

# Californians for Humphrey



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REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
COMMONWEALTH CLUB OF CALIFORNIA  
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA  
JULY 30, 1968

FOR RELEASE: TUESDAY P.M., JULY 30, 1968

A few weeks ago in Cleveland, I discussed the urgent problems of our inner cities and proposed some specific solutions.

Today, I hope to place our urban problems in a broader perspective -- one which acknowledges the interdependency of life in our cities, suburbs, towns, and rural areas.

America is more than separated bits of geography. Jet airplanes, television, and a highly complex economy have seen to that. An injury to one part of our nation can infect the entire organism.

Today, our national health is most threatened by our overcrowded and teeming cities.

Vast metropolitan conglomerations threaten to engulf us -- 70 percent of our people live on less than two percent of our land. If the migration from country to city continues at its present rate, 255 million Americans will clog our metropolitan areas by the year 2000. A mere 45 million will inhabit the rest of the continental United States.

We pay a high price for this urban concentration.

Even for persons not caught in the grip of poverty, city life becomes a continuing struggle -- to get to work...to find open highways...to seek recreation in uncrowded places...to park a car...to enjoy an uncluttered vista of greenery or a stretch of water.

That is the big city.

Scattered, too, across this country are communities which have been by-passed by the forward march of technology...left to decline as obsolete, if nostalgic, reminders of the America that was.

These communities, usually populated by 10 thousand or fewer people, are sanctuaries of unequal opportunity...backwaters of modern society...remnants of an agrarian age. They send their most gifted young men and women elsewhere for opportunity as their economic springs dry up.

Many of these Americans do not meet the definition of "poverty" but many are in great danger of falling to that level unless something is done...and quickly.

As for rural America, with one-third of our population, it accounts for one-half of our poor housing and one-half of our poverty.

Infant mortality among the rural poor is considerably higher than among the least privileged urban group.

Less than one in four farm homes have running water. The rural population averages two years less schooling than its urban counterparts.

If you think the problem is dominated by racial factors, consider that 12 million of the 17 million poor people living in non-metropolitan areas are white.

The answer to these facts is not to exchange a rural slum for an urban ghetto -- but that is precisely what has happened at an accelerating pace for the past several decades.

The great challenge facing American civilization in the last third of the 20th century is to create a living environment for all persons -- regardless of race, ancestry, or place of residence.

We surely possess the technology and resources to do it. We are no longer bound by the constraints of a 19th century economy -- one which demanded that cities be on seaports, rivers or rail lines...near deposits of raw materials...adjacent to power sources.

Rapid jet and truck transport...modern communications, inexpensive nuclear power...the expansion of service industries...mean that cities can exist almost anywhere -- if we have the wit and imagination to recognize this fact.

Yes, the technology is there. But, we have not begun -- as communities, as states, as a nation -- to muster the governmental

capacity and popular support that is necessary to achieve this living environment.

Separate communities exist side by side -- each tackling their own problems separately -- each bringing their own resources to bear upon common problems as though there were no inter-relationship, as though there were no inter-dependence.

All over America we see an endless vista of small municipalities with overlapping responsibilities...with widely varying and usually outdated building codes...with zoning regulations lacking uniform standards...with piecemeal rather than integrated programs.

Each community strives in its own way to reach limited objectives in education, jobs, transportation, welfare and recreation. Rarely do they coordinate their efforts to advance toward broad common objectives.

This is government by anachronism...it is government suitable for the old days of the industrial revolution.

It may have worked in the age of the paddle wheel but it isn't good enough for the age of nuclear power.

This indictment extends to our municipalities...to our states...and, yes, to our federal government -- a bureaucratic structure which is still better able to handle economic and social crises of the 1930 variety than the very different problems of the 1970's and 1980's.

Indeed, our federal system -- for all its achievements -- runs the risk of the dinosaur's fate -- becoming overgrown, ill-adapted to its environment, unable to meet certain critical functions...and extinct.

Let's put it bluntly: our present governmental structure is incapable of planning and achieving the living environment our wealth and technology permit...and our survival requires.

Yet, there must be a systematic way to solve the problems of urban, suburban, small town and rural America -- problems which are inseparable and which must be tackled in a unified way. We must revitalize our old cities...coordinate programs for the cities and suburbs...utilize our national resources more fully and focus attention on the building of new cities.

Today, I would like to propose what can be done about it -- not final, definitive answers -- for there are none. Not quick or easy solutions -- for these are also in short supply. But, rather, the general approaches I would pursue as President of the United States, and some of the specific instrumentalities I believe are needed to make steady progress.

Two fundamental assumptions underlie this discussion...

First. Our circumstances demand a far greater measure of local initiative and responsibility and far less direct federal involvement than exists today.

Although this pronouncement has become almost ritualistic for politicians in 1968, I can testify to having reached this conclusion on the basis of experience--particularly the experience of having served for the past four years as liaison between the federal government and city governments.

The central government has a crucial role to play -- helping define national objectives of the funds...setting certain minimum standards...helping mobilize the private sector...and keeping the many diverse parts of America in touch with each other.

But Washington, D.C. cannot handle the intricate details of local planning and execution. And we only get in the way when we try.

Second. Our circumstances require a strong and active president -- strong enough to shake up the federal bureaucracy -- to clean out the cobwebs or relationships that exist among some ten or a dozen federal agencies, on the one hand, and 50 states, thousands of cities, and tens of thousands of private organizations, on the other.

The paradox of the contemporary presidency is precisely this need to build local initiative and responsibility through the creative and judicious use of national power.

There won't be an effective mobilization of private resources for public action as long as dozens of federal agencies are making separate demands on those resources.



There won't be meaningful local action until citizens know their opinions are heard and taken seriously by government -- from city hall to the White House. That is why I have proposed an open presidency -- open to the people -- and open to change.

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As to specifics:

First. Achieving a living environment for all Americans requires the definition of certain fundamental social, economic, and demographic objectives to help guide our future urban, suburban, and rural growth.

Many decisions -- in both the public and private sectors -- affect directly the growth of local economies, the distribution of populations, and the life and death of cities and towns. These decisions need not always be haphazard -- although we should not fool ourselves either into believing they can never be entirely rational.

If we are serious about building new communities, for example, tax incentives can influence industrial locations.

In like fashion, the placing of federal procurement contracts and new federal installations can have a decisive effect on a local economy -- for better or for worse.

Vigorous enforcement of the Fair Housing Provisions of 1968 can remove non-economic barriers to broad-scale dispersion of Negroes -- and over time and with a rising gross national product -- substantially reduce the concentration of Negroes in the inner-city.

Second. We must initiate a Marshall Plan for the cities. Like the original Marshall Plan that rebuilt Europe, this one must rely heavily on self-help, local initiative, coordinated planning, private capital. Much more than the federal checkbook must be involved in any lasting solution to the urban crisis.

To help localities solve the basic problem of financing, I propose the creation of a National Urban Development Bank financed largely through subscription of private funds.

I propose federal underwriting of the unusual risks involved in meeting the hardest and most critical urban problems. Affiliated

Regional banks would be chartered by the National Bank for specific metropolitan areas.

Regional bank funds would be available to both public and private borrowers for programs which cannot be financed through other means, but which are found essential to urban development.

Third. Incentives must be established to stimulate metropolitan-wide and regional planning. To receive federal support, the planning district would have to take account of the country's basic social, economic, and demographic objectives.

But from then on, local creativeness, foresight and ingenuity would be paramount.

The planning district would shape its program in accordance with the unique character of the region...its future trends...its industrial possibilities. It would examine the totality: housing, health, job training, education, welfare. It would research the growth centers; consider such matters as the creation of recreational and resort areas; and preserve the open spaces which would become an important part of an overall national land use policy.

We have a hopeful pattern for a regional planning district in the experience of the Appalachian Regional Commission -- operating in a geographical area comprising portions of thirteen states.

It has departed from precedent by giving heavy responsibility to the governors of the states who determine what plans are to be submitted. It has attained a high degree of interstate and federal-state cooperation.

The Appalachian experience suggests that municipalities, counties, and states can work together when national policy makes it in their best interests to do so. It is time we summoned up the imagination to involve the whole country in such an effort.

Fourth. I propose to establish a National Domestic Policy Council in the White House to oversee the reorganization and restructuring of the federal bureaucracy -- and then to insure that it remains truly responsive to local needs and goals.

Such a council would expand the President's capacity to foresee and deal regionally with the crush of domestic problems...

to sharpen priorities and identify the full implications of alternative policy decisions...to determine how federal programs interrelate, support, or diminish the effectiveness of other programs.

This council would be assigned the critical business of keeping the federal machinery in good working order -- making sure that service and responsiveness to local initiative were maintained -- and that bureaucratic snarls were kept to a minimum.

Once this integration and coordination of federal domestic agencies has been achieved, there can be an effective demand on state, county and local governments to take those actions at their end which permit coordination of the total government effort.

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These and the other specific steps I would take as President have, in the end, only one objective -- to achieve true freedom of choice in the selection of a person's living environment.

We have always prided ourselves on the choices our society offers. Consumers have virtually unlimited choices...most of the workers of America have wide occupational choices. But Americans should...must have more options regarding the place in which they live.

Does an American, white or black, really want to live in the inner-city?

Does he prefer the suburbs?

Does a small town suit him better?

Or would a new city answer his needs?

I believe that our society has the wealth to permit these choices.

The question is, do we have the imagination to substitute far-sighted policies for the planlessnesses and chaos which has produced our tides of domestic migration?

I say we do.

In 1976 we will celebrate our two-hundredth anniversary. Let us honor this bi-centennial, not with a backward glance but with a forward march. I propose that on July 4, 1976, we dedicate

a new American city, one which exemplifies the highest standards of beauty and excellence.

This new city would test new ideas in land use, housing, technology and community leadership.

Its construction would attract the finest talents in America -- from American industry, the states, municipalities and the federal government, by reflecting what is best and what is possible.

It would serve as a pilot city for a new America.

Its dramatic symbolism would heighten that pioneering spirit which is the touchstone of this nation and which is vitally needed now.

It would replenish our spirit.

Its newness would bring with it a fresh promise.

People who inhabit a new city bring to it an automatic equality. They are pioneers together.

They share the delights...and the problems of newness.

They are linked in a common enterprise...and they have no slums.

If Americans can agree that a bicentennial city is an appropriate living monument to this nation -- even as we proceed with the rebirth of old cities -- I would give it a high priority in my administration and would begin the planning as rapidly as possible.

Urban, suburban and rural America. They are indivisible. They are all America. They are all our responsibility. They require fresh concepts and a new focus on the regionalism which gives our nation its diversity and strength.

In 1969 we will need a new breed of pioneer. Many of you will be among those pioneers.



*Press Release*

**FOR RELEASE**  
TUESDAY PM'S  
JULY 30, 1968  
Telephone 202/225-2961

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Today I hope to place our urban problems in a broader prospective -- one which acknowledges the interdependency of life in our cities, suburbs, towns, and rural areas.

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Today our national health is most threatened by our overcrowded and teeming cities.

Vast metropolitan conglomerations threaten to engulf us -- 70 per cent of our people live on less than 2 per cent of our land. If this migration from country to city continues apace, 255 million Americans will clog our metropolitan areas by the year 2000. A mere 45 million will inhabit the rest of the continental United States.

We pay a high price for this urban concentration.

Even for persons not caught in the grip of poverty, city life becomes a continuing struggle...to get to work...to find open highways...to seek recreation in uncrowded places...to park a car...to enjoy an uncluttered vista of greenery or a stretch of water.

The sense of overcrowding thwarts a whole range of human activities. It quickens our tempers and triggers that perpetual sense of irritation one sees on so many urban faces. The man who fights his way through a crowded society all day is always

spoiling for a fight...and his targets are not selective. His family, his neighbors, the strangers moving on the block...they are all fair game for "The Irritable American."

Harassed residents of urban America are apt to think that theirs is the worst of all worlds. But scattered across this country are communities which have been by-passed by the forward march of technology...left to decline as obsolete if nostalgic reminders of the America that was.

These communities, usually populated by ten thousand or fewer inhabitants, are sanctuaries of unequal opportunity, backwaters of modern society, remnants of an agrarian age. They send their most gifted young men and women elsewhere for opportunity as their economic springs dry up. Many of these Americans do not meet the definition of "poverty" but many are in great danger of falling to that level unless something is done...and quickly.

As for rural America, with one-third of our population it accounts for one-half of our poor housing and one-half of our poverty.

According to the President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, infant mortality among the rural poor is considerably higher than among the least privileged urban group.

Less than one in four farm homes have running water. The rural population averages two years less schooling than its urban counterpart.

If you think the problem is dominated by racial factors, consider that 12 million of the 17 million poor people living in non-metropolitan areas are white.

The answer to these facts is not to exchange a rural slum for an urban ghetto -- but that is precisely what has happened at an accelerating pace for the past several decades.

The great challenge facing American civilization in the last third of the 20th century is to create a living environment



for all persons -- regardless of race, ancestry, or place of residence.

We surely possess the technology and resources to do it.

We are no longer bound by the constraints of a 19th century economy -- one which demanded that cities be on seaports, rivers or rail lines...near deposits of raw materials...adjacent to power sources. Rapid jet and truck transport...modern communications...inexpensive nuclear power...the expansion of service industries...mean that cities can exist almost anywhere -- if we have the wit and imagination to recognize this fact.

Yes, the technology is there. But we have not begun -- as communities, as states, as a nation -- to muster the governmental capacity and popular support that is necessary to achieve this living environment.

Separate communities exist side by side -- each tackling its own problems separately -- each bringing its own resources to bear upon common problems as though there were no inter-relationship, as though there were no inter-dependence.

All over America we see an endless vista of small municipalities with overlapping responsibilities...with widely varying and usually outdated building codes -- with zoning regulations lacking uniform standards -- with piecemeal rather than integrated programs.

Each community strives in its own way to reach limited objectives in education, jobs, transportation, welfare and recreation. Rarely do they coordinate their efforts to advance toward broad, common objectives.

This is government by anachronism...it is government suitable for the old days of the industrial revolution. It may have worked in the age of the paddle wheel but it isn't good enough for the age of nuclear power.

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Indeed, our federal system -- for all its achievements -- runs the risk of the dinosaur's fate -- becoming overgrown, ill-adapted to its environment, unable to meet certain critical functions...and extinct.

Let's put it bluntly: our present governmental structure is incapable of planning and achieving the living environment our wealth and technology permit...and our survival requires.

Yet there must be a systematic way to solve the problems of urban, suburban, small town and rural America -- problems which are inseparable and which must be tackled in a unified way. We must revitalize our old cities...coordinate programs for the cities and suburbs...utilize our national resources more fully and focus attention on the building of new cities.

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Although this pronouncement has become almost ritualistic for politicians in 1968, I can testify to having reached this conclusion on the basis of experience -- particularly the experience of having served for the past four years as liaison between the Federal Government and city governments.

The central government has a crucial role to play -- helping define national objectives -- contributing part of the funds... setting certain minimum standards...helping mobilize the private sector...and keeping the many diverse parts of America in touch with each other.

But Washington, D. C. cannot handle the intricate details of local planning and execution. And we only get in the way when we try.

Second. Our circumstances require a strong and active President strong enough to shake up the Federal bureaucracy -- to clean out the cobweb of relationships that exist among some ten or a dozen Federal agencies, on the one hand, and 50 states, thousands of cities, and tens of thousands of private organizations, on the other.

The paradox of the contemporary Presidency is precisely this need to build local initiative and responsibility through the creative and judicious use of national power.

There won't be effective federal-state-local relationships until there is a fuller integration of federal domestic activities.

There won't be an effective mobilization of private resources for public action as long as dozens of Federal agencies are making separate demands on those resources.

There won't be meaningful local action until citizens know their opinions are heard and taken seriously by government -- from City Hall to the White House. That is why I have proposed an Open Presidency -- open to the people, and open to change.

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If we are serious about building new communities, for example, tax incentives can influence industrial locations.

In like fashion, the placing of Federal procurement contracts and new Federal installations can have a decisive effect on a local economy -- for better or for worse.

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To help localities solve the basic problem of financing, I propose the creation of a National Urban Development Bank, financed largely through subscription of private funds.

I propose Federal underwriting of the unusual risks involved in meeting the hardest and most critical urban problems. Affiliated regional banks would be chartered by the National Bank for specific metropolitan areas.

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The planning district would shape its program in accordance with the unique character of the region. . .its future trends. . . its industrial possibilities. It would examine the totality: housing, health, job training, education, welfare. It would research the growth centers; consider such matters as the creation of recreational and resort areas; and preserve the open spaces which would become an important part of an overall national land use policy.

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It has departed from precedent by giving heavy responsibility to the Governors of the States who determine what plans are to be submitted. It has attained a high degree of interstate and of Federal-State cooperation.

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We have always prided ourselves on the choices our society offers. Consumers have virtually unlimited choices. . .most of the workers of America have wide occupational choices. But Americans should, must have more options regarding the place in which they live. Does an American, white or black, really want to live in the inner city? Does he prefer the suburbs? Does a small town suit him better? Or would a new city answer his needs?



I believe that our society has the wealth to permit these choices. The question is, do we have the imagination to substitute far-sighted policies for the planlessness and chaos which has produced our tides of domestic migration? I say we do.

In 1976 we will celebrate our two-hundredth anniversary. Let us honor this bicentennial, not with a backward glance but with a forward march. I propose that on July 4, 1976, we dedicate a new American city, one which exemplifies the highest standards of beauty and excellence.

This new city would test new ideas in land use, housing technology and community leadership. Its construction would attract the finest talents in America -- from American industry, the states, municipalities and the Federal Government. By reflecting what is best and what is possible it would serve as a pilot city for a new America. Its dramatic symbolism would heighten that pioneering spirit which was the touchstone of this nation and which is vitally needed now. It would replenish our spirit.

Its newness would bring with it a fresh promise. People who inhabit a new city bring to it an automatic equality. They are pioneers together. They share the delights. . .and the problems of newness. They are linked in a common enterprise... and they have no slums.

If you, my friends, and other Americans agree that a Bicentennial City is an appropriate living monument to this nation -- even as we proceed with the rebirth of old cities -- I would give it a high priority in my Administration and would begin the planning as rapidly as possible.

Urban, suburban and rural American. They are indivisible. They are all America. They are all our responsibility. They require fresh concepts and a new focus on the regionalism which gives our nation its diversity and strength.

In 1969 we will need a new breed of pioneer. Many of you will be among those pioneers.

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

COMMONWEALTH CLUB

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

JULY 30, 1968

✓ President Johnson

✓ Two Weeks Ago

✓ "a liveable environment"

space here

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*This Kind of Government*

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Second. Our circumstances require a strong and active President -- strong enough to shake up the federal bureaucracy -- to clean out the cobwebs and clean up the relationships that exist among some 10 or a dozen federal agencies, on the one hand, and 50 states, thousands of cities, and tens of thousands of private organizations, on the other.

The paradox of the contemporary Presidency is precisely this need to build local initiative and responsibility through the creative and judicious use of national power.

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↳ If we are serious about building new communities, for example, tax incentives can influence industrial locations.

↳ ~~In like fashion,~~ the placing of federal procurement contracts and new federal installations can have a decisive effect on a local economy -- for better or for worse.

↳ Vigorous enforcement of the fair housing provisions of 1968 can remove non-economic barriers to broad-scale *freedom of choice for* dispersion of Negroes -- ~~and over time,~~ and with a rising Gross National Product -- substantially reduce the concentration of Negroes in the inner-city.

#2 ↳ Second. We must initiate a Marshall Plan for the cities. Like the original Marshall Plan that rebuilt Europe, this one must rely heavily on self-help, local initiative, coordinated planning, private capital. Much more than the Federal checkbook must be involved in any lasting solution to the urban crisis.

↳ To help localities solve the basic problem of financing, I propose the creation of a National Urban Development Bank financed largely through subscription of private funds.

↳ I propose federal underwriting of the unusual risks involved in meeting the hardest and most critical urban problems. ↳ Affiliated regional banks would be chartered by the National Bank for specific metropolitan areas.

↳ Regional bank funds would be available to both public and private borrowers for programs which cannot be financed through other means, but which are found essential to urban development.

#3 Third. Incentives must be established to stimulate metropolitan-wide and regional planning. To receive federal support, the planning district would have to take account of the country's basic social, economic and demographic objectives.

But from then on, local creativeness, foresight and ingenuity would be paramount.

↳ The planning district would shape its program in accordance with the unique character of the region . . . its future trends . . . its industrial possibilities. ↳ It would examine the totality: housing, health, job training, education, welfare.

↳ It would research the growth centers; consider such matters as the creation of recreational and resort areas; and preserve the open spaces which would become an important part of an overall national land use policy.

↳ We have a hopeful pattern for a regional planning district in the experience of the Appalachian regional commission -- operating in a geographical area comprising portions of thirteen states.

It ~~has~~ departed from precedent by giving heavy responsibility to the governors of the states who determine what plans are to be submitted. It has attained a high degree of interstate and of federal-state cooperation.

2 The Appalachian experience suggests that municipalities, counties, and states can work together when national policy makes it in their best interests to do so. It is time we summoned up the imagination to involve the whole country in such an effort.

#4 Fourth. I propose to establish a National Domestic Policy Council in the White House to oversee the reorganization and restructuring of the federal bureaucracy -- and then to insure that it remains truly responsive to local needs and goals.

↳ Such a Council would expand the President's capacity to foresee and deal regionally with the crush of domestic problems . . . to sharpen priorities and identify the full implications of alternative policy decisions . . . to determine how federal programs interrelate, support, or diminish the effectiveness of other programs.

↳ This Council would be assigned the critical business of keeping the federal machinery in good working order -- making sure that service and responsiveness to local initiative were maintained -- and that bureaucratic snarls were kept to a minimum.

↳ Once this integration and coordination of federal domestic agencies has been achieved, there can be an effective demand on state, county and local governments to take those actions at their end which permit coordination of the total government effort.

These and the other specific steps I would take as President have, in the end, only one objective -- to achieve true freedom of choice in the selection of a person's living environment.

We have always prided ourselves on the choices our society offers. Consumers have virtually unlimited choices . . . most of the workers of America have wide occupational choices. But Americans should . . . must have more options regarding the place in which they live.

Does an American, white or black, really want to live in the inner-city?

Does he prefer the suburbs?

Does a small town suit him better?

Or would a new city answer his needs?

I believe that our society has the wealth to permit these choices.

↳ The question is, do we have the imagination to substitute far-sighted policies for the planlessness and chaos which has produced our tides of domestic migration?

I say we do.

↳ In 1976 we will celebrate our two-hundredth anniversary.  
Let us honor this bi-centennial, not with a backward glance but with a forward march. I propose that on July 4, 1976, we  
dedicate a new American city, one which exemplifies the  
highest standards of beauty and excellence.

↳ This new city would test new ideas in land use, *education,*  
*health,* housing, technology and community leadership.



Its construction would attract the finest talents in America -- from American industry, the states, municipalities and the federal government, by reflecting what is best and what is possible.

↳ It would serve as a pilot city for a new America.

↳ Its dramatic symbolism would heighten that pioneering spirit which has the touchstone of this nation and which is vitally needed now.

↳ It would replenish our spirit.

Its newness would bring with it a fresh promise.

↳ People who inhabit a new city bring to it an automatic equality.

↳ They are pioneers together.

They share the delights ... and the problems of newness.

} new  
Pioneers

They are linked in a common enterprise ...  
and they have no slums.

└ If Americans can agree that a bicentennial city  
is an appropriate living monument to this nation -- even  
as we proceed with the rebirth of old cities -- I would  
give it a high priority in my Administration and would  
begin the planning as rapidly as possible.

└ Urban, suburban and rural America. They are  
indivisible . They are all America. They are all our  
responsibility. They require fresh concepts and a new  
focus on the regionalism which gives our nation its  
diversity and strength.

└ In 1969 we will need a new breed of pioneer. Many  
of you will be among those pioneers.

July 30, 1968.  
San Francisco

COMMONWEALTH CLUB LUNCHEON  
Grand Ballroom, Fairmont Hotel

CHAIRMAN JOHNSON: Welcome, Ladies and Gentlemen, and our Distinguished Guests at the head table. Welcome to another of the outstanding luncheon meetings of the Commonwealth Club of California being held today in the Grand Ballroom of the Fairmont Hotel here in San Francisco.

Before I introduce our speaker, permit me to introduce the members of his family who have honored us with their presence here today. Mrs. Hubert Humphrey, wife of the Vice President.

To my left, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Humphrey, son and daughter-in-law of Vice President and Mrs. Hubert Humphrey.

Now, just a few words about our honored guest: Most of his political career and activities are well known to all Americans. I would remind you, however, that he has served as an instructor and visiting professor at a number of our outstanding universities.

In 1945 he was elected as Mayor of the city of Minneapolis and subsequently, in 1948, elected as the U.S. Senator from Minnesota.

He has also served as a delegate to the United Nations and the UNESCO Conference, which met in Paris in 1958.

In 1964, he was elected Vice President of the United States.

On April 27th of this year he announced his candidacy for the presidency of the United States.

Ladies and Gentlemen, without further remarks, it is my

1 pleasure and privilege to introduce the Vice President of the  
2 United States, the Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey. (Applause)

3 VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY: Well, here I go again.  
4 Thank you, President Johnson -- and all my friends in the press  
5 keep asking me when am I going to be my own man. Every place I go  
6 there is an emissary like this, there is just no place to hide.

7 Mr. President, I want to thank you for your courtesy and  
8 for your kindness to my family, and for the privilege that you  
9 have afforded me today to talk to this fine audience, a large  
10 audience, about a matter that is of vital concern to us, a livable  
11 environment, the City of Tomorrow.

12 I had a rather unique experience in government. I am the  
13 Chairman of the Space Council, which coordinates our activities  
14 relating to outer space, and I am the President's Liaison with the  
15 Mayors and the local government officials, which attempts to  
16 coordinate our activities right here on earth in the cities. Since  
17 I am somewhat of a pragmatic person, I would like to make an  
18 observation: Most of you will have to live right here on earth.  
19 We have cut the space program back, there are very few free trips  
20 to the moon, so whatever problems we have you can't escape them  
21 by hopefully changing your environment, at least to another part  
22 of the universe.

23 You are citizens of the world, you are literally captives  
24 of this planet, and you're going to have to make the best of it --  
25 and so am I -- and therefore I thought today we might talk how we

1 might do something about it.

2 I have said -- and I repeat it here, because I think it is  
3 a generalization which has relevance to our problems -- that any  
4 economy or society that feels it has the resources and has the  
5 know-how and the technology to put a man on the moon, ought to be  
6 able to help put a man on his feet right here on earth, and it is  
7 to that that I direct my attention.

8 A few weeks ago I was in Cleveland and I addressed myself  
9 to the problems of the inner cities. I do this because most of us  
10 are going to be living in cities.

11 Today I hope to place our urban problems, and those are the  
12 great problems of, at least domestic America, in a broader per-  
13 spective -- one which acknowledges the fact of interdependency of  
14 the life in our cities, our suburbs, our towns, and our rural  
15 areas.

16 America is a whole lot more than just separated bits of  
17 geography, or even jet airplanes and television sets in a highly  
18 complex economy. It is a very interdependent and sensitive nation,  
19 and injury to one part affects the other, and I happen to believe  
20 that today our national health, safety, and peace is threatened  
21 by our overcrowded and teeming cities.

22 I say this in the presence of one of the most dynamic  
23 mayors in any city in the United States. (Applause) And I  
24 believe that he would be the first to agree with me that the prob-  
25 lems of our cities reach far beyond the jurisdictional limits



1 provided under the law, and he would join with me in what I have  
2 to say to you in this period of presentation.

3 Seventy percent of our people live on less than two percent  
4 of the land, and by the year 2000, you're going to have to figure  
5 out whether you want 255 million Americans clogging our metro-  
6 politan areas, or whether we're going to do something about it,  
7 and a mere 45 million Americans will inhabit the rest of the  
8 Continental United States. Two hundred fifty-five million in less  
9 than two percent of the area and 45 million in the rest of it.

10 We pay a mighty high price for this kind of congestion.

11 Even for persons that are not caught up in poverty and  
12 deprivation, city life today is becoming a struggle and it ought  
13 not to be, it ought to be a pleasure. It is a struggle to get  
14 to work ... to find open highways ... to seek recreation in over-  
15 crowded places ... it is a very big struggle to park a car ... to  
16 enjoy even a small area of uncluttered greenery or a stretch of  
17 water.

18 Now, what I described is, in part, the city. Scattered,  
19 too, across this country are communities which have literally been  
20 bypassed by the forward march of technology. They have been left  
21 to become obsolete. They are sort of a nostalgic memory of the  
22 past. They send their most gifted and talented young people away,  
23 looking for opportunities as the economic springs dry up in their  
24 home towns. Now, many of these Americans do not meet the  
25 definition of the "poverty" group. As a matter of fact, there are

1 many people of substantial economic means who have every frus-  
2 tration that a person of poverty has when it comes to the problem  
3 of the city, but many of them are in greater danger of falling to  
4 that level of poverty unless something is done about it, and that  
5 is what I want to talk about.

6 As for rural America, just think of this: With less than  
7 a third of the population, it accounts for over one-half of the  
8 poor housing, and over one-half of poverty. The rural population  
9 averages two years less in schooling than its urban counterpart,  
10 even with the slums, and if you think the problem is dominated by  
11 racial factors, consider that 12 million of the 17 million of the  
12 poorest people in the United States are white, not black.

13 The answer to these facts is not to exchange a rural slum  
14 for an urban ghetto. The answer is to find a better way of living  
15 and better places to live.

16 The great challenge, therefore, facing American civili-  
17 zation in the last third of the 20th century is to create a living  
18 environment for all persons, regardless of race, ancestry, or  
19 place of residence.

20 I happen to believe that the purpose of this nation was to  
21 make life not only safe but meaningful, and today the cities  
22 cannot guarantee you a safe life nor a meaningful life, unless we  
23 start to turn our resources and our technology to the improvement  
24 of those living areas.

25 We surely possess the technology and the resources. We



1 are no longer bound by the constrictions of yesterday where you  
2 had to put a city by a river, or near a sea coast, or where you  
3 had to have cities along established railroad lines, or near  
4 deposits of raw materials, or adjacent to power resources. All  
5 that is for the yesterdays.

6 Rapid jet and automotive transport, modern communications,  
7 inexpensive nuclear power, the expansion of service industries,  
8 mean that cities can be built and exist almost anywhere, if we  
9 have the wit and the imagination to recognize the fact.

10 All over America we see endless vistas of small munici-  
11 palities with overlapping responsibilities, totally unrelated to  
12 human needs, with widely varying and usually outdated building  
13 codes -- and seldom enforced -- with zoning regulations lacking  
14 uniform standards, and with piecemeal rather than integrated  
15 programs.

16 Each community proudly strives in its own way to reach  
17 limited objectives in education, jobs, transportation, welfare,  
18 and recreation.

19 If modern American business tried to do this it would go  
20 bankrupt. Someway, somehow, we have been unable to transfer the  
21 management techniques and the management capability which goes  
22 into the corporate structure of the modern business establishment  
23 into the municipal or into the governmental structure of the  
24 modern metropolitan area, and until we do, Mr. Taxpayer, you're  
25 going to be bled white, because there isn't any way you can cut

1 the cost of government until we improve its management.

2 The kind of government that I talked about, this piecemeal,  
3 may have worked at the time of the paddle wheel but it is not  
4 good enough for the age of nuclear power, and this indictment,  
5 which I think is a fair one, comes to me both as a student of  
6 government and a practitioner, extends to your municipalities, to  
7 our states, and to our Federal Government, where a bureaucratic  
8 structure is still better able to handle the economic and social  
9 crises of the 1930 variety than the very different problems of  
10 the 1970's and 1980's.

11 Indeed, our federal system -- for all of its achievements --  
12 runs the risk of the dinosaur's fate -- becoming overgrown, ill-  
13 adapted to its environment, unable to meet certain critical  
14 functions, and ultimately becoming extinct. This we cannot afford.

15 So let's put it bluntly, our present governmental struc-  
16 ture is incapable of planning and achieving the living environment  
17 that our wealth and technology permit, and that our survival  
18 requires.

19 There isn't a single problem today confronting a single  
20 major American city that can be solved by that city alone, nor  
21 is there a single problem today confronting a single area of our  
22 economy that can be solved by private business alone. The neces-  
23 sity of a partnership of resources and the creation of new manage-  
24 ment techniques is as imperative as new types of surgery or new  
25 ways of healing.

1           There must be a systematic way to solve these problems.  
2 We need to revitalize old cities. Of course, because we can't  
3 junk what we have in light of the commitments that are there and  
4 the resources invested, we need to coordinate programs for the  
5 cities and the suburbs, and to utilize our national resources more  
6 fully and focus attention on the building of entire new cities.

7           Today, I would like to propose what can be done about it,  
8 rather than just to cry about what the problem is.

9           There are, let me tell you, no quick or easy solutions,  
10 and there is nothing that you can do today that is on the chief.  
11 We're going to have to pay for it, but I submit that whatever the  
12 cost of making our cities livable, it is much less than the cost  
13 of leaving them as they are.

14           There is not a city in America today that is not being  
15 eroded and corroded by waves of crime. And there isn't a city in  
16 America today that isn't becoming almost torn apart by the con-  
17 flict from within, the inner city itself. The cost of welfare and  
18 crime, the cost of inadequate education, which the modern city  
19 jurisdiction imposes upon many municipal officers, is prohibitive--  
20 so we have to make a choice, unless you feel that you can escape  
21 this environment and run some place else -- we have to remake  
22 what we have.

23           Might I add that the suburbs are getting to have the same  
24 problems as the old city. The contagion has spread. The cancer  
25 proceeds, and in the meantime we sit back and try somehow or



1 another to cure these ills by grinding up boar's teeth and looking  
2 at herbs and roots in the hope that some kind of witchcraft will  
3 save us. It won't, modern techniques are required.

4 First. Our circumstances demand a far greater measure of  
5 local initiative and responsibility, and far less direct federal  
6 involvement than exists today.

7 Let me spell it out: I know that this is a typical state-  
8 ment for a man seeking office in the year 1968, but I can testify  
9 to having reached this conclusion long before I ever sought the  
10 office that I now aspire to. I testify to it on the basis of  
11 experience, particularly the experience of having served for the  
12 past four years as the Liaison Officer between the Federal  
13 Government and the city governments. Having met with the mayors  
14 of practically every city in this nation not once but dozens of  
15 times. The central government has, of course, a great role to  
16 play -- helping and defining national objectives, helping and  
17 funding, setting certain minimum standards, helping to mobilize  
18 the private sector and keeping the many diverse parts of America  
19 in touch with each other.

20 But let it be clear from this platform, that Washington,  
21 D.C., with all of its competence, if it had the best, cannot  
22 handle the intricate details of local planning and execution, and  
23 we only get in the way when we try, which is another way of saying  
24 that if you want a better America, you don't start by condemning  
25 the top, you start from building at the bottom, right here, in

1 this town. (Applause)

2 Secondly, I think our circumstances require a strong and  
3 active President. Strong enough to shake up the federal bureauc-  
4 racy, and, believe me, that takes some strength. To clean out the  
5 cobwebs and to clean up the relationships that exist between some  
6 ten or a dozen Federal agencies, all of which are trying to do  
7 their job. All the officers working hard to do what they are  
8 required to do, but all of which are in a structural framework  
9 that makes it impossible to bring to bear upon the central prob-  
10 lem their full resources, and it isn't good enough just to shake  
11 up the federal bureaucracy, because these problems that we speak  
12 of come down federal, state to local, and we have to go through  
13 50 states and maybe thousands of cities and tens of thousands of  
14 private organizations.

15 This gives you some of the idea of the dimension of the  
16 problem.

17 Now as to the specifics of what we might do.

18 First. Achieving a living environment for all Americans  
19 requires the definition of certain fundamental, social, economic,  
20 and demographic objectives to help guide our future urban, sub-  
21 urban, and rural growth.

22 Many decisions -- in both the public and private sectors --  
23 affect directly the growth of local economies, the distribution  
24 of populations, the life and death of cities and towns. Where a  
25 federal government places a contract may very well decide what is

1 going to happen to that community.

2 Huntsville, Alabama, is typical of what I speak. Twenty  
3 years ago a sleepy Southern town. The George Marshall Space  
4 Center is located there. Today, a modern, thriving, progressive  
5 city of over 200,000, with cultural activities, a branch of the  
6 University, with over 200 Ph.D.s, literally an intellectual Mecca  
7 in the South.

8 Why? Because the Government made a decision, and when the  
9 Government made a decision private industry made a decision. Over  
10 140 top corporations represented in the economic atmosphere or  
11 climate of that community.

12 So I say, many decisions -- public and private -- affect  
13 what is going to happen, and if we are serious about building new  
14 communities, then we have to look at our tax laws.

15 Tax incentives can influence industrial locations. The  
16 placing of Federal procurement contracts in new installations can  
17 have a decisive effect.

18 Vigorous enforcement of the Fair Housing Provisions of the  
19 1968 Act can remove noneconomic barriers to broad-scale freedom  
20 of choice for black Americans and others as to where they want to  
21 live.

22 With a rising gross national product I submit that this  
23 law can substantially reduce the concentration of black Americans  
24 in the inner city, if they want to move, if we enforce the law,  
25 and my fellow Americans, freedom of movement is essential to a



1 free society and we have no right to say that certain people will  
2 live in a certain area because of either law or practice. We must  
3 give them the chance for freedom of choice. (Applause)

4 Mrs. Humphrey and I live in a fully integrated neighborhood  
5 in Washington, and I am going to make a confession here. We moved  
6 in and the property values did not drop one dollar, everything  
7 went along just fine, and we have had a very happy experience.  
8 It isn't just high income, it is the lowest of low income, it is  
9 middle income, low middle income, and upper income, and we live  
10 together peacefully, happily, and believe it or not, we're  
11 beginning to enjoy each other.

12 There is a second proposal that I offer. We must initiate  
13 a Marshall Plan for our cities. I shall keep pounding away at  
14 this until it sinks into this country. Like the original Marshall  
15 Plan that rebuilt Europe, this one must rely heavily on self-help,  
16 local initiative, coordinated planning, private capital. And  
17 much more than the Federal checkbook must be involved if there is  
18 to be any lasting solution.

19 We need the development of a National Urban Development  
20 Bank, financed largely through private subscription.

21 I propose Federal underwriting of the unusual risk in-  
22 volved in meeting the hardest and most critical urban problems.  
23 If private insurance companies will not insure the investment in  
24 the ghetto, then it will become the responsibility of the  
25 Government to do.



1           Affiliated regional banks would be chartered by this  
2 National Bank for specific metropolitan areas.

3           Regional bank funds would be made available to both public  
4 and private borrowers for programs which cannot be financed  
5 through other means, but which are essential to urban development.

6           Thirdly, incentives must be established to initiate  
7 metropolitan-wide and regional planning. We can no longer waste  
8 our Federal funds and state and local funds on planning little  
9 bits of a major problem. What we do is to plan the finger rather  
10 than the palm of the hand, and to plan merely the fingernail of  
11 the finger and never to be concerned about the whole structure of  
12 the hand is ridiculous. What we're doing in terms of metropolitan  
13 planning today is to plan a suburb or a key center city, and  
14 without any regard to what might be going on in the broader areas.

15           Now, can we do it? I think so. We have shaped other  
16 planning districts. For example, we have designed regional  
17 planning, and the experience of the Appalachian Regional Commission,  
18 where an area of some 13 states has been brought under one major  
19 planning commission for industrial, social, educational develop-  
20 ment, and that Appalachian experience suggests that municipalities  
21 and counties and states can work together when national policy  
22 makes it in their best interest to do so.

23           How does national policy work? It gives you resources  
24 when you plan regionally. It gives you nothing when you don't  
25 plan regionally, and, believe me, that is good bait.

1 I also propose to establish a National Domestic Policy  
2 Council in the White House, to oversee the reorganization and the  
3 restructuring of the federal bureaucracy -- and such council could  
4 and would expand the President's capacity to foresee and deal  
5 regionally with the crush of domestic problems.

6 This council would be assigned the critical business of  
7 keeping the federal machinery in good working order -- making sure  
8 that the service and responsiveness to local initiative were  
9 maintained -- and that bureaucratic snarls were kept at a minimum.

10 These are some of the general broad steps that I believe  
11 are absolutely essential to break through the morass of apathy,  
12 indifference, and confusion, which today characterizes our efforts  
13 to meet the urban crisis. It is perfectly obvious we're not  
14 meeting it.

15 There is not a city in America that is getting ahead of its  
16 problems, the problems grow faster than the remedies. And why?  
17 Because the remedies are old-fashioned, obsolete, oftentimes late,  
18 and inadequate.

19 I happen to believe that we have always prided ourselves  
20 on choices that our society offers. What I am seeking to do here  
21 today is to outline the charter of true freedom of choice in the  
22 selection of a person's life environment.

23 Consumers have virtually unlimited choices in America. Go  
24 to a supermarket and you will sure find it. Most of the workers  
25 of America have wide occupational choices, but Americans should

1 and must have more options regarding the place in which they are  
2 to live, and those options must include high quality places in  
3 which to live.

4 Does an American, white or black, really want to live in  
5 the inner city? Do you? Does the other man, or is he compelled  
6 to? If not by law, by circumstances, which has just as much  
7 effect as law enforced itself.

8 Does he prefer the suburbs? Does a small town suit him  
9 better? Or would a new city, inner city, answer his needs?

10 Whatever the answers to these questions, he should have  
11 the choice.

12 I believe that our society has the wealth to permit these  
13 choices. I know it has the technology. I know that if modern  
14 science and technology can create a wholesome, clean, unpolluted  
15 living environment in a space capsule to put on the moon, you can  
16 create a wholesome, unpolluted environment here in this world  
17 capsule where people live on earth. I know we can. We have the  
18 science to do it.

19 The question is, do we have the will, and do we have the  
20 imagination to substitute farsighted policies for planlessness  
21 and chaos, which has produced our tides of domestic migration.

22 We have never made any preparation for the migrant in this  
23 country, and millions of people have migrated from the poverty-  
24 ridden rural areas of America into the poverty-ridden areas of  
25 our cities without even a concern as to why, or when, or how.



1 Yet we concern ourselves with immigration policy from a  
2 foreign country. We concern ourselves with how we are going to  
3 help develop other economies all over the world.

4 We poured out billions for the purposes of national develop-  
5 ment in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. We have had generous  
6 terms of credit. We have had vast resources of technology and  
7 assistance that has been granted.

8 It seems to me that the one way that we might be able to  
9 prove to the rest of the world that we can help them overcome  
10 their poverty and their confusion is for us to overcome our  
11 poverty and our confusion. (Applause) And I say we can do it.

12 In 1976 we will celebrate our 200th Anniversary. Let us  
13 honor that Bicentennial, not just by parades and festivals. Not  
14 with a backward glance but with a forward march.

15 I propose from this platform today that on July 4, 1976,  
16 we dedicate an entire new American city, one which exemplifies  
17 the highest standards of beauty and excellence, of function and  
18 of performance, a living environment for a living nation, a  
19 livable environment for a people that cherish life.

20 This new city would test the new ideas that we have in  
21 land use, in education and educational facilities, in health and  
22 health facilities, in housing, technology, and community leader-  
23 ship to build something new, not a patchwork on the old but an  
24 entire new creation.

25 Its construction would attract the finest talents in

1 America -- from American industry, from states and municipalities,  
2 and the Federal Government, by reflecting what is best and what  
3 is possible.

4 I think it would be an exciting experiment for us. I can  
5 see young architects today dreaming of how they would design a  
6 whole new area of the city; engineers that would contemplate on  
7 how they could make a city pollution-free, with no smog; people  
8 who are concerned about health services that would design  
9 hospitals of modern design, so as to reduce hospital and medical  
10 costs; educators who could build the kind of schools that would  
11 give the finest of training to those who need it the most,  
12 showing that we can really give equal opportunity, not merely in  
13 phrase but in deeds.

14 I think this would serve as a pilot city not only for  
15 America but for all the world. A pilot city for a new America.  
16 Its dramatic symbolism would heighten that pioneering spirit  
17 which has been the touchstone of this Nation and which is vitally  
18 needed now.

19 To pioneer, to create something brand new, undreamed of  
20 before or at least never completed. I think it would replenish  
21 our spirit, challenge the best that is in us, and its newness  
22 would bring with it a fresh promise.

23 It would concentrate the attention of young men and young  
24 women today, who seem to be disillusioned, upon a better day,  
25 upon the city of man, and people who would have a new city, would,

1 as you know, bring to it an automatic equality as well as a  
2 renewal of spirit. They are pioneers together. They share the  
3 delights, and they share the problems of newness.

4 They are linked in common enterprise and they have no  
5 slums.

6 If Americans can agree that a bicentennial city is an  
7 appropriate living monument to this Nation -- even as we proceed  
8 with the rebirth of old cities -- I would give it a high priority,  
9 one of the highest priorities in my Administration, and would  
10 begin the planning of it as rapidly as possible, tapping the  
11 finest intellectual and professional resources that this Nation  
12 has to offer.

13 Urban, and suburban, and rural America. One and indivisible.  
14 They are America. They are all our responsibility. And they  
15 require fresh concepts and a new focus on the regionalism which  
16 gives our Nation its diversity and strength.

17 In 1969 we will need a new breed of pioneer. I want to  
18 offer that pioneer his chance. The chance to build a new American  
19 city, so that we can point the way for this last third of the  
20 20th century of what the promise of America really means and the  
21 fulfillment of the dream of America that millions of our people  
22 have yet to realize.

23 Thank you very much. (Applause)

24 CHAIRMAN JOHNSON: Mr. Vice President, thank you for those  
25 stirring words, your look into the future.



1           Now, we have more questions, I'm sorry to tell you, than  
2 we can possibly answer this afternoon, but if you will join me at  
3 the rostrum and see how many we can get in -- and I might add  
4 they cover every gamut of the problems of the world as well as our  
5 own country.

6           The first question, "At this point in the campaign, are  
7 you completely free to choose your own vice presidential running  
8 mate?"

9           VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I will, if the running  
10 mate thinks I'm going to be the nominee, I will give him a chance,  
11 I certainly will.

12          CHAIRMAN JOHNSON: Along the same line this questions asks,  
13 "According to Governor Connally of Texas, you basically agreed  
14 that your running mate should be more moderate than yourself. Do  
15 you agree to this?"

16          VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I have some people who think I  
17 am a little bit too liberal for these days, and some of them think  
18 that I am not liberal enough, and I gather Governor Connally must  
19 think I'm too liberal.

20          I think I am just about right. That is a rather modest  
21 and may I say self-serving statement, but I think it is important  
22 about the running mate for a presidential candidate, it is most  
23 important that the person that is selected or nominated by the  
24 Convention be one of competence, ability and experience. At least  
25 one that you believe if anything happened to you as President that



1 you could in good conscience say to the American people that "I  
2 turn this republic over insofar as the presidential office is  
3 concerned in safe hands."

4 I think whoever is the nominee of this party for the vice  
5 president owes that much to the country, and I think both political  
6 parties owe that much to the country.

7 I don't think we ought to play games with high political  
8 offices. We have got too much at stake in this country.

9 CHAIRMAN JOHNSON: In light of that statement, Mr. Vice  
10 President, I think I will ask you this question, the statement  
11 reads: "I think the Democratic ticket of Humphrey for President  
12 and Nelson Rockefeller for Vice President would be, one, a winning  
13 ticket in November. And two, good for the country. What do you  
14 think?"

15 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I don't want to do my friend  
16 Nelson Rockefeller a disservice before he is through the ordeal  
17 down in Miami, but I want to say at least that ticket would be  
18 solvent.

19 I think we can put on quite a campaign and pay for it.

20 Let me just conclude in all seriousness: I have a very  
21 high regard for the Governor of New York. This is not trying to  
22 be kind to him, it is a factual statement.

23 I happen to believe he is one of the more gifted and  
24 talented public servants in this country, and while I know he is  
25 a member of the opposition party, I think somewhere along the way

1 he got lost in the blind alley and he ought to be brought over to  
2 our party. It sounds kind of interesting.

3 CHAIRMAN JOHNSON: "Your program, Mr. Vice President,  
4 shows the challenge of conservatism as did Franklin Roosevelt's  
5 when he spoke before this Club 35 years ago, but it turned out to  
6 be the opposite. How about yours?"

7 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I hope I'm as fortunate as  
8 Franklin Roosevelt, that is why I want to come here. I heard if  
9 you just touch your feet here to the floor of the Commonwealth  
10 Club, there are some odds on your side.

11 I believe what I did today was to challenge conservatism,  
12 not the challenge of conservatism, unless by conservatism we mean  
13 trying to conserve that which is best and build that which is  
14 better.

15 I tried to point to the future. I tried to indicate to  
16 this audience that there are many critical issues and I am here  
17 to repeat once again that unless we come to grips with the urban  
18 crisis within the next decade, what we know as America will have  
19 had its best days.

20 We have delayed too long, far too long, and we need to be  
21 able to dedicate more and more of our resources to this urban  
22 crisis.

23 Let me just be equally clear about another matter: One of  
24 these days -- and hopefully very promptly -- this war in Vietnam  
25 will be over and when it is we better start utilizing the resources

1 that are saved from that struggle, insofar as we can save some,  
2 and to redirect those resources and the manpower and the talent  
3 to our domestic needs, which are primarily our urban metropolitan  
4 needs.

5 I say that here, because I want to tell you that I am  
6 worried that we won't do it.

7 I served in Congress after the end of the war in Korea.  
8 Everybody wanted peace in Korea, and they had some of the same  
9 signs and they said, "We Need to do Something for our Country,  
10 let's save the money for America," and when we got the war over  
11 in Korea they cut the taxes and we didn't do anything. We didn't  
12 expand our education, we did not do anything about our cities,  
13 we didn't do anything about our health, we didn't really do any-  
14 thing about any of our great domestic needs.

15 We enjoyed three recessions and a little self-indulgence.

16 I hope and pray we're not going to do it again, and if you  
17 want a President that is going to let you do that again, don't  
18 vote for me, because I'm going to advocate that we stick with it,  
19 that we pour in the resources and whatever we get as a dividend  
20 for peace that we invest in the American people, and that we  
21 invest in our cities to make them livable instruments for the  
22 American people.

23 CHAIRMAN JOHNSON: Mr. Humphrey, this may not call for an  
24 answer, but I think it might at least call for a smile from you:  
25 "What do you think of the latest polls? Remember how wrong they



1 were in '48, when they had Dewey leading Truman. I do. Keep up  
2 the good fight and you will win." I hope you see the smile.

3 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, let me say a word about  
4 the polls: I never downgrade the polls, because I think they are  
5 a contemporary current measurement of some of the attitudes of  
6 the American people. No pollster ever says that his poll is  
7 positively accurate, it is a trend and I think what this last  
8 poll reveals, if I may share my view with you, is that the  
9 Republicans that had been hopeful that maybe Mr. Rockefeller  
10 might be their nominee came to the conclusion that he was not  
11 going to make it, and there is a substantial shift from Mr.  
12 Rockefeller to Mr. Nixon. I think that actually happened.

13 Also, that last poll revealed that Mr. Wallace's vote, or  
14 his percentage, had not gone up, it had come down somewhat from  
15 the poll some two weeks ago.

16 It also revealed that Mr. Nixon was two percent stronger  
17 than I am and five percent stronger than my opponent for the  
18 Democratic nomination.

19 What that means next week I can't predict, but I think it  
20 does have some psychological impact upon the Republican Conven-  
21 tion, and that is maybe why it was leaked by Mr. Nixon's managers  
22 a little bit early.

23 CHAIRMAN JOHNSON: In Newsweek Magazine of July 29, Walter  
24 Lippman stated, "On the War itself, Mr. Humphrey stopped short of  
25 saying flatly that the war lacks a genuine constitutional and

1 moral mandate, but he very nearly says it. He says that the  
2 American interest in the war is not sufficiently defined to  
3 justify it, and that an attempt to determine the internal affairs  
4 of countries like Vietnam is none of our business."

5 Would you please comment.

6 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I appreciate my friend, Mr.  
7 Lippman, interpreting my thoughts. They have been interpreted  
8 so many ways that I am getting a little confused about them my-  
9 self.

10 What I did say in the address that I hoped to deliver here  
11 some two weeks ago was that in reassessing American priorities  
12 for the next decade or so, relating to foreign policy, that we  
13 ought to take another good look at our interests and our mutual  
14 interest with Western Europe, because the nations of Western  
15 Europe and the United States are now approaching the period in  
16 which they are seeking peaceful engagement with the Soviet Union  
17 and the nations of Eastern Europe, and I have emphasized and I  
18 want to do it here once again, that the peace of the world is not  
19 going to be determined by what happens in Vietnam. The peace of  
20 the world is going to be determined by what happens between the  
21 United States and the Soviet Union.

22 Whether or not these two superpowers can have a relationship  
23 that is rational, that is respectful of the other. Whether or  
24 not these two superpowers can arrest the arms race before it gets  
25 totally out of hand, consuming resources that ought not be

1 consumed and spiraling to a dangerous point where an irrational  
2 act can unleash total nuclear annihilation.

3 Let me say before this audience that one of the tragedies  
4 of the last four years is that we have constantly been mesmerized  
5 by the tragic and bloody struggle in Vietnam as a people, not only  
6 as a government but as a people when, in fact, the peace of the  
7 world depends upon whether or not the United States and the  
8 Soviet Union can have some kind of a détente and rapprochement,  
9 so that they can live in peace with each other, and so that they  
10 can somehow or other restrain appetites and ambitions and designs,  
11 so that there is not a confrontation.

12 We have developed weapons systems today that are totally  
13 destructive of all that God and man has created, and let me also  
14 spread on the record there is not a defensive system today that  
15 can defend you, not one, from nuclear annihilation.

16 That is why we tried to call a halt to the anti-ballistic  
17 missile system, a missile system that would cost this country and  
18 the Soviet Union not less than a hundred billion dollars, and  
19 after you built it, you wouldn't have any more security than you  
20 had before, because another offensive system would come in.

21 What would be the dangers involved here? Let's say that  
22 ten 1-megaton missiles were directed and targeted to San  
23 Francisco -- and make no mistake about it, San Francisco is a  
24 target city in the enemy's war book -- if ten 1-megaton missiles  
25 were targeted on this city, it is surely true that one out of



1 those ten would get through, and any one would destroy everything  
2 that is within this city and within its environs, total anni-  
3 hilation.

4 So you can go around and say, "we knocked nine out of ten  
5 out, that is a pretty good average." So what? You wouldn't be  
6 around to count the next one.

7 It is just about time that we woke up to what it is all  
8 about. Surely the war in Vietnam is costly. It must be brought  
9 to a timely end, and it must be brought to a political settlement,  
10 and we must be willing to make the sacrifices and have the  
11 patience to bring it to a political settlement, but I submit that  
12 the Near East is even more dangerous than Southeast Asia.

13 And I submit to you that the arms race that is consuming  
14 technology and resources and manpower today is the danger sign  
15 of our times. And I also submit to this audience that the next  
16 President of the United States must put as his highest priority  
17 the reduction of tensions between the United States and Eastern  
18 Europe and the Soviet Union, and he must somehow or other be  
19 willing to take the initiative in arms controls and disarmament  
20 before it all gets out of hand. (Applause)

21 CHAIRMAN JOHNSON: There is a question that is in the  
22 minds of many people: "Could Senator McCarthy run as your Vice  
23 President, in spite of the Constitutional provision trying to  
24 prevent the President and the Vice President coming from the same  
25 state?"



1           VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes, indeed he could. All he  
2 would have to have is a residence in the District of Columbia,  
3 that is all that is required, and he has one.

4           CHAIRMAN JOHNSON: "In addition to cutting Federal spending  
5 and passing a surtax, what other measures do you suggest to con-  
6 trol inflation and return confidence in the dollar as an inter-  
7 national currency?"

8           VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, confidence in the dollar  
9 as an international currency is also related, of course, to our  
10 old problem of balance of payments, which is in turn related to  
11 our exports or the lack thereof, to our trade balances, and  
12 related in a very substantial measure to our overseas commitments.

13           I think the time has come for us to reassess those over-  
14 seas commitments. Time does not permit us here to go into detail  
15 with it, but we have to start to reidentify what is in our  
16 national interest.

17           We need to take an inventory of that. There is a tendency  
18 in a period such as we have gone through, where we have been the  
19 one superpower of recent years, who assumed that much of the  
20 world was our national interest.

21           I think we now have to recognize that we are not the  
22 policeman of the world, that we don't own the world, that we don't  
23 dominate the world -- nor should we. Therefore, we must be  
24 highly selective as to what is in our national interest.

25           This also includes -- may I say -- in line with what I was

1 previously noting about our relationships with Eastern Europe and  
2 the Soviet Union. I know they're difficult. I know it is not  
3 going to be easy, I am not a fool about it, I have talked more  
4 hours with Soviet leaders than any man seeking public office  
5 today. This includes Mr. Kosygin, the former Chairman of the  
6 Council of Ministers, Mr. Khrushchev, Mr. Gromyko, and dozens of  
7 others in the Soviet hierarchy.

8 I have some idea of the kind of situation a man faces when  
9 he deals with them, but we simply must have a mutual reduction of  
10 troops in Western Europe and Eastern Europe, a thin-out, so that  
11 we can somehow or another start to save our resources.

12 We have to carefully measure how much we're going to spend  
13 in capital investment overseas bilaterally. I think it is  
14 imperative that we encourage the multilateral institutions, where  
15 when you put an investment in the Asian Development Bank, such as  
16 we have done, the Japanese put one in that is as big or bigger,  
17 and other Asian countries do exactly the same thing, so that you  
18 get an accumulation of capital, which does not come only from  
19 America and drains our resources, but which comes from other of  
20 the developed nations.

21 For example, one of the reasons I was going to emphasize  
22 from this platform two weeks ago our relationships with Western  
23 Europe was to tie in Western Europe more and more with the  
24 capital requirements of an undercapitalized world and a developing  
25 world. We simply must be able to do it.

1 I don't think there is any easy way to come to grips with  
2 our fiscal problems, and any man that promises you that he can  
3 tomorrow balance the budget, check inflation, stop it, that he  
4 somehow or other can quickly redress the imbalance of payments,  
5 that is someone that is not telling you the truth.

6 These are complicated matters, they are difficult. What  
7 is important is that you try to mobilize the best minds of this  
8 country to find some solutions to these problems, and that you  
9 want to find a solution. That you know these problems are  
10 dangerous. That you know if they get out of hand that all of us  
11 suffer. This, I believe, I understand.

12 I am not smart enough or wise enough to have all of the  
13 answers. If I did, you wouldn't need a president, you would make  
14 me king -- but I don't want to be king.

15 CHAIRMAN JOHNSON: Mr. Humphrey, referring to Europe, this  
16 questioner asks, "Recognizing that Czechoslovakia will need  
17 economic assistance to be truly free, what would be your policy  
18 toward this country?"

19 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: My policy at this moment is that  
20 there are moments even in the life of a Vice President when  
21 silence is desirable.

22 It is a very touchy and difficult situation and if we are  
23 interested in liberalization in this world, I suggest that we not  
24 try to put the American stamp of approval on each and every place  
25 we might or might not get it.



1 CHAIRMAN JOHNSON: Vice President Hubert Humphrey, you  
2 have given us a stirring talk today. I am sure that you know  
3 from the response of the audience that they appreciate your  
4 comments. It has been a delight to have you here and we thank  
5 you and Mrs. Humphrey for coming.

6 I am going to ask you one more question. I hope this will  
7 let you end with a high note. The question is, "Is there any  
8 difference between your views and Richard Nixon's views on  
9 Vietnam?"

10 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I have not heard Mr. Nixon's  
11 views lately on Vietnam, but I can tell you what my views are.

12 First of all, I want to say that I think the most un-  
13 fortunate situation relating to Vietnam is that we, who have been  
14 responsible for the conduct of that policy, have not been able  
15 to explain it well to the American people.

16 I think this is most unfortunate. I feel very badly about  
17 it, particularly to our young people.

18 We have never been able to make them understand if there  
19 was a justification -- and I think there is a justification --  
20 for our policy, and what it was.

21 My view on Vietnam is simply this: The right of self-  
22 determination. I believe that aggression is a very dangerous  
23 habit. I believe that violence in the streets unchecked is a  
24 dangerous habit. I think violence begets violence. Lawlessness  
25 begets lawlessness. I think aggression begets aggression.

1 Aggression unleashed and unchecked moves ahead.

2 I think it is a very dangerous practice as a way to settle  
3 international disputes.

4 No president could have predicted the involvement that is  
5 ours in this war. Three presidents had pretty much the same  
6 policy as to American involvement in Vietnam. One president has  
7 found himself deeply involved; the president before him somewhat  
8 involved; the president before that somewhat less involved, but  
9 all involved.

10 Why? Because we believe that the people of South Vietnam  
11 ought to have a right to work out their own destiny.

12 There were those who can argue about the legality of the  
13 Geneva Conference Agreement, and all the different things that  
14 happened or did not happen -- that is the yesterdays.

15 I happen to believe that our ultimate objective in Vietnam  
16 has not been a military solution of the problem but a political  
17 solution, but war has a way of its own built-in escalation. Many  
18 people say, "heavens, has not this administration escalated the  
19 war."

20 I think the President or the Administration spokesmen  
21 would say that whatever escalation we had has been in response to  
22 a stepped-up attack from the enemy, at least that would be our  
23 rationale, we believe that.

24 You may not feel that this is the truth, but this is our  
25 belief. This Government of yours, the Government of the United



1 States, has been ready and willing and able for better than four  
2 years to come to a conference table to seek a political solution  
3 of this war. At long last we are there.

4 I think this negotiation will succeed. Oh, I know there  
5 are already those who are spreading the doubt. We have been  
6 there less than three months, less than three months and some  
7 people are already saying, "nothing is happening, we ought to  
8 quit."

9 We have been in Vietnam fighting since 1961. Some fighting  
10 in '61 to '64, and a great deal of fighting since '65. Now, my  
11 fellow Americans, if you were willing to send men into battle  
12 for seven years -- and 25,000 of them already died on the battle  
13 field -- because you said you believed in a political settlement  
14 of the crisis of Vietnam, you believed in self-determination,  
15 you believed in the right of people to design their own institu-  
16 tions, I think you ought to be willing to sacrifice a little bit  
17 and have a little tenacity and perseverance at the conference  
18 table in Paris.

19 I am going to add, "I'm not going to ask my country to  
20 escalate this war. I am going to resist that, because I believe  
21 that we are now in a position in negotiations where we are  
22 negotiating seriously about serious matters, and if we just keep  
23 our cool -- as the youngsters say -- I think we can come through  
24 it. I have a feeling what started in Paris will ultimately end  
25 up with a negotiated political settlement, with which we can live

1 in honor and with which the South Vietnamese can live, and which  
2 the North Vietnamese can accept.

3 That is a hard job, but that is what diplomacy is all  
4 about. Negotiated settlements do not produce victories for one  
5 side or another. They produce settlements, and we have to be  
6 willing to accept a settlement. I am willing to do so, and I am  
7 willing to work for it. (Applause)

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DRAFT

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

COMMONWEALTH CLUB

SAN FRANCISCO

A NEW STRATEGY FOR PEACE

Today we are engaged in a tragic war--a war which has consumed our energies, divided our people, tarnished our reputation, and limited our vision.

As President, my first priority will be to end the War in Vietnam.

~~XX~~ In pursuing that goal, if there is one thing we have learned, it is that the policies of tomorrow need not be limited by the policies of yesterday.

During the next decade our responsibility for preserving world peace will continue. But the way in which we fulfill that responsibility will change.

There are pressing problems at home, which place some limits on what we can do abroad.

The revival of strength in other free countries does enable them to assume greater burdens.

Change in the Communist world has altered the threat we face--though it has not ended it.

The experience of recent years does suggest areas in which our procedures for making foreign policy could be improved.

*as a candidate for*  
So ~~the new~~ President ~~should~~ welcome this period of debate and review--this opportunity to join in the scrutiny of policy, this opportunity to define a "new strategy for peace."

One of the first necessities in a new strategy for peace is a shift away from the exclusive reliance on American power as the guarantor of security in <sup>The developing nations.</sup> ~~Asia~~. Other ~~countries~~ countries must assume greater responsibility for shaping their future. This <sup>principle</sup> should govern our approach to post-Vietnam problems in Asia and Africa.

As far as I am concerned, "no more Vietnams" is more than a slogan; it is a sound--and attainable--objective of U.S. policy.

The southern half of the globe is going to be a turbulent area for a long time. That turbulence is part of the process of modernization.

If peace is to be preserved, we will have to find ways of avoiding great power military involvement.<sup>?</sup> This means two things: self-help, and regional <sup>Cooperation</sup> involvement.

There are some threats to peace, <sup>of course</sup>, which only U.S. power can deter--notably, large-scale and overt aggression. We should be prepared to fulfill defensive commitments, approved by the Congress and the President, which cover this threat.

The more likely threats to peace in developing areas ~~however~~ are indirect aggression and local conflict.

In meeting indirect aggression, self-help will be the key to success. This means encouraging ~~countries~~ and helping the government concerned to tend effectively both to its own defense and to the concerns of its own people.

In meeting local conflict, regional involvement will serve us well. This means encouraging groupings of the developing nations--in Latin America, Africa, and Asia--to play their full part in composing or ~~ending~~ <sup>ending</sup> these conflicts.

Thus, in meeting post-Vietnam threats, as in ending the Vietnam war, strengthening the ability of other countries to meet wider responsibilities will be the ~~road to peace~~ <sup>first step in a new strategy for peace.</sup>

But durable peace means more than the absence of conflict. It means dealing with the sources of conflict. It means we must give equal attention to "peace-making" as well as peacekeeping. Abroad as at home, its roots are to be found in poverty, hunger and disease. Here, too, we must look to wider effort, involving other nations and groups of nations.

Foreign aid may not be popular. But it's necessary; so I'm for it.

But what I'm for is not the U.S. doing it all. What I'm for is co-operation among donor nations, and between donor and developing nations, so that the burden is shared by all.

This means strengthening regional groupings--like the Alliance for Progress and the Asian Development Bank. It means building up the World Bank and its affiliates. It means growing ~~concrete~~ cooperation about development aid between the U.S., Western Europe and Japan.

*Insert*  
All this won't relieve us of the need to play our full part in providing help to poorer countries. The action of the Congress this year in mutilating the foreign aid bill is shocking--if not irresponsible. It is time to reevaluate our priorities--so that a 70 billion dollar defense budget <sup>no longer</sup> glides through Congress unscathed while modest programs to provide the building blocks of peace are dismembered.

*second*  
The ~~next~~ essential step ~~toward making peace~~ is to control the arms race.



There will be no peace for any American--or any other person on this earth--if we do not stop the piling up of weapons of mass destruction and their spread to other countries.

I have devoted much of my life to these ends--as Chairman of the Senate Disarmament Sub-committee, as sponsor of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and as principal Senate supporter of the Test Ban Treaty.

As President, I will give new impetus to our search for disarmament.

*I will seek* I will seek <sup>to implement</sup> speedy approval of the Non-Proliferation Treaty--  
~~which should be promptly ratified now.~~  
 an agreement with the Soviet Union on offensive and defensive missiles--cessation of nuclear testing under adequate safeguards--control of chemical, radiological and biological weapons--and a halt to regional arms races in the Middle East and elsewhere. ~~And I will press on in the search for General and Complete Disarmament.~~

The Republican candidate shares no such commitment to disarmament. He has called for postponement of the treaty prohibiting nuclear spread. ~~He has urged the United States to escalate the missile race.~~ His policies would not only jeopardize the peace of the world--they would pour tens of billions of dollars into the arms race which we urgently need to rebuild our cities and provide a decent life for every American.

So the choice is clear. Do you want a President who will do everything in his power to turn back the arms race and save mankind from self-destruction?

*Our pursuit of a new strategy for peace will*  
~~Our contribution to peace will~~ increasingly be made through multilateral organizations, the most important of which is

the United Nations. I am happy to be able to say--here in this great city of San Francisco, where the United Nations was founded some 23 years ago--that one of the <sup>high</sup> ~~priority~~ <sup>is</sup> ~~considerations~~ of my presidency would be strengthening the peace-keeping and peace-making capacity of the United Nations.

~~We simply must have stronger~~ <sup>Strengthening the</sup> international machinery for making and keeping the peace, <sup>is the third step in a new strategy for peace</sup> Nations, like individuals, will not disarm unless they have some substitute means of protecting themselves and their legitimate interests.

The United States cannot play the role of global policeman. The American people don't want it, and the rest of the world won't accept it. But the alternative to American peacekeeping cannot be no peacekeeping. It must be peacekeeping by the United Nations or regional agencies.

The basis of any world peacekeeping system must be non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Such a policy will only work if it is scrupulously respected by all states, large and small.

As President of the United States, I will make it crystal clear that American ~~power~~ power will never be used to prevent any people from choosing the government it wants--even if that is a Communist government. And I will ask of the leaders of Communist powers that they not use their power to prevent a people from choosing the government it wants--even if that be a non-Communist government.

Such a policy of mutual non-interference is not utopian. It is the only formula to preserve peace in this world. But the

formula will only work if the pledges of non-interference are backed up by international machinery which can patrol borders, supervise free elections, and otherwise verify compliance with non-interference rules.

The UN peacekeeping efforts have brought practical results in the Arab-Israeli conflict, in Cyprus, in the Congo, and in Kashmir. Even Communist countries now recognize the desirability of containing local conflicts that might draw in the great powers and trigger a nuclear war.

As President of the United States, I intend to do everything in my power to place international peacekeeping machinery in troubled areas rather than American soldiers. And I pledge to work for a United Nations peacekeeping force in Vietnam to administer free elections and verify the withdrawal of foreign forces.

The United Nations needs a greater capacity to play a peacekeeping role. Its members should earmark and train units of their armed forces for international peacekeeping assignments.

To aid in this effort, I propose to use our Military Assistance Program to help less developed countries prepare units of their armed forces for UN and regional peacekeeping assignments;

To make available one or more of our overseas military bases as training and supply centers for United Nations peacekeeping efforts;

To launch a new effort to resolve the UN's financial and constitutional crisis;

To call for a United Nations peacekeeping fund, fixed initially at 20 million dollars, to permit the UN to launch emergency operations without delay.

UN peacemaking must go hand-in-hand with UN peacekeeping. The United Nations needs not just a fire department, but a better system of fire prevention.

Here in the United States, we have ~~lax~~ learned the value of fact-finders and mediators to mobilize opinion behind a reasonable settlement. Why should not the United Nations have a panel of fact-finders and mediators for disputes that threaten world peace?

UN members should agree in advance to accept the process of fact-finding and mediation, even if they reserve the right to reject findings and recommendations with which they disagree.

The United States should take the lead in establishing such a system. And I believe our country should accept the process of factfinding and mediation by the United Nations or other international agencies in any dispute to which we are a party anywhere in the world.

The ~~next~~ <sup>fourth</sup> element in a new strategy for peace should be a global effort at economic development. *Pope Paul said that "Development is the new name for peace".*  
We must deal with the sources of conflict. Unless the world can do a better job at raising living standards in Latin America, Africa and Asia, there will be no lasting peace.

As President Kennedy once said; "If we cannot help the many who are poor, we cannot save the few who are rich."

The time has come for a new approach to world development--not merely a new level of effort, but a new emphasis on multilateral cooperation.

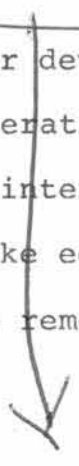
As President of the United States, I propose to channel the overwhelming share of international assistance through the United Nations and regional agencies, where costs and responsibilities are widely shared. This includes such institutions as the World Bank, the International Development Association, the Inter-American Development Bank, the Asia Development Bank, and other regional institutions.

All this <sup>will not</sup> ~~won't~~ relieve us of the need to play our full part in providing help to poorer countries. The action of the Congress this year in mutilating the foreign aid bill is shocking--if not irresponsible. It is time to reevaluate our priorities--so that a 70 billion dollar defense budget no longer glides through Congress unscathed while modest programs to provide the building blocks of peace are <sup>scuttled</sup> ~~dismembered~~.

New efforts should be made in the <sup>coming</sup> ~~years ahead~~ to enlist the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in the global war on poverty. Development should be a cooperative--not a competitive enterprise.

Even if we cannot reach this objective right away, ~~in all parts of the world~~, we can try to move towards it on a case-by-case basis where East and West recognize a measure of common interest. Let us begin by <sup>encouraging</sup> ~~inviting~~ the Soviet Union to join the World Bank consortium for India.

A Global Partnership for development should mean not just new forms of international cooperation--but also new priorities. Both national aid programs and international agencies have, for too long, neglected key problems like education, agriculture and population. This neglect is beginning to be remedied--but not fast enough.





*fifth*  
The ~~next~~ element in a new strategy for peace should be a global effort to preserve and improve the human environment.

*Could*  
~~will~~ spell disaster for mankind.

Uncontrolled industrialization and urbanization--coupled with unregulated population growth--will undermine the basis of a decent life on this planet. And this is the only planet we have.

To maintain the balance of nature, to exploit nature's abundance without destroying it, to preserve an environment ~~same~~ compatible with human dignity--these are in the interest of all--regardless of nationality, race, or ideology.

As President I will commit this country to a global effort to protect and develop the human environment--to control the pollution of air, rivers and oceans--to protect wildlife and natural areas--to increase the marine harvest--to exploit the resources of the deep sea bed--and to use nuclear power to bring fresh water from the seas.

Many of these things can be done by individual nations alone. But there are parts of the human environment that do not belong entirely to any one nation--the high seas, the deep sea bed, international rivers, migratory animals--whose effective management requires international cooperation.

Even in dealing with its own environment, every people can benefit from the sharing of national experience. We need joint programs of research and reciprocal assistance on common problems of industrialization and urbanization.

*Sixth*  
The ~~next~~ element in a new strategy for peace should be new efforts to promote international understanding.

One of the best ways to promote cooperation between peoples is to use the most exciting development in communications technology--the communications satellite. Through satellites man can have not only transmissions between central ground stations--but also direct broadcasting to village and home radio and TV receivers.

~~This gives mankind an unprecedented instrument for world peace and world development.~~

~~Let us~~ propose reciprocal TV and radio exchanges with other countries, including the countries of Eastern Europe. Let us offer the Soviet leaders the opportunity to talk to the American people on TV in return for the same privilege for our leaders in the Soviet Union.

Other countries may have difficulty with these proposals. But we in America have an open society. There is no reason why we should ~~not~~ not lead in the quest for an open world.

I have mentioned <sup>six</sup> ~~five~~ elements in a new strategy for peace. They are only a partial list of the initiatives that I would undertake to promote the common interest of mankind in peace and welfare.

We will not realize this new strategy overnight. It will be the work of many years. But in the long run it is the only viable alternative for America between an assumption of disproportionate world responsibility and a renewed retreat to isolation.

I believe the War in Vietnam has shown us the absolute necessity of developing stronger international institutions to help us share

the burdens and the responsibilities of peacekeeping and development.

~~I believe~~ <sup>the</sup> common people not only in this country but in all countries will turn increasingly to leaders who offer them programs for cooperation rather than conflict.

~~I propose to be such a leader.~~

So here is another issue for this Presidential campaign-- which Presidential candidate and which political party is best equipped to lead the U.S. in the quest for peace?

Which Presidential candidate and which political party is best equipped <sup>to avoid future "Vietnams,"</sup> to turn back the arms race--to strengthen international peacekeeping machinery--to accelerate ~~the~~ multilateral development aid--to preserve and develop the human environment--and to move boldly for world understanding?

Make no mistake about it--this is your choice. We can entrust this country to those who have the will and the imagination to lead the world to new programs of cooperation--or we could put it in the hands of those who have always preferred the politics of cold war and conflict.

If I am President, there is no idea that I will leave unexplored in the search for peace. To mark the 25th anniversary of the United Nations I will appoint a Commission on Peace, composed of a small number of private citizens known for their contributions to peace and international cooperation.

This Commission will be no public relations exercise. It will have ready and regular access to the President and top officials of the government. It will have a staff and funds to carry on its activities, to contract for necessary research, and to take part in international meetings.

I will ask this Commission to issue a report in 1970-- on the practical steps that we can take to strengthen the United Nations and other international agencies in the cause of peace.

Our tradition assumes a high degree of participation by the people/ in the making of critical national policy decisions.

Involvement by the people will continue to be a necessity if national decisions are to be truly reflective of the national will.

For foreign policy is the people's business in 1968 just as politics is their business.

We understand especially today that a new strategy for peace for a new decade stands little chance of success unless it can inspire the new generation of Americans who wear the nation's uniforms, renew the nation's political processes, and in the long run determine the success or failure of American policy at home and abroad.

This Commission on Peace will offer a new channel for participation by American citizens in the foreign policy of our country.

My ~~conviction~~<sup>belief</sup> that we can successfully pursue a "new strategy for peace" is based on the conviction eloquently stated by President Kennedy at American University in June of 1963. He said:

"Let us examine our attitude toward peace itself. Too many of us think it is impossible. Too many think it unreal. But that is a dangerous, defeatist belief. It leads to the conclusion that war is inevitable, that mankind is doomed, that we are gripped by forces we cannot control.

" We need not accept that view. Our problems are man-made; therefore, they can be solved by men. And man can be as big as he wants."

DRAFT

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

COMMONWEALTH CLUB

SAN FRANCISCO

A NEW STRATEGY FOR PEACE

Today we are engaged in a tragic war--a war which has consumed our energies, divided our people, tarnished our reputation, and limited our vision.

As President, my first priority will be to end the War in Vietnam.

In pursuing that goal, ~~if there is one thing we have~~  
~~learned~~ it is that the policies of tomorrow need not be limited by the policies of yesterday.

*we will continue to have major*  
During the next decade ~~our~~ responsibility for preserving world peace ~~will continue~~. But the way in which we fulfill that responsibility will change.

There are pressing problems at home, which place some limits on what we can do abroad.

Revival of strength in other free countries does enable them to assume greater burdens.

Change <sup>S</sup> in the Communist world <sup>have</sup> ~~has~~ altered the threat we face--though <sup>this threat</sup> ~~it~~ has not ended.

The Experience of recent years does suggest areas in which our procedures for making foreign policy could be improved.

*is a candidate for*  
So the new President should welcome this period of debate and review--this opportunity to join in the scrutiny of policy, this opportunity to define a "new strategy for peace."

*I find the 6-point structure awkward -- a substitute for deeper analysis + more logical transitions. And the points are out of balance in terms of relative weight.*  
① What are the elements which cause the change in our strategy for peace? New arms technology, a new out-strategy "constituting for peace" among mankind, a more urgent need to close the rich-poor gap, the inability of the US to sustain the post-American of the last decades, etc.  
② We have a prescription for each new need in the paper, but the

*Doug Bennett marks*

*II. 9/22/68*

*Theme*  
*new cycle more peace makes arms control impossible*



Asia and in other areas of

2

To begin with,

One of the first necessities in a new strategy for peace

must include

is a shift away from the exclusive reliance on American power

as the guarantor of security in Asia. Other ~~countries~~ <sup>the developing nations where we are now</sup> countries

must assume greater responsibility for shaping their future, ~~this~~ <sup>we should adopt the principle that</sup>

~~principle~~ should govern our approach to post-Vietnam problems in Asia and Africa.

As far as I am concerned, "no more Vietnams" is more than a slogan; it is a sound--and attainable--objective of U.S. policy. <sup>consistent with the historical currents of our times.</sup>

The southern half of the globe is going to be a turbulent area for a long time. That turbulence is part of the process of modernization.

If peace is to be preserved, we will have to find ways of avoiding great power military involvement. This means two things: self-help, and regional involvement.

There are some threats to peace, of course, which only U.S. power can deter--notably, large-scale and overt aggression. We should be prepared to fulfill defensive commitments, approved by the Congress and the President, which cover this threat.

The more likely threats to peace in developing areas, ~~however~~, are indirect aggression and local conflict.

In meeting indirect aggression, self-help will be the key to success. This means encouraging ~~groupings~~ and helping the government concerned to tend effectively both to its own defense and to the concerns of its own people.

What's it mean?

In meeting local conflict, regional involvement will serve us well. This means encouraging groupings of the developing nations--in Latin America, Africa, and Asia--to play their full part in composing or ~~ending~~ <sup>ending</sup> these conflicts.

Thus, in meeting post-Vietnam threats, as in ending the Vietnam war, strengthening the ability of other countries to meet wider responsibilities will be the <sup>first step in a new strategy</sup> ~~road to peace~~ <sup>for peace.</sup>

But durable peace means more than the absence of conflict. It means dealing with the sources of conflict. It means we must give equal attention to "peace-making" as well as peacekeeping. Abroad as at home, its roots are to be found in poverty, hunger and disease. Here, too, we must look to wider effort, involving other nations and groups of nations.

Foreign aid may not be popular. But it's necessary; so I'm for it.

But what I'm for is not the U.S. doing it all. What I'm for is co-operation among donor nations, and between donor and developing nations, so that the burden is shared by all.

This means strengthening regional groupings--like the Alliance for Progress and the Asian Development Bank. It means building up the World Bank and its affiliates. It means growing ~~concrete~~ cooperation about development aid between the U.S., Western Europe and Japan.

*Insult*  
All this won't relieve us of the need to play our full part in providing help to poorer countries. The action of the Congress this year in mutilating the foreign aid bill is shocking--if not irresponsible. It is time to reevaluate our priorities--so that a 70 billion dollar defense budget <sup>no longer</sup> glides through Congress unscathed while modest programs to provide the building blocks of peace are dismembered.

*Second*  
The next <sup>second</sup> essential step toward making peace is to control the arms race.

There will be no peace for any American--or any other person on this earth--if we do not stop the piling up of weapons of mass destruction and their spread to other countries.

I have devoted much of my life to these ends--as Chairman of the Senate Disarmament Sub-committee, as sponsor of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and as principal Senate supporter of the Test Ban Treaty.

As President, I will give new impetus to our search for disarmament.

*I will seek which should be promptly notified now.*  
I will seek <sup>to implement</sup> speedy approval of the Non-Proliferation Treaty--an agreement with the Soviet Union on offensive and defensive missiles--cessation of nuclear testing under adequate safeguards--control of chemical, radiological and biological weapons--and a halt to regional arms races in the Middle East and elsewhere. And I will press on in the search for General and Complete Disarmament.

The Republican candidate shares no such commitment to disarmament. He has called for postponement of the treaty prohibiting nuclear spread. He has urged the United States to escalate the missile race. His policies would not only jeopardize the peace of the world--they would pour tens of billions of dollars into the arms race which we urgently need to rebuild our cities and provide a decent life for every American.

So the choice is clear. Do you want a President who will do everything in his power to turn back the arms race and save mankind from selfdestruction?

*Our pursuit of a new strategy for peace will*  
~~Our contribution to peace will~~ increasingly be made through multilateral organizations, the most important of which is

*(Say why)*

the United Nations. I am happy to be able to say--here in this great city of San Francisco, where the United Nations was founded some 23 years ago--that one of the <sup>high</sup> priority considerations of my presidency would be strengthening the peace-keeping and peace-making capacity of the United Nations.

*make the more dramatic - a new phase in history of UN...*  
We ~~simply~~ <sup>strengthening the</sup> must have stronger international machinery for making and keeping the peace. Nations, like individuals, will not disarm unless they have some substitute means of protecting themselves and their legitimate interests.

The United States cannot play the role of global policeman. The American people don't want it, and the rest of the world won't accept it. But the alternative to American peacekeeping cannot be no peacekeeping. It must be peacekeeping by the United Nations or regional agencies.

*under by whom - I will be the first thing in history that much a man will be seen only adopted let's say, that it will be enforced.*  
The basis of any world peacekeeping system must be non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Such a policy will only work if it is scrupulously respected by all states, large and small.

As President of the United States, I will make it ~~crystal~~ <sup>clear</sup> that American ~~power~~ power will never be used to prevent any people from choosing the government it wants--even if that is a Communist government. And I will ask of the leaders of Communist powers that they not use their power to prevent a people from choosing the government it wants--even if that be a non-Communist government.

Such a policy of mutual non-interference is not utopian. It is the only formula to preserve peace in this world. But the

*ie - we have to toughen them - this language is clear, but not quite pointed enough*

formula will only work if the pledges of non-interference are backed up by international machinery which can patrol borders, supervise free elections, and otherwise verify compliance with non-interference rules.

The UN peacekeeping efforts have brought practical results in the Arab-Israeli conflict, in Cyprus, in the Congo, and in Kashmir. Even Communist countries now recognize the desirability of containing local conflicts that might draw in the great powers and trigger a nuclear war.

As President of the United States, I intend to do everything in my power to place international peacekeeping machinery in troubled areas rather than American soldiers. And I pledge to work for a United Nations peacekeeping force in Vietnam to administer free elections and verify the withdrawal of foreign forces.

The United Nations needs a greater capacity to play a peacekeeping role. Its members should earmark and train units of their armed forces for international peacekeeping assignments.

To aid in this effort, I propose to use our Military Assistance Program to help less developed countries prepare units of their armed forces for UN and regional peacekeeping assignments;

... To make available one or more of our overseas military bases as training and supply centers for United Nations peacekeeping efforts;

... To launch a new effort to resolve the UN's financial and constitutional crisis;

... To call for a United Nations peacekeeping fund, fixed initially at 20 million dollars, to permit the UN to launch emergency operations without delay.

Let's avoid such a commitment which is actually delogical



UN peacemaking must go hand-in-hand with UN peacekeeping. The United Nations needs not just a fire department, but a better system of fire prevention.

Here in the United States, we have ~~lax~~ learned the value of fact-finders and mediators to mobilize opinion behind a reasonable settlement. Why should not the United Nations have a panel of fact-finders and mediators for disputes that threaten world peace?

UN members should agree in advance to accept the process of fact-finding and mediation, even if they reserve the right to reject findings and recommendations with which they disagree.

The United States should take the lead in establishing such a system. And I believe our country should accept the process of fact-finding and mediation by the United Nations or other international agencies in any dispute to which we are a party anywhere in the world.

The next <sup>fourth</sup> element in a new strategy for peace should be a global effort at economic development. *Pope Paul Sixth Hunt*  
*"Development is the new name for peace".*

We must deal with the sources of conflict. Unless the world can do a better job at raising living standards in Latin America, Africa and Asia, there will be no lasting peace.

As President Kennedy once said; "If we cannot help the many who are poor, we cannot save the few who are rich."

The time has come for a new approach to world development--not merely a new level of effort, but a new emphasis on multilateral cooperation.

*I think this is a week from now, talk with and meet with people, Congress, the aid bill, U.S. aid program, etc.*

As President of the United States, I propose to channel the overwhelming share of international assistance through the United Nations and regional agencies, where costs and responsibilities are widely shared. This includes such institutions as the World Bank, the International Development Association, the Inter-American Development Bank, the Asia Development Bank, and other regional institutions.

*will not*

All this ~~won't~~ relieve us of the need to play our full part in providing help to poorer countries. The action of the Congress this year in mutilating the foreign aid bill is shocking--if not irresponsible. It is time to reevaluate our priorities--so that a 70 billion dollar defense budget no longer glides through Congress unscathed while modest programs to provide the building blocks of peace are ~~dismembered~~. *scattered*

*country*

New efforts should be made in the ~~years ahead~~ to enlist the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in the global war on poverty. Development should be a cooperative--not a competitive enterprise.

Even if we cannot reach this objective right away, in ~~all parts of the world~~, we can try to move towards it on a case-by-case basis where East and West recognize a measure of common interest. Let us begin by *encouraging* ~~inviting~~ the Soviet Union to join the World Bank consortium for India.

A Global Partnership for development should mean not just new forms of international cooperation--but also new priorities. Both national aid programs and international agencies have, for too long, neglected key problems like education, agriculture and population. This neglect is beginning to be remedied--but not fast enough.

*I feel this section is terribly weak -*

*the original & substantively. These are the arguments which have won the U.S. aid program. We need fresh ones. Let's discuss. JB*

*must?*  
*fifth*  
 The next element in a new strategy for peace should be a global effort to preserve and improve the human environment.

*Could*  
 The uncontrolled exploitation of science and technology ~~will~~ spell disaster for mankind.

Uncontrolled industrialization and urbanization--coupled with unregulated population growth--will undermine the basis of a decent life on this planet. And this is the only planet we have.

To maintain the balance of nature, to exploit nature's abundance without destroying it, to preserve an environment ~~safe~~ compatible with human dignity--these are in the interest of all--regardless of nationality, race, or ideology.

As President I will commit this country to a global effort to protect and develop the human environment--to control the pollution of air, rivers and oceans--to protect wildlife and natural areas--to increase the marine harvest--to exploit the resources of the deep sea bed--and to use nuclear power to bring fresh water from the seas.

Many of these things can be done by individual nations alone. But there are parts of the human environment that do not belong entirely to any one nation--the high seas, the deep sea bed, international rivers, migratory animals--whose effective management requires international cooperation.

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*Sixth*  
 The next element in a new strategy for peace should be ~~new efforts to promote international understanding.~~ *(cliche)*

*To allow the minister to hear and address world leaders of all nations whose constituents we all are.*

One of the best ways to promote cooperation between peoples is to use the most exciting development in communications technology--the communications satellite. Through satellites man can have not only transmissions between central ground stations--but also direct broadcasting to village and home radio and TV receivers.

~~This gives mankind an unprecedented instrument for world peace and world development.~~

Let us propose reciprocal TV and radio exchanges with other countries, including the countries of Eastern Europe. Let us offer the Soviet leaders the opportunity to talk to the American people on TV in return for the same privilege for our leaders in the Soviet Union.

Other countries may have difficulty with these proposals. But we in America have an open society. There is no reason why we should ~~not~~ lead in the quest for an open world.

I have mentioned <sup>Six</sup> five elements in a new strategy for peace. They are only a partial list of the initiatives that I would undertake to promote the common interest of mankind in peace and welfare.

We will not realize this new strategy overnight. It will be the work of many years. But in the long run it is the only viable alternative for America between an assumption of disproportionate world responsibility and a renewed retreat to isolation.

I believe the War in Vietnam has shown us the absolute necessity of developing stronger international institutions to help us share

the burdens and the responsibilities of peacekeeping and development.

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Which Presidential candidate and which political party is best equipped <sup>to avoid future "Vietnams," and those who might cause them</sup> to turn back the arms race--to strengthen international peacekeeping machinery--to accelerate ~~the~~ multilateral development aid--to preserve and develop the human environment--and to move boldly for world understanding?

*① insert  
② move up* Make no mistake about it--this is your choice. We can entrust this country to those who have the will and the imagination to lead the world to new programs of cooperation--or we could put it in the hands of those who have always preferred the politics of cold war and conflict.

If I am President, there is no idea that I will leave unexplored in the search for peace. To mark the 25th anniversary of the United Nations I will appoint a Commission on Peace, composed of a small number of private citizens known for their contributions to peace and international cooperation.

This Commission will be no public relations exercise. It will have ready and regular access to the President and top officials of the government. It will have a staff and funds to carry on its activities, to contract for necessary research, and to take part in international meetings.

*a peace President*



I will ask this Commission to issue a report in 1970--  
 on the practical steps that we can take to strengthen the United  
 Nations and other international agencies in the cause of peace.

Our tradition assumes a high degree of participation by  
 the people/ in the making of critical national policy decisions.

Involvement by the people will continue to be a necessity  
 if national decisions are to be truly reflective of the national  
 will.

For foreign policy is the people's business in 1968 just  
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We understand especially today that a new strategy for peace  
 for a new decade stands little chance of success unless it can inspire  
 the new generation of Americans who wear the nation's uniforms,  
 renew the nation's political processes, and in the long run determine  
 the success or failure of American policy at home and abroad.

This Commission on Peace will offer a new channel for  
 participation by American citizens in the foreign policy of our  
 country.

My <sup>belief</sup> conviction that we can successfully pursue a "new strategy  
 for peace" is based on the conviction eloquently stated by President  
 Kennedy at American University in June of 1963. He said:

"Let us examine our attitude toward peace itself.  
 Too many of us think it is impossible. Too many think it unreal.  
 But that is a dangerous, defeatist belief. It leads to the conclusion  
 that war is inevitable, that mankind is doomed, that we are gripped  
 by forces we cannot control.

"We need not accept that view. Our problems are man-made;  
 therefore, they can be solved by men. And man can be as big as  
 he wants."

The crisis and war last year in the Middle East indicated our dilemma.

When the chips were down, both we and the Russians decided that we had to avoid a nuclear confrontation.

But that was clearly not enough. Where we Americans are involved in the world -- except, as in Europe, where our vital interests are truly concerned -- we must convince the Russians that it is in our mutual interest to avoid situations that could lead to nuclear confrontation or war.

We must seek together, to control these crises, not in ways ~~which~~ that will only increase the risks of nuclear war, but in ways that will ~~bring peace where possible, and otherwise~~ <sup>confine</sup> ~~localize~~ conflict to local areas.

We can support the creation of United Nations Peace-keeping forces. But we cannot expect them to prevent conflict where we -- or the Soviet Union -- also share responsibility for peace. Such was the case in the Middle East. Our lack of preparation ~~helped make that crisis worse.~~ for crisis helped make that crisis worse. That must not happen again.

# A New Strategy for Peace

I

Confronting the war

Vietnam - end the way  
acceptance  
Clark Kerr proposal.

III.

Multilateralism - H. Owen draft.  
Section - Vietnam X

Create truly international  
community.

U N

Regional action.

UN: Peace - Peace - Making

Foreign aid.

~~Regionalism~~  
Regionalism

anti party trouble  
mediation panel  
Population

Jerry Mission

(2)

25th Anniversary Conference  
International Taxation for development  
— multilateral —

plus cut 10% in military budget.  
based on estimate of int.  
bond.

---

cut funds for ACDA

Charles Bayne / 212 - OR - 9 - 2073

Quote JFK - Am Unhappy - Peace  
based not on revolution or  
human nature - but gradual evolution  
in human institutions.

Test - Ben

Dickson quote "I want to  
take first step" - [Note Same Speech]

Insert Kennedy quote. Note Same  
Speech.



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① Sunday A.M. ——— Europe paper —

② Task force reports R.F.K.  
Saturday — <sup>night</sup> Columbus — Ohio

③ my first priority as  
④ President will be to  
end the war in Vietnam.  
acceptance.

⑤ Foreign aid — allies

Peace is our business  
at.

a) War in Vietnam

# A New Strategy for Peace

Today we are engaged  
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divided our people, tarnished  
our ~~reputed~~ reputation and  
often limited our vision.

My first priority  
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end that war in Vietnam.

~~And I~~ That goal,  
In pursuing that goal,  
if there is one thing we  
have learned, it is that  
the policies of the past  
need not be the policies  
of the future.

(3) ~~SECRET~~

↓

There are pressing problems at home, which place some limits on what we can do abroad.

The revival of strength in other free countries does enable them to assume greater burdens.

Change in the Communist world has altered the threat we face — *though it has not ended it.*

The experience of recent years does suggest areas in which our procedures for making foreign policy could be improved.

So the new President should welcome this period of debate and review, - this opportunity to join in the scrutiny of policy, ~~and the questioning of ideas which these concerns have triggered.~~

*to define a "new opportunity for peace"*

### III

He should not, however, allow himself to be panicked by these concerns into giving up the US effort to build a durable peace - into abandoning our active role in the world.

This role has served us well.

We have, despite precedent and prediction, avoided a general war during two turbulent decades.

We have helped to end or contain a number of local conflicts in the developing areas. Cyprus, the Congo, the

4. One of the first <sup>Necessities</sup> ~~principles~~  
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of security in Asia. Other  
countries must assume greater  
responsibility for shaping their  
future. This should govern  
our approach to past - Vietnam  
problems in ~~the~~ Asia and Africa.



(5) *h*  
elections is a coalition government, well that's for the South Vietnamese - not the US or North Vietnam - to decide.

Until such a settlement can be achieved, I intend to urge and help the South Vietnamese to take on more of the load of defending their own country - and to phase down US combat involvement as rapidly as possible, to this end.

VI

This general principle, that other countries should assume greater responsibility for shaping their future, should also govern our approach to post-Vietnam problems in the developing areas.

As far as I am concerned, "no more Vietnams" is more than a slogan; it is a sound - and attainable - objective of US policy.

*The Southern half of the globe is*  
~~Asia, Africa and Latin America~~ *are* going to be *turbu-*  
*lent* for a long time. That turbulence is part of the process of modernization.

If peace is to be preserved, we will have to find ways of avoiding great power military involvement. This means two things: self-help, and regional involvement.

There are some threats to peace, of course, which only US power can deter - notably, large-scale and overt

(6)

aggression. We should <sup>be prepared</sup> ~~remain willing~~ to fulfill defensive commitments, approved by the Congress and the President, which cover this threat.

The more likely threats to peace in developing areas, however, are indirect aggression and local conflict.

In meeting indirect aggression, self-help will be the key to success. This means encouraging and helping the government concerned to tend effectively both to its own defense and to the concerns of its own people.

In meeting local conflict, regional involvement will serve us well. This means encouraging groupings of the developing nations - in Latin America, Africa, and Asia - to play their full part in composing or continuing these conflicts.

Thus, in meeting post-Vietnam threats, as in ending the Vietnam war, strengthening the ability of other countries to meet wider responsibilities will be the road to peace.

## VII

*stet* But durable peace means more than the absence of conflict. It means dealing with the sources of conflict.

*It means we must give equal attention to "peace-making"*  
Abroad as at home, its roots are to be found in poverty,

hunger, and disease. Here, too, we must look to wider effort, involving other nations and groups of nations.

*as well as  
peace keeping.*

Foreign aid may not be popular. But it's necessary;  
so I'm for it.

But what I'm for is not the US doing it all. What I'm  
for is co-operation among donor nations, and between donor  
and developing nations, so that the burden is shared by all.

This means strengthening regional groupings - like the  
Alliance for Progress and the Asian Development Bank. It  
means building up the World Bank and its affiliates. It  
means growing ~~concept~~ <sup>cooperation</sup> ~~development~~ about aid between the US, Western  
Europe and Japan.

All this won't relieve us of the need to play our full  
part in providing help to poorer countries. But it will  
ensure that this part is played in concert with others,  
rather than as a solo performance.

*The action of the Congress this year  
in mutilating the foreign aid bill is  
shocking - if not irresponsible. It is*

This same need - to encourage wider participation -  
should govern our approach to building durable peace in  
Europe.

That peace will not be assured until the division of  
Europe and Germany has been healed.

The brutal Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia underlines

*time to evaluate our  
priorities - so that a 70 billion  
dollar defense budget goes through  
Congress unscathed (over)*

while modest programs <sup>to</sup>  
provide the building blocks  
of peace are ~~dis~~ dismembered,

the next essential positive (8)  
step toward making peace is  
to to control the arms race.



9

Some of these programs of cooperation may be practical only after a Vietnam settlement. Others may be possible once the level of fighting subsides. Still others may be possible even without progress toward peace in Vietnam. The very fact that we are offering proposals for peaceful cooperation beyond Vietnam may indirectly encourage the prospects for a Vietnam settlement.

Now what are some of the elements in my program for a Global Partnership?

The first element in a Global Partnership is to halt the dangerous arms race.

place

There will be no security for any American -- or any other person on this earth -- if we do not stop the piling up of weapons of mass destruction and their spread to other countries.

I have devoted much of my life to these ends -- as Chairman of the Senate Disarmament Sub-committee, as sponsor of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and as principal Senate supporter of the Test Ban Treaty.

As President, I will give new impetus to our search for disarmament.

(Insert p. 10)

@@@

Our contribution to peace  
will increasingly be made  
through multilateral organizations,  
the most important of which  
is the United Nations. I am  
happy to be able to say -  
here in this great city of  
San Francisco, where the  
United Nations was founded  
some 23 years ago -  
that one of the primary  
considerations of my Presidency  
would be ~~to~~ strengthening  
the peace - helping and peace making,  
capacity of the United Nations.

at (10)

I will seek speedy approval of the Non-Proliferation Treaty -- an agreement with the Soviet Union on offensive and defensive missiles -- cessation of nuclear testing under adequate safeguards -- control of chemical, radiological and biological weapons -- and a halt to regional arms races in the Middle East and elsewhere. And I will press on in the search for General and Complete Disarmament.

The Republican candidate shares no such commitment to disarmament. He has called for postponement of the treaty prohibiting nuclear spread. He has urged the United States to escalate the missile race. His policies would not only jeopardize the peace of the world -- they would pour tens of billions of dollars into the arms race which we urgently need to rebuild our cities and provide a decent life for every American.

So the choice is clear. Do you want a President who will do everything in his power to turn back the arms race and save mankind from self-destruction?

~~We simply must have~~  
The second element in a Global Partnership is stronger international machinery for making and keeping the peace. Nations, like individuals, will not disarm unless they have some substitute means of protecting themselves and their legitimate interests.

← (insert)

11

The United States cannot play the role of Global policeman. The American people don't want it, and the rest of the world won't accept it. But the alternative to American peacekeeping cannot be no-peacekeeping. It must be peacekeeping by the United Nations or regional agencies.

To those critics at home and abroad who say that the United States is doing too much alone, I ask: What are your proposals for preserving the peace of the world through international co-operation?

The basis of any world peacekeeping system must be non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Such a policy will only work if it is scrupulously respected by all states, large and small.

As President of the United States, I will make it crystal clear that American power will never be used to prevent any people from choosing the government it wants -- even if that is a Communist government. And I will ask of the leaders of Communist powers that they not use their power to prevent a people from choosing the government it wants -- even if that be a non-Communist government.

Such a policy of mutual non-interference is not utopian. It is the only formula to preserve peace in this world. But the formula will only work if the pledges of non-interference

the (12)

are backed up by international machinery which can patrol borders, supervise free elections, and otherwise verify compliance with non-interference rules.

The UN peacekeeping efforts have brought practical results in the Arab-Israeli conflict, in Cyprus, in the Congo, and in Kashmir. Even Communist countries now recognize the desirability of containing local conflicts that might draw in the great powers and trigger a nuclear war.  
~~So there is hope for the future.~~

As President of the United States, I intend to do everything in my power to place international peacekeeping machinery in troubled areas rather than American soldiers. And I pledge to work for a United Nations peacekeeping force in Vietnam to administer free elections and verify the withdrawal of foreign forces.

The United Nations needs a greater capacity to play a peacekeeping role. Its members should earmark and train units of their armed forces for international peacekeeping assignments. *To aid in this effort, I propose . . .*  
~~As President I would~~ use our Military Assistance Program to help less-developed countries prepare units of their armed forces for UN and regional peacekeeping assignments; *And I would* make available one or more of our overseas military bases as training and supply centers for United Nations peacekeeping efforts.



~~As President, I would~~ launch a new effort to resolve the UN's financial and constitutional crisis; I propose to start negotiations with the Soviet Union and other countries ~~designed~~ to enable the Security Council to discharge its peacekeeping functions under Article 43 of the Charter -- without, of course, abandoning the reserve powers of the General Assembly in the event that the Council is unable to act.

~~And I propose~~ to call for a United Nations peace-keeping fund, fixed initially at 20 million dollars, to permit the U. N. to launch emergency operations without delay. This fund, which could be used in support of peacekeeping operations authorized by the Security Council or the General Assembly, should be administered by a small committee with balanced representation of large, middle and small powers.

<sup>CN</sup> Peacemaking must go hand-in-hand with <sup>UN</sup> peacekeeping. The United Nations needs not just a fire department, but a better system of fire prevention.

Here in the United States, we have learned the value of fact-finders and mediators to mobilize opinion behind a reasonable settlement. Why should not the United Nations have a panel of fact-finders and mediators for disputes that threaten world peace?

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~~And why should~~ <sup>should</sup> UN members ~~not~~ agree in advance to accept the process of fact-finding and mediation, even if they reserve the right to reject findings and recommendations with which they disagree?

~~I believe~~ The United States should take the lead in establishing such a system. And I believe our country should accept the process of fact-finding and mediation by the United Nations or other international agencies in any dispute to which we are a party anywhere in the world.

~~The third~~ <sup>the next</sup> element in a ~~Global Partnership~~ <sup>new strategy for peace</sup> should be a global effort at economic development. ~~We must deal with the sources of conflict or there can be no durable peace.~~  
~~This is not just a matter of humanitarianism -- it is a matter of enlightened self-interest.~~ Unless the world can do a better job at raising living standards in Latin America, Africa and Asia, there will be no lasting peace.

As President Kennedy once said: "If we cannot help the many who are poor, we cannot save the few who are rich."

The time has come for a new approach to world development -- not merely a new level of effort, but a new emphasis on multilateral cooperation.

We must deal

(14)  
007

As President of the United States, I propose to channel the overwhelming share of international assistance through the United Nations and regional agencies, where costs and responsibilities are widely shared.

Such institutions as the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, the Asia Development Bank, and other regional institutions believe that new efforts should be made in the year ahead to enlist the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in the global war on poverty. Development should be a co-operative -- not a competitive enterprise.

Even if we cannot reach this objective right away in all parts of the world, we can try to move towards it on a case-by-case basis where East and West recognize a measure of common interest. Let us begin by inviting the Soviet Union to join the World Bank consortium for India.

A Global Partnership for development should mean not just new forms of international cooperation -- but also new priorities. Both national aid programs and international agencies have, for too long, neglected key problems like education, agriculture and population. This neglect is beginning to be remedied -- but not fast enough,

This includes  
the International  
Bank, the  
Asia Development  
Bank, and other  
regional  
institutions

Insert p. 3  
marked p.

15

by

To deal with the urgent problem of population growth, I pledge as President to propose a World Population Program -- administered by the United Nations and its family of agencies -- whose purpose would be to bring family-planning services to every couple wishing to have them. In this way -- and only in this way -- can mankind achieve its aims of adequate living standards and human dignity.

next

new strategy for peace

The fourth element in a Global Partnership should be a global effort to preserve and improve the human environment.

The uncontrolled exploitation of science and technology will spell disaster for mankind.

Uncontrolled industrialization and urbanization -- coupled with unregulated population growth -- will undermine the basis of a decent life on this planet. And this is the only planet we have.

To maintain the balance of nature, to exploit nature's abundance without destroying it, to preserve an environment compatible with human dignity -- these are in the interest of all -- regardless of nationality, race, or ideology.

As President I will commit this country to a global effort to protect and develop the human environment -- to control the pollution of air, rivers and oceans -- to protect

att (16)

wildlife and natural areas -- to increase the marine harvest -- to exploit the resources of the deep sea bed -- and to use nuclear power to bring fresh water from the seas.

Many of these things, ~~of course~~, can be done by individual nations, alone. But there are parts of the human environment that do not belong entirely to any one nation -- the high seas, the deep sea bed, international rivers, migratory animals -- whose effective management requires international cooperation.

Even in dealing with its own environment, every people can benefit from the sharing of national experience. We need joint programs of research and reciprocal assistance on common problems of industrialization and urbanization.

And beyond these programs we need a United Nations Program for the World Heritage for natural, historic and scenic resources -- including wildlife now in danger of extinction -- whose survival is a matter of concern to all mankind.

Inclusion of a particular property in such a Program would be the result of free negotiations between the UN and the country concerned. The country would receive international technical and financial aid in the development of its resources with resulting benefits to its economy. And the world community



17

would be in a position to safeguard unique and irreplaceable resources in which all mankind has a common interest.

*next a new strategy for peace*  
The fifth element in ~~the Global Partnership~~ should be new efforts to promote international understanding.

To eliminate war we must somehow change the attitude of people towards each other and move governments toward cooperation rather than conflict. If I am President, I intend to present new proposals to further the exchange of teachers and students, newspapers and books, motion pictures and cultural presentations.

*One of the best ways to promote cooperation between peoples is*  
~~I will also propose new ways to use the most ex-~~  
citing development in communications technology -- the communications satellite. *through* ~~Within the next decade, satellites will~~  
~~can have~~ *be available* -- not only ~~for~~ transmissions between central ground stations -- but also ~~for~~ direct broadcasting to village and home radio and TV receivers .

This gives mankind an unprecedented instrument for world peace and world development.

Let us propose reciprocal TV and radio exchanges with other countries, including the countries of Eastern Europe. Let us offer the Soviet leaders the opportunity

(18)

to talk to the American people on TV in return for the same privilege for our leaders in the Soviet Union.

And let us enlarge the use of TV and radio by the United Nations. Let us propose that UN members give at least one hour a week of TV or radio time to UN-produced programs -- including representative highlights of UN debates -- and let us urge that members carry an annual "State of the World" TV and radio address by the Secretary-General.

Other countries may have difficulty with these proposals. But we in America have an open society. There is no reason why we should not lead in the quest for an open world.

*for pencil* I have mentioned five elements in a ~~Global Partnership~~ *new Strategy*. They are only a partial list of the initiatives that I would undertake to promote the common interest of mankind in peace and welfare.

This Global Partnership would be a new kind of alliance -- not an alliance against a nation or group of nations -- but an alliance *new Strategy* for all humanity.

We will not realize this ~~alliance~~ *new Strategy* overnight. It will be the work of many years. But in the long run it is

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the only viable alternative for America between an assumption of disproportionate world responsibility and a renewed retreat to isolation.

I believe the war in Vietnam has shown us the absolute necessity of developing stronger international institutions to help us share the burdens and the responsibilities of peacekeeping and development.

~~And~~ I believe the common people not only in this country but in all countries will turn increasingly to leaders who offer them programs for cooperation rather than conflict.

I propose to be such a leader.

So here is another issue for this Presidential campaign -- which Presidential candidate and which political party is best equipped to lead the U. S. in the quest for

~~Global Partnership~~

*peace?*

Which Presidential candidate and which political party is best equipped to turn back the arms race -- to strengthen international peacekeeping machinery -- to accelerate multilateral development aid -- to preserve and develop the human environment -- and to move boldly for world understanding?

25th Anniversary of the United Nations

20  
21  
22

Make no mistake about it -- this is your choice.  
We can entrust this country to those who have the will and the imagination to lead the world to new programs of cooperation -- or we could put it in the hands of those who have always preferred the politics of cold war and conflict.

If I am President, there is no idea that I will leave unexplored in the search for peace. <sup>to ~~add to~~ mark the</sup> I will appoint a Commission on Peace, composed of a small number of private citizens known for their contributions to peace and international cooperation.

<sup>This Commission</sup>  
~~And I will promise you this: It will be no public relations exercise. This Commission will have ready and regular access to the President, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, and members of the Congress. It will have a staff and funds to publicize its activities, to contract for necessary research, and to take part in international meetings.~~  
<sup>and top officials of the Government.</sup>  
<sup>carry on</sup>

~~And I will ask this Commission as one of its first assignments to issue a report in 1970 -- the 25th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations in this city -- on the practical steps that we can take to strengthen the United Nations and other international agencies in the cause of peace.~~

(Insert - p 9 - Commment speed)

This Commission on peace will offer a new channel of participation by American citizens in the foreign policy of our country.

Participation

21.

My conviction that we  
can successfully pursue a "new strategy  
for peace" is based on the  
conviction ~~that~~ eloquently stated  
by President Kennedy at American  
University in June of 1963. He  
said - quote,



22!

This, then, is my commitment -- a commitment founded on faith in our people and in men everywhere. It is a faith that President Kennedy expressed so eloquently in his address at American University in 1963:

"Let us examine our attitude toward peace itself. Too many of us think it is impossible. Too many think it unreal. But that is a dangerous, defeatist belief. It leads to the conclusion that war is inevitable, that mankind is doomed, that we are gripped by forces we cannot control.

We <sup>need</sup> ~~will~~ not accept that view. Our problems are manmade; therefore, they can be solved by men. And man can be as big as he wants."

##

RICHARD N. GARDNER

DRAFT: 9/20/68

A GLOBAL PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE

What are the issues in this Presidential campaign?

One issue is how to achieve peace in Vietnam. A second is how to achieve law and justice here at home.

These are the two vitally important issues. It is right that they should be front and center in the election campaign.

But there is a third issue that is equally important. It is the issue of how to build a peaceful world.

We must -- and we can -- find a decent end to the war in Vietnam. But we must also find a way to avoid <sup>future</sup> ~~further~~ Vietnams.

We must -- and we can -- achieve law and justice in our country. But our quest for law and justice here at home must go hand in hand with the quest for law and justice overseas. We cannot preserve and extend the highest values of our society in a hostile and disordered world.

Here in this great city of San Francisco, where the United Nations was founded some 23 years ago, I make this pledge to the American people: That my central preoccupation as President of the United States will be -- not only to seek a decent peace in Vietnam -- not only to achieve law and justice in America -- but to launch a (Global Partnership) for peace and the general welfare of all mankind.

This Global Partnership will be no empty slogan of a Presidential campaign. It will be an entirely new level of American commitment and American effort through the United Nations and other global or regional agencies.

This Global Partnership will not be based on sentimentalism. It will not be based on unilateral concessions. It will be based on practical proposals that meet the test of mutual advantage -- of mutual restraints and reciprocal undertakings that serve the enlightened interests of all countries.

There are some who say that we must put aside all our plans to build a better world order because of Czechoslovakia and Vietnam. That is not my view.

The brutal invasion of Czechoslovakia does not make it less important to find some rational limits to the arms race and the use of force by nations. It makes these more important than ever.

The Vietnam War does not make it less necessary to strengthen the work of international agencies in peacekeeping and development. It makes this more necessary than ever.

The unfinished business of mankind in peace and development is too important -- the possibilities for advancing it are too attractive -- to make everything depend on the state of negotiations with one small Asian Communist power.

① Assess priorities in world.

John Stuart  
Ted. van Dyk  
9/23/68

② P 2 - no more Vietnamese.  
not a pledge 7 non-involvement.

③ Draw from H.H. experience.  
as VP  
reference to VP troops - first-hand  
observations  
what he has seen.

## Building a Durable Peace

I want to talk to you today about the most important question facing our country: how to build a durable peace.

The temptation in a campaign year is to offer oversimplified recipes. This may be good politics, but it's bad policy. The first duty of any candidate for the Presidency is to talk sense. I intend to try to do just that.

### I

There are rising concerns about American foreign policy. Some feel that we are over-extended and that the best way to secure peace is to withdraw behind our own borders.

The reasons for this are evident.

Despite our efforts in the last twenty years, the world remains troubled and turbulent. Fragmentation within the Communist bloc has made the original post-war threat seem remote. Other free countries are able to do more than in the past.

So there's a general tendency to say: "Let somebody else handle it now; we've done our bit and we're going home."

This tendency is compounded by pressing problems at home, by concern over the war in Vietnam, and by a growing feeling - particularly among the young - that the process of foreign policy making in this country is immune to popular participation and influence.

All this will generate pressures on the next American President to change this country's course and to reduce its role abroad.

How should he respond to these pressures?

Well, first let me tell you how he should not respond.

## II

He should not dismiss the sentiments that I have tried to describe as a crude renewal of the isolationism of the 1920's - to be lectured and hectored, but paid no heed.

Nor should he assume that the foreign policy which seemed useful in the 1940's and 1950's need be continued into the 1970's without change - or that our present foreign policy is perfect, either in content or in the way it is formulated.

Instead, he should examine the reasons for growing concern over American foreign policy carefully and with an open mind. If he does, he will recognize that some of these concerns are valid:



There are pressing problems at home, which place some limits on what we can do abroad.

The revival of strength in other free countries does enable them to assume greater burdens.

Change in the Communist world has altered the threat we face.

The experience of recent years does suggest areas in which our procedures for making foreign policy could be improved.

So the new President should welcome this period of debate and review, - this opportunity to join in the scrutiny of policy and the questioning of ideas which these concerns have triggered.

### III

He should not, however, allow himself to be panicked by these concerns into giving up the US effort to build a durable peace - into abandoning our active role in the world.

This role has served us well.

We have, despite precedent and prediction, avoided a general war during two turbulent decades.

We have helped to end or contain a number of local conflicts in the developing areas. Cyprus, the Congo, the

Middle East, and Kashmir are but a few examples.

We have, together with our allies in Western Europe, created and maintained an alliance which has kept the peace in that traditional cock-pit of conflict.

We have worked with our adversaries to limit the use and spread of nuclear weapons.

We have, in short, done better in building peace than history might have expected.

All the fruits of this effort would be called into question if the US pulled up stakes and went home. Let's take just two examples:

-- If American forces withdrew from Western Europe, you might well see a renewed Soviet squeeze on West Berlin, or worse. Then we would face a choice between going back into Europe, under the worst possible circumstances, or standing aside and seeing the greatest aggregation of resource and talent in the free world placed in jeopardy.

-- If American bilateral and multilateral economic aid to the poor nations of the world were cut off, promising efforts at self-help in many areas - notably, the Alliance for Progress in Latin America - would collapse. These efforts depend on outside support, and our aid is a vital

part of that outside support. Without hope of a better future, the teeming millions of Africa, Asia, and Latin America would turn increasingly to violence and extremism. This trend could not fail, in the end, to threaten our own security and well being.

#### IV

So isolationism is no more the answer to rising concerns about our foreign policy than standing pat.

The prospects for peace today are good, but they are not good enough - not good enough to abandon our efforts, nor good enough to continue these efforts without any change.

We need an active foreign policy, but we also need a foreign policy which is geared to the large changes now taking place in the world.

We need, in short, "a new strategy for peace".

The object of this strategy should be to build a world in which peace will be securely rooted in the efforts of many nations and groups of nations

-- so that it will not be at the mercy of untoward accidents;

-- and so that the US will not have to play an outsized role in preserving it.

For we see abroad the same phenomenon so evident at home: The growing desire of many communities to play a larger role in shaping their own destiny.

Abroad, as at home, we can turn that desire to advantage - by encouraging these people to assume larger responsibilities, and to take on the burdens that go with these responsibilities.

Let me spell out what I mean, in terms of some concrete problems now facing the US abroad.

## V

The most pressing of these problems is peace in Vietnam. This should be the number one task of any new President.

The road to peace in Vietnam will not be found in either a unilateral pull-out or in the search for military victory.

It will be found in this basic notion: The future of South Vietnam should be shaped by the people who live there.

I intend to seek a settlement based on this notion: a settlement which would involve both withdrawal of all external forces and free elections in which every South Vietnamese, regardless of his present views and past actions, could play his full and peaceful part - with iron-clad guarantees against force or fraud. If the outcome of these

elections is a coalition government, well that's for the South Vietnamese - not the US or North Vietnam - to decide.

Until such a settlement can be achieved, I intend to urge and help the South Vietnamese to take on more of the load of defending their own country - and to phase down US combat involvement as rapidly as possible, to this end.

## VI

This general principle, that other countries should assume greater responsibility for shaping their future, should also govern our approach to post-Vietnam problems in the developing areas.

As far as I am concerned, "no more Vietnams" is more than a slogan; it is a sound - and attainable - objective of US policy.

Asia, Africa and Latin America are going to be turbulent for a long time. That turbulence is part of the process of modernization.

If peace is to be preserved, we will have to find ways of avoiding great power military involvement. This means two things: self-help, and regional involvement.

There are some threats to peace, of course, which only US power can deter - notably, large-scale and overt



aggression. We should remain willing to fulfill defensive commitments, approved by the Congress and the President, which cover this threat.

The more likely threats to peace in developing areas, however, are indirect aggression and local conflict.

In meeting indirect aggression, self-help will be the key to success. This means encouraging and helping the government concerned to tend effectively both to its own defense and to the concerns of its own people.

In meeting local conflict, regional involvement will serve us well. This means encouraging groupings of the developing nations - in Latin America, Africa, and Asia - to play their full part in composing or continuing these conflicts.

Thus, in meeting post-Vietnam threats, as in ending the Vietnam war, strengthening the ability of other countries to meet wider responsibilities will be the road to peace.

## VII

But durable peace means more than the absence of conflict. It means dealing with the sources of conflict. Abroad as at home, its roots are to be found in poverty, hunger, and disease. Here, too, we must look to wider effort, involving other nations and groups of nations.



Foreign aid may not be popular. But it's necessary; so I'm for it.

But what I'm for is not the US doing it all. What I'm for is co-operation among donor nations, and between donor and developing nations, so that the burden is shared by all.

This means strengthening regional groupings - like the Alliance for Progress and the Asian Development Bank. It means building up the World Bank and its affiliates. It means growing concert about aid between the US, Western Europe and Japan.

All this won't relieve us of the need to play our full part in providing help to poorer countries. But it will ensure that this part is played in concert with others, rather than as a solo performance.

#### VIII

This same need - to encourage wider participation - should govern our approach to building durable peace in Europe.

That peace will not be assured until the division of Europe and Germany has been healed.

The brutal Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia underlines

the dangers inherent in that division.

But a European settlement will not be achieved until the nations of Western and Eastern Europe can play a larger part in helping to bring it about.

In Western Europe, this larger part hinges on these nations coming together among themselves to form an entity which can, as John Kennedy said, "speak with one voice and act with one will".

In Eastern Europe, it hinges on progress toward freedom - progress which Russian tanks can slow but cannot halt - and on a concert among these nations which will enable them to deal more equally with the Soviet Union.

If and as these processes go forward in Western and Eastern Europe, I can envision new relationships - between the US, Western Europe, Eastern Europe, and the USSR - which could lead gradually to lasting settlement in Europe.

All this will take time. In the meantime, we must tend to pressing problems - in strengthening NATO in the West, and in deterring further brutal Soviet actions in the East. We should take these actions in ways which will encourage the larger participation by our Western European friends that is essential if durable peace is to be built in Europe.

## IX

Durable peace - in either Europe or the developing areas - also requires long-term constructive change in the Soviet Union.

Our object should be to encourage this change.

You can't do this by either reviving the cold war in all its fury or by fooling yourself into believing that the Soviet Union and the US are about to fall into each others' arms.

We need a balanced approach - one which recognizes both that competition between these superpowers will continue and that cooperation between them can be envisaged on matters of common interest.

At present, competition is clearly the dominant element in US-Soviet relations. Soviet policy - in Eastern Europe, in the Middle East, in Vietnam - makes this unavoidable.

But even now, some forms of agreement with the Soviet Union may be possible: If we could agree to freeze offensive and defensive nuclear armaments, this would free resources for needed purposes at home.

If we look to the longer term, new opportunities for cooperation may open up. If we can seize these opportunities - if we can draw the Soviet Union into wider participation

in such constructive international ventures as the worldwide  
war on hunger - then, the very fact<sup>of</sup>/that participation may  
hasten useful change in the Communist world.

I pledge myself to this goal.

#### X. Conclusion

The new strategy for peace that I have tried to describe  
will not be free of problems and difficulties.

It does not provide a neat blueprint, showing how  
every problem will be solved.

But it leads in the right direction.

And that, as I see it, will be the key question for the  
next President: What direction should this country follow  
abroad in the 1970's?

Should it be a withdrawal from world responsibility -  
shirking unpopular and unpleasant burdens?

Should it be a continuation of past policies, which  
have served us well but passed their prime?

Or should it be a new strategy for peace - one which  
seeks to encourage other nations to assume wider responsi-  
bilities in strengthening peace in developing areas, in  
reaching for a European settlement, in the long-term search  
for improved East-West relations?

The American people are entitled to hear the candidates speak about this choice - in concrete terms.

I have tried to do just that. For I believe that the building of a durable peace abroad, as at home, will be the chief business of the next President.

In discharging this business, he will need to draw on every source of wisdom in this country - on men of both our political parties; on government officials, academic experts, journalists, Peace Corps veterans, and just plain private citizens; on those who have borne the heat of the day and young dissenters, alike.

He will need to devise new procedures for shaping foreign policy which serve this end - which invite wider expert and popular participation.

Above all, he will need to approach the great problems at hand with an open mind - free from the momentum of the past and receptive to the large innovations which will be needed if our new strategy for peace is to achieve its object.



DRAFT

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

COMMONWEALTH CLUB

SAN FRANCISCO

A NEW STRATEGY FOR PEACE

*enter*  
Today we are engaged in a tragic war--a war which has consumed our energies, divided our people, tarnished our reputation, and limited our vision.

As President, my first priority will be to end the War in Vietnam.

~~XA~~ In pursuing that goal, ~~if there is one thing we have learned~~, it is that the policies of tomorrow need not be limited by the policies of yesterday. *(over)*

*we will continue to have major self-help, and regional involvement*  
During the next decade ~~our~~ responsibility for preserving world peace ~~will continue~~. But the way in which we fulfill that responsibility will change.

*Insert*  
There are pressing problems at home, which place some limits on what we can do abroad.

~~The~~ revival of strength in other free countries does enable them to assume greater burdens.

Change in the Communist world ~~has~~ *have* altered the threat we face--though ~~it~~ *this threat* has not ended ~~it~~.

~~The~~ experience of recent years does suggest areas in which our ~~procedures~~ *ways of* for making foreign policy could be improved.

*as a candidate for*  
So the new President should welcome this period of debate and review--this opportunity to join in the scrutiny of policy, this opportunity to define a "new strategy for peace."



To begin with,  
~~One of the first necessities in a new strategy for peace~~  
 must include

is a shift away from the exclusive reliance on American power  
 as the guarantor of security in Asia. <sup>The developing nations where we are now involved</sup> Other ~~countries~~ countries  
 must assume greater responsibility for shaping their future, ~~this~~  
<sup>and apply this principle</sup>  
<sup>principle</sup> should govern our approach to post-Vietnam problems in Asia and  
 Africa.

<sup>I believe it is fine that we convert this</sup>  
 As far as I am concerned, "no more Vietnams" ~~is more than~~  
<sup>into</sup>

a slogan; ~~it is~~ <sup>from this does not mean</sup> a sound--and attainable--objective of U.S. policy.  
~~The southern half of the globe is going to be a turbulent~~

area for a long time. That turbulence is part of the process of  
~~economic development~~  
 modernization.

If peace is to be preserved, <sup>in the developing world,</sup> we will have to find ways of  
<sup>of the major powers.</sup>  
 avoiding ~~great power~~ military involvement. This means two things:  
self-help, and regional involvement.

There are some threats to peace, of course, which only U.S.  
<sup>in the areas of vital importance to us.</sup>  
 power can deter--notably, large-scale and overt aggression. We should  
 be prepared to fulfill defensive commitments, approved by the Congress  
 and the President, which ~~cover~~ <sup>meet these threats-</sup> ~~this threat~~.

The more likely threats to peace in developing areas, ~~however,~~  
 are indirect aggression and local conflict.

In meeting indirect aggression, self-help will be the key  
 to success. This means encouraging ~~encouraging~~ and helping the government  
 concerned to ~~meet~~ <sup>meet</sup> effectively both ~~to~~ its own defense <sup>political, economic,</sup> and ~~to~~ the <sup>and</sup> ~~solid~~  
 concerns of its own people.

In meeting local conflict, regional involvement <sup>can</sup> will serve us  
 well. This means encouraging groupings of the developing nations--  
 in Latin America, Africa, and Asia--to play their full part in <sup>containing</sup> ~~compos-~~  
~~ing~~ <sup>ending local</sup> or ~~continuing~~ <sup>those</sup> conflicts.

Thus, in meeting <sup>future</sup> ~~post-Vietnam~~ threats, <sup>to developing nations,</sup> as in ending the Vietnam war, <sup>itself,</sup> strengthening the ability of other countries to meet wider responsibilities will be the <sup>first step in a new strategy</sup> ~~road to peace.~~ <sup>for peace.</sup>

But durable peace means more than the absence of conflict. It means dealing with the sources of conflict. It means we must give equal attention to "peace-making" as well as peacekeeping. Abroad as at home, its roots are to be found in poverty, hunger and disease. Here, too, we must look to wider effort, involving other nations and groups of nations.

Foreign aid may not be popular. But it's necessary; so I'm for it.

But what I'm for is not the U.S. doing it all. What I'm for is co-operation among donor nations, and between donor and developing nations, so that the burden is shared by all.

This means strengthening regional groupings--like the Alliance for Progress and the Asian Development Bank. It means building up the World Bank and its affiliates. It means growing ~~concrete~~ cooperation about development aid between the U.S., Western Europe and Japan.

*Defect*  
All this won't relieve us of the need to play our full part in providing help to poorer countries. The action of the Congress this year in mutilating the foreign aid bill is shocking--if not irresponsible. It is time to reevaluate our priorities--so that a 70 billion dollar defense budget <sup>no longer</sup> glides through Congress unscathed while modest programs to provide the building blocks of peace are dismembered.

*Second*  
The next ~~essential step toward making peace~~ is to control the arms race.

There will be no peace for any American--or any other person on this earth--if we do not <sup>until we</sup> stop the piling up of weapons of mass destruction and <sup>the</sup> ~~their~~ spread <sup>ing of these weapons</sup> to ~~other~~ countries around the world.

I have devoted much of my life to these ends--as Chairman of the Senate Disarmament Sub-committee, as sponsor of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and as principal Senate supporter of the Test Ban Treaty. <sup>As Vice President, I travelled to Geneva and to European capitals to encourage effective control of the arms race.</sup>  
~~disarmament.~~

I will seek <sup>to implement</sup> ~~speedy approval of~~ the Non-Proliferation Treaty--  
 an agreement with the Soviet Union on offensive and defensive missiles--<sup>on and to</sup> ~~cessation of~~ nuclear testing under adequate safeguards--  
 control of chemical, radiological and biological weapons--and a halt to regional arms races in the Middle East and elsewhere. ~~And I will press on in the search for General and Complete Disarmament.~~

The Republican candidate shares no such commitment to <sup>control of the arms race.</sup> ~~disarmament.~~ He has called for postponement <sup>of Senate action on</sup> of the treaty prohibiting <sup>the spread of</sup> nuclear ~~spread~~ weapons. ~~He has urged the United States to escalate the missile race.~~ His policies would not only jeopardize the peace of the world--they would pour tens of billions of <sup>wasted</sup> dollars into the arms race, which we urgently need to rebuild our cities and provide <sup>dollars</sup> a decent life for <sup>all</sup> every American.

So the choice is clear. Do you want a President who <sup>will</sup> ~~will~~ <sup>peace</sup> ~~do everything in his power~~ to turn back the arms race and save mankind from selfdestruction?

~~Our contribution to peace will increasingly be made through multilateral organizations, the most important of which is~~  
<sup>a new strategy for peace with</sup>

# More + more, we will pursue our

equivocate on these matters & 1. for nuclear death?

the United Nations. I am happy to be able to <sup>pledge</sup> ~~say~~ here in this great city of San Francisco, where the United Nations was <sup>born</sup> ~~founded~~ some 23 years ago--that one of the <sup>high</sup> ~~priority~~ <sup>int</sup> considerations of my presidency <sup>will</sup> ~~would~~ be <sup>to</sup> strengthening the peace-keeping and peace-making capacity of the United Nations.

*This is the third step in a new strategy for peace: The U.S. must make the U.N. the instrument for controlling conflict, it has so far failed to do.*  
We simply must have <sup>strengthening the</sup> stronger international machinery for making and keeping the peace. Nations, like individuals, will not disarm unless they have some substitute means of protecting themselves and their legitimate interests.

The United States cannot play the role of global <sup>gendarme</sup> ~~policeman~~. The American people don't want it, and the rest of the world won't accept it. But the alternative to American peacekeeping cannot be no peacekeeping. It must be peacekeeping by the United Nations or regional agencies.

The basis of any world peacekeeping system must be non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. <sup>But this</sup> ~~Such a~~ policy will only work if it is scrupulously respected by all states, large and small. <sup>and it there is an effective alternative</sup>

*in the United Nations to serve the interests, not of individual nations, but of peace itself.*  
As President of the United States, I will make ~~it~~ <sup>crystal</sup> clear that American ~~power~~ <sup>any kind of</sup> will never be used to prevent any <sup>main</sup> ~~people~~ from choosing ~~the~~ government it wants--even if that is a Communist government. And I will ask ~~of~~ the leaders of Communist <sup>not be used. no this outside the country</sup> ~~powers~~ that <sup>their</sup> ~~they not use their power to prevent a people from~~ choosing the government <sup>they</sup> ~~it~~ wants--even if ~~that be~~ <sup>that be</sup> a non-Communist governments. <sup>that this leads to</sup>

Such a policy of mutual non-interference is not <sup>just an ideal;</sup> ~~utopian~~. It is the only <sup>way</sup> ~~formula~~ to preserve peace in this world. But ~~this~~ <sup>of other governments including the</sup>

~~This new~~  
~~formula~~ will only work if the pledges of non-interference are backed up by international machinery which can patrol borders, supervise free elections, and otherwise verify compliance with ~~the rules of~~ non-interference, ~~rules~~

The UN peacekeeping efforts have brought practical results in the Arab-Israeli conflict, in Cyprus, in the Congo, and in Kashmir. Even Communist countries now recognize the ~~desirability~~ <sup>need to</sup> of containing local conflicts that might draw in the great powers and trigger a nuclear war.

As President of the United States, I intend to do everything in my power to place international peacekeeping ~~machinery~~ <sup>soldiers</sup> in troubled areas, rather than American soldiers. And I pledge to work for a United Nations peacekeeping force in Vietnam <sup>nowhere would a</sup> to administer free elections and verify the withdrawal of foreign ~~forces~~ <sup>troops</sup>.

*Where it could*  
 To enlarge the peace-keeping capacity of the United Nations ~~needs a greater capacity to play a~~ <sup>its</sup> peacekeeping role. ~~its~~ <sup>members</sup> should earmark and train units of their armed forces for international peacekeeping assignments. *for peace as great power -*

- To aid in this effort, I propose to use our Military Assistance Program to help less developed countries prepare units of their armed forces for UN and regional peacekeeping assignments;
- To make available one or more of our overseas military bases as training and supply centers for United Nations peacekeeping efforts;
- To launch a new effort to resolve the UN's financial and constitutional crisis;
- To call for a United Nations peacekeeping fund, fixed initially at 20 million dollars, to permit the UN to launch emergency operations without delay.



UN peacemaking must go hand-in-hand with UN peacekeeping.  
The United Nations needs not just a fire department, but a better  
system of fire prevention.

Here in the United States, we have ~~lax~~ learned the value  
of fact-finders and mediators to mobilize opinion behind a reasonable  
settlement. ~~Why should not the United Nations have a panel of fact-~~  
~~finders and mediators for disputes that threaten world peace?~~ <sup>I urge that we establish a permanent panel of highly-skilled</sup>

UN members should agree in advance to accept the process  
of fact-finding and mediation, even if they reserve the right to  
reject findings and recommendations with which they disagree. Hague?

The United States should take the lead in establishing  
such a system. ~~and~~ I believe our country should accept the process  
of factfinding and mediation by the United Nations or other  
international agencies in any dispute to which we are a party  
anywhere in the world. ~~we will not bind ourselves in advance~~

<sup>fourth</sup>  
The next element in a new strategy for peace should be a  
global effort at economic development. <sup>Pope Paul spoke about</sup>  
"Development is the new name for peace".

We must deal with the sources of conflict. ~~Unless the~~  
~~world can do a better job at raising~~ <sup>2.</sup> living standards in Latin  
America, Africa and Asia, there will be no lasting peace.

As President Kennedy once said; "If we cannot help the  
many who are poor, we cannot save the few who are rich."

The time has come for a new approach to world development--  
not merely a new level of effort, but a new emphasis on multilateral  
cooperation.

to accept the findings  
of such efforts, but we cannot  
neglect such efforts in our  
search for peace. It  
President, I would like his  
policy by asking the U-N to  
help with the search for peace in  
Vietnam.

As President of the United States, I propose <sup>will</sup> ~~to channel~~ <sup>Not</sup> the overwhelming share of international assistance <sup>be channelled.</sup> through the United Nations and regional agencies, where costs and responsibilities are widely shared. This includes such institutions as the World Bank, the International Development Association, the Inter-American Development Bank, the Asia Development Bank, and other regional institutions.

<sup>no and giving</sup> ~~All this won't~~ <sup>This new approach will not</sup> relieve us of the need to play our full part in providing help to poorer countries. The action of the

Congress this year in mutilating the foreign aid bill <sup>was</sup> ~~is shocking~~ <sup>--and in the long run will only make it more likely that</sup> ~~is not~~ irresponsible. It is time to reevaluate our priorities-- <sup>to light the torches</sup> ~~so that a 70 billion dollar defense budget no longer glides through~~ <sup>Not eclipse new</sup> ~~Congress unscathed while modest programs to provide the building~~ <sup>are dismantled</sup> blocks of peace <sup>are</sup> ~~are~~ dismembered.

<sup>for tomorrow</sup> New efforts should be made in the <sup>community</sup> ~~years~~ ahead to enlist

the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in the global war on poverty.

Development should be a cooperative--not a competitive enterprise. <sup>because the peace it provides is our common interest.</sup>

Even if we cannot reach this objective right away, ~~in all~~ <sup>involving</sup> ~~parts of the world~~, we can try to move towards it on a case-by-case basis where East and West recognize a measure of common interest. Let us begin by inviting the Soviet Union to join the World Bank consortium for India.

A Global Partnership for development should mean not just new forms of international cooperation--but also new priorities. Both national aid programs and international agencies have, for too long, neglected key problems like education, agriculture and population. This neglect is beginning to be remedied--but not fast enough.

<sup>we will</sup> ~~we will~~ <sup>some day</sup> ~~have to~~ <sup>do in our</sup> ~~what we have failed to~~ <sup>do for peace.</sup>

9

*fifth*

The next element in a new strategy for peace should be a global effort to preserve and improve the human environment.

*Could*  
~~will~~ spell disaster for mankind.

Uncontrolled industrialization and urbanization--coupled with unregulated population growth--will undermine the basis of a decent life on this planet. ~~And this is the only planet we have.~~

To maintain the balance of nature, to exploit nature's abundance without destroying it, to preserve an environment ~~compatible~~ compatible with human dignity--these are in the interest of all--regardless of nationality, race, or ideology.

As President I will commit this country to a global effort to protect and develop the human environment--to control the pollution of air, rivers and oceans--to protect wildlife and natural areas--to increase the marine harvest--to exploit the resources of the deep sea bed--and to use nuclear power to bring fresh water from the seas.

Many of these things can be done by individual nations alone. But there are parts of the human environment that do not belong entirely to any one nation--the high seas, the deep sea bed, international rivers, migratory animals--whose effective management requires international cooperation.

Even in dealing with its own environment, every people can benefit from the sharing of national experience. We need joint programs of research and reciprocal assistance on common problems of industrialization and urbanization.

~~Sixth~~ *fifth*  
The next element in a new strategy for peace should be new efforts to promote international understanding, *through*

*John*

*Outline*  
~~One of the best ways to promote cooperation between~~  
~~peoples~~ <sup>the</sup> is to use the most exciting development in communications technology--the communications satellite. Through satellites man can ~~have~~ not only transmissions<sup>+</sup> between central ground stations--but <sup>can</sup> also ~~direct~~ broadcasting<sup>directly</sup> to village and home radio and TV receivers.

~~This gives mankind an unprecedented instrument for world peace and world development.~~ ↓

~~Let us~~ propose reciprocal TV and radio exchanges with other countries, including the countries of Eastern Europe. Let us offer the Soviet leaders the opportunity to talk to the American people on TV in return for the same privilege for our leaders in the Soviet Union.

*careful*  
 Other countries may have difficulty with these proposals. But we in America have an open society. There is no reason why we should ~~not~~ lead in the quest for an open world.

I have mentioned ~~five~~ <sup>STX</sup> elements in a new strategy for peace. They are only a partial list of the initiatives that I would undertake to promote the common interest of mankind in peace and welfare. ↓

~~We will not realize~~ <sup>cannot be adopted</sup> this new strategy overnight. It will be the work of many years. But in the long run it is the only viable alternative for America between an assumption of ~~disproportionate~~ <sup>too much</sup> world responsibility and a ~~renewed~~ <sup>new</sup> retreat to <sup>an</sup> isolation.

I believe the War in Vietnam has shown us the absolute necessity of developing stronger international institutions to help us share

*That can only lead to greater problems.... and will lead to hopes for peace.*

the burdens and the responsibilities of peacekeeping and development.

~~I believe~~ <sup>the</sup> common people not only in this country but in all countries will turn increasingly to leaders who offer them programs for cooperation rather than conflict.

~~I propose to be such a leader.~~  
~~Therefore, I ask of you~~  
~~So here is another issue for this Presidential campaign--~~  
which Presidential candidate and which political party is best equipped to lead the U.S. in the quest for peace?

Which Presidential candidate and which political party is best equipped <sup>to avoid future "Vietnams,"</sup> to turn back the arms race--to strengthen international peacekeeping machinery--to accelerate ~~the~~ multilateral development aid--to preserve and develop the human environment--and to move boldly for world understanding?

~~Make no mistake about it--this is your choice.~~ We can entrust this country to those who have the will and the imagination to lead the world to new programs of cooperation--~~or we could put it in the hands of those who have~~ <sup>which can decide that</sup> always preferred the politics of cold war and conflict.

If I am President, ~~there is no idea that I will leave~~ <sup>No idea</sup> unexplored in the search for peace. To mark the 25th anniversary of the United Nations I will appoint a Commission on Peace, composed of a small number of private citizens known for their contributions to peace and international cooperation.

This Commission will be no public relations exercise. It will have ready and regular access to the President and top officials of the government. It will have a staff and funds to carry on its activities, to contract for necessary research, and to take part in international meetings.



But our search for a  
new strategy for peace ~~cannot~~  
will lead) nowhere until  
we end ~~the present~~ war.  
our engagement in a tragic  
war - a war which has  
consumed our energies, divided  
our people, tarnished our  
reputation, and limited our  
vision.

As President, my first priority  
will be ~~to~~ to end the war  
in Vietnam.

In pursuing that goal,  
the policies of to-morrow need  
not be limited by the policies  
of yesterday.



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