

A D D R E S S

BY THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, UNITED STATES SENATOR
DELIVERED AT THE 41ST MEETING OF THE PLENARY ASSEMBLY
OF CAPTIVE EUROPEAN NATIONS, HELD ON NOVEMBER 30, 1956
AT CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT INTERNATIONAL CENTER
UNITED NATIONS PLAZA, NEW YORK CITY.

Thank you very much, Mr. President. You have been most kind to introduce me here today to our friends and your distinguished colleagues.

You asked whether I would be good enough to address this Assembly. I only hope I am worthy of addressing this Assembly, this Assembly of patriots and freedom-loving people, an Assembly of representatives whom I would prefer to see over in the United Nations.

Recognition implications:
Kahn,
Gomulka,
Soviet?

I want to make my position crystal clear, that as long as I live and breathe, I will never be happy and never feel that the conscience of America is clean until men of your caliber and your dedication and your spirit represent the nine nations, now so brilliantly represented here, in the United Nations. This is what needs to be done and this must be our objective.

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I have been very careful in my comments relating to nations behind the Iron Curtain, because I have felt that I have a very sober responsibility, to serve as a representative either in the United States Senate or in the United Nations. Therefore I have not been given to emotional comments or irresponsible statements.

I am going to be very frank with you. I think there is too much irresponsibility in American politics without the intention to follow through with the pledges and commitments which some people thought were made and which I thought were made.

Liberation?
Implies you think liberation was good policy & you are critical of Ike for not liberating.

I am convinced in my own heart that many people felt that the policies of liberation would be followed through, and some people were led to believe that they might be followed through by the exercise of force. I think now that we understand differently. But let it be made quite plain, I personally continue to believe that the objective of all freedom-loving people should be and must be the emancipation and liberation of the captive people and nations of Eastern and Central Europe or in any other place in this world. Any nation that is under the Soviet Communist domination must be freed. That must be our objective.

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Now, we are members of the United Nations and the United Nations has been said to be the world's greatest forum of public opinion. Therefore I suggest that we use it, and use it relentlessly to serve as a forum of public opinion. There ought not to be a day that goes by but that people of the world are reminded of the tragedy that has befallen over 100 million people in Europe. There ought not to be a day that goes by but that one free member represented in the United Nations does not propose a resolution or deliver an address or ask on a point or order to remind the Soviet Union of its breaches of contract, of its breach of treaties, of its violations of the covenants, its violations of the charter, and insist that the people of Eastern Europe be again given an opportunity for self-determination and for freedom.

I heard some people say: What good would that do?

Literally?

I will tell you what good it does. Even dictators are subject to some public opinion. They have mobilized the power of millions and millions of people through the world, but regrettably, we wait until there is a crisis in Hungary or in Poznan before we realize fully our responsibilities and take them as seriously as we ought to. We act on the basis of crises rather than on a basis of continuous conviction.

What this Senator is saying is, and I repeat, there ought not to be a day that goes by when someone in the United Nations General Assembly or in one of its committees, brings up the subject by rising to his feet and demanding that the Soviet Union abide by the principles of the charter. I will tell you, if you persevere long enough, one of two things will happen.

Either the Soviets will finally, under the pressure of political attrition, relax the controls, or else, world opinion will so severely and overwhelmingly bring economic, social and political pressure upon the Soviets, that it will have telling effect in weakening that empire.

Let me make my position clear. I am not one of

those who believe that Communism is something that you can live with happily. If we are going to have any kind of co-existence, I want a very competitive type of co-existence. You hear a lot of talk about peaceful co-existence. It is very hard to have peaceful co-existence with people who do not understand the meaning of the word "peace", except to use it as a propaganda term.

What do I mean by a competitive co-existence?

Let me make myself very clear. As an American citizen I do not mean to be boisterous, but as an American I am tired of my country acting as if it were weak and could not stand up against any combination of forces. This America which you are privileged to be associated with, is not just a nation. It is a spirit and a set of principles and a set of ideals which you embrace even if you are not an American citizen.

There are, you know, some universal principles in this world and they have their very foundation in our American Government and society which makes this a singular place from other parts of the world.

So I say very frankly, that America ought to realize, number one, its responsibilities, and number two, its strength. By realizing both, you will be surprised the sobering effect it will have on those who are impetuous or those who are truculent or those who would like to dominate this world by brute force.

I have come to the conclusion a long time ago that the only way you can deal with the Soviet Union is to deal from strength.

I want to say that I think our President, and this is not a matter of party or partisanship, made a mistake at the Geneva Conference when he stated that at Geneva the Soviet representatives desired peace as much as we, because they did not.

Be that as it may, we should seek the path to peace. I am one of those who believes in seeking the path of peace by negotiation, but I do not believe in seeking it at the price of weakness or retreat. Everytime we have had any success whatsoever with these Communist forces, we were ready to take the necessary risks of successful foreign policy. There were those who said that the Berlin airlift could never be done, but it was done. By perseverance, by pursuing it to the end, we found the Soviet delegates saying in the corridor of the United Nations that they had had enough, asking that it be called off.

There were those who thought we would not resist aggression in Korea, but we did, and while there were bitter

political arguments as to how far we should have gone, the fact is that the Soviets and their stooges did not get by with this aggression. Let, therefore, those who said that Western Germany would never come into NATO, that the Soviet Union would never permit that to happen, understand that we persevered. We have West Germany as part of NATO and West Germany is still a free country. We did not listen to the threats and we persevered.

The Soviet Union reminds me of a predatory power that looks for any place of vacant real estate or any area of the world to which somebody does not have a claim or an established title. Wherever they find that situation, they try to pry loose the leaseholder and try to take over after sufficient trouble. Let me be specific: wherever there exists a power vacuum in the world, Communism rushes in. I don't believe in leaving any power vacuums, none whatsoever. I think our country today has to take up its responsibilities everywhere in the world. The world looks for leadership, which means leadership with humility and leadership, may I say, with a sense of kindness and compassion, but also, in the great worlds of Abraham Lincoln, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right.

Some people like to stop with the first proposal. Lincoln did not stop there. He said: "With malice toward none, with charity for all, but with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right."

You have a lot of people who want malice for none, and a lot who are filled with charity for all, and that is good. The test of manhood, the test of character and leadership and responsibility is to have firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right.

Gentlemen, let me say this.

My country finds itself today in a legal snafu. That, as you know, is colloquial language for a mess. It is an American-created snafu, concerning refugees and our immigration laws. This great country today has been able to accept fewer than 1,000 refugees. We will accept more. I fought against the refugee laws as they were written and against the immigration laws as they were written, because I think this land should be sufficiently flexible and broad and all encompassing so that we can effectively take in the victims of the cold war, so that we can open our gates to thousands who seek freedom, to those who have resisted tyranny, and offer them a haven, a place to live in liberty with dignity.

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On the first day Congress opens its session, I pledge you, that I will introduce into the United States Senate

a new immigration law so that never again will our country be caught as it is today, in the present situation.

I want you all to know that I protested, a short time ago, when I learned of a move afoot whereby a brokerage firm in this country, as a matter of fact, in this City, was attempting to buy agricultural surplus goods from Government storage to be sent to Hungary, as coming from the Hungarian Government, if you can call that a Government.

In any case, those who are now in charge in Hungary, were attempting to buy food through our Government. The minute I heard of it, I got in touch with the head of the Commodity Credit Corporation and I told them they could expect plenty of trouble from Humphrey if one parcel were shipped to the Hungarian Government which they could use as a political tool to break the general strike. Don't misunderstand me, we will give all the food that is needed to be given, we will collect all we can for the needy through the proper channels such as Care, the Red Cross and other accredited relief organizations. We will give them all that they need and will make it available to them, but not one ounce, not one kernel of cereal grain for their Government.

I would not see them get any food, not one grain, as I said, which they can use as a tool to kill their own people.

I am happy to report to you, with a little resistance on the part of some of us, that deal was squashed in a hurry. But we ought not have any doubt about these things. Furthermore, I recommended, two weeks ago, to my friends of organized labor in Minneapolis, that every member of organized labor go on record and announce throughout the world through our great American labor leaders like George Meany and Walther Reuther, that no one pound of goods scheduled to be shipped to the satellite countries or the Soviet Union will be moved until the Soviets get their troops out of Hungary and permit the people to live.-

I told my friends of organized labor to hold a nationwide foreign policy conference to find out what is wrong with our policy and to put the spirit of people behind a firm policy. I think the spirit of the people is not soft. I think the spirit of the people has arisen to the situation. The spirit is that they do want to help, but, they just lack instructions and do not quite know what to do or how to go about it. It is the duty of a Government to give leadership and sense and direction. I am happy to note that our friends in American labor today and the people of the captive nations stand almost man to man together. I talked to thousands last night in Chicago and I talked to them as I talk to you, because I believe that we are fighting for a common cause. I hope not

Poland
surplus food
shipments
coming up

*Away
Andrews
Moscow
Trade
Fair?*

a single business firm will do a dollar's work of business with any of the satellite countries, or the Soviet Union, until the day when these countries, not just Hungary, but the rest of them, Albania, Bulgaria, Romania, Poland and the Baltic States will be free, when the deportations there will have ceased, and when those who have been deported, have been returned to their homes. As you know these deportations that we have heard about, are not just going on in Hungary, but elsewhere behind the Iron Curtain.

The Soviet Union is cracking down again in the one way it knows best, brutality.

I want the Soviets to know that I wish to goodness that they would start to live in peace with us, so that we could live in peace with them and there would be peace in the world. If they want to live in this world, they had better start acting like human beings, like people who believe in decency and law and order. I want to say to our fellow Americans that it is about time that they too realized the kind of world we live in, that we need military strength, economic strength, political strength and spiritual strength. Recently there has been discussion in our Government whether or not we should send oil to Europe. When I heard that, I went down to see some people at the State Department. I talked to the people in charge and I said, I want you to know that this Senator believes that oil should have been sent yesterday and should be on the way to Western Europe. We cannot afford to punish our friends in Western Europe. The objective of the Soviet Union is to split us; that has been the objective of Soviet foreign policy, to destroy NATO and to split us from our friends. Why, anyone who read the proceedings of the 19th Party Congress at Moscow in September and October of 1952 knows that the line was laid down then and there to destroy NATO, to split the United States from Great Britain, France and its allies, and here we are letting them get away with it. It is all right for my country, and I support it, to chastise our friends whenever they are wrong, because we cannot have two standards of morality. If they are wrong in Egypt, they did not act without provocation. What happened in the Middle East did not happen without provocation. I stand not as a Judge, but I can understand as a historian. Nevertheless we do not believe in the use of force to settle international disputes. So our country's Government, through our President, took a fair stand. I support that, but that does not mean that I am going to continue to punish through severe economic measures the people of our allies when they are the only possible chance of collective security we have in Western Europe.

So, I said personally to our Government and its officials: see to it that we have sufficient oil on the way to Western Europe. There should never be a doubt in our minds, or in the minds of our friends in Western Europe, that there

will be plenty of fuel oil and crude oil and petroleum for them. We do not want any unemployment through the failure of the American people. We don't want any trouble. We want a strong economic basis. It is about time we taught some people a lesson. ^{Anyone who thinks} he can divide us, anyone who thinks he can separate us from our friends will have to learn that we can neither be separated nor divided, not a single one of us.

This Western hemisphere which stands for unity and solidarity has the oil and has the resources, and we have the tankers. We have enough to carry on. We have over 600 of them unused and there ought to be a constant chain like the one we forged during the war going back and forth from port to port with petroleum and crude oil and fuel oil necessary so that nobody can have any doubt that these NATO members support each other economically, politically and militarily.

Furthermore, this will encourage the faith and hope of the people behind the Iron Curtain when they see our resistance and determination.

Well, there are other things that can be done. For example, the United Nations Secretary General as yet has not any report from Hungary. The Hungarian delegation should be called before the United Nations and asked for a report or when such a report is going to be forthcoming. I say to you, if you expect the British and the French and the Israelis to comply with the U.N. decision, then you had better expect the Soviets to comply with it and the Hungarians to comply with it. The sooner that my country tells the Soviet Union that we will view the use of force in the Middle East as an act of hostility, the sooner we tell everyone of them that in the Middle East we don't intend to be pushed around, the more respect they are going to have for us. These are not bellicone words, these are merely the words of a nation that should stand on principles and I know you people feel the same way.

In concluding my remarks, I would like to say that a great service, I think, has been performed in spite of the tragedy, a great service has been performed. Freedom was never free. Freedom never came without tragedy and sacrifice. This country was not built on clever men manipulating on the New York Stock Market. This country did not come about because someone had a hope or a wish. It came about because our fathers at Lexington and Concord and at Dunker Hill and Saratoga fought for liberty and died and gave their lives for the cause of liberty, and it came about because brother fought brother and father fought son even as in the war between the States. It has never been easy, a bid for freedom at any price has always meant a fight for freedom, for freedom and liberty which has usually required the blood of martyrs. It

Eisenhower
Doctrine

implication?

is regrettable, but it is true, and I think we ought to recognize that today we live because of the blood that was shed by freedom loving people in our countries that have been struggling for the greatest gift, freedom and the emancipation of mankind, greater than anything that has yet been done.

Do you know why the millions of Russian troops won't move militarily? Because she knows that in her very belly there is a dagger of pent-up hate and bitterness in Eastern Europe. She knows that.

She knows even in her own country there are millions who wait for the day of liberation. Forget not, my dear friends, that the first captives of Communism were the Russian people. Do not ever forget that. All Russians are not Communists, not by a long shot. The first people who had been enslaved by Communism and the Communist conspiracy and tyranny were the Russian people, and my heart goes out to the Russian people just as it goes out for the people anywhere else who are oppressed. The Soviet Union's leaders in the Kremlin know this as well as you and I. They may be brutes, but they are not without knowledge of what transpires in the world.

So I submit to you that the liberty loving people of Hungary and Poland and every country - for I won't suggest just one or two countries, when in every country people have died and laid down their lives for freedom - these people have done more to weaken the Soviet menace and renew the desire for liberty in those who yet remain, than all the alliances put together.

I say as an American, if we know that we all stand together, all the freedom-loving people everywhere, and pursue the course of freedom in our objectives with clearness and strength, we will win. For ten years or more the Communists in Eastern Europe worked on the students to make Communists out of them. In Poland and in Hungary they have received their answer in the form of a revolution. By the way, I will suggest to the delegation of our country at the United Nations that we adopt their demands - of religious freedom, asking and demanding the release of those men of the Clergy who have been imprisoned, the deported who have right of religious freedom, irrespective of the country under domination today. These things need to be done.

Well, I wish I had better answers for you, believe me I do. I have been heartsick as you are, because I happen to believe where any of my fellow human beings are stricken, wherever a human being lives under tyranny, so am I stricken and so do I live under tyranny. Wherever there is a victim of this type of brutality and dictatorship, so am I involved, perhaps a little more because of this close kinship and spiritual relationship that exists between freedom loving people

the world over. Where anyone is denied a full measure of liberty as God has given it to us, and the right to live our lives as God has given us that right to live, in liberty, so am I denied it and so are you and everyone of us. This binds us together more than any political consideration. It is the greatest force of unity, this urge for liberty for like souls and like spirits and of like objectives. I think our objectives are very similar and very simple: individual freedom and national independence and the right to stand on our own feet, to work out our own destinies; this is all we seek.

I suggest that you continue toward your goal, continue to work on your objective and I will try to continue mine. I am not an expert in these matters, I lay no claim to that, but my heart is strong and my will is determined never to relax or relent until the day comes when again I can see a free Czechoslovakia, a free Bulgaria, a free Albania, a free Romania, a free Latvia, a free Estonia, a free Lithuania, a free Poland and free countries everywhere in the world.



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