm not sure why I happen to be chosen, along with John Tower and the Vice President. I can understand why the Vice President should be chosen, this is obvious, and why they picked John. But why they picked me wasn't clear until I realized, of course, that what they wanted to have is one person on one extreme on the Vietnam situation, one on the other; and then of course the one who was right down the middle.

The Vice President is the one who is right, of course. The President has made this very clear.

I'm not sure that there's the great difference between the three of us that sometimes appears. So far as I'm concerned, in the present discussions that are going on as to which may or may not be the beginning of negotiations, it seems to me quite clear despite my differences with the administration on the whole matter, that we are right now in negotiation, that this present haggle about the place is just the first of many, many haggles that we're going to have. And that we in America would probably be well advised to accept this, and not to let ourselves be pushed around by propoganda from any other side, and leave this matter of negotiations to the administration, confident that they are sincere in their desire by this course, at least to try this course, to the full of its possibilities as a means of ending this situation.



But as far as negotiations go, and we are supposed I think to make just a brief serious comment here, my own view is that of course we must pursue it, and we should, and I expect that we shall. But I do not want that the American people should be diverted by the negotiation from the really serious business which I think is and will remain South Vietnam, not the bombing of the North, not negotiations, or whatnot.

I don't think the war can be ended by negotiation unless we come to a satisfactory solution in the South. And here is where my difference I think with the administration is rather clear. I think that whether because the war is unwinnable, or because it's unwinnable as we have attempted to pursue it, is not necessary to argue now. I have come to the conclusion, and the Vice President himself personally knows, my colleagues all know, this was not something that I came to with any a priori-- from any a priori decision about the rightness or wrongness of our efforts -- I think that we intended always to do right -- but rather that we have gotten ourselves into a situation where, if we continue in the course that we have pursued -- and I hope that recent indications are that we are changing that course -- we are faced with a situation in which we are just Americanizing this war, and we cannot win it the way we are going about it.

And I hope that this will change, and that our course will be developed along lines which will bring into play the South Vietnamese to do the job that only they can do; that is, to win it for themselves with such marginal help that any outside

power can give, even a power as strong as us.

This is the extent of my message. There have been signs recently that this -- Clark Clifford's statement apparently this noon was along this line. I hope that it has more substance in this instance than similar assurances that we have received in the past. And if this is our course then we are again I hope on the right track.

This is my hope. And thank you very much indeed.

(APPLAUSE)

CONSIDINE: Thank you, Senator.

Ladies and gentlemen, John Goodwin Tower is one of the political phenoms of our time. A successful Texas Republican, the first Republican to enter the Senate from that state since 1870. And what's more, he keeps getting reelected.

He has seen unquestionably more action, more of the woes, and tribulations, and glories of the American fighting man overseas than any other member of the Senate. He has completed four overseas inspection trips since '65, spending nearly three months with U. S. combat forces in South Vietnam, Thailand, the Philippines, Korea, and Europe.

John Tower graduated from Beaumont, Texas High School back in '42, and served during World War II aboard a Navy gunboat in Asian waters. For a brief period he was a radio announcer, God help him. But he broke that successfully and has become one of the true figures in our Senate, a man of positive views,

a man with guts enough to say what he thinks, a good man.

Here he is, Texas Republican John Tower.

(APPLAUSE)

SENATOR JOHN TOWER: Thank you so much, my good friend Bob Considine, for that very kind introduction. Thank you specifically for what you did not say.

Mr. Vice President, my distinguished colleague in the Senate, Senator Case, Mr. President, perpetual traveling salesman Bob Hope, my --

(APPLAUSE)

-- my fellow Americans, it's a great privilege to be invited here tonight, and I am considerably flattered you should ask me, particularly in light of the credibility gap which supposedly emanates from 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, which is currently occupied by a fellow countryman of mine by the name of Lyndon Baines Johnson.

And you're probably all aware of that bit of history about Texas, about the time when George Washington was a little boy living with his father on their ranch in West Texas.

(LAUGHTER)

And George's father had a Muskeet tree that he loved very much. It wasn't just because of the beautiful foliage of that Muskeet tree; it happened to be the only tree in a fifty mile radius. One day when George's father was out riding the open range rounding up a few maveriks to brand for his own herd,

George took the new Bowie knife that he had gotten for Christmas, and he went out into the back yard and he whittled that tree down.

That evening his father came home tired and dusty and he climbed off his horse, and he took off his hat and brushed himself off, and he went out in the back yard to look at his beautiful tree, and there it was on the ground. And so he summoned his son George to him, and he said "George, you know I've loved that tree. Can you tell me who cut it down?" And George looked his father squarely in the eye, and said "Father, I did it, I cannot tell a lie."

And George's daddy put his hat back on and said "Son, pack your stuff. We're going to move to Virginia. You'll never get along in Texas that way."

(LAUGHTER AND APPLAUSE)

And too I know that you'll have difficulty in assigning credibility to what I say, because I'm not really quite typically Texan. I'm precisely one foot below the minimum legal size for a Texan. You know, we've instituted a new tourism program in my state. It's said the only reason I got reelected by such a substantial margin in '66 was because they wanted to get me out of the state before the tourists got there.

I hope, however, you will give some credibility to what I say when I tell you that there are over 500 thousand Americans in South Vietnam today who believe they understand our country's

mission. I assume that we have a mission, and I hope that we do. We've probably not done too good a job of defining it.

The boys who are fighting today I think have a better morale and are better informed of any group of American fighting men in history. Certainly they're related to my generation of fighting men in World War II. They're not a chip off the old block, they're a substantial improvement. And they do have a sense of mission.

So it's incumbent on us to do no less. I think it's time that we Americans determined what our mission in this world is. Whether or not we're going to become narrow and introverted, withdraw to Fortress America, concern ourselves with our own domestic problems and nothing else, and let the rest of the world suffer whatever consequences it may.

We are now the most powerful nation in the world. Not only the most powerful nation in the free world, but the most powerful nation in the world. And so automatically the mantle of world leadership falls on our shoulders. And we've become the free world's first line of defense, if we choose to be.

There are great power vacuums being created in the world today. The British are withdrawing from that area from Aden to Hong Kong. And we find ourselves confronted with two great expansionist powers, the Soviet Union and Communist China. And they are determined to fill whatever vacuums are created by the withdrawal of the colonial powers from the vast reaches of this earth.

I'm not suggesting that we assume a neo-colonial posture; we should not. And I'm not suggesting that we should take unto ourselves the role of world policemen. But I think we must determine whether or not we are still determined to be the free world's leader, and the free world's first line of defense.

And if we are determined to do that, we're going to have to make some sacrifices. We're going to have to do some unpleasant things.

Now let's understand that the expansionist powers are prepared to resort to military means to accomplish their ends. They are prepared to resort to covert aggression, that is the creation of clandestine political and military infrastructures in underdeveloped countries, to surface at such time as they deem necessary. Let's understand that we may indeed ultimately find ourselves isolated if we do not turn and confront the power that is arrayed against us.

There is a theme in Greek mythology which holds that when you are confronted by adversity you should turn and face it, and fight it, rather than submit to it. And I think all of you are familiar with the classical lines from Hamlet, "Whether it is nobler in the mind to suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune, or by opposing end them..."

I'm not suggesting we have inherent in us the capacity to solve all the world's ills; indeed we don't. But I think we can be a great constructive and creative force in this world

if we've got the guts to do it.

Confronted by expansionist powers it becomes incumbent on us to maintain our defense perimeter as far from our own shores as possible, and as close to the enemy shores as possible. This basically is why we are in Vietnam today. Unquestionably succeeding administrations, both Democrat and Republican, have made mistakes that have led us there. But now we're there, and we must determine how we can extricate ourselves in the way best calculated not only to preserve peace and security in this world, but to preserve the credibility of the American leadership.

We possess great power. We must be willing to use that power if it is necessary to preserve world peace. The possession of power alone is not enough. If we convince the enemy that we will not use that power -- and I use the term enemy advisedly -- if we convince those who have aggressive designs on other territories and peoples, which we do not have, that we are not willing to use our power, then we're going to find ourselves confronted by crises, political, military, and economic all over the world.

So credibility is a tremendously important thing.

I'd like to close tonight with a comment made by a man for whom I have an extremely high regard. He would probably be terribly embarrassed and terrified over the prospect of being identified with me in any way, because he can hardly be regarded as a reactionary of the power stripe: Eric Sevareid.

And I hesitate to bring up Eric Sevareid in the light of what's already been said.

But he said a very wise thing, which I will leave with you. "Goodness without power is impotent. And power itself is impotent without the willingness to use it if necessary."

Thank you.

(APPLAUSE)



*Transcript*

*April 22, 1968*

"HUMPHREY'S SPEECH -- OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB"

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY: Thank you very much, Bob Considine, and Hal Lerman, and our good and honored guest tonight, Bob Hope.

Senator John Tower, even if you are one foot before -- below the legal limit in Texas, you're quite a man, John, quite a man.

(LAUGHTER AND APPLAUSE)

And I regret that our colleague and friend, Senator Cliff Case, had to leave us. But he's heard me speak before, and he escaped while he had a chance. And the distinguished award winners.

Let me just very briefly comment on a few of the observations which have been made prior to my getting to this podium. First of all I want to say a comment about our friend, Mr. Nixon. He's been saying some very good things of late. If he keeps it up this can be dangerous for all of us, I must say. I saw him the other day -- or I should say I was with him the other day in Washington when he addressed the American Society of Newspaper Editors. He not only was profound, but he was humorous. This could be devastating to a Democrat.

(LAUGHTER)

(PREPARED BY RADIO TV REPORTS, INC.)

And I want you to know, Bob, if you're giving him any coaching, it's time to declare your neutrality or give me equal time, one or the other.

(LAUGHTER AND APPLAUSE)

I've always said that as a partisan I could endure Republicans with piety, but Republicans with humor, that's too much. And tonight I've seen a rather full (WORD LOST).

Mr. Hope, my friend Bob Hope, I know that you're the -- you're famed for many things. But one thing that we remember of the many great things is your book, entitled "Have Tux, Will Travel." I had one too, and I traveled, and I got in a lot of trouble. They sent an Air Force plane for it.

Tonight I am particularly pleased that my Republican friends have seen fit to relieve the Democratic Party of its tradition of conflict from within. I am glad to steer a steady middle course between these two great Senators tonight.

Generally I'm presiding over a Senate in which the battle is taking place, not between the majority and the minority, but between the minority and the majority. With the minority enjoying what the minority is doing to the majority.

And tonight I have had a chance to listen to two very fine Senators speak to us about our country, its role in the world, and their views on that role.

I jotted down a little note here which I want to share with you, because I think it tells about as well as anything what I

want to say tonight. From many a platform I have said that America to the rest of the world, and I think it should be to us, stands for hope. America is hope. And I hope that our very honored guest this evening won't think that I'm too sentimental when I say that Hope, Bob Hope, represents the best that's in America. And I really do, Bob.

(APPLAUSE)

And the message of hope that you have brought to hundreds of thousands, yea, millions of our men and women as they've served in other parts of the world, and the joy that you bring to many here at home is very necessary now, even more so than ever before.

I want to talk to you tonight about this message of hope. Because I am not one of America's pessimists. And that attitude of basic optimism is not based upon any pollyannish theory of affairs in our country, but rather upon what I would hope to be is a realization of the history of this country, and of its promise, of its capacity.

I know there are many disturbing signs of the times. And my, how we hear them and see them! But what I want to tell this audience tonight is that our century, and particularly this last half of the twentieth century in which we are living now, that this is the century of emancipation. It is indeed the century of hope as no other century has ever been.

At home and abroad the convulsive and turbulent but relentless processes of freedom are at work. That's what you're listening to tonight. And processes that are rarely, if ever, quiet; and seldom orderly or refined. Very few people, if any, have ever gained and held their freedom without torment, difficulty, ferment and sacrifice. That's the story of freedom.

World War II, this cataclysmic event, it was filled with such torture, pain, and blood it unleashed the great forces of liberation in the twentieth century. It changed the world for once and for all, unleashing those forces of liberation even as paradoxically it fastened a new type of tyranny upon vast numbers of people in many nations. But even in those nations, caught up in the swamp of dictatorship and tyranny, the seeds of emancipation, the seeds of liberation, were there. And they're beginning at long last to grow and to spout.

I believe for example that the ferment in China will lead towards a different China in the next decade. Hopefully -- hopefully a freer China; a China which can be a better and a safer neighbor. In Eastern Europe the monolith, as they called it, of Communism has been fractured. People are demanding, they're not asking, they're demanding emancipation from rigid, inflexible state control. And here in America we're not immune from it either.

World War II required the participation for the first time of all Americans, and a quest for full freedom for all

Americans has dominated our domestic history ever since that day. Once that process of participation started, once that process of full freedom started, you couldn't stop it. And if you did, you shouldn't try.

The cries of Freedom Now, or We Shall Overcome that you've heard so often, have been a rallying force for literally millions of deprived and underprivileged Americans who are today asking their right to be full citizens in this jountry, citizens in the fullest sense of the word, their right to be a part of one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. That's what it's all about.

And this in a very real sense my fellow Americans is the continuing American revolution: the greatest movement that this world has known.

(APPLAUSE)

And the amazing thing, the amazing thing, that this has all come as peacefully as it has. Because the birth of a great nation is not painless; nor is its maturity or development.

The test of our society will be whether or not we can make the necessary changes without destroying the good in which we -- the good that we have already built. Whether we can have change amidst order, and an order that permits change.

And I'm one of those Americans that thinks we can. I believe that the American political and social system has the

flexibility, has the durability, has the wherewithal to accommodate these powerful forces of emancipation and freedom. And those same forces of emancipation and freedom are at work throughout the whole world, in every country, restlessly, and at times violently and fitfully. But mark my words, they're at work tonight, and tomorrow, and the days yet to come.

And the pages of history, a decade, a generation, yea, a hundred years from now, will surely reveal that this last half of the twentieth century saw the greatest move towards freedom that the world has ever known. And I'm happy to say as an American that we'll have a proud part in that story. The chapter headlines for our times will be words and phrases that we know so well: self-determination, development, liberation, nationhood, national development. This is the language of freedom. And this is the language of a new epoch in human development, an epoch when tyranny has a terminal disease; it cannot survive.

You know, Metternich once said -- that great statesman of Central Europe -- "It is useless to close the gates against ideas; they overleap them." Good to remember. He ought to know. The idea of freedom can no longer be suppressed. The members of the human race increasingly can read and write. They will communicate and interchange ideas, science and technology will make this inevitable. And this is the world as it is today.

Now some people like to pretend there's another kind of a world here. But I submit that there are some facts. It's a world that's turbulent, and it's a world that's dangerous, and it's a world that's filled and jam packed with hope. And that's the world as I see it, as it will be for some time to come. And we'll have to be prepared for it, in every way.

The late and beloved John F. Kennedy put it this way. And wherever I go I quote this, because I want Americans to understand the kind of a world that we're going to live in and that we do live in.

"Peace and freedom," he said, "do not come cheap." And we are destined, all of us here today, to live out most, if not all of our lives in uncertainty, challenge and peril. Now that is our world. And the only question is, are we big enough to face up to it? Do we have the character, the courage, the moral purpose to deal with it?

In such a world I happen to believe that America's role is crucial, it's demanding.

Senator Tower, I appreciated the words that you said here tonight about our responsibilities. How many Americans love to speak of our leadership in this world. How few like to remember our responsibilities. How many of us like to speak of our rights. How few are willing to take on our duties. Privileges and duties come together. Rights and responsibilities are one and inseparable. There are no rights and privileges

without responsibilities and duties.

For individual citizens, for nations, or even for a world. I think that our role is crucial and demanding. We must do our part, and it's a big part, because we're a big country, and a great country. Do our part to protect world security by maintaining whatever strength is necessary to meet our commitments to the United Nations Charter, to regional treaties, to whatever contracts we become signatory.

And we must above all maintain our own security. But we're also obliged to concentrate on the arts of peace through affirmative action to meet human needs. I believe through that kind of action we can build security and peace.

As I think out loud with you tonight I remember once again the words of that great peasant priest, that beloved Pope John XXIII, who said one of the great eternal truths, that in a world of constant want there is no peace. Maybe this is what has compelled me to say sometimes that the scripture lessons of blessed are the peace makers, may have more truth to it than blessed are the peace talkers, or the wishers. You have to make it. Sometimes you have to take a stand for it that involves life itself. Sometimes you even have to fight for it. But above all you have to believe in it. And you have to build it block by block, day by day, year by year.

There are no instant solutions. There are no instant answers to any of our problems. But there are answers. And man was given



mind and spirit to find those answers.

Now today we seek peace in Asia as we always have. We're not a nation of warriors. We're a nation of nation builders. We want to be remembered not only for our valiant soldiers, but for our teachers and our doctors, for our people who help build lives. We seek to destroy no one. We would surely like to help everyone.

But the peace that we seek is a genuine peace, and a lasting peace, an enduring peace. I look forward, for example, to the day when all the peoples of Southeast Asia will be able to live in peace, and will be participants and partners in economic development. Because that area of the world should be developed as a great region, and will share in aid that we're able to offer.

Your President has made that offer. I look forward to the day when the great Chinese people, no longer victimized from within, can take their rightful place in the modern world. Surely that's necessary for a peaceful world. And one of the most exciting and enriching experiences to which we can look forward is the building of constructive peaceful bridges to the people of mainland China.

You see, I believe that the power of the free idea will in time infiltrate any country. And it'll infiltrate mainland China just as it is infiltrating today the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Yes, Metternich was right, "It is useless to close the gates to ideas, because they overleap them."

Now I know above all that there'll be lots of frustrations, and the timid souls will want to quit. We shall be rebuffed many times. But I think we must keep trying in whatever we set our course. Continued national isolation for any country breeds growing national neurosis. In China, in Russia, anywhere.

Now among our highest priorities as we look ahead, and we have to have priorities, I think achieving greater control over the weapons of mass destruction is at the top of the list.  
(APPLAUSE)

And taking steps that lead us away from the madness in the arms race. We never armed for the purpose of arms. And I not so foolish as to believe that we can stop this alone. These have been top priorities of mine throughout my career in public service. Everything from a Senate subcommittee on arms control and disarmament, on civil legislation creating an arms control agency, a leader and at least one of the spokesman in the Senate for a nuclear test ban treaty.

The danger to human survival in nuclear weapons may have bred some pessimists and fatalists. But it has also called forth devoted and creative statesmanship. And I believe that we are today within sight of effective control. And I wonder sometimes why more people are not excited about it. We have

certainly demonstrated that progress towards nuclear control and disarmament is at least possible.

Let us not overlook the record of recent years. The first breakthrough came in 1963, when we agreed with the Soviet Union and Britain to end nuclear testing in the air, in the sea, and in outer space. Thus the threat of radioactive pollution, once the terror of whole populations, was halted. Last year the United States, the Soviet Union, signed a treaty in which each promised not to station nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction in outer space.

In all of these efforts we take those protective measures which are necessary for effective supervision. But the most urgent immediate need for the welfare of this world is the -- for the control of nuclear proliferation. The expansion of nuclear weaponry to more and more countries is a rising threat to the peace of this world.

Just three weeks ago a notable start was made in Mexico City to meet this threat. Acting for the President of the United States, I was privileged to affirm our commitment to a treaty, the first of its kind, in which twenty-one Latin American countries banned nuclear weapons and explosives below the 35th Parallel. We set a good example here.

And just two days from now the General Assembly of the United Nations will begin consideration of a draft treaty to

halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

This is the business of your life. Nuclear weapons spread across this world gives security to no one. It is imperative that we find a way to halt this proliferation. We urge the approval therefore of this treaty as a way of hastening international cooperation. We urge its approval as the way of preventing the spread of new and increasingly destructive weapon systems. But in the end that treaty will have to depend in part on the self-discipline of nations, and on their willingness to have faith in each other.

We've already offered to the Soviet Union limitation on both offensive and defensive weapons. I happen to think that we must achieve full control not only of the weapons we now have, but also those which science and technology may develop in the future.

I submit to this audience that these are the proposals of a peaceful nation. And it would do this nation well if the spokesmen of this country, private and public, would once again let the world know that our business is peacemaking, peace with honor, genuine peace, not a phony peace, but lasting peace.

Our political ingenuity must match our technical and technological ingenuity. Or I think we'll all become victims of a spiraling escalation of destructive capacity.

Now there is yet another dangerous escalation. And that's the escalation of already rising expectations which are going

unfulfilled. And this is mighty dangerous. We see clear evidence of this on all sides, that poverty and injustice in even the most remote nation can lead to a small disorder which could cause a large conflict which spreads to the major conflagration which could engulf all of us. It could happen. Great wars sometimes start with small sparks.

And we see indeed, as in our own America, that people living trapped and impoverished in the wider society of mobility and affluence are the easy victims of demagogery, incitement and hate. We've seen it in our own streets. And my, when it becomes a profession, as it does sometimes abroad, it can be mighty dangerous.

Now we've been trying to deal with this challenge. And for their own efforts, and with some outside help, even the developing nations are finding their feet. They for example are producing more food and more goods. And we too are beginning to learn. We're beginning to transform the old and uncomfortable giver-receiver relationship into a joint assault on a mutual enemy: want, wherever it exists.

And I repeat that want and deprivation are enemies to the peace. The innovations and experience of recent years I think point the way to the future. And these are the signs again of hope, which is my message.

Family planning, but on a scale many times larger than now has been considered; overwhelming emphasis in the developing

nations in our assistance programs, on farm production, and the building of agricultural structure; worldwide commodity agreements that will help stabilize prices enough so that producing nations may at least have a chance to earn their wage, rather than being supplicants for relief; international agreements and guarantees to produce a manifold increase in the flow of constructive investment, private investment to the developing nations. And then the multilateral types of aid programs, with indeed some limited amounts of funds for what we call the bilateral agreements. And greater reliance upon these regional and worldwide institutions such as the World Bank, the Asian, the Latin American, and the African Development Bank for Investment.

Another way of saying that we cannot bear this burden alone. An economic and political regionalism that will help develop large enough units of people and resources and markets, so that this is economically viable, such as the United States in the common market of Europe. And the unleashing of our scientific and technological capacity to bring forth fertility from the desert, and food from the sea, and the practical knowledge about our own earth that we're going to gain out of our space program, as we study the earth from the sky, as we penetrate the great surface of this globe to learn of its resources and the fertility of its land, and the hidden power. The use of that little instrument called the transistor radio and the communications satellite, which can bring the 21st century skills

and education to even the most remote villager.

And as I speak to you tonight mark it down in your mental notebook that in less than a generation this world will be tied together in a system of communication satellites that will make this world truly one community, and every university a university of the world.

And then the modernization of international monetary systems, which is absolutely necessary if we're going to provide the capital needed to finance the developing countries, as well as the developed. And the steady but sure removal of those trade barriers among prosperous nations, and the establishment of a global preference system for the goods of the underdeveloped.

Now these are the steps in peace making. Hard steps, difficult steps, complex steps. Not to arouse your emotions, not to make your blood run hot, but to make you think. There is no other way. And the question before the world today is whether the American people can give leadership to this kind of a slow steady, meticulous process of step by step development. Or whether we're going to try to settle our problems in one terrible blast of man's madness.

I think we know the answer. These are the constructive initiatives that are the nutrients of freedom and peace. Now they are some of the things that we Americans must be ready to do if we're to keep this nation safe and free in a world of change and growth, rather than threatened and isolated in a



world of strife.

So what are my hopes? I think they're the same as yours: a secure world, with past differences hopefully reconciled, in which men can become in their own destinies. That's what we mean by self determination. A world free of the nuclear peril, where that mighty weapon is at least under some kind of control. A world without starvation and poverty, or there is no peace, we've had it. A world in control of science, and not victimized by it.

These are the objectives of a worthy, the objectives of a great people. And they're our objectives. The question is, do we think they're beyond our power to achieve them. My answer we shall never know unless we try. And try we must.

Now whether we like it or not, we live in a world so intricately interdependent that the possibility of withdrawal or isolation that some recommend simply does not exist, it's childlike. It is fashionable today, oh so fashionable to discuss foreign policy in terms of American power, the limits, the dangers, the price, the discipline, of power; and some even put it the arrogance. It is a useful discussion, and it's been carried forward on a high level by thoughtful and patriotic men.

We have difference of view, as has been demonstrated here tonight. But might I suggest that in the process of emphasizing the alledged abuses of our national power -- and I repeat,



the alledged abuses -- that they have left us in some danger of denying its positive uses.

I know that we have to choose our policies and priorities carefully. I've been at this business of government for quite a while. But let us not delude ourselves into believing that we are not influencing developments in the world by not exercising our power. The absence of it, the failure to use it, may very well have a very significant effect on this world. And I mean national power of all kinds, military, economic, diplomatic and moral. An American failure to participate and to share its part of the burden would itself have enormous and in my view very dangerous consequences in this world.

It's been my observation for over twenty years of public service that we Americans have used our power, our strength, the way we have not because of some dogma or doctrine, or appetite, but because of the kind of a world in which we live, a dangerous world, a world in which there is vast ambition on the part of some. And we've used it because of the kind of a people that we are, not power for power's sake, but power most of the time, may I say, for others' sake.

And we have not shrunk from the bitter necessity of helping to repel armed aggression with our armed might. And we ought not to be apologizing for it. We did it in Korea. Oh yes, in World War II. And we're doing it now in Vietnam in Southeast

Asia. But the basic use of American strength has been in the peaceful and constructive pursuits of mankind. And this is our unique contribution, a contribution that few other, if any, can equal.

And we may not have played our role perfectly. Oh, I know, we've made a host of mistakes. And you really don't have to look for them, they're told to you every day. But I think it must not be confused with imperialistic posturing of a dead past. There isn't an ounce of imperialism in the American people or their representatives.

We are a nation that has helped bind up the wounds of our former enemies, unprecedented in the world; that has Europe rebuild from a shattering war; that has sought to expand the horizons of human welfare in every corner of the world; that has helped to liquidate Western colonialism, and to contain Communist imperialism.

Now that's what I call working for peace. That is nation building. And I don't believe that we ought to apologize for it, not one bit.

(APPLAUSE)

So what does the future hold for us? Well I'm not like that British cynic and novelist, Aldous Huxley, who said "I peered into the future, and it won't work." I think it will.

A few months ago in Fulton, Missouri I thought out loud

with that audience as I have with you tonight, and I looked ahead to the time when a world of iron curtains might be succeeded by a world of open doors.

Now that need not be a distant goal, if we use our strength wisely both at home and abroad. And if we deal maturely -- and I repeat, maturely -- the age of innocence is long gone, friends -- the age of adolescence is long past for this nation. We're a mature nation, young in spirit, but wise in experience, at least tested. So if we deal maturely with the real opportunities and real perils before us on a scale which promises success, I think that our goal of a better day and a better world is not far off.

Our policy and our ultimate vision could not be better stated than in those words, in the earliest and most dangerous days following World War II, by Winston Churchill. And whenever I get a little discouraged, and we all do, I look to one or two great American -- great heroes. I look to a Harry Truman, if you'll pardon the mention of his name --

(APPLAUSE)

-- a man who had the courage of his convictions, who understood that the presidency was not popularity, but was duty and principle, and who looked ahead. Sometimes people said, simply. But I think historians will say profoundly.

Winston Churchill put it this way: "If we adhere faithfully to the Charter of the United Nations, and walk forward in sedate and sober strength, seeking no one's land or treasure, seeking to

lay no arbitrary control on the thoughts of men, the high roads of the future will be clear, not only for us, but for all; not only for our time, but for the century to come."

I think Winston Churchill had a glimpse of the future. And I think he charted for us a proper path. And I would suggest that the only thing to do is to get on with the work and pursue the course, and to do it with confidence, with faith, and to do it in the knowledge that whatever this country wills for itself, if it will but set itself to the task, it can accomplish it.

Thank you very much.

(APPLAUSE)

File - *Chavez's Press Club Speech.*

World War II unleashed the forces of liberation even as, paradoxically, it fastened a new type of tyranny upon vast numbers of people and many nations. But the seeds of emancipation -- the seeds of liberation -- were there, and they are beginning, at long last, to sprout. In America, WW II required the participation of all Americans, and once that process was started, you could not stop it, nor should you try. The ~~cry~~ <sup>cries</sup> of ~~freedom~~ "Freedom Now" -- of "We Shall Overcome" have been the rallying force for millions of deprived and under-privileged Americans who are today demanding the right to be citizens - in the fullest sense of the word. They are not asking - but demanding. This, in a very real sense is the continuing American Revolution. The amazing thing is that it has come as peacefully as it has.

The test of our society will be whether or not we can make the changes without the destruction of that which we have already built. Whether we can have change amidst order, and order that permits change. I think we can. I think the American political and social system has the flexibility and durability to accommodate these powerful forces of emancipation and freedom.

In the rest of the world, the same forces of emancipation and freedom are at work..... restlessly, at times violently ... fitfully. The pages of history a hundred years from now will surely reveal that the last half of the 20th Century was the era of the greatest move toward freedom that the world has ever known. Colonialism is the first casualty.

This half of the Century will be characterized by such terms as

"self-determination", "development", "liberation", or  
"nationhood", "national security", "national development".

These are the indicators of a new epoch in human  
development. It has not been an even flow of steady progress.

It has been characterized by trial and error, by victory and defeat,  
by advance and retreat. But, when the balance sheet is totalled --  
and you see that today there are \_\_\_\_\_ nations here represented  
in the United Nations in 1968, as compared to \_\_\_\_\_ in 1946.

There are those areas which still appear undecided  
and uncertain --- but where the force of history is on the side of  
emancipation and freedom --- such as Africa, Latin America,  
Eastern Europe and Asia.

The Alliance for Progress - regardless of whatever  
pessimistic view you may take - has been a working, progressive  
enterprise. But, the victory has not been decided.

(Eastern Europe, Southeast Asia, China)

China, itself, represents the most virulent form of ferment  
which inevitably will lead towards a different China in the next decade.  
And, hopefully, it will be a different China which is a better neighbor.

In Eastern Europe the monolith of communism has been  
fractured. Even the communist-socialist countries, themselves, are  
developing new forms of emancipation from the rigid, inflexible  
State control.

This is the world as it is today.

(quote JFK--- "...the price of freedom does not come  
cheap...")

JEH - editing  
copy  
April 19

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY  
OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB OF AMERICA  
ANNUAL AWARDS DINNER  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

APRIL 22, 1968

Tonight I want to offer some thoughts about how  
our country can help build and live in a better world.

I will say little or nothing about the struggle in  
Vietnam, even though it is still uppermost in our minds.

Diplomacy is doing its work. We all share a common  
hope for its success.



\* \* \*

Let me begin by noting that one of the reasons we can look forward more confidently to the future is because of the sacrifices of the recent past.

They were the sacrifices of free people -- and of people struggling to be free.

Young people today have many grounds for deep dissatisfaction with the world their elders have been running.

They also have cause for satisfaction.

And one such cause is the fact that the non-Communist world, led by a free United States of America, was able to contain and defuse Stalinist Communism -- not without struggle, but without a total war and without nuclear holocaust.

*Post-War*  
The ~~Cold War~~ record of the United States has not been without its imperfections and serious lapses.

But the grand sweep of America's response to the challenge of post-war tyranny is a story of which we can be proud.

I believe this struggle is coming to a successful conclusion. The idea of freedom can no longer be suppressed.

The members of the human race, increasingly, can read and write.

They will communicate and interchange ideas.

I believe the power of the free idea will in time infiltrate mainland China -- as it is infiltrating the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. (must become)

In such a world, tyranny ~~has~~ has a terminal disease.

We must, (of course) do our part to protect world security by maintaining whatever strength is necessary to meet our commitments to the U.N. Charter and the regional treaties to which we are signatory.

But let us look forward to full concentration in the arts of peace. For through affirmative action to meet human needs, we can build our security as surely as we do in any other way.

I look forward to the day, for instance, when the people of North Vietnam <sup>the peoples of S.E. Asia</sup> will share in the aid we are able to <sup>extend</sup> offer other Southeast Asian nations.

I look forward to the day when the great Chinese people, no longer victimized from within, take their place in the modern world.

It is a whole generation since the bulk of the Chinese people were locked out of the world...and forced to become an ideological anthill.

This isolation must not last another generation.

[insert]

INSERT -- Page 4

We must persevere in our efforts to end this isolation. We must continue our efforts to:

- achieve an agreement to exchange newsmen;
- secure permission for American scholars and experts in medicine and public health to travel to China.

In addition to the free flow of ideas and people, ~~we must~~  
*Commerce, trade are not allies of war - but of peace*  
~~(encourage trade with China in non-strategic goods.)~~  
*Must such trade*

Only through such measures can a hostile China be guided toward membership in the world community, can China be persuaded to pursue a policy of peaceful cooperation.



Surely, one of the most exciting and enriching experiences to which we can look forward is the building of peaceful bridges to the people of mainland China.

There will be frustrations. We shall be rebuffed, no doubt, time and again.

But we must keep trying.

For continued national isolation breeds growing national neurosis -- in China as elsewhere.

\* \* \*

Among our highest priorities as we look ahead is nuclear control and disarmament. *the control over weapons most destructive & steps that lead to ending arms race.*

There is no problem on which I have spent more time and energy during my public life.

*Summary*  
As some of you may know, I was the sponsor and chairman of the Senate Special Subcommittee on Disarmament. I was the sponsor of legislation creating the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. I led the fight in the Senate for the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.

The danger to human survival that we face in nuclear weapons may have bred a ~~partial~~ generation of pessimists and fatalists. But it has also called forth devoted and creative statesmanship.

? I believe that we <sup>may be</sup> ~~are~~ today within sight of effective control. We have certainly demonstrated that progress toward nuclear disarmament is at least possible.

Let us not overlook the record of recent years.

The first breakthrough came in 1963 when we agreed with the Soviet Union and Britain to end nuclear testing in the air, in the sea and in outer space. Thus, the threat of radioactive pollution, once the terror of whole populations, was halted.

Last year, the United States and the Soviet Union signed a treaty in which each promised not to station nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction in outer space.

The most urgent, immediate need is for control of nuclear proliferation.

Just 3 weeks ago, a notable start was made in Mexico City in meeting this threat. Acting for the President of the United States, I affirmed our commitment to a treaty -- the first of its kind -- in which 21 Latin American countries banned nuclear weapons and explosives below the 35th parallel.

And just two days from now, the General Assembly of the United Nations will begin consideration of a draft treaty to halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

A year ago I spent two productive weeks in Western Europe helping to bring that treaty closer to reality. We have continued our work since.



The provisions of this treaty have already been agreed upon by the United States, (the United Kingdom) and the Soviet Union.

? S.D.P.

The two main obstacles that we now face are <sup>ironic</sup> significant signs of the times.

? ? First, is the present unwillingness of France and Communist China to support the treaty. Second is the legitimate desire of non-nuclear nations for full protection against nuclear attack.

? In the end the treaty will have to depend on the self-discipline of nations and on their willingness to have faith in each other.

The government of the United States hopes that nations will not wait until the world's political differences are resolved before signing this charter of survival.



We urge its approval as a way of hastening international cooperation, *(as an expression of faith and good will among nations)* *We urge its approval*

If not, what chance do we have to further turn back escalation in the development of new and increasingly destructive nuclear weapons systems? -- which we must do if peace is to be preserved.

We have already offered to discuss with the Soviet Union *offensive and defensive* limiting the deployment of *anti-ballistic missiles*. We must assiduously pursue such conversations with regard to the whole galaxy of new weapons systems. *S. d. P.*

We must achieve full control not only of the weapons we have now but also of those we *science-technology* can develop.

Our political ingenuity must match our technological ingenuity.

substitute  
page - 9a

There is another dangerous escalation in the world --  
that of the gap between rich and poor.

Through their own efforts, and with some outside help,  
the developing nations are finding their feet. They are  
producing more food and more goods.

But at the same time, the rich are getting comparatively  
richer.

We see clear evidence, on all sides, that poverty and injustice in even the most remote nation can lead to the small disorder which causes the large conflict which spreads to the major conflagration which can engulf all of us.

And we see -- indeed, as in our own America -- that people living trapped and impoverished in a wider society of mobility and affluence are easy victims of demagoguery, incitement and hate.

I have traveled, on several continents, through countries where the atmosphere of poverty so deeply permeates even the air that I have returned home asking this: Why isn't there more trouble? Why have we been so lucky to avoid dangerous involvement in many places?

We have been trying to deal with this challenge.

forget 12  
investigation  
Why  
more  
less  
conflict  
in order  
sketch



But we are (only beginning) to learn how.

We are ~~only~~ beginning to transform the old and uncomfortable giver-receiver relationship into a joint assault on a mutual enemy -- want, wherever it exists.

I ~~have the feeling that~~, in the years ahead, we may find that many of the things we are <sup>now</sup> ~~only~~ experimenting

with ~~today~~ <sup>may</sup> are going to be vital to any real solution:

~~known the things that can -- must be done~~  
-- family planning, on a scale many times larger

than what is being considered now;

-- first and overwhelming emphasis, in the developing nations -- and in our assistance programs -- on food production and the building of agricultural infrastructure;

-- worldwide commodity agreements which stabilize prices enough so that the producing nations may have at least an even chance of earning their own way;

experiments  
recent things  
to the future

-- international agreements and guarantees to produce a manifold increase in the flow of constructive private investment to the developing nations;

-- multilateralism in aid programs; except for a limited amount of funds for bilateral use in emergencies, ~~nearly~~ <sup>heavy</sup> ~~exclusive reliance~~ <sup>for greater</sup> on such institutions as the World Bank, the U.N., and African, Asian and Latin American institutions for investment and development;

-- economic and political regionalism so that others may enjoy the benefits of large-scale units of people, such as resources and markets we already have in the United States and in the European Community;

-- the full unleashing of our scientific and technological capacity to bring forth fertility from the desert...food from the sea...the practical knowledge about our own earth that we can gain from our new capabilities in space;

-- the use of the transistor radio and communications satellite to bring 21st century skills and education to even the most remote rural villager;

-- the ~~full~~ modernization of an international monetary system which must be able to provide the capital needed to finance the ~~poor~~ <sup>developing</sup> as well as the ~~rich~~ <sup>developed</sup>;

-- the ~~final~~ <sup>steady</sup> removal of barriers to trade among the prosperous nations, and the ~~creation~~ <sup>establishment</sup> of at least a temporary global preference system for the goods of the underdeveloped.

Those are ~~not such~~ new ideas, <sup>although</sup> Your Administration has explored all of them and is experimenting with many.

But they are the kind of things we as Americans must be ready to do if we hope to keep our nation safe and free in a world of growth, rather than threatened and isolated in a world of strife.



There is a ~~system~~ <sup>unity</sup> ~~unity~~ <sup>142</sup> for a great people?

A secure world, with past differences reconciled,  
in which men can determine their own destinies?

A world free of nuclear horror?

A world without starvation and poverty?

A world in control of science, not victimized by it?

Are these objectives beyond our power to achieve? We will  
<sup>try.</sup>  
never know unless we ~~fully use our power -- our political,~~  
~~economic, military and moral power -- in the attempt.~~

We are, whether we like it or not, moving into a  
world so intricately interdependent that the possibility of  
withdrawal or isolation simply does not exist.

And this brings me to a dangerous current I find  
running again throughout our nation. -- ~~this~~ <sup>usually</sup> based on  
fatigue, selfishness, or plain short sightedness, <sup>it is</sup> a feeling  
that America's best course might be partial withdrawal from  
the world.

A new American isolationism would <sup>be</sup> not only be  
dangerous. *as the old.*

It would fail.

*We must draw out policies clearly*  
~~We cannot be half in and half out of the world.~~

And let us not delude ourselves into believing that  
*as* *influence developed in world*  
we would not exercise our power -- economic power, military  
power... national power of all kinds -- simply by not exercising

it. That in itself would have ~~an~~ enormous and, in my view,  
very dangerous consequences for the world. *Failure to participate  
Would hurt*

It is fashionable today to discuss foreign policy in  
terms of American power -- the limits, dangers, price,  
discipline of power.

It is a useful discussion, carried forward on a high  
level by thoughtful and patriotic men. The nation is  
indebted to them.



But in the process of emphasizing the abuses of national power, they have left us in some danger of denying its positive uses.

I spent 16 years in the United States Senate intimately involved with the reality of legislation which restrains or frees or guides our President in foreign policy.

For more than 3 years, as Vice President, I have been intimately involved with problems of executing foreign policy during one of the most crucial periods in world history.

It is my observation that <sup>over the past two decades</sup> we have used our power as we have had to use it because of the kind of world we live in and because of the kind of people we are.

We have not shrunk from the bitter necessity of helping to repel armed aggression with our armed might.

But the basic use of American power has been in the peaceful and constructive pursuits of mankind. This is our unique contribution.

We may play our role imperfectly. But it must not be confused with the imperialist posturing of a dead past.

We are the nation that has bound the wounds of our former enemies...that has helped Europe find its feet after a shattering war...that has sought to expand horizons of human welfare in every corner of the world...that has helped to liquidate Western colonialism and to contain Communist imperialism.

And we need not shrink from pride in it. ?

\* \* \*

*Conflicts with itself on neo-Bolshevism*  
President Johnson has often said that "the foreign policy of the United States is rooted in its life at home."

*Fullyright*  
The strongest act of statesmanship...the most beneficial thing our country may well be able to give to the world in these years ahead is to do nothing more or less than to live up to the words we often preach -- but live by not often enough.

For if we -- with our immeasurable wealth and power... with our diverse skills and resources -- cannot make democracy live and work in our own country, what hope, finally, may others have?

If we cannot create in America a society where every man can stand as a man, in dignity and self-respect, what hope may <sup>the</sup> others have?

If we cannot set the example...if we cannot walk the extra step...if we cannot make the extra sacrifice...if we cannot have the courage to live for an ideal in our own nation, how can we expect others to do so?



We know, I think, the answer.

\* \* \*

Facing the problem...and looking at our chances,  
what may the future ultimately hold for us?

A few months ago, at Fulton, Missouri, I looked  
ahead toward the time when a world of Iron Curtains might  
be succeeded by a world of Open Doors.

That need not be a distant goal -- if we use our  
power wisely both at home and in the world...if we deal  
maturely with the real opportunities and real perils before  
us on a scale which promises success.

Our policy and our ultimate vision could be no better  
than those set forth in the earliest and most dangerous  
days following World War II, by Winston Churchill:

"If we adhere faithfully to the charter of the United Nations and walk forward in sedate and sober strength, seeking no one's land or treasure, seeking to lay no arbitrary control on the thoughts of men..., the high roads of the future will be clear, not only for us but for all, not only for our time, but for the century to come."

Let us get on with our work.

# # #

fsl

ADDRESS  
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB OF AMERICA  
ANNUAL AWARDS DINNER

WALDORF ASTORIA HOTEL  
NEW YORK CITY

APRIL 22, 1968

Mr. Lehrman, distinguished award winners, members and guests  
of the Overseas Press Club of America.

First, let me congratulate the new officers of the club  
on their election. ~~And I gather that congratulations are really~~  
~~in order.~~

I'm told by informed political observers that the only  
elections more hectic than the OPC's are Democratic Presidential  
primaries.

Of course I'm sure ours are more colorful than yours. We  
have poets and pied pipers. I said pied, not pie-eyed. How do  
you manage to get along without the teeny-boppers? And we have  
favorite sons. I do like favorite sons.

<sup>the</sup>  
~~There's only~~ one thing that ~~really~~ troubles me about OPC  
<sup>is that</sup>  
elections. You sometimes violate that fine old custom of elevat-  
ing the Vice President to the Presidency.

~~This is a custom that I expect to see adopted more consistently in political life.~~

If you want to interpret that last statement as a personal announcement, you might just be wrong again. You fellows have been wrong about politics quite a bit lately.

Pardon me, I shouldn't say you fellows, I should say you ladies and gentlemen. I'm accustomed to talking at the National Press Club which is one of the last male harems left in the country.

~~And of course~~ I want also to congratulate the winners of your annual awards. It must be especially gratifying to receive an award from one's colleagues.

I suppose <sup>my leg</sup> this ~~is~~ <sup>is a good</sup> a good occasion for me to soften or withdraw any criticism of journalists I may have made recently. Well, I'm not going to. And, while as a public servant I would like you to withdraw the mean things you may have said about me, as a citizen and a political scientist I hope you won't.



The intense, aggravating and exhilarating tension between the public man and the newsman is the essence of a free and democratic society. Long may it simmer.

I would suggest to you who represent established and responsible media that you contemplate the corrosive effects of the irresponsible attacks that have recently been made on government leaders who pursue their duties as they see them.

I personally have some, not too many, grounds for complaint.

But in my lifetime I have seen nothing to match the petty prejudice, unrestrained vulgarity and the insensate scurrilousness of some of the attacks on the President of the United States and his family.

I trust that this poisonous effluent can be washed away and that the great political dialogue we face in this national election will proceed with vigor, but ~~without~~ indecency.

Tonight I will say little ~~or nothing~~ about the struggle in Vietnam, even though it is still uppermost in our minds. I'm



sure you will understand why.

We may be seeing the end of this long dark night. In any case, we are at a new phase in the struggle, one which perhaps permits us to ~~take~~<sup>world</sup> a sharper look at some of the urgent ~~waxed~~ problems of the future which have been overshadowed by current crises.

But the future cannot be ~~undertaken~~<sup>shaped</sup> by denying the past, and I therefore want to begin by correcting an attempt at correction.

Was the cold war really a myth?

Was there or ~~wasn't~~ there a struggle of free people and of people struggling to be free against a ruthless, aggressive, totalitarian communist monolith dominated <sup>by</sup> Stalinism?

I ask because there has been a recent "discovery" that the cold war had nothing to do with freedom and tyranny but was really a capitalist - imperialist plot to thwart the just aims of the ~~down-trodden~~<sup>ru</sup> of the world.

Now I think we all want to encourage the enterprise of young scholars who are examining the roots of the cold war. But the writing of history should not be confused with ransacking the records for evidence to support a preconceived polemical thesis.

The danger in re-writing the history of the last twenty years in international relations is that most people alive today lived through them.

It is just about twenty years ago that I was first elected to the United States Senate. I was elected as and I served as a liberal. I fought for individual freedom, for peace among nations and for social justice. I opposed tyranny and aggression.

I was therefore, as an aspect of my liberalism, against totalitarian communism. I was against it in Minnesota, in Czechoslovakia and in India. In all these places it was the same brutalizing, anti-human philosophy.

I supported all the necessary security measures against its military threats. But I fought it principally by the vigorous

advocacy of measures to advance human welfare throughout the world. And while fighting it I always sought openings for an understanding with it.

I believe that in general, this is the spirit in which American democracy sought to resist communism. There were some excesses in the struggle. I do not feel responsible for them and they did not invalidate the struggle.

Young people today have many grounds for deep dissatisfaction with the world their elders have been running. They also have cause for satisfaction. And one such cause is the fact that the non-communist world, led by a free United States of America, was able to contain and defuse Stalinist communism - not without struggle - but without a total war and without atomic holocaust.

And those who today would deny the validity of this struggle are free to do so precisely because it was won.

The cold war record of the United States is not without its

imperfections and serious lapses. We are dealing after all with people not with moral abstractions.

But the grand sweep of America's response to the challenge of communist tyranny is a story of which we can be <sup>truly</sup> ~~proved~~ ~~proven~~.

I believe this struggle is coming to a successful conclusion. The idea of freedom can no longer be suppressed.

The members of the human race, increasingly, can read and write. They will communicate and interchange ideas. The power of the free idea will even infiltrate <sup>China</sup> ~~as~~ as it is infiltrating the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. In such a world, tyranny is a terminal disease.

We must, of course, stand by our commitment to world security through our support of the Charter of the United Nations and through the regional treaties to which we are signatory.

But let us look forward to full concentration in the arts of peace. By affirmative action to meet human needs, we will reduce our security needs.



What are some of the challenges we face?

The liquidation of the military struggle in Vietnam will free us for the only role we really want to play in Asia - or for that matter in any other part of the world.

That role is to help developing nations freely fulfill the needs of their people. We have, in this pursuit, already expended vast physical and human resources.

It is an effort to be carried forward solely on the basis of human need.

I look forward to the day when the people of North Vietnam will share in whatever aid we are able to offer anyone else.

Beyond that, I see the great Chinese people, no longer victimized by paranoid leaders, take their place in the modern world.

It is a whole generation since the bulk of the Chinese people were locked out of the world and forced to become an ideological anthill. This isolation must not last another

generation.

Surely, one of the most exciting and enriching experiences to which we can look forward <sup>is</sup> in the reestablishment of political, economic and cultural relations with mainland China.

The most critical piece of unfinished business facing the nations of the world is nuclear control and disarmament.

There is no problem on which I have spent more time and energy during my public life. As some of you may know, I was the sponsor and chairman of the Senate Special Subcommittee on Disarmament. I was the sponsor of legislation creating the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. I led the fight in the Senate for the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.

The danger to human survival that we face in nuclear weapons has bred a generation of pessimists and fatalists. But it has also called forth devoted and creative statesmanship.

I believe that we are today within sight of effective control. We have certainly demonstrated that progress toward nuclear

disarmament is at least possible.

Let us not overlook the record of recent years.

The first break-through came in 1963 when we agreed with the Soviet Union and Britain to end nuclear testing in the air, in the sea and in outer space. Thus, the threat of radio-active pollution, once the terror of whole populations was halted.

Almost all the nations of the world have signed the partial test ban treaty. The tasks for the future are to make France and Communist China signatories and to extend the treaty's provisions to include underground testing.

Last year, the United States and the Soviet Union signed a treaty in which each promised not to station nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction in outer space.

The most urgent need ~~in this area~~ is for control of nuclear proliferation.

It is estimated that, in addition to the five nations now capable of making atomic weapons, ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ another fifteen have the

technical know-how and economic resources to do so.

Just three weeks ago, a notable start was made in Mexico City<sup>in</sup> meeting this threat. Acting for the President of the United States, I signed a treaty - the first of its kind - in which twenty-one Latin American countries banned nuclear weapons and explosives below the 35th parallel. Nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes are permitted under an inspection system with the International Atomic Energy Agency.

And just two days from now, the General Assembly of the United Nations will begin consideration of a draft treaty to halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons. It is worth special attention that the provisions of this treaty have already been agreed upon by the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union.

The two main obstacles that we face are significant signs of the times. First, is the present unwillingness of France and Communist China to support the treaty. Second is the legitimate



desire of non-nuclear nations for full protection against nuclear attack.

The treaty represents precious progress toward the elimination of a mortal threat to all mankind in a still divided world. In the end the treaty will have to depend on the self-discipline of nations and on their willingness to have faith in each other.

The government of the United States hopes that nations will not wait until the world's political differences are resolved before signing this charter of survival. We urge its approval as a way of hastening international cooperation, as an expression of faith and good will among nations.

There was a time not very long ago when the degree of progress we have made in controlling atomic weapons would not have been thought possible. Therefore we dare not think that the full measure of control we require for survival is beyond our grasp.

Next to elimination of the nuclear threat, the highest priority in the affairs of man is surely the complex of problems involved in the closing the gap between the developed and developing nations of the world.

Through their own efforts, and with some outside help, the developing nations are finding their feet. They are producing more food and more goods.

But at the same time, living standards in the developed countries are improving more rapidly. Thus, on average, the gap between the richer and the poorer nations is widening. In a time of rising expectations, this disparity can be explosive.

A basic difficulty in the equation is that the developing countries are producing more people as well as more food and therefore individual standards of living are not necessarily rising.

The two obvious ways to deal with this problem are to control population growth and to increase food production.

The present administration, for the first time in our history, is offering technical assistance in family planning. So is the United Nations. Governments of nations with serious food shortages are increasingly hospitable to population control programs. Scientists are seeking to perfect an effective, inexpensive and universally acceptable birth control method.

At the same time, other scientists are working on ways to increase food production ~~dramatically~~.

In our perspective for the future, we must turn away from the arms race and devote ourselves to the race between food and people.

In both the developed and developing countries, substantial amounts of money, manpower and imagination have been spent during the past twenty years on closing the economic gap between these two worlds.

Yet we are only at the beginning of this great enterprise. After all, world cooperation and mutual economic assistance

among equals on so vast a scale - through bi-lateral, regional and United Nations channels - is something new in the world.

We have only barely established that such international activity is necessary and right.

But it will be some time before we find the most effective relationship between nations that can give and nations that must receive economic aid. I think the developed nations now recognize that they have no moral right to withhold any aid they can provide and that, in addition, their own welfare can be improved by healthy growth among the developing nations. The latter, at the same time, seem to realize that they cannot meet the rising demands of their own people without outside assistance.

The relationship between giver and receiver is always delicate. In addition, we are dealing here with nations whose differences are not only economic, but also political and cultural.

For the developing nations, the problem is not simply how



much aid to give - the more is not necessarily the better. The problem is also what aid is given for and how it is given.

Should there be conditions? If so, what kind?

How much pre-investment assistance?

What is the precise mix of technical assistance, grants, loans, trade concessions?

What are the advantages and disadvantages of bi-lateral and multi-lateral aid?

These are problems we must keep under continuous review. I do not find the prospect of dealing with them discouraging.

Indeed, I find them enormously stimulating.

I recommend them, as I have in the past, to young people who are seeking a challenge and a meaning in life. There are satisfying careers here in every field and on every level, from the most simple and direct to the most sophisticated.

Let me touch briefly on one other <sup>major</sup> challenge we will face,

~~namely~~ namely, the implications of the new frontiers in science

and technology.

I am particularly sensitive to this prospect because I am Chairman of the Advisory Council of NASA and also Chairman of the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering.

We are becoming familiar with the effects of advances in transportation and communication. We can be sure of dramatic breakthroughs in food technology, in birth control and in all the bio-chemical sciences. We are only at the thin edge of man's exploration of outer space. We only dimly perceive where the exploration of inner space - of the atom - will lead us. And we are just beginning to plan ~~on~~ how to find and harness the untold resources of the oceans and the ocean beds.

While we cannot be sure where all this scientific activity will lead us, we can be sure that the effects will be far-reaching and that the appropriate way to control and take advantage of them is through international cooperation.

Is it possible for us in the United States to shirk any of

the minimal objectives which tomorrow's world insistently sets before us? —

A secure world, with past differences reconciled, in which men can determine their own destinies?

A world free of nuclear horrors?

A world without starvation and poverty?

A world in control of science, not victimized by it?

Are these objectives beyond our power to achieve? We will never know unless we use our power { our political, economic, military and moral power - in the attempt.

We are, whether we like it or not, moving into a world so intricately interdependent that the possibility of withdrawal or isolation simply does not exist.

Any attempt at partial withdrawal or isolation could be disastrous. For while a generous and imaginative use of our resources might help to make a world of peace, freedom and plenty, a niggardly and nearsighted use of our resources invites the



almost certain danger of failure and deepened frustration.

We cannot be half in and half out of the world.

And let us not delude ourselves into believing that we do not exercise our power simply by not exercising it. One of the most effective ways to use American power is to withhold it.

It is fashionable today to discuss foreign policy in terms of American power - the limits, dangers, price, discipline of power.

It is a useful discussion, carried forward on a high level by thoughtful and patriotic men. The nation is indebted to them.

But in the process of emphasizing the abuses of power, they have left us in some danger of denying its appropriate uses.

I spent 16 years in the United States Senate intimately involved with the reality of legislation which restrains or frees or guides the President of the United States in the carrying on of foreign policy. For more than three years, as Vice President, I have been intimately involved with problems of executing foreign

policy during one of the most crucial periods in world history.

It is my observation that we have used our power as we have had to use it because of the kind of world we live in and because of the kind of people we are. This has sometimes involved bad judgment, stupidity and viciousness. But we are not a nation of power-mad morons.

There may be some people in high places who are eager to use U.S. power simply for the sake of using power. I have never met them. But they have never controlled our foreign policy and they never will.

Power, as it is used in international affairs, implies ruthless force for selfish and shortsighted national ends.

But we are a nation that has bound the wounds of our enemies, that has helped Europe find its feet after a shattering war, that has sought to expand horizons of human welfare in every corner of the world, that has helped to liquidate western colonialism and to contain communist imperialism.

In all of this there has been and continues to be a large element of enlightened self-interest. How could it be otherwise? A world that is free of both tyranny and poverty is a world in which our own freedom and welfare prospers.

We have not shrunk from the bitter necessity of helping to repel armed aggression with our armed might.

But the basic thrust of American policy is in the peaceful and constructive pursuits of mankind. This is our unique contribution.

It is a role the world has never before seen from a great nation and we play it imperfectly. But it must not be confused with the imperialist posturing of a dead past.

~~A democratic society such as ours, responsive to public opinion, in an interdependent world such as ours simply cannot play this role.~~

I believe deeply that the way we use our power in the world reflects the way we use it at home, that we at home are an

automatic restraint on abuse of power abroad.

I therefore think it entirely appropriate to conclude this discussion of our foreign policy by reminding you of the urgent unfinished business at home. <sup>*have and the have-not nations is matched by the gap between*</sup> The gap between the haves and the have nots in our own society, and in our case there is less excuse for it.

Let's get on with our work.

Transcript of the Vice President's speech to

OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB

April 22, 1953

I want to talk to you tonight about a message of hope. I am not one of America's pessimists. My attitude of basic optimism is not based upon any Pollyannish theory of affairs in our country, but rather upon what I would hope is a realization of the history of this country, and of its promise, of its capacity.

I know there are many disturbing signs of the times. And yes, how we hear them and see them! But what I want to tell this audience tonight is that our century, and particularly this last half of the twentieth century in which we are living now, is the century of emancipation. It is indeed the century of hope as no other century has ever been.

At home and abroad the convulsive and turbulent but relentless processes of freedom are at work. That's what you're listening to tonight. Very few people, if any, have ever gained and held their freedom without combat, difficulty, ferment and sacrifice. That's the story of freedom.

World War II, that cataclysmic event filled with torture, pain, and blood, unleashed great forces of liberation in the twentieth century. It changed the world for once and for all, unleashing forces of liberation even as, paradoxically, it fastened a new type of tyranny upon vast numbers of people in



many nations. But even in these nations, caught up in the swamp of dictatorship and tyranny, the seeds of emancipation, the seeds of liberation, were there. And they're beginning at long last to sprout and to grow.

I believe for example that the ferment in China will lead towards a different China in the next decade -- hopefully a freer China, a China which can be a better and a safer neighbor. In Eastern Europe the monolith, as they called it, of Communism has been fractured. People are not asking, they're demanding emancipation from rigid, inflexible state control.

World War II required the participation for the first time of all Americans. And a quest for full freedom for all Americans has dominated our domestic history ever since. Once that process of participation started, once that process of full freedom started, you couldn't stop it, nor should you try.

The cries of "Freedom Now", or "We Shall Overcome" that you've heard so often, have been a rallying force for literally millions of deprived and underprivileged Americans who are today asking their right to be full citizens in this country, citizens in the fullest sense of the word. They are asking their right to be a part of one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.



And this in a very real sense my fellow Americans is the continuing American revolution: the greatest movement that this world has known.

And the amazing thing is that this has all come as peacefully as it has. Because the birth of a great nation is not painless; nor is its maturity or development.

The test of our society will be whether or not we can make the necessary changes without destroying the good that we have already built -- whether we can have change amidst order, and an order that permits change.

And I'm one of those Americans who thinks we can. I believe that the American political and social system has the flexibility and the durability to accommodate those powerful forces of emancipation and freedom. And those same forces of emancipation and freedom are at work throughout the whole world, in every country, restlessly, and at times violently and fitfully. But mark my words, they're at work tonight, and tomorrow, and the days yet to come.

And the pages of history, a decade, a generation, yes, a hundred years from now, will surely reveal that this last half of the twentieth century saw the greatest move towards freedom

that the world has ever known. And I'm happy to say, as an American, that we'll have a proud part in that story. The chapter headlines for our times will be words and phrases that we know so well: "Self-determination", "Development", "Liberation", "Nationalism", "National Development". This is the language of freedom. And this is the language of a new epoch in human development, an epoch when tyranny has a terminal disease.

You know, Metetrnich -- that great statesman of Central Europe -- once said: "It is useless to close the gates against ideas; they overflow them." He ought to have known. The idea of freedom can no longer be suppressed. The members of the human race increasingly can read and write. They will communicate and interchange ideas. Science and technology make this inevitable. And this is the world as it is today.

It's a world that's turbulent, and it's a world that's dangerous, but it's a world that's filled and jam-packed with hope. And that's the world as I see it, as it will be for some time to come. And we'll have to be prepared for it, in every way.

The late and beloved John F. Kennedy put it this way -- wherever I go I quote this, because I want Americans to understand the kind of a world that we're going to live in and that we do live in --

"Peace and freedom," he said, "do not come cheap, and we are destined, all of us here today, to live out most, if not all of our lives in uncertainty, challenge and peril." Now that is our world. And the only question is, are we big enough to face up to it? Do we have the character, the courage, the moral purpose to deal with it?

In such a world I happen to believe that America's role is crucial, it's demanding.

Senator Tower, I appreciated the words that you said here tonight about our responsibilities. How many Americans love to speak of our leadership in this world. How few like to remember our responsibilities. How many of us like to speak of our rights. How few are willing to take on our duties. Privileges and duties come together. Rights and responsibilities are one and inseparable. There are no rights and privileges without responsibilities and duties for individual citizens, for nations, or even for a world.

We must do our part, and it's a big part, because we're a big country, and a great country. We must do our part to protect world security by maintaining whatever strength is necessary to meet our commitments to the United Nations Charter, to regional treaties, to whatever contracts we become signatory and we must above all maintain our own security.

But we're also obliged to concentrate on the arts of peace through affirmative action to meet human needs. I believe through that kind of action we can build security and peace.

Now today we seek peace in Asia as we always have. We're not a nation of warriors. We're a nation of nation builders. We want to be remembered not only for our valiant soldiers, but for our teachers and our doctors, for our people who help build lives. We seek to destroy no one. We would surely like to help everyone. But the peace that we seek is a genuine peace, and a lasting peace, an enduring peace.

I look forward to the day when all the peoples of Southeast Asia will be able to live in peace, and will be participants and partners in economic development, will share in aid that we're able to offer. Your President has made that offer.

I look forward to the day when the great Chinese people, no longer victimized from within, can take their rightful place in the modern world. Surely that's necessary for a peaceful world. And one of the most exciting and enriching experiences to which we can look forward is the building of constructive peaceful bridges to the people of mainland China.

You see, I believe that the power of the free idea will in time infiltrate any country. And it'll infiltrate mainland China just as it is infiltrating today the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Yes, Hetternich was right, "It is useless to close the gates to ideas, because they overleap them."

Now I know above all that there'll be lots of frustrations,  
and the timid souls will want to quit. We shall be rebuffed many  
times. But I think we must keep trying in whatever we set our  
course. Continued national isolation for any country breeds  
growing national neurosis, in China, in Russia, anywhere.

Now among our highest priorities as we look ahead I think  
achieving greater control over the weapons of mass destruction is  
at the top of the list. We must take steps that lead us away from  
the madness in the arms race.

We never aimed for the purpose of arms. Yet I am not so  
foolish as to believe that we can stop this alone.

These goals have been top priorities of mine throughout my  
career in public service -- as sponsor and chairman of the Senate  
Special Subcommittee on Disarmament . . . as the sponsor of  
legislation creating the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency . . .  
as a leader in the fight in the Senate for the Nuclear Test Ban  
Treaty.

The danger to human survival in nuclear weapons may have bred  
some pessimists and fatalists. But it has also called forth  
devoted and creative statesmanship. And I believe that we are  
today within sight of effective control. And I wonder sometimes

Why more people are not excited about it. We have certainly demonstrated that progress towards nuclear control and disarmament is at least possible.

Let us not overlook the record of recent years. The first breakthrough came in 1963, when we agreed with the Soviet Union and Britain to end nuclear testing in the air, in the sea, and in outer space. Thus the threat of radioactive pollution, once the terror of whole populations, was halted. Last year the United States, the Soviet Union, signed a treaty in which each promised not to station nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction in outer space. In all of these efforts we take those protective measures which are necessary for effective supervision.

But the most urgent immediate need for the welfare of this world is for the control of nuclear proliferation. The expansion of nuclear weaponry to more and more countries is a rising threat to the peace of this world.

Just three weeks ago a notable start was made in Mexico City to meet this threat. Acting for the President of the United States, I was privileged to affirm our commitment to a treaty, the first of its kind, in which twenty-one Latin American countries forbade nuclear weapons and explosives below the 35th Parallel. We set a good example here.



And just two days from now the General Assembly of the United Nations will begin consideration of a draft treaty to halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

This is the business of your life. Nuclear weapons spread across this world give security to no one. It is imperative that we find a way to halt this proliferation. We urge the approval therefore of this treaty as a way of hastening international cooperation. We urge its approval as the way of preventing the spread of new and increasingly destructive weapon systems. But in the end that treaty will have to depend in part on the self-discipline of nations, and on their willingness to have faith in each other.

We're already offered to the Soviet Union limitations on both offensive and defensive weapons. I happen to think that we must achieve full control not only of the weapons we now have, but also those which science and technology may develop in the future.

These are the proposals of a peaceful nation. And it would do this nation well in the eyes of this country, private and public, would once again let the world know that our business is peacekeeping, peace with honor, genuine peace, not a phony peace, but lasting peace.

Our political ingenuity must match our technical and technological ingenuity. Or I think we'll all become victims of a

spiraling escalation of destructive capacity.

Now there is yet another dangerous escalation. And that's the escalation of already rising expectations which are going unfulfilled. And this is mighty dangerous. We see clear evidence of this on all sides, that poverty and injustice in even the most remote nation can lead to a small disorder which could cause a large conflict which spreads to the major conflagration which could engulf all of us. It could happen. Great wars sometimes start with small sparks.

And we see indeed, as in our own America, that people living trapped and impoverished in the wider society of mobility and affluence are the easy victims of demagoguery, incitement and hate.

We've been trying to deal with this challenge. And through their own efforts, with some outside help, even the developing nations are finding their feet. They, for example, are producing more food and more goods. And we too are beginning to learn. We're beginning to transform the old and uncomfortable giver-receiver relationship into a joint assault on a mutual enemy: want, wherever it exists. And I repeat that want and deprivation are enemies to the peace.

The innovations and experience of recent years, which are the signs of hope, point the way to the future. They call for:

\* family planning, but on a scale many times larger than now has been considered;

\* overwhelming emphasis in our assistance programs in the developing nations on farm production, and the building of agricultural structure;

\* worldwide commodity agreements that will help stabilize prices enough so that producing nations may at least have a chance to earn their way, rather than being supplicants for relief;

\* international agreements and guarantees to produce a manifold increase in the flow of constructive investment, private investment to the developing nations;

\* multilateral types of aid programs, with indeed some limited amounts of funds for what we call the bilateral agreements;

\* greater reliance upon regional and worldwide institutions such as the World Bank, the Asian, the Latin American, and the African Development Bank for investment, which is another way of saying that we cannot bear this burden alone;

\* economic and political regionalism that will help develop large enough units of people and resources and markets to be economically viable, as the United States and the common market of Europe are today;

\* the unleashing of our scientific and technological capacity to bring forth fertility from the desert, and food from the sea;

\* the practical knowledge about our own earth that we're going to gain out of our space program, as we study the earth from the sky, as we penetrate the great surface of this globe to learn of its resources and the fertility of its land, and the hidden power;

\* the use of that little instrument called the transistor radio and the communications satellite, which can bring the 21st century skills and education to even the most remote villager.

As I speak to you tonight mark it down in your mental notebook that in less than a generation this world will be tied together in a system of communication satellites that will make this world truly one community, and every university a university of the world.

And then the modernization of international monetary systems is absolutely necessary if we're going to provide the capital needed to finance the developing countries, as well as the developed. And we need the steady but sure removal of trade barriers among prosperous nations, and the establishment of a global preference system for the goods of the underdeveloped.

Now these are the steps in peace making. Hard steps,  
difficult steps, complex steps. Not to arouse your emotions,  
not to make your blood run hot, but to make you think. There is  
no other way. And the question before the world today is whether  
the American people can give leadership to this kind of a slow  
steady, patient process of change by step development. Or  
whether we're going to try to settle our problems in one terrible  
blast of man's madness.

I think we know the answer. These are the constructive  
initiatives that are the nutrients of freedom and peace. Now  
they are some of the things that we Americans must be ready to  
do if we're to keep this nation safe and free in a world of change  
and growth, rather than threatened and isolated in a world of strife.

So what are my hopes? I think they're the same as yours: a  
secure world, with past differences hopefully reconciled, in which  
men can work out their own destinies. That's what we mean by  
self-determination. A world free of the nuclear peril, where that  
mighty weapon is at least under some kind of control. A world  
without starvation and poverty, or there is no peace. A world in  
control of science, and not victimized by it.

These are the objectives worthy of great people. And they're  
our objectives. The question is, do we think they're beyond our

power to achieve them. My answer we shall never know unless we try. And try we must.

Now whether we like it or not, we live in a world so intricately interdependent that the possibility of withdrawal or isolation that some recommend simply does not exist.

It is fashionable today to discuss foreign policy in terms of American power, the limits, the dangers, the price, the discipline, of power; and someone put it the arrogance. It is a useful discussion, and it's been carried forward on a high level by thoughtful and patriotic men.

We have differences of view, as has been demonstrated here tonight. But in the process of emphasizing the alleged abuses of our national power -- and I repeat, the alleged abuses -- they have left us in some danger of denying its positive uses.

I know that we have to choose our policies and priorities carefully. I've been at this business of government for quite a while. But let us not delude ourselves into believing that we are not influencing developments in the world by not exercising our power. The absence of it, the failure to use it, may very well have a very significant effect on this world. And I mean national power of all kinds, military, economic, diplomatic and moral. An American failure to participate and to share its part



of the burden would itself have enormous and in my view very dangerous consequences in this world.

It's been my observation for over twenty years of public service that we Americans have used our power, our strength, the way we have not because of some dogma or doctrine or ideology, but because of the kind of a world in which we live -- a dangerous world, a world in which there is vast ambition on the part of some. And we've used it because of the kind of a people that we are, not applying power for power's sake, but power most of the time for others' sake.

And we have not shrunk from the bitter necessity of helping to repel armed aggression with our armed might. And we ought not to be apologizing for it. We did it in Korea, in World War II, and we're doing it now in Vietnam in Southeast Asia. But the basic use of American strength has been in the peaceful and constructive pursuits of mankind. And this is our unique contribution, a contribution that few others, if any, can equal.

We may not have played our role perfectly. I know, we've made a host of mistakes. You really don't have to look for them, they're told to you every day. But I think it must not be confused with imperialistic propping of a dead past. There isn't an ounce of imperialism in the American people or their representatives.

We are a nation that helped bind up the wounds of our former enemies, unprecedented in the world, that helped Europe rebuild from a shattering war; that sought to expand the horizons of human welfare in every corner of the world; that helped to liquidate Western colonialism, and to contain Communist imperialism.

Now that's what I call working for peace. That is nation building. And I don't believe that we ought to apologize for it, not one bit.

So what does the future hold for us? Well I'm not like that British cynic and novelist, Aldous Huxley, who said "I peered into the future, and it won't work." I think it will.

A few months ago in Fulton, Missouri I thought out loud with that audience as I have with you tonight. And I looked ahead to the time when a world of iron curtains might be succeeded by a world of open doors.

Now that need not be a distant goal; if we use our strength wisely both at home and abroad and if we deal naturally. The age of innocence is long gone, friends --- the age of adolescence is long past for this nation. We're a mature nation, young in spirit, but wise in experience, at least tested. So if we deal naturally with the real opportunities and real perils before us on a scale which promises success, I think that our goal of a better day and a better world is not far off.

Our policy and our ultimate vision could not be better stated than in those words, in the earliest and most dangerous days following World War II, by Winston Churchill. And whenever I get a little discouraged, and as all do, I look to one or two great heroes. I look to a Harry Truman, -- a man who had the courage of his convictions, who understood that the presidency was not popularity, but was duty and principle, and who looked ahead -- sometimes, people said, simply. But I think historians will say profoundly.

Winston Churchill put it this way: "If we adhere faithfully to the Charter of the United Nations, and walk forward in sedate and sober strength, seeking no one's land or treasure, seeking to lay no arbitrary control on the thoughts of men, the high roads of the future will be clear, not only for us, but for all; not only for our time, but for the century to come."

I think Winston Churchill had a glimpse of the future. And I think he charted for us a proper path. And I would suggest that the only thing to do is to get on with the work and pursue the course, and to do it with confidence, with faith, and to do it in the knowledge that whatever this country wills for itself, if it will but set itself to the task, it can accomplish it.



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