

Undated: Drafts: The summit

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June 1 - Chamber of Commerce ✓ Steuart -
Quarterly Membership
Summit Meeting
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THE SUMMIT

Without doubt the most crucial issue before the nation today is our involvement in Vietnam. Recently we were told by the military commander in Vietnam, General William C. Westmoreland that he could see no end to that conflict in the foreseeable future. As the tensions mount in this war that none of us have wanted, citizens at home and world leaders have studied and debated what might be the best course to follow in order to bring this conflict to a peaceful solution. At one extreme we hear advocates who say we should use any and all the military force we have available to achieve an early victory. They point out that the loss of a single American life is a needless waste when we already have at our disposal the ability to obliterate the enemy. Short of that are the letters I receive every day urging the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong and the mining of the ports of North Vietnam. These advocates say that if this means eventual involvement of Red China, including bombing the Chinese mainland, so be it, if that is the price of victory.

At the other extreme are many people who say we should stop the war immediately and withdraw our forces from Vietnam. A few weeks ago thousands of people gathered in New York City and in California to demonstrate their protest to our involvement there. "End the war," was their cry.

Between these extremes are the vast majority of Americans who are fully aware of the dangers involved in that conflict and yet have no satisfactory solution to it. I assure you it is the desire of this nation and of every official I know in Washington, administrative or legislative, to end this war. The question is how to end it honorably, and in a way to secure some hope of stability in Asia. The United States has tried in numerous ways to bring the matter to the conference table. In Warsaw in an unending series of some 130 face to face conferences between official representatives of our government and those of Communist China we have searched ^{for} ~~any~~ avenues by which hostilities could be terminated, but without avail. Recently North Vietnam released the texts of some of the private correspondence that our government has sent to Ho Chi Min, ^{only} to have it bluntly and unceremoniously refused. There have been ²⁸ ~~many~~ such overtures. In almost daily contacts with North Vietnam we search for indications of willingness to avoid the fighting. So far nothing has happened.

In addition, there have been the attempts by His Holiness Pope Paul VI. General DeGaulle has made his own suggestion. England has attempted to intercede. Secretary General of the United Nations, U Thant, has met privately with both sides, and has made proposals, but to no avail. The United Nations is powerless to do more than observe.

In most of these instances the United States was prepared to abide by the suggestions made, but the sad fact remains that for a variety of reasons nothing has been able to get Hanoi to the conference table.

From my study of contemporary history, I have observed that a number of critical problems between the Communist and the Free World have been solved by face to face meeting between the heads of the two States. We called them "summit" meetings. There were the World War II summit meetings that led to the cooperative effort which brought defeat to the Axis powers. There was the Kennedy-Khrushchev summit meeting following the missile crisis in Cuba. We now are engaged in a confrontation that is every bit as critical as these. There are two men who between them could bring an end to the shooting war, ~~and these~~ ^{these} are President Lyndon B. Johnson and the Soviet Premier Alexi Kosygen. I ~~strongly~~ ^{strongly} urge our President to initiate moves which would bring about such a meeting.

"Summit Meeting"
 for another

The time has come
 to ~~strongly~~ ^{strongly} urge
 a summit call upon

In addition to the fact that such conferences have been fruitful before, may I point to some other considerations. For one, it is no secret that most of the military supplies and equipment used by North Vietnam and the Viet Cong are supplied by Soviets. Soviet MIGs, mortars, anti-aircraft equipment, guns and rifles are the mainstays of enemy resistance. China's aid has been much less significant. Were Soviet aid cut off, the conflict might wear on, but the extensiveness of destruction on both sides could be lessened considerably. The main contest ~~of~~ could then shift to what it has always been for us - a struggle for the hearts and minds of the South Vietnamese, or in other words, pacification. If in free elections the people vote to go communist, we should abide by the decision. A meeting of the

minds of the two powers to limit arms would therefore shift the struggle to a new and ^{more promising} ~~happier~~ battlefield.

There is ^{some} ~~definite~~ basis for the belief that the USSR desires a reduction in world tensions. This is apparent from the pressures building within Russia and her satellites for consumer goods, for improvements in living conditions, for a relaxation of iron discipline. The new leadership shows signs of realizing that an arms race is antithetical to these demands. Her wish to reduce tensions is apparent in her willingness to continue the cultural exchange programs. We have seen it in her earnest efforts to negotiate restrictions in the proliferation of nuclear weapons. We saw it illustrated dramatically in her arbitration of the India-Pakistan dispute. Both nations have made progress toward a detente. We finally did sell \$140 million worth of wheat to Russia--and we were paid promptly in cash. Direct flights between New York and Moscow have been arranged. In 1966 15,000 American tourists visited the Soviet Union, and encouragingly some 3,074 Soviets came to this country. When two Russian skippers of fishing vessels were fined for unauthorized invasion of coastal waters off Alaska, no international incident resulted. We have also been successful in having the prison sentences of American citizens who have violated Russian laws modified. Recently we concluded the Consular Treaty. We ratified a treaty limiting military activities in outer space, and we have been encouraged by the Soviet willingness to discuss curbing of the development and deployment of an anti-ballistic missile system. A few years ago

such discussions would have been impossible even to consider.

No doubt many will say ~~such a conference~~ ^{that a summit meeting on Viet Nam} is destined to fail. I do not know. But I wish history to show that ~~at least~~ we made the effort. I know that ~~though not~~ walls between individuals like those between nations can be built up, and once established they can stand for tragically long periods of time. However, ~~though not~~ ^{True} walls also can eventually be torn down--not at one blow or one act, but stone by stone, just as they were built. ^P Some day peace must prevail. We are far from achieving a climate of trust between our two nations, ~~perhaps~~ but we are making progress, and that progress is a profound improvement over the horrible prospects offered by any alternative I know or have known for the last 30 years. We have said we want peace; Russia has said she wants peace. We both have the power to destroy each other and the world in 30 minutes. I therefore suggest the two heads of state get down to business in an "eye-ball to eyeball" discussion. It could mark the ushering in of a new era of cooperative effort, and it could be the first major step toward finding peaceful alternatives to war. I urge that we ~~at least~~ make the attempt.

THE SUMMIT

WITHOUT DOUBT THE MOST CRUCIAL ISSUE BEFORE THE NATION TODAY IS OUR INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM. RECENTLY WE WERE TOLD BY THE MILITARY COMMANDER IN VIETNAM, GENERAL WILLIAM C. WESTMORELAND, THAT HE COULD SEE NO END TO THAT CONFLICT IN THE FORE-SEEABLE FUTURE. AS THE TENSIONS MOUNT IN THIS WAR THAT NONE OF US HAVE WANTED, CITIZENS AT HOME AND WORLD LEADERS HAVE STUDIED AND DEBATED WHAT MIGHT BE THE BEST COURSE TO FOLLOW IN ORDER TO BRING THIS CONFLICT TO A PEACEFUL SOLUTION. A ONE EXTREME WE HEAR ADVOCATES WHO SAY WE SHOULD USE ANY AND ALL THE MILITARY FORCE WE HAVE AVAILABLE TO ACHIEVE AN EARLY VICTORY. THEY POINT OUT THAT THE LOSS OF A SINGLE AMERICAN LIFE IS A NEEDLESS WASTE WHEN WE ALREADY HAVE AT OUR DISPOSAL THE ABILITY TO OBLITERATE THE ENEMY. SHORT OF THAT ARE THE LETTERS I RECEIVE EVERY DAY URGING THE BOMBING OF HANOI AND HAIPHONG AND THE MINING OF THE PORTS OF NORTH VIETNAM. THESE

ADVOCATES SAY THAT

ADVOCATES SAY THAT IF THIS MEANS EVENTUAL INVOLVEMENT OF RED CHINA, INCLUDING BOMBING THE CHINESE MAINLAND, SO BE IT, IF THAT IS THE PRICE OF VICTORY.

AT THE OTHER EXTREME ARE MANY PEOPLE WHO SAY WE SHOULD STOP THE WAR IMMEDIATELY AND WITHDRAW OUR FORCES FROM VIETNAM. A FEW WEEKS AGO, THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE GATHERED IN NEW YORK CITY AND IN CALIFORNIA TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR PROTEST TO OUR INVOLVEMENT THERE. "END THE WAR," WAS THEIR CRY.

BETWEEN THESE EXTREMES ARE THE VAST MAJORITY OF AMERICANS WHO ARE FULLY AWARE OF THE DANGERS INVOLVED IN THAT CONFLICT AND YET HAVE NO SATISFACTORY SOLUTION TO IT. I ASSURE YOU IT IS THE DESIRE OF THIS NATION AND OF EVERY OFFICIAL I KNOW IN WASHINGTON, ADMINISTRATIVE OR LEGISLATIVE, TO END THIS WAR. THE QUESTION IS HOW TO END IT HONORABLY, AND IN A WAY TO SECURE SOME HOPE OF STABILITY IN ASIA. THE UNITED STATES HAS TRIED IN NUMEROUS WAYS TO BRING THE MATTER TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE. IN WARSAW, IN AN UNENDING

SERIES OF SOME 130 FACE-TO-FACE CONFERENCES BETWEEN OFFICIAL REPRESENTATIVES OF OUR GOVERNMENT AND THOSE OF COMMUNIST CHINA, WE HAVE SEARCHED FOR AVENUES BY WHICH HOSTILITIES COULD BE TERMINATED, BUT WITHOUT AVAIL. RECENTLY, NORTH VIETNAM RELEASED THE TEXTS OF SOME OF THE PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE THAT OUR GOVERNMENT HAS SENT TO HO CHI MINH, ONLY TO HAVE IT BLUNTLY AND UNCEREMONIOUSLY REFUSED. THERE HAVE BEEN 28 SUCH OVERTURES. IN ALMOST DAILY CONTACTS WITH NORTH VIETNAM, WE SEARCH FOR INDICATIONS OF WILLINGNESS TO AVOID THE FIGHTING. SO FAR NOTHING HAS HAPPENED.

IN ADDITION, THERE HAVE BEEN THE ATTEMPTS BY HIS HOLINESS POPE PAUL VI. GENERAL DeGAULLE HAS MADE HIS OWN SUGGESTION. ENGLAND HAS ATTEMPTED TO INTERCEDE. SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, U THANT, HAS MET PRIVATELY WITH BOTH SIDES, AND HAS MADE PROPOSALS, BUT TO NO AVAIL. THE UNITED NATIONS IS POWERLESS TO DO MORE THAN OBSERVE.

IN MOST OF THESE INSTANCES

IN MOST OF THESE INSTANCES THE UNITED STATES WAS PREPARED TO ABIDE BY THE SUGGESTION MADE, BUT THE SAD FACT REMAINS THAT FOR A VARIETY OF REASONS NOTHING HAS BEEN ABLE TO GET HANOI TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE.

FROM MY STUDY OF CONTEMPORARY HISTORY, I HAVE OBSERVED THAT A NUMBER OF CRITICAL PROBLEMS BETWEEN THE COMMUNIST AND THE FREE WORLD HAVE BEEN SOLVED BY FACE-TO-FACE MEETING BETWEEN THE HEADS OF THE TWO STATES. WE CALLED THEM "SUMMIT" MEETINGS. THERE WERE THE WORLD WAR II SUMMIT MEETINGS THAT LED TO THE COOPERATIVE EFFORT WHICH BROUGHT DEFEAT TO THE AXIS POWERS. THERE WAS THE KENNEDY-KHRUSHCHEV SUMMIT MEETING FOLLOWING THE MISSILE CRISIS IN CUBA. WE NOW ARE ENGAGED IN A CONFRONTATION THAT IS EVERY BIT AS CRITICAL AS THESE. THERE ARE TWO MEN WHO BETWEEN THEM COULD BRING AN END TO THE SHOOTING WAR. THESE ARE PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON AND THE SOVIET PREMIER ALEXI KOSYGIN. THE TIME HAS COME FOR ANOTHER "SUMMIT MEETING." I HUMBLY CALL UPON OUR PRESIDENT TO INITIATE

MOVES WHICH WOULD BRING

MOVES WHICH WOULD BRING ABOUT SUCH A MEETING.

IN ADDITION TO THE FACT THAT SUCH CONFERENCES HAVE BEEN FRUITFUL BEFORE, MAY I POINT TO SOME OTHER CONSIDERATIONS. FOR ONE, IT IS NO SECRET THAT MOST OF THE MILITARY SUPPLIES AND EQUIPMENT USED BY NORTH VIETNAM AND THE VIET CONG ARE SUPPLIED BY SOVIETS. SOVIET MIGS, MORTARS, ANTI-AIRCRAFT EQUIPMENT, GUNS AND RIFLES ARE THE MAINSTAYS OF ENEMY RESISTENCE. CHINA'S AID HAS BEEN MUCH LESS SIGNIFICANT. WERE SOVIET AID CUT OFF, THE CONFLICT MIGHT WEAR ON, BUT THE EXTENSIVENESS OF DESTRUCTION ON BOTH SIDES COULD BE LESSENERED CONSIDERABLY. THE MAIN CONTEST COULD THEN SHIFT TO WHAT IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN FOR US - A STRUGGLE FOR THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE, OR IN OTHER WORDS, PACIFICATION. IF IN FREE ELECTIONS THE PEOPLE VOTE TO GO COMMUNIST, WE SHOULD ABIDE BY THE DECISION. A MEETING OF THE MINDS OF THE TWO POWERS TO LIMIT ARMS WOULD THEREFORE SHIFT THE STRUGGLE TO A NEW AND MORE PROMISING BATTLEFIELD.

THERE IS SOME BASIS

THERE IS SOME BASIS FOR THE BELIEF THAT THE U.S.S.R. DESIRES A REDUCTION IN WORLD TENSIONS. THIS IS APPARENT FROM THE PRESSURES BUILDING WITHIN RUSSIA AND HER SATELLITES FOR CONSUMER GOODS, FOR IMPROVEMENTS IN LIVING CONDITIONS, FOR A RELAXATION OF IRON DISCIPLINE. THE NEW LEADERSHIP SHOWS SIGNS OF REALIZING THAT AN ARMS RACE IS ANTITHETICAL TO THESE DEMANDS. HER WISH TO REDUCE TENSIONS IS APPARENT IN HER WILLINGNESS TO CONTINUE THE CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAMS. WE HAVE SEEN IT IN HER EARNEST EFFORTS TO NEGOTIATE RESTRICTIONS IN THE PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. WE SAW IT ILLUSTRATED DRAMATICALLY IN HER ARBITRATION OF THE INDIA-PAKISTAN DISPUTE. BOTH NATIONS HAVE MADE PROGRESS TOWARD A DETENTE. WE FINALLY DID SELL \$140 MILLION WORTH OF WHEAT TO RUSSIA--AND WE WERE PAID PROMPTLY IN CASH. DIRECT FLIGHTS BETWEEN NEW YORK AND MOSCOW HAVE BEEN ARRANGED. IN 1966, 15,000 AMERICAN TOURISTS VISITED THE SOVIET UNION, AND ENCOURAGINGLY SOME 3,074 SOVIETS CAME TO THIS COUNTRY. WHEN TWO RUSSIAN SKIPPERS OF FISHING VESSELS WERE FINED FOR UNAUTHORIZED INVASION OF COASTAL WATERS OFF ALASKA,

NO INTERNATIONAL INCIDENT

NO INTERNATIONAL INCIDENT RESULTED. WE HAVE ALSO BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN HAVING THE PRISON SENTENCES OF AMERICAN CITIZENS WHO HAVE VIOLATED RUSSIAN LAWS MODIFIED. RECENTLY WE CONCLUDED THE CONSULAR TREATY. WE RATIFIED A TREATY LIMITING MILITARY ACTIVITIES IN OUTER SPACE, AND WE HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGED BY THE SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS CURBING OF THE DEVELOPMENT AND DEPLOYMENT OF AN ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE SYSTEM. A FEW YEARS AGO SUCH DISCUSSIONS WOULD HAVE BEEN IMPOSSIBLE EVEN TO CONSIDER.

NO DOUBT MANY WILL SAY THAT A SUMMIT MEETING ON VIETNAM IS DESTINED TO FAIL. I DO NOT KNOW. BUT I WISH HISTORY TO SHOW THAT WE MADE THE EFFORT. I KNOW THAT WALLS BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS LIKE THOSE BETWEEN NATIONS CAN BE BUILT UP, AND ONCE ESTABLISHED THEY CAN STAND FOR TRAGICALLY LONG PERIODS OF TIME. HOWEVER, THESE WALLS ALSO CAN EVENTUALLY BE TORN DOWN--NOT AT ONE BLOW OR ONE ACT, BUT STONE BY STONE, JUST AS THEY WERE BUILT.

SOME DAY PEACE

SOME DAY PEACE MUST PREVAIL. WE ARE FAR FROM ACHIEVING A CLIMATE OF TRUST BETWEEN OUR TWO NATIONS, BUT WE ARE MAKING PROGRESS, AND THAT PROGRESS IS A PROFOUND IMPROVEMENT OVER THE HORRIBLE PROSPECTS OFFERED BY ANY ALTERNATIVE I KNOW OR HAVE KNOWN FOR THE LAST 30 YEARS. WE HAVE SAID WE WANT PEACE; RUSSIA HAS SAID SHE WANTS PEACE. WE BOTH HAVE THE POWER TO DESTROY EACH OTHER AND THE WORLD IN 30 MINUTES. I, THEREFORE, SUGGEST THE TWO HEADS OF STATE GET DOWN TO BUSINESS IN AN "EYEBALL TO EYEBALL" DISCUSSION. IT COULD MARK THE USHERING IN OF A NEW ERA OF COOPERATIVE EFFORT, AND IT COULD BE THE FIRST MAJOR STEP TOWARD FINDING PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES TO WAR. I URGE THAT WE MAKE THE ATTEMPT.