Transcript

DFL DEMOCRATIC FARMER LABOR STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

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March 21, 1966

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Mr. Ted Van Dyke Assistant to the Vice President Executive Office Building Washington, D. C.

Dear Ted:

Enclosed is a tape recording of Vice President's speech to the annual DFL sponsored Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner that was held in Minneapolis, March 19th. Jack Chestnut said you would like to have this. You can tell by the applause that Hubert was warmly received by everyone and it was great seeing him again.

Called Introduct Call on us anytime if we can be of any extra help.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Leo Stock Public Relations Director

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Transcript of speech by Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey to the Minnesota DFL Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner, Minneapolis, Minnesota, Saturday, March 19, 1966.

Thank you, thank you very much. Thank you Governor Rolvaag, Senator Mondale, Congressman Blatnik. I intend to refer to you a little later, Senator Mondale, to even the score. Lieutenant Governor Keith, Attorney General Bob Mattson, Secretary of State Joe Donovan, our Railroad and Warehouse Commissioners that have been introduced to you tonight, Paul Rasmussen, Hjalmar Petersen and Ron Anderson. These leaders in the legislature, Fred Cina, Paul Thuet and the members of the legislature that are with us tonight and my good friends of the Democratic-Farmer-Labor party in Minnesota and others that have come here to join us tonight. I am under some restraints as you can well understand this is a party of frugality and prudence. This is a party of limited resources and Mr. Farr, our State Chairman, along with the Governor has reminded me that all of these occasions are rather costly and that I should confine my remarks to the prescribed period of time purchased from the television station and that I should not be telling any jokes because they can hear them from Bob Hope free and why pay for them from Humphrey. Which reminds me, Governor, I had a letter from Bob Hope just yesterday, he made very much the same journey to the Far East that I did and we were comparing notes. I told him that as I looked over his entourage that with the exception of my Muriel, his looked a little better than mine. This occasion I wish could be witnessed by every person in this state of ours. This wonderful Minnesota, because this is a magnificent audience, happy people. We have a delightful evening with one of America's greatest comedians, a really wonderful soul, Jimmy Durante and his entertainment and his friends. John Adams once said that America was blessed by the spirit of public happiness. Then he went on to define it that it was a spirit of joy in the participation of selfgovernment. And I must say that when I look out over this audience and know that people here have worked so hard for self government, progressive government, for humanitarian government, that I am constrained to say the definition that John Adams gave to the spirit of public happiness is found right here in this audience tonight. I am going to speak to you seriously this evening even though many times I am tempted to just enjoy the evening of good fun and happy words but we ought to gather together not only for the purposes of entertainment and fellowship but for the purposes of education or at least information. It is always been my view that a man that has been elected to public office should not only serve the constituents he should not only seek advice and counsel from many sources and ultimately, of course, make his own decision but he must also be an educator. At least he should try to lead and to inform if he is privileged to have sources of information that may for the moment give him some advantages and tonight because it is my privilege, to have all the information that is available to your government about the world in which we live about the American position in this wo rld I thought I would talk to you just a little bit about where we are and where we are going. I travelled a long way this past year and I have had the nation's number one tour director setting up my itinerary, too, I want you to know. President Johnson, on three occasions this year since December 27th has asked me to journey to Asia and on two of those occasions, Mrs. Humphrey, Muriel, journeyed with me as Chairman of the Space Council. I haven't as yet been launched into outer space. There are some that think it would be a good idea but I have seen a good bit of this old earth of ours and just between us, most of us are going to have to do most of our work here. I travelled some 150,000 miles by air since I have been Vice Presider and much of that has been in Asia this past year. Tonight, I want to talk to you about what is happening in Asia. A continent which to many seems to be far away and remote. But in our time is really very close at hand. Confucious said that if a man take no thought about what is distant, he will find sorrow near at hand. Ponder those wise words. Certainly that is the lesson of the 20th Century. No nation, no continent can any longer be considered distant, from any other. My generation has had good reason to remember these lessons and to remember the words of Neville Chamberlain, for example. Speaking of Czekoslovakia on the eve of World War II when free nations did not see the necessity of meeting the aggressor but rather of appeasing him and he described the situation in Czekoslovakia in these words "a quarrel in a remote country among people of whom we know nothing." It wasn't very remote and we did know a good deal about Czekoslovakia but we did nothing and we paid a price and I have heard the conflict in Vietnam described almost in the same words, a far away place. Words which seem to overlook the fact that we are living in the super-sonic age, the space age, the nuclear age, when any aggression any armed attack carries with it the seeds of wider war. Now why are we in Vietnam? We are there, first of all, because of treaties and treaties are the supreme law of the land and we are there because of resolutions and actions of the Congress, the people's elected representatives and we are there in Vietnam to repel and prevent the success of aggression and we are there to help assure the people of South Wietnam the basic right to decide their future to have self-determination and to do so freely and without intimidation and we are there to help those people achieve a better standard of living for themselves and their posterity and we are there to establish this factthat in this dangerous time, volatile time, aggression cannot be an acceptable means either of settling international disputes or attaining political power or realizing national objectives. And make no mistake about it, it is aggression. It is no civil war. It is aggression directed from Hanoi fronted by the National Liberation Front and the guerrilla army of the Viet Cong. If aggression is permitted to go unchecked, we cannot in good faith hold out much hope for the future for any small nation or even for world peace. Now, that is why we are in Viet Nam. Now we are not there to build any empire or to conquer or to dominate any part of the world or to establish military bases and we are not there to impose a way of life or a form of government on anyone. We are not there to widen the conflict. We seek no escalation or to provoke or attack any sovereign power or even to destroy any regime. Unless we forget it, the greatest part of this struggle is not being waged by us but by South Vietnamese. They have suffered much for better than ten years and they have been bearning the burden of the battle and making the heaviest sacrifices. Now we stand beside them and we help them as we do other allies. At present there are 39 nations standing beside Vietnam providing economic humanitarian and military aid, Australia, . .

New Zealand, Korea and soon the Phillipines are there with their armed forces. But the basic struggle is the Vietnamese struggle. The struggle for their military security for social and economic development for themselves and for a just peace. But we are giving aid, military aid and economic aid and plenty of it. And there are those who say this burden is too much for us, too much for this nation to bear, that we are weakening ourselves in other places both at home and abroad by allocating men and money in Vietnam. I suggest tonight that the facts do not bear out this argument. We have our commitment and we are keeping it. But that commitment is being kept well within our resources. Today we allocate only 7.6% of our total production and wealth to defense compared to about the same figure last year and the same the year before. The percentage of the gross national product remains the same in the Korean period in the Korean War we had a double allocation towards defense. Almost 14% of our national product and a reality of today is that the American economy is a growing economy fully able to meet this test and much more. Since last spring, we have sent over 200,000 men to Viet Nam. Yet elsewhere in our world our forces stand strong and combat ready. Make no mistake about it, over 3,000,000 men slightly over 200,000 men in South Viet Nam, our forces on active and reserve duty athome have been brought up to a high level of performance. Our Air power, our nuclear power, our missile power, our polaris power, incredible, nothing to compare with it. We know it and the rest of the world knows it. Our enemies know it and this is a powerful force and it is the free world's shield of peace. This is a peace force, not a war force, it attacks no one, but it defends the entire free world and what about our Great Society, our dream of this Great Society must it be set aside? Do we have to make the choice guns or butter? I say not. If we are willing to exercise a bit of self-discipline. We can have both ammunition and education, we can both resist international aggression and wage war on poverty, in fact, we must do both. We will not be able to meet our responsibilities or carry out our international burdens unless our resources material and human are developed to the utmost. Every American, everyone no matter where he lives, his race, his creed, his origin, must be a full productive participant in our society. We need everyone. Now in Viet Nam as elsewhere, in this world, we are helping many people and we are helping weak societies, new nations work their way toward stability and freedom. And we are doing this with programs of economic aid, of education and health programs to help them build better cities and better farms, programs to strike at the roots of poverty, and ignorance. Now this effort is part of our national security. Freedom is indivisable but this program is impossible to carry out without an America stronger, richer, better every year. And in the past five years dues to the efforts of your government and the private sector this country has been made richer, stronger and better. Why? Because we have invested in our natural resources in our people, our land, our cities and our economic base and we are determined that our efforts for a better and stronger America shall be continued. At the same time, we must bedetermined that inflation that can gnaw at our very innards and destroy us will not weaken or destroy the

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the progress that we've made. Now what of the situation in Viet Nam? There are mothers and fathers in this audience tonight, that are concerned. I saw your sons when I was there. I visited the armies of Viet Nam, of the United States, of Korea, of New Zealand, of Australia. On the military front, I can report to you, things are better when I came back with that report some people said, "Humphrey's optimistic". I said, "No, I am encouraged and there is nothing wrong with having confidence in the ability of your nation and of your allies." And now I see that practically every writer is saying that "Yes, things do look better." We have made great progress, substantial progress. Why? Because we have a plan of action, we have the resources to carry it out every day, every week, every month. A series of defeats have been inflicted on the Viet Cong forces. Our troops are excellent, they are trained, they are brace, they are uncomplaining. Three days ago I visited Walter Reed Hospital. I saw 200 of our wounded men. Many of them I regret to say, seriously wounded. Not one complained and every man being released asked me to help him go back to Viet Nam without exception. And this has been the case when Mrs. Humphrey and I were at Clark Air Base Hospital in the Phillipines, it was what I saw when I was in Vietnam and Saigon. Mothers and fathers you'll be interested to know that the rescue teams that take up our wounded are doing phenomenal work. And the medical care of our troops is unbelieveably good....miraculously good. Only 1 out of a 100 perish. 1 out of a 100. In World War I it was 8 to 9 out of a 100...in World War II 5 out of a 100...in the Korean War 3 out of 100, now I out of 100 and more get to the hospital than ever before. These troops are fighting hard and they're not only fighting, they're building schools as it was said here tonight. They're helping farmers farm, they're helping teachers teach. These are young Americans. Your sons. And in some instances your daughters. They're a credit to this nation. You ought to be very, very proud of them. Very proud.

There are many other factors which give me this restrained encouragement and optimism. New ports--better communications. The Viet Cong defectors--tremendous increase in fire power and mobility. Never have we been able to move troops so fast. And when I hear people compare what is happening there now with what happened with the French...it's like comparing two centuries with this century...two centuries past. This nation has more helicopters today in Vietnam than all the rest of the world have put together. This nation has fire power today in in Viet Cong that makes anything we had before look second rate. You can't compare. It's a different war, too. The defection rate of the Viet Cong indicates I think what is happening to their morale. Defectors at the rate of 2000 per month while I was in Saigon. In short we have reason to be encouraged by the military situation. But my fellow Americans the struggle in Vietnam is not merely a military struggle. If it were only that, than I would have no doubts It is a political struggle. It is an economic struggle. It is a at all as to the outcome. social struggle. So we have to wage two wars at once. We must win two victories at once. must defeat aggression. When I say we, I mean the allies. We must defeat social misery; and we must help win a social revolution...and build a whole new society. This is a difficult and demanding task. Now you know I like to visit with people and I didn't change when I was in Asia.

I talked with presidents and prime ministers; with generals and admirals and even the King of Thailand. But I talked with ordinary people as well--labor leaders, teachers, educators, the peasants in the rice paddies--workers and boatmen on the Mekong River and farmers on the wheat plains of the Punjab. And little children. And the people of Asia want just what you want. They want some dignity and some respect and they want a better standard of living and some security and some peace. I stress this because from time to time people talk about Asians as if they were living on a different planet..and an entirely different people. Now it's not the people that are so different...it's their history. And it's the present circumstances that are different. Many of these people have lived under colonial rule for ages. They suffered economic exploitation and the indignities of second class citizenship in their own country. Some of these nations had only received their independence when they were set upon by communist guerrialas; like what happened in the Philippines with the Hucks. And like what's happening again with the resurgence of Asian communism. You see democracy doesn't come out of thin air. It grows slowly over the years. And democracy doesn't flourish where there is poverty, hunger and disease, and illiteracy. And this is true in Asia as well as Vietnam. And that's why I went on this journey...to emphasize we want to wage the other war.. the war against social misery...the war against injustice, the war against discrimination--the kind of war we wage here at home...the war against poverty. But, oh, how I long to see this war discussed by the people. Every day the headlines are about the killing. Every day the photographs are about the pain and suffering on the battlefield. And how little do we read about the thousands and thousands of people that are saving lives. The farmers who are doubling their production...the people in the cities who are finding new skills and new jobs. And I've come here tonight to emphasize that part of our struggle. Because the human potential for progress in Vietnam and all through Asia is there. These are an industrious people. They work hard from sunrise to sunset and they learn quickly. 800,000 have poured out from the villages as the Viet Cong have swept through the countryside. And to those who think that this country will go communist, if it ever gets a chance for a free election, let me note this for you..that in 800,000 refugees in the past year and a half that have come south under the protection of the government of Saigon, none of them have gone north. They're voting with their feet..since they can't vote by ballots just as the people from East Germany crossed over to West Germany--from East Berlin to West Berlin until the wall went up. I've visited the refugee project in the slums of the 8th district of Saigon. I wish you could have seen it. What a pitiful sight it was...even as it was improved. But under the leadership of the Vietnamese students, yes, students and refugees themselves...over 5000 of these refugees.. have been settled and re-settled and they have converted an abandoned and water-filled graveyard into an orderly neighborhood of new homes. Community centers and schools were built and local officials have been elected. It was like community action right here. I found that over 5000 Vietnamese students had spent two months of their last summer, working in the rural areas in their summer program...doing everything from building schools to taking care of the sick . And this project continues on..it is their own peace corps. University

students...high school students...Buddist students...Catholic students...all busy...in many undertakings. Now the leaders of South Viet Nam have pledged themselves to carry through a far reaching program of social revolution. I travelled from Honolulu to Saigon with Prime Minister Ky and the Chief of Staff General Chu. I'm not sure how stable these governments are, but I know these people are committed to social progress. Prime Minister Ky said these words to me... and I shall never forget them, he said, "Mr. President, I know you Americans doubt us; I know we are 12 years late in getting under way with these reforms but we are not too late." Not too late. And my friends that social reform program is under way even as the Viet Cong tries to stop it. Hundreds of people have already been killed because they seek to build hospitals and schools and community centers and houses. Sixty-one thousand of the Vietnamese rural leaders, government officials and local government officials -- 61,000 have been assassinated since 1958. Is it any wonder that they have problems? 350 some of the rural workers have been killed this last year that were recruited to work in therural districts. Civilians-not in the military. Not only assassinated, my dear friends, beheaded. And yet more volunteer for the work. The dedication, the self-help--it's there. This urge for action it's there. And it's not only in Vietnam, it's in other parts of Asia. Asia has come alive. It's awakened. Not only in China, but in India, in Pakistan, in Thailand; country after country in the Philippines -- Asia has come alive.

I found the leaders of these free nations were thinking about regional projects. Working together even as they're jealous of their independence. And they want to take Asian initiatives. They want todo these things but they need our help. I found enthusiastic support for the Asian Development Bank. I found great interest for harnessing that Mekong River for the benefit of all nations through which it flows. And President Johnson's Hopkins speech, the offer by our countryto give generous backing to economic reconstruction in both North and South Vietnam if peace can come. And to the Mekong Riber area has given a powerful and fresh impetus to these projects. Now I went up to visit the Mekong Valley myself. Mind you that river system has been there for these many thousands of years and never has it been developed. It has been a source of disaster. It has been a source of trouble. Floods and droughts. It's like the great TVA system if it could be developed. And at long last because your government and because the United Nations and our government working through the United Nations has a program and a project this river system will be developed. The first dam is now under way in Laos. And another will be in Thailand and these two dams will tie together to provide rural electrification for 8000 farm families in northeast Thailand. Yes, there great rivers-this great river system will be developed to provide the electrical energy for all southeast Asia. And blessings unheard of can come. But this and everything else I have been talking about depends on the achievement and maintenance of peace and security in Southeast Asia. And I saw how important peace and security can be. I heard the prime minister of one country tell me as I came to his capitol that the whole Mekong River development project would be destroyed unless we would stop the Vietnamese troops from coming to that river system on its banks.

He said, "Mr. Vice-President, it isn't just my country," he said, "It's the whole area. It is at the mercy of aggression and force." And who do you think it was? A neutral. Not a warrior. Souvonakuma of Laos. A man that is a neutral. His country is supposed to be guaranteed protection. And yet because somebody said you could have a government in which there was communist representation, that little country today is beseiged by the Pathet-Lao the Communist forces. And they spend all their time fighting for survival..while their people starve..while their rice crop was destroyed...while their children live in ignorance. Communism is not a suvject for academic discussion in Asia, my friends. It is a matter of life and death. It isn't something for you to ponder over in the quiet of your living room or library, it's whether or not you're going to be alive the next morning. And these people know it. And they're asking for help before it's too late. Now all of this brings home to me a message that I tried to leave with the American people and I want to leave it with you tonight. The American people as well as their leaders need to know a great deal more about Asia in general and every country in particular and Communist China, especially. The relationships with that nation with its 750 million people--the relationship of that nation with her neighbors in Asia and the Pacific is a matter of great concern. We need to know more about the Chinese ideology and behavior because its different from others. And about the operational apparatus of Communist parties under Peking influence or leadership. We need to know just more! We need to know as much or more about Asia as we do about Europe. And I have a feeling that one of the reasons there is such misunderstanding in America about our position in Asia is because we are Europeans. Because we are European orientated. Isn't it interesting that every man in the Congress of the United States and the very leaders in our great America that will stand up and tell every American that you must fight to the death for the defense of western Europe and, indeed, of West Berlin -- 100 miles in the desert of communism -- a city that is as difficult-more difficult to defend than any place in southeast Asia, yet, I, too say it must be defended. Make no mistake about it. I, too, believe in collective security for western Europe. I, too, believe that we must have NATO and must be united in the defense of western Europe. But we stand for collective security. We make decisions of life and death about western Europe. We've confronted the Soviet Union three times in one decade -three times that coul d have lead to nuclear war in western Europe. And we haven't hardly had a ripple of descent or argument in America. My fellow Americans, we can't be a world leader with a half world knowledge. You can't be a world leader and only want to lead in western Europe and Latin America and you cannot get yourselves labeled that the only people you are willing to die for are the whites. And think it over. What is it that makes aggression in western Europe more intolerable than in Asia? Are we saying that we are unwilling to keep our commitments for the brown and the yellow peoples? But only for the white people? I hope not! But some wonder. And some have asked. So I suggest that we need to know a whole lot more about Asia because it's Asia that may very well determine if we are to have a free world or not. And we need to know more so that we may act and make wise decisions. Both in our national inI found most of China's neighbors concerned about its aggression--its actions and its intentions. You don't have to ask anybody in India whether China is an aggressor. They know.

And my fellow Americans, poverty stricken India today has to give a far larger share of its
entire revenues to the maintenance of 23 divisions of Indian troops on the Chinese frontier.

Why? Because Asian Chinese communism is peaceful? No! Because India has been the subject
of attack and aggression two times in five years. She knows.

Nor did I find one single leader in Asia that questioned our presence in Viet Nam. Some had some concern whether we should do this or do that—but not one recommended that we should withdraw. Not one! And many knew that it was a matter of their own survival that we stay. Now since I've returned, I've spoken of the need to face up to the aggression in Asia and to contain Chinese Communism in its military and its aggressive thrusts. Just as we were once compelled to contain Soviet Communism, without isolating Russia. So we must achieve the containment of Asian Communism, without isolating the Chinese people. Last week on the Meet the Press, I recalled America's traditional friendship with the Chinese people. Why the churches of this land sent hundreds, yea, thousands of missionaries to China and our Universities educated thousands of young Chinese and they're in China now. And I ask that we remember it and urge we seize every opportunity to maintain those little threads of friendship with the people. Was it just another TV pronouncement? Did anybody listen? I think so. And apparently so. Some at home and I know abroad. Because The Peoples' Daily, the leading Chinese Communist political organ went so far as to admonish its readers and the members of the Darty—I quote—to "Maintain the utmost vigilence" concerning me, the Vice President of the United States. They were worried.

So I welcome the President's action of last week in opening up travel to the mainland of China for our scholars. The trouble is, China insists on isolating herself. She has not accepted those scholars or our journalists, or our doctors, or our medicines. All of which we have offered in years past. It isn't because we have any lack of contact with China, my friends, because every week in Warsaw, we sit down with the Chinese ambassador. And the conversation opens with these words: "Mr. Ambassador of the United States of America, when you are prepared to give us Formosa, Tiawan, we will then talk. Until then, we do not talk." And we must say quite candidly that the United States of America that has a treaty that was ratified by the Senate of the United States with only one dissenting vote, that that treaty of mutual assistance and mutual defense does not permit us to give away anybody else's freedom and, particularly, the freedom of the Formosan people and the people of Tiawan. And we are not about ready to give away anyone's freedom to any Communist power. Make no mistake about it. But I welcome the initiative of our President and I welcome the hearings in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee -- the hearings on the whole subject of Asia and China policy. That's what these committees are for, to air these subjects to get the people to think -- to think out loud and even to instill some controversy about them. And I'm pleased to see what a favorable reaction all of this has had in the press.

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Now my friends, many people wonder, will there be peace? That question cannot only be answered only in Washington. Your government wants peace. I was sent on a peace mission. Governor Harriman was sent on a peace mission. Arthur Goldberg went on a peace mission. The Pope has sought to get peace for us. Yugoslavia heading the 17 non-aligned nations has sought to help us get peace. The British Commonwealth Nations has sought to help us get peace. Many people have pleaded for peace. Adn we stand ready to go to the Conference Table tomorrow morning! If we can get but one offer of peace. But it has been rejected. It has been rejected. When I see people we say we want peace in Vietnam. I say, this is the prayer of the President, this is the prayer of the Vice President, this is the hope and prayer of the Secretary of State, of the entire government of the United States. We Want Peace! We Want The Chance To Have Peace! But regrettably, the history of mankind is filled with violence, and war, and disaster. Yet man does continue to reach out for the sta rs... the stars of justice, of freedom, of peace. Peace is the absence of war. But my dear friends, it is more than that. Preace is not negative, it's positive. It's the development of a productive economy and we're working for that. Peace is the enrichment of human resources. So, that when we speak of peace in Southeast Asia, we're speaking of progress, not paralysis. We're speaking of schools and textbooks and universities and training institutes. And we're speaking of health clinics, and hospitals and doctors and meditine. And we're speaking of modern agriculture, and housing and jobs. And we're speaking of stable government, elected government. These are some of the elemtns of peace..that give meaning to that precious word. And it is to these goals of peace that we have directed our resources and we must continue to direct our energies. If the terrible sacrifices of war to have any meaning at all, I know that in achieving these goals we haven't set ourselves any easy task. I would be the last person to tell you that this will be over soon, or easily. It will be long and costly. The problems are immense. The difficulties are almost beyond human calculation. But the task and responsibilities of the most powerful nation on the face of the earth cannot and will not be easy. We shouldn't expect it. We are a great nation and any ordinary people ca do what is possible. A great nation does what some people think is impossible and we're capable of doing it. So, in the meantime, while we seek peace and we shall pursue it relentlessly.

I went to nine countries and spoke to the leaders of those countries and urged them to use their good offices in seeking peace...asked them to help..I even asked Mr. Kosygin, the Chairman of Councils of Ministers of the Soviet Union. I have met with him ore than any other American. I have talked with him. And our relations with the Soviet Union are of grave concern to us because we seek to improve those relations. And, fortunately, thus far there has been a sense of balance and reasonableness in both places. And we shall make it our business to try to maintain that attitude. But in the meantime when there is no peace, let it be clearly understood that we do not withdraw, we do not retreat, we do not quit. Adn we shall assistithes free nations of Asia to strengthen themselves and to resist aggressio. We do not know there our efforts may lead. But we do know this, we do know what would lie in store should have reason

to believe that aggression paid. Or should any people believe that the door to the outside world might be forever barred to them. As we tonight consider the hard task and challenges withich I've mentioned to you--and they are hard--and it's going to take a brave people to bare them, let us not underestimate the strength that we have. Don't sell your-selves short. Add much of our strength is in our spirit and not merely in our goods. We must exemplify that spirit of strength...without being belligerent..without being belligerent..without being belligerent...without being compassionate.

Harry Truman inspired us many times. He did many things people thought couldn't be done, and Harry Trumangave me the words that I'd like to use to close, this meeting as far as I'm concerned tonight. He's a great American. He has a sense of the history of this nation and its destiny. And here's what he said of this America and our America..."It is not our nature to shirk our obligations. We have a heritage that constitutes the greatest resources of this nation. I call it the spirit and character of the American people."

And my fellow Americans, it is that spirit a d that character which in the words of Abraham Lincoln is the last best hope on earth...the hope for peace for mankind."

Thank you.

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHRFY

JEFFERSON-JACKSON DAY DINNER

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

MARCH 19, 1966

It is good to be back in Minnesota among old

and good friends. authalia - Tak

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I have been traveling a great deal this year. As chairman of the National Aeronautics and Space Council, I haven't yet been launched into outer space But I have seen a good bit of this earth of ours -- in some 250, 000 miles of air travel Sure I hesame U. P.

A good part of that mileage was logged during my three missions to Asia in recent months.

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Tonight I want to talk about what is happening in
and the second s
Asia a continent which is far too remote to far too
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Confucius said: "If a man take no thought about
what is distant, he will find sorrow near at hand."
Certainly that is the lesson of the 20th Century.
/ In this century we have learned or at least,
hope we have learned. What to nation no continent
can any longer be distant from any other.
/ My generation has good reason to remember the
words of Neville Chamberlain, speaking of Czechoslovakia
on the eve of World War II, when he described a "quarrel
in a remote country among people of whom we know
nothing."

and I have heard the conflict in Vietnam described today

in just about those same words -- words which overlook the fact that we live in an age of super-sonic travel - the Space Age - the age of nuclear weapons - an age when any arrest carries with it the seeds of wider war.

We are in South Vietnam to repel and prevent the success of aggression against the government and the people of that country. We are Kuy we want to the people of that country the success of aggression against the government and the people of that country.

We are there to help assure the <u>South Vietnamese people</u> the <u>basic right</u> to decide their own futures, freely and without intimidation.

We are there to help those people achieve a better standard of living for themselves and their children.

We are there to help establish the principle that -- in this time - agression cannot be an acceptable means either of settling international dispute . . of attaining power . . . or of realizing national objective.

For if aggression is permitted to go unchecked, we cannot in good faith hold out much hope for the future of small nations or of world peace.

/ This is why we are in Vietnam

We are not there to build an empire . . . to conquere

to establish military bases. We are <u>not</u> there to impose a government or way of life on other peoples. We are not there to widen the conflict . . . to provoke or attack any sovereign nation or to dusting any regime.

because it poesn't always come through in our newspapers.

very important matter

The greatest part of the struggle is being waged by the South Vietnamese. They have been bearing most of the burden of battle, and making the heaviest sacrifices.

for many years.

We stand build them and help them as do other allies.

Consmiss, humintarian or military And to South

Lutnam. authorizen New Juland, Korea + Soonth

Philippines are their with their forces
We stand booked them, and holy them, as to other allies.

But the basic struggle is theirs -- the struggle for military security, for social and economic development, and for a just peace.

We are giving aid: military aid and political/economic/

There are those who say that this burden is too great for our nation to bear . . . that we are weakening ourselves in other places -- both abroad and at home -- by allocating men and money to Vietnam.

I suggest that the facts do not bear out this argument.

Yes, we have made a commitment in Vietnam. But that commitment is being met well within our resources.

Today we allocate some 7.6 per cent of our Gross National Product to defense purchases -- about the same as last year and the year before.

the Korean war period, when our rchases were running almost 14 per cent of defense our GNP.

The reality of today is that our American economy is a growing economy fully able to meet this testand much more

🗸 Since last spring we have moved 200,000 men a📽 10,000 miles to Vietnam. Yet elsewhere in the world our forces stand strong and combat-ready as before. \ Our

Seventh Army in Europe is

Our American fleets -- both in Pacific and Atlantic

are in a higher state of readiness and efficiency than ever

before in our history. Our forces on active and reserve

duty at home have been brought to better level of performance

than any previous American military forces.

We know it and the rest of the world knows it. powerful force is the free world's shield of peace.

And what about our Great Society at home? Must it be set aside because of Vietnam? Do we face a choice I say not_if we sperce self dumpline. of guns or butter? We can have both ammunition and education international aggression and war against poverty. In fact, we must we both. will not be able to meet according responsibility and carry international burdens unless our resources -- both our material and human resources -are developed to the utmost. attoric nothing less than this

American citizen was be a full and productive participant in our American society. We need to surprise the surprise that the apportunity for surprise.

In Vietnam -- and elsewhere in the world -- we help wak
fragile young societies work their way toward stability and
... with programs of education and health
... programs to create better cities and countrysides . . .

programs to strike at the roots of poverty and ignorance.

This effort is impossible without America made better
and stronger here at home.

better and stronger. Last year alone, some million new jobs were created. Unemployment was cut to its lowest rate in a decade. Weekly earnings -- and weekly buying power reached an alltime high

These things did not happen by accident. They happened because American government and private sector had faith in this nation and invested in it.

We invested in our national resources -- our people, our land, our cities, our economic base and,

We are determined that our efforts for a better and stronger America shall continue.

At the same time, we must be determined that inflation will not weaken us or destroy the progress we have made.

Now, what of the situation as of today in Vietnam?

On the military front, things are better. We have made substantial progress in the past few months. We have a plan of action - daily, weekly, offensive action.

A series of defeats have been inflicted on main force units of the Viet C ong and North Vietnamese soldiers.

Our troops are exc ellent - tough, trained, brave, uncomplaining -

They fight hard and then go out to help the people - rebuild and protect the villages.

Allied forces have been able to move in on Viet Cong strongholds which had previously been immune to attack.

We have been able to open up stretches of highway and railroad which the Viet Cong had long controlled.

Mobile and firepower of allied forces is impressive

Coordination among allied forces has markedly improved.

the Crosanting is guing the allies waluable by form ation about the activities and location of viet conquisits and location of viet been constructed - the been constructed - the is tremendates, firepower and imprecidented Mobility for the allied forces.

Viet Cong and North Vietnamese casualities are difficult to determine. But the best available figures show that they have doubled over 1964 and are now running several times current allied casualities.

The defection rate for Viet Cong has also increased -- partly because of a special South Vietnamese program to encourage defection. Defectors were being received at a rate of about 2,000 per month while I was in Saigon.

Defectors report shortages of food and low morale.

They report that the accuracy and impact of artillery

and bombing haw been devastating.

In short, we have reason to be encouraged regarding

the military situation.

But tenight L should like to spend most of my time

talking, not about war or of high politics, but about my

favorite subject people and their problems.

But the Strugge in Vectoram is monthan mulitary - it is Political - social - leonomie.

13

But the struggle in Vietnam is more than military --

It is political, social and economic.

We must fight 2 wars - win 2 victories --

We must defeat aggression

We must defeat social misery, and must help win

a social revolution and build a new society.

know that I like to meet and talk with people.

And the I was in Asia.

I talked with presidents and prime ministers, with generals and admirals.

But I talked with ordinary people as well -- with students, peasants in the rice paddies, workers and their trade union leaders, with boatmen on the Mekong River and farmers on the wheat plains of the Punjab.

And the people of Asia want pretty much the same things as the people of Minnesota -- human dignity and respect, a better standard of living for themselves and their children, and -- above all -- peace and security.

I stress this, because there are people who talk about Asians as if they lived upon some other planet.

By the fact history and Present Cureumstonee that to the difference.

Many of these peoples have experienced generations of colonial rule as well. They have suffered economic exploitation and the indignity of being second-class citizens in their own countries. Some of these nations had hardly achieved their independence and hoisted their flags before they had to face a new ordeal. They had to contend with guerrilla movements which sought to impose upon them

he shouldn't be surprised to find in some places

corruption, disorder, and turbulence bordering sometimes on chaos. We shouldn't be surprised that some of these

countries fall short of being ideal democracies.

We can buy instant mixes of many kinds nowadays.

But no one has been able to develop an instant mix for democracy. It takes practice it takes a certain degree of education, and above all it takes time.

Democracy doesn't come out of thin air. It grows slowly over the years.

Democracy does not flourish where poverty, hunger, disease, and illiteracy prevail -- as they do in much of Asia, including Vietnam.

That is why

"the other war" -- the war against those ancient

enemies of ignorance, poverty and disease.

The important thing is that many millions of Asian peasants now know that a fuller and better life is possible and the they are demanding it for themselves -- and, above all, for their children.

The important thing is that the human potential for progress is there. These are industrious people, accustomed to hard work from sunrise to sunset. They are quick to learn new skills and to put them into practice.

Land the Program so tenderway - Agrice

500,000 refugees - 300,000 resultables

I think particularly of the young people I have met.

While I was in Vietnam I visited a demonstration with project staffed by techniques in the slums of the 8th District of Saigon. Under the leadership of Vietnamese students, a group of refugees there had converted an abandoned and waterfilled graveyard into an orderly neighborhood of new homes. A community center and a school were being built, and local officials had been elected. It was just like a community action program here at home.

I found that over 5000 Vietnamese students had spent the two months of their school vacation last year in what they called a Summer Youth Program. They had gone out to every corner of the country and set to work building village schools and housing for refugees and helping with training projects of all sorts. It was the Vietnamese equivalent of our domestic Peace Corps.

12,000 rural Health workers -

Lins wasn't a one-shot program by any means.

University students, high school students, Buddhist students, Catholic students are all actively at work through their organizations in similar undertakings.

There is high hope for the future in these fine young people. Indeed, one of the best measures of whether the Government of Vietnam is making real progress will be whether it can attract and hold their support and enthusiasm.

At the Honolulu Conference, Premier Ky and his colleagues solemnly committed themselves to carrying through a far-reaching social revolution in Vietnam.

I know that Premier Ky fully appreciates the need to translate these good words into concrete actions. I had a long talk with him about this while we were flying from Honolulu to Saigon together -- and that takes a good few hours, even by jet. He said to me:

The Linder of Smith Victorian have Philid themselves to Carrying through a fair reading Social pendeturn - Principles Keyteld Mi'Mr. Vice President, I know we are 12 years late

in getting under way with these reforms, but we are not

too late." yet the obstacles are many - (6) 000 Kalle

This dedication to self-help, this urge for action,

Schools, Hospitals

found that the leaders of all the free nations were thinking and talking in regional terms -- in terms of Asian initiatives to deal with the common problems of Asia.

Development Bank. I found keen interest in the harnessing of the Mekong River for the benefit of all the nations and peoples through which it flows. The President's Johns Hopkins speech — and the offer by the United States to give generous financial backing to this project — have given it a fresh and powerful impetus.

I visited the Mekong Valley myself. I saw with my own eyes the enormous potential for human welfare and progress that exists there.

But this -- and everything else I have been talking about -- depends upon the achievement and maintenance of peace and security in Southeast Asia.

That brings me to my final theme -- Communist China.

The American people, as well as their leaders, need to know more about Asia in general and Communist China in particular: the relationships of that nation with her neighbors in Asia and the Pacific; the nature of Chinese Communist ideology and behavior; and the operational apparatus of Communist parties under Peking leadership or influence.

We need to know as much - - or more -- about Asia as we do about Europe.

We can't be a world leader - with a half world knowledge.

We must know more about Asia, so that we can act and make wise decisions, both in our own national interest and in the interest of humanity.

the minds of all its neighbors.

Chinese communism is still in its early messianic

phase -- a phase that Soviet communism has begun to

outlive in recent years. I found most of China's neighbors

genuinely concerned about its actions and intentions.

Since I returned, I have spoken of the need to contain Chinese communism -- but I have argued that, just as we contained Soviet communism without isolating Russia, we must achieve the containment of Asian communism without isolating the Chinese people.

Could come out!

Last week I recalled America's traditional friendship with the Chinese people, and urged that we seize every opportunity to maintain it.

Was anybody listening over there? Apparently so.

The Peoples Daily, the leading Chinese Communist newspaper, went so far as to admonish its readers -- and I quote -- to "maintain the utmost vigilance" concerning me.

I said in that speech that I thought we still had many friends among the Chinese people. In view of the lively reaction there, I am dead sure of it.

I welcome the President's action last week in opening up travel to mainland China for our scholars. I welcome the hearings the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has been conducting on the same subject. And I am pleased that both the President's action and the Committee's initiative have been so well received by the press and the public.

The history of mankind is one filled with violence, war and disaster. Yet man continues to reach for the stars -- the stars of justice, of freedom and of peace.

Yes, peace is the absence of war. But peace is more.

Peace is the development of a productive economy. Peace is the enrichment of human resources.

speaking of progress -- not paralysis. We are speaking of schools and textbooks and universities and training institutes. We are speaking of health of the and hospitals and doctors and medicine. We are speaking of modern agriculture, housing and there. Yes, we are speaking of stable government, elected government. These are the elements of post that give meaning to this precious word.

It is to all of these goals of peace that we must direct our energies and resources if the terrible sacrifices of war are to have any meaning at all.

In achieving these goals, we have not set ourselves any easy task. But the tasks and responsibilities of the most powerful nation in the history of the earth are not . . . cannot be . . . will not be easy.

In the meantine, We shall assed the cree matters of the present of

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Asia to strengthen themselves and to resist aggression.

We do not know where our efforts may lead. But we do know what would lie in store should Communist China have reason to believe that aggression pays or should the Chinese people believe that the door to the outside world might be forever barred to them.

I began tonight with words from Confucius: "If a man take no thought about what is distant, he will find sorrow near at hand."

As we tonight consider the hard tasks and challenges which face us in the years ahead in distant places. Iet us not forget the strength we have to face them.

I close with the words of President Harry S. Truman:

"It is not our nature to shirk our obligations. We have a heritage that constitutes the greatest resource of this nation.

I call if the spirit and character of the American people."

ejvilized people is the attainment of peace. and religion are directed. the history of mankind is one filled with violence, war and disaster. Yet man continues to reach for the stars -- the stars of justice, of freedom and of peace. Yes, peace is the absence of war. But peace is more, an just that. Peace is the development of a productive economy. Peace is the development and enrichment of human resources Ms peace is work and jobs and income. is education and training. Peace is health. Peace is the love of life and the pursuit of happiness, Peace is compassion for the elderly and the sick, the love and care of children.

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We are determined that our efforts for a better and stronger America shall continue.

At the same time, we must be determined that inflation will not weaken us or destryy the progress we have made.

Now, what of the situation as of today in Vietnam?

On the military front, things are better. We have made substantial progress in the past few months. We have a plan of action - daily, weekly, offensive action.

A series of defeats have been inflicted on main force units of the Viet C ong and North Vietnamese soldiers.

Our troops are exc ellent - tough, trained, brave, uncomplaining -

They fight hard and then go out to help the people - rebuild and protect the villages.

But the struggle in Vietnam is more than military -It is political, social and economice.

We must fight 2 wars - win 2 victories -We must defeat aggression

We must defeat social misery and we must help win a social revolution and build a new society.

These are our goals.

Your know that I like to meet and talk with people.

And I most certainly did not break this lifelong habit
while I was in Asia.

I talked with presidents and prime ministers, with generals and admirals.

But I talked with ordinary people as well -- with students, peasants in the rice paddies, workers and their trade union leaders, with boatmen on the Mekong River and farmers on the wheat plains of the Punjab.

And the people of Asia want pretty much the same things as the people of Minnesota -- human dignity and respect, a better stanzard of living for themselves and their children, and -- above all -- peace and xecurity.

I stress this, because there are people who talk about Asians as if they lived upon some other planet.

The American people, as well as their leaders, need to know more about Asia in general and Communist China in particular: the relationships of that nation with her neighbors in Asia and the Pacific; the nature of Chinese Communist ideology and behavior; and the operational apparatus of Communist parties under Peking leadership or influence.

We need to know as much e - or more -- about Asia as we do about Europe.

We can't be a world leader - with a half world knowledge.

We must know more about Asia, so that we can act and make wise decisions, both in our own national interest and in the interest of humanity.

and I have heard the conflict in Vietnam described today

in just about those same words -- words which overlook the fact that we live in an age of super-sonic travel - the Space Age - the age of nuclear weapons - an age when any armed conflict carries with it the seeds of wider war.

We are in South Vietnam to <u>repel</u> and prevent the success of aggression against the government and the people of that country.

We are there to help assure the <u>South Vietnamese people</u> the <u>basic right</u> to decide their own futures, freely and without intimidation.

We are there to help those people achieve a better standard of living for themselves and their children.

We are there to help establish the principle that -- in this volatile time -- <u>agression</u> cannot be an acceptable <u>means</u> either of <u>settling internation</u> dispute . . . of <u>attaining power</u> . . . or of realizing national objective.

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I stress this, because there are people who talk about Asians as if they lived upon some other planet.

We even hear that only Asians should concern themselves with Asia. If we had heeded such counsel 25 years ago, where would we -- and the Asians -- be now?

It is not the people who are different -- it is their

past history and their present circumstances.

History has not been as kind to them as to us. The ordinary men and women of Asia — and that means the peasants, the overwhelming majority there — have been right at the very bottom of their societies for countless centuries. They have borne on their backs the whole weight of the social superstructure — emperors and kings, mandarins and moneylenders, traders and tax collectors.

The have known me for a long while.

with people. And I most certainly did not break this lifelong habit while I was in Asia.

I talked with presidents and prime ministers, with generals and admirals. • even talked with a King -- the King of Siam, a charming and intelligent young man.

But I talked with ordinary people as well -- with students, peasants in the rice paddies, with workers and their trade union leaders, with boatmen on the Mekong River and farmers on the wheat plains of the Punjab.

The first thing I want to report is something that is actually very obvious, but many of us seem to forget. It is

the people of Asia want pretty much the same things as the people of Minnesota -- human dignity and respect,

warment defeat Social Musery and We must befull to be will be with the social musery

Buttle Strugglin Veetnam is mon than mulitary - cum the delemental It as Patelteral, Social + Loonomic. We must fight 2 wars - Win 2 the Vactories i We must frattle. Refeat aggression. a We must defeat Special Misery and we must help win a social reliabilition and build a new society. Huseau sur goals.

this why the President of hum of the leaders of South Vietnam in their Honolulu declaration

Willer (male with the d

Last year the Congress had the most productive and meaningful single session of any Congress in our history

And the Tegislation that made that session historic was legislation that invested in our national resources -- our people, our land, our cities, our economic base.

We are determined that our efforts for a better and stronger America shall continue.

At the same time, we must be determined that inflation will not weaken us or destroy the progress we have made.

President Johnson has pledged that all tools of government policy will be used to avert such inflation: careful budgeting; elimination of waste and obsolete programs; tax and monetary policy; manpower policy. He has asked both business and labor to exert maximum self-discipline against inflation.

sut

Inflation is a destructive force. Once a wage-price spiral gets started, its is extremely difficult to halt. And its can do great damage to our valence of payments and to our valence of payments and to our valence.

This Administration fully recognizes the scope of Ascommitment. It recognizes the need to build a strong American nation to meet that commitment. Herocognizes the necessity of economic stability for both these things.

Now, what of the situation as of today in Vietnam?

On the military front, the Vietnam se, together with

American and allied troops, have made substantial progress in the past few months. We have a flant fiction of the world world been inflicted on main force.

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Our Troops are feellent - Tough, Trained brown, incomplaining They fight hard and then the go det to They the People - reduct band Brother Hilledge I have heard the conflict in Vietnam described today in just about those same words -- words which overlook the fact that we live in an age of huclear weapons an age when any armed conflict carries with it the seeds of wider war.

The American people, as well as their leaders, need to know more about Asia in general and Communist China in particular: the relationships of that nation with her neighbors in Asia and the Pacific; the nature of Chinese Communist ideology and behavior; and the operational apparatus of Communist parties under Peking leadership or influence.

We need to know as much -- or more -- about Asia as we do about Europe. And that will take some doing. For today, truly, we really know very little about Asia.

be a World leader with a half world

We must know more about Asia, so that we can act and make wise decisions, both in our own national interest and in the interest of humanity.

Why are we engaged today in the remote nation of South Vietnam?

We are in South Vietnam to repel and prevent the success of aggression against the government and the people of that country.

We are there to help assure the South Vietnamese people the basic right to decide their own futures, freely and without intimidation.

We are there to help those people achieve a better standard of living for themselves and their children.

We are there to help establish the principle that

-- in this volatile time -- aggression cannot be an acceptable
means either of settling international dispute . . . of
attaining power . . . or of realizing national objective.

It is to all of these goals of peace that we must direct our energies and resources if the terrible sacrifices of war are to have any meaning at all.

Peace will come when those who love peace can prevent the success of aggression and make the price of violence too costly for those who practice it to pay.

speaking of construction -- not destruction. We are speaking of progress -- not paralysis. We are speaking of schools and textbooks and universities and training institutes.

We are speaking of health clinics and hospitals and doctors and medicine. We are speaking of modern agriculture, housing and shelter. Yes, we are speaking of stable government, elected government. These are the elements of peace that give meaning to this precious word.

In achieving these goals, we have not set ourselves any easy task. But the tasks and responsibilities of the most powerful nation in the history of the earth are not . . . cannot be . . .will not be easy.

Let me close by making this prediction: Ten or twenty years hence, historians will mark Vietnam as a place where our nation -- and free peoples -- were faced with a challenge by totalitarianism . . . and where they met the challenge.

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