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YOUNG AMERICA IN THE "NOW" WORLD

REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

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187, 188
Teacher
Reason Together

"James are
wild"
Northumbria
in Henry II

THE "NOW GENERATION" HAS ITS WORK CUT OUT
FOR IT. YOU YOUNG PEOPLE HERE TODAY WERE BORN INTO
A WHIRLWIND. AS YOUNGSTERS YOU WERE SUBJECTED TO
MORE DIVERSE AND RAPID PHYSICAL AND PSYCHIC
STIMULATION BETWEEN BIRTH AND FIVE THAN YOUR
PARENTS RECEIVED IN THEIR FIRST TWENTY YEARS.

YOU MUST ASSIMILATE A WORLD OF FACTS FROM
A WORLD THAT ITSELF IS SUFFERING FROM "FUTURE SHOCK."

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↳ THE ONLY MODERN DAY LEONARDO, (SANS CREATIVITY,)

IS THE MOST UP-TO-DATE AND INFORMED COMPUTER.

I WOULDN'T BE SURPRISED IF SOME OF THESE

ELECTRONIC RENAISSANCE ROBOTS ACTUALLY SPORT

THE NAME.

↳ YOU MAY NOT HAVE READILY AVAILABLE THE TIME FOR
REFLECTION, ↳ YOU MAY NOT HAVE ACCESSIBLE THE KIND
 OF ATMOSPHERE CONDUCTIVE TO "SWEET SILENT THOUGHT"
 AND THE "REMEMBRANCE OF THINGS PAST." (~~SHAKESPEARE-~~
~~SONNET XXX~~).

↳ BUT YOU MUST FIND THE TIME AND THE PLACE FOR
 =
 ABSORBING NOT ONLY THE DATA OF YOUR GENERATION BUT
 FOR UNDERSTANDING ^{the} RELATIONSHIPS; FEELING THE PULSE
 OF LOVE AND LIFE AND ITS MEANING TO YOU, AND FOR
 LEARNING THE LESSONS OF THE PAST.

*yes, you must find the time for knowledge -
 and the capacity for commitment,*

but, remembering that knowledge without
commitment is wasteful; but commitment
without knowledge is dangerous

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YOU ALL KNOW THE SANTAYANA QUOTE ABOUT
REPEATING THE MISTAKES OF THE PAST, THE LINES
HAVE BECOME ALMOST A CLICHE TODAY. BUT THE TRUTH
OF WHAT THE PHILOSOPHER ^{SAID} IS NO LESS PATENT
BECAUSE WE HAVE HEARD THE PHRASE TO THE POINT
OF ENNUI.

THE LESSON I WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS TODAY IS
GLOBAL. IT IS THE LESSON THE "NOW GENERATION" MUST
LEARN SWIFTLY AND FULLY FROM THE "THEN GENERATION."
IT IS THE LESSON OF WAR ^{and/or} ~~OR~~ PEACE.

THE WAR IN VIETNAM HAS ALREADY MARKED ITS
QUARTER-CENTURY AND AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT NOW
COMPRISES A FULL DECADE.

IT HAS COST US MORE THAN 45,000 AMERICAN LIVES,
~~and almost 300,000 civilians~~
 MORE THAN \$115 BILLION OF AMERICAN WEALTH, AND
 DIVISION AND DISCORD ~~AT HOME~~ ^{at home,} ~~THAN WE CAN BEAR~~
~~NO LONGER.~~

WE ENTERED THE WAR A CONFIDENT NATION CONCERNED
 WITH OUR ABILITY TO FOSTER PEACE AND SECURITY IN
 MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD; WE ARE LEAVING IT A
 NATION UNCERTAIN OF OURSELVES, UNCERTAIN OF THE
 FUTURE, UNCERTAIN OF OUR PLACE IN THE WORLD. ^{THIS}
 "COMING OUT OF WAR IS A DIFFICULT TIME: ALEXIS
 DE TOCQUEVILLE CALLED IT "THE MOST IMPORTANT
TIME IN THE LIFE OF A COUNTRY."

WHAT HAVE WE LEARNED? WHAT LESSONS HAVE WE
^{Treasure}
 BOUGHT IN BLOOD IN SOUTHEAST ASIA? WHAT WILL WE
 THINK AND DO NOW THAT DIFFERS FROM OUR POSTURE

OF A DECADE AGO?

THESE ARE NOT SIMPLE QUESTIONS, AND THEY DO NOT HAVE SIMPLE ANSWERS. BUT WE DO KNOW THAT THE VIETNAM WAR HAS CAUSED SOMETHING TO HAPPEN IN

AMERICA. IT HAS CHANGED OUR COUNTRY AND OUR PEOPLE. IT HAS COMPELLED US TO RE-EXAMINE OUR ROLE IN THE WORLD; TO SEE IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE WHAT WE HAVE DONE; AND TO ASK WHAT *are our*

RESPONSIBILITIES FOR PEACE AND SECURITY ~~ARE~~ TODAY *in the future*.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO, WE WERE NEARING THE END OF A BITTER AND COSTLY WORLD WAR. WE LOOKED FORWARD HOPEFULLY TO A NEW WORLD AT PEACE.

WE HAD A DREAM OF ALLIED AMITY AND COOPERATION, AND OF STRONG MORAL LIMITS ON THE USE OF POWER -- LIMITS TO BE OBSERVED BY ALL NATIONS.

*our
Goals
Priority!*

(X)

↳ THAT DREAM SOON FADED. ↳ WE FOUND THAT ONLY AMERICA HAD THE MEANS AND THE WILL TO SAVE MUCH OF THE WORLD EITHER FROM A NEW TYRANNY IMPOSED BY MILITARY FORCE, OR FROM THE RAVAGES OF ECONOMIC COLLAPSE AND A WIDESPREAD POVERTY OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT.

↳ WE RESOLVED NOT TO REPEAT OUR MISTAKE OF THE 1920S. ↳ WE ACCEPTED THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY. ↳ WE REFUSED TO TURN OUR BACKS ON EUROPE AND OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD THAT DESPERATELY NEEDED OUR AID. ↳ WE WERE DETERMINED TO HOLD OFF THE RETURN OF ISOLATION, AND WE WORKED DILIGENTLY TO BUILD STRUCTURES OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY THAT WOULD BRING ORDER OUT OF NEAR CHAOS.

THIS MASSIVE EFFORT ~~— ONE WHICH WE HAD NO CHOICE~~
~~BUT TO INITIATE~~ --- TOOK US SUDDENLY INTO A NEW AND
OFTEN CONFUSING ERA IN OUR HISTORY, WE ABANDONED
ALMOST OVERNIGHT THE MOST BASIC TENET OF OUR
FOREIGN POLICY: TO BEWARE OF ENTANGLING ALLIANCES,
OUR NEW INVOLVEMENT — INCLUDING OUR REPUDIATION
OF ISOLATIONISM — WAS UNDERSCORED BY OUR LEADERSHIP
IN CREATING THE UNITED NATIONS, IN FORGING THE
NATO ALLIANCE, AND IN VAST INVESTMENTS IN FOREIGN AID,
TODAY OUR NETWORK OF COMMITMENTS STRETCHES
AROUND THE WORLD, AND INVOLVES ALLIANCES WITH 43
DIFFERENT NATIONS. IN LESS THAN THREE DECADES -- AN
"INSTANT OF TIME" IN MAN'S HISTORY — WE GREW FROM
PROVINCIAL STATE TO SUPER-POWER, WITH THE GREATEST
PHYSICAL AND ECONOMIC POWER THE WORLD HAS EVER KNOWN.

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/ THERE WAS NO PRECEDENT FOR THIS DEVELOPMENT. / NO
OTHER NATION HAS BEEN REQUIRED TO DO -- AND LEARN --
SO MUCH IN SO LITTLE TIME. / AND I BELIEVE THAT WE
MET THE DEMANDS PLACED UPON US WITH A SURPRISING
DEGREE OF SOPHISTICATION AND SUCCESS. / WE USED OUR
POWER AND GENEROUSLY SHARED OUR RESOURCES TO BRING
POLITICAL STABILITY AND ECONOMIC RECOVERY TO NATIONS
RAVAGED BY WORLD WAR II. / WE PROVIDED A SHIELD OF
PROTECTION BEHIND WHICH OTHER PEOPLES AND NATIONS
COULD ONCE AGAIN STAND STRONG AND RENEWED. / WE MET
THE FIERCE FORCE OF AGGRESSION IN KOREA. / WE
SOUGHT TO BRING STABILITY TO THE MIDDLE EAST. WE
EXTENDED OUR POWER AND RESOURCES BIT BY BIT INTO
SOUTHEAST ASIA UNTIL WE WERE ENGULFED IN A STRANGE
AND CRUEL WAR THAT DEFIED ALL NORMS OF CONVENTIONAL
WARFARE.

L THAT WAR IN VIETNAM HAS BROUGHT WITH IT SUCH
DISILLUSIONMENT AND DISCORD THAT MANY AMERICANS
OF EVERY POLITICAL PERSUASION NOW QUESTION ANEW
ALL UNITED STATES OVERSEAS INVOLVEMENTS. L BUT WE
MUST NOT LET OUR EXPERIENCE IN VIETNAM OBSCURE THE
FACT THAT FOR TWENTY-FIVE YEARS WE HELPED PRESERVE
THE WORLD FROM A MAJOR WAR AND, IN PARTICULAR,
FROM A NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST.

L WHAT COSTLY LESSONS HAVE WE LEARNED FROM THE
SORROW OF VIETNAM? WE HAVE LEARNED ABOVE ALL THAT
WE MUST NOW CAREFULLY ASSESS ALL OF OUR NATIONAL
INTERESTS. L WE LEARNED THAT WE MUST NOT BECOME
DEEPLY INVOLVED WHERE WE HAVE LITTLE AT STAKE, OR
WHERE OUR OWN SECURITY CAN BE PROTECTED BY OTHER
MEANS THAN ARMED INTERVENTION.

THIS IS ONE LESSON OF VIETNAM -- THE SIGNAL
LESSON -- BUT IT IS MORE. IT ALSO REFLECTS
A NEW SENSE IN AMERICA THAT WE MUST TURN OUR
MINDS AND TALENTS, AND DIRECT OUR RESOURCES, TO
PRESSING NEEDS AT HOME.

THE TRADITIONAL LINE DIVIDING DOMESTIC FROM
FOREIGN AFFAIRS HAS BECOME AS INDISTINCT AS A
LINE DRAWN THROUGH WATER. THIS MEANS THAT OUR
PLACE IN THE WORLD, AND THE NATURE OF OUR OWN
SOCIETY, HAVE BECOME INDIVISIBLE. OUR STRUCTURE
OF COMMON DEFENSE AND SECURITY COULD PROVE TO BE
ONLY A HARD OUTER SHELL THAT COULD COLLAPSE ON
AN EMPTY CENTER UNLESS WE BRING NEW STRENGTH TO
AREAS OF OUR INTERNAL LIFE THAT ARE THREATENED

ON EVERY SIDE — as we see our Environment
Polluted and damaged; our cities rotting; our
system of Education and Healthcare grossly
inadequate for our people to even begin better
decision

∟ THERE ARE GROWING FEARS THAT THIS NEW

QUESTIONING OF OUR INVOLVEMENT IN THE WORLD

WILL LEAD US TO ANOTHER PERIOD OF ISOLATION; *there is*

the growing feeling that we
1 WILL ABANDON OUR ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL

INVOLVEMENT AND RETURN TO ISOLATION AND

FORTRESS AMERICA. ∟ OUR ALLIES IN EUROPE ARE

ESPECIALLY CONCERNED; AND THEIR FEARS ARE

FOSTERED BY MISGUIDED EFFORTS IN THE UNITED

STATES TO REGARD ALL OF OUR SEPARATE COMMITMENTS

IN THE WORLD AS INDIVISIBLE -- SEEING IN OUR

DISENGAGEMENT FROM VIETNAM THE THREAT THAT WE

WILL ABANDON EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST AS WELL.

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NOTHING COULD BE MORE ABSURD, TODAY IT IS

IMPOSSIBLE FOR US TO ISOLATE OURSELVES PHYSICALLY, *Political*
or economically FROM THE REST OF THE WORLD. THE FACTS OF COMMUNICATIONS,

TRANSPORT, TRADE, AND THE TRAVELS OF OUR PEOPLE

HAVE RULED THAT OUT, NOT JUST FOR NOW BUT FOR ALL TIME,

YET THERE IS A DANGER OF A NEW MORAL ISOLATION,
BROUGHT ABOUT IN PART BY OUR FAILURE TO SEE THAT

RECOVERY AND PROSPERITY AS FOUND IN EUROPE, DOES
NOT MEAN THAT THE JOB IS DONE.

Reasons WE CAN -- AND WE MUST -- READJUST THE SCALE AND
NATURE OF OUR INVOLVEMENTS, AND MANAGE THESE CHANGES

INTELLIGENTLY. BUT WE MUST BE CAREFUL NOT TO ACT

IN HASTE, NOT TO EXPLORE A SHORT-SIGHTED AND

ULTIMATELY FUTILE MORAL DISENGAGEMENT FROM THE WORLD.

* * * *

IN RECENT YEARS, WE HAVE SEEN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CENTRAL PARADOX: THAT WHILE WE AND THE SOVIET UNION HAVE BECOME MORE POWERFUL IN STRICTLY MILITARY TERMS, OUR ABILITY TO USE THIS POWER HAS BECOME MORE LIMITED. WE MUST NOT UNDERESTIMATE THE LATENT POWER AND EFFECTS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

BUT NOW, AT A TIME OF MUTUAL DETERRENCE, THEIR MYSTIQUE IS DWINDLING AND OTHER EXPRESSIONS OF POWER ARE EMERGING IN COMPETITION WITH THEM.

WE ARE LIVING IN A NEW AGE OF PLURALISM:

-- THE BONDS OF ALLIANCES ARE WEAKENING, BOTH IN THE WEST AND IN THE COMMUNIST WORLD;

-- SINO-SOVIET RIVALRY HAS BECOME A THREAT TO PEACE, AND FIRM EVIDENCE THAT THE COMMUNIST MONOLITH IS NO MORE.

-- THE GAME OF WORLD POLITICS NOW HAS A HOST OF NEW PLAYERS IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD; AND

-- INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES ARE MAKING NEW DIPLOMATIC APPROACHES AND ARRANGEMENTS WITH LITTLE REFERENCE TO THE SUPER-POWERS THAT ONCE WERE VIRTUALLY THE ~~SOLE~~ CUSTODIANS OF SECURITY.

↳ THE PLAIN FACT IS THAT, IN THE WORLD OF TODAY, THERE IS A MUCH GREATER PLAY OF OTHER POWER FORCES -- ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL. ↳ AND THERE IS THE EMERGENCE OF NEW PROBLEMS, SUCH AS THE GROWING DIVISION BETWEEN RICH NATIONS AND POOR, THAT HAVE LITTLE RELATION TO MILITARY MIGHT.

↳ EFFECTIVE ACTION IN THE WORLD NOW OFTEN MEANS THE APPLICATION OF WEALTH, TALENT, AND IDEALS -- NOT JUST BY THE SUPER-POWERS, BUT BY MANY NATIONS.

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IN THESE CHANGED CIRCUMSTANCES, HOW CAN WE DEVELOP A NEW ROLE FOR THE UNITED STATES IN THE 1970'S? WHAT CAN OUR COUNTRY DO IN THE WORLD THAT WOULD HELP TO BUILD PEACE, STABILITY AND ORDERED CHANGE? TO A GREAT EXTENT, THE ANSWER TO THESE QUESTIONS WILL DEPEND ON OUR ABILITY TO DEVELOP NEW METHODS AND APPROACHES THAT ARE ROOTED LESS IN OUR MILITARY POWER AND MORE IN WHAT WE HAVE TO OFFER OTHER NATIONS IN IDEAS, RESOURCES, AND EXPERIENCE.

BUT FIRST AND FOREMOST, WE MUST HELP PRESERVE LIFE ITSELF FROM THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR. THIS IS NO SIMPLE OR PREORDAINED PROCESS; WE CANNOT TAKE FOR GRANTED OUR SURVIVAL IN THE NUCLEAR AGE.

IN THE LAST FEW YEARS, WE MANAGED TO ADD
A SMALL MEASURE OF STABILITY TO THE MAD BALANCE
OF NUCLEAR ARMAMENTS; A MUTUAL DETERRENCE
THAT HAS MADE EACH OF US AS MUCH A CUSTODIAN OF
THE OTHER'S BASIC SECURITY AS WE ARE OF OUR OWN.

THIS MUTUAL DETERRENCE IS BASED ON HEALTHY DISTRUST,
BUT IT IS SECURED BY THE EVIDENCE OF RECONNAISSANCE
SATELLITES AND OTHER MEANS OF UNILATERAL
INSPECTION.

THIS WAS A NOVEL DEVELOPMENT -- UNPRECEDENTED --
BUT IT WAS AND IS NECESSARY FOR EITHER RUSSIA OR
THE UNITED STATES -- INDEED, FOR ANYONE IN THE
WORLD -- TO SURVIVE THE NUCLEAR AGE.

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✓ TODAY, WE ARE RAPIDLY ENTERING A PERIOD OF
NEW SUPER-WEAPONS IN WHICH WE WILL NO LONGER BE
SURE OF DETECTING THE RUSSIANS AND -- AS STRANGE
AS IT MAY SEEM TO US -- THEY WILL HAVE SIMILAR
DOUBTS ABOUT THEIR ABILITY TO DETER US.

| SALT } (*a few observations*)

✓ NEGOTIATIONS IN HELSINKI AND VIENNA NOW
SEEM TO HAVE COME TO AN IMPASSE, I HOPE THIS IS
NOT THE CASE AND THAT THERE WILL BE AGREEMENTS
FORTHCOMING THAT WILL LIMIT BOTH STRATEGIC AND
DEFENSIVE NUCLEAR DELIVERY SYSTEMS.

✓ SOVIET REDUCTIONS IN THE RATE OF SS-9
DEPLOYMENT AND THE OBSOLETE NATURE OF THE MOSCOW
ABM OR GALOSH SYSTEM, WOULD SEEM TO BE SIGNS OF
A DESIRE ON THE PART OF MOSCOW TO AT LEAST
NEGOTIATE IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF DEESCALATION.

L CONGRESSIONAL LIMITATION OF THE ABM
AND DECLARATIONS ON LIMITING THE INVOLVEMENT OF
U. S. TROOPS IN CONFLICT ABROAD HAVE ALSO GIVEN
THE NOD FROM THE UNITED STATES FOR AGREEMENTS
OF SUBSTANCE AND SCOPE.

L THE DETAILS OF CURRENT SOVIET AND U. S.
PROPOSALS CANNOT BE DISCUSSED
WITH ANY ACCURACY, AND I DO NOT PROPOSE TO TALK
ABOUT HYPOTHETICALS HERE TODAY. L HOWEVER, NOW
THAT MIRV HAS BEGUN TO BE DEPLOYED ON BOTH
POSEIDON AND MINUTEMAN II, ^{US-USSR} ~~THE~~ NEGOTIATORS MUST
~~make every effort~~ MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO REACH AGREEMENTS THAT ARE
RECIPROCAL.

I DO NOT THINK THAT WE HAVE THE LUXURY OF TIME OR OPPORTUNITY TO REJECT A LIMITED BAN OR CURTAILMENT OF ANY SYSTEM, AND INSIST ON A COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT. THIS WOULD BE THE IDEAL; HOWEVER, WE MUST NOT REJECT MAKING SOME PROGRESS IF AGREEMENT CANNOT BE REACHED ON ALL SYSTEMS.

WE HAVE VALUABLE PRECEDENTS TO SUPPORT PRESIDENTIAL OVERTURES OF A CONCILIATORY NATURE.

IN 1958, PRESIDENT EISENHOWER OFFERED TO HALT AMERICAN TESTING OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS FOR A PERIOD OF ONE YEAR FROM THE BEGINNING OF NEGOTIATIONS ON A FORMAL TREATY, IF THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE SOVIET UNION WOULD FOLLOW SUIT. THIS MUTUAL MORATORIUM WAS PRESERVED FOR NEARLY THREE YEARS.

IN 1963, PRESIDENT KENNEDY AGAIN ORDERED A HALT TO TESTING OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THE ATMOSPHERE, AND PROPOSED TO MAINTAIN THE BAN SO LONG AS THE RUSSIANS DID LIKEWISE. THEY RESPONDED, AND THE RESULT WAS THE HISTORIC TEST-BAN TREATY -- A PROPOSAL I HAD LONG URGED.

TODAY, I CALL UPON PRESIDENT NIXON TO HALT DEPLOYMENT OF ABM AND DELAY FURTHER DEPLOYMENT OF MIRV. LIKE PRESIDENT KENNEDY, HE HOLDS IN HIS HANDS THE KEYS TO ARMS CONTROL -- OR TO AN UNCERTAIN WORLD OF MUTUAL TERROR.

WE WOULD RUN NO SERIOUS RISKS; AND WE COULD ALWAYS CONTINUE OUR PROGRAMS IF THE RUSSIANS FAILED TO RESPOND.

BUT EVEN IF WE DO SUCCEED -- EVEN IF WE DO
STOP THE DANGEROUS AND DESTABILIZING WEAPONS
NOW BEING PREPARED BY BOTH SIDES, THERE WILL BE
OTHER TERRIFYING WEAPONS IN THE FUTURE.

∠ THIS PROSPECT INCREASES THE IMPORTANCE OF
THE SALT TALKS. ∠ WE MUST WORK PATIENTLY
WITH THE SOVIET UNION TO ACHIEVE ONE COMMON GOAL:
CONTINUED SURVIVAL IN A WORLD WHERE NUCLEAR weapons
TECHNOLOGY ITSELF IS OUR GREATEST ENEMY.

FROM NOW ON, WE MUST BOTH BASE MUCH OF
OUR SECURITY ON GREATER POLITICAL
UNDERSTANDING, OR WE WILL HAVE NO SECURITY
AT ALL. !

✓ I DO NOT ARGUE THAT WE CAN TRUST THE
RUSSIANS IN ALL OF OUR RELATIONS WITH THEM.

✓ WE CANNOT: THEY ARE STILL NOT PREPARED TO
CONSIDER AGREEMENTS WITH US OR WITH OUR ALLIES
IN MANY AREAS OF THE WORLD IN WHICH COMPETITION
AND CONFLICTS OF INTEREST COULD STILL HAVE
(m.e.)
DEADLY CONSEQUENCES, BUT UNLESS WE TRANSFORM
SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS IN THE CRITICAL AREA
OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, WE MAY NOT LIVE TO DEBATE
OTHER QUESTIONS OF SERIOUS BUT LESSER IMPORTANCE.
✓ THIS WILL REQUIRE A NEW DIPLOMACY, MANAGED
WITH SKILL AND PATIENCE, AND EXTENDING FAR BEYOND
THE SALT TALKS. ✓ WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT THERE IS NO
EASY EXIT FROM THE MANY DILEMMAS FACING US; WE
MUST TAKE FULL ACCOUNT OF THE INTERESTS OF OUR
ALLIES, IN EUROPE AND ELSEWHERE; AND WE MUST SEEK
WAYS TO TURN ALL ASPECTS OF OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH 22

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THE SOVIET UNION FROM THE STERILE BYWAYS OF
MILITARY CONFRONTATION INTO THE MORE HOPEFUL
PATHS OF POLITICAL ACCOMMODATION.

↳ WE COULD USEFULLY BEGIN REGULAR ANNUAL WORKING
MEETINGS AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL BETWEEN AMERICAN
AND RUSSIAN LEADERS, AND WE SHOULD EXPAND TRADE
RELATIONS, CULTURAL CONTACTS, AND THE SEARCH

FOR PEACEFUL ENGAGEMENT *in many areas of Science,
Commerce, + Technology. This must be a part
of the new Diplomacy.*
* * * *

yes ↳ OUR RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION ARE OF
CENTRAL IMPORTANCE. ↳ BUT OTHER DEVELOPMENTS IN
THE 1970'S DEMAND OUR ATTENTION; OTHER FACTORS
WILL INFLUENCE WHAT THE UNITED STATES CAN USEFULLY
DO IN THE WORLD.

↳ MOST IMPORTANT AMONG THESE IS THE EMERGENCE
OF CHINA AS A MAJOR POWER IN ASIA. ↳ TODAY, CHINESE
POWER IS STILL MORE PSYCHOLOGICAL THAN FACTUAL,
ALTHOUGH IT IS GROWING. ↳ IT WOULD BE A FATAL
ERROR IF WE LET IGNORANCE AND UNREASONING FEAR IN
THE FACE OF FUTURE CHINESE MILITARY POWER CLOSE THE
DOOR TO POLITICAL UNDERSTANDINGS WITH PEKING.
↳ WE MUST DO ALL WE CAN TO END THE ISOLATION
OF CHINA, HELPING TO BRING HER INTO THE COMMUNITY
OF NATIONS, FREE FROM PARANOIA AND COMMITTED
TO RESPECTING THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF HER
NEIGHBORS. ↳ AN ISOLATED CHINA IS A DANGER TO ALL
THE WORLD; A CHINA THAT IS INVOLVED WITH THE
OUTSIDE WORLD WILL STILL POSE PROBLEMS, AND PERHAPS
EVEN THREATS OF A SERIOUS NATURE, BUT AT LEAST THERE
WILL BE SOME HOPE THAT ACCOMMODATION WILL REPLACE
ANTAGONISM.

~~THE~~ ^{was + is} RESUMPTION OF AMERICAN-CHINESE DISCUSSIONS
IN WARSAW ~~IS~~ A HOPEFUL DEVELOPMENT.

THEY ARE MODEST BEGINNINGS; AND THEY WILL NOT
BE ENOUGH. WE MUST ALSO REALIZE THAT THE LEGACY
OF EMBITTERED CHINESE-AMERICAN RELATIONS WILL NOT

BE OVERCOME IN A YEAR, OR PERHAPS EVEN IN A DECADE.

^{But,} WE CAN DO MUCH TO COME TO TERMS WITH CHINA, AND COME
TO TERMS WITH OURSELVES REGARDING CHINA. YET IT MAY

WELL TAKE YEARS BEFORE THESE EFFORTS PRODUCE A

VISIBLE CHANGE IN OUR RELATIONS, BEFORE CHINA WILL

RESPOND TO OUR EFFORTS. OUR INITIATIVES -- ALWAYS

TAKEN IN FULL CONSULTATION WITH OUR ALLIES -- CAN

^{should} LEAD TO THE EVENTUAL DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION OF

CHINA AND HER ADMISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS. THIS

^{too must be} ~~IS ALSO~~ A PART OF THE NEW DIPLOMACY.

000923

But as we see the rising new Asia
we must ²⁴ remind ourselves that

↳ THE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR SECURITY AND
DEVELOPMENT IN ASIA RESTS WITH THE ASIAN NATIONS
THEMSELVES.

↳ THEY MUST TAKE THE LEAD, IT IS THEY WHO
BEST UNDERSTAND THEMSELVES -- THEIR PAST AND
THEIR HOPES FOR THE FUTURE. ↳ WE SHOULD BE
PREPARED TO COOPERATE -- TO BE A HELPFUL
PARTNER, NOT A DOMINATING FORCE. ↳ WE DO HAVE
AN INTEREST IN ASIA -- BUT WE ARE NOT AN
ASIAN POWER. WE ARE A PACIFIC POWER.

4 CHIEF AMONG THESE ASIAN NATIONS IS JAPAN,
WITH WHOM WE HAVE STRONG TIES, THESE TIES MUST
BE CONTINUED AND EXPANDED AS THE BEST HOPE OF
PROMOTING DEVELOPMENT AND STABILITY IN ASIA WITHOUT
HOLDING THE REIN OURSELVES.

4 JAPAN IS UNIQUELY SITUATED. SHE IS THE MOST
POWERFUL ASIAN COUNTRY -- NOT IN MILITARY MIGHT OR
IN NUCLEAR WEAPONS, BUT IN ECONOMIC STRENGTH; *She has*
a THOROUGH KNOWLEDGE OF THE ^{asian} CONTINENT AND ITS DIVERSE
CULTURES, WIDESPREAD TRADING PARTNERSHIPS, AND
AN INVENTIVE APPROACH TO NEW PROBLEMS.

THESE QUALITIES ENHANCE JAPAN'S ABILITY TO PLAY
A LEADING ROLE IN HELPING ASIA TO ENTER ^{new} ~~a~~ ERA OF
POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

~~I BELIEVE~~ WHATEVER ROLE WE PLAY IN SOUTHEAST
ASIA SHOULD CAREFULLY FOLLOW THREE GUIDELINES:
SELF-HELP; REGIONAL AND MULTILATERAL ASSISTANCE;
AND SELECTIVE AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT:

-- FIRST, LOCAL COUNTRIES MUST MANIFEST A
WILLINGNESS TO HELP THEMSELVES; BOTH TO PROVIDE
SECURITY AND TO UNDERTAKE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL
DEVELOPMENT; AND THEY MUST HAVE THE COURAGE TO
ORGANIZE THEIR OWN AFFAIRS IN WAYS THAT WILL PROVIDE
THEM WITH A STABLE BASIS FOR GOVERNING:

-- SECOND, PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR HELPING INDIVIDUAL NATIONS PROVIDE FOR THEIR SECURITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT SHOULD REST WITH THE NATIONS IN THE AREA AND WITH MULTILATERAL AND REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND;

-- THIRD, AMERICAN HELP SHOULD BE SELECTIVE AND CAREFULLY MEASURED. (OUR EFFORTS MUST BE JUSTIFIED BY OUR OWN INTERESTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES; AND THEY SHOULD BE CONCENTRATED ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT THROUGH MULTILATERAL MEANS. (WE ARE NO LONGER THE ONLY SOURCE OF HELP AGAINST THREATS TO THE SECURITY OF SOUTHEAST ASIA, OR AGAINST POVERTY. (HOPEFUL DEVELOPMENTS THERE WILL BE LASTING ONLY IF THEY SPRING FROM EFFORTS BY LOCAL COUNTRIES, AND IF THEY COMMAND BROAD POPULAR SUPPORT.

~~(change with order, + order with change)~~

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OUR EXPERIENCE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA POINTS TO
A CENTRAL DILEMMA IN FOREIGN POLICY: THE
DIFFICULTY OF RECONCILING STABILITY WITH CHANGE.

TODAY, WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE STABILITY OF SOVIET-
AMERICAN RELATIONS IS NECESSARY FOR THE SURVIVAL
OF THE WORLD. BUT WE ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT UNLESS
THERE CAN BE CHANGE IN THE WORLD -- ECONOMIC,
SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHANGE WITHIN COUNTRIES AND
IN INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY -- THEN STABILITY, ITSELF,
WILL PROVE FRUITLESS AND SELF-DEFEATING.

WE MUST FIND NEW WAYS TO PROMOTE CHANGE WITHIN
A FRAMEWORK OF ORDER, OR THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD
WILL BE TYRANNIZED BY EITHER ANARCHY OR REPRESSION.

000928
WE CAN BEGIN BY SUPPORTING EFFORTS WITHIN
EUROPE TO MOVE AWAY FROM ^{*more than*} TWENTY YEARS OF
CONFRONTATION, TO A NEW EUROPEAN COMMONWEALTH
OF NATIONS EMBRACING THE ENTIRE CONTINENT.

THE UNITED STATES NO LONGER HAS THE
DOMINATING VOICE IN EUROPEAN POLITICS; NOR *should*
~~WE~~ WISH IT, BUT WE ARE A EUROPEAN POWER,
DEEPLY INVOLVED IN PROVIDING SECURITY AND
CONFIDENCE, WITHOUT WHICH THERE WOULD BE NO
HOPE OF CHANGE.

THERE IS A MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES
^{*Sharply + quickly*}
TODAY TO REDUCE OUR COMMITMENT TO NATO, BEFORE
WE WORK OUT FIRM UNDERSTANDINGS WITH ALL
NATIONS IN EUROPE -- EAST AND WEST -- ON THE
FUTURE OF THE CONTINENT.

000929

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well, as I see it,

WOULD THIS BE WISE? ~~we~~ WILL NOT ACHIEVE
MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS IF WE ACT
FIRST AND ALONE; WE WILL NOT CONVINCE THE
SOVIET UNION TO ACCEPT RULES OF CIVILIZED BEHAVIOR
IN EASTERN EUROPE, IF WE LOSE INTEREST IN
EUROPEAN AFFAIRS; WE WILL NOT REASSURE OUR
ALLIES THAT WE ARE CONCERNED WITH THE FUTURE OF
EUROPE, IF WE ARE INSENSITIVE TO THEIR ANXIETIES
AND NEEDS.

WE MUST SHOW THAT OUR PARTNERSHIP WITH
EUROPE REALLY MEANS SOMETHING, AND SUPPORT
EFFORTS TO RESOLVE THE DIVISION OF THE
CONTINENT.

As an addition

1 PART OF THE NEW DIPLOMACY:

-- WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE OUR ALLIES
IN THEIR PROPOSAL FOR A EUROPEAN SECURITY
CONFERENCE, AND REALIZE THAT THIS CONFERENCE
CAN BE PART OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS THAT *may*
HELP ACHIEVE WHAT WE WANT -- TROOP REDUCTIONS
THROUGHOUT EUROPE.

-- WE SHOULD MAKE CONSULTATION, PARTICULARLY
ON FORCE LEVELS, A REAL *constant* ON-GOING EFFORT --
WITH REGULAR MEETINGS AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL --
NOT A VEHICLE FOR SHOWMANSHIP AND AMERICAN
LECTURING TO OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES:

-- WE SHOULD

encourage support

~~large~~ BI-LATERAL

POLITICAL CONTACTS BETWEEN OUR ALLIES AND THE

NATIONS OF THE WARSAW PACT, INCLUDING ^{recent} WEST

GERMAN EFFORTS TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH THE *Soviet*
Union and the Eastern European States;

-- WE SHOULD WORK FOR EXPANDED TRADE AND
CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST:

-- AND WE SHOULD HELP TO MAKE THE NATO
ALLIANCE AN INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENT FOR
PEACEFUL ENGAGEMENT, NOT A RIGID INSTITUTION
COMMITTED TO THE PAST. *HP* WITH OUR ALLIES, WE
CAN HELP TO LIQUIDATE THE LEGACY OF MILITARY
CONFRONTATION. *L* BUT THIS WILL REQUIRE A NEW
AMERICAN AWARENESS OF EUROPE'S NEEDS, PROBLEMS,

AND HOPES. *This is at the very heart
of the new diplomacy of Partnership
and Reconciliation.*

ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD, THE DILEMMA OF CHANGE VERSUS ORDER WILL BE EVEN MORE DIFFICULT TO RESOLVE, YET MORE PRESSING, AS POPULATION GROWTH, POVERTY, AND UNREST DISRUPT WHOLE CONTINENTS.

THERE ARE MORE THAN A BILLION PEOPLE IN THE WORLD TODAY IN COUNTRIES WHERE THE AVERAGE ANNUAL INCOME PER PERSON IS LESS THAN 100 DOLLARS.

HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS LIVE ON LESS THAN FIFTY DOLLARS A YEAR.

EVIDENCE HAS SHOWN US THAT POVERTY AND DEPRIVATION, COUPLED WITH THE BEGINNING OF EDUCATION AND HOPE, CREATE A REVOLUTION OF RIISING EXPECTATIONS.

AND PEOPLE ALL OVER THE WORLD ARE "IN TOUCH."

THE TRANSISTOR RADIO AND COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITE
WILL MAKE THIS EVEN MORE SO IN THE IMMEDIATE
FUTURE.

THE MAN IN KOREA, OR GUATEMALA, OR ZAMBIA
KNOWS WHAT MODERN SOCIETY CAN MEAN TO HIS FAMILY.

HE KNOWS WHAT YOU AND I HAVE. HE KNOWS ABOUT
OUR WEALTH. HE KNOWS ABOUT THE VAST RESOURCES AT
OUR COMMAND, AND AT THE COMMAND OF OTHER FORTUNATE
NATIONS.

THIS KNOWLEDGE HELPS TO WIDEN EVEN FURTHER THE
GROWING GAP BETWEEN ["]THE ["]HAVE ["]AND ["]HAVE NOT PEOPLES
OF THE EARTH. INEQUALITY IS POLARIZING THE WORLD
BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH, RICH AND POOR, WHITE AND
NON-WHITE. THIS IS A RECIPE FOR STRIFE, BOTH
BETWEEN THE WORLD'S DIVIDED HALVES, AND THROUGHOUT
THE DEVELOPING WORLD.

*"Where there is constant
want, there is no
peace"*

AS AN AMERICAN I TAKE PRIDE IN THE WELL-BEING AND RELATIVE AFFLUENCE WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO CREATE FOR AN INCREASING NUMBER OF OUR CITIZENS, BUT I ALSO FEEL SHAME AT THE HUNGER, POVERTY, AND DEPRIVATION WHICH SURROUNDS THIS PROSPEROUS ISLAND OF THE WESTERN WORLD.

TODAY, OUR MATERIAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEVELOPING WORLD IS FAR BELOW THE SCANT 1% OF GNP PROPOSED FOR DEVELOPMENT AID BY THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT. OUR FOREIGN AID HAS DROPPED TO A POST-WAR LOW.

WE HAVE FALLEN BEHIND MANY OF OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES.

The search for Peace, is more than withdrawing from Vietnam.
~~OTHER COUNTRIES THAT RECOGNIZE, AS DID POPE PAUL~~ *reminds*

us THAT "DEVELOPMENT IS THE NEW NAME FOR PEACE."

OUR COMMITMENT SHOULD BE TO NATION-BUILDING --
AND NOT TO BUYING FAVORS IN THE DEVELOPED WORLD..

OUR INTEREST IS IN HAVING NATIONS THAT ARE
INDEPENDENT AND SECURE -- AND THEREBY FREE TO
PURSUE THEIR OWN DEVELOPMENT WITHIN THE
COMMUNITY OF NATIONS.

BUT TO DO THIS EFFECTIVELY, WE MUST CHANNEL
an increasing flow of
~~THE BULK OF OUR~~ AID THROUGH MULTILATERAL

INSTITUTIONS. THIS WILL PLACE HEAVY DEMANDS
UPON THE UNITED NATIONS AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS,

LIKE THE WORLD BANK AND REGIONAL EFFORTS FOR DEVELOPMENT IN ASIA, AFRICA, AND LATIN AMERICA.

AT PRESENT, WE PAY TOO LITTLE ATTENTION TO THESE
INSTITUTIONS, OFTEN REGARDING THEM AS POOR RELATIONS
TO MORE POWERFUL INITIATIVES WE TAKE ON OUR OWN IN
FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

*So little
paid
in
comparison*

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THIS APPLIES TO PEACEKEEPING AS WELL. IF
AMERICAN PEACEKEEPING IS TO BE CURTAILED, THAT
DOES NOT MEAN THAT THERE CAN BE NO PEACEKEEPING.

It MUST BE DONE BY THE UNITED NATIONS OR BY
REGIONAL ~~groups~~ groups. ONLY THIS CAN HELP TO PREVENT
THE DRIFT OF DISORDERED CHANGE INTO OPEN CONFLICT
~~AND TO STEM THE TIDE OF HUMAN SUFFERING.~~

THE BASIS OF ANY SYSTEM OF PEACEKEEPING
MUST BE A COMMITMENT TO NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE
INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER COUNTRIES. BUT THIS
POLICY WILL ONLY WORK IF IT IS RESPECTED BY
ALL STATES -- LARGE AND SMALL -- AND ONLY IF THERE
IS AN EFFECTIVE INSTRUMENT IN THE UNITED NATIONS
TO SERVE THE INTERESTS, NOT OF INDIVIDUAL STATES,
BUT OF PEACE ITSELF.

FINALLY, FOR US TO UNDERSTAND OUR FUTURE
ROLE IN THE WORLD, WE NEED TO CHANGE MANY OF OUR
BASIC IDEAS ABOUT THE WORLD, AND LEARN ABOUT
OTHER NATIONS, OTHER PEOPLES, OTHER CULTURES,
AS WE HAVE NEVER DONE BEFORE.

IN THE PAST QUARTER-CENTURY, WE HAVE HAD A
FOREIGN POLICY FOR THE WHOLE WORLD, WITH A HALF-
WORLD UNDERSTANDING. WE KNOW MUCH ABOUT EUROPE;
WE KNOW FAR LESS ABOUT ASIA; AND WE ARE ALMOST
TOTALLY IGNORANT ABOUT THE DEVELOPING AREAS OF
THE WORLD. INDEED, WOULD WE HAVE BECOME INVOLVED

IN VIETNAM, IF WE HAD KNOWN MORE ABOUT IT? ~~WOULD~~

There has been and continues to be
~~WE, TODAY, BE UNSURE WHAT TO DO IN LAOS, IF WE~~
a "Knowledge Gap" that threatens
~~KNEW MORE ABOUT THAT TROUBLED COUNTRY?~~

our very survival - yet with the
glaring gap in knowledge about the
world we live in, we have made
commitments - and as I have said

Commitments without knowledge
are dangerous.

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FOR MANY YEARS, THE MESSAGE OF THE ~~THE~~
AMERICAN REVOLUTION WAS A BEACON OF HOPE FOR
ALL MANKIND. THEN, WHAT WE HAD TO SAY WAS
WELCOMED BY CHAMPIONS OF FREEDOM AROUND
AROUND THE WORLD. BUT TODAY OUR IDEALS
ARE NOT ALONE; THEY MUST COMPETE IN A FREE
MARKET-PLACE WITH A HOST OF OTHERS.

FOR TOO LONG, OUR ISOLATION FROM THE
REST OF THE WORLD ALLOWED US TO THINK THAT WE
WERE THE CENTER OF IT.

TOO OFTEN, OUR SCHOOLS ARE SO INTENT
ON TEACHING THE MYTHS OF AMERICAN DESTINY THAT
THEY IGNORE THE BILLIONS OF OTHER PEOPLE WHO
FIND US AS FOREIGN AS WE FIND THEM.

TOO OFTEN, OUR NEWSPAPERS AND TELEVISION
ONLY REPORT EVENTS IN OTHER LANDS THAT
DIRECTLY AFFECT US, OR TRANSLATE EVENTS INTO
AMERICAN TERMS EVEN AT THE PRICE OF GROSS
DISTORTION.

LIKE OTHER GREAT NATIONS BEFORE US, WE
HAVE TOO OFTEN SUFFERED FROM THE MYOPIC OF
POWER, IMPUTING TO OTHERS ATTITUDES ABOUT
THE WORLD THAT THEY DO NOT SHARE, AND
OFTEN, IN OUR ZEAL, IMPOSING OUR CULTURAL
IDEAS WHERE THEY ARE NOT WANTED.

WE SEE OTHERS MIMICKING OUR *material* ADVANCES -- FROM THE AUTOMOBILE TO INDOOR PLUMBING -- BUT FAIL TO REALIZE THAT SUPERIORITY ON THE ASSEMBLY LINE MAY NOT MEAN SUPERIORITY IN WAY OF LIFE.

THIS IS CALLED THE "AMERICAN CHALLENGE" -- A CHALLENGE TO RESIST UNWANTED INFLUENCES COMING FROM THIS COUNTRY. BUT I SAY THAT THIS IS REALLY A CHALLENGE TO US. WE MUST BREAK WITH THE TRADITION THAT LEADS GREAT NATIONS TO PRACTICE CULTURAL IMPERIALISM. WE MUST SHOW THAT WE CAN BE INVOLVED IN THE WORLD, WITHOUT TRYING TO DOMINATE IT.

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IS THIS POSSIBLE? I BELIEVE IT IS.

THIS IS A CHALLENGE TO KNOW OURSELVES -- WHAT IS BEST IN OUR TRADITION AND WHAT WOULD BENEFIT FROM AN INFUSION OF THE IDEAS AND EXPERIENCE OF OTHERS. LAND IT IS A CHALLENGE TO LISTEN INTENTLY; TO STILL THE CRY OF OUR OWN DESIRES LONG ENOUGH TO HEAR WHAT OTHERS MAY HAVE TO TELL US.

THIS IS A CHALLENGE TO OUR SCHOOLS, OUR UNIVERSITIES, AND THE MEDIA, TO HELP US WITH THE NEW EDUCATION IN WORLD CITIZENSHIP THAT WE NEED SO URGENTLY. ONLY WITH A BETTER PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING OF THE WORLD AND ITS PROBLEMS CAN WE BUILD A BROAD-BASED INVOLVEMENT OF OUR PEOPLE IN THE FOREIGN POLICY OF AMERICA -- INVOLVEMENT THAT IS NECESSARY IF OUR FOREIGN POLICY IS TO SERVE OUR NATION'S NEEDS.

AND IT IS A CHALLENGE TO ALL OF US TO ABANDON
THAT ELEMENT OF SELF-RIGHTEOUSNESS THAT HAS ~~STIGMATIZED~~
STIGMATIZED MUCH OF OUR 'FOREIGN POLICY -- THE
TENDENCY TO SUBSTITUTE MORALISMS FOR MORALITY;
AND LEGALISMS FOR THE RULE OF LAW. { WE NEED TO
GAIN A NEW PERSPECTIVE ON THE WORLD AND THE
HISTORY OF OUR INVOLVEMENT IN IT, SEEING OURSELVES
NEITHER AS SAVIOURS UNIQUELY ENDOWED WITH GOOD,
NOR AS VILLAINS POSSESSED BY EVIL.

{ AND WE CAN NO LONGER SEE ALL THE WORLD AS
DIVIDED BETWEEN FRIENDS AND ENEMIES.

{ THIS CHALLENGE TO OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE
WORLD AND OF OURSELVES DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE MUST
SHY AWAY FROM MAKING AVAILABLE TO OTHERS WHAT
WE DO HAVE TO OFFER, BOTH IN RESOURCES AND IN
EXPERIENCE.

IT IS ONE THING TO GIVE FREELY OF WHAT WE HAVE;
IT IS QUITE ANOTHER TO DEMAND THAT OUR WAYS
PREVAIL.

* * * *

WE ARE IN A NEW AGE OF REVOLUTION -- IN
POLITICAL RELATIONS, TECHNOLOGY, EDUCATION, AND
RISING EXPECTATIONS. WE HAVE COME TO REGARD THESE
REVOLUTIONS AS COMMONPLACE, AS THE DESTINY OF
MANKIND, IN COMING YEARS. YET AT THE SAME TIME,
WE HAVE TOO OFTEN ATTEMPTED TO CONTAIN THE EFFECTS
OF REVOLUTION, BY INCREASING THE COMMITMENT OF
AMERICAN POWER, OFTEN WITHOUT MUCH THOUGHT ABOUT
OUR BASIC INTERESTS IN SECURITY.

AS WE HAVE BECOME MORE INVOLVED IN THE WORLD,

WE HAVE PERMITTED AN INCREASING DIVISION
BETWEEN THE IDEALS OF OUR SOCIETY AND THE FACTS
OF OUR POWER. WE HAVE NOT ALWAYS UNDERSTOOD THAT
THE ASPIRATIONS OF OTHER PEOPLES OFTEN FOLLOW
A TRADITION THAT WE OURSELVES BEGAN.

WE CANNOT PERMIT THIS TO HAPPEN AGAIN. WE
MUST FIND WAYS OF BEING INVOLVED IN THE WORLD THAT
WILL PROTECT OUR SECURITY, WITHOUT STIFLING THE
LEGITIMATE DESIRES OF PEOPLE WHO STRIVE FOR THEIR
FREEDOM AND PERSONAL FULFILLMENT.

WE MUST SEEK PEACE, WITHOUT PROHIBITING CHANGE.

WE MUST BE PATIENT, NOT EXPECTING A NEW WORLD
AT PEACE TO EMERGE IN A DAY, A YEAR, OR PERHAPS
EVEN IN THIS DECADE.

AND WE MUST INSPIRE A NEW GENERATION OF
AMERICANS WITH THE HOPE THAT OUR IDEALS CAN ONCE
AGAIN BE THE CORNERSTONE OF OUR INVOLVEMENT IN THE
WORLD, NOT IGNORING THE CONTINUING FACTS OF
POWER, BUT NOT LETTING THEM DESTROY THE HUMAN
DIMENSION OF OUR POLICY

{ THAT IS WHY I HAVE SUCH PRIDE AND FAITH IN
THE "NOW GENERATION." PRIDE BECAUSE YOU ARE OURS
AND YOU ARE WONDERFUL; IN BODY, MIND AND HEART.
FAITH BECAUSE THIS GENERATION, MORE SO THAN ANY
IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND IS NOT AFRAID OF THEIR
OWN HUMANITY. THEY -- YOU POSITIVELY EXULT
IN BEING HUMAN AND TREATING EACH OTHER HUMANELY.
YOU HAVE BEEN BORN INTO AFFLUENCE AND HAVE VALUES
THAT MIRROR FRANCIS OF ASSISI.

YOU HAVE ACCEPTED THE HUMAN CONDITION AND HAVE
TRANSCENDED THE LUST FOR THINGS THAT HAS
CHARACTERIZED MAN SINCE THE FIRST THEFT IN EDEN.

YOU YOUNG PEOPLE HAVE LEARNED TO LOVE ONE
ANOTHER -- "LOVE EVERYBODY RIGHT NOW." (LYRIC OF
POPULAR CURRENT FOLK SONG) SPREAD THAT LOVE TO
THOSE OLDER THAN YOU. IF WE SEEM A LITTLE STIFF
AND ALOOF IT'S NOT BECAUSE WE DON'T REALLY REACH
OUT TO YOU; IT'S BECAUSE PERHAPS WE HAVE FORGOTTEN
THE JOY OF BEING LOVED. KEEP AT US. WE NEED TO
SHARE THE FRESH SPRING OF SPIRIT THAT SINGS IN
YOUR SOULS.

THE PATH TO PEACE IS TO BE FOUND -- MUST BE
FOUND BY YOUR GENERATION. I THINK IT WILL BE FOUND
BY YOU -- IN LOVE, IN HUMAN ASPIRATIONS FULFILLED --

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-- IN BRIDGING THE GAP THAT SEPARATES EACH ONE OF
US FROM ANOTHER -- LIKE GOD IN MICHAELANGELO'S
SISTINE CREATION -- TOUCHING EACH MAN'S SOUL WITH
THE SPARK OF LIFE AND LOVE.

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