

④ Stuart Lindman (X) Commander Claude Katherine
Nat. Senior Vice Callegary
Commander

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

46th DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS CONVENTION

NEW YORK CITY

AUGUST 11, 1966

DAV - Asst. Minn.
Commander
Adjutant
Lynn Monroas

Cong. Dorn
Sen. Yarborough
Pres. Johnson
Greetings

I am honored to be in your company. And I wish to express my own deep appreciation of the work you have carried on, for over a third of a century, on behalf of not only those veterans who are DAV members, but on behalf of all disabled veterans.

Behalf
7
sh
vet.

You have very properly stressed the right and the determination of the disabled veteran to perform a useful and constructive role in our American society. By your work for effective vocational rehabilitation, you have made an invaluable contribution to the maintenance of human dignity -- the most precious asset of free men.

Voc
Rehab

④ Viet Veterans

I particularly wish to pay tribute to you for your
consistent support of the highest-quality professional medical
services in our VA hospitals.

VA
Med
Care.

I am very much impressed, too, by the program you
have launched to help disabled Vietnamese veterans -- to
show, in Commander Callegary's words, that "we, the
wounded of the United States, do care what happens to the
wounded of South Vietnam."

I doubt that any other single group of Americans knows
and appreciates the full gravity of war, as you do.

Few Americans know, as you know, the human toll
that is taken by resistance to aggression and force.

Yet, I doubt that there is a man in this room who would
say that aggression and force should not be resisted. !

If it taught us nothing else, our experience in the
Second World War taught us that aggression and international
bullying cannot be stopped by kind words and good intentions.

✓ We learned the hard lesson, too, that big countries cannot buy their peace and safety through the sacrifice of small countries.

✓ The lessons we learned ^{have been} ~~were~~ expensive and tragic -- but less for us than for the citizens of far-away countries whose homes were destroyed, whose families were separated and lost, whose very nations ceased to exist.

✓ We learned some lessons -- (or at least I thought we did) which have caused us to act as responsible world citizens in these post-war years. For we know that, in this nuclear age, we can no longer afford the luxury of ~~turning~~ ^{just looking} toward our happy life at home while violence builds up in the outside world.

✓ Since the end of World War II we have sustained a national ^{Security and} foreign policy directed toward the building, day-by-day, brick-by-brick, of a world of peaceful nations living together in the spirit of the United Nations Charter.

It is a foreign policy that has been successful both in preventing the expansion of Communist totalitarianism and of avoiding nuclear war ^{and} all the while working toward the time when political self-determination, economic well-being, and social justice might be more widely enjoyed through the world.

It is a foreign policy that has carefully avoided the dangerous courses either of appeasement or of nuclear risk-taking.

The United Nations . . . The Marshall Plan . . . Point Four . . . the Alliance for Progress . . . the Peace Corps . . . the Asian Development Bank . . . the International Monetary Fund and World Bank . . . Food for Peace and Food for Freedom . . . the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty -- all these things have come from American ^{leadership} ~~initiative~~ since World War II.

Firmness in Berlin . . . aid to Greece and Turkey . . . the founding of NATO, CENTO and SEATO . . . the support of Iran when her ^{territory} ~~integrity~~ was threatened . . . resistance to aggression in Korea . . . the determination that hostile nuclear

missiles should not be introduced into the Western Hemisphere

-- these things, too have come from our initiative.

↳ We have built for peace. We have also stood fast against force and the threat of force. !

↳ Twice since the end of World War II, American Presidents have found it necessary -- after sober consideration -- to commit our men to battle on a large scale, in Korea and in Vietnam.

yes, ↳ Both Korea and Vietnam are thousands of miles away from us, inhabited by people with unfamiliar names.

↳ But, in the nature of things, it is the aggressor who chooses when and where to attack. - + the times in the Pacific & Asia Aggression

↳ Although militant Asian Communists have been the aggressors both in Korea and in Vietnam, their methods have been very different. ↳ In Korea we saw the launching of a massive, conventional invasion, with regular troops and tanks, and throughout the war there was a clearly defined front line between the contending forces. o

Peace Hawks
Korea
Vietnam

In Vietnam, we are facing a new and complex kind of war, without any fixed front lines and waged at many levels.

We and our allies face three major necessities -- as separate yet inter-connected as the fingers of a hand.

① The first necessity is the one we know from previous wars. It involves seeking out and attacking regular, organized military units.

As I had occasion to see when I visited Vietnam earlier this year, our forces are superbly equipped and superbly led.

Allied forces have been inflicting severe losses on the enemy.

Yet those losses themselves will not be enough to cause a halt in the aggression. (mobility of our forces)

#2 The second necessity is to meet the guerilla war waged by marauding Viet Cong bands hidden out in the jungles ^{the villages} and ^{and the} rice paddies.

Here the battlefields are not hills, valleys, or rivers, but the people themselves. It is control of the people, not of territory, that the Viet Cong seek. They want the villagers' labor, their

rice, their money -- and their sons to impress into military service. To get them, they use a cunningly calculated mixture *7/10*
of force and fraud, *an terror.*

To comb out these guerillas is slow, grinding, undramatic work. But it is being done, and the number of villages which are secure against Viet Cong terror by night, as well as by day, is steadily increasing.

#3 The third necessity of the war -- and just as important as the other two -- is the need to give the people proof, by word and by deed, that they have more to hope for under self-determination than they do under communism. *- a better life!*

In this war, the building of a school or the digging of a well can be as significant as a successful sortie. The *control*
mastering of inflation or the holding of an election can be as important as winning a pitched battle.

And, in this part of the struggle, our American military personnel are performing just as well as they are in the war against regular enemy units and guerilla forces.

They have given medical treatment to over 500,000 Vietnamese in twelve months. During the same period, they have fed almost 300,000 people and distributed over 250,000 pounds of clothing. (medical care for men!)

In the first five months of this year, they have constructed or rehabilitated 122 schools, 35 dispensaries, ^{house} and 43 bridges.

I have seen them in action -- and our capable and dedicated civilians as well. By their willingness to work with their own hands, and work side-by-side with the Vietnamese people, they are helping to prove that there can be hope for the future. — and our Aid Program!

These, then are the three necessities of the war: The necessity to seek out and destroy the organized enemy units; to clean out guerillas and terrorists, and to help the Vietnamese people build a just and progressive society.

The Battle must be fought and won on four fronts, Military, economic, Political, & Diplomatic.

L All are important, and all must be pursued at the same time and with the same commitment.

In the meantime, we would much prefer, of course, to move this conflict to the peace table -- and we have again and again declared that we are ready to negotiate at any time, at any place, and under any auspices. *for an honourable place.*

L We also seek to keep the conflict within limits, so that larger war may be averted. *We Do not.*

For example, we have strongly endorsed India's proposal to stiffen the International Control Commission's policing of the Demilitarized Zone between North and South Vietnam.

L If effective, this would relieve us of the need to respond to Communist violations of this Zone, in order to protect the security of our own forces.

L And we welcome the recent initiative by Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines toward an Asian conference on peace in Southeast Asia.

L Yet thus far there has been no encouraging response from the North.

and why? -

- 10 -

I believe the reason is ~~this~~ that Our adversaries think they can outlast us -- that, sooner or later, we will grow weary of the struggle and leave. They still believe that time is on their side.

L I say that they are wrong.

Not only is time not on their side in Vietnam. It is not on their side in Southeast Asia -- where other independent nations feel the pressure from the North.

L The Prime Minister of Singapore recently declared publicly that our stand in Vietnam has not only held Communist aggression there, but that it also has given other Asian nations precious time to strengthen themselves.

L And what he said has been repeated, by many leaders of many Asian nations, time and again in recent weeks.

L And when I say they are putting their time to use, I do not mean they are using it simply to build stronger and bigger armies.

↳ Asian nations are astir with new leadership and the new realization that they can accomplish far more together than they can separately.

↳ Asian nations, large and small, are working hard -- and working together -- to build societies strong enough to resist Communist subversion and aggression.

↳ Nine of them, ranging from New Zealand to Japan, recently agreed to set up an Asian and Pacific Council to promote their mutual economic, technical and cultural cooperation -- and they are seeking to enlist other nations in the area in their cause.

↳ ~~But this initiative, significant as it was, was not unique.~~

↳ Cooperation is going forward at many levels and in many fields.

The Southeast Asia education ministers meet regularly and so do the agricultural experts. ↳ The Japanese Government has acted as host for an important gathering of the area's economic ministers.

↳ The Asian Development Bank will open its doors for business in Manila this year. The development of the Mekong River basin is going forward. Two dams have already been completed in Thailand, and work will begin next year on another in Laos.

↳ This expanding cooperation is powered by economic vigor within the participating countries themselves. For years, Japan has led the world in economic growth. South Korea registered an 8 per cent expansion last year, and Taiwan, Malaysia, and Thailand are close behind.

↳ The Communist thrust for power in Indonesia has been decisively repulsed and its warlike "confrontation" with Malaysia ended. Japan and Korea have put old enmities behind them and negotiated a treaty of friendship. India and Pakistan are at peace.

↳ It will take time for them to gain strength to maintain and defend their own independence, but the nations of free Asia are on the right road. And we are pledged to help them down that road.

Because Peace in Asia is essential for world Peace.

L And now, the inevitable questions: How long will it take?
What will it cost?

L It may take years. It could cost many millions of dollars -- dollars of our own, of our Western partners, and of our partners in Asia. It will cost work and commitment and, as in Vietnam today, precious human life.

L But whatever the cost, it will be far less than the price of leaving aggression unchecked or of abandoning ~~struggling~~ nations that are struggling to be free.

L If we in America -- the richest, the strongest, the most powerful single nation in the history of this earth -- if we leave the field to ~~aggression~~ ^{the aggression} . . . to poverty . . . to human misery . . . ignorance . . . hunger, what can the future hold ^{for} ~~man kind~~ ^{the world} ~~the future can hold, at best, a succession of~~ troubles, disorders and international injustices which will cause future historians to mark us down as the people who had their chance, and failed.

I say the future can hold, at worst, a spiral of aggression and force which can lead us all down the path to nuclear destruction.

Now, finally, if we -- in partnership with others in the world -- do meet our responsibilities in Asia, where can the future lead? --

~~Last month, in Omaha,~~ ^{Recently} our President called for "reconciliation between nations that now call themselves enemies" and declared that "a peaceful mainland China is central to a peaceful Asia."

I believe that a policy of patience, fortitude and perseverance in Southeast Asia may, in time, convince the leaders of Communist China, and of other Communist states in Asia, that a policy of aggressive expansion cannot succeed.

I believe that it may, in time, convince them that their neighbors have both the means and the will to stand on their own feet. -- To successfully resist.

convince the Communists
L And I believe, that it may, in time, ~~lead them to the~~
~~conclusion~~ that it is more in their interests to join the family
of nations . . . to join in the struggle for greater human
well-being than it is to export their political doctrine by force.

And that is why, even as we resist aggression in Vietnam,
we wish to make it clear to those who launch and support
aggression, that we are bent neither on ~~their overthrow~~ *conquest nor*
their destruction.

That is why we will take the extra step, today and tomorrow,
to seek a way to peace . . . to open the channels of communication
. . . to encourage exchange of ideas and people with those who
today call us enemy.

L For we know -- even amid the din of loudspeakers and
daily propaganda which surrounds them -- there live in Asia,
under these regimes, millions of people who have historic
reason for friendship with us. We know that their daily concerns
are the same as those of poor and hungry people the world over.

And, in our strength, our wealth, and power, we
extend our hands to them as to others and we say: We
will stand firm. We will not tire. Let us join in the works
of peace.

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With malice towards none,
With charity for all,
With firmness in the right
as God gives us to see
the right.

ADDRESS
OF
HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
Vice-President of the United States

BEFORE
DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS
Forty-Fifth Annual Convention

August 11, 1966
Waldorf-Astoria Hotel
New York City, New York

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

Delivered before the Disabled American Veterans 45th Annual Convention held at The Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City, New York, August 11, 1966

VICE-PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY: Thank you very much, Commander Callegary -- I prefer just to say my good friend Claude -- and his lovely lady, Catherine, and that is a beautiful gown you have on tonight, Catherine. (Laughter) I am glad Claude made that trip to the Far East. (Laughter)

Reverend clergy and my very illustrious and highly respected and very lovely lady from Minnesota, your Auxiliary commander, Margaret Burke, we are so happy to see you here, Margaret. (Applause)

Senator Ralph Yarborough and Congressman Dorn, second ranking member on the Veterans Committee -- I call him the Junior Tiger -- (applause) and indeed to the Snyders, one and all, to Jim, Jr., and to the father and mother and to Jim's wife, I'm sure everybody in the audience tonight feels, as I do, that this is a wonderful man. (Applause)

And I can see how proud Jim's mother was of

him tonight and how very, very happy that she had her son here after all he had gone through. (Applause)

I want to pay a special greeting to my friends from Minnesota that are out here. Nice to see you all.

That is our great delegation. (Laughter) And I also want to, on behalf of President Johnson, lest I forget, pay a special greeting to the delegation from Texas. (Applause)

There are times that I forget that, and I hear about it when I get home. (Laughter) Any of you reporting in down there tomorrow, you just remember that I was on the job. (Laughter)

How proud I am to know that not only do we have the Auxiliary commander from our state, but your national senior vice-commander, Stuart Lindman, and two former national commanders -- I believe at least two, I may be able to claim two -- my old friend, Jim Monnahan. Jim, are you down here? I hope he is. (Applause as he stood.)

I used to get more letters from Jim Monnahan. By golly, he's back there getting another claim ready, I

know. (Laughter)

And John Golob, who is here with us on the dais, and two former Auxiliary commanders besides our own very lovely Margaret, Genevieve Brown and Jeanette Peterson. So Minnesota has done all right with the DAV. (Applause)

Let me salute with you tonight the men that are here, the veterans of the struggle in Vietnam who are the most welcome guests, and I am sure that every one of these men know that they are looked upon with great honor and respect and esteem, and the expression of applause that has come from this audience on the presentation of these men is an indication of that. (Applause)

I was glad to hear Jim Snyder mention that USS Constellation and Project Hope -- I am going to get a commercial in right now -- this is a great enterprise, and I know that you have done much about it.

I have long been interested in it and worked with Dr. Walsh to keep this great ship afloat and doing the wonderful humanitarian work that it is throughout the entire

world. (Applause)

Well, I am sure you know that I am delighted to be here and very honored to be in this company. I have been with our own Department at its meetings in Minnesota. I see there is a little politics going on around here. I didn't know that. I might not have come if I thought there was going to be any politics around. (Laughter)

But I am speaking tonight to a great national organization that has worked and worked and carried on for, well, much over a third of a century, on behalf not only of the veterans that were wise enough and intelligent and prudent enough to have joined the DAV, but on behalf of all veterans, all disabled veterans.

During my 16 years in the United States Senate, many was the time that I would hear from one of our posts in Minnesota, from our Department -- I mentioned my old friend Jim Monnahan -- about a worthy case, something involving a veteran and his rights, and I am here to testify that without the DAV, many a veteran in America today would have gone

unnoticed, uncared for or not to have obtained all of the rights and the benefits that he justly earned and deserved by serving our country. (Applause)

You properly stressed, properly stressed, the right and, indeed, the determination of the disabled veteran to perform a useful and constructive role in our American society.

You demonstrated that tonight by your honoring this outstanding disabled veteran, and by your work in effective vocational rehabilitation, you have made an invaluable contribution to the most precious thing of all, the maintenance of human dignity, that most precious asset of free men.

And when I think of what you have done for medical care and hospitalization, I interested myself, as has Ralph Yarborough here, your great stalwart champion -- I want to tell you, he deserves all the applause (applause) -- I interested myself in the Senate, as Ralph has, as Bill has in the House, Congressman Dorn, (applause) in veterans' affairs, in the right of an education for a man that served his country,

in proper medical and hospital care and rehabilitation, in the right for his compensation for his disability, and I can say today that the Veterans Administration gives the finest hospital and medical care that any medical institution could give to any person in the world, and much of it is due to your effort. (Applause)

We are very proud of our VA hospitals, and we are proud of the professional, medical and hospital services in those great healing institutions, but you have also helped get men, as I said, back on their feet, even when they have lost them.

And I am very much impressed too by the program you have launched to help these fine disabled veterans from the Vietnamese struggle. I have been out to Walter Reed and up to Bethesda Naval Hospital. Quite frankly, I haven't said anything about it. I just wanted to drop by to see these men, and when I know what you have been doing, all I can say is, thank God for the work that you have performed and the good work that you are doing day in and day out in these hospitals.

(Applause)

I think it was your own commander, Claude Callegary that said, "We, the wounded of the United States, do care what happens to the wounded of South Vietnam, not only our own men, but those others that are fighting for their freedom."

Now, I can say without any doubt at all that there isn't a single group of Americans that knows or appreciates any more the horror, the tragedy and the pain and the grief of war than this group that I am speaking to tonight.

(Applause)

Few Americans know as you know the human toll that is taken by resistance to aggression and force, yet I doubt that there is a man in this room who would say that aggression and force should not be resisted. (Applause)

If this experience has taught us nothing else, our experience in the Second World War taught this nation that aggression and international bullying cannot be stopped by wishful thinking or even debate or kind words or good

intentions.

We learned the lesson, the hardest lesson too, that big countries cannot buy peace and security or their peace and safety through the sacrifice of small countries. The lesson of appeasement was purchased with blood, sweat and tears.

Now, the lessons that we have learned have been, as I said, expensive and they have been tragic, but less for us here in America than the citizens of those far-away countries whose homes were destroyed, whose cities were destroyed, whose families were separated and lost, and indeed, whose very nations have ceased to exist.

Now, we learned some lessons, at least I thought we did, which have caused us, as a nation and as a people, to act as responsible world citizens in these postwar years, for we know that in this nuclear age we can no longer afford the luxury of just looking towards our happy life at home while violence builds up like a torrential storm in the outside world.

Since the end of World War II, we have sustained a national security and foreign policy, bipartisan, nonpartisan, directed towards building, day by day, brick by brick, stone by stone, hopefully, a world of peaceful nations, living together in the spirit of the United Nations charter that they signed; and we have given 168,000 casualties since World War II in trying to build that kind of a world, and add to that, if you please, unbelievable sums of money and goods and material.

But we have tried to sustain a foreign policy that has been successful, both in preventing the expansion of communist totalitarianism and the avoiding of nuclear war, and all the while, working towards the time when self-determination and economic well-being and social justice might be more widely enjoyed throughout the world.

It is a foreign policy that has avoided most carefully the dangerous courses, either of appeasement, which only entices an aggressor to more aggression, or of nuclear risk-taking.

And, my friends, as one who is privileged to know a bit, indeed quite a bit, about what could happen if there were a nuclear exchange between the great powers, it is only sanity and reason to follow a course that seeks to avoid, if possible, a nuclear holocaust. (Applause)

Listen to some of the things that have happened in these postwar years of which you have been a part. I recite this because so many Americans these days enjoy just criticizing their country.

I don't ask any American to hush his tongue, nor do I ask any American to deny himself the right of honest dissent, because free speech, debate and discussion are imperatives in a democracy, but I do say to this audience of patriots that your beloved America of today didn't get to be what it is now, the most powerful, the richest and, indeed, the most just nation on the face of the earth on the basis of having always made mistakes.

Instead, I think we have had wise and good leaders, in the main, prudent and hard-working people,

dedicated and courageous and patriotic, and we have had a system of freedom in enterprise and politics, and indeed, a freedom of spiritual commitment as well as political commitment, that has brought America to what it is at this hour, the grandest nation on the face of the earth. (Applause)

The record speaks for itself; the United Nations born here, the Marshall Plan, Point Four, Alliance for Progress, the Peace Corps, the Asian Development Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, Food for Peace, Food for Freedom, the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, foreign aid, all of these things, every one of them, come from American leadership since World War II, every one of them a building block in the cathedral of peace, which is our dream and our hope.

Firmness in Berlin, aid to Greece and Turkey, the founding and the building of NATO and CENTO and SEATO, the support of Iran when her territory was threatened, resistance to aggression in Korea, and the determination that hostile nuclear weapons, missiles, should not be introduced

into the western hemisphere, these things too, my fellow Americans, have come from American leadership and initiative.

(Applause)

We have built for peace because peace is our business, and we've also stood fast against force and the threat of force, and many of these decisions, such as firmness in Berlin and the confrontation of the Soviet Union in Cuba, had within them the possibilities of war, but to have been less than firm would have been to have betrayed the cause of mankind and of freedom.

Twice since the end of World War II, American Presidents have found it necessary, after sober and prayerful consideration, to commit our men to battle on a large scale in Korea and in Vietnam, and when I hear people say to me, "What is our interest in Asia?" I would remind them that three times since 1941, wars in which Americans have been involved have had their genesis in the Pacific and in Asia, Pearl Harbor, Korea and Vietnam. (Applause)

Both Korea and Vietnam are thousands of miles

away from us, and yet they are close at hand in modern transportation and communication, and they are inhabited by people with strange and unfamiliar names, but they are people, God's people.

But in the nature of things, it is the aggressor who chooses when and where to attack. We do not select a point of attack as we do not attack. Although militant Asian communists have been the aggressors, both in Korea and Vietnam, their methods have been very different.

In Korea we saw the launching of a massive conventional invasion with regular troops and tanks and planes, and throughout the war there was the clearly defined front, a front line between the contending forces. You could see it on the map.

In Vietnam we face a new and complex kind of war. They call them wars of national liberation, without any fixed front lines and waged at many levels.

We and our allies face three major necessities in this war, separate, yet they are connected as the fingers

on your hand. The first necessity is one that we know from previous wars. It involves seeking out, meeting and attacking regular, organized military units.

Now, I have had the occasion to see, when I visited Vietnam earlier this year -- and let me say once again, as your Vice-President, that those forces are superbly led, well equipped, unbelievably courageous and as fine a group of men as this country ever fielded in battle. (Applause)

And lest there be any doubt about it, since I was with your President this evening and we did have a Cabinet meeting today, the needs of our armed forces and of General Westmoreland and his staff in Vietnam will be met. Friend and foe alike need to know that our country will meet those needs. (Applause)

Many of you visited with General Westmoreland. I know of no finer officer that has ever served his country, a great soldier and a great citizen and a superb patriot. (Applause)

These allied forces that I speak of -- and they

are not just American forces -- we have allies, you know, and we are the allies of the Vietnamese, and the Koreans are there and the Australians are there and the New Zealanders are there and the Filipinos will be there. They are on their way there tonight, 2500 of them. (Applause)

These allied forces have been inflicting severe losses on the enemy, yet those losses themselves will not be enough alone to halt the aggression. Thank goodness for the mobility of our forces. Thank goodness, my friends, for the great medical care that is given to those forces.

And I pause for a moment and I digress from what I intended to say to you just to remind every mother in this audience and every daughter, every loved one, that while your medical care in World War II or World War I, or whatever engagement you were in, or the Korean War, was good, that the medical care that's given to the men in the armed forces in this struggle in Vietnam is beyond anything that this nation or any other nation has ever known. (Applause)

It was said in World War I that nine out of

every 100 wounded, by the time they got to a hospital, died in the hospital; World War II, four to five out of every 100; the Korean War, two to three; but as Bill Dorn and Ralph Yarborough know, it's one out of every 100. (Applause)

We are deeply indebted to our great doctors and nurses and medical technicians in the healing arts.

Now, the second necessity is to meet the guerilla war waged by marauding Viet Cong bands hidden out in the jungles and the villages and the rice paddies, and the enemy didn't think that our men could do this. They were led to believe that they were too soft-living in our kind of a society; but it should be to the eternal glory of these men that they have been able to adjust themselves to that kind of battle and to defeat the enemy in his own kind of warfare. (Applause)

But here the battlefields are not the hills or the valleys or the rivers, but the people themselves. The Viet Cong seek the control of the people, not of the territory. They want the villagers' labor, their rice, their money, their

sons to impress them into military service.

To get them, they use a cunningly calculated mixture of terror, fear, force, political propaganda and fraud. To comb out these guerillas is slow, grinding, undramatic work, and we Americans must be braced for that.

But it is being done, and the number of villages which are secure against Viet Cong terror by night tonight as well as by day tomorrow is steadily increasing, village after village secured, and a whole new society has to be created.

Ladies and gentlemen, this is a time-consuming, painstaking operation. It isn't just a winning of a battle; it's the building of a nation.

The third necessity of this war, and just as important as the other two, is the need to give the people proof, by word and by deed, that they have more to hope for, more to gain under self-determination than they do under communism, in other words, a better life.

And keep in mind, my fellow Americans, that

we are now talking of a people who lived for a thousand years under mandarin rule, a hundred years under French colonialism and have been constantly at war for 26 years. Is it any wonder that there is instability? Is it any wonder that there are problems?

In this war, the building of a school or the digging of a well or the training of a political leader can be as significant as a successful sortie. The control of inflation, the holding of an election, the availability of rice, can be as important as winning a pitched battle; and in this part of the struggle, the American military, our military personnel, are performing just as well in civic action as they are in the war against the regular units and the guerilla forces, men in uniform, brave and determined, and men as citizens, bringing the lessons of community life to the beleaguered people of Viet Nam.

Our men in uniform have given medical treatment to over 500,000 Vietnamese in 12 months, setting up their own health units, dispensaries. During the same period, they have

fed almost 300,000 people and distributed over 250,000 pounds of clothing.

In the first five months of this year, they constructed and rehabilitated hundreds of schools, dispensaries, houses and bridges.

I have seen these men in action, and our capable and dedicated civilians as well. We have built schools and printed textbooks for the first time for the people of Vietnam, the children. There will be seven million textbooks available to the children of Vietnam this year.

(Applause)

By the willingness of our men, military and civilian, along with the men and women of many other countries who are there to work side by side with the Vietnamese people, they are helping to prove that there can be hope for the future.

Now, these then are the three practical necessities of this war: The necessity first to seek out and destroy the organized enemy units -- that's what you read

about -- to clean out the guerillas and the terrorists you hear about, but you hear so much less about helping the Vietnamese people build a just and progressive society, but that too is going on.

There is no winning on the military front alone; this battle is being fought on four fronts, the military, the economic, the political and the diplomatic.

And as General Westmoreland told me, and recently, General Krulak of the Marine Corps, that "When you say anything to an audience, Mr. Vice-President, remind them that there is no such thing as a military victory standing alone; it must be a co-victory, military, political, economic and diplomatic in the sense of stopping the aggression, defeating social misery, helping the people to rebuild their nation and obtaining the peace. All are equally important and all must be pursued at the same time and with the same courageous commitment."

In the meantime, of course, we prefer and we search and do everything possible to move this conflict to

the peace table. We have again and again declared that we are ready to negotiate at any time, at any place, under any auspices, for an honorable peace, and I know that every man and woman in this audience wants that honorable peace.

(Applause)

And I say to you in all candor that the block to peace, the roadblock to peace, is not in Washington, it's not in the White House, nor the Pentagon or the State Department, nor the Congress; the roadblock to peace is not in America. It is in Hanoi and Peking. So let's remember what it is. (Applause)

We seek to keep this conflict also within limits so that the larger war that all can be concerned about may be averted. For example, we have strongly endorsed India's proposal to stiffen the International Control Commission, policing the Demilitarized Zone between North and South Vietnam.

If effective, this would relieve us of the need to respond to communist violations of this oath, where

they send whole companies and regiments of troops, in order to protect the security of our own forces.

And we welcome the recent initiative of Malaysia and Thailand and the Philippines offered only a few days ago towards an Asian conference on peace in Southeast Asia. We welcome every overture for peace. (Applause)

But I say to you so you can say to your neighbors and to those that worry and wonder, there has been no affirmative response for the call to peace from the North. Every effort from any source, from His Holiness the Pope to the president of India, to the Commonwealth nations, to the 17 noncommitted nations, to Canada, to the United States, to the United Nations, every single offer, every single bid to the peace table has received a stern and arrogant rebuke. So we have but one course, to have the will and the perseverance to stay.

I believe that the reason that our adversaries reject these peace offers is that they think they can outlast us, that sooner or later we will divide amongst ourselves

or that we will grow weary of this struggle and that we'll leave, that we do not have the will and the perseverance to stay and see it through.

They believe that time is on their side. Our answer to them must be, and my answer is, they are wrong.

(Applause) Not only is time not on their side in Vietnam, it's not on their side in all of Southeast Asia where other independent nations feel the threat and the pressure from the communists in the North.

The prime minister of Singapore, who has had many caustic things to say about us, nevertheless recently declared publicly that our stand in Vietnam has not only held communist aggression, stopped it, but it has given other Asian nations precious time to strengthen themselves.

I have traveled in 14 countries of Asia and Southeast Asia, and I can say to this great assemblage of Americans that I didn't find one single Asian leader that thought we ought to pick up our tools and men and go home.

They all knew that we ought to be there, every one. (Applause)

And what this prime minister of Singapore said has been repeated by many, many Asian leaders time and again in recent weeks; and when I say they are putting their time to use, I don't mean that they are using it simply to build bigger armies, because Asian nations are astir with new leadership and new hope and new realization that they can accomplish far more together than they can separately.

I guess they are remembering what old Ben Franklin said, "You either hang together or you hang separately."
(Applause)

These Asian nations, large and small, are working hard and working together to build societies strong enough to resist both communist subversion and aggression. Nine of them recently, ranging from New Zealand to Japan, agreed to set up the Asian and Pacific Council to promote their mutual economic, technical and cultural cooperation, and they are seeking to enlist other nations in the area in this cause.

And cooperation is going forward in education,

in agriculture; the Japanese government only recently hosted a major conference of Asian nations on economic development.

The Asian Development Bank, which will be for Asia what the Inter-American Development Bank is for Latin America, will soon open its doors for business in Manila this year, and Japan has placed in that bank over 200 million dollars. A billion dollars of new resources has been collected for the equity capital in that bank.

The development of the Mekong River basin is going forward, a river that has never been touched for constructive purposes by the hand of man since the beginning of civilization.

Now, two dams have already been completed in Thailand to hold back the flood waters, to create electrical power, to make possible the production of fertilizer, and work will begin on another dam in Laos this next year.

Now, this expanding cooperation is going on while the war is under way, and why? Because the peoples of Southeast Asia know they must build the strength of their

countries. For years, Japan has led the world in economic growth. South Korea registered an eight-percent economic expansion last year. Taiwan, Malaysia and Thailand are close behind.

Why do I take your time to tell you this?

Because there is good news if we will but look for it and see it. Most important of all, the communist thrust for power in Indonesia, one of the, richest, potentially rich, nations in the world, a nation of over a hundred million people that, only a year ago, was almost in the hands of Peking, China, or under the domination and influence of the Chinese communist party.

That communist thrust has been decisively defeated and repulsed, and today a friendly government, a nationalist government, an independent government, is in charge in Indonesia, and the communists have been defeated; and the warlike confrontation with Malaysia was ended this week as the foreign ministers of those two countries signed the peace treaty. (Applause)

Japan and Korea have put old animosities behind them and negotiated a treaty of commerce and friendship. India and Pakistan, only a year ago in bloody conflict, this month, are now at peace.

It will take time, time for these nations to gain the strength to maintain and defend their own independence, but the nations of free Asia are on the right road, and we are pledged to help them gain that time, help them go down that road of independence and peaceful change.

And why? Why should we be in Asia? Because Asia is a part of this world and represents over half of the population of this world, and moreover, a threat to the peace in Asia is a threat to the peace in America, and we need to remember that lesson. (Applause)

The questions now come, "How long will it take and what will it cost?" Well, it may take years to gain this peaceful Asia that we hope can exist. It could cost many millions, yes, even billions of dollars, some of it of our own, of our western partners and of our partners and the

people in Asia.

It will cost work and commitment and sacrifice, as in Vietnam today even, precious human life, but I believe it can be said that whatever the cost for building a peaceful Asia, it will be far less than the price of leaving aggression unchecked or abandoning the nations there that are struggling to be free.

If we in America -- the richest, the strongest, the most powerful single nation on the face of the earth and in the history of this earth -- if we leave the field to the aggressor, to poverty, to human misery and ignorance and hunger, ask yourself, what can the future hold for us?

There will be troubles and disorders and violence and revolution which will cause human future historians to mark us down as a people who had their chance but failed. I say the future can hold, at worst, a spiral of aggression and force which, if left unchecked, can lead us all down the path to nuclear destruction.

Now, if we, in partnership with others in the

world, do meet our responsibilities in Asia, where will the future lead?

Recently our President called for "reconciliation between nations that now call themselves enemies" and declared that "a peaceful mainland China is central to a peaceful Asia."

I believe that a policy of patience, fortitude, perseverance, strength, in Southeast Asia, may, in time, convince the leaders of communist China and the other communist states in Asia that a policy of aggressive expansion cannot succeed.

I believe that it may, in time, convince them that their neighbors have both the means, the allies, and the will to stand on their own feet. I believe that by patience and fortitude and courage and strength, the Asian communists can be taught that aggression comes at too high a price to be paid.

I believe that it may, in time, convince the communists that it is more to their interests to join the

family of nations, to join in the struggle for greater human well-being than it is to export their political doctrines by force.

And that is why, even as we resist aggression in Vietnam, we wish to make it clear to those who launch and support aggression, that we are bent neither on conquest nor their destruction. What we are bent on is proving that aggression cannot be a mode of international conduct.

And that's why we will take the extra step today and tomorrow to seek a way to peace, to open the channels of communication, to encourage the exchange of ideas and people with those who today call us enemy.

For we know -- even amid the din of the loudspeakers and the harsh daily propaganda which surrounds them -- there live in Asia, under these communist regimes, millions of people who have historic reason for friendship with us, the missionaries that have gone before, the students that have been educated in our universities, the generations of good will that this country has exhibited in Asia, all

of that, my fellow Americans, I believe, has not been lost if the people but have a chance to express themselves.

We know that their daily concerns are the same as those of the poor and hungry people the world over. And, in our strength and in our wealth and power, we can afford to extend our hands to them, as to others, because it is only the strong who can afford to be compassionate and can afford to walk the extra mile for peace.

We will stand firm; we will not tire. We seek to join in the works of peace.

Our foreign policy was stated a hundred years ago in the second inaugural of Abraham Lincoln, and remember it tonight and repeat it to your young, because in this, the nuclear age, with our massive power, our unbelievable strength, our great wealth, with which we have been so abundantly blessed, is this: "With malice towards none, with charity for all, but with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right."

Thank you. (Rising applause)



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