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REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
~~SUPERIOR STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE~~
SUPERIOR, WISCONSIN, DECEMBER 16

Wisconsin State College of Superior

Just over a year has gone by since Premier Khrushchev launched his ultimatum against West Berlin.

I cannot pretend to read his mind, but I am sure that at least one of his purposes was to set off a panic among the people of West Berlin. He probably hoped that the city would fall into his hands like a ripe plum.

During the city election which took place the next month, the Communists did their best to panic the people. They made it very clear that every Berliner who worked or even voted against them was a marked man -- marked for the day when the Communists would take over.

In that election, over 90 percent of the eligible voters went to the polls. Instead of rising, the Communist vote dropped by a third -- from 2.7% to 1.9%.

The election was more than a repudiation of Communist threats -- it was a vote of confidence in the gallant mayor of West Berlin, Willy Brandt -- a man I am proud to call my friend.

Since then, Mayor Brandt and his Berliners have gone calmly about their

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business -- working and building for the future of their magnificent city. There has been no bravado, no provocation to the Russians -- simply the calm, cool determination that freedom is in West Berlin to stay.

The Communists huffed and puffed, but free Berlin did not fall down. Thanks in large part to the firmness under fire of its two million people, Khrushchev has put off his deadline again and again and again.

During the 13 months the Berliners have held the front line for freedom, the world political scene has changed. There have been glimmerings of ^{hope} ~~none~~ of some ^{under} standing between the Soviet Union and the Western powers. There has been the end of an apparent understanding between India and Communist China -- and perhaps between Russia and Communist China as well.

I believe that the citizens of free Berlin can take considerable comfort ~~in~~ from this march of great events. Berlin has become a sort of barometer for the ^{political} weather between East and West. And I think that Khrushchev, whatever he may have felt a year ago, very much wants that weather to be fair and warmer.

He needs a relaxation of tensions between East and West, because the long-suffering people of the Soviet Union are demanding the better things of life which have been so long denied them.

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He is watching a powerful and aggressive China pressing outward -- first against Tibet and then against India. He knows that his own frontier with China is much longer and more vulnerable.

India has suddenly awakened to the fact that it has been guarding the wrong boundaries. Khrushchev may be wondering whether he has made the same mistake.

I believe that by far the best thing we can do for the future of Berlin is to maintain the momentum of peace -- at least peace between the Soviet Union and ourselves.

We must think in terms not of a single summit meeting but of a series of such meetings. Berlin will undoubtedly be discussed at the summit. We must tell the Russians plainly and frankly that we shall not desert that brave city.

We must emphasize that we are there, not by the mere right of conquest, not merely by international agreement, but by the will of its people -- and that we shall stay there as long as they want us to help them remain free.

We must see to it, however, that Berlin is always discussed in the context of wider issues -- effective and enforced disarmament, even the ultimate possibility of Russia and the Western powers together launching a drive to banish poverty from the earth.

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I do not mean that we should simply mark time over Berlin. There are concrete steps that we can urge to lessen the local dangers in Berlin and re-insure its future.

Berlin welcomes new industries, but there is one which I found all responsible Berliners eager to be rid of -- the cloak-and-dagger trade. Spy thrillers make good reading, but in Berlin they have degenerated into a dangerous farce.

"The first year a spy works for one side," a high West Berlin official told me.

"The second year he doubles his income by working for both."

There are cafés in Berlin that are notorious as meeting places for these double agents. The guides point them out to visitors just as they do the Brandenburg Gate, the ruins of the Reichstag and the other sights of the city.'

As the cloak-and-dagger merchants move out, I hope that the UN will move in.

I do not say that UN forces can replace the Western garrisons. There are still occasions -- such as the recent efforts to hoist the so-called East German flag in West Berlin -- when the utmost firmness is needed, a firmness of which the UN, as presently organized, is unfortunately not yet capable.

But I do think that a UN presence -- even the symbolic presence of a small team of observers -- would be a real moral deterrent to Soviet intrusions.

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I have never ceased to regret that the UN did not send observers to Budapest in time, during the brutal Soviet subjugation of the Hungarian revolt. I have regretted it all the more since Mr. Khrushchev -- in one of his breathtaking moments of frankness -- recently admitted that some of his own colleagues opposed the Soviet intervention in Budapest.

We are as yet hardly within sight of world peace with justice and freedom. But, for the first time in many years, it is possible to hope that we are on the right road. And I think the historians of this troubled century will give great credit to the people of Berlin -- all two million of them -- who by their steadfastness gained for all of mankind this crucial thirteen months, with the new opportunities they have opened up for fruitful negotiation.

We can continue to draw inspiration from their example as we move forward. There may still be many perilous passages on the long hard road to peace. But, as we come to them, I shall always remember what one humble Berliner told me when I asked him whether he and his friends could stand the constant, never-ending strain of life in this besieged city:

"Don't worry about our nerves, and we won't worry about yours."

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FROM:
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Suite 740, Roosevelt Hotel
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FOR RELEASE: Wednesday PM's, Dec. 16, 1959

HUMPHREY: U.S. MUST STAY IN BERLIN AS LONG AS NEEDED

Superior, Wisc., Dec. 16 -- Senator Hubert H. Humphrey tonight emphasized that the United States must never use Berlin as a bargaining point with the Communist world, but hold fast as long as we are needed.

Senator Humphrey told an audience of Superior State Teacher College students: "We must emphasize that we are there, not by the mere right of conquest, not merely by international agreement, but by the will of its people -- and that we shall stay there as long as they want us to help them remain free."

"There are concrete steps we can urge to lessen the local dangers in Berlin and re-insure its future," the Minnesota Senator declared.

One step urged by Senator Humphrey is "one I found all responsible Berliners eager to be rid of -- the cloak-and-dagger trade." He added that he hoped their presence would be replaced by the presence of the United Nations.

"The first year a spy works on one side, I have been told by a West Berlin official," he noted. "The second year he doubles his income by working for both.

"And," stressed Humphrey, "as the cloak-and-dagger merchants move out, I hope that the UN will move in.

"I do not say that UN forces can replace the Western garrisons. There are still occasions -- such as the recent efforts to hoist the so-called East German flag in West Berlin -- when the utmost firmness is needed, a firmness of which the UN, as presently organized, is unfortunately not yet capable.

"But I do think that a UN presence -- even the symbolic presence of a small team of observers -- would be a real moral deterrent to Soviet institutions."

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Senator Humphrey also stressed the need for a series of summit meetings, and said: "We must think in terms not of a single summit meeting, but of a series of such meetings. Berlin will undoubtedly be discussed at the summit. We must tell the Russians plainly and frankly that we shall not desert that brave city.

"We must see to it, however, that Berlin is always discussed in the context of wider issues -- effective and enforced disarmament, even the ultimate possibility of Russia and the Western powers together launching a drive to banish poverty from the earth.

"We are as yet hardly within sight of world peace with justice and freedom. But for the first time in many years, it is possible to hope that we are on the right road."

And, Senator Humphrey added, "I think the historians of this troubled century will give great credit to the people of Berlin -- all two million of them -- who by their steadfastness gained for all mankind this crucial thirteen months, with the new opportunities they have opened up for fruitful negotiation.



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