

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

21st ANNIVERSARY OF CHURCHILL ADDRESS

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~~President Davidson~~  
Chairman Bd of Trustees  
✓ John Dalton

✓ V.P. David Stinson

President Davidson  
V.P. Stinson  
Chair Bd of Trustees  
John Dalton

✓ Governor Hearnes  
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✓ Cong. Curtis

Exactly 21 years ago today, Winston Churchill

spoke these well-remembered words:

"From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the  
Adriatic, an Iron Curtain has descended across the  
continent."

"The continent," of course, was Europe.

✓ When Churchill spoke here, a new phase in  
history had begun -- that post-war conflict, centered in  
Europe, which was to become known as the Cold War.

∟ It is my belief that we stand today upon the threshold of a new era in our relations with the peoples of Europe -- a period of New Engagement.

∟ And I believe that this new period, if we do not lose our wits or our nerve, or our patience, can see the replacement of the Iron Curtain by the Open Door.

∟ When Churchill spoke here on March 5, 1946 there were many in this country -- and elsewhere -- who would not accept his stark characterization of the state of affairs in Europe.

∟ But Churchill was right. And he was right to speak out.

∟ The beginning of wisdom, the foundation of sound policy and action, is to face the facts.

∟ What were the facts in March of 1946?

Western Europe lay helpless and prostrate after terrible war -- literally dependent for her survival on the protection and goodwill of the United States. The political institutions, the economies, the peoples of Western Europe stood helpless -- save for the United States -- in face of the imperialist impulses emanating from the East.

There, Stalin had literally erected an Iron Curtain between the nations and peoples of Eastern Europe and those of the West. On his side of that Curtain he saw all as occupied territory .. the spoils of war. And his further intentions were declared and clear.

*now* What are the facts of March of 1967?

Western Europe stands today second only to the United States as a free and powerful center of economic and social well-being.

Insert (1)

There is reason to believe that the new leadership of the Soviet Union finds the Iron Curtain not only a crude barrier to the west, but also a costly impediment to their own well being and progress. The Soviet Union of 1967 is a powerful, productive and modern nation. There is a growing realization that a closed society is an admission of weakness - that a closed society ~~inhibits~~ inhibits progress. Surely a system that can produce a Sputnik - missiles and satellites must find an Iron Curtain ~~an antique~~.

a relic of the pre-computer  
Pre-scientific mentality.

Perhaps then we are right when we observe that the Iron Curtain is as antiquated and obsolete to the modern Soviet Union as the Armored suit of the Feudal Baron of the middle ages. ~~But~~

~~restricted movement and~~  
~~action. Both were protective~~  
~~and binding.~~



~~The impact of~~ Science and Technology  
has pierced the eroding Iron  
Curtain - It is being replaced  
by a ~~to~~ web of communication -  
The Transistor, the Computer, the  
Space Satellite - these are the  
building-blocks of modern  
communications.

~~Massive copper cables are beginning~~  
to ~~interconnect East and West Europe~~  
~~with electric power grids.~~

Scientists, engineers and  
technicians <sup>are</sup> flowing back and forth -  
overleaping the old barrier with  
the jets of contemporary air travel.

East-West  
The arteries of trade flow  
ever stronger and faster.

all of these physical changes,  
all of these ~~are~~ profound economic  
changes may well be the precursors  
of political change.

Because of their brave initiatives -- and with our help -- the nations of Western Europe stand able once again to assert their own role in the world.

In Eastern Europe the captive states of 21 years ago are once again reaching toward their own identities. The monolithic control which smothered and held them in the grip of terror is today diminishing.

The Iron Curtain itself -- although firm and impenetrable in many places, as in Berlin -- has become increasingly ~~porous~~ <sup>porous</sup> in others. Goods, ideas and people have begun to criss-cross the European continent. (Insert)

~~The essence of the situation today is this~~ ~~The~~ The European family -- long-separated ... long set against each other, yet still a family -- is becoming reacquainted and is moving toward more normal relationships.

↳ The Soviet Union, recovering by heroic effort from the frightful loss of human life and resources which it suffered in the war, has grown greatly in its capacity and its inclination to satisfy the material needs of the Russian people. ↳ No one who cares about the human condition can fail to rejoice at this fact. And its aggressive behavior has been tempered *by time and circumstances.*

↳ All these things have happened. ↳ Yet they did not happen by accident.

↳ They have happened because we followed the course Winston Churchill counseled 21 years ago.

↳ They have happened in large part because, in the face of Stalinist tyranny, we in America brought our power and our *leadership, our* protection to the rebuilding <sup>of the</sup> European continent.

*These far reaching changes*  
↳ ~~They~~ have happened because we helped and encouraged our European partners in their unceasing efforts toward self-renewal.

They have happened because -- in Berlin, in Greece and Turkey, yes, and in Cuba -- the Soviet Union came to recognize that brute force -- or its threat -- could no longer be an acceptable means of attaining political goals.

↳ If today the Soviet Union takes a more prudent and cautious course, it is -- for more than any other reason -- because together we and our Western partners

have in these two decades stood firm and fast.

*We have been resolute without being belligerent - firm without being inflexible!*

↳ During this time, too, a constructive force has been at work in Western Europe -- releasing the constraining bonds of old hostilities and closed institutions to the fresh stimulation of competition and cooperation across national boundaries. / That constructive force has

been the will of the peoples of Western Europe that they should unite

*in the pursuit of common goals and agreed-upon objectives.*

- Common market -  
- EFTA -  
- Coal + Steel  
- Council of Europe  
- In space European  
space Research  
organization

↳ Their desire for unity has been most ~~manifest~~ <sup>evident</sup>  
<sup>economic + political</sup>

in the building of the European Communities, and of  
the initiatives of an increasing number of nations to  
join those communities.

~~This, too, has had a powerful influence on the  
positive changes which have taken place~~

↳ And we have  
supported ~~all~~ <sup>all of these far-reaching movements for</sup>  
unity and common purpose.

But, Some today see Western European unity

endangered by a rising wave of nationalism ~~there~~.

↳ And there are those who fear that the renewal  
of a narrower nationalism in Western Europe must be  
accepted as an inevitable and immutable fact -- that we  
must resign ourselves to the abandonment of our support  
for unity, and to the acceptance of a return of power politics  
among nations.

↳ There are a ~~small~~ few in other countries who conclude  
that the "realistic" next step toward a settlement of European

problems can therefore only be by bilateral agreement  
between the Soviet Union and the United States -- over  
the heads of our Western partners.

↳ I do not believe this is "realism."

↳ Neither do I believe a realistic settlement of  
European problems can be achieved by European nations  
without our participation, and that of the Soviet Union.

↳ It is precisely now -- at the time when new  
opportunities lie ahead -- that we must retain cohesion  
with our Western partners -- and they with us. If the  
Cold War is to end ... if the Iron Curtain is to be lifted,  
we shall need them and they shall need us.

↳ The task now, ~~in light of a new situation~~, is not  
to throw away what has been successful, but to build  
constructively upon it.



↳ I believe that the people of Western Europe will reject concepts of narrow nationalism and of national adventure, <sup>they</sup> ~~and~~ will continue to move forward toward unity -- toward a unified Western Europe open to expansion and conscious of its need to strengthen its ties with the nations of Eastern Europe.

↳ I believe, too, that they will reject any severing of their ties across the Atlantic -- ties built firmly on common cultural heritage, on common experience, on common interest.

and ↳ For our part, we do not mean either to abandon our friends or to dominate them.

↳ We know that American power, <sup>and commitment -</sup> continues to be necessary <sup>for</sup> stability in central Europe.

↳ We know that difficult and intractable problems -- such as arms control and the reunification of Germany -- must continue to involve both American and European effort.

↳ In our Alliance, the task is ~~this~~ to transform what was built on fear and common threat into a vital, working instrument built on hope, and common opportunity and mutual ~~common~~ responsibility.

↳ It must be an Alliance for peace and peaceful progress, not simply against the specter of invasion from the East. ↳ It must be an Alliance for promotion of social and economic welfare, not simply against a Communist threat.

↳ For, as ~~the~~ <sup>Johnson</sup> President has said, the times require "a shift from the narrow concept of coexistence to the broader vision of peaceful engagement."

↳ To strengthen the ~~mutual~~ <sup>relationship</sup> Alliance, we in America must be determined to treat our ~~Western~~ European partners as

equal partners ... to consult with them, in the true sense of that word, and in every area of mutual ~~common~~ interest ... we must

practice forebearance as they find their way to new forms of cooperation and unity among themselves.

↳ I cannot overemphasize the importance of open  
and honest consultation and discussion among the  
members of the Atlantic Alliance.

↳ For, it is precisely now -- when there is movement  
and ferment in Europe -- that the temptations are greatest  
for unilateral action by the individual partners.

↳ As I have said, it is imperative that we retain our  
solidarity. And to do so, we must all take the extra step to  
insure that no action should be undertaken by any one  
of the partners which might jeopardize the welfare and  
security of all.

↳ We cannot afford the luxury of division.

↳ We cannot afford it in matters of military security.

↳ Nor can we afford it in matters of high economic and social  
concern. That is why:

∟ We must, and we shall, be forthcoming in response to the initiatives taken by our Atlantic partners toward narrowing the "technology gap" between us. ∟ For, if we cannot narrow this gap between ourselves, how can we ever hope to narrow the far-greater gap between the Atlantic nations and the <sup>poorer</sup> ~~poor~~ nations <sup>of Asia, Africa & L. Amer.</sup> ~~to the South.~~

# ∟ We must, and we shall, persevere in our efforts to bring the "Kennedy Round trade negotiation" to a successful conclusion -- one in which there is true reciprocity ... one in which arbitrary and artificial restraints to trade may be removed and from which a far more efficient allocation of resources may result.

∟ The goals of Western European unity and of Atlantic partnership are not in opposition to the goal of the Open Door. They are a first necessity in reaching it. They are the key to that door.

#1

As we strive toward these former goals <sup>of Atlantic Partnership</sup> how shall we proceed toward the latter opening the door to the East.

First, we must work together with our Western European partners in encouraging a further development of trade, technological and cultural contacts with Eastern Europe.

This is why it is imperative that we seize each opportunity -- such as the East-West Trade Bill now before the Congress -- to increase the flow of people and trade to and from these previously-closed societies.

We should look  
We look, for example, toward the time when the nations of Eastern Europe may become members of the GATT, and full <sup>active</sup> participants in the work of the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe.

#2

Second, we must encourage the continued evolution

of Soviet policy beyond the ambiguities of "peaceful

coexistence" toward more substantial forms of cooperation.

*active*  
*we have successfully negotiated a treaty banning*  
We have negotiated a treaty banning nuclear

weapons from outer space.

*nuclear  
tests on  
the ground  
and the atmosphere  
& underwater*

↳ We are working with others to bring about a treaty

banning the proliferation of nuclear weapons -- a treaty

acceptable and beneficial to the nuclear and non-nuclear

powers alike.

↳ We have concluded an air agreement with the

Soviet Union and have just signed a new U. S. - Soviet

cultural agreement.

↳ Through liberalization of credit, and easing of travel

restrictions, we hope to accelerate the exchange of goods

and people.



↳ We seek early Senate ratification of the United States - Soviet Consular Agreement.

↳ We shall actively work toward closer cooperation between the Soviet Union and the nations of the West in space, in medicine, in peaceful technology.

and- ↳ We have not responded to the Soviet deployment of a limited anti-ballistic missile system by immediately ~~deploying~~ ~~beginning to build~~ one of our own. ↳ Instead, we seek to convince the Soviet leaders that this would merely mean yet another costly round in the arms race, <sup>and</sup> After the expenditure of many billions of dollars, neither of us would be more secure than when we started.

↳ Our objective is not to step up the arms race, but to slow it down or halt it, to the mutual interest of all nations."

#3 ↳ Third, we must work toward a settlement of those European problems which have been left unresolved in the aftermath of the War.

↳ At the heart of this is the reunification of Germany,

~~As I said earlier,~~ this is a matter which concerns not only Europeans, but America and the Soviet Union as well,

↳ It is a matter, too -- and this sometimes seems nearly forgotten -- important for the people of Germany.

↳ Thus reunification can only take place after the most thorough and careful consultations among all parties involved. ↳ Reunification is a difficult goal. But it is a necessary one, if stability and peace are finally to be achieved in central Europe.

#4  
Fourth, no nation can hope to be an island of security in a turbulent world. We must therefore consider how the resources of the industrialized parts of the world can usefully assist the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America so that progress and stability and hope may overcome despair and violence.

It does not require much foresight to realize that the widening gap between growing populations and diminishing food supplies is approaching a time of explosion.

◀ Shall we sit in complacency, lulled by material comforts, until we are engulfed in chaos? Or shall we act, now and together?

*The Gap between the Rich and the Poor -*  
It is Europe's problem -- and the Soviet Union's --

as much as it is ours. ~~Now~~ We must consult together, plan together, and combine our wisdom and resources to help work toward security and peaceful development in the poverty-stricken parts of the world.

Those who have launched the technological  
revolution -- a revolution without ideology -- have the  
responsibility to see that its benefits are more widely  
shared by others.

Poverty breeds disorder, and hunger breeds  
violence. And it has been the lesson of these past few  
years that it is precisely in the poverty-stricken and  
hungry parts of the world where a conflict might arise

which would draw the super-powers into disastrous  
confrontation.

*In such a catastrophe, there  
are no victors.*

5  
Fifth, we must continue to develop and strengthen  
international institutions which will provide a framework  
of law and order in the world, in which nations of all  
ideologies may find common and peaceful grounds for  
settlement of disputes.

↳ Churchill said aptly, that "jaw, jaw is better than war, war."

↳ Most important of such institutions is the United Nations.

↳ The United Nations, ~~among other things~~, is an unmatched buffer zone between conflicting interests and ideologies. It is a place where reason and compromise may interpose themselves before major nations reach the point of no-return.

↳ It is the invaluable "middle man"... the honest broker necessary when normal contacts fail.

↳ And it is also an invaluable instrument of peace-keeping in places around the world where major powers might otherwise feel it necessary to inject themselves.

↳ There is no denying that the Soviet Union, as our Western partners and ourselves, has a vital interest in the strength and health of an institution which may serve as a force for order and restraint among us.

Let us examine these things *as they are today -*

-- Greater exchange at all levels with the  
nations of Eastern Europe;

↳ Active pursuit and encouragement of  
"peaceful coexistence" *and cooperation* with the Soviet Union;

↳ A European settlement including the  
reunification of Germany;

↳ Joint efforts with our former adversaries  
in helping the developing countries;

↳ Building a system of international order in  
which these same former adversaries are our partners.

( ! )  
↳ Would any of these things have been at all imagineable  
when Winston Churchill stood here 21 years ago? *I doubt it!*

↳ When the final realization sank in on the last  
doubter that an Iron Curtain indeed was being erected across  
the heart of Europe, how many of us had reason for hope that  
in 1967 -- so short a time later -- it might be possible to  
begin replacing it with an Open Door?



~~#~~

↳ In the center of free Berlin there stands today  
a stark ruin -- the skeleton of a church, preserved to  
symbolize eternally the depravity of war.

↳ It is our hope that the Iron Curtain may one day,  
too, lie in ruins -- its remnants a symbol of a time that  
mercifully ended.

yes - ↳ A great act in the human drama lies at hand. —

↳ Through a new Engagement in Europe, we have the chance  
to shape a "commonwealth of progress" dedicated not to war  
but to peace ... not to doctrinal conflict but to constructive  
reconciliation.

↳ We have the chance, as President Johnson has  
expressed it "to help the people of Europe to achieve  
together:

-- a continent in which the peoples of Eastern and  
Western Europe work shoulder to shoulder for the common  
good;

!!

↳ -- A continent in which alliances do not confront each other in bitter hostility, but instead provide a framework in which West and East can act together in order to assure the security of all. "

↳ Therefore, I leave you with this: Who is to say, if we in the West stand together and in unity, where the next two decades may lead?

↳ Who is to say, if our rich and powerful nation exerts the enlightened leadership of which it is capable, what bright new fulfillment may lie ahead for the human family?

↳ Our guide could be no better than that set forth here 21 years ago by Churchill:

"If we adhere faithfully to the charter of the United Nations and walk forward in sedate and sober strength, seeking no one's land or treasure, seeking to lay no arbitrary control upon the thoughts of men ...

the high roads of the future will be clear, not only for

us but for all, not only for our time, but for the

century to come."

*To Sir Winston & to the world  
we say* America is ready to play its role,

# # #

FOR RELEASE: 3/6/67  
MONDAY AM's

*Julie Cahn*

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
21st ANNIVERSARY OF CHURCHILL ADDRESS  
WESTMINSTER COLLEGE  
FULTON, MISSOURI  
MARCH 6, 1967

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Exactly 21 years ago today, Winston Churchill spoke these well-remembered words:

"From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an Iron Curtain has descended across the continent."

"The continent," of course, was Europe.

When Churchill spoke here, a new phase in history had begun -- that post-war conflict, centered in Europe, which was to become known as the Cold War.

It is my belief that we stand today upon the threshold of a new era in our relations with the peoples of Europe -- a period of New Engagement.

And I believe that this new period, if we do not lose our wits or our nerve, or our patience, can see the replacement of the Iron Curtain by the Open Door.

When Churchill spoke here on March 5, 1946, there were many in this country -- and elsewhere -- who would not accept his stark characterization of the state of affairs in Europe.

But Churchill was right. And he was right to speak out.

The beginning of wisdom, the foundation of sound policy and action, is to face the facts.

What were the facts in March of 1946?

Western Europe lay helpless and prostrate after terrible war -- literally dependent for her survival on the protection and goodwill of the United States. The political institutions, the economies, the peoples of Western Europe stood helpless -- save for the United States -- in face of the imperialist impulses emanating from the East.

There, Stalin had literally erected an Iron Curtain between the nations and peoples of Eastern Europe and those of the West. On his side of that Curtain he saw all as occupied territory . . . the spoils of war. And his further intentions were declared and clear.

What are the facts of March of 1967?

Western Europe stands today second only to the United States as a free and powerful center of economic and social well-being. Because of their brave initiatives -- and with our help -- the nations of Western Europe stand able once again to assert their own role in the world.

In Eastern Europe the captive states of 21 years ago are once again reaching toward their own identities. The monolithic control which smothered and held them in the grip of terror is today diminishing.

The Iron Curtain itself -- although firm and impenetrable in many places, as in Berlin -- has become increasingly permeable in others. Goods, ideas and people have begun to criss-cross the European continent.

The essence of the situation today is this: The European family -- long-separated . . . long set against each other, yet still a family -- is becoming re-acquainted and is moving toward more normal relationships.

The Soviet Union, recovering by heroic effort from the frightful loss of human life and resources which it suffered in the war, has grown greatly in its capacity and its inclination to satisfy the material needs of the Russian people. No one who cares about the human condition can fail to rejoice at this fact. And its aggressive behavior has been tempered.

All these things have happened. Yet they did not happen by accident.

They have happened because we followed the course Winston Churchill counseled 21 years ago.

They have happened in large part because, in the face of Stalinist tyranny, we in America brought our power and protection to the rebuilding European continent.

They have happened because we helped and encouraged our European partners in their unceasing efforts toward self-renewal.

They have happened because -- in Berlin, in Greece and Turkey, yes, and in Cuba -- the Soviet Union came to recognize that brute force -- or its threat -- could no longer be an acceptable means of attaining political goals.

If today the Soviet Union takes a more prudent and cautious course, it is -- for more than any other reason -- because together we and our Western partners have in these two decades stood firm and fast.

During this time, too, a constructive force has been at work in Western Europe -- releasing the constraining bonds of old hostilities and closed institutions to the fresh stimulation of competition and cooperation across national boundaries. That constructive force has been the will of the peoples of Western Europe that they should unite.

Their desire for unity has been most manifest in the building of the European Communities, and of the initiatives of an increasing number of nations to join those communities.

This, too, has had a powerful influence on the positive changes which have taken place. And we have supported it.

Some today see Western European unity endangered by a rising wave of nationalism there.

And there are those who fear that the renewal of a narrower nationalism in Western Europe must be accepted as an inevitable and immutable fact -- that we must resign ourselves to the abandonment of our support for unity, and to the acceptance of a return to power politics among nations.

There are a small few in other countries who conclude that the "realistic" next step toward a settlement of European problems can therefore only be by bilateral agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States -- over the heads of our Western partners.



I do not believe this is "realism."

Neither do I believe a realistic settlement of European problems can be achieved by European nations without our participation, and that of the Soviet Union.

It is precisely now -- at the time when new opportunities lie ahead -- that we must retain cohesion with our Western partners -- and they with us. If the Cold War is to end . . . if the Iron Curtain is to be lifted, we shall need them and they shall need us.

The task now, in light of a new situation, is not to throw away what has been successful, but to build constructively upon it.

I believe that the people of Western Europe will reject concepts of narrow nationalism and of national adventure, and will continue to move forward toward unity -- toward a unified Western Europe open to expansion and conscious of its need to strengthen its ties with the nations of Eastern Europe.

I believe, too, that they will reject any severing of their ties across the Atlantic -- ties built firmly on common cultural heritage, on common experience, on common interest.

For our part, we do not mean either to abandon our friends or to dominate them.

We know that American power continues to be necessary to stability in central Europe.

We know that difficult and intractable problems -- such as arms control and the reunification of Germany -- must continue to involve both American and European effort.

In our Alliance, the task is this: To transform what was built on fear and common threat into a vital, working instrument built on hope and common opportunity and common responsibility.

It must be an Alliance for peace and peaceful progress, not simply against the specter of invasion from the East. It must be an Alliance for promotion of social and economic welfare, not simply against a Communist threat.

For, as the President has said, the times require "a shift from the narrow concept of coexistence to the broader vision of peaceful engagement."

To strengthen the Alliance, we in America must be determined to treat our Western European partners as equal partners . . . to consult with them, in the true sense of that word, in every area of common interest . . . and to practice forbearance as they find their way to new forms of cooperation and unity among themselves.

I cannot overemphasize the importance of open and honest consultation and discussion among the members of the Atlantic Alliance.

For, it is precisely now -- when there is movement and ferment in Europe -- that the temptations are greatest for unilateral action by the individual partners.

As I have said, it is imperative that we retain our solidarity. And to do so, we must all take the extra step to insure that no action should be undertaken by any one of the partners which might jeopardize the welfare and security of all.

We cannot afford the luxury of division.

We cannot afford it in matters of military security. Nor can we afford it in matters of high economic and social concern.

That is why:

We must, and we shall, be forthcoming in response to the initiatives taken by our Atlantic partners toward narrowing the "technology gap" between us. For, if we cannot narrow this gap between ourselves, how can we ever hope to narrow the far-greater gap between the Atlantic nations and the poor nations to the South?

We must, and we shall, persevere in our efforts to bring the Kennedy Round trade negotiation to a successful conclusion--one in which there is true reciprocity... one in which arbitrary and artificial restraints to trade may be removed and from which a far more efficient allocation of resources may result.

The goals of Western European unity and of Atlantic partnership are not in opposition to the goal of the Open Door. They are a first necessity in reaching it. They are the key to that door.

As we strive toward these former goals, how shall we proceed toward the latter?

First, we must work together with our Western European partners in encouraging a further development of trade, technological and cultural contacts with Eastern Europe.

This is why it is imperative that we seize each opportunity--such as the East-West Trade Bill now before the Congress--to increase the flow of people and trade to and from these previously-closed societies.

We look, for example, toward the time when the nations of Eastern Europe may become members of the GATT, and full participants in the work of the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe.

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Our objective is not to step up the arms race, but to slow it down or halt it, to the mutual interest of all nations.

Third, we must work toward a settlement of those European problems which have been left unresolved in the aftermath of the War.

At the heart of this is the reunification of Germany.

As I said earlier, this is a matter which concerns not only Europeans, but America and the Soviet Union as well.

It is a matter, too--and this sometimes seems nearly forgotten--important for the people of Germany.

Thus reunification can only take place after the most thorough and careful consultations among all parties involved. Reunification is a difficult goal. But it is a necessary one, if stability and peace are finally to be achieved in central Europe.

Fourth, no nation can hope to be an island of security in a turbulent world. We must therefore consider how the resources of the industrialized parts of the world can usefully assist the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America so that progress and stability and hope may overcome despair and violence.

It does not require much foresight to realize that the widening gap between growing populations and diminishing food supplies is approaching a time of explosion.

Shall we sit in complacency, lulled by creature comforts, until we are engulfed in chaos? Or shall we act, now and together?

It is Europe's problem--and the Soviet Union's--as much as it is ours, and we must consult together, plan together, and combine our wisdom and resources to help work toward security and peaceful development in the poverty-stricken parts of the world.

Those who have launched the technological revolution--a revolution without ideology--have the responsibility to see that its benefits are more widely shared by others.

For poverty breeds disorder, and hunger breeds violence. And it has been the lesson of these past few years that it is precisely in the poverty-stricken and hungry parts of the world where a conflict might arise which would draw the super-powers into disastrous confrontation.

Fifth, we must continue to develop and strengthen international institutions which will provide a framework of law and order in the world, in which nations of all ideologies may find common and peaceful grounds for settlement of disputes.

Churchill said aptly, that "jaw, jaw is better than war, war."

Most important of such institutions is the United Nations.

The United Nations, among other things, is an unmatched buffer zone between conflicting interests and ideologies. It is a place where reason and compromise may interpose themselves before major nations reach the point of no-return.

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There is no denying that the Soviet Union, as our Western partners and ourselves, has a vital interest in the strength and health of an institution which may serve as a force for order and restraint among us.

Let us examine these things:

- Greater exchange at all levels with the nations of Eastern Europe;
- Active pursuit and encouragement of "peaceful coexistence" with the Soviet Union;
- A European settlement including the reunification of Germany;
- Joint efforts with our former adversaries in helping the developing countries;
- Building a system of international order in which these same former adversaries are our partners.

Would any of these things have been at all imagineable when Winston Churchill stood here 21 years ago?

When the final realization sank in on the last doubter that an Iron Curtain indeed was being erected across the heart of Europe, how many of us had reason for hope that in 1967--so short a time later--it might be possible to begin replacing it with an Open Door?

In the center of free Berlin there stands today a stark ruin--the skeleton of a church, preserved to symbolize eternally the depravity of war.

It is our hope that the Iron Curtain may one day, too, lie in ruins--its remnants a symbol of a time that mercifully ended.

A great act in the human drama lies at hand: Through a new Engagement in Europe we have the chance to shape a commonwealth of progress dedicated not to war but to peace...not to doctrinal conflict but to constructive reconciliation.

We have the chance, as President Johnson has expressed it "to help the people of Europe to achieve together:

- a continent in which the peoples of Eastern and Western Europe work shoulder to shoulder for the common good;
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Therefore, I leave you with this: Who is to say, if we in the West stand together and in unity, where the next two decades may lead?

Who is to say, if our rich and powerful nation exerts the enlightened leadership of which it is capable, what bright new fulfillment may lie ahead for the human family?

Our guide could be no better than that set forth here 21 years ago by Churchill:

"If we adhere faithfully to the charter of the United Nations and walk forward in sedate and sober strength, seeking no one's land or treasure, seeking to lay no arbitrary control upon the thoughts of men...the high roads of the future will be clear, not only for us but for all, not only for our time, but for the century to come."

America is ready to play its role.

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[Transcript]



FULTON, MISSOURI

65251

March 5, 1967

THE JOHN FINDLEY GREEN FOUNDATION LECTURE - WESTMINSTER COLLEGE -  
MARCH 5, 1967

ADDRESS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

PROGRAM

I PROCESSIONAL

II THE NATIONAL ANTHEM

III CALL TO ORDER - Dr. Robert L. D. Davidson

Remain standing. I officially call to order this Convocation at which time we will honor certain distinguished guests, and, at which time, we will have the twenty-sixth John Findley Green Memorial Lecture.

IV INVOCATION - The Rev. Mr. Cecil G. Culverhouse

Almighty and Eternal God, mercifully look upon us gathered here as a College and a Community concerned about the World and our responsibilities in it. Order what is disordered in our lives, bring our minds to thy truth, our consciences to thy law, and our hearts to thy love, that our life as individuals, as a community, and as a Nation, may be an obedient response to thy gracious and demanding will, through Jesus Christ Our Lord. Amen.

V WELCOME FROM THE STATE OF MISSOURI - The Hon. Warren E. Hearnes,  
Governor of Missouri

Introduction by Dr. Robert L. D. Davidson -



It is singularly propitious that the Green Lecture would take place on this particular date, inasmuch as probably the most distinguished of the lecturers, Winston Churchill, delivered his famous address on March 5, 1946. It is also singularly propitious that the Churchill Memorial is involved in this program by honoring another of our distinguished friends. Because, as a result of that lecture, much has been started on this campus of great importance. We are honored this afternoon with the attendance of several very special guests. I would like to introduce two of them at this time; the first, Missouri's Junior United State's Senator, Edward Long; and, an Honorary Alumnus of this College, Congressman, Thomas Curtis.

I would like to call attention to the fact that I have received telegrams; from Kim Jong Pil, expressing his regret in not being able to attend. I will excuse him, inasmuch as he is in Korea; from the former President of the United States, Harry S. Truman; from the former President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower, and from the President of the United States. You will, I know, let me forebear the reading of these lovely messages. They are available for your perusal at a future time. Another of our distinguished guests here this afternoon who has a pleasurable duty to perform, I present the Governor of the State of Missouri, who will make a few words of welcome--Governor Warren Hearnes.

Applause

Governor Hearnes speaks:

Thank you very much. My fellow Missourians, the State of Missouri is most honored this day to have in our midst the Vice President of the United States. I'm only sorry that more of the four and one-half million Missourians could not be here this afternoon to hear this address. I'm

equally sorry that more of my fellow Missourians did not have the opportunity to meet and talk with the Vice President personally; because, to do this is to like him, to know him is to respect him, and to hear him is to admire him. I do not know, Mr. Vice President, when you will return, but I will say to you in all sincerity, "Come again, and Come Again Soon, because your every trip to the State of Missouri is a most pleasant one because you are you."

Thank you very much.

Dr. Davidson Speaks:

I should like at this time to offer our special welcome from Westminster College to you, Governor Hearnes, and especially to you, Vice President Humphrey.

VI GLORY TO GOD - Westminster College Men of Song

Dr. Davidson Speaks:

Thank you very much, Men of Song, it might be interesting for you to know that they are going away on their spring trip. They have doubled back to Fulton, and are leaving immediately to continue their trip. They are due in Springfield, Missouri this evening.

VII PRESENTATION OF HONORARY DEGREES - President Davidson  
Dr. E. K. Williams, Dean of  
the College

Dr. Neal S. Wood speaking:

Mr. President, if I speak with feeling, it is because of the warm affection and great admiration I have for the honoree. For brilliantly effective service to Westminster College and its Winston Churchill Memorial, having to their great benefit provided initiative, wise counsel and loyal support, and giving unstintingly of his many talents; for his courage as a tireless proponent of causes, humanitarian, educational and civic, in which he believes, and as a vigorous fighter against

what he believes to be wrong; for his recognition of the true public responsibilities of trusteeship, both as a member of the boards of educational and humanitarian organizations and as the Publisher of a great and influential metropolitan newspaper and for his dedicated service on behalf of his country, his church and fellow man. With all of these attributes and for his humaneness itself, it is only appropriate that we give recognition and acknowledge our gratitude and respect by making him an honorary alumnus of Westminster College.

Mr. President, I present for the Degree of Doctor of Humane Letters, Richard H. Amberg.

Dr. Davidson Speaks:

By the authority vested in me by the Faculty and Board of Trustees of Westminster College, and by the State of Missouri, I hereby confer upon you the Degree of Doctor of Humane Letters, with all the rights, privileges and immunities appertaining thereto, wherefore I cause you to be vested with the proper hood of the order.

The Hon. John M. Dalton Speaks:

President Davidson, I present to you for an honorary degree at your hand, a distinguished gentleman. We, of Westminster College, have been very privileged to have in our history many prominent and erudite visitors, and we add to our history today. In recent years, the office of Vice President of the United States has changed dynamically. Its incumbents have spent relatively less time presiding over the senior law making body of the Government, and relatively more energy in critically important international missions. The office has high claim upon the energy, the wisdom, the devotion of its men, and this Vice President of the United States has met these demands gallantly. He could not, and would not, be a vegetater. His zeal

has carried him from France to the Philippines in the service of our country and his parapatetic domestic activities have been scarcely less strenuous. He has been an articulate and faithful servant of American policies. He is at home in the academic climate. He holds a graduate degree in Political Science and a Phi Beta Kappa key as well. Westminster is proud and honored to welcome him as its newest alumnus to its procession of Green Lecturers.

Sir, I present for the Degree of Doctor of Political Science, Hubert Horatio Humphrey.

Dr. Davidson Speaks:

By the authority invested in me by the Faculty and Board of Trustees of Westminster College, I hereby confer upon you the Degree of Doctor of Political Science, with all the rights, privileges, and immunities appertaining thereto, whereby I cause you to be vested with the proper hood of the Order and present to you this certificate.

At this point, I would like to present just one other guest of this occasion. "Mrs. Hubert Humphrey, would you please rise and be recognized."

Ladies and Gentlemen, Dr. Humphrey.

VIII THE 1967 JOHN FINDLEY GREEN LECTURE - Hubert H. Humphrey  
Vice President of the United States

President Davidson and Chairman of the Board of Trustees, John Dalton, Vice President Stinson, my good friend, Governor Hearnese, my friend, Senator Long, Congressman Curtis, members of the faculty, members of the community of Westminster College, the students and neighbors.

First, may I just make one casual observation. Not long ago, I was visiting another one of our great colleges, and the President of that institution said to me as we were going through the ceremonies on the presentation of Honorary Degrees, "I want you to know that this faculty we have (I think he said something like) sixty-six earned degrees, earned doctorates, but I am very happy to present you with an Honorary Doctorate." I want Dr. Davidson to know that once you've been Vice President of the United States, even for two years, you've earned it, and I am most grateful, humbly grateful, and highly honored to be included amongst the Honorary Alumni of this great college. This college and this occasion is vested with tremendous tradition.

It was exactly twenty-one years ago today that Winston Churchill spoke these well-remembered words: "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an Iron Curtain has descended across the continent." "The continent," of course, was Europe, and when Churchill spoke here on that great and historic occasion, a new phase in history had begun--the post-war conflict, centered in Europe, which was to become known as the cold war.

Now, it is my belief that we stand today upon the threshold of a new era in our relationships with the peoples of Europe. Yes, a period of new peaceful engagement. And, I believe that this new period, if we do not lose our wits or our nerve, or our patience, can see the replacement of what Churchill described as the Iron Curtain; what we, as an open society, would want to have--the Open Door

When Churchill spoke here on March 5, 1946, there were many in this country, and elsewhere, who would not accept his stark characterization of the state of affairs in Europe. But, Churchill was right. And, indeed, he was right to speak out from this platform. ~~the~~ The beginning of wisdom, the foundation of sound policy and action, is to face the facts.

Now just what were the facts in March 1946? It is well to ask that question because over half of the population of this country today was not alive when Churchill spoke. Western Europe lay helpless and prostrate after a terrible war, literally dependent upon her survival on the protection, on the goodwill, and the help of the United States. The political institutions, the economies, the peoples of Western Europe stood helpless--save for the United States--in face of the imperialistic impulses emanating from the East.

There, Stalin had literally erected an Iron Curtain between the nations and peoples of Eastern Europe and those of the West, and on his side of that curtain he saw all as occupied territory--the spoils of the war. And, his further intentions, were declared and made clear.

What are the facts of March of 1967?

Western Europe stands today second only to the United States as a free and powerful center of economic and social well-being. Their



wounds healed because of their brave initiatives--and with our help--the nations of Western Europe stand able once again to assert their own independent role in the world.

In Eastern Europe the captive states of twenty-one years ago are once again reaching toward their own identities and destinies. The monolithic control which smothered and held them in the grip of terror when Churchill spoke, is today happily diminishing.

The Iron Curtain itself--although firm and impenetrable in many places as in Berlin--has become increasingly porous in others. Goods, ideas and people have begun to criss-cross the European continent, and I say there is reason to believe that the new leadership of the Soviet Union finds the Iron Curtain not only a crude barrier to the West, but also a costly impediment to their own well being and progress. The Soviet Union of 1967 is a powerful, productive and basically modern nation. There is a growing realization there, as elsewhere, that a closed society is an admission of weakness, that a closed society inhibits progress. Surely a system that can produce a Sputnik, missiles, atomic weapons, and satellites, surely that system must find an Iron Curtain a relic of the pre-computer, pre-scientific mentality. Perhaps then we are right when we observe that the Iron Curtain is as antique and obsolete to the modern Soviet Union as the armored suit of the Feudal Baron of the Middle Ages.

Science and technology have pierced the eroding Iron Curtain and it is being replaced by a web of communication--the transistor, the computer, the space satellite--these are the building blocks of modern communications. Scientists and engineers, technicians, are

beginning to flow back and forth, overleaping the old barriers with the jets of contemporary air travel. The arteries of East-West trade flow even stronger and faster. All of these physical changes may well be the precursors of political change.

The essence of the situation today is this: The European family, and it is a family, long-separated, long set against each other, is becoming reacquainted and is moving toward more normal relationships.

The Soviet Union, recovering by heroic effort from the frightless loss of human life and resources which it suffered in the war, has grown greatly in its capacity and its inclinations to satisfy the material needs of the Russian people. No one who cares about the human condition can fail to rejoice at this fact. The Soviets aggressive behavior has somewhat tempered by time and circumstances.

All of these things have happened. They are the facts of today; yet, they did not happen by chance or by accident. They have happened because we followed the course that Winston Churchill counseled twenty-  
 one years ago at Westminster College. <sup>\*</sup> They have happened because in Berlin, in Greece and Turkey, yes, and in Cuba, the Soviet Union came to realize that brute force--or its threat--could no longer be an acceptable means of international conduct or of obtaining political goals.

\* We took our stand against aggression, we took a stand for self-determination. These are far-reaching changes that have happened.



If today the Soviet Union takes a more prudent and cautious course, and it is, for more than any other reason it is because together we and our Western partners have in these past two decades stood firm and fast. We have been resolute without being belligerent, we have been firm without being inflexible.

During this time, too, a constructive force has been at work in Western Europe releasing the constraining bonds of old hostilities and closed institutions to the fresh stimulation of competition and cooperation across national boundaries. That constructive force has been the will of the peoples of Western Europe that they should unite; unite in the pursuit of common goals and agreed upon objectives.

Their desire for unity has been most evident in the building of the European economic and political communities, and of the initiatives of an increasing number of nations to join those communities. We have supported all of these far-reaching movements for European unity and common purpose, but there are some today who see Western Europe unity endangered by a rising wave of nationalism, and there are those who fear that the renewal of narrower nationalism in Western Europe must be accepted as an inevitable and immutable fact. In other words, that we must resign ourselves to the abandonment of our support of European cooperation and unity, and to the acceptance of the return of power politics among nations. Yes, there are those voices strong and strident here and abroad, and there are yet a few in other countries that conclude that the next realistic step toward a settlement of European problems can, therefore, be only a bilateral agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States without regard to others--over the heads of Western partners.

I do not believe this is "realism." I think it is dangerous! Neither do I believe a realistic settlement of European problems can be achieved by European nations without our participation, and that of the Soviet Union.

It is precisely now--at the time when new opportunities lie open and ahead--that we must retain the cohesion with our Western partners and they must retain cohesion with us. If the cold war is to end, if the Iron Curtain is to be lifted, we shall need them and they shall need us.

The task now, therefore, is not to throw away what has been successful in the post-war years, but to build constructively upon it. I believe that the people of Western Europe will reject those concepts of narrow nationalism and of national adventure, and they will continue to move forward toward unity, toward a unified Western Europe open to expansion and conscious of its need to strengthen its ties with the nations of Eastern Europe.

I believe, too, that they will reject any severing of their ties across the Atlantic, ties built firmly on common cultural heritage, common experience and common interest.

For our part, let me speak for our Nation here today. We do not mean either to abandon our friends or to dominate them.

We know that American power and commitment continues to be necessary for peace in this world and for stability in Central Europe. We know that difficult and intractable problems, such as disarmament and arms control and the hoped for, longed for, reunification of Germany, must continue to involve both American and European effort.

In our alliance, the task is this: to transform what was built on fear and common threat into a vital, working instrument now built on hope and common opportunity and mutual responsibility.

It must be an alliance for peace and peaceful progress, not simply against the specter of invasion from the East. It must be an alliance for promotion of social and economic welfare, not simply against a communist threat. For, as President Johnson has said, the times require "A shift from the narrow concept of coexistence to the broader vision of peaceful engagement." This is our policy.

To strengthen the alliance, we in America must be determined to treat our European partners as equal partners, to consult with them, in the true sense of the word, in every area of common interest, and to practice forbearance as they try to find their way to new forms of cooperation and unity among themselves.

I cannot overemphasize the importance of open and honest consultation and discussion among the members of the Atlantic Alliance. This is a family that needs to talk to one another. For, it is precisely now, when there is movement and ferment in Europe that the temptations are the greatest for unilateral action by the individual partners, and it is precisely now that the greatest opportunity for progress for peace exists.

As I have said, it is imperative that we retain our solidarity. And, to do so, we must all take the extra step to insure that no action should be taken or undertaken by any one of the partners which might jeopardize the welfare and security of all. We cannot afford the luxury of division now, nor could we afford it twenty-one years ago. We

cannot afford it in matters of military security. Nor can we afford it in matters of high economic and social concern. And, that is why:

We must, and we shall, be forthcoming in response to the initiatives being taken by our Atlantic partners; for example toward narrowing the "technology gap" between us. For, if we cannot narrow this gap between ourselves, how can we ever hope to narrow the far-greater gap between the Atlantic nations and the poor nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

We must, and we shall, persevere in our efforts to bring the Kennedy Round Trade Negotiation to a successful conclusion, one in which there is true reciprocity, one in which the arbitrary and artificial restraints to trade may be removed and from which a far more efficient allocation of resources may result.

You see the goals of Western European unity and of Atlantic partnership are not in opposition to the goal of the Open Door to the East. They are a first necessity in reaching it. They represent the key to that door, the latch to be unlocked, and as we strive toward these goals of the Atlantic partnership, we must ask ourselves, how shall we proceed toward opening the door to the East, parting the curtain and looking beyond.

First, we must work together with our Western European partners in encouraging a further development of trade, technological and cultural contacts with Eastern Europe.

This is why I say that it is imperative that we seize each opportunity; such as, the East-West Trade Bill now before the Congress, to increase the flow of people and trade to and from these previously closed societies.

We look, for example, toward the time when the nations of Eastern Europe may become members of the GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) the Nations who seek to adjust trade differences and to become full active participants in the work of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, a Commission designed to develop European Economic Integration and Development.

Second, we must encourage the continued evolution of Soviet policy beyond the ambiguities of "peaceful coexistence" toward more substantial and meaningful forms of active cooperation.

And, we've made some progress. We have successfully, as we recall, ratified, negotiated a test ban treaty on nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, on the earth, and under the sea, and we have recently negotiated a treaty banning nuclear weapons from outer space.

We are working with others to bring about a treaty banning the proliferation of nuclear weapons, a treaty acceptable and beneficial to the nuclear and non-nuclear powers alike.

We have concluded an air agreement with the Soviet Union and have just signed a new United States-Soviet cultural agreement.

Through liberalization of credit, and easing of travel restrictions, we hope to accelerate the exchange of people, goods and ideas.

We seek the early ratification in the United States Senate of the United States-Soviet consular agreement, and we shall actively work toward closer cooperation between the Soviet Union and the nations of the West in space, in medicine, in peaceful technology, and most important we have not responded to the Soviet deployment of its limited anti-ballistic missile system by immediately deploying one of our own.

Instead, we seek to convince the Soviet leaders that this would merely mean yet another costly round in the arms race, a whole new dimension of danger. After the expenditure of many billions of dollars, neither of us would be more secure than when we started. Both with more power, both with less security.

Our objective is not to step up the arms race, but to slow it down and hopefully, or prayerfully, to halt it to the mutual interest of all nations.

Third, we must work toward a settlement of those European problems which have been left unresolved as the aftermath of the war.

At the heart of this is the reunification of Germany, and the subject, of course, of boundaries. This is a matter which concerns not only Europeans, but America and the Soviet Union as well. It is a matter, too--and this sometimes seems nearly forgotten--in our discussion--important to the people of Germany.

Thus, reunification can only take place after the most thorough and careful consultations among all parties involved. Reunification is a difficult goal. But, it is a necessary one if stability and peace are finally to be secured and achieved in Central Europe.

Fourth, no nation can hope to be an island of security in a turbulent and violent world. We must therefore consider how the resources of the industrialized parts of the world can usefully assist the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America so that progress and stability and hope may overcome despair and violence. It does not require much foresight to realize that the widening gap between the growing populations and diminishing food supplies is approaching a time of explosion and danger.



Shall we sit in complacency, lulled by our creature comforts, until we are engulfed in chaos? Or shall we act, now and together? The gap between the rich and the poor nations is not only our problem-- it is Europe's problem--and the Soviet Union's problem, and we must consult together, plan together, and combine our wisdom and resources to help work toward security and peaceful development in the poverty-stricken parts of the world.

Those who have launched the great technological and scientific revolution, which is the fact of our time, a revolution without ideology, have the responsibility to see that its benefits are more widely shared by others, lest the benefits are lost to all.

Poverty breeds disorder, and hunger breeds violence. And it has been the lesson of these past years that it is precisely in the poverty-stricken and hungry parts of the world where a conflict might arise which would draw the super-powers into disastrous confrontation. And, such a catastrophe, let me tell you there are no victors. There is no place to hide. Thus, all of humanity has a stake in peace.

Fifth, we must continue to develop and strengthen international institutions which will provide a framework of law and order in the world, in which nations of all ideologies may find common and peaceful grounds for settlement of disputes.

Churchill said aptly, that "Jaw, Jaw" is better than "War, War," and whenever any of my fellow Americans think of the talk in the United Nations or the talk in any other international forums, remember the wisdom of Churchill, "Jaw, Jaw is better than War, War." The United Nations, among other things, is an unmatched buffer zone between con-

flicting interests and ideologies. It is a place where reason and compromise may interpose themselves before major nations reach the point of no-return.

It is the invaluable "middle man" in international relations, the honest broker, that is necessary when normal contacts fail.

And it is also an invaluable instrument of peace-keeping in places around the world where major powers might otherwise feel it necessary to inject themselves.

There is no denying that the Soviet Union, as our Western partners and ourselves, has a vital interest in the strength and health of an institution which may serve as a force for order and restraint among us. The Soviet Union, like ourselves, knows that in a nuclear exchange there is no victory.

Let us examine these things as they are today:

- Greater exchange at all levels with the nations of Eastern Europe;
- Active pursuit and encouragement of "peaceful coexistence and cooperation with the Soviet Union;
- A European settlement including the reunification of Germany a must;
- Joint efforts with our former adversaries in helping the developing countries;
- Building a system of international order in which these same former adversaries are our partners.

Would any of these things have been at all imagineable when Winston Churchill stood here twenty-one years ago? I doubt it, <sup>yet</sup> they are imperative today.



When the final realization sank in on the last doubter that the Iron Curtain indeed was being erected across the heart of Europe, how many of us had reason for hope that in 1967--so short a time in the history of mankind--it might be possible to even talk about beginning to replace the Iron Curtain with the Open Door?

In the center of free Berlin there stands today a stark ruin--the skeleton of a church--preserved to symbolize eternally the depravity of war. It is our hope that the Iron Curtain may one day, too, like in ruins, its remnants a symbol of a time that mercifully ended. Yes, I happen to believe that a great act in the human drama lies close at hand: Through a new engagement in Europe we have the chance at long last to shape a commonwealth of progress dedicated not to war but to peace, not to doctrinal conflict but to constructive reconciliation. It will take time, it will require patience, it will necessitate perseverance, but the hope and the possibility is there.

We have the chance, as President Johnson has expressed it, "To help the people of Europe to achieve together

-- A continent in which the peoples of Eastern and Western Europe work shoulder to shoulder for the common good;

-- A continent in which alliances do not confront each other in bitter hostility, but instead provide a framework in which West and East can act together in order to assure the security of all."

Therefore, I leave you with this: Who is to say, if we in the West stand together and in unity, where the next two decades may lead? We have escaped nuclear war this past generation and started to build a better world. The next two decades should surely do no less and

possibly offer much more.

Who is to say, if our rich and powerful nation exerts the enlightened leadership of which it is capable, which bright new fulfillment may lie ahead for the human family? Americans, above all, should be the children of hope and practice the politics of hope for the many hopeless in this world.

Our guide could be no better than that set forth here twenty-one years ago by Winston Churchill. I think it should be an article of faith for every generation and here's what he said:

"If we adhere faithfully to the charter of the United Nations and walk forward in sedate and sober strength, seeking no one's land or treasure, seeking to lay no arbitrary control upon the thoughts of man the high roads of the future will be clear, not only for us but for all, not only for our time, but for the century to come."

So, today as we honor the memory of this great statesman, and as we commemorate the twenty-first anniversary of his historically significant address, let us lift our voices to this spirit, to Sir Winston, and to the World, and let us say that we in America are ready to play our role.

Thank you.

Dr. Davidson Speaks:

Mr. Vice President, I think that we can all assume that this is in the character and quality of the previous Green Lectures. We thank you very much Sir.

Not to be facitious, but I thought since the Vice President's Phi Beta Kappa key had been recognized we should also recognize the Harvard Cum Laude of Mr. Amberg.

At the beginning of this Convocation, I remarked that there was a kind of interwoven function between the Green Lecture and the Churchill Memorial. They are not the same, but simply by the very fact that Winston Churchill was a Green Lecturer, the things are intimately related. The twenty-first Green Lecturer died this past week. He was a great and good friend of this college and was the National Co-Chairman of the Churchill Memorial Program. In conversation this week with Mrs. Luce, she agreed that she would be highly honored if a degree which had been confirmed, or had been voted by the Faculty and Board of Trustees of this College some time ago, to be conferred at a later date, probably at the time of the dedication of the Chapel, could be awarded and received by his close friend, the Vice President of the United States. We will proceed with the conferring of the Posthumous Honorary Degree. The Hon. John M. Dalton Speaks:

Mr. President, this is a Citation of Henry R. Luce, a man who refined the world's processes of communication, who taught by example new ways to clarify information, extend knowledge, and brighten understanding. A man whose reputation this college now cannot enlarge, but whose contributions here remain honored. Henry Luce receives

Posthumously today the tribute of Westminster College because of his services to the erection of the Winston Churchill Memorial, and through that Memorial, his service to the cause of greater international Good Will and ultimate peace, he is named an Honorary Alumnus of this institution as Doctor of Letters. His Alma Mater will keep his memory alive as one who served and shared with her a truly great common cause.

Dr. Davidson Speaks:

Mr. Vice President, I shall forebear the formal presentation of an Honorary Degree, to say to you that the Westminster family would be exceedingly proud if you would deliver these to Mrs. Luce.

Vice President Humphrey Speaks:

Might I say a word? I wanted to just say this word--just twelve days ago, Mrs. Humphrey and I were in Phoenix, Arizona. We were the honored guests at a dinner in Phoenix given by a very distinguished publisher, one of the annual dinners of a civic nature by Mr. Pulliam. And, at that dinner, to our great pleasure and high honor came Mr. Luce and his wife, Clair. I've known this couple for a long time, and I have been enriched by the privilege and the gift of their friendship and I can say to you that his untimely passing was indeed a shock to us and a great, great sorrow. I called Mrs. Luce Saturday morning, the morning after the death of Harry, and expressed our heartfelt sympathy and condolences. I want you to know, and I want to say it publicly, I am singularly honored today to be permitted by Mrs. Luce to accept this Honorary Degree, and this hood that should have gone, and does go, in fact, to Henry, or as we call him affectionately,

Harry Luce, because, after all, learning enriches the Spirit, and the Spirit of a good man never dies, and I have a feeling that Mr. Luce is very much alive.

Thank you.

IX BENEDICTION - The Rev. Dr. William B. Huntley, Jr.  
Chaplain of the College

X RECESSIONAL



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