

MOBILIZING OUR FORCES FOR JUST AND LASTING PEACE

Address prepared for delivery by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey D., Minn.) at "Festival of Leadership Banquet" of the Society of the Little Flower, Grand Ballroom, Palmer House Hotel, Chicago, Monday night, January 19, 1959

Your excellencies, Reverend Fathers, distinguished guests:

I would like each one of you to know how profoundly grateful I am for the honor which you have conferred upon me tonight.

To receive this citation from so inspiring an organization as the Society of the Little Flower is an unforgettable experience in my life.

But to receive the honor in this particular field, for whatever I have been able to contribute toward this, the greatest goal of mankind -- the prevention of world war -- this is even a deeper source of gratification to me.

In my ten years in the United States Senate, I have been privileged to work for many objectives. But, I can assure you that no goal has been dearer to my heart, as I know it is to yours, than the maintenance of a just and lasting peace for the Family of Man.

I mean a peace with honor, NOT peace through appeasement. Appeasement is the road to dishonor and disaster, I mean peace through integrity and strength. This is the road to success.

~~The Meaning of Permonuclear Conflict~~
The thermonuclear

For four years, I have been privileged to serve as Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on ~~Disarmament~~. Disarmament. Before our Subcommittee have come some of the most distinguished experts in our land - military, diplomatic, political, scientific. The grim comments which they have made on what thermonuclear conflict would mean to the world have convinced me that there is no service any Senator could possibly perform which is more important than to seek to spare the world the devastation of a global conflict.

We know that it is NOT the will of God that this planet be disintegrated and incinerated into radioactive rubble.

We know instead that this world of ours should be a world of peace, of freedom, justice and mutual respect.

One could recall many inspiring messages from the Vatican down through the years on behalf of relieving ~~mankind~~ mankind of the crushing burden of armaments and of the great fear of war.

Let me recall for the moment one particular historic expression; the Christmas, 1955, address of the late Pope Pius XII, when he warned against continued indifference to the problem of radioactive fallout from nuclear testing. At that time, he emphasized: "an obligation ^on conscience of nations and of their leaders" to seek effective agreement on banning

atomic weapons experiments, banning the use of such weapons and reaching an enforceable system of armaments control.

Vigilant enforcement, of course, is till the key to the problem. But the goal remains the same -- a peace of genuine security.

And so with Saint Francis of Assisi: We pray to Divine Providence, "Lord, make us channels of Thy Peace."

Mobilizing Power for Peace

And if we are to be instruments of peace, then, in my judgment, we must mobilize our power for peace.

It will take more than FIRE POWER. The fire power of atomic bombs and hydrogen bombs, of guided missiles and other weapons systems alone is not enough to preserve the peace.

Of course, we must be militarily strong, supremely strong. We must have armed forces, so modern, so well equipped that they are not only capable of defending our country, but also capable of deterring aggression in the first place.

The Alarming Missile Gap Between U.S. - U.S.S.R.

And here let me note that what has been termed the missile gap between the U. S. and the U.S.S.R. - a gap to our serious disadvantage - this gap is not being closed, in my judgment, and I am by no means alone in this view.

Available evidence indicates that the gap is growing wider.

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And this alarming discrepancy between the missile strength on both sides is in ~~itself~~ itself a threat to the preservation of peace.

So, I say, this missile gap must be narrowed, and it must be transformed into a gap IN OUR FAVOR, with the free world clearly ahead of the Soviet Union in missile strength.

The Congress must very carefully examine the President's budget, as submitted today, in order to determine, among other things, the adequacy of appropriations for guided missile research, development and operations. Indeed, our entire national defense structure needs and will receive by Congress, a careful and objective examination. We must be sure that our military forces are adequate for our commitments and leadership responsibility.

Detailed hearings must, of course, be held to examine the adequacy of these missile funds. For the moment, all that can be said in advance of such hearings is that there is unfortunately, strong reason to doubt whether guided missile work as scheduled under the budget will be at ~~pace~~ a pace and in a scope necessary to assure us missile supremacy at an early date. So, too, we have similar well substantiated doubts as to whether there is adequate federal coordination in the missile program, even at this late stage of development.

We Cannot Rely on Material Power Alone

But I say, too, that the answer to the power of world communism is not alone a material answer. Soviet fire power must be deterred by free world fire power. Soviet material strength must be deterred by American and free world material strength.

But if ever we were to come to rely upon fire power and material strength alone, then our future would be bleak indeed.

Our greatest strength in these United States is our Spiritual strength, and it is upon spiritual strength that we must place our ultimate reliance.

I mean the spiritual strength of 104 million church-going Americans of all faiths. I mean the strength of belief in a God of love and justice and righteousness, whose will is peace for all men.

Our Communion with Enslaved Peoples

I mean the strength of our communion with all the peoples of the world in our common aspiration for liberty.

I can assure you, it was not just a coincidence that before I proceeded to Moscow, I made one particular stopover; I visited the Free City of West Berlin, 110 miles behind the Iron Curtain.

I went there in order to demonstrate unmistakably to the Soviet Union (which I was scheduled to visit less than a week thereafter) that the United States is bound indissolubly

with the people of West Germany in the common effort to maintain the liberty of West Berlin, that outpost of democracy ~~is~~ like an island in a sea of communism.

So, too, we are bound in spiritual ties with those unfortunate people who remain behind the Iron Curtain. I can assure you that during my days in the Soviet Union, I did not and could not forget the plight of the one-hundred million people of Eastern Europe who suffer under the cruel yoke of atheistic and imperialistic communism.

The American people will never forsake them. The American people honor the peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, ~~in~~ the ^{BALTIC} ~~Baltic~~ States, the ^{BALKAN} ~~Balkan~~ States, and East Germany for their devotion to the ^{CAUSE} ~~cause~~ of freedom.

Our hearts go out to Joseph Cardinal Mindzenty and to all the people of martyred Hungary.

Our thoughts go out to the devout people of Poland -- that brave country which was first to take up arms in the defense of freedom in World War II, the ~~country~~ which was subjugated not by one ~~pppressor~~, but by two; yet, the ~~country~~ whose spiritual voice still speaks so eloquently, so courageously through Cardinal Wyzinski.

These are the thoughts which have been in our minds and which will remain in our minds, because the plight of the captive nations is a subject close to the hearts of all of us.

Exploring Possibilities of Disengagement

The tragic problem of these captive peoples cannot be solved by empty slogans about "liberation" or by inciting them to revolt barehanded against Soviet tanks and bayonets. We do a disservice to our friends by sponsoring false illusions which lead to ~~disaster~~ disaster.

But I firmly believe we can give them hope without illusion. I believe we can face the cruel realities without despair.

We must believe in their eventual emancipation and work toward this great goal with zeal chastened only by prudence.

It is a strange irony that the very weapons which threaten to destroy us may provide an opportunity for greater freedom in the captive states of Eastern Europe. I refer to the increasing role played by Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles, IRBM's, in the defense of Western Europe. Some military observers believe that with increasing emphasis on long-range missiles, it will become less necessary for the U.S. to maintain in Europe conventional troops at their present strength.

Perhaps the time has come when it is possible to negotiate, or at least carefully explore the possibility of troop rollback in Central Europe. If foreign troops were removed, the people in the captive nations could breathe a bit more freely. And with the fresh air of even limited freedom, the first step toward eventual emancipation may have been taken. Our objective must be the withdrawal of the Red Army

from East Germany & Central Europe.

I am no military expert and I am not a diplomat. I do not profess to state exactly how we should proceed. These details are not the primary responsibility of the Congress. But I do believe that our government should explore more fully any alternative which shows any real promise. We should explore these delicate problems in concert with our closest allies in Western Europe. And if we arrive at a common Western proposal we will be in the position of making a strong and united approach to the Soviet Union.

Need for Allied Unity

Western unity is indispensable. The great contest of this second half of the 20th century is not between two countries - the United States and the Soviet Union - it is between two ideologies. In this contest thus far, we have not, I believe, fully mobilized the resources and abilities of our friends, our partners, the Western European, South Asian, and Latin American, and those of the other free lands.

This very week, there will be present in Washington a distinguished chief executive representing one of the greatest nations of the Western Hemisphere, President Arturo Frondizi of Argentina. The Argentine, like Brazil and other nations of the hemisphere, have far more to contribute voluntarily to maintaining world peace, world prosperity and freedom than we have thus far mobilized in the common interest. There is an urgent need for closer cooperation between the U. S. and our Latin American neighbors.

Direct Contact with USSR

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In turn, one of my purposes in going to the Soviet Union was to see, hear and understand, first hand, the power ex officials and the people of the U.S.S.R., to the extent that one could learn and understand in a brief period.

Why? Because I do believe that we Americans will not be fully effective in combatting Communism until we have a more accurate first-hand understanding of what is really going on inside the U.S.S.R.

The Controversy over Contact with U.S.S.R. Leaders

The question of direct contact with U.S.S.R. leaders is a difficult and complex one - on which there are understandably deep and strong emotions. We know that the Soviet leaders would not be seeking such contact if they did not feel that it was in their own self interest to do so.

We know that they attempt to exploit such contacts for their own purposes.

We know that they would like Americans to believe all glib Soviet words and to forget their inhumanity to their own people and the dark record of Soviet treaty violations.

So, the question is Not: "Can we trust the Russians?"

For the record of history of Soviet deeds and misdeeds speaks for itself.

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The question is, rather: "Can we trust ourselves?" Do we have confidence in ourselves and in our objectives, so that we can contact the Soviet leaders without falling for any phony line.

I believe we can trust ourselves. We must trust ourselves.

When Cardinal Wyzinski deals with Mr. Gomułka in Poland, we must and we do have faith in Cardinal Wyzinski. We do not jump to the conclusion that he is going to be communitized by Mr. Gomułka.

So, too, I say that we must have confidence in firm anti-Communists who, by their record, have demonstrated that they are not naive, they will not be taken in by false promises, but that they are alert and vigilant when they contact Communist leaders.

Utilizing All Types of Power

But contact is not enough.

Power is essential, power in reserve, power in action -- for peace.

Here I am NOT speaking of Fire Power.

I am speaking of:

Spiritual Power

Food Power

Health Power

Science and Education Power

Capital and Technology Power.

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The Meaning of Spiritual Power

I am speaking of demonstrating our faith by our actions.

The Christian Architects of Post-War Europe

It is not an accident that the great architects of reconstruction of postwar Europe were men of powerful Christian faith. When the history of the years following 1945 is written, greatest credit will be given to such immortals as:

Robert Schumann of France

The late Alcide de Gasperi of Italy

Konrad Adenauer of Germany

These three men are not only members of your faith, but they represent the profoundest ideals of all great religions.

It is no coincidence that the great leader who has helped usher in a rebirth of France is likewise a man of deep faith -- General Charles deGaulle, who is as well known in the church in his home town, as he is in the chancelleries of the world.

These are men of faith, and they are men of works. For "faith without works is dead".

Diverse Works of Peace

What works?

I say, the works of peace - -

That means mobilizing the world's food power -- including our \$8 billion of surplus food for the half of the world's population which is undernourished.

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It means mobilizing health power for peace. This is precisely my purpose as Chairman of a Senate Subcommittee, studying international health. The common struggle against mankind's diseases was the principal channel of my official Senate work during my recent trip through Europe.

Combatting cancer, heart disease, arthritis, neurological and mental disorders -- this is a universal aim for all mankind. A healthier world can be a better world, a more peaceful world. If we dedicate ourselves against these scourges, the way the unforgettable Father Damien of Molokai dedicated himself against leprosy, the world will become a better place for children and grownups to develop these physical, mental and spiritual capacities.

"Heal the Sick" -- this is one of the most ancient and cherished of all Divine admonitions to mankind.

And so we must bring health to mankind -- health to Asia and Africa and the Middle East and to all the peoples whose life expectancy is now cut so short by infectious and nutritional ailments.

Educational Exchanges for Peace

And too, ~~we~~ we must boilize, as I have said, science and education power for peace. There is a hunger for education throughout the world. The illiterates of the world not only desire schooling, they need schooling.

- 13 -

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Either we will help to bring teachers to them or the Soviet Union will. The great educational system of America, secular and spiritual, has much to contribute to mankind.

I believe that the United States has much to gain and nothing to lose by engaging in educational scientific and cultural exchange even with, or perhaps especially with Communist countries. The exchange of persons, like the exchange of goods, benefits all participants, But I believe a free society like America benefits even more than a closed society from such interchange.

Our government should continue to encourage and increase the two-way traffic of teachers, students, scientists and artists especially to countries such as Poland. Person-to-person contact at all levels tends to increase understanding, if not affection, even in the USSR. Such contact may lower the level of hostility. Even if it does not accomplish this objective, it will help to correct the distorted picture that the Soviets have of our country and our policies. And perhaps it will prevent reckless adventure based upon a miscalculation of the aims and will of the American people.

Educational exchange is not a panacea, but it can make a contribution to our goals of peace and security as a part of an overall foreign policy which employs diplomatic, economic, and military instruments.

Capital Power for Peace

And last but by no means least, we must mobilize capital and technological power for peace -- for expanding industrial

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technology and science. The financial needs of the developing countries of the world, like India, are enormous. India cannot possibly succeed in its second Five-Year Plan without ample credits at long term and at low interest.

One of the reasons India is important is because she has not allied herself in the Cold War. China has cast her lot with Communism. Japan has cast her lot with the West. India is the largest remaining Asian country which is free but unaligned in an explicit military sense.

The uncommitted position of India bothers some Americans. "If you are not for us," they say, "you are against us". I think this is not a fair statement of India's position. India is the world's largest democracy. She has had two great democratic elections. She is in fact on the side of freedom, and when the chips are down, I am convinced she will stand with the forces of democracy.

We get nowhere by attempting to force India to choose up sides in a military sense. It is better to have an uncommitted nation strong enough to withstand the pressures of Communism, internal and external, than it is to have a reluctant ally pressured prematurely into a military alliance.

The question is not: Can we afford to extend to India adequate, long term credits. The question is: Can we afford Not to do so?

Conclusion

These, then, are by no means the only types of power which we must mobilize, but at least they give an indication as to

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some of the ways by which we can preserve the peace.

In this challenging task, everyone has a part -- the parish priest and the members of his flock, the Senator, the Congressman, the foreign service officer, the young and the old, the adult and the school child.

Wherever and however we can advance in any way, shape or form the prospect of improved understanding, greater strength \forall here at home and greater strength for freedom abroad -- that is where we must extend our efforts.

I could not conclude without conveying again my abiding gratitude for the honor which you have conferred upon μ s/ me.



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