

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

UNIVERSITY OF COLOGNE

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It is a privilege to be asked to speak at this great and ancient center of learning.

As a former professor who taught political science and international affairs in Minnesota before I entered public life, I particularly enjoy addressing university audiences. I feel very much at home among those engaged in scholarly pursuits.

As someone who has been in public life in the United States for three decades, I have always found it most helpful and instructive to discuss international affairs with European friends in private as well as in government positions.

Such interchanges now form a natural and integral part of a continuing trans-Atlantic discourse -- a dialogue which is vital to the life of our peoples.

I would like to present a few thoughts today on American-European relations in this period of very rapidly changing world events.

When I was first elected to the United States Senate in 1948, the trans-Atlantic situation was certainly a vastly different one.

Your great poet, Goethe, proclaimed back in the early 19th century: "America, you have it better than our continent, the old one."

Certainly Goethe's sentiment, written over a hundred years earlier, seemed terribly true during those bleak days at the end of World War II. Then much of Europe -- victors as well as vanquished -- were exhausted.

The countries of Western Europe were economically prostrate and physically battered. I remember that period as if it were today.

I remember the deep concern of those of us who observed Europe's plight and suffering from the other side of the Atlantic.

And I am proud that I was able to be a part of the process of rebuilding and reconciliation.

As an American, I am proud, too, of the way my country responded to the demands of that period. We reversed our strong isolationist tradition and long history of remaining aloof from European concerns. President Truman, in collaboration with the Congress, was able to put the full weight of American policy behind the reconstruction and revitalization of Europe.

And, thankfully, every American President and Congress since that time has recognized that our ties to Europe must form the centerpiece of our foreign policy and national security.

That, to me, is the most important thing.

peaceful relations must stretch to all areas of the globe. Despite this need, we have been cognizant ever since those

America's peaceful relations must stretch to all areas of the globe. Despite this need, we have been cognizant ever since those early post-war days that Europe forms the corner-stone of all our international relationships. And that basic aspect of our approach must continue to be fundamental to our thinking.

This is the linchpin. As long as I have a voice in my country's affairs, I will do everything possible to see that it remains so.

Thirty years ago my countrymen judged that a rebuilt and revitalized Europe was essential to America's own security. Today, the majority of the American people are of a similar belief: A strong, independent, and thriving Western Europe is perhaps even more vital to that security today. Thanks to the vision of our post-war leadership and to the energy and resourcefulness of the peoples of this continent, Western European institutions were not just renewed, but have in recent years been molded into vigorous and dynamic new forms which hold the prospect of continued growth and accomplishment.

In the last decade an era has ended in Europe. That era was one of dependence on the United States.

Today that dependence has been replaced by partnership and by a healthy dose of vigorous economic competition.

A small minority of Americans fear a strengthened, dynamic and more united Europe. This is a concern I do not share. Strengthened ties within Europe are not inconsistent with a strong trans-Atlantic relationship.

As the process of economic and political unification continues to occur in Europe, I predict that cooperation across the Atlantic will increase as our new relationship matures.

I base this prediction on the growing economic interdependence of the industrialized world -- Europe, North America, and Japan.

I base this prediction on the fact that trade and commercial policy have emerged as the Number One issue in international political dialogue. They have replaced the more traditional strategic and military concerns of the 1950's and 1960's.

The concept of trans-Atlantic partnership, once only a philosophic plea, has become an economic and political imperative for our peoples and our governments.

Why do I say this? Because Europe and America face together a series of crises which can only boggle the imagination of the most astute economic and political observers of the world scene:

-- The United States is slipping rapidly into the worst economic decline since the Great Depression of the 1930's. I believe that economic recovery will occur in my country because the Congress is determined to enact a program of economic stimulation. But before recovery occurs, America's

recession will have an immediate impact on the world economy and the lives of billions of people.

-- A new economic, political and military order is rising in the Middle East with the flow of billions upon billions of oil revenues to that region. My government and yours do not know the real effect of this phenomenon. But we do know that it has a great potential for harm to our economies and to world peace.

-- The developing world is sinking deeper and deeper into abysmal poverty and hunger fueled by skyrocketing commodity inflation and the unwillingness of the rich nations to make good faith efforts to alleviate human suffering and provide resources for their development.

-- The prospects for economic warfare -- embargoes and cartelization -- are on the increase as a result of the failure of the community of nations to develop a standard of economic conduct to which all could adhere and our failure to deal adequately with the new phenomenon of the multinational corporations.

-- Finally, as global economic conditions worsen, the democracies of the world face increasing political pressure from the non-democratic communist and socialist world. Free peoples are threatened by the spread of both left and right wing totalitarianism.

This world view is not a bright one. But from these crises must grow a greater cooperation between the people of Europe and America.

What are the elements of what must become a full-fledged partnership for the mutual benefit of our people?

-- First, Americans and Europeans must better understand and know the problems we face as industrialized peoples. By this I mean that ties between the academic and scholarly communities of America and Europe must be expanded and strengthened. Countless numbers of Americans have studied in Europe. Far fewer Europeans have crossed the Atlantic to study in America. American scholars are lining up to study in the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. While these contacts are important, our governments should make it possible for greater trans-Atlantic academic interchange between students, professors and scholars in all disciplines.

Second, our governments should join with our universities and create interdisciplinary and trans-Atlantic institutes to study such critical issues as worker alienation, environmental problems, alternate energy strategies, health delivery systems, antitrust policies, rural development, and urban decay, to name just a few areas.

In other words, the whole range of social and economic problems which affect industrialized people ought to be studied, analyzed, and discussed between Europeans and Americans. Not enough of this is occurring now. And there is, of course, duplication on both sides of the Atlantic, which is costly.

Third, the technology which both Europeans and Americans have developed must be shared for the benefit of all of our people through the encouragement of more liberal and sensible trade and market policies.

It is not just coincidence that the German Federal Government and the state of Nordrhein-Westfalen have procured an American-made, very large-scale computer. There are no such large-scale systems being developed and manufactured in Europe, because your computer markets are not large enough to support such expensive technology.

The purchase of this computer system means jobs for Americans. And the German government's trade policies allowed this computer to be purchased.

However, liberal trade policies have to go both ways. I am aware of this need and have worked hard for a more liberal American trade policy in our Trade Reform Act.

But more work has to be done in this area.

Expanded technology has changed the world. It has an untold impact on our way of life. It can be a force for great human advancement if used constructively and wisely.

Fourth, Americans and Europeans must cooperate to map out a single development policy which will begin to alleviate human suffering and develop the great human and economic potential of the third world.

Today, there are numerous development strategies which each nation of Europe, the Common Market and the United States pursue. But these strategies are not coordinated, and the developing world is suffering for lack of such a common development strategy.

The decade of the 1960's saw GNP growth jump ahead at unprecedented rates in the poor nations of the world. But in the 1970's we have realized that over one billion people have been left behind in the urban slums and the rural backwaters of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The people of Europe and the people of America have a moral obligation to assist those who need help. And it is in our own economic and political self-interest to do so.

Unless we develop such a common development strategy and demonstrate our commitment to the world's poor, our economies will continually remain threatened by embargoes and the unreasonable policies of raw material cartels.

Fifth, in the field of energy, we need more than cooperation. We need concert of action. The quadrupling of oil prices by the producer nations has put a severe strain on our economies. It has also tested the fabric of the Atlantic Alliance itself. One thing is certain; we will not be able to deal with the inflation and recession caused in large measure by the energy crisis until Western Europe and America adopt common and harmonious policies to deal with this issue.

The time for panic reactions and special deals with the OPEC countries has passed. A concord on energy policies must be reached in the coming months. The ultimate futility of going

it alone is all too apparent. Permanent solutions on price policies, research and conservation need to be developed in an atmosphere of cooperation and coordination.

By discussing the economic and political challenges facing Europe and America, I do not intend to imply that the need for a strong and cohesive NATO Alliance be placed in a secondary position. Here, as in other areas, greater cooperation and understanding must be at the heart of the trans-Atlantic security relationship.

The very climate of security that NATO has brought to the West has permitted many to come to disregard it, or even think it obsolete.

There are those who say that NATO has done its job. They claim that since the Communist world no longer appears the aggressive monolith it was in the late 1940's and 1950's, we can now relax or reduce our level of military preparedness.

For some years now, some of my colleagues in the United States Congress have argued that substantial reductions can and should be made in the level of U.S. forces in Europe. As you know, their views are paralleled also in some European circles.

For reasons of both economy and what is believed to be a lessened threat to security, it is felt that the level of military commitment can be reduced.

So as a result of actions already taken in some Alliance member nations, NATO's military posture is now in the real danger of being eroded. A number of countries -- Italy and Great Britain are among them -- have cut their defense spending or cancelled the procurement of new equipment.

I am not one ever to feel that any international arrangement should remain unchanged or immutable in the face of new conditions.

I recognize as much as anyone that the cold war period of hostility between East and West is now at an end.

I understand as much as any other observer of the international scene that there are new constellations of power in the world.

And I believe I can say with pride that I have worked over the last two decades to set in motion the forces of detente and the process of reconciliation and the strengthening of ties between the United States and the Soviet Union. Long before the days when detente became a household word, and I will add, long before espousing it became politically fashionable, I was urging the United States and the Soviet Union to negotiate realistic arms accords.

I outline this record for you and mention my credentials on these issues only to underline one point: When I assert my belief that NATO must be maintained as a strong and credible deterrent force against potential aggression, I do so not out of inflexibility or rigidity, but out of a background of favoring and espousing continued improvement in relations with the USSR and the countries of Eastern Europe.

I believe that while such improvement continues, it is necessary to guard against complacency. Although Europe is now incomparably stronger than it was when the North Atlantic Alliance was first formed in 1949, and although the immediacy of a military threat appears diminished, the security of both Europe and America continues to rest on the credibility of this bond.

The concept of joint efforts for the common defense is as valid now as it was a quarter-century ago. And the structure of the Alliance, as well as the entire pattern of world order related to it, still rests on the shared confidence that the commitments inherent in it will be honored. Once this confidence is cast into doubt, a rapid unravelling is inevitable.

And it is exactly for this reason that I argue so firmly that no member state of the Alliance, my own included, should take unilateral steps which will undermine that confidence.

Clearly, the exact level of Western preparedness is a matter on which various observers and even military experts can differ. In that connection, I do not believe that there is any magic figure for the number of American troops that must be maintained on this continent. What I do maintain, however, is that such a determination should rest on consultation and mutual decisions, not on unilateral action. And certainly no precipitate moves should be made in regard to troops, whether by the United States or other Western countries, which would undermine the Western position in the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction talks now going on in Vienna.

I must tell you that I believe these talks to be highly significant, along with the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Both of these conferences could go a long way towards alleviating tensions in Central Europe. And a number of very constructive steps in the area of East-West interchange could develop.

The agreements on the freer movement of people, ideas and information across European frontiers that we can now project as emerging from the Conference on European Security and Cooperation, while not everything we wished, do represent a solid accomplishment. Moreover, the Conference will produce new agreements on economic and technical cooperation between Eastern and Western Europe, spurring on the trend to additional and more normal contacts.

In addition to these multilateral negotiations between East and West, there are also the very vital bilateral Strategic Arms Limitation talks between the United States and the Soviet Union. The negotiators are working to conclude a long-term agreement this year, building on the agreement reached by President Ford and General Secretary Brezhnev in Vladivostok last November.

Some of us may disagree here or there with specifics of the approach that is being taken. But anyone who truly appreciates the very real and continuing dangers of a holocaust while the nuclear arms race continues, must favor every possible effort at bringing it under control.

Let me address a special word to the younger members of this audience. I am only too aware that, for those of you who came of political age long after the dreadful events that led up to, accompanied, and followed upon the heels of World War II, the lessons that an older generation has drawn from that dismal epoch in the world's history are considerably less meaningful.

The strongest impressions made on the consciousness and sensibilities of each generation come, after all, from its own experiences, not from the experiences of its forefathers. Due to the thirty years of peace and the stability we have now been able to establish in Europe, an entire new generation has grown up unfamiliar not just with the horrors and destruction of World War II, but even with the fear and insecurity that accompanied the worst days of the cold war.

There is a comparable phenomenon at work in my own country, one that may not be as welcome to Europeans.

A recent survey of public opinion done by the Harris polling organization for the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations found that only 54 percent of the American public now supports NATO and only 39 percent would favor the use of US troops if Western Europe were invaded. That is not a very encouraging finding. But it does not surprise me.

Americans have been badly traumatized by Vietnam. The Southeast Asian war has been a very bitter and divisive experience for us, perhaps unparalleled by anything since our Civil War over a century ago. Vietnam not only cost many American lives and billions of dollars; it also deeply affected the spirit of the American people.

Even now we are still engaged in a tough and angry debate over how much assistance to give to Cambodia and South Vietnam.

And the effect has been to cause a skepticism about the wisdom of foreign involvements and commitments. In this view, such involvements, particularly those in areas such as Southeast Asia, where the nature of our interests has been much exaggerated, are harmful not just to the United States, but also to those who are the alleged beneficiaries.

There is a powerful feeling existing in America that in time of domestic difficulty and recession we should devote more time to our own economic and social problems.

What we face, then, on both our continents, is a very real challenge: The challenge of maintaining our resolve and our mutual commitments in the face of strong pressures to neglect them in favor of more parochial and short-term concerns.

In meeting this test, we will do well to keep in mind the famous dictum of the great American philosopher George Santayana: "Those who cannot remember the past," he said, "are condemned to repeat it."

This counsel of wisdom should guide us in our approach to those areas on the European scene which now give us cause

for particular concern. I refer to those members of the Alliance, such as Portugal, Greece and Turkey, which are now undergoing domestic difficulties or which are re-examining their NATO ties.

The efforts of Portugal to rebuild democracy after 40 years of dictatorship deserve our full support and forbearance.

Similarly, we must find a way to bring to an end the dispute over Cyprus, which has embittered relations between Greece and Turkey and caused both countries to take at least tentative steps toward weakening their NATO obligations. This is a highly delicate and complex matter. But I am confident that, if handled with sensitivity, it can be resolved, and the two Cypriot factions can be successfully encouraged to work out a solution.

Let me say in conclusion that we are faced by both momentous challenges and great opportunities for accomplishment.

The history of the post-war period bears testimony to what can be done through joint effort. This proud record of cooperation is one that is ours to continue and to strengthen. I know that we have the will to expand and increase our shared work for the progress and security of our peoples.

I deeply believe in the marvelous words of my novelist countryman, William Faulkner, "that man will not merely endure: he will prevail."

That is the faith I and the American people bring to our joint undertakings. I have no doubt that we, too, shall prevail in the building of a secure and peaceful world for ourselves and our children.

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APRIL 4, 1975

IT IS A PRIVILEGE TO BE ASKED TO SPEAK AT THIS GREAT AND
ANCIENT CENTER OF LEARNING.

AS A FORMER PROFESSOR WHO TAUGHT POLITICAL SCIENCE AND
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS IN MINNESOTA BEFORE I ENTERED PUBLIC
LIFE, I PARTICULARLY ENJOY ADDRESSING UNIVERSITY AUDIENCES.

I FEEL VERY MUCH AT HOME AMONG THOSE ENGAGED IN SCHOLARLY
PURSUITS.

and, AS SOMEONE WHO HAS BEEN IN PUBLIC LIFE IN THE UNITED
STATES FOR THREE DECADES, I HAVE ALWAYS FOUND IT MOST HELPFUL
AND INSTRUCTIVE TO DISCUSS INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS WITH
EUROPEAN FRIENDS IN PRIVATE AS WELL AS IN GOVERNMENT POSITIONS.

SUCH INTERCHANGES NOW FORM A NATURAL AND INTEGRAL PART
OF A CONTINUING TRANS-ATLANTIC DISCOURSE -- A DIALOGUE
WHICH IS VITAL TO THE LIFE OF OUR PEOPLES,

↳ I WOULD LIKE TO PRESENT A FEW THOUGHTS TODAY ON AMERICAN-
EUROPEAN RELATIONS IN THIS PERIOD OF VERY RAPIDLY CHANGING
WORLD EVENTS.

↳ WHEN I WAS FIRST ELECTED TO THE UNITED STATES SENATE IN
1948, THE TRANS-ATLANTIC SITUATION WAS CERTAINLY A VASTLY
DIFFERENT ONE.

↳ YOUR GREAT POET, GOETHE, PROCLAIMED BACK IN THE EARLY
19TH CENTURY: "AMERICA, YOU HAVE IT BETTER THAN OUR CONTINENT,
THE OLD ONE."

CERTAINLY GOETHE'S SENTIMENT, WRITTEN OVER A HUNDRED YEARS
EARLIER, SEEMED TERRIBLY TRUE DURING THOSE BLEAK DAYS AT THE
END OF WORLD WAR II, THEN, MUCH OF EUROPE -- VICTORS AS WELL
AS VANQUISHED -- WERE EXHAUSTED.

THE COUNTRIES OF WESTERN EUROPE WERE ECONOMICALLY
PROSTRATE AND PHYSICALLY BATTERED. I REMEMBER THAT PERIOD AS
IF IT WERE TODAY.

I REMEMBER THE DEEP CONCERN OF THOSE OF US WHO OBSERVED
EUROPE'S PLIGHT AND SUFFERING FROM THE OTHER SIDE OF THE
ATLANTIC.

AND I AM PROUD THAT I WAS ABLE TO BE A PART OF THE
PROCESS OF REBUILDING AND RECONCILIATION.

As an American, I am proud, too, of the way my country responded to the demands of that period. We reversed our strong isolationist tradition and long history of remaining aloof from European concerns. President Truman, in collaboration with the Congress, was able to put the full weight of American policy behind the reconstruction and revitalization ^{western} of Europe.

And, thankfully, every American President and Congress since that time has recognized that our ties to Europe must form the centerpiece of our foreign policy and national security.

That, to me, is the most important thing.

whole,
AMERICA'S PEACEFUL RELATIONS MUST STRETCH TO ALL AREAS
OF THE GLOBE. ~~DESPITE THIS NEED,~~ WE HAVE BEEN COGNIZANT
EVER SINCE THOSE EARLY POST-WAR DAYS THAT EUROPE FORMS THE
CORNER-STONE OF ALL OUR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND
THAT BASIC ASPECT OF OUR APPROACH MUST CONTINUE TO BE
FUNDAMENTAL TO OUR THINKING *and our policy.*

↳ THIS IS THE LINCHPIN. AS LONG AS I HAVE A VOICE IN MY
COUNTRY'S AFFAIRS, I WILL DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE ~~TO SEE~~ *to see*
THAT IT ~~REMAINS SO.~~ *remains so.*

↳ THIRTY YEARS AGO MY COUNTRYMEN JUDGED THAT ^A REBUILT AND
REVITALIZED EUROPE WAS ESSENTIAL TO AMERICA'S OWN SECURITY.

L TODAY, THE MAJORITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE OF A SIMILAR BELIEF: A STRONG, INDEPENDENT, AND THRIVING WESTERN EUROPE IS PERHAPS EVEN MORE VITAL TO THAT SECURITY TODAY.

L THANKS TO THE VISION OF OUR POST-WAR LEADERSHIP AND TO THE ENERGY AND RESOURCEFULNESS OF THE PEOPLES OF THIS CONTINENT, WESTERN EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS WERE NOT JUST RENEWED, BUT HAVE IN RECENT YEARS BEEN MOULDED INTO VIGOROUS AND DYNAMIC NEW FORMS WHICH HOLD THE PROSPECT OF CONTINUED GROWTH AND ACCOMPLISHMENT.

L ~~IN THE LAST DECADE AN ERA HAS ENDED IN EUROPE THAT~~
The era of Europe's
~~ERA WAS ONE OF~~ DEPENDENCE ON THE UNITED STATES *has ended.*

L TODAY THAT DEPENDENCE HAS BEEN REPLACED BY PARTNERSHIP^a
AND ~~■~~ A HEALTHY DOSE OF VIGOROUS ECONOMIC COMPETITION.

L A SMALL MINORITY OF AMERICANS FEAR A STRENGTHENED,
DYNAMIC AND MORE UNITED EUROPE. L THIS IS A CONCERN I DO NOT
SHARE. L STRENGTHENED TIES WITHIN EUROPE ARE NOT INCONSISTENT
WITH A STRONG TRANS-ATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP.

L AS THE PROCESS OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL UNIFICATION
CONTINUES ~~■■■■■~~ IN EUROPE, I PREDICT THAT COOPERATION
ACROSS THE ATLANTIC WILL INCREASE AS OUR NEW RELATIONSHIP
MATURES.

L I BASE THIS PREDICTION ON THE GROWING ECONOMIC INTER-
DEPENDENCE OF THE INDUSTRIALIZED WORLD -- EUROPE, NORTH
AMERICA, AND JAPAN.

I BASE THIS PREDICTION ON THE FACT THAT TRADE AND
COMMERCIAL POLICY HAVE EMERGED AS THE NUMBER ONE ISSUE IN
INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL DIALOGUE. THEY HAVE REPLACED THE MORE
TRADITIONAL STRATEGIC AND MILITARY CONCERNS OF THE 1950'S
AND 1960'S.

THE CONCEPT OF TRANS-ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP, ONCE ONLY A
PHILOSOPHIC PLEA, HAS BECOME AN ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL
IMPERATIVE FOR OUR PEOPLES AND OUR GOVERNMENTS.

WHY DO I SAY THIS? BECAUSE EUROPE AND AMERICA FACE
TOGETHER A SERIES OF CRISES WHICH CAN ONLY BOGGLE THE
IMAGINATION OF THE MOST ASTUTE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL OBSERVERS
OF THE WORLD SCENE:

Let me recite a few examples -
-877

-- THE UNITED STATES IS ~~SUFFERING RAPIDLY~~ ^{experiencing} THE WORST

ECONOMIC DECLINE SINCE THE GREAT DEPRESSION OF THE 1930's.

But,

I BELIEVE THAT ECONOMIC RECOVERY WILL OCCUR IN MY COUNTRY
much more rapidly than is presently projected,
~~BECAUSE THE CONGRESS IS DETERMINED TO ENACT A PROGRAM OF~~

~~ECONOMIC STIMULATION.~~ BUT, BEFORE RECOVERY OCCURS, AMERICA'S

RECESSION WILL HAVE AN IMMEDIATE IMPACT ON THE WORLD ECONOMY

AND THE LIVES OF ~~BY~~ BILLIONS OF PEOPLE.

-- A NEW ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND MILITARY ORDER IS RISING
IN THE MIDDLE EAST WITH THE FLOW OF BILLIONS UPON BILLIONS OF

OIL REVENUES TO THAT REGION. *(My government and yours, do not, as yet,*

~~know~~ KNOW THE REAL EFFECT OF THIS PHENOMENON. BUT WE DO KNOW THAT

IT HAS A GREAT POTENTIAL FOR HARM TO OUR ECONOMIES AND TO

WORLD PEACE.

-- THE DEVELOPING WORLD IS SINKING DEEPER AND DEEPER INTO
ABYSMAL "POVERTY AND HUNGER" FUELED BY SKYROCKETING COMMODITY
INFLATION AND THE UNWILLINGNESS OF THE ~~THE~~ ^{wealthier + more industrialized} NATIONS TO MAKE
GOOD FAITH EFFORTS TO ALLEVIATE HUMAN SUFFERING AND PROVIDE ~~adequate~~
^{adequate} RESOURCES FOR THEIR DEVELOPMENT.

-- THE PROSPECTS FOR ECONOMIC WARFARE -- EMBARGOES AND
CARTELIZATION -- ARE ON THE INCREASE AS A RESULT OF THE
FAILURE OF THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS TO DEVELOP A STANDARD OF
ECONOMIC CONDUCT TO WHICH ALL COULD ADHERE AND OUR FAILURE TO
DEAL ADEQUATELY WITH THE NEW PHENOMENON OF THE MULTINATIONAL
CORPORATIONS.

-- FINALLY, AS GLOBAL ECONOMIC CONDITIONS WORSEN, THE
DEMOCRACIES OF THE WORLD FACE INCREASING POLITICAL PRESSURE
FROM THE NON-DEMOCRATIC COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST WORLD. FREE
PEOPLES ARE THREATENED BY THE SPREAD OF BOTH LEFT AND RIGHT
WING TOTALITARIANISM.

THIS WORLD VIEW IS NOT A BRIGHT ONE, BUT FROM THESE
CRISES MUST GROW A GREATER COOPERATION BETWEEN THE PEOPLE OF
EUROPE AND AMERICA.

WHAT ARE THE ELEMENTS ^{needed for} ~~OF WHAT MUST BECOME~~ A FULL-FLEDGED
PARTNERSHIP FOR THE MUTUAL BENEFIT OF OUR PEOPLE?

-- FIRST, AMERICANS AND EUROPEANS MUST BETTER UNDERSTAND
AND KNOW THE PROBLEMS WE FACE AS INDUSTRIALIZED Societies.

By this I mean that TIES BETWEEN THE ACADEMIC AND SCHOLARLY

COMMUNITIES OF AMERICA AND EUROPE MUST BE EXPANDED AND

STRENGTHENED. COUNTLESS NUMBERS OF AMERICANS HAVE STUDIED IN

EUROPE, FAR FEWER EUROPEANS HAVE CROSSED THE ATLANTIC TO

STUDY IN AMERICA. AMERICAN SCHOLARS ARE LINING UP TO STUDY IN

THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN

EUROPE. WHILE THESE CONTACTS ARE IMPORTANT, OUR GOVERNMENTS

SHOULD MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR GREATER TRANS-ATLANTIC ACADEMIC

INTERCHANGE BETWEEN STUDENTS, PROFESSORS AND SCHOLARS IN ALL

DISCIPLINES.

SECOND, OUR GOVERNMENTS SHOULD JOIN WITH OUR UNIVERSITIES AND CREATE INTERDISCIPLINARY AND TRANS-ATLANTIC INSTITUTES TO STUDY SUCH CRITICAL ISSUES AS WORKER ALIENATION, ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS, ALTERNATE ENERGY STRATEGIES, HEALTH DELIVERY SYSTEMS, ANTITRUST POLICIES, RURAL DEVELOPMENT, AND URBAN DECAY, TO NAME JUST A FEW AREAS.

IN OTHER WORDS, THE WHOLE RANGE OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS WHICH AFFECT INDUSTRIALIZED PEOPLE OUGHT TO BE STUDIED, ANALYZED, AND DISCUSSED BETWEEN EUROPEANS AND AMERICANS. ~~NOT ENOUGH OF THIS IS OCCURRING NOW, AND THERE IS, OF COURSE, DUPLICATION ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC, WHICH IS COSTLY.~~

h₂ THIRD, THE TECHNOLOGY WHICH BOTH EUROPEANS AND AMERICANS
HAVE DEVELOPED MUST BE SHARED FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL OF OUR
PEOPLE THROUGH THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF MORE LIBERAL AND SENSIBLE
TRADE AND MARKET POLICIES.

L IT IS NOT JUST COINCIDENCE THAT THE GERMAN FEDERAL
GOVERNMENT AND THE STATE OF NORDREIN-WESTFALEN HAVE PROCURED
AN AMERICAN-MADE, VERY LARGE-SCALE COMPUTER / THERE ARE NO
SUCH LARGE-SCALE SYSTEMS BEING DEVELOPED AND MANUFACTURED IN
EUROPE, BECAUSE YOUR COMPUTER MARKETS ARE NOT LARGE ENOUGH TO
SUPPORT SUCH EXPENSIVE TECHNOLOGY.

h THE PURCHASE OF THIS COMPUTER SYSTEM MEANS JOBS FOR
AMERICANS. AND THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT'S TRADE POLICIES ALLOWED
THIS COMPUTER TO BE PURCHASED.

L HOWEVER, LIBERAL TRADE POLICIES HAVE TO GO BOTH WAYS.

I AM AWARE OF THIS NEED AND HAVE WORKED HARD FOR A MORE

LIBERAL AMERICAN TRADE POLICY IN OUR TRADE REFORM ACT.

L BUT MORE WORK HAS TO BE DONE IN THIS AREA.

L ~~the~~ EXPANDED TECHNOLOGY HAS CHANGED THE WORLD L IT HAS AN

UNTOLD IMPACT ON OUR WAY OF LIFE. IT CAN BE A FORCE FOR GREAT

HUMAN ADVANCEMENT IF USED CONSTRUCTIVELY AND WISELY.

L FOURTH, AMERICANS AND EUROPEANS MUST COOPERATE TO MAP OUT

A SINGLE DEVELOPMENT POLICY WHICH WILL BEGIN TO ALLEVIATE

HUMAN SUFFERING AND DEVELOP THE GREAT HUMAN AND ECONOMIC

POTENTIAL OF THE THIRD WORLD.

↳ TODAY, THERE ARE NUMEROUS DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES WHICH EACH NATION OF EUROPE, THE COMMON MARKET AND THE UNITED STATES PURSUE. BUT THESE STRATEGIES ARE NOT COORDINATED, AND THE DEVELOPING WORLD IS SUFFERING FOR LACK OF SUCH A COMMON DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY. (Example, Food Supply)

↳ THE DECADE OF THE 1960'S SAW GNP GROWTH JUMP AHEAD AT UNPRECEDENTED RATES IN THE POOR NATIONS OF THE WORLD. BUT IN THE 1970'S WE HAVE REALIZED THAT OVER ONE BILLION PEOPLE HAVE BEEN LEFT BEHIND IN THE URBAN SLUMS AND THE RURAL BACKWATERS OF ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA.

↳ THE PEOPLE OF EUROPE AND THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA HAVE A MORAL OBLIGATION TO ASSIST THOSE WHO NEED HELP. AND IT IS IN OUR OWN ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SELF-INTEREST TO DO SO.

UNLESS WE ^{design and pursue} ~~DEVELOP~~ SUCH A COMMON DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY AND
DEMONSTRATE OUR COMMITMENT TO THE WORLD'S POOR, OUR ECONOMIES
WILL CONTINUALLY REMAIN THREATENED BY EMBARGOES AND THE
UNREASONABLE POLICIES OF RAW MATERIAL CARTELS.

FIFTH, IN THE FIELD OF ENERGY, WE NEED MORE THAN COOPERATION.
WE NEED CONCERT OF ACTION. THE QUADRUPLING OF OIL PRICES BY THE
PRODUCER NATIONS HAS PUT A SEVERE STRAIN ON OUR ECONOMIES. IT
HAS ALSO TESTED THE FABRIC OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE ITSELF.

ONE THING IS CERTAIN! WE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO DEAL WITH THE
INFLATION AND RECESSION CAUSED IN LARGE MEASURE BY THE ENERGY
CRISIS UNTIL WESTERN EUROPE AND AMERICA ^{Japan} ADOPT COMMON AND
HARMONIOUS POLICIES TO DEAL WITH THIS ISSUE.

THE TIME FOR PANIC REACTIONS AND SPECIAL DEALS WITH THE
OPEC COUNTRIES HAS PASSED. A CONCORD ON ENERGY POLICIES MUST BE
REACHED IN THE COMING MONTHS. THE ULTIMATE FUTILITY OF GOING
IT ALONE IS ALL TOO APPARENT. PERMANENT SOLUTIONS ON PRICE
POLICIES, RESEARCH AND CONSERVATION NEED TO BE DEVELOPED IN AN
ATMOSPHERE OF COOPERATION AND COORDINATION.

BY DISCUSSING THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CHALLENGES FACING
EUROPE AND AMERICA, I DO NOT INTEND TO IMPLY THAT THE NEED FOR
A STRONG AND COHESIVE NATO ALLIANCE BE PLACED IN A SECONDARY
POSITION. HERE, AS IN OTHER AREAS, GREATER COOPERATION AND
UNDERSTANDING MUST BE AT THE HEART OF THE TRANS-ATLANTIC
SECURITY RELATIONSHIP.

↳ THE VERY CLIMATE OF SECURITY THAT NATO HAS BROUGHT TO THE WEST HAS PERMITTED MANY TO COME TO DISREGARD IT, OR EVEN THINK IT OBSOLETE.

↳ THERE ARE THOSE WHO SAY THAT NATO HAS DONE ITS JOB. THEY CLAIM THAT SINCE THE COMMUNIST WORLD NO LONGER APPEARS THE AGGRESSIVE MONOLITH IT WAS IN THE LATE 1940'S AND 1950'S, WE CAN NOW RELAX OR REDUCE OUR LEVEL OF MILITARY PREPAREDNESS.

↳ FOR SOME YEARS NOW, SOME OF MY COLLEAGUES IN THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS HAVE ARGUED THAT SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS CAN AND SHOULD BE MADE IN THE LEVEL OF U.S. FORCES IN EUROPE.

↳ AS YOU KNOW, THEIR VIEWS ARE PARALLELED ALSO IN SOME EUROPEAN CIRCLES.

I RECOGNIZE AS MUCH AS ANYONE THAT THE COLD WAR PERIOD OF
HOSTILITY BETWEEN EAST AND WEST IS ~~now of itself~~ *hopefully coming to an end.*

I UNDERSTAND AS ~~much as any other~~ ^{an} OBSERVER OF THE INTER-
NATIONAL SCENE, THAT THERE ARE NEW CONSTELLATIONS OF POWER IN THE
WORLD.

~~AND I BELIEVE I CAN SAY WITH CERTAINTY THAT I~~ HAVE WORKED OVER
THE LAST TWO DECADES TO SET IN MOTION THE FORCES OF DETENTE
AND THE PROCESS OF RECONCILIATION AND THE STRENGTHENING OF
TIES BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION. LONG
BEFORE THE DAYS WHEN DETENTE BECAME A HOUSEHOLD WORD, AND I
WILL ADD, LONG BEFORE ESPOUSING IT BECAME POLITICALLY
FASHIONABLE, I WAS URGING THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET
to expand our Trade + Commerce and to
UNION TO NEGOTIATE REALISTIC ARMS ~~control~~ *control.*

I OUTLINE THIS RECORD FOR YOU AND MENTION MY CREDENTIALS
ON THESE ISSUES ONLY TO UNDERLINE ONE POINT: WHEN I ASSERT
MY BELIEF THAT NATO MUST BE MAINTAINED AS A STRONG AND
CREDIBLE DETERRENT FORCE AGAINST POTENTIAL AGGRESSION, I DO
SO NOT OUT OF INFLEXIBILITY OR RIGIDITY, BUT OUT OF A BACK-
GROUND OF FAVORING AND ESPOUSING CONTINUED IMPROVEMENT IN *sure*
RELATIONS WITH THE USSR AND THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE.
I BELIEVE THAT WHILE SUCH IMPROVEMENT CONTINUES, IT IS
NECESSARY TO GUARD AGAINST COMPLACENCY, ALTHOUGH EUROPE IS
NOW INCOMPARABLY STRONGER THAN IT WAS WHEN THE NORTH ATLANTIC
ALLIANCE WAS FIRST FORMED IN 1949, AND, ALTHOUGH THE IMMEDIACY
OF A MILITARY THREAT APPEARS DIMINISHED, THE SECURITY OF BOTH
EUROPE AND AMERICA CONTINUES TO REST ON THE CREDIBILITY OF
THIS BOND,

↳ THE CONCEPT OF JOINT EFFORTS FOR THE COMMON DEFENSE IS
AS VALID NOW AS IT WAS A QUARTER-CENTURY AGO. AND THE STRUCTURE
OF THE ALLIANCE, AS WELL AS THE ENTIRE PATTERN OF WORLD ORDER
RELATED TO IT, STILL RESTS ON THE SHARED CONFIDENCE THAT THE
COMMITMENTS INHERENT IN IT WILL BE HONORED. ONCE THIS CONFIDENCE
IS CAST INTO DOUBT, A RAPID UNRAVELLING IS INEVITABLE.

↳ AND IT IS EXACTLY FOR THIS REASON, THAT I ARGUE SO FIRMLY
THAT NO MEMBER STATE OF THE ALLIANCE, MY OWN INCLUDED, SHOULD
TAKE UNILATERAL STEPS WHICH WILL UNDERMINE THAT CONFIDENCE,

↳ I recognize that
~~clearly~~ THE EXACT LEVEL OF WESTERN PREPAREDNESS IS A
MATTER ON WHICH VARIOUS OBSERVERS AND EVEN MILITARY EXPERTS
CAN DIFFER.

IN THAT CONNECTION, I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THERE

IS ANY MAGIC FIGURE FOR THE NUMBER OF AMERICAN TROOPS THAT

MUST BE MAINTAINED ON THIS CONTINENT, WHAT I DO MAINTAIN,

HOWEVER, IS THAT SUCH A DETERMINATION SHOULD REST ON

CONSULTATION AND MUTUAL DECISIONS, NOT ON UNILATERAL ACTION.

AND CERTAINLY NO PRECIPITATE MOVES SHOULD BE MADE IN REGARD

TO TROOPS, WHETHER BY THE UNITED STATES OR OTHER WESTERN

COUNTRIES, WHICH WOULD UNDERMINE THE WESTERN POSITION IN THE

MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTION TALKS NOW GOING ON IN

VIENNA.

~~I MUST TELL YOU THAT~~ I BELIEVE THESE TALKS TO BE HIGHLY

SIGNIFICANT, ALONG WITH THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND

COOPERATION IN EUROPE.

↳ BOTH OF THESE CONFERENCES COULD GO A LONG WAY TOWARDS
ALLEVIATING TENSIONS IN CENTRAL EUROPE, AND A NUMBER OF
VERY CONSTRUCTIVE STEPS IN THE AREA OF EAST-WEST INTERCHANGE
COULD DEVELOP.

↳ THE AGREEMENTS ON THE FREER MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE, IDEAS
AND INFORMATION ACROSS EUROPEAN FRONTIERS THAT WE CAN NOW
PROJECT AS EMERGING FROM THE CONFERENCE ON EUROPEAN SECURITY
AND COOPERATION, WHILE NOT EVERYTHING WE WISHED, DO REPRESENT
A SOLID ACCOMPLISHMENT. MOREOVER, THE CONFERENCE WILL PRODUCE
NEW AGREEMENTS ON ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION BETWEEN
EASTERN AND WESTERN EUROPE, SPURRING ON THE TREND TO ADDITIONAL
AND MORE NORMAL CONTACTS.

L IN ADDITION TO THESE MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN
EAST AND WEST, THERE ARE ALSO THE VERY VITAL BILATERAL
STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES
AND THE SOVIET UNION. THE NEGOTIATORS ARE WORKING TO CONCLUDE
A LONG-TERM AGREEMENT THIS YEAR, BUILDING ON THE AGREEMENT
REACHED BY PRESIDENT FORD AND GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV IN
VLADIVOSTOK LAST NOVEMBER.

L SOME OF US MAY DISAGREE HERE OR THERE WITH SPECIFICS OF
THE APPROACH THAT IS BEING TAKEN. BUT, ANYONE WHO TRULY
APPRECIATES THE VERY REAL AND CONTINUING DANGERS OF A
HOLOCAUST WHILE THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE CONTINUES, MUST FAVOR
EVERY POSSIBLE EFFORT AT BRINGING IT UNDER CONTROL.

now,

LET ME ADDRESS A SPECIAL WORD TO THE YOUNGER MEMBERS OF
THIS AUDIENCE, I AM ONLY TOO AWARE THAT, FOR THOSE OF YOU
WHO CAME OF POLITICAL AGE LONG AFTER THE DREADFUL EVENTS
THAT LED UP TO, ACCOMPANIED, AND FOLLOWED UPON THE HEELS
OF WORLD WAR II, THE LESSONS THAT AN OLDER GENERATION HAS
DRAWN FROM THAT DISMAL EPOCH IN THE WORLD'S HISTORY ~~ARE~~ *maybe*
CONSIDERABLY LESS MEANINGFUL *to you*
L THE STRONGEST IMPRESSIONS MADE ON THE CONSCIOUSNESS
AND SENSIBILITIES OF EACH GENERATION COME, AFTER ALL, FROM
ITS OWN EXPERIENCES, NOT FROM THE EXPERIENCES OF ITS FORE-
FATHERS.

L DUE TO THE THIRTY YEARS OF PEACE ^{growth} AND THE STABILITY

~~WE HAVE NOW BEEN ABLE TO ESTABLISH IN EUROPE~~ ^{in western Europe}, AN ENTIRE

NEW GENERATION HAS GROWN UP UNFAMILIAR NOT JUST WITH THE

HORRORS AND DESTRUCTION OF WORLD WAR II, BUT EVEN WITH THE

FEAR AND INSECURITY THAT ACCOMPANIED THE WORST DAYS OF THE

COLD WAR.

L THERE IS A COMPARABLE PHENOMENON AT WORK IN MY OWN

COUNTRY, ONE THAT MAY NOT BE AS WELCOME TO EUROPEANS.

L A RECENT SURVEY OF PUBLIC OPINION DONE BY THE HARRIS

POLLING ORGANIZATION FOR THE CHICAGO COUNCIL ON FOREIGN

RELATIONS FOUND THAT ONLY 54 PERCENT OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC

NOW SUPPORTS NATO AND ONLY 39 PERCENT WOULD FAVOR THE USE

OF US TROOPS IF WESTERN EUROPE WERE INVADED.

↳ THAT IS NOT A VERY ENCOURAGING FINDING. BUT, IT DOES NOT
SURPRISE ME.

↳ AMERICANS HAVE BEEN BADLY TRAUMATIZED BY VIETNAM. THE
SOUTHEAST ASIAN WAR HAS BEEN A VERY BITTER AND DIVISIVE
EXPERIENCE FOR US, PERHAPS UNPARALLELED BY ANYTHING SINCE
OUR CIVIL WAR OVER A CENTURY AGO. VIETNAM NOT ONLY COST
MANY AMERICAN LIVES AND BILLIONS OF DOLLARS, IT ALSO DEEPLY
AFFECTED THE SPIRIT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

↳ EVEN NOW WE ARE STILL ENGAGED IN A TOUGH AND ANGRY
DEBATE OVER HOW MUCH ASSISTANCE TO GIVE TO CAMBODIA AND
SOUTH VIETNAM.

Q

AND THE EFFECT HAS BEEN TO CAUSE A SKEPTICISM ABOUT

THE WISDOM OF FOREIGN INVOLVEMENTS AND COMMITMENTS. *In this*

VIEW, SUCH INVOLVEMENTS, PARTICULARLY THOSE IN AREAS SUCH AS

SOUTHEAST ASIA, WHERE THE NATURE OF OUR INTERESTS HAS BEEN

MUCH EXAGGERATED, ARE HARMFUL NOT JUST TO THE UNITED STATES,

BUT ALSO TO THOSE WHO ARE THE ALLEGED BENEFICIARIES,

↳ THERE IS A POWERFUL FEELING EXISTING IN AMERICA THAT IN

TIME OF DOMESTIC DIFFICULTY AND RECESSION WE SHOULD DEVOTE

MORE TIME TO OUR OWN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

f. ex. inv.

WHAT WE FACE, THEN, ON BOTH OUR CONTINENTS, IS A VERY
REAL CHALLENGE: THE CHALLENGE OF MAINTAINING OUR RESOLVE
AND OUR MUTUAL COMMITMENTS IN THE FACE OF STRONG PRESSURES
TO NEGLECT THEM IN FAVOR OF MORE PAROCHIAL AND SHORT-TERM
CONCERNS.

IN MEETING THIS TEST, WE WILL DO WELL TO KEEP IN MIND
THE FAMOUS DICTION OF THE GREAT AMERICAN PHILOSOPHER GEORGE
SANTAYANA: "THOSE WHO CANNOT REMEMBER THE PAST," HE SAID,
"ARE CONDEMNED TO REPEAT IT,"

THIS COUNSEL OF WISDOM SHOULD GUIDE US IN OUR APPROACH
TO THOSE AREAS ON THE EUROPEAN SCENE WHICH NOW GIVE US CAUSE
FOR PARTICULAR CONCERN. Portugal, Greece Turkey

I REFER TO THOSE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE, SUCH AS PORTUGAL,
GREECE AND TURKEY, WHICH ARE NOW UNDERGOING DOMESTIC
DIFFICULTIES OR WHICH ARE RE-EXAMINING THEIR NATO TIES.

↳ THE EFFORTS OF PORTUGAL TO REBUILD DEMOCRACY AFTER 40
YEARS OF DICTATORSHIP DESERVE OUR FULL SUPPORT AND FORE-
BEARANCE.

↳ SIMILARLY, WE MUST FIND A WAY TO BRING TO AN END THE
DISPUTE OVER CYPRUS, WHICH HAS EMBITTERED RELATIONS BETWEEN
GREECE AND TURKEY AND CAUSED BOTH COUNTRIES TO TAKE AT LEAST
TENTATIVE STEPS TOWARD WEAKENING THEIR NATO OBLIGATIONS. THIS
IS A HIGHLY ^{*dangerous,*} DELICATE AND COMPLEX MATTER.

BUT I AM CONFIDENT THAT, IF HANDLED WITH SENSITIVITY,

IT CAN BE RESOLVED, AND THE TWO CYPRIO FACTIONS CAN BE

SUCCESSFULLY ENCOURAGED TO WORK OUT A SOLUTION.

*There again
NATO, our Partnership, can be of help.*

LET ME SAY IN CONCLUSION THAT WE ARE FACED BY BOTH

MOMENTOUS CHALLENGES AND GREAT OPPORTUNITIES FOR ACCOMPLISHMENT.

THE HISTORY OF THE POST-WAR PERIOD BEARS TESTIMONY TO

WHAT CAN BE DONE THROUGH JOINT EFFORT THIS PROUD RECORD OF

COOPERATION IS ONE THAT IS OURS TO CONTINUE AND TO STRENGTHEN.

I KNOW THAT WE HAVE THE WILL TO EXPAND AND INCREASE OUR

SHARED WORK FOR THE PROGRESS AND SECURITY OF OUR PEOPLES.

I DEEPLY BELIEVE IN THE MARVELOUS WORDS OF MY NOVELIST
COUNTRYMAN, WILLIAM FAULKNER, "THAT MAN WILL NOT MERELY
ENDURE: HE WILL PREVAIL."

↳ THAT IS THE FAITH I AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE BRING TO OUR
JOINT UNDERTAKINGS, I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT WE, TOO, SHALL
PREVAIL IN THE BUILDING OF A SECURE AND PEACEFUL WORLD FOR

OURSELVES AND OUR CHILDREN. we have no other
choice, if #####



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