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Governments have realized more and more that it is as necessary to prepare for peace as to prepare for war. People are beginning to realize that it takes even a longer time to achieve peace and it is a far more complicated process even than the waging of war.

We are at present more fortunate than the nations were after the last war. Peace problems have been brought under discussion and responsible organizations have been created for the study of post-war problems. We now realize that peace is not an ideal which must wait for its fulfillment after the cessation of hostilities. Peace making must start even before the war is brought to an end if we are to be able to go through the processes leading from war conditions to peace conditions.

Again, we can say that great progress towards the attainment of international security has been made, but we are in some danger of believing that everything is well with the world because we have had a number of documents and number of conferences. The Atlantic Charter, the United Nations Declaration, the Moscow agreement, and other documents of historical and political importance do not give us any concrete attainment. They held out certain hopes. They enunciate certain principles. They will mean little or nothing unless the principles contained therein are translated into political action.

One of the factors which seriously handicapped the attainment of world security after World War I was that the League of Nations was a war time dream which was never completely converted into a peace time reality. While the military aspects of the war were being carried through to a successful conclusion on the battlefield, the statesmen of the world did little or nothing to implement their broad pronouncements of principle for the attainment of peace. The League was a

wartime dream never converted into a peace time reality.

The United Nations of World War II is a war time coalition dedicated not only to total victory over our enemies on the battlefield, but also the molding and forming of the mechanisms and processes of peace.

There is in the minds of the people and in the plans of government an unprecedented concern over the post war period. There is a sober realization that international security must be attained and that a secure and prosperous economy is a basic factor in the building of a world free from war. Men of vision and understanding fully realize that there will be no international peace in a world plagued by depression, economic chaos and civil strife. Likewise, there can be no domestic security or prosperity in a world threatened by World War III. International peace and domestic security are inseparable.

The organization of peace involves three main problems.

The first is the establishment of international machinery for the maintenance of peace and cooperation between nations.

The second is the promotion of trade and commerce between the nations and within the nations in order to attain economic stability.

The third is the kind of government, institutions and modes of living that we will help to foster in other countries.

I believe that we have now arrived at the point where we are willing and ready to participate in the establishment of international organization for peace. Republicans and Democrats, business and labor, in the great majority of cases, are in agreement in their support of an international security organization backed by force. The emphasis upon force reveals an inner sense of suspicion and distrust. Peace is not merely a problem of force. It is even more a question of mutual confidence. With confidence established among the nations, very little force will be needed to maintain peace. Without this confidence, no force will be big enough to prevent outbreaks of new wars.

Our first national problem seems to be the problem of national distrust, national prejudice and unwillingness to accept our partners even among the United Nations. We are constantly asking ourselves and others whether we can trust Russia or England. The right approach to peace is to ask ourselves, "How far can Russia trust us?" "How far can England trust us?" What nation has the best reason for suspicion and distrust of others?"

The growing realization that our economy before this war was living on borrowed time and leaving in its path unsolved problems of unemployment and economic maladjustments is indeed a healthy and encouraging sign. We are afraid of the consequences resulting from mass unemployment. We are properly worried over the rehabilitation of veterans and the readjustment into economic life of the men and women of our armed services and the workers in the factories. American business and labor cannot pass over these matters lightly. America's greatest contribution to world peace will be in our guaranteeing to ourselves and to the world an abundant, prosperous and strong economy. We are the very heart and core of international trade and finance. Whatever we do, whatever be our achievements or our mistakes will not only affect the people of this country but will have direct effect upon the relationships of the nations of the world.

In reference to the third problem affecting world peace, namely the kind of government and institutions of living that will be established in other countries, we must be ever militant in our democratic ideals and filled with understanding patience. The peoples of Europe are not going back to the prewar conditions. The people of France, Belgium, Greece and Poland are not going to give themselves over to the reactionary appeasing and collaborating leaders that failed in their duties. It would be a tragic mistake for America to consent to or be a part of any move to frustrate the hopes and aspirations of the people of the liberated countries. The Italians, the Poles, the Greeks, the French, the Belgians and all the others are through with exploiters and political overlords. They are crying out for what



we achieved in 1776. They are revolting against their masters. We Americans, of all people, should be able to understand their problems. We should make our voice strong and powerful in behalf of freedom. We should call to task any imperial ambitions on the part of our allies. Now, if ever, we should be the people and the nation who give strength and courage to the <sup>democratic</sup> people's movement in every liberated country. History teaches us that sooner or later the democratic aspirations of these liberated people will be fulfilled.

Leadership in America in support of these ideals and principles must come not only from the elected political representatives, but also must come from the business and professional community. American business has more to gain from world security and more to lose from world chaos than any other single group in our civilizations. American people must realize we are in the very center of the state of international politics. If we are going to have a part, it will be a leading part.

It behooves our State Department and our President to immediately establish a foreign policy based upon the following points:

- (1) Set up immediately a provisional United Nations Organization to study all problems of a political nature and arrive at proper solutions. That would give the United States something to say about the solution of such problems as recently came up in Greece and Poland. What the American people object to is not having a part in the decisions that are made. Unless we have a part in these discussions, we naturally are going to criticize what our Allies may decide to do.
- (2) From this point on, the United States must be vitally concerned with whatever happens in any nation in the world. Under the United Nations Plan, we are going to accept responsibility for maintaining peace over the entire world and when we accept that responsibility, we must have authority to go with it.

- (3) We must uphold the principles of the Atlantic Charter. These principles are eternal so let the United States, through your Department, put up an aggressive effort at all times to carry them through any permanent United Nations Program.

The proposals which were outlined at the Dumbarton Oaks conference are the basic minimum which are necessary to begin the great process of establishing a just and enduring peace. There is no time for delay -- the hour of decision is now at hand.



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