

✓ Gene Pulliam
✓ Bill Knowland
✓ W.D. Maxwell } +HH

Mayor Lindsay
Paul Miller
was Hallagher

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY

ASSOCIATED PRESS

NEW YORK CITY

MISS DEENER
APRIL 25, 1966

Bill Knowland
Secretary in Senate
+ in A.P. See
where he is sitting
(Miss Joan Deener)

It is always a risk to speak to the press: They

are likely to report what you say.

But to Publishers -
You can take
some risk
a chance

Today I will take that chance. For I have some

thoughts I am quite willing to have repeated.

⊗
I want to talk
about our
country -
in a Detroit

Today our America stands as the most powerful...
the most prosperous...and the freest nation in the
history of the earth.

And in our power, wealth and freedom we stand
as leader of the western world.

As a nation cautioned from the first against
entangling alliances, this role is not an easy one.

And, indeed, to many other nations of the world
we remain a relatively unknown quantity.

For it has been only in recent years that we have ventured into the world with any real seriousness.

And thus we hear questions asked: Are we overreaching ourselves? Will we tire of our tasks? Will our economy be able to support the burdens we carry at home and abroad? Are we equal to the role of world leadership?

Questions

Fair enough questions they are.

and you to give your opinion and analysis -

Free Press

For the answers affect the great majority of nations and the great majority of the world's peoples--- not only because of the weight of our power, but because of the things we stand for. In Tom Paine's words: "The cause of America is in great measure the cause of all mankind."

In the final analysis, the questions asked about us can only be answered by how we measure up to the challenges before us.

Today we face three great and interrelated *demanding and perplexing*
tasks in the world: the pursuit of peace; the effort
to narrow the gap between the rich and poor nations;
and the necessity of sustaining an American economy
able to carry a thousand future burdens here and
around the world.

We are often accused - So let's look at the record
Our search for peace finds its best expression
in our support for the kind of world envisioned in the
United Nations Charter --- a world where large and small
nations might live alike in harmony without threat of
external coercion.

No nation has done more for peace than has *America*
~~ours~~ since World War II. The UN...the Marshall
Foreign Aid
Plan... Point Four...the Alliance for Progress...the
Peace Corps...the Asian Development Bank...the
International Monetary Fund and World Bank...Food
for Peace...the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty---these ~~have~~

\$ Billions

are come from initiatives worthy of our position of leadership. *To those who criticize - Lack - who has done more!*

↳ ~~These have come from our search for peace.~~

↳ But other initiatives, too, have come from our search for peace: Firmness in Berlin; aid to Greece and Turkey; the founding of NATO, CENTO and SEATO; resistance to aggression in Korea; the determination that nuclear missiles should not be introduced into the Hemisphere. }

↳ ~~For~~ we have long since learned that peaceful development cannot exist in an environment of violence, aggression, and fear.

↳ Today peace is at stake in Asia.

↳ Peace is at stake in a hundred thousand Asian villages, in the struggle of peasants against a millenium of poverty, disease and despair.

Vietnam - arguments of Past - (Intervention)

- Should we be there - We are!
- ✓ French Couldn't win - we are not the French
 - (1) we are not Colonial Power
we seek to give freedom
 - (2) we are not fighting against the people
or involved in all Indo-China.
- ✓ It's a Civil War - NLF - 1959

✓ Govt in Saigon - weak - yes.

✓ Unrest - disorder - yes

Struggle for Power

But all agree on 2 things

(1) Do not want Communist

(2) Do not want us to Abandon them.

Not a single leader - Buddhist, Catholic, Labor, Student, Civilian or Military has gone over to NLF.

Refugees - ^{500,000} Go to So. Vietnam Govt Controlled Areas - like Berlin. Vote with their feet

Finally - There is hope - Nation Building
Elections - Constitution -

We will Respect those Elections + Work with Govt

Col Haghan

Peace is at stake in a tortured South Vietnam,
in the struggle against the classic power tactics of
communism. Infiltration, Subversion, Terror,
Guerrilla Warfare, Coalition Govt
and, We must not lose the peace in either struggle.

Asia or
Viet

That is why we have committed once more---as
we have had to do before---men, money, and resources
to help the nations of Asia help themselves toward
security and independence.

It won't be easy. It will be frustrating and at
times heartbreaking. But, if we are not to deny our
leadership... if we are not to deny the principles in
which we believe, we must stay and see it through.

American
Commitment
is the
shield of
Peace!

And the free nations of the world need to know that
we have the vision and the endurance to do so.

and Those who threaten their neighbors ~~in Asia~~
should know it too. They should know that we will
resist their aggression.

∟ But they should also know that we bear no ~~consumptive~~ hate against their people, that we have no design on their sovereignty. We look ~~only~~ toward the day when all nations may choose to live in harmony with their neighbors---when they may turn ~~together~~ their energies to building a better life for their peoples.

#2 ∟ For this is, after all, the second great task before us: The desperate need to narrow the widening gap between the rich and poor nations of the world. (P)

∟ I give you the words of Pope John 23rd in his encyclical Mater et Magistra:

"The solidarity which binds all men and makes them members of the same family requires political communities enjoying an abundance of material goods not to remain indifferent to those political communities whose citizens suffer from poverty, misery, and hunger, and who lack even the elementary rights of the human person.

↳ "This is particularly true since, given the growing interdependence among the peoples of the earth, it is not possible to preserve lasting peace if glaring economic and social inequality among them persist . . .

"We are all equally responsible for the under-nourished peoples. Therefore, it is necessary to educate one's conscience to the sense of responsibility which weighs upon each and everyone, especially upon those who are more blessed with this world's goods."

↳ We sit here today comfortably examining this situation. But for the disinherited and left-out of this world, it is no matter for examination: It is a matter of day-to-day survival.

↳ Today there are families spending their last day on earth because they haven't the strength or health to keep going.

But those who remain--and you can be sure of this
--those who remain will take to the streets...they
will turn to any master...they will tear the fabric
of peace to shreds, unless they have some reason
to believe that there is hope for life and hope for
justice.

< To put this on a more immediate and practical
level, let me call to your attention the foreign aid
request now before the Congress.

< The expenditure for the first year of the Marshall
Plan was about 2 per cent of our GNP, and 11 1/2 per
cent of the federal budget. Today--thanks to the growth
of our American economy--our foreign aid request is
for only ^{1/3 of 1%} .29 per cent of our GNP and about ^{2%} 1.9 per
cent of the federal budget--that is, about two cents out
of every tax dollar. ~~Yet we hear the same doubts and~~
complaints today that we heard 20 years ago.

X I know there are doubts and complaints
on for. And

If ~~someone~~ has a substitute for foreign aid, I'd like to hear about it. The investment we make in foreign aid--in preventive medicine, if you will--is certainly less than that necessary to treat the symptoms of massive economic crisis and disorder and, yes, of war.

↳ The Marshall Plan saved Western Europe and the peace. It created a great new economic market for us.

↳ But there is more: the revived nations of Western Europe ^{are} ~~have~~ not only ^{repaying} ~~repaid~~ their Marshall Plan debts, they have already provided more aid to the developing countries than they ever received from us. ?

↳ The rewards can be just as great tomorrow in other continents.

↳ If there are questions asked about our ability to meet this task, I think they must be answered affirmatively and without equivocation.

< We do not seek to do this task alone nor should we. >

But how can we expect others to follow if we do not lead?

#3 < President Eisenhower described the third great task we face today: "The firm base for the problem of leading the world toward the achievement of human aspirations--toward peace with justice in freedom--must be the United States."

< We must fashion an America so strong, so free, so able to lead, that there may be no question about our purposes or our endurance.

Basic to this is the necessity of building an economy of growth, and ^{expanding} opportunity, yet stable ~~and~~ ^{Sound} ~~and~~ ^{Sound} ~~time~~ when it is tested.

I need not remind this audience of the Communist belief--I suppose some of them still hold ~~to~~ it--that the United States was teetering on the brink of economic chaos... that it was just a matter of time until our production lines would grind to a halt, until an army of unemployed would seize the state, until economic warfare among the Western nations would open the door to communism.

~~I think~~ ^B by now some of the Communist doctrinists have come to realize that Lord Keynes was speaking to them as well as others when he wrote: "Practical men, who believe themselves to be quite exempt from intellectual influences, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist."

My Visit in 1958

WITH
Khrushch

Let us
Compete!

Run your
out of
Soviet
Park!

The American economic miracle is the world's greatest success story.

It has had a powerful impact on the Communists' evaluation of the U.S. — It is a vital factor in Peace.

encourage the Full Enterprise System.

2 We believe in and encourage competition.

We believe that the dynamic forces of competition and profits provide the key to economic growth.

2 We believe that Fiscal + Monetary Policy should be the primary agents to encourage expansion when needed and to control inflation when required.

2 We believe that Self-restraint & Self-discipline resulting from an over-all understanding of the economy are essential factors in Price & Wage Stability.

Factors in Price-Wage Stability.

We believe that a continuing dialogue ^{between} ~~the~~ ^{Government} ~~and~~ ^{Business} ~~and~~ ^{labor} based on Candor and mutual respect is absolutely necessary if we are to preserve any sort of balance and stability in a highly volatile economy. (and we believe that discussion and agreement is preferable to compulsion and enforcement. We seek to persuade, to reason together, to appeal to National interest as the best protection of Self interest.

Last year alone we increased our GNP by 47 billion dollars, increased our total personal income by 39 billion dollars, and increased our federal cash receipts by 8 1/2 billion dollars. — and up it goes again

↳ All this did not happen by accident.

Part of it is certainly due to the influence of ~~Mr. Keynes and~~ the so-called New Economics.

↳ But I believe the basic, underlying reason behind our economic success is this: There is today a creative partnership for prosperity among those in our society who used to think of themselves as natural antagonists.!

↳ We are dispelling old myths.

↳ How long has it been since we've heard old, empty labels such as "labor boss" and "economic

royalist." — You don't hear it in The White House.

The President and his advisors have faith in and respect for the Business and financial leadership of this Nation. We believe in and

It is in this spirit that Tax laws have been adjusted;
depreciation schedules accelerated. Greater reliance on
financing in the private market, — Balance of Payments
and now the fight on Inflation — Capital outlay cut

The fact is that American government, business
and labor are increasingly united in the premise that
a stronger and better America will be to the ~~common~~
benefit of all.

Among other things, we are united in our
determination to accomplish something that no nation
has previously dared to try: To make every citizen
in our society a full and productive member of our society.

And so today we make national investments in
our country and in our people---investments in
productivity, in opportunity, in enterprise, in greater
social justice, in self-help.

That is what our Great Society programs are
all about.

Education... medical care... war against poverty
...programs of retraining and redevelopment... better

Investment - with moderation - can't do
it all at once -

- 14 -

cities and transportation...an even more productive
agriculture...yes, equality at the ballot box and
before the law---these are the most basic investments
of all in an America able to keep its commitments both
at home and abroad.

~~As the President has said so often,~~ It is not a
matter of ~~the~~ Great Society or fulfillment of our international
responsibilities. It is not a matter of guns or butter,
foreign aid or domestic education. They are tied together
and you cannot separate them. |

↳ If we can build a society operating on all its
cylinders, others in the world may have some hope of
doing the same. If we cannot, what hope may others
have?

↳ To make our free system work...to sustain it for the long Pull
...to keep our pledges all the while: This ~~indeed is~~ ^{is}
the way to erase any doubts the world may have about
our ability to fulfill the responsibility of leadership. } this is the Key to Peace!

In closing, may I say a word about the nature
of that responsibility.

↳ Leadership in today's world requires far more
than a large stock of ^{Planes + Bombs} ~~gunboats~~ and a hard fist at the
conference table.

↳ Leadership today requires more than the ability
to go-it-alone---although we must not be afraid to do
so when necessary.

↳ Leadership today requires understanding of the
problems we face...of the resources at hand...and of
the objectives we seek.

↳ It requires the ability, perhaps even more, to lead
and inspire others---to lead and inspire in a sense of
common enterprise.

For as strong and rich as we may become,
our goal of a just and peaceful world will never be
achieved by America alone.

It will be achieved only when the resources of
strong and weak, rich and poor alike are allocated,
in the most efficient manner possible, to challenges
that are far too great for any one nation or group of
nations to attempt to overcome.

This, then, is the test of ourselves: Not to
march alone, but to march in such a way that others
will wish to join us.

I will add one caveat: In none of this should
we expect either friendship or gratitude.

Done 30

We have already eaten breakfast to the accompaniment, in our morning newspapers, of too many "Yankee Go Home" signs. . . too many riots. . . too many denunciations of ourselves to believe that leadership can reward us with international laurel wreaths.

I think the most we can expect is this: That those who question us will one day find no reason to question; that in the world there may be no doubt that Americans have the vision, the endurance and the courage to stand and see it through for what we believe in.

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REMARKS

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And in our power, wealth and freedom we stand as leader of the western world.

As a nation cautioned from the first against entangling alliances, this role is not an easy one.

And, indeed, to many other nations of the world we remain a relatively unknown quantity.

For it has been only in recent years that we have ventured into the world with any real seriousness.

And thus we hear questions asked: Are we overreaching ourselves? Will we tire of our tasks? Will our economy be able to support the burdens we carry at home and abroad? Are we equal to the role of world leadership?

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For the answers affect the great majority of nations and the great majority of the world's peoples--not only because of the weight of our power, but because of the things we stand for. In Tom Paine's words: "The cause of America is in great measure the cause of all mankind."

In the final analysis, the questions asked about us can only be answered by how we measure up to the challenges before us.

Today we face three great and interrelated tasks in the world: the pursuit of peace; the effort to narrow the gap between the rich and poor nations; and the necessity of sustaining an American economy able to carry a thousand future burdens here and around the world.

Our search for peace finds its best expression in our support for the kind of world envisioned in the United Nations Charter--a world where large and small nations might live alike in harmony without threat of external coercion.

No nation has done more for peace than has ours since World War II. The UN . . . the Marshall Plan . . . Point Four . . . the Alliance for Progress . . . the Peace Corps . . . the Asian Development Bank . . . the International Monetary Fund and World Bank . . . Food for Peace . . . the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty --- these have come from initiatives worthy of our position of leadership.

These have come from our search for peace.

But other initiatives, too, have come from our search for peace: Firmness in Berlin; aid to Greece and Turkey; the founding of NATO, CENTO and SEATO; resistance to aggression in Korea; the determination that nuclear missiles should not be introduced into the Hemisphere.

For we have long since learned that peaceful development cannot exist in an environment of violence, aggression, and fear.

Today peace is at stake in Asia.

Peace is at stake in a hundred thousand Asian villages, in the struggle of peasants against a millennium of poverty, disease and despair.

Peace is at stake in a tortured South Vietnam, in the struggle against the classic power tactics of communism.

We must not lose the peace in either struggle.

That is why we have committed once more--as we have had to do before--men, money, and resources to help the nations of Asia help themselves toward security and independence.

It won't be easy. It will be frustrating and at times heartbreaking. But, if we are not to deny our leadership . . . if we are not to deny the principles in which we believe, we must stay and see it through. And the free nations of the world need to know that we have the vision and the endurance to do so.

Those who threaten their neighbors in Asia should know it too. They should know that we will resist their aggression.

But they should also know that we bear no consumptive hate against their people, that we have no design on their sovereignty. We look only toward the day when all nations may choose to live in harmony with their neighbors--when they may turn together their energies to building a better life for their peoples.

For this is, after all, the second great task before us: The desperate need to narrow the widening gap between the rich and poor nations of the world.

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But those who remain--and you can be sure of this--those who remain will take to the streets---they will turn to any master---they will tear the fabric of peace to shreds, unless they have some reason to believe that there is hope for life and hope for justice.

To put this on a more immediate and practical level, let me call to your attention the foreign aid request now before the Congress.

The expenditure for the first year of the Marshall Plan was about 2 per cent of our GNP, and 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the federal budget. Today--thanks to the growth of our American economy--our foreign aid request is for only .29 per cent of our GNP and about 1.9 per cent of the federal budget--that is, about two cents out of every tax dollar. Yet we hear the same doubts and complaints today that we heard 20 years ago.

If someone has a substitute for foreign aid, I'd like to hear about it. The investment we make in foreign aid--in preventive medicine, if you will--is certainly less than that necessary to treat the symptoms of massive economic crisis and disorder and, yes, of war.

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#####

of two men who punched and kicked two Liverpool, England, policemen in 1962. They were sentenced to 18 months in jail, promptly appealed the judge's harshness, only to have the Court of Criminal Appeals double their jail term. "There must be deterrent sentences to ensure that police officers in Liverpool can safely carry out their duties," the court declared.

Attacks on police have become so frequent that the American Law Institute has recommended that states pass a model law clearly emphasizing the duty of every citizen to come quietly when arrested by a badge-displaying officer. Any questions of mistaken arrest would then be settled in court rather than in the street. The *New York Times*, urging the state legislature to pass such a law, declared, "In these days of increasing hoodlumism and street crime, the community rightly expects the police to assume risks, but in return it owes them reasonable protection. Policemen forced to make instantaneous decisions under trying circumstances should not become fair game for a mob."

The well-publicized vilification of America's policemen is hiding the fact that the police themselves are becoming the victims of brutality. The FBI's *Uniform Crime Reports* shows that one out of every ten po-

licemen was assaulted in 1964 (the most recent year of record). In five years, 225 officers were killed, and most of them left wives and children. In 1964 alone, felons killed 57 policemen.

The stakes. The harsh fact is that our nation is besieged by crime. During an average week, one city of 1,600,000 has 566 burglaries, 114 robberies, 15 rapes and about four killings. The situation is just as grim in suburban and rural areas, where nearly one third of all serious crimes occur among only one fifth of the population.

Statistics, however appalling, fail to tell the private horror of those attacked. A Los Angeles man going about his daily business is shot to death near his truck. A U.S. Congressman working late in his Capitol Hill office is knifed and robbed. A woman kneeling in prayer is dragged to a confessional and raped.

Anyone who has ever called for help in such danger knows the feeling of terror, and what it can mean to have police officers who do not hesitate to respond instantly and forcefully. Protecting the police from unjust "brutality" smears is actually protecting yourself. The state could be your home—or your life.

For information on reprints of this article, see page 24

A RECENT graduate is finding many of June's promises illusory. The world doesn't belong to him, his unbreakable watch is broken, and his lifetime pen is out of ink.

—Indianapolis Star

VIETNAM:

Why We Stay

A forthright declaration from the Vice President

Adapted from an address by

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Vice President of the United States

At luncheon

4-25-66

SOME PEOPLE say that we should not be in Vietnam, that we should not have intervened. Well, listen to these words of John Stuart Mill, the great 19th-century English philosopher and economist: "The doctrine of non-intervention, to be a great principle of morality, must be accepted by all governments. The despots must consent to be bound by it as well as the free states. Unless they do, the protection comes but to this: that the wrong side may help the wrong, but the right must not help the right."

Here is a clear statement of why we are in Vietnam. It is not of our own volition, but by request, by treaty, by obligation and by commitment.

If we had applied the doctrine of non-intervention in Greece after World War II, that country would be controlled by the communists today. If the British had applied it in

Malaya, the same thing would have happened there. In both cases, but for timely outside aid, militant and determined communist minorities would have seized and held power. In both cases, subsequent elections proved that the communists were indeed a minority—and a small one at that.

And, I might add, if we had left South Korea alone in the face of communist aggression from the North, there would be no South Korea today. History should have taught us by now that communists are dedicated to seeking power in whatever way they can get it. If they succeed in seizing power by force in one country, they will be tempted to try it in others. Indeed, "Liberation Fronts" have already been set up for both Thailand and Malaysia.

Then I've heard that the struggle for Vietnam is a civil war. The National Liberation Front (the members of it are the Vietcong) is exactly

ADAPTED FROM AN ADDRESS AT THE ANNUAL LUNCHEON MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS IN NEW YORK CITY, APRIL 25, 1966

what it says it is—a front. That is the only honest word in its title. It is not national. It liberates no one. It is a front of Ho Chi Minh from Hanoi. And he says so. The only people who seem to misunderstand him are some here in the United States, where communism is a matter of academic discussion rather than of life and death.

I hear it said that the government in Saigon is weak. This is true. And then I hear people say, "How can you expect us to do anything with all of the unrest, the demonstrations?" Well, there is disorder. And understandably so. A nation which for 1000 years was under Mandarin rule, 100 years under French colonialism, 25 years in war, crumbled and driven to the ground time after time by terror and armies, with thousands of government leaders and officials assassinated or kidnapped by the communists since 1959—is it any wonder that there is disorder? The wonder is that there is any order.

But I would rather have the disorder of a vital, vigorous people such as the South Vietnamese than the silence of a people who have been subdued by communism as in Hanoi. I'd rather by a long shot.

There is a struggle for power in South Vietnam today, and this disturbs us all. But put it in perspective. That struggle indicates how well the military operation has gone. A year ago there was no struggle for power because a year ago it was very doubtful that there would

be any South Vietnam. Today all the world knows there will be a South Vietnam. And the power groups within South Vietnam are now positioning themselves to see who is going to run the country. They know that the United States has brought in vast amounts of manpower and resources, that they are not going to lose.

So when the Buddhists, the Catholics, the students, the labor people and the peasants ask themselves "What kind of government will we have? What kind of constitution?" this is not a sign of weakness. It is indeed the best evidence that considerable progress has been made in defeating the enemy.

There are two things upon which all these groups agree: They do not want the communists to control them. And they do not want us to abandon them. What is more, no one leader of any group in South Vietnam has yet defected to Hanoi or to the National Liberation Front. Not one. A remarkable record, I must say.

Meanwhile, during the past year and a half, 800,000 refugees from Vietcong-held areas have come to government-controlled territory in South Vietnam. Why? Because they did not want to live under communism.

In the future, there is going to be an election in South Vietnam. The people are going to adopt a new constitution. There will be an elected civilian government. We supply this with all of its uncertainties

because we are in Vietnam to support the right of dissent, the right of free choice and self-determination. The press of America and of the whole world will observe these elections.

I should like to have those who are most concerned about what happens in South Vietnam ask North Vietnam to conduct a free election under the same ground rules, under the same observation. If the communists win in South Vietnam, it will be the first time in history they ever won a free and open national election.

It is well and good that we criticize our own efforts when these efforts are wrong. It is well and good that we point up our shortcomings. But, by the same token, if we believe in the principles of freedom, we must apply them to friend and foe alike. And if we do, I have a feeling that the people of South Vietnam will do quite well.

We are being watched. We are being watched very carefully by the

whole world to see whether or not, in this period of our affluence and power, at this time when certain communist nations seem to be less irritating than before, we have our old will. The free nations of the world need to know that we have the vision and the endurance to fulfill the American commitment. And those who threaten their neighbors need to know that we take our commitments seriously, that we will resist aggression, and that we will stay and see it through in Vietnam.

But they should also know that we bear no consumptive hate against their people, that we have no design on their sovereignty. We look only toward the day when all nations may choose to live in harmony with their neighbors—when they may turn together their energies to building a better life for their peoples.

For information on reprints of this article, see page 24

Headline Hits

ON New York *World-Telegram* and *The Sun* story of a strike in New York's garment district: "GARMENT AREA BUTTONED UP."

ON Washington *Post* story about a trusty who departed while washing down the jail lobby: "CLEAN GETAWAY."

ON Garden City, N.Y., *Newsday* story about a Russian cosmetics institute: "MOSCOW COSMETIC CLINIC GIVES A LIFT TO RED FACES."

IN Washington *Post*: "MARYLAND U. BEER ISSUE COMING TO A HEAD."

ON New York *Daily News* story of hijacked truckload of dresses: "\$50,000 WORTH OF LADIES' SKIRTS LIFTED." —Jerome Beatty, Jr., in *Saturday Review*



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