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NOTES

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

MEETING OF U.S. CHIEFS OF MISSION IN EUROPE

BONN

March 30, 1967

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L All of us these past hours have been involved in discussing policies and problems which touch the nations of Europe and the Atlantic basin. Yet, as we have discussed these policies and problems, I have been struck by how much they touch the rest of the world. —

NATO ... East-West relations ... the nuclear non-proliferation treaty ... European unity ... the Kennedy Round trade negotiation ... the international liquidity negotiations ... development assistance and food aid ... yes, and Vietnam -- all of these things touch the lives of people in the cities of Europe and America.

But they also touch the lives of Asian and Latin American peasants. Everyone of these things is felt far beyond our own part of the world.

↳ Almost without our noticing it, modern science and technology have made the interdependence of man a living reality. Wendell Wilkie wrote in the early 1940's of "one world."

What was a catchy phrase a quarter of a century ago is today a reality.

And the next few years ahead will see so many developments in world-shrinking (think of the astounding progress which communications satellites alone will bring) that man's interdependence will become an even more inescapable fact of life.

↳ President Kennedy made on July 4, 1963, in Philadelphia, his historic "Declaration of Interdependence."

When he spoke, he spoke in reference to the Atlantic nations. But even since that time, enough changes have taken place so that a Declaration of Interdependence today would have to be one for the whole human family.

\* \* \*

In recognizing man's interdependence, what are the purposes and objectives which the Atlantic nations -- including our own America -- must pursue in these years ahead?

I think we gain some idea of the possibilities by looking at what has already been achieved.

Today the Atlantic nations live in prosperity and unprecedented well-being. Yet, if we think back to the end of World War II, it is incredible that much of this has happened. The dim visions of 20 years ago we accept today as commonplace.

↳ And if anyone needs a dramatic example of how far we have come in so short a time, he need look no further than the free, strong and re-invigorated <sup>democratic</sup> Germany where we meet today.

↳ One of man's problems is that he has trouble living with prosperity. Today, in our strength and well-being, there are forces at work which say: Let's lean back and enjoy it. Let's take a few years off from the rest of the world for some comfortable self-indulgence.

Take it easy.

↳ But it is precisely now that the Atlantic nations -- and most of all the United States -- must close their ranks and work ~~even closer~~ together. ~~For I believe~~ <sup>For</sup> the progress that lies within our reach today far exceeds even the exhilarating progress of the past two decades.

Think for a moment, if you will, of the kind of world we can have 20 years from now -- 1987 -- if only the

things we have discussed these past two days, and no more, could be achieved:

The halting of the nuclear arms race;

The ~~full~~<sup>greater</sup> liberalization of world trade;

The emergence of poor and struggling nations into the modern age;

*and* This old continent finally casting aside the tensions and divisions which have plagued it for centuries;

The peaceful reunification of Germany;

The end of aggression as an acceptable means of international conduct.

~~I say~~ These things are worth working for! They are worthy goals for free men! Most of all, they are worth the effort that will be required to maintain our cohesion

and our will. - Their achievement is possible only with our cohesion and our combined will!

L In this effort, we Americans -- as representatives of the New World and of the revolution of Thomas Jefferson -- have a special responsibility.

And the first requirement of that responsibility is to practice in our own America what we preach abroad.

Many of you return home only periodically. For you, I am sure it is almost startling to see the changes which are so rapidly taking place in our own country -- and I don't mean just the changes that have been brought about by the Great Society, although President Johnson and I are more than willing to take full credit for that.

I mean the changes that are taking place in peoples' ideas and outlooks. I mean the changes in patterns that have existed since the earliest days of our Republic.

It has been more than one hundred years since the Emancipation Proclamation, but today we are finally on the way to making it real.

↳ We are finally on the way to the kind of society where every child can look ahead to a lifetime of hope and fulfillment.

↳ We are doing something about the blight of our cities -- not just the physical blight, but the blight of the human heart that has lived within millions of our citizens for generations.

↳ We are doing something about the injustices and hopelessness that have for far too long made our country less than what it should be.

↳ And we are creating in America not a welfare state, but a state of human opportunity -- a state where everyone has his chance . . . where everyone is somebody, no matter what his race, his religion, or the spelling of his last name.

↳ We are striving to create one single citizenship --  
a citizenship which recognizes ~~no less than this~~. ~~The~~ *the*  
reciprocal responsibility of the community to each single  
person, and of each person to his community.

↳ That is our starting point. That is the base from  
which we may be worthy of high purposes and ideals in  
the world.

*and* K We have come in our society to a wider and fuller  
definition of the common interest.  
~~And I believe that is what we have no choice but~~  
*this can*  
to follow in the world at large.

I believe it must be the business of the Atlantic partnership to work toward the replacement of any self-serving philosophy by the philosophy of interdependence in the family of man.

We must work toward extending the concept of the general welfare and of individual opportunity from the plane of the nation state to the larger realm of the international community.

Now, when politicians and professors -- and I am both -- talk this way, they are usually accused of being idealists.

This sort of talk is supposed to imply that you are losing sight of the real interest of your own citizens.

But this is not what I am talking about.

What I am saying is that true self-interest is served by a view of international affairs which emphasizes mutual assistance as well as competitive coexistence.

If I am unrealistic, so were the men who had the audacity to dream of a united, peaceful Europe at the close of mankind's most dreadful war.

If I am unrealistic, so are other men who today see the possibilities of a world without fences . . . a world in which all nations live together in common harmony and in peace rather than in rivalry and war.

I happen to believe that to be realistic today is to reach for these things. I believe it is highly unrealistic to think that mankind can follow any other course with any other result than antagonism, peril and the possibility, finally, of nuclear destruction.

If we look at developments in Europe over these past few years, we have reason for hope that some of our higher goals may indeed be achieved.

A few weeks ago, in Fulton, Missouri, I said that -- if we in the Western nations maintained our cohesion, our patience and our will -- we could look ahead to the time when the Iron Curtain might be replaced by the Open Door.

Twenty years ago, we in America made basic decisions about the direction of our international policy. We did not turn inward upon ourselves nor did we return to the dangerous isolationist policies of the past. We committed ourselves to our partners -- to their survival and well-being.

Now we are at another time of decision. There are voices raised in our country and in other countries which call again for a return to the old inwardness. But I believe that we shall overcome them, just as I believe the people of the nations of Europe will overcome the same voices within their borders.

I believe that the men and women in this room could assume no better task than to examine, now and in the days ahead, the ways in which our Atlantic solidarity may be furthered and the ways in which we might take advantage together of the opportunities that lie ahead.

Atlantic cooperation will take new forms, as new opportunities and problems arise. We see this already:

-- in NATO's re-appraisal of defense needs, in its efforts to concert common approaches to East-West problems, and in its study of the future of the Alliance;

-- in the OECD's concern with technological gaps among developed nations and in its efforts to promote larger aid by all these nations to the developing countries.

As ~~a~~ man's life changes, so must man's institutions.

And today we and our partners must shape our common institutions so that they may be able to meet tomorrow's priorities and not yesterday's.

For the essence of statesmanship is not a rigid adherence to the past, but a ~~present~~<sup>prudent</sup> and probing concern for the future. We must preserve what is good. We must add that which strengthens.

I intend to stress while I am in Europe my belief that ~~the~~<sup>a</sup> strong and more independent Europe does not jeopardize the Atlantic Partnership. [Rather, it is the healthy base upon which our Partnership can grow -- a partnership not of senior and junior partners, but of equals, standing together to meet the needs of the times.

L I intend, too, to stress my belief that the Atlantic nations should begin to share the experience which each is gaining in domestic efforts to improve the quality of society. For instance, two ideas that might be followed to this end are: o

-- creation of an Atlantic Youth Program to encourage exchanges among domestic Peace Corps programs in the Atlantic countries;

-- an Atlantic conference on urban problems, where political leaders and experts in this field could meet and exchange views and then, act together to make our cities better places in which to live.

Some say that the purposes of Atlantic cooperation and Western European unity stand, somehow, in contradiction to efforts to improve East-West relations.

I believe the exact reverse to be true. Western European and Atlantic institutions create a framework in which nationalism in the West can be subsumed, providing a stronger guarantee to the nations of Eastern Europe against the threats to their security which have flowed from the nationalism in the past.

So I hope that progress on the East-West front will continue, even as we seek to build greater unity in the West. And within this framework of Western unity and East-West cooperation, we can hope eventually to move toward a lasting settlement in Central Europe -- one which will heal the division of Europe and Germany, a division that has already lasted too long.

Finally, may I say this: I believe there is a movement in history. I believe it is a movement in the right direction. I believe it is a movement which points in the direction of man's freedom and liberation -- a movement in which self-determination and peaceful development will be the strongest single influences.

↳ We have rid ourselves of excess baggage. The colonial period is behind us. If we maintain our cohesion, the period of the Cold War can be behind us. And a whole new era of opportunity can lie ahead.

My business is politics. Yet the business of politics is more than practicality. It is the business of looking ahead. It is the business, if you will permit, *of Ideals* *and* of vision.

Such a vision today must be a human vision, a world vision -- not an exclusive American one, if it is to light the future and give men hope.

It is not given to any single one of us to see the vision in all its clarity. But the vision is there.

It is the task of each of us to help make it visible and then to translate it into reality.

For those of you who may have heard some of my speeches, you will know that I have a favorite quotation from the American author Thomas Wolfe.

It deals with the vision which we have always held for our own people. Today it is the vision which we seek, and shall persevere in seeking, for all mankind:

"To every man his chance; to every man regardless of his birth, his shining golden opportunity. To every man the right to live, to work, to be himself. And to become whatever things his manhood and his vision can combine to make him. This ... is the promise of America."

And, might I add, the hope of the world.

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Text of Speech

by

U.S. VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

as prepared for delivery at luncheon  
of Chiefs of Mission Conference,  
Embassy Club, Bonn, at 14:30 hours, March 30, 1967

NOT FOR RELEASE BEFORE 15:00 HOURS, MARCH 30, 1967

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(NOT FOR RELEASE BEFORE 3:00 PM MARCH 30, 1967)

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And if anyone needs a dramatic example of how far we have come in so short a time, he need look no further than the free, strong and re-invigorated Germany where we meet today.

One of man's problems is that he has trouble living with prosperity. Today, in our strength and well-being, there are forces at work which say: "Let's lean back and enjoy it. Let's take a few years off from the rest of the world for some

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