

Amb. Bunker Age Locke
Genl Westmacott

NOTES

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY

U. S. MISSION STAFF

SAIGON

October 31, 1967

forces the
I bring to the American military and civilian community in the Republic of Vietnam the gratitude of your President, your Vice President, and your fellow Americans.

Whatever you may read about disagreements at home concerning our effort here, I think you should know that the American people in the vast majority are proud of you and of what you are doing.

~~I think~~ you also should know that your President and Vice President are fully committed to you -- and to our commitment to peace and security in Vietnam and Southeast Asia.

We are committed to lasting it out. *and we are committed to a new era of freedom and progress for S. E. Asia*

10 Men in Service

Let me assure you that the sacrifices you are making for your country -- and I know full well the pain of separation from family, and the ever-present physical danger for many of you -- are recognized and respected.

But You are not just working and fighting for our allies, the people of the Republic of Vietnam -- although that is a worthy cause. } XX

You are working to protect the ultimate security of the people of the United States. Freedom cannot live in isolation - it requires an environment

There are those who cannot remember the threatening days of the 1930's when the democracies failed to act, and the seeds were sown for World War II. peace

I remember. And your President remembers.

There are those who cannot remember how many times since then we have had to face up to subversion and aggression -- in Europe, in Asia, in the Caribbean --

and, by so doing, how we have maintained the peace and prevented World War III.

*- 27 million Vets
- 5 million wounded*

I remember. And your President remembers.

There are those who cannot understand that the American commitment to the people of Southeast Asia is no less firm than our commitment to the people of Europe.

I do - and your President does

There are those who do not understand that, in this nuclear age, aggression unchecked in one place can threaten the peace of nations in many places.

I understand it. You understand it. That is why you are here.

And I believe most Americans understand it. The innate good sense and the fundamental courage of the American people are the strongest weapons we have.

They simply want to know that what we are doing must be done.

Once more, let me make this clear: Your President, and your Vice President, recognize the stakes here.

nature of the struggle here - we know that once again we are being tested. Once again the aggressor is trying to.

to find out if we have the will, the determination, the ⁴courage to ~~stop~~ stop him.

And, despite ~~any temporary popularity~~ ^{public opinion} polls . . . despite criticism . . . despite understandable impatience, we mean to stick it out until aggression is turned back . . . until a just and honorable peace can be achieved . . . until the job is done.

I think you should know that. And ~~I think our~~ ^{It is imperative that}

^{our} adversaries should know that.

So have faith. ^{Be resolute} ~~Be of good cheer~~. Stick to your task.

If the task is hard, if the going is rough, you should know that ~~we are with you~~. ^{it has been this way before - even worse}

in war ^{in Korea!}

We are going to build.

We are going to protect.

We are going to help the people of this land create strong and responsive democratic institutions.

We are going to be steadfast in the work of nation-building -- the work of health, of agriculture, of education, of economic development.

inaugural

Nation-Building

and of political developments | we are needed Nation Building Today

We are ~~going to make~~ ^{making} our stand for the people --
 for ordinary people, farmers and workers -- and for programs
 to help them get their honest chance in life.

And we are going to succeed. — We always have,
 so why not now.
 Finally, let me leave you with this:—

I believe that, when the history of this period ^{is}
 written, Vietnam may well be marked as the time and place
 where men finally learned the lessons of the past . . .
 where the peace was preserved . . . where the family of
 man gained the time it needed to finally break through to
 a new era of hope and human development and justice.

That is the chance we have.

You are the Americans making that history — and over
 business to make history
 God bless you.
 and let the chapter of the last 1/3 of
 the 20th century read — that
 without regard to race, color, creed, or
 religion, Americans at home and
 abroad, ~~stand~~ they stand for freedom
 and opportunity.

IIII VIETNAM SPEECH
U.S. EMBASSY
SAIGON, SOUTH VIETNAM

OCTOBER 31, 1967

IIII: Thank you, Ambassador Bunker, Ambassador Lodge, and General Westmoreland, my fellow Americans, both in the military services and the civilian service, and any of our friends and neighbors of the Republic of Vietnam or other countries that may be in this audience today. First let me express to you, Ambassador Bunker, and to all of you my very great happiness in being able to come back for a second time to Vietnam. I wanted very much to make this journey and to be here for this historic and momentous occasion of the inaugural of an elected president and vice president, of an elected senate and of a lower house. I believe that this is a very important day in the life of free men and free nations and indeed of free Asia. And I wouldn't want to miss it. I am the sort of person that likes to be where the action is, and I surely like to be where history is being made. I've been here as I said on two occasions/ - I've been here, as I said, on two occasions and maybe as one that comes so infrequently and from such a distance, I am better able to see what has happened in those months of less than two years than some of you that have been here for an extended period - period of time. Some people can never see the forest for the trees. Some people can never really recognize progress because they have been so much a part of it. And there are others that never can recognize progress because they really don't believe in it.

Well I have had the unique privilege of being here in February 1966, immediately after the Honolulu Conference. Having listened to the promises that were made in Honolulu, the commitments that were then given to the people of Vietnam as well as to the people of the United States, I came here only about a year after - less than a year after the Armed Forces of the United States came here in any number. And I can say this morning that the progress, militarily, politically, economically, socially, is remarkable. It is something that the people of Vietnam ought to hold with great pride and that you as Americans ought to feel a sense of pride about, because you've had something to do in shaping that progress. Now let me be very frank with you, I know there are many limitations; I don't need to remind you of them; you're reminded of them every day. I know there are many shortcomings; I need not tell you of those - there are experts in shortcomings. I know there are many disappointments, nor do I need to describe them because there are some people who are never so happy as when they're unhappy, or particularly when they can describe unhappiness, for their happiness, to make you unhappy. So I'm fully aware of all of these things. I've lived some 56 years now, and I've been in public life for almost a quarter of a century - 25 years - I think I know something of the joys of victory and of the pain of defeat. I know something of the disappointments that come. And let me tell you I also know something of the exhilaration and the inspiration that comes from some success and progress. Now I ought to share with you a very intimate observation. I come from your capital, Washington, D.C. I am your

Vice President. Some of you assented to that; others did not. I'm not so sure which of you paid me the greatest favor. ^{LAUGHTER} But - in Washington, I had to make a decision as to whether or not I'd be a pessimist or an optimist. And I took a good look at the head count, the fields of competition. And I found so many people crowding into that drab vast area of pessimism that is looked like you'd have to be an awfully good pessimist to even get recognition as a pessimist, there were so many. So then I looked off in the broad plains of optimism, and there was hardly anybody there. And since I'm a Midwesterner and like room in which to roam, and knowing that if there're not too many around, the competition is not too difficult, I decided to be an optimist. It's been so joyful; there're so few of us. LAUGHTER And not only that, when you act optimistic, there on occasions, people wonder about you. LAUGHTER But let me tell you why I'm an optimist -- because I'm an American. The whole history of our country is the proof of the right of a man to be optimistic. You see, I'm one of those Americans who does not believe that the success of the United States politically, economically culturally, socially, - that that success is the result of and the sum total of failures. I don't think it came about because men in government and business and labor, in education, the professions, in religion - were all wrong or were fools. I think that America is the greatest success story that the world has ever known. APPLAUSE.....And so if I seem to be a bit optimistic about our commitments and about what we do, I'll only say this, that I spent several years as

a teacher, professor and student, and my course of study was in government and history. And I think that my history lessons taught me that we have a right to assume that if we put ourself to the task that success will crown our efforts. I believe it was Thomas Huxley who said, in substance, once, that he knew - speaking of America - that he knew that our nation was rich, he knew that it was powerful, he knew that it was big - but he said that "greatness is not riches or power or size. Greatness is what do you do with these things?" What are we going to do with our power, with our wealth, with our size, with our position in the world? What will we do with it? And I think that the commitment of the United States to this part of the world is an indication of what we are doing with it. And I want to talk to you about it in the few minutes that are mine today.

Now I should let you in on a secret. I have some notes here, but friends of the media know that those seldom mean very much. I generally make two speeches, one that have here and one that I decide on making as we go along. But it's my way of living and it's my life LAUGHTER and I've been - I decided a long time ago to live it as I wanted to. First, I want to bring to the American military forces the gratitude, the respect and the admiration of your President and your Vice President and your fellow Americans. And through you, General Westmoreland, I ask that you convey to every man and every officer in the field and in your comman, in the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, the Marine

Corps, the Coast Guard, every branch of our military - I ask that you convey our deep gratitude and appreciation for service beyond the call of duty. And let it be known from this platform that the men and the women of the armed forces of the United States today, represent the finest generation of Americans that this nation has ever known. This is the testimony of the officers who are in command. And so when I read of the limitations of our young people these days, I'm reminded of what men who command them tell us "Remember these young Americans that are here in battle are your brothers, they are your neighbors from back home; they are the same Americans that you see back in your home town, and they're doing a mighty good job, - adjusting themselves to APPLAUSE - adjusting themselves to a new and strange environment, to all of the difficulties of climate and terrain, facing problems that they never dreamed ever existed - and yet I think it's fair to say that we've never put a better defense force in the field. Never have men worn the uniform of the United States of America who have done a better job as soldiers and sailors and marines and airman and coast-guardsmen than those that are here today serving in this struggle as an ally to the Republic of Vietnam.. I'm proud of them. The President is proud of them. And I want them to know that we are humbly grateful. And then let me say to Ambassador Bunker and Ambassador Locke that those of the civilian community in the Republic and of Vietnam.- those Americans of the civilian community, those of you that I see before me and many more - that you have the gratitude

and the appreciation and the admiration of your President, President Johnson, and your Vice President, and your fellow Americans. We know that this is not an easy assignment, but we know that you're doing it well, And whatever you may read about disagreements at home concerning our effort here, I think that you should know that the American people in the vast majority are proud, proud of you and what you are doing. The American people know that your task is not easy. And I might add that disagreement back home is not an unusual development, nor is it unique in the history of America in war, it is disagreement and valor - disagreement and heroism, - and yet with all of that disagreement, a basic sense of loyalty to the country and to its cause. We do not fight wars to deny ourself freedom. The task of a free government is to place as few limitations as possible upon a free people, even as we are compelled by circumstances to engage in battle. You should also know that your President and your Vice President are fully committed to you, to you and what you're doing. And I mean this to our military and our civilian forces here. And you should know that we are committed to our commitment to peace and to security in Vietnam and Southeast Asia. Now that word "commitment" is a precious word. It is a very, very important word. It does not mean that we have a casual concern. It does not mean that what we're doing is just something that we thought we maybe ought to do. The word "commitment" means what our forefathers said "our lives, our fortunes, our sacred honor." That is the definition of commitment. And when I say that we have a

commitment to peace and security and to freedom in Vietnam and Southeast Asia, I mean it just as I have described it. And then too, you should know this, that we are committed to lasting it out. And we are committed to a new era of freedom and progress in Southeast Asia - indeed, the world over. I want my message today to be one of reconciliation and of peace. We seek nobody's territory. We seek to destroy no nation, or regime. The policy of President Lyndon Johnson, the policy of the government of the United States is one of reconciliation with all peoples, to live in peace, to live in peaceful competition. And that statement applies to nations in Asia and Europe, in Africa, Latin America, everywhere. It applies to the Soviet Union; it applies to Communist China. We seek not war, but understanding and peace. We seek not to exacerbate differences, but rather to reconcile peoples and differences. Now let me assure you, military and civilian alike, that the sacrifices that you're making for your country - and I know full well the pain of separation from family and the ever-present physical danger for many of you are recognized by your fellow Americans and are appreciated and respected. And I particularly say this to the people of the military - it is a very difficult ordeal. But can I say that I know that this is the least complaining segment of our national life, the least complaining. When I left El Paso, Texas, here just two or three days ago, there were a number of the families, wives and children of our servicemen here. Not one of them complained to the Vice President. And I talked to every one of them personally. Not one of them said "I

me and said "Mr. Vice President, my husband is missing in action. If you can get any information about him, I'd appreciate it." That was the only word of concern or should I put it, the only word that I heard other than "I'm proud that my husband is there." And many of those wives told me that their husbands had reenlisted, had gone back for a second tour of duty. I submit to you that that is the voice of America. That is the real spirit of America. The voice of America are not those angry voices that are heard above the hard work and the sacrifice of the American people, those angry voices of ugly dissent. But the voice of America is the tear in the eyes of a woman whose husband is here, the children who ask about their daddy - that's the real voice of America, and the real spirit. And that is what the world needs to know. The world does not need to be told of our bad habits; they're quite obvious. But it needs to know of our basic spiritual, political commitment to the cause of freedom and human decency. Now you're not just working and fighting for our allies, the people of the Republic of Vietnam, although, I might add, that is a worthy cause in itself, and I wouldn't want to underestimate it. You are really here, working to protect the ultimate freedom and security of the people of the United States. I say this because freedom cannot live in isolation. Fortress America is not a sensible defense policy. Freedom requires an environment of freedom, an environment of hope, and a condition of peace. So when we stand here in Vietnam, we do it in the name of the United States in

all that it stands for. Now there are those who cannot remember the threatening days of the 1930's, when the democracies failed to act, and the seeds were sown for World War II. But I remember. And your President remembers those days. They were days of shame for many peoples and nations. There are those who cannot remember how many times since World War II we've had to face up to subversion and aggression in Europe, in Asia and the Caribbean, and by so doing, how we have maintained the peace and prevented World War III and where the prevention of World War III is our business. This is the most important business that we have. I was reminded just last week that in your country there are 27 million veterans living who have worn the uniform of the United States. And there are 5 million wounded, and needless to say, hundreds of thousands of brave young men who lost their lives. Our cemeteries are filled with them. This is the commitment that America has made to peace, to freedom. And when our critics seem to belittle us, I'm often - I often want to tell them "What is it that we have taken? Who is it that we have despoiled? Who is it that we seek to rule? Why is it that you feel that somehow America is bad or evil? America has been in two world wars. It has fought in Korea. It has faced Communist expansionism in Europe and Asia. And America has yet to take one inch of territory. Rather it has given people their freedom who justly deserved it. It has not sought to impose its will on one country. It has pulled (or pooled) forth its treasure in unbelievable amounts. And yet we have those today who would lead the world to believe

that we have evil designs. We have those in our midst who would lead you to believe that. And we have far too many who have forgotten the lessons of the thirties, who have forgotten that in appeasement there is no peace, who have forgotten, if you please, that if you are to be free, you must be brave. There are those who cannot understand that the American commitment to the people of Southeast Asia is no less firm than our commitment to the people of Europe. I understand this, under my obligation as Vice President. The President of The United States understands it, under his obligation as Commander in Chief. There are those who do not understand that in this nuclear age, this dangerous age, that aggression unchecked in one place can threaten the peace of nations in many places. This is why we take our stand now. I understand this. I think you understand it. And that's why you are here. And I believe, frankly, that most Americans understand it. The innate good sense and fundamental courage of the American people are the strongest weapons that we have. They simply want to know that what we are doing must be done. They called upon you to help lead them in a better understanding of this period of human history. Now once more, let me make this clear, your President and your Vice President recognize the nature of the struggle here. We know that once again we are being tested. We know that this is a different war. This is not conventional warfare. We know that this struggle is not only military, but is political, psychological, economic, social. And we know that every part of it is equally

important. Once again the aggressor is trying to find out if we have the will, the determination, the courage, to stop him. We have to make up our mind whether the law of jungle will be the law of nations, or whether there will be law and order under the Charter of the United Nations. And may I say that despite public opinion polls, none of which, may I say, have ever been very friendly towards a nation's commitment in battle - despite criticism, despite criticism, despite understandable impatience, we mean to stick it out; until aggression is turned back, and until a just and honorable peace can be achieved, until the job is done. That is the policy of the President of the United States, the Vice President of the United States, and the Congress of the United States. So let people understand it. APPLAUSE

I think that you need to know this, and I say that it is imperative that our adversaries should know it; they must never underestimate our will. The greatest disservice to the cause of peace in the world today is to deceive the enemy into believing that America is so disunited that it cannot stand it - last it out. And I must say with equal emphasis, that disunity at home only feeds the ambitions of the enemy abroad. I am convinced in my own heart and mind that if we could unite as a people, submerging some of our differences over tactics, that we could shorten this war, that we would save lives, that the adversary and the enemy would soon understand that he can neither win the war in Vietnam or in the United States, that he cannot win it anyplace, and that he must come to terms, cease his aggression, either come to the conference of negotiation

battlefield. That is the contribution that we could make for peace. So have faith; be resolute; doubt; neither think, talk, nor act with indecision. You know why you're here. Let every movement of your body, every word of your mouth, every thought of your mind, every prayer of your spirit indicate, unmistakably, that you are here because you know it is right to be here, and that we intend to stay here until freedom and independence for this country is assured. And the sooner that people understand that, the sooner the sooner the blessed way of peace will be ours.

I know that the task is hard that I've asked you to undertake. But let me say this, if the task is hard, if the going is rough, you should know that it has been done this way before. Do you think it was easy for the British after Dunkirk? - and there were wise men who said then that Hitler had won, that the British were through. Do think it was easy for the Americans after Pearl Harbor? There were even those then that cried out for a quick peace. It has never been easy. Do you think it was easy for George Washington at Valley Forge, with his armies deserting, with his Continental Congress unwilling to send even food or supplies? Do you think it was easy for Abraham Lincoln, even in 1864, when it appeared that his armies would be defeated, when he knew not whom he could trust? It's never been easy. It was not easy for Woodrow Wilson, who found a Congress against him, even in the draft, or for Franklin Roosevelt. And it never was easy for Harry Truman in Korea. I sat alongside of the Prime Minister of Korea today, and all the time that I was there, running

through my mind was that public opinion poll of January 20th, nineteen hundred and fifty one - George Gallup, Princeton, New Jersey, which said "The question, should we withdraw from Korea?" 66% of the Americans said "yes". Only four months before 80% said we should stay. But in the intervening period we had lost battles. The powerful forces had joined the North Koreans and had driven us back, almost into the ocean. And there was a public opinion in America that said we should withdraw. Where do you think Korea would have been today if there had been no free representative of a free Korea at this inaugural. And my fellow Americans, today Korea represents one of the greatest stories of Asia. And as an American, I'm proud - proud as can be that we've had something to do in the birth of a free nation of Korea - very proud of it. Just as proud; may I say, as Lafayette must have had in the birth of America, and others who came to our rescue in those early days. And I might add, as I speak of this history, and I've done before, my fellow Americans, patriots one and all, we didn't win our freedom without help either. At the battle of Yorktown there were more French than there were Americans. And more French died than Americans. And the fleet that bottled up the British was French, not American. And Cornwallis surrendered, not because of our power alone, because of an ally called France. Just remember that. We've had dark days. But we've come through 'em. So we're going to build; we're going to protect. We're going to help the people of this land create strong and responsive democratic institutions. And we're going to be steadfast in the work of nation building this morning. I thought it was a

marvelous ceremony - that magnificent inaugural address of President Thieu. It was a great address, a commitment to his people. He said to the people "I am yours. I am your servant. Now this is a commitment. We're not sure whether all of this will succeed; I know there will be cynics.. But my fellow Americans, we weren't sure that it would succeed when we started either. And I would remind you that even in the earliest days of our republic, there was secession. I would remind you that there were traitors.. I would remind you of a Benedict Arnold, and an Aaron Burr. I would remind you that it was not easy. But I'm happy that I, as Vice President of the United States, could be here to represent our country on a day that a nation, a free nation was born. And we're going to try to help nourish that nation into maturity. You see, our business is nation-building. The work of health, of agriculture, of education, of economic development, and of political development. We are builders, not destroyers. We want to be known as teachers, not warriors. We want to save life, not to take.. And that's why we're here. And above all, we're making our stand for people, for the people. Everything about America is "we the people", "We the people of these United States". a "government of the people, by the people, for the people", not a government of the elite, or the nobles, but of the people. And we're here taking

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farmers and workers. And we're here for programs to help them get their honest chance in life. And let me tell you, we're going to succeed. We do not admit defeat. We are going to succeed because they want to succeed. We're not trying to have a Vietnam that's stamped "Made in the USA". We want a Vietnam that is known as "Vietnam-- Made in Vietnam by the Vietnamese." And if there is a footnote that it had "a faithful ally and friend, the United States of America" that's all that we ask, and that's all that we should expect. So finally, let me leave you with this. I believe that when the history of this period is written, Vietnam may well be marked as the time and the place where men finally learned the lessons of the past, the lesson that there is no peace with appeasement, that the aggressor must be checked before it is too late, that there is no freedom in weakness, and that there is no security in isolation. I'm sure that Vietnam will be marked as the time and the place where peace was preserved, because peace has to be fought for, just as everything else worthwhile has to be sacrificed for. I believe that Vietnam will be marked as the place and time and the place where the family of man gained the time it needed to finally break through to a new era of hope and human development and justice. This is the chance that we have. This is our great adventure and a wonderful one it is. And you are

of the history of this last third of the 20th century read like this, about our America, "that without regard to race, color, creed, or region, Americans at home and abroad took their stand for freedom and for opportunity." That is the good news of the last third of the 20th century. We have grown up. We recognize that we're all God's children, that the differences of color and race and creed and region are minimal and, really, unimportant. What is important is that we are people. And I think it will be to the everlasting glory of this nation, the United States, that not only were we willing to fight for our friends and neighbors in Europe, from whence our relatives came, in which our bloodline is found, and from which our culture came, but we were also willing to take our stand in a far away place, where the names were difficult to pronounce, where the cultures were different - but where there were people, plain people, ordinary people, good people, and that America, and Americans united with them for their freedom, for their independence, and for their hope. That's why I'm happy to be here, and I hope you are too. Thank you very much.



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