

REMARKS  
VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY  
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U.S. -- SOVIET RELATIONS

There are three great issues in this campaign: the securing and protection of peace...the ending of division and restoration of unity to all American people and the continuation of our social progress...and our dynamic economy. Today, I want to talk with you about the first of these issues...peace.

Nothing is more crucial to the peace of the world than our relations with the Soviet Union: This is the most fateful reality of our times.

We have seen that misunderstandings between Washington and Moscow can have grave consequences...for the peace of the world...for all mankind.

In this nuclear age, America must have leaders who are wise...and strong... if we are to deal with the Soviets for peace...and not for war. The next President will face a situation that is delicate...sensitive...dangerous...and yet also promising. We must have a President who is experienced...tested...and equal to the task.

For six years--even during periods of tension--we persisted in our patient efforts to expand the area of common agreement with the Soviets...We opened a "hot-line", and used it last year during the Middle East crisis...We concluded a Test-Ban Treaty...a Civil Air Agreement...a Consular Agreement...We widened the areas of contact between our two peoples...We helped negotiate a treaty to halt the spread of nuclear weapons...we prepared to talk about halting the strategic arms race.. These were steps toward peace.

I personally initiated some of these steps; I strongly supported them all.

I have talked at length...and seriously...with Soviet leaders about the grave and difficult issues of our times.

I talked with Mr. Khrushchev--not in a kitchen. But in the Kremlin, not about the merits of color television, but about the question of human survival. I conferred with Mr. Kosygin in New Delhi about peace in South East Asia.

I have no illusions. We know we are dealing with a totalitarian government, still unresponsive to the needs and wishes of its people...a closed society...a government unmotivated by our basic concern for personal freedom and free expression...which asserts what it considers to be its interests with callous disregard for the opinions of mankind.

I know there will be setbacks...that there is no easy road to lasting peace. But we must persevere--whatever the obstacles, whatever the trials.

The American people must confront certain basic truths: The day is past when we can talk of the relationship between our two countries solely in terms of hostility...But we are still far from the day when we can speak of it in terms of real cooperation.

Soviet government and Soviet society today are a web of contradictions.

--The Soviets are still committed to an ideology of conflict; but they now also understand the dangers of mutual extinction through nuclear war, and temper their hostility towards us with a willingness to reduce the likelihood of that nuclear war.

--They still seek to maintain their domination, even at high political cost, over the peoples of Eastern Europe; But they are now also facing the erosion of their empire and the onset of internal problems. They cannot forever resist the human urge for liberty.

--The Soviet leaders are more conservative and doctrinaire today than at any other time since Stalin's death; their political system today is sterile...bureaucratic...inimical to social talent...hostile to social innovation. Yet Soviet leaders now confront a restless society--chafing under political restraints...with an alienated intellectual community...and with its national minorities becoming more restless.

These contradictions make the situation more volatile and dangerous. In resisting the winds of freedom at home and abroad, the Soviet leaders are over-reacting. This underlines our need to pursue policies that are relevant to the present...and the future...that can help induce both restraint and rationality in Soviet behavior.

Soviet aggression in Czechoslovakia...the brutal stifling of the most hopeful move towards liberty and democracy in Eastern Europe...and new threats to the Federal Republic of Germany...confirm our belief that our desire for improved relations with the Soviet Union must not jeopardize our alliances...that we must be ever vigilant...even as we pursue the path to peace.

The Soviets must understand; we are willing to negotiate on the central problems of war and peace; but we are not indifferent to what happened in Czechoslovakia.

We are not indifferent to threats--to us or to our allies.

We must be firm and resolute in our own defense--and we are.

We must reassert our irrevocable pledges to our allies in Western Europe--and we do.

But we must also not turn aside from the effort to reduce the threat of nuclear war, both now and for all time.

Last week, I proposed a series of steps designed to strengthen our relations with Western Europe...to guarantee that steps we take towards reducing tensions with the Soviet Union do not jeopardize the interests of our NATO partners.

I repeat them now:

- Annual meetings of the heads of allied governments;
- New joint scientific and technological programs;
- An educational common market spanning the two shores of the Atlantic;
- A European caucus within NATO, leading to the possible appointment of a European as Supreme Allied Commander in Europe.
- And no unilateral withdrawal of Western forces.

Within that framework we must now return to the search for ways to reduce the threat of nuclear war...and to preserve the peace.

We would not honor nor aid the efforts of the gallant Czechoslovaks by retreating now into an old hostility...by reviving the Cold War.

Rigidity on our part merely strengthens the hand of Soviet militants who argue that no accommodation is possible with the West. By seeking peaceful solutions...We can encourage those elements in the Soviet Union who believe that their best hope of survival--not of gain--lies in our joint concern to prevent a nuclear war.

These forces are nurtured by a climate of peace: They wither in the frosty winds of the Cold War.

We must not falter in the search for peace.

First, there is now a treaty before the Senate of the United States that would help prevent the spread of nuclear weapons around the world. This treaty must be ratified now, before it is too late.

We must also proceed to negotiate a halt to the nuclear arms race...in both offensive and defensive missiles. No addition of weapons--either by the Soviets or ourselves--can give either of us one iota more of security. Each new weapon only brings nearer the day when we will be unable to stop the plunge into nuclear war.

In 1954 a single, primitive atomic bomb destroyed an entire city. Today, the U.S. arsenal counts: 1,000 Minuteman missiles, carefully protected below ground; 41 Polaris Submarines carrying 656 missiles, hidden beneath the seas; 600 long-range bombers, equipped with 2,200 nuclear weapons. And we have several thousand nuclear weapons in Europe.

We have provided all this strength...many times over what we would ever need.  
...to have the widest margins of strength for our security.

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But this is not enough to guarantee a lasting peace. We know that a nuclear exchange by the United States and the Soviet Union would leave at least 240 million people dead...and put an end to all our hopes...our dreams...for years...perhaps forever.

We have become so used to this idea that we no longer think it abnormal. We forget that our whole world structure depends for its stability on the precarious architecture of what Winston Churchill called the balance of terror. This is no longer an adequate safeguard for peace.

We must find another way. We must have these talks to control the arms race...talks that will in no way jeopardize our security...but will strengthen it, by making us all more safe.

The latest methods of inspection--including reconnaissance satellites and a variety of sensors give us hope that we can devise methods for each country to verify the other's good faith...

If these talks have not started by next year, I will make every additional effort to convince the Soviet leaders of the urgent necessity for these talks. We know, and they must be made to know, that the pace of technology is already taking us into a new cycle in the arms race which it may soon be too late to stop.

There are economic costs, as well...50 to 100 billion dollars...of unneeded expenditures in the next several years that could be better used in eliminating the causes of wars...and to meet our major needs at home.

The success of these talks would enable us to do more--to seek world-wide reductions in arms expenditures...the commitment of these funds to improve the quality of man's life.

I call upon Mr. Nixon to join with me in urging that these talks begin now... that the treaty for non-proliferation be ratified now. These issues concern us all--I will not make them a partisan matter, and Mr. Nixon should stop trying to do so.

In this election, the American people must assure the world that we are determined to pursue the cause of peace. To do this, we must elect leaders who will turn aside from the sterile platitudes of confrontation...and commit themselves to that search for peace.

I have now made specific proposals--with the advice of America's outstanding experts: on peace in Southeast Asia...on the problems of Europe's future...on controlling the arms race. And I make new proposals, today.

You, the representatives of a free press...have a special concern with the people's right to know. You know where I stand on these issues.

But where does Mr. Nixon stand? You...and all Americans...have a right to know.

Second, if we are to remove the specter of nuclear war from the world...we must do more.

For months, the Soviets have said they would take steps to build a lasting peace in Vietnam...to influence Hanoi...as soon as the United States stopped the bombing of North Vietnam.

I have now said that I would take that risk...for peace.

Our good faith must be matched by theirs.

The Soviet Union has major responsibility for seeing that Hanoi does not show bad faith...that they negotiate frankly...forthrightly...to bring an end to the war in Vietnam.

As soon as the bombing stops, I will call upon the Soviets to show...that they can also act for peace.

Let them call upon Hanoi to start negotiating seriously.

Third, the Nuclear Age calls for new forms of diplomacy, less of ritual...more conducive to frank, informal contacts.

As President, I will ask the Soviet leaders to join with us in regular scheduled annual working meetings at the highest level. Why? Because we share with the Soviet Union a special and parallel responsibility conferred on us by our awesome power...a power that must be used for peace. I propose to make these informal meetings into forums for a new diplomacy...free of the publicity...free of the high expectations...that surround irregular summit meetings.

I pledge to you...and to our allies in Western Europe...these regular talks with the Russians will only occur after the close allied consultations that I proposed last week.

We are partners in peace with our NATO allies...and we must go forward together to build that peace.

In the search for lasting peace, these meetings must not become mere vehicles for propaganda, nor springboards for illusion. If there are to be regular summits, they must entail common work...for peace.

Fourth, the policy of the West--collectively and individually--towards the Communist states must be flexible...seizing opportunities for peaceful engagement whenever the Communist states show themselves responsive.

We are not interested in stirring up futile unrest...we are for peace...

economic development.



In my statement released last Sunday, I called for new approaches towards the problem of European security...towards ending peacefully the partition of Europe. My long-range vision is that of a larger Europe:

- A Europe restored to its proper role in world affairs;
- no longer divided;
- no longer the focus of United States-Soviet rivalry;
- But the source of growing international cooperation.

We should also not embitter American-Chinese relations by taking sides in the Sino-Soviet dispute. We can increase the chances of accommodation with each country by maintaining a flexible and open attitude toward both.

An isolated China is a dangerous and militant China. We must keep probing patiently to see if there is a change of heart and will on the part of Peking's leaders. Widening the contacts between our two peoples is to everyone's interest.

But here ... as in Europe ... as in our relations with the Soviets ... we must be vigilant ... as well as open-minded.

Fifth, we must reduce the risk of confrontation between ourselves and the Russians in the Middle East. This is the area of the world now emerging as the most explosive danger spot ... a major threat to peace. Let me speak about the critical problems that we face there.

The stability of the Middle East is now at stake ... for several reasons:

- Both the Soviets and ourselves have major interests in this historic and vital area.
- The steady growth of the Soviet Fleet in the Mediterranean could of itself lead to a future confrontation of Naval power;
- The hostility of the Arab states towards Israel, and the continuing Arms race, pose the danger of renewed warfare;
- The Soviet Union has contributed to this danger by its rapid delivery of sophisticated arms to the area;
- And there is the clear possibility that one or more middle Eastern countries will acquire their own nuclear weapons.

For all these reasons, we face grave decisions ... and we must make them soon.

We can let events drift and tensions increase. But if we do, the Middle East will quickly become the most likely area of the world to spark a nuclear confrontation.

This is the course that I fear the Soviet Union has been following. It is playing a risky game ... risky for itself ... for ourselves ... for all mankind.

But we can choose the path of patient work for peace.

We can meet the challenge of economic development ... to help the Middle Eastern nations develop jointly their great wealth of resources ... for the use of all mankind.

We can work to make the Mediterranean -- not a sea of conflict -- but a sea of friendship.

We can act ... to keep nuclear weapons from this area by pursuing our commitment to non-proliferation; we can try to prevent the recurrence of local wars through the United Nations and other means; and we can seek to resolve the causes of these wars.

This is our best ... and only ... choice.

I say, let us make that choice.

The search for peace depends on our convincing the Soviets to turn their efforts in the Middle East to peaceful development ... economic development ... Our interests in the stability of the region are parallel. Its volatility ... and the danger that we could be brought into nuclear confrontation by a Middle East war ... demand that we work together to preserve the peace.

Over time we can bring permanent peace to the area only if we can convince the Soviets to join our commitment to ending hostility ... tensions ... fears ... that make the Middle East a tinder box of war.

But let me be clear: We continue our firm commitment to the security of the State of Israel. We will take no steps in the Middle East that do not conform to this basic interest.

We must look again at the flow of arms to Middle Eastern countries. We cannot minimize ... or ignore the flow of Soviet Arms into the region -- thereby upsetting an already delicate balance.

To re-establish that balance ... to preserve the security of the region ... I believe that we must provide Israel with phantom aircraft. And we will continue to support Israel with the weapons it needs if there is a further threat to its existence. Israel will not be insecure through any failure on our part.

But there is a painful lesson to be learned -- arms beget arms.

And in the future ... we cannot hope for peace ... permanent peace ... lasting peace ... unless there are comprehensive agreements among the major suppliers of arms to the area -- and by the recipient countries, themselves. This arms race must not go unchecked -- for the sake of the people in the region ... for the sake of all of us.

The Soviets say they want an agreement. Let them show their good faith ... let them join with us to end this arms race ... let us conclude an agreement that provides for the security of all these Middle East countries. And let us do it now.

But the local countries must act, as well. The absence of outside arms supplies will not end the continuing political struggles in the Middle East. If there is to be peace ... the nations there must work for peace.

The resolution of conflict ... steps on the road to a final peace ... depend on the will of the Arabs and Israelis, themselves, but we Americans ... and the Soviets ... can help. We can support and encourage forces of moderation in the Arab world.

And we can stand behind the efforts of the United Nations in its patient work -- its unflagging commitment to the end of conflict ... strife ... and war.

I believe that there are six basic steps that must be taken:

1. The existence of the State of Israel must be accepted by all of its neighbors;
2. The boundaries of all these countries must be transformed into agreed and secure frontiers;
3. The State of Israel must have free navigational rights in all international waters, including the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba;
4. The arms race must be ended;
5. The international community must assist in solving the human tragedy posed by the Arab refugees;
6. The resources of the Middle East must be used for human and economic development rather than war and destruction.

These are six firm steps toward peace. But let me be clear about the road ahead. There can be no easy solution to the conflict in the Middle East ... that will end the old enmities that have embittered generations ... and three times brought the Middle East to war. We must be patient ... we must be just ... we must work for peace.

As President, I shall make available my good offices -- through the United Nations and directly ... to the search for peace and understanding in the Middle East.

I shall be a peace President. And I shall dedicate myself to finding peace in the Middle East just as I pledged to do in Vietnam.



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And I shall call upon the Soviet Union to join me in these efforts.

We must take the first steps toward peace ... and we must take them now.

As Pope Paul said, "Development is the new name for peace."

I know this may sound bold; but peace in this region will not be built by the timid.

Our effort must be a combined effort in which we and the Soviet Union join with other major powers ... and with the countries in the region in the tasks of economic development. This cooperation should begin with a program for the desalinization of water ... and go on to other tasks.

I do not expect a sudden success ... an overnight end to conflict, but I do expect ... that quiet counsel ... patient effort ... can lead these countries to the distant day of peace.

This is my new strategy for peace ... in Southeast Asia ... in Europe ... in the Middle East ... and to halt the arms race.

We may sometimes fail ... but we must not fail to try.

President Kennedy once said: "Our problems are man made. Therefore, they can be solved by man." And we can do it.

I look forward to a time ... when the quarrels that now divide the world in continual strife ... sometimes in war ... give way to the achievement of common purpose ... the rational use of resources ... talents ... ideas ... to develop economies ... end poverty and famine ... provide education. "The desert shall rejoice -- and blossom as the rose."

This is our vision of the future ... our goal ... and we must dare to try.  
I do.

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