

Release: 4:00 P.M. Sunday

Excerpts of Address

Prepared for Delivery

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At: Albert Einstein College of
Medicine, New York, N.Y.

November 24, 1963

SENATOR HUMPHREY PROPOSES
10-YEAR "PROJECTS OF PEACE" PLAN
WITH SOVIET UNION

May I express at the outset my profound gratitude for the honor which has been conferred on me.

It is no mere formal acknowledgement when I state that this honor is particularly prized because of the esteemed source which confers it.

The Albert Einstein College of Medicine of Yeshiva University is, as we all know, a relatively new institution. But the tradition from which it draws its inspiration is ancient and of the highest order. It is the tradition of reverence for man and service of man, of reverence for truth and for scholarship and of service to them.

In the few years since your founding, it is you who have done honor to yourselves, to the faith of the University's

Founders and to all faiths, to your country, to your professions and to your fellow man.

Just as this College is no stranger to those of us who have been privileged to be honored by it today, so it is known and admired by great numbers of other Americans and by foreigners who may never have been within its portals.

Excellence in faculty and in student body, excellence in professional achievements and aspirations - these hallmarks of a great College and University - communicate eloquently, even from afar.

It is on your future, America's future, medicine's future, that I shall speak today.

Your future is the fulfillment of the spirit of the man whose illustrious name this great institution proudly bears.

Dr. Einstein was a Universal Man - a man at home with ideas which transcended every wall and every boundary, a man

whose mind expanded the universe of intellect and shrank the universe of space and time.

Dr. Einstein's mind - with the "tools" of only chalk and blackboard, revolutionized science and military warfare.

As the formula $E = MC^2$ changed the thinking of men, so today new formulas are needed so that the splitting of the atom may be used to make of this earth another Eden, rather than a war-devastated, incinerated rubble.

A FORMULA FOR OUR TIMES

May I submit one possible and simple formula: $P = I \times A + F$ -

A Nation's Power equals its Ideals times its Actions to fulfill those ideals, plus its military Forces to preserve its security.

Our ideals are graven in the bedrock of the Jewish-Christian heritage - healing of the sick; clothing of the naked; feeding of the hungry, educating of the illiterate; uplifting of the downcast. However, our actions to bring these ideals into living reality have not always multiplied with the measure

and quality that are needed in a world that looks to us for leadership. And our Armed Services, strongest in the world, tested and found true in valor, have not always proven adaptable to the wide variety of locales and circumstances in which they must serve or train others to serve in the struggle for freedom.

But, it is ideas and ideals which afford our greatest strength and opportunity. And here is the paradox - indeed, a whole series of paradoxes.

- For the slave-making ideas of Marx and Engels, in conflict with the freedom-making ideas of Jefferson and Lincoln, have been making undeniable headway in winning the allegiance of thousands and millions.

- The classic institution known as the University, which was intended for hundreds of years as a citadel for learning and progress, has been converted - in Latin America and elsewhere - into a seed-bed for totalitarianism and a breeding ground in

which to hatch violence against democratic government.

- Insight into the very working of men's minds has enabled despots to enslave by reflex-conditioning and by brain-washing, but has not appreciably helped democratic forces to liberate by mind-inspiring.

How curious that forces - like ideas - through which man should be advancing - have been turned into instruments to hurl him back into oppression.

How ironical that, even in our own land, a technical miracle of man's genius - like television - should be so often used to stultify the minds of millions and is used in other lands to hypnotize masses in but a new form of "circuses" and of indoctrination.

To observe, to decry these phenomena is hardly enough; we must join in battle - peaceful battle - so that what we profess becomes what we live, what we aspire to, for ourselves and others, becomes that which triumphs.

If we would do so, we must first free our own minds of the bonds of certain illusions and delusions.

In the past, our President has well reminded our Nation of the need for dispelling economic delusions.

There are political, social and intellectual delusions, as well, among some of our own and other peoples.

A few of these other delusions bear mention, because until they are recognized for what they are, they will begog our eyes and impede our action.

There is, for example, a starry-eyed delusion that this Nation is "all-powerful," and an opposite bleary-eyed delusion that "we are virtually helpless."

We are, indeed, the guardians of freedom's ramparts; we are in the vanguard of freedom's contests everywhere; but there are limitations "built-in" to our power. Those who glibly assume that the United States can "change the world

with a single command" or the declaration of a single new policy or action are as mistaken as those who pessimistically wait that the tide has allegedly so turned against us that our grand-children may, as Mr. Khrushchev boasts, "live under Communism."

Then, there is a delusion that the international problem - of combatting Communism - which our Nation views as "highest priority" is similarly regarded by other nations. Actually most of the Emerging Nations refuse to get excited about what enrages us and do become furious over our relative "indifference" to what seem to them to be the real "questions of the hour."

For example, Dr. Castro's threats and subversion alarm many of our Latin American friends far less than the depressed price of Guatemalan or Brazilian coffee, or a tariff duty against Chilean copper, or the limited market for Bolivian tin.

The "sanctity of international business agreements" an

"right of protection against appropriation" are "gospel" to this Nation but are seen in a different, lesser light in countries whose few principal resources have been controlled by absentee landlords and owners for decades.

Around the Soviet Union, itself, more delusions swirl than on perhaps any other subject.

Thus, some Americans delude themselves that the "Spirit of Camp David" or the "Spirit of Moscow" can somehow be rendered impervious to the fickle moods or the crafty policy-twists of the Kremlin. These Americans are unpleasantly "surprised" when the Russian Bear growls and shows its claws in the form of harassment on the Berlin Autobahn, or the shooting down of an unarmed plane near the U.S.S.R.'s borders.

We should instead expect the unexpected. We should anticipate inconsistent Soviet tactics for the implementing of fairly consistent strategy.

For the fore-seeable future in our lifetimes, we can

envision in the Cold War - alternate thaw and chill, warm vodka toasts and then, angry bluster, announcements that "the moon-race-is-on" and that the "moon-race-is-off," trigger-happy Red Army Generals, and missile-muffling commissars, thousands of Soviet citizens enthusiastically applauding public readings of bold poetry on freedom and then, boot-licking confessions of "bourgeois, cosmopolitan sins" by the once-proud poets.

Even from Peking, we may some day again hear, "Let a hundred flowers bloom," although far more likely are blood-curdling cries of "death-to-the-anti-Leninist deviations of the right!"

To some Americans, our foes' curious behavior is "totally explicable" by the fact "that they are Communists." Yet, the successors to the Czars are fundamentally Russians, just as the successors to the Manchus are fundamentally Chinese. Old cultures, old habits, old stereotypes die hard, even in the "New Communist Man."

"We are all," said a philosopher, "omnibuses in which our ancestors ride." The primitive Russia of Peter the Great rides on in the character of his so-called "modern" successors - in the typically harsh mis-use of power, in the mania for secrecy, in the paranoia of suspicion, in the fanaticism that identifies nationalism with imperialism. What appears to the perplexed observer as "new" is merely a veneer on old wood.

But perhaps most dangerous of all are delusions as to the range of alternatives which our own Nation faces in foreign policy.

We "can isolate the Soviet Union," we are told by some would-be leaders, or we can casually "call its bluff" and accept a show-down war; or conversely, we can buy peace with a few concessions here or there, perhaps, by abandoning West Berlin.

The first alternative is wishful myth; the second is the road to international suicide; the third to a craven Munich.

None of these alternatives is acceptable; none represents this Administration's view or the American people's wish.

The Soviet Union's vast land - mass, its huge resources, its numerous willing or unwilling allies and friends would render the first mentioned policy of "choking" it or "isolating it" - a mere fantasy.

The second alternative of lightly calling a Soviet bluff actually represents playing Russian roulette with the fate of mankind. The most harmless incident could escalate so fast and so inexorably into global war that even communication via the "hot line" might not arrest it. Firmness or fearlessness on our part toward the Soviet Union do not equate with jingoism and recklessness.

Nor does an American policy of reasonable search for accomodation and honorable concessions which do not violate basic principle - equate with the attitude shown by Messrs. Chamberlain and Daladier at Berchtesgaden.

If these three alleged alternatives in foreign policy are delusions, what is the policy which should genuinely command our Nation's respect and fulfillment? It is the policy which we have begun but which we have only fractionally implemented to date. It is the policy which builds the inner strength of free nations, mans the outer ramparts and all the while ventures forth in new experiments of peace with our erstwhile enemies.

"Experiments of peace" represent one of the greatest hopes of mankind to transform the atmosphere of East-West hostility - into stage-by-stage - a climate of understanding and good will.

"Experiments of peace" require experimenters. You, of medical science, should be the principal experimenters.

No one has more universal entree into the hearts of men - and rightly so - than you who balm the pain of the suffering, who bring hope to the afflicted, and help restore the disabled. It is you who are heirs to the foremost legacy of experiment in the service of man. Medicine is the Mother of professions ; the

professions live and grow by experiment - by hypothesis, by test, by validation or refutation.

My hypothesis is that this Nation and the U.S.S.R. can devise a bold "10-Year Plan for East-West Cooperation," which can (whatever the occasional set-backs or disappointments), make America's ambitious 10-Year Journey to the Moon, by comparison, look as pale as a child's experiment.

A 10-Year Plan of East-West Cooperation might conquer not the moon - but war. It could transform this planet from a potential radio-~~active~~ ash-heap into the Paradise that our God-given talents already permit.

A "10-Year Plan" is no idle conjecture. The Soviets pride themselves on their planning. We are no slouches at it, either. Some Americans once thought of "planning" as a slur word. But, that was before the fantastic year-by-year scheduling for Project Apollo; it was before the age of blueprints for Automation and Mach-3 Travel. Today, there is hardly a major corporation in

this land which does not elaborately plan 5 or 10 years ahead; and some have 20-or 25-year plans.

The U.S. and the U.S.S.R. have had a limited 2-year Exchange Agreement. Thanks to the release of Professor Barghoorn, negotiations for its extension have been actively resumed.

The Agreement, over the past few years, has sent a mere 175 Americans into 6-months-or-longer exchanges in the U.S.S.R.; that is, 175 in the entire gamut of fields which are covered. Even this limited attainment has been marred by considerable difficulty and some failures. It is little wonder that many an American diplomat believes, "Let us proceed cautiously as regards more East-West Exchanges; let us move an inch at a time."

"Let us not appear too anxious or the Soviets ^{may} ~~so~~ suspect our zeal that they bargain twice as hard." Such caution on our ^{has} part/had strong foundation. Had we, for example, attempted too much as Russia emerged from the nightmare paranoia of Josef Stalin, we might never have opened up the first cracks in the Iron Curtain.

The right timing for more ambitious U.S.-Soviet cooperation is all-important. But the day should not be too far distant when the President and the Department of State say to the Master Planners of the Kremlin - "Gentlemen, we offer you a blueprint for an entire Decade of Ventures in Peace. If you don't like all or part of it, submit your counter-blueprint. But, gentlemen, please think big."

You and I recall the American named Daniel Burnham who well advised his Countrymen to "make no little plans, for they have no magic to stir men's blood."

I propose that we do "stir the Kremlin's blood" - not its ire. It is somewhat "tired blood." Occasional Soviet defeats, ~~ire, but long years of its blood. It is somewhat tired blood.~~ the senior ages of some of its statesmen, long years of internal ~~Soviet defeats, the ages of some of its statesmen, internal~~ plots and feuds have left their scars and sapped some vitality. But the Kremlin's leaders can be intellectually sharp. They could - and would - I trust, perceive in this sincere proposal a further opportunity to help make sure that never again is

their beloved Motherland ravaged by war.

"Project Peace," as I conceive it, is no "propaganda stunt."

The best so-called propaganda consists of deeds - results, not mere words.

Nor is "Project Peace" conceived as a duopoly for the 2 Super-Powers; it should enlist the energies of all mankind. Let plans be made so that many nations join it. All 3 billion souls on this planet should see it as their project - not merely as spectators, but as co-participants.

Today's co-existence is not enough, for it is a co-existence in fear and, to a considerable extent, in deprivation. For hundreds of millions of people on this globe today, there is co-existence - of a sort - only in wracking hunger, in excruciating disease, in dark illiteracy, in reeking slums, in grinding joblessness, in abject humiliation.

Let the Soviet Union plan with us, therefore - bilaterally, trilaterally and multilaterally - to give this world something to really cheer about.

For the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., themselves, let us schedule:

- progressive, controlled, inspected disarmament - by stages;
- construction and operation of joint laboratories for basic and applied research, joint test stations for the conduct of peaceful experiments, joint computerized information centers for science and technology;

- doubling, tripling, quadrupling of East-West trade;
- research and experiments in taming of the savagery of weather - of hurricanes and tornadoes;

- the opening up of every major city to foreign cultural troupes, to bring the highest attainments of drama, music, ballet, the visual arts - painting, photography and sculpture.

As regards all nations, let the 2 largest nations and all others, plan in the field of health, for example, for:

- intensified world research toward solution of the mysteries of dread diseases like cancer, cardio-vascular disorders, schizophrenia and other mental maladies, arthritis, multiple

sclerosis, and muscular dystrophy;

- speedy completion of the present program for world-wide eradication of malaria and its follow-up by total elimination of other avoidable, endemic diseases whose very existence in the Developing Countries, in this 20th Century are an affront to civilization - cholera, yellow fever, tuberculosis, leprosy, together with children's diseases like diphtheria and whooping cough;

- a world-wide network to maximize the benefits of chemical agents like pesticides and minimize their hazards; to reduce the befouling of the atmosphere or water or soil by contaminants of any type;

- world-wide stand-by plans and provisions for relief of natural disasters;

- world "banks" of the tools of medicine - with deposits by those who can and withdrawals by those who must - in the form of medical instruments, drugs and supplies;

- provision of sanitary water and waste disposal systems

through expanded programs for self-liquidating loans to both urban and rural areas;

- expanded training of more doctors, dentists, nurses, pharmacists and other auxiliary personnel.

Let us conduct an Experiment of Peace at every bullet-torn border - at the gates of the Holy Land and between India and Pakistan. Let us send "soldiers of peace" - engineers, surveyors - to build multi-nation dams, hydro-electric stations, irrigation projects. Let those projects absorb the energies of the soldiers of war who now crouch behind machinegun and barbed wire.

Who will pay for all this? The answer is: The same people who will pay infinitely more for brush-fire war or global war, if it comes - you - I - all of us.

Can we afford to pay for a Decade of Peace? The answer is: Can we afford to pay a more staggering price for a decade of inaction, under-action and mere re-action?

Is my proposal entirely new?

It is not and is not intended to be. Instead, it builds upon past successful experience; it proposes wider scope, duration and goal, however,

Surely, the historic International Geophysical Year should long since have proved to the skeptics what scientists can achieve with scientists, if the politicians quit vetoing and start approving and, better still, proposing.

Twice, the U.S. Senate has unanimously approved Resolutions which I introduced for an International Public Health and Medical Research Year.

The United Nations likewise unanimously approved such a concept. But the World Health Organization deferred it and then indefinitely postponed it, because scarce funds and personnel were already so over-committed to the vast backlog of unfilled priorities.

In any event, a mere 12 or 18 months are not a sufficiently long

span in which to improve world health substantially; a decade is about right.

The real question is: What shall we do with time itself?

Time is our most valuable resource. It is the ultimate dimension. We live now. We age now. People suffer now. We do something now - or nothing now - or too little now - and tomorrow and the day after.

Time ticks too fast in the ears of the old and too slowly in the ears of the young. It ticks not at all to the indifferent or to the sluggard.

We are a young, vigorous nation. We have a right to be impatient and to act fast.

Youth equals energy; it equals hope; youthful spirit, youthful zest are not a function of mere chronological age.

If $E = MC^2$, then an Experiment in Peace can equal progress toward peace. If relativity is a great law of physics, then there is just as universal a law that says: "Don't throw a drowning man

who is 10 feet away a 2-foot rope a second before he goes under for the last time."

If the institution known as the University is the guardian of the best of mankind's past, it is also the dynamic laboratory for the best of mankind's future.

If the battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton, then, you, of Yeshiva University, and your colleagues in Minneapolis and in Monrovia, in Berlin and in Buenos Aires, can win tomorrow's battles for peace in the minds of students in the freshman class of today.

And, ~~is~~ we who are so privileged, can wear a cap and gown today to receive honors in the most venerable of academic traditions, let us go forth with you from this hallowed ~~plane~~ of learning, this shrine of scholarship - to build anew the world of tomorrow.



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