

April 19, 1965

Memorandum

To: The Vice President

From: Ted Van Dyk

Re: Azalea Festival Luncheon, 4/22/65

You will address a luncheon of all the Norfolk area civil clubs. Audience probably 300-400.

The Azalea Festival is international. All NATO countries participate. Thus the theme of the occasion is international and outward-looking. There may be a few Ambassadors and/or representatives of foreign (particularly NATO) embassies present (All will be down for the Saturday coronation). In any case, you'll want to act as if there are. Norfolk is proud of being host to an international event.

The area economy is doing well (headquarters 5th Naval District, Portsmouth Naval Shipyard, shipping). The only negative factor is threatened closure of a Public Health Service hospital.

Congressman Porter Hardy will probably be present.

① about a month ago
Diplomatic
Reception for
Queen Luci!

(I was there - not me
H.)

Mrs Johnson

Queen
Luci Evans Johnson - Ozden

✓ Hats - Flowers

✓ Princesses

yesterday
✓ N.Y. Fair
today
- Prim minister
of study
in memo

an exciting time

✓ Cong. Porter Hardy

Mayor ^{Ray} Martin

Chr. John Seare

ADDRESS OF

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

INTERNATIONAL AZALEA FESTIVAL LUNCHEON

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

April 22, 1965

(1) Adm. Smith

(2) Adm. McCain

(4) Capt. Root Wood

(5) Adm. Richardson

officers + men

Paul Harry Price
Chambers & Comm

Mrs. Johnson

a singular

My friends, it is my honor to be invited to address

this International Azalea Festival Luncheon. ~~for~~ this

great festival celebrates not only the well-being and

prosperity of Virginians and Americans, but celebrates also

this country's commitment to interdependence among nations.

Truly
Cordis

(D)

Today I would like primarily to discuss with you our
well-being at home -- and then to place that domestic well-
being in the context of the role we Americans play in the
world.

Today, our democratic society faces great challenges.

We are being challenged both at home and abroad by great
political, economic, and social forces.

Will we be able to meet these challenges: ?

Can democratic government provide for the general

welfare?

Is freedom incompatible with responsibility?

Is democracy as a system able to provide rapid and
just progress for the ~~hungry and diseased on our planet~~ *needy, the poor, & the illiterates?*

Must the fulfillment of the individual be subordinate,
to the welfare of the whole? - *Can we have personal
liberty, and community well-being.*

We will meet these challenges if we preserve, direct,

and utilize all this country's vast human resources. We

will meet these challenges if we realize the full

potentialities of this country and each of its citizens.

This Administration and this Congress, acting out the
will of the American people, are providing to the world our
answers to these challenges.

We are building a solid, lasting base for American *social*
economic
health and growth.

Health and growth built on a strong and flourishing
economy *and* we have just celebrated our 50th consecutive

month of uninterrupted prosperity, I ~~might add~~.

Health and growth which can give us the means to
provide a social system with justice at its heart.

~~was building~~ Health and growth to provide sustained American
leadership in the world.

President Johnson told this Congress, on the first day
of its session, that:

"Our nation was created to help strike away the chains
of ignorance and misery and tyranny wherever they keep man
less than God means him to be!"

~~We are not afraid to say it~~ We will work until every
~~citizen of America has full~~ opportunity to make a better

life for himself and his children. Only when this equality
of opportunity is achieved can we ~~truly find the freedom we~~

~~seek~~ ~~and~~ build the great society we envision.

~~Today in this country~~ we are making great strides
toward achieving that goal.

There are two basic forces at the heart of our progress:

First, the vigorous leadership of ~~Lyndon Johnson~~ *our President* -

Second, the unprecedented peacetime unity of our nation, ~~which now exists~~ *a unity that is nourished by our President*

There is another word for this unity. It is consensus.

Consensus is voluntary agreement based on constructive dialogue, mutual respect, and understanding. In consensus,

we Americans are breaking through *old barriers - barriers of prejudice, poverty and* ~~United we stand. And united we gain.~~

We gain together as a great national consensus says

all Americans shall have equal voting rights. ~~And that~~

~~consensus today is truly national, not regional.~~

We gain as our nation agrees that all Americans shall have an education which can give them the opportunity to *help* ~~help~~ themselves.

We gain in agreement that all Americans shall have

available to them the miracles of modern
adequate medical care; health care + medical research.

We gain in agreement

That we should make our cities better places in which
to live and work in safety and health: *as you have in Norfolk*

That we should preserve this nation's beauty, history
and natural resources; —

That we should give the ~~the~~ aging hope for life and work;

That we should open our doors again to immigrants who
can enrich and lend new vitality to our national life;

We gain agreement with you in the belief —

That we should help our urban and rural Americans
alike adjust to technological revolution and social change;

That we should not drop the torch of international
leadership;

That we should make whatever investment is necessary to
realize our American dream.

*and the only limitation on
our tomorrow is our
doubts of today —*

now — That investment will be great. But it will be less

than the cost of illiteracy -- of school dropouts -- of

poverty -- of discrimination -- of disillusion and bitterness --

of isolation in the world. ^{yes} Far less.

For example: We spend 450 dollars per year per child in our public schools, but we spend 1800 dollars a year to keep a delinquent in a detention home, 2500 dollars a year for a family on relief and 3500 dollars a year for an inmate in a state prison.

↳ We must make the investment necessary so that all in our society may be ^{more} productive. Poor and uneducated people are poor consumers. ~~They are a drain on our economy.~~ They are wasted resources.

↳ With continuing ^{++ understanding} support of the American people, we will continue now and in the years to come to make the basic investments necessary to answer "yes" to our future.

↳ We will continue to forge a strong economy, unmarked by recessions. We will continue to search for and develop tools to overcome the so-called "business cycle".

↳ We will continue to explore outer space and inner mind

in development of knowledge for use by all the world.

And we will continue to defend and preserve the precious peace with strength and perseverance.

We will maintain our strong and active faith in the ability of free men -- developed to their fullest -- to build a better life for themselves and for others.

Now, before closing, I would like to direct a few personal words to you about America and its role in the world.

For a long time we Americans have stood for the belief that the world need not destroy itself by war, and that we Americans can help others, too, find a better society.

We hear many voices these days saying that America is overextended in the world -- that other people's problems needn't be our problems -- that we ought to close up shop overseas and enjoy our blessings here in the Good Old U.S.A.

My friends, when that time comes, this nation is

doomed. Who in the world will work for democracy if we do not? Who in the world can preserve the peace if we do not? Who in the world can set the example, can offer the needed hand, if we do not?

We live in a time when everything is complex, when there are no more rapid or easy answers. We live in a time when we must retain our patience as never before.

Have we the patience, for instance, to work and bleed five thousand miles from home for months and years ahead without any guarantee of final success? I can tell you that the forces of ~~communism~~ ^{communism} have that patience.

Next is what the Great Society is all about. It is the recognition that vacations abroad, fur coats, and electric toothbrushes are not enough. It is the recognition that we stand for something not seen before in the world.

We stand for the dignity and fulfillment of individual man and woman. — yes, Human Dignity.

L We stand for the chance for each man to make something better of himself.

L We stand for free speech and government of the people.

L We stand for peace without conquest.

L We stand for the belief that others in less fortunate places should have opportunity for the blessings of abundance and should be free of tyranny. ~~We stand for the pledges made by men and women who left the old ways and fought a living out of the soil of a new continent.~~

As President Johnson expressed it in his historic speech at Johns Hopkins University:

"We will not be defeated.

"We will not grow tired.

"We will not withdraw."

L We will stand, at home and abroad, for the pledges made and efforts expended by Americans who came before. We must love freedom and justice enough to practice them.

We must believe in "one nation under God, with liberty and justice for all."

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY'S SPEECH - NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

APRIL 22, 1965

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I GIVE YOU THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH, CONGRESSMAN PORTER HARDY ... I AM GOING TO HAVE A WORD OR TWO TO SAY ABOUT YOU AND TO YOU RELATING TO THAT FICTITIOUS INTRODUCTION. MRS. JOHNSON AND OUR LOVELY QUEEN AZALEA XII, CHARMING AND FAVORED GUESTS AND TALENT, LUCI BAINES JOHNSON ... MAY I SAY TO LUCI AND TO YOU THAT WHILE THE PRESIDENT AND LUCI'S MOTHER ARE DEEPLY DEDICATED TO THE BEAUTIFICATION OF OUR COUNTRY AND TO ITS ENRICHMENT IN EVERY WAY THAT THERE IS NO LOVELIER FLOWER IN THE GARDEN OF AMERICA THAN THIS LOVELY QUEEN OF YOUR FESTIVAL HERE TODAY. MY CONGRATULATIONS TO MR. SEARS, YOUR CHAIRMAN OF THE AZALEA FESTIVAL COMMITTEE, MR. PRICE OF YOUR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, AND MY FRIEND YOUR MAYOR WHO HAS DONE SUCH A GOOD JOB FOR YOUR COMMUNITY, THE REVEREND CLERGY AND TO EACH AND EVERY ONE OF YOU, AND I SURELY WANT TO SAY JUST A WORD ABOUT THESE LOVELY PRINCESSES. YOU KNOW...THIS IS THE WAY YOU OUGHT TO HAVE ROYALTY ... IT IS SO NICE THIS WAY. WE HAVE THE OPTION OF CHOICE, YOU SEE, AND WE HAVE THESE LOVELY YOUNG LADIES WITH THEIR ATTENDANTS. I THINK I SHOULD SAY THAT ABOUT A MONTH AGO - I HAVEN'T EXPLAINED THIS TO MRS. HUMPHREY AND I THOUGHT IT WAS ABOUT TIME I DID ... SO, FOR ABOUT A MONTH AGO I ATTENDED A RECEPTION (I THINK IT WAS THE DIPLOMATIC RECEPTION FOR QUEEN LUCI) AND I JUST BARELY GOT THERE, BUT I STAYED QUITE A LITTLE WHILE AFTER I DID GET THERE. TWO OR THREE THINGS DEVELOPED AT THAT RECEPTION. ONE THING IS THAT I KISSED LUCI, AND THEY GOT HER PICTURE IN THE PAPER AND I JUST THOUGHT IT WAS A WONDERFUL IDEA, AND THE SECOND THING THAT HAPPENED IS I KEPT MEETING ALL OF THESE OTHER LOVELY CHARMING LADIES, AND THEN MR. SEARS AND THE MAYOR AND PORTER HARDY CAME TO ME AND SAID WON'T YOU COME TO NORFOLK FOR THE LUNCHEON. I DOUBT THAT I CAN, I AM GOING TO BE IN NEW YORK CITY THE DAY BEFORE AND I HAVE SOME OFFICIAL DUTIES TO TAKE CARE OF IN WASHINGTON. WELL, YOU BETTER COME, AND THEN I STARTED LOOKING OVER THE TALENT AND I SAID TO MURIEL, I WANT

YOU TO KNOW THAT THE WISEST DECISION YOU HAVE MADE IN WEEKS WAS TO COME WITH ME TO THIS PARTY. EVEN THE SECRET SERVICE CAN'T BE RELIED UPON UNDER OCCASIONS LIKE THIS. WE HAVE HAD A VERY BUSY MORNING AND A VERY BUSY YESTERDAY AND EACH DAY IS LIKE LUCI SAID ... FULL OF LIFE. THIS IS A WONDERFUL, EXCITING TIME IN WHICH TO BE ALIVE. IT IS THE TIME FOR YOUNG PEOPLE, YOUNG OF HEART, YOUNG OF YEARS, BUT IF YOU HAVE A CHOICE AND CAN'T BE YOUNG OF YEARS, BE YOUNG OF HEART. IT IS A TIME OF EXCITEMENT AND ADVENTURE AND THESE GREAT INTERNATIONAL FESTIVALS SUCH AS THE ONE YOU HAVE HERE THAT MEAN SO MUCH TO OUR COMMUNITY AND TO OUR NATION IS A PART OF THIS GREAT EXCITEMENT. YESTERDAY WE WERE IN NEW YORK CITY, MRS. HUMPHREY AND I SPENT THE BETTER PART OF EIGHT HOURS TOURING THE FAIR GROUNDS, VISITING THE PAVILLIONS AND EXHIBITS, GOING THROUGH THE FORMALITY OF OPENING THE WORLD'S FAIR, AND I CAN TELL YOU THAT IT IS SOME SHOW. I HOPE THAT YOU GO, TRULY I DO, BECAUSE I THINK IT IS THE WORLD IN MINIATURE. IT IS A REVELATION TO THE PROGRESS OF OUR TIMES, THE PEOPLE OF MANY DIFFERENT RACES, CREEDS AND NATIONAL ORIGINS WORKING TOGETHER, LIVING TOGETHER IN THE THEME OF THAT FAIR - PEACE AND UNDERSTANDING. WE HAD SUCH FUN AND THEN LAST NIGHT, TO TOP IT OFF, WE WENT TO THE BALLET. IT WAS GREAT. I HAVE NEVER HEARD AN AUDIENCE THAT WAS SO ENTHUSIASTIC OVER A PERFORMANCE THAT WAS SIMPLY THE EPITOME OF ART. IT WAS EXCELLENT. WHEN WE ARRIVED BACK IN WASHINGTON ABOUT 2:00 AM THIS MORNING, I HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO GET A LITTLE REST AND THEN THIS MORNING IT WAS MY PRIVILEGE TO BE THE HOST FOR THE PRIME MINISTER OF ITALY, MR. MORO, AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER, A DISTINGUISHED FORMER PRIME MINISTER NOW FOREIGN MINISTER, MR. FANFANI. AS YOU MAY RECALL FROM READING YOUR PRESS, WATCHING YOUR TELEVISION AND LISTENING TO YOUR RADIO, THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. JOHNSON HAVE BEEN ENTERTAINING THE PRIME MINISTER AND HIS PARTY, AND OUR PRESIDENT FOUND A FRIEND IN THIS PRIME MINISTER IN THESE TROUBLED DAYS. HE DOES SUCH GOOD WORK WHEN HE VISITS WITH THESE LEADERS OF GOVERNMENTS. THIS MORNING I HAD THE OPPORTUNITY OF BRINGING THIS GENTLEMAN IN TOUCH WITH SOME OF THE SENATORS AND CONGRESSMEN ... WE HAD A WONDERFUL EXPERIENCE. HOW GOOD IT IS TO FIND ANOTHER CHAMPION OF FREEDOM AND HOW GOOD IT IS TO LET HIM KNOW WE APPRECIATE THE COOPERATION AND THE FRIENDSHIP. OVER

ALL THIS WORLD, THERE ARE MORE PEOPLE THAT ARE ON OUR SIDE AND WE ON THEIRS THAN YOU WOULD EVER DREAM. SOMETIMES ALL WE NEED DO IS TAKE A MOMENT OUT TO FIND OUT ABOUT IT, AND WE HAVE BEEN DOING THAT. SO TODAY, ONCE WE LEAVE HERE, WE WILL JOURNEY BACK TO THE NATION'S CAPITOL WHERE WE WILL HAVE THE PRIVILEGE OF BEING HOST AND HOSTESS TO THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES FOR A LITTLE RECEPTION IN THE CONGRESS. NOW, ONE MIGHT ASK WHAT GOOD THESE THINGS DO. I THINK THEY DO A GREAT DEAL OF GOOD. THE GREATEST PROBLEM IN THE WORLD TODAY IS COMMUNICATIONS. WE ARE SO BUSY MOVING AROUND THAT WE SELDOM FIND TIME TO GET ACQUAINTED. THERE IS SO MUCH TO BE SAID THAT TOO OFTEN WE NEVER LISTEN. IN FACT, IN THIS NOISY WORLD THE ONLY VOICE THAT IS HEARD IS POSSIBLY THE SOFT WHISPER, AND I THINK POSSIBLY TODAY THE VOICE THAT WILL BE REMEMBERED IS THE VOICE OF LUCI BECAUSE SHE SURE PACKED IN AN AWFUL LOT IN THOSE FEW MINUTES THAT SHE VISITED WITH YOU.

NOW I WANT TO TAKE THE FEW MOMENTS THAT I HAVE TO TALK TO YOU ABOUT OUR COUNTRY, TO TALK TO YOU ABOUT THIS WORLD IN WHICH WE LIVE. I SHOULD LIKE TO JUST BE VERY FRIVOLOUS ON THIS OCCASION BECAUSE IT'S SO SPIRITED ALREADY. WHEN I LOOK OUT HERE AND SEE ALL OF THESE HATS I SAY, OH MY GOODNESS. IT IS AMAZING WHAT A WONDERFUL WORLD YOU LADIES REALLY SET UP FOR US EACH YEAR. I WILL TELL YOU IT IS GREAT, AND WHEN YOU SPEAK OF THE GREEN THUMB ... AND IN MY FAMILY I HAVE THE ORIGINAL GARDENER RIGHT HERE WITH ME ... SHE CAN MAKE ANYTHING GROW INCLUDING HER CHILDREN, AND SHE EVEN HELPED, I AM SURE, A GREAT DEAL IN GETTING THAT HUSBAND OF HERS TO GROW UP, TOO ... BUT WE HAVE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY NOT ONLY TO SEE THE JOYS OF LIFE BUT ALSO SOME OF ITS CHALLENGES AND I THOUGHT TODAY THAT WE MIGHT JUST FOR A MOMENT TALK A LITTLE BIT ABOUT WHAT THIS FESTIVAL MEANS BECAUSE THIS IS AN INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL. YOU HONOR THE PEOPLE OF MANY NATIONS AND I THINK YOU WITNESS WITH YOUR OWN EYES TODAY THE BEAUTY OF FREEDOM. YES, THE FESTIVAL AND THE PERSONAL BEAUTY OF THE LOVELY PRINCESSES, THEIR ATTENDANTS AND QUEEN LUCI, BUT YOU ARE ALSO SEEING THE PRODUCT OF FREEDOM. THESE FINE FELLOW CITIZENS AND VISITORS FROM OTHER LANDS, SO THIS IS MORE THAN JUST A LOCAL COMMUNITY FESTIVAL. NORFOLK IS A GREAT CENTER OF POWER FOR AMERICA, A GREAT NAVAL BASE IS HERE ...

POSSIBLY THE GREATEST, THE LARGEST IN THE WORLD I THINK IT IS, AND I WOULD BE LESS THAN FRANK IF I DIDN'T TELL YOU HOW GRATEFUL WE ARE FOR THE RECEPTION THAT WAS GIVEN TO OUR PARTY BY ADMIRAL SMITH AND CAPTAIN WOOD, ADMIRAL MC CAIN AND ADMIRAL RICHARDSON, THE OFFICERS AND THE MEN OF THE BASE. IT ONLY REMINDS ME ONCE AGAIN THAT HERE IS NORFOLK, VIRGINIA, NOT THE LARGEST CITY BY A LONG SHOT IN AMERICA, MAYBE NOT THE FASTEST GROWING BUT A VERY, VERY IMPORTANT CITY NOT ONLY FOR AMERICA BUT FOR THE WHOLE WORLD. MUCH OF THE POWER OF THIS NATION IS SYMBOLIZED BY ITS SOCIAL PROGRESS, SYMBOLIZED BY ITS EXPANDING ECONOMIES, SYMBOLIZED BY THE POWER OF OUR ARMED FORCES THAT ARE HERE, AND I WANT TO SAY TO THE CONGRESSMEN THAT REPRESENT THIS DISTRICT WITH A KIND OF HONOR, INTEGRITY AND VITALITY THAT MAKES ALL OF US ENDEARED TO YOU AND INDEBTED TO YOU FOR WHAT YOU HAVE DONE. NOW EVERYONE OF US ARE ... WE LOVE TO RECITE OUR NOTE OF INDEPENDENCE. WE ARE VERY INDEPENDENT PEOPLE, BUT THE THEME IS TODAY A VERY REAL SENSE IN INTERDEPENDENCE BECAUSE THE ONLY WAY THAT I KNOW FOR FREE NATIONS TO PRESERVE THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND THEIR NATIONALISM IS TO HAVE INTERDEPENDENCE IN FORMS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. IT IS THE WAY THAT WE PROTECT OURSELVES AND PROJECT OURSELVES. NOW I WANT TO TALK TO YOU JUST A MOMENT ABOUT THE WELLBEING OF OUR PEOPLE AT HOME. HAVE YOU EVER KNOWN A BETTER TIME? WHEN SO MANY HAVE HAD SO MUCH, AND YET FAR TOO MANY HAVE HAD TOO LITTLE, AND I ALSO WISH YOU WOULD REFLECT WITH ME ON THE ROLE ON WHICH THIS NATION MUST PLAY IN THE WORLD BECAUSE WE ARE NO LONGER JUST OURSELVES. IT'S SORT OF LIKE WHEN YOU GET ELECTED, YOU LOSE A DEGREE OF YOUR PERSONAL FREEDOM IN THE SENSE THAT YOU CAN'T JUST DO ANY OLD THING THAT YOU WANT TO. YOU HAVE OTHER RESPONSIBILITIES BUT IN A LARGER MEASURE YOU ENHANCE YOUR FREEDOM. NOW WE ARE CHALLENGED, I DON'T LIKE TO TALK ABOUT PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES BECAUSE THAT IS NEGATIVE. I WOULD RATHER TALK TO YOU ABOUT CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES. THAT IS WHAT WE ARE FOR WE AREN'T PEOPLE THAT ARE WEIGHED DOWN DAY BY DAY WITH BURDENS AND THE HEAVY LOAD OF PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES. RATHER WE LOOK UP, STAND ERECT AND SEE THE CHALLENGES THAT ARE THERE AND SEE THE OPPORTUNITIES THAT CAN BE OURS, AND WE HAVE THESE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHALLENGES. WE KEEP ASKING OURSELVES, ARE WE CAPABLE OF

MEETING THEM. WE ASK OURSELVES CAN DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT, FREE GOVERNMENT, REALLY MEET THE CHALLENGES OF A WORLD THAT IS IN TURMOIL. CAN WE BRING TO BEAR AT ANY ONE TIME THE RESOURCES THAT WE NEED TO COMBAT AN ENEMY OR TO OVERCOME A DIFFICULTY. WE ASK OURSELVES CAN WE HAVE PERSONAL LIBERTY AND AT THE SAME TIME COMMUNITY WELFARE AND COMMUNITY WELLBEING. DO WE HAVE TO GIVE UP ONE TO ACCOMPLISH THE OTHER? I THINK WE ARE WRITING THE ANSWERS TO THOSE QUESTIONS. I THINK WE WILL MEET THOSE CHALLENGES IF WE AS INDIVIDUALS AND AS A GROUP OF CITIZENS IF WE PRESERVE AND DIRECT AND UTILIZE ALL THIS COUNTRY'S VAST HUMAN RESOURCES BECAUSE THAT IS OUR TRUE RICHNESS, THE HUMAN RESOURCES ARE HERE AND THE UNDEVELOPED RESOURCES ARE THE GREAT UNDEVELOPED POTENTIAL OF THIS COUNTRY. THE PEOPLE YET THAT HAVEN'T BEEN ABLE TO GIVE OF THEMSELVES BECAUSE THE OPPORTUNITY HAS NOT BEEN THERE FOR THEM. I BELIEVE WE ARE BUILDING A SOLID AND A LASTING BASE FOR YOUR AMERICAN SOCIAL ECONOMIC PROGRESS BUT TO BUILD FREEDOM IS LIKE BUILDING A GREAT CATHEDRAL, YOU CAN'T DO IT QUICKLY OR EASILY. EACH GENERATION ADDS ON TO IT, MAKES ITS OWN CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STRENGTH OF THOSE WALLS OF THAT CATHEDRAL, TO THE MIGHTY VAULTS AND BEAMS, SO WE OF THIS GENERATION ARE ADDING TO THAT SOCIAL HEALTH AND HUMAN STRENGTH OF OUR COUNTRY. YES, WE ARE BUILDING A LASTING BASE OF HEALTH AND GROWTH ON A STRONG AND FLOURISHING ECONOMY. NEVER HAVE WE EVER KNOWN ANYTHING LIKE THIS, MY FELLOW AMERICANS. DON'T TAKE IT FOR GRANTED. WE HAVE HAD OVER FIFTY MONTHS OF UNPRECEDENTED ECONOMIC GROWTH, WE HAVE BROKEN THROUGH EVERY ECONOMIC BARRIER. THERE HAS NEVER BEEN ANYTHING LIKE IT ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD, AND WE SHOULD BE REVERENTLY THANKFUL. OUR GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT IS INCREDIBLY HIGH AND IT IS STILL MOVING UP. HEALTH AND GROWTH WHICH CAN GIVE US THE MEANS WHICH CAN PROVIDE FOR A SOCIAL SYSTEM WITH JUSTICE AT ITS HEART. WE ARE BUILDING HEALTH AND GROWTH TO PROVIDE SUSTAINED AMERICAN LEADERSHIP IN THIS WORLD AND THAT LEADERSHIP IS NEEDED. PRESIDENT JOHNSON PUT IT SO CONCISELY IN A MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS. LISTEN TO HIS WORDS AND YOU WILL SEE WHAT OUR GOAL IS AND ALSO WHAT OUR CHALLENGE IS. THE PRESIDENT SAID, "OUR NATION WAS CREATED TO HELP STRIKE AWAY THE CHAINS OF IGNORANCE AND MISERY AND TYRANNY WHEREVER THEY KEEP MAN LESS THAN GOD MEANS HIM TO BE". THAT IS WHAT AMERICA

IS ALL ABOUT AND WE ARE DETERMINED TO WORK UNTIL EVERY AMERICAN HAS FULL OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE A BETTER LIFE FOR HIMSELF AND FOR HIS CHILDREN AND ONLY WHEN THIS EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IS AVAILABLE TO EVERY AMERICAN CAN WE BUILD THE GREAT SOCIETY WHICH WE ENVISION. AND THAT IS OUR GOAL. I AM HAPPY TO SAY THAT WE ARE MAKING STEADY PROGRESS AND GREAT STRIDES TOWARD ACHIEVING THAT GOAL AND THERE ARE TWO BASIC FORCES AT WORK AND ONE OF THEM IS A PERSONAL FORCE BECAUSE EVERY NATION NEEDS LEADERSHIP AND WE ARE PRIVILEGED AND FORTUNATE TO HAVE GREAT LEADERSHIP. WE HAVE THE VIGOROUS LEADERSHIP OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND HIS ADMINISTRATION. AND SECOND WE HAVE UNPRECEDENTED PEACETIME UNITY OF OUR NATION, A UNITY THAT HAS BEEN NOURISHED BY THIS PRESIDENT BECAUSE UNITY DOESN'T COME BY ACCIDENT. IT COMES THROUGH UNDERSTANDING, IT COMES BECAUSE THERE ARE LEADERS THAT HEAL RATHER THAN CUT, PEOPLE THAT SEEK TO UNITE RATHER THAN DIVIDE. PEOPLE HAVE ASKED US TO STAND AS BROTHERS AND SISTERS RATHER THAN AS ENEMIES, AND THIS PRESIDENT HAS MADE IT HIS CREED TO KNOW NO NORTH, NO SOUTH, NO EAST, NO WEST, BUT TO KNOW ONLY ONE COUNTRY AS THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. I THINK THAT IS A WONDERFUL HEALING FORCE, A DYNAMIC LEADERSHIP ... FORCE THAT GIVES US THE STRENGTH TO MOVE ON. NOW THERE IS A WORD FOR IT, OF COURSE UNITY, AND ANOTHER WORD AND THE PRESIDENT USES IT FREQUENTLY AND HE CALLS IT CONSENSUS. THIS IS A GOOD AMERICAN WORD BECAUSE CONSENSUS HAS A DEFINITION ALL UNTO ITS OWN, AND IT IS REALLY VOLUNTARY AGREEMENT BASED ON A CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSION OR DIALOGUE BETWEEN FELLOW AMERICANS IN MUTUAL RESPECT AND UNDERSTANDING ... THAT IS WHAT WE MEAN BY CONSENSUS ... MUTUAL RESPECT AND UNDERSTANDING AFTER A CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSION, AND THROUGH THIS CONSENSUS WE ARE BREAKING THROUGH, WE ARE BREAKING THROUGH THE CLOUDS OF OUR DIFFICULTIES ... THE CLOUDS OF PREJUDICE AND OF POVERTY AND OF REGIONALISM OF FORMS, OF DISCRIMINATION, WHAT A WONDERFUL BREAKTHROUGH ... THIS IS MUCH MORE IMPORTANT THAN ANY BREAKTHROUGH IN SCIENCE AND YOU KNOW WE GAIN AS WE STAND TOGETHER. YOU NEVER GAIN SEPARATED. I SAID THIS MORNING, VISITING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER OF ITALY, WHEN WE WERE EXPRESSING OUR GRATITUDE FOR THEIR LOYALTY FOR THEIR AFFIRMATION OF FAITH TO THE NATO ALLIANCE ... I REMINDED HIM OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, THAT GREAT

PHILOSOPHER AND SAGE OF AMERICA, WHO SAID, WE EITHER HANG TOGETHER, OR WE HANG SEPARATELY. NOW THERE IS ANOTHER WAY OF PUTTING IT ... WE EITHER STAND UNITED OR IN THIS DAY AND AGE WE STAND DESTROYED OR DISPERSED, AND WE NEED LEADERSHIP THAT UNITES BECAUSE WE GAIN THROUGH IT. WE GAIN, MY DEAR FRIENDS, WHEN EVERY AMERICAN WHATEVER HIS STATION IN LIFE, HIS CREED, HIS RACE, HIS REGION, WHEN HE HAS EQUAL RIGHTS AND THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXERCISE THOSE RIGHTS ... WHEN HIS RIGHT TO VOTE IS A SACRED RIGHT UNBLEMISHED AND IT IS ONE THAT IS GUARANTEED. SURELY THIS IS A RIGHT THAT EVERY AMERICAN CAN SPEAK UP FOR AND THAT EVERY AMERICAN CAN ENDORSE, AND WE GAIN AS A NATION WHEN AMERICANS AGREE THAT ALL AMERICANS SHALL HAVE AN EDUCATION, THE BEST EDUCATION THAT MODERN EDUCATION CAN PROVIDE FOR EVERY YOUNG AMERICAN, NOT LESS THAN THE BEST, AND WE MUST LET NOTHING STAND IN THE WAY OF THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THAT GOAL AND WE GAIN IN THE AGREEMENT THAT ALL AMERICANS SHALL HAVE MADE AVAILABLE TO THEM THE FINEST IN MEDICAL RESEARCH, THE MIRACLES OF HEALING AND HEALTH - AT LEAST IT SHALL BE THERE IF THEY BUT CAN USE IT, AND NOT TO BE LOCKED UP IN RESEARCH LABORATORIES IN SELECTED PLACES DENIED THE MANY AND AVAILABLE FOR THE FEW, AND WE GAIN IN AGREEMENT THAT WE SHOULD MAKE OUR CITIES BETTER PLACES IN WHICH TO LIVE AND TO WORK IN SAFETY AND HEALTH JUST AS YOU ARE DOING IN NORFOLK WITH YOUR REDEVELOPMENT AND YOUR RENEWAL. OUR CITIES ARE GOING TO HOUSE THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA, 80% OF THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA WILL BE LIVING IN OUR CITIES IN THE NEXT TWENTY YEARS. THEY MUST BE LIVING INSTITUTIONS NOT PRISONS OF TRAFFIC CONGESTION OR AIR POLLUTION OF SLUMS AND CRIME, BUT RATHER THEY SHOULD BE BEAUTIFUL, LIVING, VITAL INSTITUTIONS OF SOCIAL CREATION, AND WE GAIN WHEN WE OPEN OUR DOORS TO THE IMMIGRANT WHO CAN ENRICH AND LEND NEW VITALITY TO OUR NATIONAL LIFE. I WAS ASKED ONLY YESTERDAY BECAUSE THERE IS ALWAYS A CONTEST BETWEEN THE SCANDINAVIANS AND THE ITALIANS AS TO WHO DISCOVERED AMERICA. WAS IT THE VIKING OR WAS IT CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS? ALL I KNOW IS THAT EVERY DAY WE DISCOVER IT, EVERY DAY THERE IS A NEW AMERICA IF YOU BUT LOOK FOR IT, AND WE OUGHT TO MAKE IT A WONDERFUL AMERICA ... AMERICA THE BEAUTIFUL. IT IS NOT TRULY VERY IMPORTANT AS TO WHO PUT HIS FOOT ON THESE SHORES FIRST. WHAT IS IMPORTANT IS WHAT ARE YOU DOING AS YOU WALK ON THESE SHORES NOW ...

WHAT ARE YOU DOING TO MAKE AMERICA THE KIND OF A PLACE WORTHY OF A GENERATION YET TO COME ... SO WE GAIN WHEN WE TRY TO WORK OUT WAYS AND MEANS OF ADJUSTING OUR LIVES TO THE URBAN AND RURAL PROBLEMS THAT COME THROUGH TECHNOLOGY AND SCIENCE, AND I SAY WE GAIN WHEN WE STAND IN AGREEMENT ... THAT WE AS AMERICANS SHALL NOT DROP THE TORCH OF INTERNATIONAL LEADERSHIP BUT RATHER THAT WE SHALL SIEZE IT AND HOLD ON TO IT LIKE THE OLYMPIC RUNNERS OF ANCIENT DAYS, AND WE GAIN, MY GOOD FRIENDS, WHEN WE RECOGNIZE THAT THESE INVESTMENTS THAT WE NEED TO MAKE ARE COSTLY BUT THEY ARE INVESTMENTS WORTH EVERY BIT OF OUR TIME AND OUR ENERGY ... THE INVESTMENT IN PEOPLE, THE INVESTMENT IN HEALTH, THE INVESTMENT IN EDUCATION, THE INVESTMENT IN THE BEAUTY AND THE CONSERVATION OF OUR COUNTRY ... THESE ARE NOT EXPENDITURES ... THESE ARE THE WISEST INVESTMENTS THAT MAN OR WOMAN, BUSINESSMAN OR LABOR, CAN MAKE BECAUSE THESE INVESTMENTS ADD TO THE PRODUCTIVITY NOT ONLY OF THE TOTAL NATIONAL ECONOMY BUT OF THE INDIVIDUAL, AND MORE IMPORTANTLY, TO THE HAPPINESS OF THE INDIVIDUAL. I SAY WE MUST MAKE THESE INVESTMENTS BECAUSE POOR PEOPLE, POOR IN THEIR CULTURE, POOR IN THEIR EDUCATION, POOR IN THEIR ECONOMICS, POOR PEOPLE ARE A DRAG, NOT AN ASSET. THEY ARE WASTED RESOURCES AND YET THOSE RESOURCES CAN BE CLAIMED AND REHABILITATED FOR THEMSELVES AND FOR THE NATIONAL GOOD, AND I SUBMIT THAT WITH YOUR SUPPORT, CONTINUING SUPPORT, AND WITH YOUR UNDERSTANDING, AND THAT IS MOST IMPORTANT, WE WILL BE ABLE TO MOVE ON WITH THIS PROGRAM OF THE ENRICHMENT OF THE AMERICAN SCENE ... INVESTMENT IN ECONOMIC RESOURCES AND CONSERVATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THESE GREAT HUMAN RESOURCES THAT ARE HERE. I HAVE OFTEN THOUGHT HOW TRAGIC IT IS THAT 100,000 OF OUR TOP STUDENTS EACH YEAR GRADUATING FROM HIGH SCHOOLS, OF THE TOP 10% OF OUR PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS, THAT 100,000 NEVER SET FOOT INSIDE A UNIVERSITY OR A COLLEGE OR A TECHNICAL SCHOOL, AND POSSIBLY WITHIN THE MIND OR MENTAL POTENTIAL OF THAT 100,000 ARE THE CURES TO CANCER OR THE BREAKTHROUGH OF SOME FABULOUS DISCOVERY IN SPACE. YOU CAN'T AFFORD IT, MY FELLOW AMERICANS, TO HAVE ANYTHING STAND IN THE WAY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THESE GREAT RESOURCES IN HUMAN NEEDS BECAUSE THERE IS THE STRENGTH OF THIS COUNTRY TODAY. WE AMERICANS HAVE TO BE BETTER, WE ARE OUT-NUMBERED, THEREFORE EACH OF US MUST BE ABLE TO DO THE WORK OF

SEVERAL. EACH OF US MUST BE MORE COMPETENT THAN THOSE THAT PRECEDED US, WE MUST CONSTANTLY HAVE RISING STANDARDS, STANDARDS NOT OF MEDIOCRITY, NOT THE STANDARDS OF GETTING BY, BUT THE STANDARDS OF EXCELLENCE. THIS IS THE ONLY WAY YOU CAN DEFEND YOUR COUNTRY AND SURELY IT IS THE ONLY WAY YOU CAN COMPETE IN A HIGHLY COMPETITIVE WORLD. NOW LET ME CONCLUDE BY JUST MENTIONING A FEW OF OUR RESPONSIBILITIES INTERNATIONALLY BECAUSE THIS, AFTER ALL, IS THE REAL CHALLENGE. WE ARE GOING TO FIND WAYS AND MEANS ... AND WE ARE ... OF MAINTAINING PROSPERITY, WE WILL MAKE THE TOOLS ... WE DON'T HAVE TO HAVE RECESSIONS. WE DON'T HAVE TO HAVE A BUSINESS CYCLE THAT GRINDS US INTO DIFFICULTIES, BUT WE HAVE TO HAVE THE KNOWHOW, THE STATESMANSHIP, AND THE WILL FOR PEACE AND FOR FREEDOM FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AND FOR JUSTICE, AND NEEDLESS TO SAY, IF THERE IS ANY CONTEST IN THE WORLD TODAY THAT CHALLENGES US, IT IS THIS ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE. WE SEE IT IN BERLIN (I WAS WITH THE MAYOR OF BERLIN YESTERDAY ... WILLIE BRANDT), WE SEE IT IN VIET NAM, WE SEE IT IN THE MIDDLE EAST, WE SEE IT IN AFRICA, WE SEE IT IN LATIN AMERICA ... EVERY PLACE WE ARE BEING CONTESTED AND WE MUST BE PREPARED TO TAKE ON THIS COMPETITION EVERYWHERE AND EVEN ALL AT ONCE EVERYWHERE IN THE WORLD. WE DO NOT HAVE THE EASY CHOICE OF SELECTING TARGETS. WE ARE THE TARGET, AND WE MUST BE PREPARED TO DEFEND OURSELVES AND NOT ONLY OURSELVES BUT TO DEFEND AND STAND WITH THOSE WHO SEEK TO DEFEND THEIR FREEDOM. NOW FOR A LONG TIME WE AMERICANS HAVE STOOD FOR THE BELIEF THAT THE WORLD NEED NOT DESTROY ITSELF. WE ARE OPTIMISTS ... WE BELIEVE THAT WAR IS NOT A NECESSITY, BUT WE BELIEVE THAT PEACE WITH HONOR IS IMPERATIVE, AND WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT WE AMERICANS CAN HELP OTHERS. WE BELIEVE IN THE GOOD SAMARITAN ... WE BELIEVE IN IT AT HOME AND WE BELIEVE IN IT ABROAD, AND I AM NOT ASHAMED TO SAY THAT ONE OF THE FINEST ACTS OF AMERICAN HISTORY HAS BEEN THE GENEROSITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN THIS POST WAR PERIOD, AND IN THAT GENEROSITY WE HAVE PROSPERED, WE HAVE GROWN ... WE ARE NOT THE POORER OR THE WEAKER ... WE ARE THE RICHER AND THE STRONGER. I THINK THAT IS THE ANSWER TO THE CRITICS ... THE DETAIL OF LITTLE MISTAKES ARE NO ANSWER TO THE MONUMENTS OF GREAT SUCCESS. NOW WE HEAR MANY VOICES THESE DAYS SAYING THAT AMERICA IS OVER EXTENDED IN THIS WORLD. THEY

WOULD LIKE THE WORLD TO BE A LITTLE SMALLER, A LITTLE MORE COMFORTABLE. WELL, IT IS THIS WORLD AND THERE ARE VERY FEW OF US RIGHT, AT LEAST IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE, THAT ARE GOING TO MAKE THAT TRIP TO THE MOON OR TO MARS AND VENUS ... SOME TIME, YES, BUT THE ONLY WORLD YOU ARE GOING TO HAVE TO WORK WITH RIGHT NOW AT LEAST IN THE MATERIAL SENSE, IS THIS WORLD RIGHT HERE, AND WHETHER WE ARE OVER EXTENDED OR NOT, IT IS THIS WORLD ... ONE WORLD ... AND WE ARE A PART OF IT. WE HAVE OTHER PEOPLE THAT SAY OTHER PEOPLES' PROBLEMS ARE NOT OURS. WHY DON'T WE JUST TAKE CARE OF OUR OWN. HOW DO YOU TAKE CARE OF YOUR OWN? DO YOU TAKE CARE OF YOUR OWN FAMILY BY IGNORING THE NEEDS OF THE COMMUNITY? DO YOU TAKE CARE OF VIRGINIA BY IGNORING THE NEEDS OF AMERICA? DO YOU TAKE CARE OF AMERICA BY IGNORING THE CHALLENGES OF A WORLD? THE WAY ONE PROTECTS HIMSELF IS FREQUENTLY BY HELPING OTHERS. WE HAVE TO REMEMBER THAT SIMPLE LESSON. NOW, MY FRIENDS, WHEN THE TIME COMES THAT THIS NATION IS UNWILLING TO HELP OTHERS, THEN WE ARE DOOMED. I ASK YOU THESE SIMPLE AND DIRECT QUESTIONS ... WHO IN THE WORLD WILL WORK FOR DEMOCRACY, WILL WORK FOR FREEDOM, IF WE DO NOT? WHO HAS THE MEANS, THE HISTORY, THE MOTIVATION IF WE DO NOT? WHO IN THE WORLD CAN PRESERVE THE PEACE IF WE DO NOT? AND WHO IN THE WORLD CAN SET THE EXAMPLE AND OFFER THE NEEDED HAND IF WE DO NOT? THERE WILL BE NO VACUUM. SOMEBODY WILL MOVE IN UNLESS WE STAND OUR GROUND. WE ARE LIVING IN A TIME WHEN EVERYTHING IS COMPLEX AND PEACE WITH EASY ANSWERS DECEIVES YOU. THERE ARE NO RAPID SELFMADE DO-IT-YOURSELF ANSWERS TO THESE DIFFICULT, COMPLEX PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES. WE LIVE IN A TIME WHEN WE MUST RETAIN OUR PATIENCE AND OUR FAITH AS NEVER BEFORE. I ASK YOU THIS QUESTION ... HAVE PATIENCE, FOR EXAMPLE, TO WORK AND BLEED AND DIE 5,000 MILES AWAY FROM HOME FOR MONTHS AND MAYBE FOR YEARS WITH EVEN THE UNCERTAINTY OF THE OUTCOME. I CAN TELL YOU ONE THING ... THAT IF WE HAVE NOT THAT PATIENCE, THE COMMUNISTS DO ... THE COMMUNISTS HAVE THE PATIENCE. I HAVE OFTEN THOUGHT THEY HAVE NO DESIGN TO BLOW THE WORLD TO PIECES ... THEY WANT TO PICK IT UP PIECE BY PIECE, BIT BY BIT, AND IF WE LET THEM, WE DO IT AT OUR OWN DOOM. SURELY WE HAVE LEARNED, HAVE WE NOT, FROM THE TRAGIC YEARS OF THE 30'S ... FROM THE MUNICHES, FROM APPEASEMENT ... THAT FREEDOM IS INDIVISIBLE ... THAT

WHEN YOU GIVE UP SOMEBODY ELSE'S FREEDOM, YOU DIMINSH YOUR OWN AND ULTIMATELY YOU ARE DRIVEN TO THE FINAL TEST ... SO WE HAVE TO ASK, DO WE HAVE THE PATIENCE? HERE IS WHAT I THINK THIS GREAT SOCIETY IS ALL ABOUT ... IT IS THE RECOGNITION BY YOU AND BY ME THAT VACATIONS AND POWER LAWN MOWERS, FUR COATS, ELECTRIC TOOTHBRUSHES ARE NOT ENOUGH. NOW DON'T MISUNDERSTAND ME, THEY ARE NICE (PARTICULARLY FUR COATS, THE NICE HATS), BUT THEY ARE NOT ENOUGH. IT IS THE RECOGNITION THAT WE STAND FOR SOMETHING, THAT WE STAND FOR SOMETHING MORE THAN JUST MATERIAL GAINS, THAT WE STAND FOR DIGNITY, HUMAN DIGNITY, AS WE KNOW IT IN SCRIPTURE AND IN LAW, AND WE STAND FOR THE FULFILLMENT OF MAN'S POTENTIAL, WE STAND FOR THE CHANCE FOR EVERY MAN TO MAKE SOMETHING OUT OF HIS LIFE, WE STAND FOR FREE SPEECH, AND WE STAND FOR REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT, AND WE STAND FOR STRENGTH, WE STAND FOR PEACE WITHOUT CONQUEST, AND WE STAND FOR THE BELIEF THAT OTHERS IN LESS FORTUNATE PLACES THAN OURS SHALL HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE BLESSINGS OF ABUNDANCE AND THAT THEY SHOULD BE FREE FROM TYRANNY. THAT IS THE HISTORY OF THIS COUNTRY. PRESIDENT JOHNSON EXPRESSED IT SO FORTHRIGHTLY AND SUCCINCTLY IN THAT MEMORABLE ADDRESS AT JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, AND LISTEN TO THESE WORDS ... THEY ARE SIMPLE AND THEY ARE DIRECT: "WE WILL NOT BE DEFEATED, WE WILL NOT GROW TIRED, WE WILL NOT WITHDRAW". WE WILL STAND AT HOME AND ABROAD FOR THE PLEDGES MADE AND THE EFFORTS EXPENDED BY THE AMERICANS WHO CAME BEFORE US, AND I SAY TO YOU THAT WE MUST LOVE FREEDOM AND WE MUST LOVE JUSTICE AND WE MUST LOVE IT ENOUGH TO PRACTICE IT SO THAT WHEN OUR CHILDREN STAND IN THEIR SCHOOLS AND IN THEIR CLUBS AND IN THEIR SCOUT TROOPS AND IN THEIR LITTLE MEETINGS AND THEY REPEAT THE PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE, AND WHEN THEY SAY ONE NATION UNDER GOD WITH LIBERTY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL THAT IT IS NOT MERELY A RECITAL OF INTELLECTUAL DICIPLINE, BUT RATHER THAT IT IS A COMMITMENT OF FAITH, IT IS A RECITATION OF SOCIAL PRACTICE, IT IS AN EXPRESSION OF BELIEF BECAUSE WHEN WE PRACTICE IT WE SHALL BELIEVE IT, AND IF WE BELIEVE IT, WE CAN DO NOTHING LESS THAN PRACTICE IT IF WE ARE TO BE WORTHY OF OUR CITIZENSHIP.

I WANT TO THANK THE PEOPLE OF NORFOLK FOR INVITING US, I WANT YOU TO KNOW WHAT A JOY IT HAS BEEN TO BE WITH YOU. THESE ARE DAYS OF JOY

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AND DAYS OF CHALLENGE. LET'S USE THESE DAYS FOR BOTH BECAUSE WE
HAVE THE ENERGY, VITALITY AND RESOURCES BOTH FOR THE GOOD LIFE AND FOR
THE TOUGH DECISION. THANK YOU VERY MUCH.



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