

~~INDIANA~~
OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON, D.C.

~~WHEEL~~
March 11, 1966

TO: Thelma

FROM: Julie

Attached is a disc of the Vice President's address before the Indiana Luncheon this week.

It is low priority but should be transcribed when opportunity permits -- original triple space.

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OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C.

March 23, 1966

TO: Ruth

FROM: Julie

RE: INDIANA LUNCHEON TRANSCRIPT

Attached is the unedited verbatim copy. I haven't taken the time to edit this one, because I have had to edit four others for media purposes.

If there is some call for a copy, Ted might want to farm this transcript out to someone with time to edit it.

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Indiana Democratic Convention - 3/10/66

What a fine reception. I am simply delighted. I was told by Birch Bayh that he was going to have a few of his friends drop by for a couple of hours and he wanted to know if I would stop along and just say hello. When I arrived at the New Senate Office Building on this first floor and look down the hallway I was should that there was a new campaign underway and this is one of the large mast meetings taking place somewhere around central Indiana. And in a very real sense I guess ~~it~~ that's the situation because your years for becoming better acquainted with your Government and for the intension of the Government to ~~come~~/become better acquainted with you. This is real r I do that you've had an exciting experience already and I am just delighted to be cut in on the program I would have felt very badly if Birch hadn't said come on over and join with your friends from Indiana. I can not think of a more ilustratrous affect distinguished capab~~le~~ talented and dedicated congressional delegation from any state ~~and~~/ ~~from~~/than from the state of Indiana. With Senator Hartke and Senator Bayh with these distinguished Congressmen all feel with the love of live and the love of Indiana and the love country, it's just wonderful. And to think that some years past not to many years past either that Indiana was a lose sheep but now it's back into the poll and how luck everybody is. I was pleased to ~~say~~/~~that~~ see my old friend

Dennen

Ray Madden and of course Winfield ~~BRADEN~~ and your Congressman that are of newer vintage but may I say that have great talent ~~and~~ and ability. Not long ago I was up in New York City, being introduced by John Brademas. John gave me - it was a conference on Chistianity in Crisis. And John pointed out that he was a teacher at one time at Notre Dame, then he gave a great deal of his background both ethnic, nationality, and religious. He identified himself with every known religion. And every known nationality group. I consider this man to be the living embodiment of the Ecumenical Council and the ^{United} ~~Nations~~ Nations by the time that he got through. And I've heard Congressman Jacobs and Congressman Rosh and Congressman Hamilton do almost as well. They haven;t quite developed the fine art that Brademas has on this, but a boy of Greek extraction has a little advantage on all of these matters, you know.

I want to say to Gordon St. Angelo and Mrs. Woley ? how pleased we are with you leadership in your state building the Democratic Party. I know you're here more for an even better reason however than partisanship or party activity.

You're here to become even better acquainted with you government and therefore to ecome better citizens. And I just want to say a word to you about my reactions to that sort of an endeavor.

I'm sure that if you've taked to Birch and his lovely wife, that you know that I like politics. I wouldn't be in it for 15 minutes unless I found it a source of ~~polxxx~~ personal satisfaction.

Vance, come right up here, ole buddy.

Fine.

I have chosen a course in public life. ^Mrs. Humphrey when I complain sometimes of the demands of public life always reminds ~~mm~~ me, that really, there was no public outcry for my public service. That I offerred myself and in fact, on many ocoasions, I even coached people to feel that I was the right man for a particular position. ^{been} But I've/honored by the people of my state and to serve in the Senate for almost 3 full terms and to serve as the Mayor of the City of Mpls for 2 terms and now I'm honored by the people of this nation to serve as their ^{consider} Vice President. And I ~~xxxxxxx~~ everyone of you, these positions of responsibility a great honor, an opportunity for service. Everytime that I drive up Pennsylvania Avenue or Constitution Avenue and see the dome of this beautiful capitol, I just get goose pimples, as they say, all

over.

I feel excited. I feel thrilled. And the day that I don't feel that way, is the day that I'll know that even though the body may move, that the soul and the spirit is dead.

And I've been cheating a mortician out of a fee that he really was entitled to have.

What a wonderful privilege it is to live in this County, and what a great honor and responsibility it is to serve in this country. Whatever that capacity may be. We have men today who are serving our Nation in the field of battle. We have civilians who are serving our Nation in far away places in a host of activities. We have public servants here in Federal-State and local governments, political parties, voluntary organizations, business and labor, education, who are serving our Nation in their respective capacities. And it takes all of that service to get what we call the United States of America. The United States of America is symbolized in a very real sense by the capitol dome of the Nation's Capitol. That is more than just a ~~monumental~~ physical structure. It is a symbol of hope. It is an expression of liberty and it is a manifestation of the ability of people to govern themselves with self

discipline and with high ? What a wonderful joy it is therefore to be in the Nation's Capitol. We come here to visit with representatives with government and in so doing you're going to go back better citizens. But as I said in the beginning of my remarks, the people that you see are going to be better because you came here. How terrible it would be if there was not this interplay of relationships between the people and their representatives in government. This is a government of the people. This is a government by the people and it ought to be and it is a government for the people.

And that's why we have representative government. No ~~one~~ times our actions ~~are~~ cause a little bit of concern. There are always people analyzing what people in public life do or don't do. And as Harry Truman used to say if you can't stand the heat get out of the kitchen. I personally like the kitchen. I just want you to know that.

But whatever may be said about the limitations or our process of government, whatever may be said about ~~each~~ person who are in government, I want you to remember what Winston Churchill used to say about democracy. Winston Churchill said, Democracy is the worst form of government. Except all others.

Which is another way of saying that out of all the human experience, of trying to perfect a system of social and political organization, all ~~has~~ have their limitations. But none are better, than the government of a free people known as ~~ad~~ a democratic government. That's what we have. That's what we stand for.

And we not only stand for it at home , we believe in it abroad. We have a philosophy of government, a philosophy of life which is exportable, and which I think is contagious. And I want to just say these words to you ~~about~~ your members of Congress that on ~~an~~ occasion have travelled as representatives of this Nation of ours in far away places. I just came back from a journey to nine ~~countries~~ in The Far East. Prior to that I'd ~~been~~ to four other countries in the Far East. I've travelled over 100,000 miles on behalf of our Government since the 27th day of December. I've met with members and Prime Ministers and Chairman, and Chiefs of State, and Officers of Government with the plain people out in the fields and in the street, with children, with soldiers, with religious leaders, and with youth leaders, and all I can say is that no matter how wonderful it may be

some place else, that it all pales into insignificance in comparison to how good it is right back here. And if you don't believe it, just leave home sometime. This is not to diminish the qualities of others, or to detract from the ~~the~~ glories of the countries or othres. But we are indeed a blessed people. I hope we ~~des~~ deserve all the blessings that are ours. And I ~~shall~~ think possibly we do. Because we are willing to ~~share~~ share these blessings. Never has a nation been so rich and so powerful. And yet, at the same time, so conscious of its moral responsibility in the world of which it is a part.

We're not apart from this world, we are a part of it. We are a part of mankind. We cannot dissociate ourselves from the world in which ~~we~~ we live. And I believe that one of the great testimonials to American decency, to American conscience, is the fact that at a period in our national history when we're richer than any nation has ever been rich, we are concerned about the poor of the world. And we're concerned about the poor in our own society.

This is a real test of decency and morality at a time when we have unbelievable power, unlimited power. Power of unmatched quantity and quality. We are exercising

self-discipline and restraint, in the use of that power.

Now a nation that is rich and can be concerned about the poor, and not only concerned but do something about it, a nation that possesses limitless, boundless power and yet can restrict and restrain and limit the use of that power, I think is a pretty good country. And that's our's. Our America. And that's why I love it. Now your Congressmen and your Senators have travelled to many parts of the world. And I know that both of .. Senator Bayh and Senator Hartke travelled ~~xx~~ extensively this Fall and I know members of the House that did the same.

I only want to say this. The best way to get to know someone is to meet them. Somebody once said he never wanted to meet a particular person because he was afraid that if he did he might start to like him. This is to ~~paraphrase~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ what I'm sure was a much better statement of that general thought. But I know, for example, that ~~BAxxx~~ Birch Bayh and his lovely wonderful, attractive, intelligent wife, went down to Latin America and I know that they went there with Fred Harris, Senator Harris

~~and from~~

and Fred's wife, a team of four. And I have heard nothing but great and good and friendly comments from country after country and place after place as a result of that journey.

Very frankly, that journey alone was worth more alone than any gift of money, any loan, any appropriation. Because what we need to do is to understand each other, these different people of others nations. The only way ^{is} we can do it/if we talk and communicate. The real voice of America is not the radio it is the voice that God gave man and He said use that voice in person to person contact, people to people diplomacy.

I know that Vance Hartke travelled in the Far East.

I know that he brought the message of American understanding and good will to the people of that part of the world and I know that he came back here with some wise observations. I know that that was good. For the United States of America and for the cause of peace and freedom, in this world. So let me just say that if you read that sometimes members of Congress are supposedly taking junkets, that's a nice little editorial phrase. May I just assure you that America can use many more people that really take this spirit of this nation in their ~~soul~~, their mind, their heart, their body and let other people sense it and feel it and see it.

That's the kind of diplomacy that's going to help us through some trying and difficult days. I found in my recent journey that so many people misunderstand our purpose. I found that many people in far away places didn't really understand what we call the right to dissent, of being different in our country. They felt that if some voice was heard that didn't agree with the Administration that it meant that there was a terrible ^{weaken} division, that would ~~waken~~ the nation.

They didn't understand that one of the reasons that we're in Viet Nam is to give people the right to be different, the right of dissent, the right to have a different point of view. I think that that's the main reason we're there. The right of people to fashion their own lives, to design their own institutions, to perfect their own way of doing things, to argue it out, to debate things, to discuss, to be different.

To be themselves.

So you may at times have heard somebody say that "Well when Americans argue among themselves, it has a way of revealing weakness to the rest of the world" let me just tell you one thing. The only people that can argue amongst themselves are people who are strong enough to do it.

It's a sign of strength not of weakness.

I don't want to keep you much longer, but I want to make one or two generalized observations. Or general observations.

Number one, it isn't important that everybody that you meet in every other country comes up and says three cheers for America. Remember that the people that you meet and that you hear about are nationalists. They're for their country. We don't go around every day of the week clapping our hands for some other country. We're centrally involved in the life of our own nation and may I say that if more people were involved in the life of their respective nations, there'd be less trouble in the world. If they quit meddling with somebody else's nation.

Just be -- ~~that~~ that's a good way to underscore that point, I'm glad -- just leave other folks alone unless you're asked for help or asked to give help.

I found, however, that there was a general respect for America, and a great spirit of appreciation for our helpfulness. But people who are proud do not want to

have to say to you everyday thank you for your gift.

Thank you for your help. It's very difficult to be the rich man living in the big house on the hilltop and to be

respected by the poor people in the valley. Very difficult. And it becomes more difficult if the rich man insists that you always pay homage to him every morning. And go around saying what a fine fellow he is all day. What we ought to expect from all of our aid from all of our help, from all of our cooperation is just one thing. That those who receive it put it to good use. To build their own countries, to improve the life and the living conditions of their own people. We ought not to expect public pronouncements year after year, and month after month, of thank you Mr. America.

The thanks that we get should be like the thanks that you receive from rearing a family. When you're all through with it, your boys and girls are twentyone, twentytwo, twentyfive, twentyeight, if they're good people and good citizens, even if they'd never gotten around to saying Thank you Dad, or Thank you, Mom, it is the kind of thanks that lives forever in your heart.

Now I know that you're troubled over the fact that our great country has so many responsibilities. But this price is the ~~price~~ of leadership. If you don't want to be a leader, if you don't want to have responsibility, I should just say, just don't be a leader. If you don't want to be criticized, just don't try to get up the

ladder. Very few people at the bottom are criticized. They're sometimes humiliated, they're sometimes discriminated against, they're sometimes abused, but very seldom are they the subject of criticism. The ^{does} role of leadership ~~is~~ not give you a cloak of comfort it's a robe of responsibility. And I don't think that to be a world leader gives you any privileges, any more than to be a political leader or a civic leader or a spiritual leader or an educational leader ~~gives~~ ^{gives} you really any privileges. What it does is impose responsibilities upon you. I just wrote my young son a note. He's going away for the weekend for a skiing trip. And I said, "Son, I hate to keep mentioning it. But it's just too bad your dad's in public life. Therefore, you're on the spot. Now I want you to have a good time and your Dad has had a lot of them. Just try to keep out of trouble because remember this: that you are on the spot. And not through any fault of your own. But you just happened to be born into that kind of a family." I guess that this is a way of saying that the United States is on the spot. We, as Americans, are on the spot. We have to do just a little better, we have to be a little bit better. We need to conduct ourselves a little better.

And more is expected of us. Because more, in a very real
~~and~~ sense, has been given to us. So all around the
world
~~we~~ we're helping. And why? NOT /Because we're generous
alone, but....not only because we're kind hearted, because
it's in our national self-interest. Freedom is indivisible
and freedom is not free. And aggression unchecked in Asia
can be aggression unleashed in another continent.
The habits of the totalitarian are contagious. When brute
force becomes the rule of international relations, When
brute force and the rule of the jungle becomes a guide
line, of international conduct, there is no place to hide.
And there is no place of safety. Now we learned prior to
World War II the terrible sacrifice that comes out of being
indifferent to other peoples' problems. We learned in those
days prior to World War II that an area that may seem remote
and far away and a people that seem strange and different
~~may~~ really be very close and very much like you.] Neville
Chamberlain said of Czechoslovakia " It is a remote place
and a people about whom we know very little." And he
justified Hitler's absorption of Czechoslovakia on the
basis it didn't mean much to England. I would remind
you that the great Asian philosopher, Confucious, said
that Those who are not concerned about people in distant
places, shall have suffering near at hand.

And what seemed distant a few years ago, is right next door. I flew nonstop on a stop from HONolulu to Washington in a jet in but a few hours. I made trips on this last journey of 7,000 8,00, 9 000 miles with but one stop for refueling. Saigon is close at hand. It's every bit as close today as San Francisco was to Indianapolis 25 years ago.

It's every bit as close today and closer than Berlin was and Paris was 25 years ago or 20 years ago. And what is more important/^{is}that the only reason we're in that area ~~axxxx~~of the world is because we learned a long time ago, that aggression feeds on aggression and that aggression unchecked is aggression unleashed.

And that if you do not meet this terrible spectre of brute force and aggression, when it first shows its ugly head, you'll meet it closer at home. It's only a matter of time. Now I wouldn't want to tell you for a single minute that our task is easy. It's an ordeal. But I want my fellow Americans to understand one thing. The Communists are not supermen. They're not ten feet tall. ~~Theyxxx~~ They do not have minds any better than those of free men. As a matter of fact, they're in many ways less competent. Because they're the victims of dogma and doctrine. They do not have what we call intellectual freedom. And I would remind you that while Communism

and aggression seems to make momentary gain, that when it is faced upto, it shows no unlimited power or any ^{special} ~~specila~~ genius. Berlin is free today not because Berlin can defend itself but because every man and woman and young^e person, boy and girl, in this room is committed to the defense of Berlin. Your Government has committed you to that. And that Berlin is a 100 miles inside the Communist ocean of Eastern Europe. In many ways it's as difficult to defend as any place in the world. Including South East Asia. It is surrounded by 22 divisions of competent, well trained highly armed, Communist troops. Real power. Yet, the United States of America has stood by the peoples of Berlin and of Western Europe and we have said, to forces in that part of the world over the past 20 years, You Shall Not Pass. You shall not aggress. And because of that, because ~~we~~ sought to but contain Communism and not isolate it, ~~xxxx~~ keeping contacts with Eastern European countries, maintaining our diplomatic channels, we have today a much more responsible Eastern Europe and a much more responsible Soviet Union. One that has an interest, may I say, in peace and ... in this world, just as we have, because

it's a Have Nation. That's not to mean it agrees with us. It doesn't mean that the Soviet Union would just like to cooperate on every endeavour. But they respect our position of power and they understand our determination and our will. I've heard many people say that "Well, that's Europe, but that doesn't apply elsewhere. What makes you think that the white people of Europe ^{are} ~~are~~ entitled to greater ~~consideration~~ ^{consideration} than the brown and the yellow peoples of Asia." What makes you think that 2 billion people in Asia are less important than our friends and neighbors in Western Europe. I want to make it crystal clear that we do understand Western Europe, because we're Europeans most of us. We're from European stock. We've grown up with it, our history, our books, everything is of European culture. We understand so little of Asia. We understand so little of their culture and of their people and of their religion. We speak of Asia as the Vice President speaks of it now, as if it was just one area. When in fact there's as much difference in a citizen of Viet Nam and a citizen of India as there is of a ^{resident} ~~resident~~ of Portland, Maine and a native of Mexico City.

They're different people, different religion, different history, different background and how little we know. I look and see intelligent young people I venture to say that within our schools we hardly have a single textbook on the Nation's of Asia. And yet the future of this Nation is deeply involved in the better than two billion people that make up Asia today and the countries of Asia. If there is any one thing that Viet Nam ought to teach us and we Americans seem to learn the hard way we just have a way of ^{putting} ~~settling~~/off these decisions until we are just force to them. I think that ~~we~~ what we are going to get ~~of~~ mainly out of this terrible ordeal in Viet Nam is a recognition that we need to know a great deal more about every single country in Asia and more about these people in dept. Their History, their culture, their background, their ambition, their politics, everything about them and then we will really quality for being a world leader. Now

my fellow Americans I want you to be of good cheer it ~~s~~
 is a fact as Abraham Lincoln said, "this is the last best
 hope on earth", and if you don't know it I can assure
 you that better than 2½ billion people in other parts
 of the world do know it. They know that their hopes are
 tired with us. That's why you can not find a single country
 open criticism of America's commitment of a single free
 country I should say open criticism of America's commitment
 in South East Asia. They will be critical of some of our
 decisions they'll be critical that we shouldn't have done
~~us//t//~~this or that. But when you meet with a cabinet of
 any free country today and you say ~~us//~~ to that cabinet you
 want country, the United States Of America to pull out? You
 want us to leave? Do you want us to do less than what we
 are doing? They will say to us privately/ until it rings
 through the room "No" stay we need you, DO not leave"

They are worried about War and who isn't so are we. No
 Nation want peace more than this Nation. No Nation has
 given more to the cause of peace than this Nation and I
 appeal to the citizens of this country to ^{speak} ~~speak~~ up for
 their country to speak up not only for a government but
 to speak up for their land. We are a peace loving people but
 we are a people of principle too. We're not defending a piece
 of Geography. We're defending the ~~of~~ principles, the right
 of people to live their own lives the right ~~to~~ of self-
 determination, the right of National Independence. We
 are defending the principle that aggression should not
 success and we're going to make it true that the
 success of aggression should be prevented. That's what we're
 trying to do and not only are we trying to do ~~it~~ that we are
~~not~~ not only trying to defeat aggression but we are going
 to try to defeat social misery in other parts of the world
 as we have here. Not alone ~~but~~ we can hold high the banner

We can ask people to join us in this and May I say to my good friends from Indiana that thousands of our fellow American today are in South East Asia not killing their there building, your own Marines that fight all day and into the night when they have free time what do you think they do. They ~~build~~/ build/~~sh~~/schools they act as teachers, they babysitte they're recreation directors, we're not out destroying for the love of destruction they're in a war and war ~~isn't~~/~~isn't~~//is a cruel business but whenever they have the chance they the same people trying to live the good life and they try to help other people live that good life. They help children, they heal the sick, they teach the literate, they build homes, they're your Americans. Know it. This war in Viet Nam is not just killing. This war in Viet Nam is building and we're trying to help these people build a new society a great society of their own a society in which there is

rural electrification for the village a society in which there is fresh water, a society in which there is a hospital, only two hundred doctors for fifteen million people in South Viet Nam. We're trying to build a university, for the first the time the children of that great little country have text books up to the six grades, first time we helped them. ~~A~~ These are the things that we are trying to do we are trying to win two struggles in combination with our allies one struggle against the aggressor and one struggle against the ancestral enemies of man, disease, and literacy and poverty. This is what I committed my life to. Somebody said to me not long ~~ago~~/ago. I just read a memo from a staff member of mine. Said I don't know whether you ought to keep talking like this and I made up my mind I'm going to. Because I think the American people need to know and ~~we~~/ need to believe not only to know what's going on but they need to believe in the justice of their cause. We're

n~~h~~/

not doing anything we ought to be ashamed of. We're doing much of which we ought to be proud of. We're made mistakes but we're the first to recognize them we have good officers, good soldiers, good civilians, good young people at ø work in these parts of the world. I want you as patriotic Americans to believe in our cause I want you to have faith in the works that we undertake becuase we're seeking to do in the main is what you would do in your own community. If you would help defend the defenseless, you would help care for the sick, you would help preserve law and order in your city and your state, that's what we're seeking to do around the world.

So Thank you very very/~~n~~h~~~~/ much.



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