

ADDRESS

By The

VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Before

The

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VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: Thank you very much, Mr. Hays, for your kind comments and those of all the officers and the many different groups you have here.

I have been looking over the program. There is enough room for everybody in this organization, my fellow Vice Presidents. I think it is time that the slaves rose up against the masters.

Truly, it is a very special privilege to be here at this luncheon. I hope you noticed the extraordinarily fine service of the day. Arthur Hays was saying he never had it this good before. He said, "I am glad we invited you. We did get served in a hurry." It is very nice for the Vice President to know that he serves some useful function.

Now, there have been several references here to the similarity between your distinguished president and the Vice President of the United States: Sons of druggists, four children, several other things. The only difference is that he doesn't have to worry about public opinion polls, and he is President; and you would be surprised how much I respect that title. You could be President of almost anything, and it

would terrify me.

I know that everyone here is very fond of Bill Small, but I didn't realize that you were going to have a birthday party for him here in New York, particularly at these high prices, but he deserves every bit of it, and, in case you don't know, he is now with the rest of us, a little over the hill, celebrating his 40th birthday. As the News Director and Bureau Manager of the Washington Office, I thought I ought to salute Bill Small and make sure he keeps Humphrey on radio all the time. He has done quite well, I might add. Of course, there is room for improvement, and I will be talking to him about it after we leave here today.

I was with your guests here today in a room just down the hall a bit, and I looked over on the wall and there were all those New York Yankee uniforms. I don't know, but I am beginning to think that maybe we ought to put that team in, the one I saw there in those pictures. In case you didn't know, all the officers and directors have been mounted on the uniforms of the Yankees, and you have never seen such virile, vigorous bodies. I am not saying a thing

about the heads that have been put on those bodies.

I came here with a message from the Justice Department to tell you that, as long as the Yankees are doing as poorly as they are, you can buy the Mets and there will be no recriminations.

I just have a host of notes here that don't really make a great deal of sense. I came here today to share this hour with you and make a few remarks, and then to do something that a man that has good judgment ought not to do, and that is to expose himself to the inquiring mind and penetrating questions of people who have been waiting a long time to get a bit at a live public official, but I want you to feel perfectly free to do that.

Your news program, your CBS News, is one of the most refreshing and one of the most invigorating and informative services that is made available to the American people. We are very proud of our CBS outlets in Minnesota, Mr. Hammond as well as the regular CBS Station, WCCO -- I didn't want you boys over there to think we have forgotten you -- and KBLR. They have all been doing very good by me -- and several others.

I notice that today we have a few of our friends here. Van Ronnenberg is around. He has been sending me those Dutch shoes and red underwear for Christmas for years. I thank him for them now. Larry Hague, Bill McNeil and a few others. All of our friends are down from Duluth. Once they thought it was a pocket of poverty and now it is a transfer of Fort Knox up there.

The great CBS organization is remembered for many things. If you never had any other claim to fame than Elmer Davis, you would have enough to last you for two or three generations. Not long ago I was at Tufts University, where we dedicated a Community Center to the memory of this fine and wonderful American who symbolizes what you have today, freedom of information. His mind was incisive, his voice was clear and definitive, and he brought to the American people, as a spokesman for radio, the truth as he saw it, unvarnished, untouched, unbiased; the truth as he saw it.

Of course, that is what we mean by freedom of information. One is never quite sure that he has the truth, but he seeks to present that

which he believes is the truth and, out of that refiner's fire of the many competitive ideas which are given to the listener or to the American public, we hope to be able to sift out those kernels of truth that guide our national and our individual lives.

I know it is rather hazardous to select anybody out for any reference, but many is the time I have listened to my friend Walter Cronkite, and I have thought to myself what a fine man and, not only a fine man, but what a student, what a scholar. There are others. This is but one of several -- yes, several -- not many, but one of several.

One of the advantages of radio is that it can give you news in depth if you will take the time to do it. You have to be a little more in depth than even with pictures, because the picture can be a substitute for your thoughts, but, when you have to explain it by word, you have to paint the picture. You paint it, you develop it, you fill in the details by your words, by your adjectives, by your adverbs, your nuances, the tone of your voice, the inflection; and I must say that the art of listening is a very important art to cultivate. Many people have told

me that, and may I say that I have had the opportunity to repent for my sins a great deal. Can you imagine Hubert Humphrey presiding over the United States Senate and not being able to say a word. Sixteen years I stood on that Floor and for two years I paid and paid and paid.

But, in all truth, you give a very valuable service to American life, a valuable function. I think primarily, of course, as a man in public life, because news is only the articulation of what is happening. It is the way that we communicate; it is the way that we make it one nation; it is the way that we tie a community together; it is the way that we become acquainted, even if we have never met. The radio performs such a valuable function because it is on the minute; it is the news flash, as well as the news in depth; and then may I add this word: That, of all the many public services that we have today in the educational field, none is greater than the one that you supervise or that you administer, the radio.

In a national emergency, who do we turn to? If at this very hour some tragedy should befall

our country from an enemy, or within the country, it is your station that would alert us and give us that sense of direction; and people depend upon it. They depended on it here in New York City some months ago, as you know, when power went off. It is radio, with its emergency setup, that serves the national interest and gives this community service, so I can pay you proper tribute, and I do, and I thank you for your service to the nation and, above all, your service to the community.

By the way, I have been going around this country emphasizing that this nation is nothing more or less a mosaic of communities. As important as Washington is, it is only a center; it is not the body. The body of the nation is where you live and, if there is going to be a better America, it is going to be because it is better in your town. If there are going to be better young people and better opportunities for those young people, it is because you helped make it in your town, in your area, in the area that your media serves. I have seen all those maps and, if there is going to be a stronger America, it is because it will be better where you live.

We add it all up. It is like a tally sheet. Every time that there is a loser, there is a weakness in America. Every time that there is a deficit in a community activity, there is another area of weakness in America.

I sometimes think those of us who are in New York, in Washington, get to think that everything that happens that is important is where we are, in New York or Washington. That is not true. New York is important, very important. It is a great center of finance, industry, of commerce and of the arts and of the news media and of entertainment, culture, but it is not all of America. We are spread all throughout this land and every part of it is vital; every part of it. My public life is dedicated to one proposition, to bring more and more Americans into the mainstream of American life, to bring more and more Americans to participate in American life, to make them not only understand that they have the privileges of citizenship, but also the responsibilities; to get people to understand that the Government in Washington is only one facet of the Governmental structure; that you don't build an America out of Washington,

you build an America out of where you live; and that the feedback -- it should be a feedup, not a feedback -- that the lines and the roots of America are where the local communities and the states are to be found, and that we draw sustenance and strength from that soil.

Yes, indeed, we establish standards at the national level. We try to implement, we try to supplement, but it is wrong for Americans to think in terms of their nation's government as the dominating force in their lives. It should be the complementary force, the supplementary force, to supplement and not to supplant. This is my message as I have gone across this land, and I go many places.

Now, I want to make three observations to you and then we will open up the question period. My first observation is this: That this nation is no stronger abroad than it is at home. We cannot carry the burden of international leadership unless we are equipped intellectually, spiritually, economically and politically at home to do so. Otherwise we tire and we weary and ultimately we will fail to persevere and carry through; and I happen to

be one that believes that our enemy or our competition -- I think that is a more polite word -- are totalitarian forces and they are there and there is no use of pretending that they are not, and there is no reason that you should ever think that they will ever forego their objective, namely, of having their way of life become the prevailing way of life. Now, that doesn't particularly bother me, because I happen to think that our way of life has something to offer to this world, too.

I am a naturally competitive person, or I couldn't be in public life, but I think the important question for us to understand is that we need to build in America an economy and a political structure and a sense of political maturity that is able to take the strain for the long pull. We are not going to have it easy. Long after you and I have left this earth, this nation is going to be tested. We are only living in what you might call a flickering moment of history. We like to think that each year, each decade is an important part of history. It is important, but, in terms of nations and mankind, it is but a split second; and the

important thing for this nation to do now is to buckle down to the task of leadership. Leadership doesn't give you any privileges; you know that. It gives you responsibilities; it imposes burdens, and we have to be prepared for it.

So, the question we need ask ourselves is: Do we have the will, do we have the perseverance, can we project to the world that we have the will and the determination and the perseverance; that we are not going to go around and take our temperature ten times a day and that we are not going to public poll ourselves to death. I don't think it is really important whether you are popular. I think it is nice. Who doesn't like to be popular? But, I think what is more important is are you willing to sacrifice whatever popularity you have for what you believe to be right.

Political popularity is like money in the bank or a line of credit. It is to be used. It is not just to lie there and gather just a little interest. It is to be used for what you think is right. Now, you may be wrong, but there are other forces that will determine that. If you keep your society free,

if you have freedom of information, if you have freedom of discussion, freedom of dissent, freedom of debate, you do not need to worry about the fact that a wrong decision will prevail. A wrong decision may have bad consequences, but it will not prevail if there is an open society.

That is number one: Do we have the will and the perseverance? Can we create a society here that can take the strain in the long run? Our enemies are asking that question, and I think they doubt it. I believe our friends are asking that question, and some of them doubt it. I think that America ought to be making it crystal clear to the whole world that we are not particularly concerned whether everybody likes us. We are more interested in whether or not they have reason to respect us and, if they have reason to respect you, they will learn how to like you and how to live with you.

The second proposition that I would offer to you is: If our economy is important and if the staying power of this nation is important for a better world -- and I think it is -- what are we going to do about this economy. We have learned a great deal.

We have learned what we call the new economics. Walter Heller -- who, by the way, has become one of the great national figures with his economic knowledge, his knowledge of the economy, his sophisticated knowledge of the economic theory -- I think in a sense has revolutionized economic thought in this nation. We learn, if we could but release the dynamic forces of a private economy, if we have some faith in the profit system, if we look upon government as having a rather limited role, but yet an important role, if we would reduce taxes even when we have unemployment and recession, that the dynamic forces of this economy could move the nation ahead -- and that is what we have done. The greatest success in the war on poverty is in private enterprise. This is not to say on my part that we haven't done something worthwhile in governmental efforts, but more jobs have been provided by private industry in the war on poverty, than anything that the government has been able to do directly, by releasing the vast dynamism of this economy. So, we need to keep this economy growing.

I am going to just lay it right on the

line. There are many people in this audience, I am sure, that never dreamed that we would have attained a \$750 billion dollar economy. In 1950 I made a little statement in the Senate, saying that I envisioned by the year 1960 a \$500 billion dollar economy, and I saw an editorial in one of the papers in my home state that said "economic lunacy." I wasn't a lunatic. I didn't know that I was a prophet. In fact, I was a very conservative man because, by 1960, we had gone beyond that \$500 billion. There are too many people who don't understand. It isn't a choice any more whether you want a big economy. You have to have it. It is like my father said to me when I got married. I said to him, "Dad, what am I going to do if we have any children?" He said, "Son, have them and you will find out what to do," and that is what most of us do. Necessity is the mother of invention. Necessity compels us to find new ways and if you find new ways when competing with other media you will stay in business; otherwise, you are not around long; and man does like to survive.

So, this economy of ours must move ahead

progressively, not only in some sectors, but across the whole spectrum. That is why we are concerned with inflation. Inflation can be disastrous to a highly volatile, active economy. And yet, ladies and gentlemen, if a government takes precipitous action that is not carefully weighed, that is not measured against every possibility, that action can likewise be disastrous. It is like flying a supersonic plane. The rapidity of flight is so vast that any movement of the controls can throw the whole thing into a spin or into a disastrous posture. That is why your President and your council of economic advisors and your Cabinet doesn't always respond immediately to the first speech that someone gives -- and, by the way, I have given a lot of those speeches myself, so I understand the difference between being an advocate and a judge, between being one who presses for a decision and one who makes the decision. The most important experience of my life is to watch the decision-making process of this government. There is a process and a procedure, and it is carefully pursued, and it is not all a political thing. Believe it or not, the people who serve you

in government are deeply concerned about their country. They too have children and loved ones; they too have families that have business interests and have a stake in this economy. And none of us, none of us that I know in either party, wishes to precipitate a disastrous course in the American economy. We have some disagreements, but we try to balance off all these differences and move prudently and cautiously.

There is nothing wrong with being more prudent and cautious when you are traveling almost at supersonic speed in terms of your economic development. So, rather than slamming on the brakes and throwing ourselves into the windshield, we have looked around to see whether or not there wasn't maybe some way that we could hold this vast moving economy on its course, and slow it down where it needed to be slowed down on some of the sharp curves, and yet letting it go forward at high speed in other safe areas. This means that there are some areas of the economy that are overheated, and it is all very delicate.

Now, my third point: What is the goal of your nation; what is its purpose today? I am going

to the United Nations this afternoon. The Charter of the United Nations represents the goal and the purpose of this country. We are a signatory to that Charter and we take it seriously. I want to say that no nation on the face of this earth has ever contributed so much to the cause of peace as the one of which you are a citizen, and it is about time that people started to talk this way. This doesn't deny us the opportunity to be critical, but it puts what I call criticism within a frame of reference that is constructive. I receive hundreds of letters telling everything that is wrong, and I pray for the day that I might get one that tells me what we might do that is right; a letter or a communication that relates to the realities of what we face, and then adjusts its solutions to those realities.

The United Nations' Charter has a line in it that says that every signatory is committed to suppress aggression and to promote self-determination. Now, if you didn't know that, you ought to know it now, because there was but one dissenting vote to that treaty in the Congress of the United States,

and the United Nations' Charter has been praised all over the world, by every religious faith, by every political leader.

We are a signatory to that Charter and we are committed to suppress aggression and to encourage and promote self-determination, among other things. Now, is it the way to peace? Indeed it is. You and I know, for example, that in our own domestic communities today we have violence. We cannot acquiesce in that violence. You cannot acquiesce in lawlessness and rioting. So you have to use the police power to suppress it, to resist it. But, having done that, you also know that you cannot acquiesce in the condition which may contribute to the violence. So, then, you move affirmatively, positively, against those conditions. There is no difference between this situation, on the domestic scene, and that abroad. We cannot sit idly by, in this kind of a small world in which we live, and permit aggression to become an accepted mode of international conduct for the attainment of political objectives, any more than you can sit aside in your community and let hoodlums and gangsters, or whoever

it may be, agitators, take over your community. But, having said that, you also know that on occasion you may find conditions which seem to aid and abet the appetite for violence. So, we move on that.

In Southeast Asia today we resist aggression not for the Viet Nameese alone. I am a much more selfish man than that -- even though I think morally that would be reason enough for us to be there -- because I just do not believe that the United States of America, blessed as it has been by nature or by Divine Providence or accident, with all the blessings we have, that we have any right to sit idly by and see fifty million people made, for all practical purposes, the slaves of totalitarianism. I don't think that is right. I don't think anybody can defend it morally.

When I hear people raise their voices with high pontification about the evils of the war in Viet Nam, I say, "Well, are you advocating that we withdraw and let fifty million people become the innocent victims of the most evil force that ever dominated this section of the earth?" That is not for me; I want you to know that. I have told people,

"If you want that, get another Vice President, because I just don't believe in that." But I am sure that one of the reasons we are there is because we have learned a long time ago that aggression unchecked is aggression unleashed, and that, if it becomes a habit, if it succeeds, it spreads. I don't know whether it is the dominal theory or not, but one thing I do know is that there is no satisfying the appetite of a successful aggressor.

I happen to believe that we may be preventing World War III by limited action in Viet Nam, just as I am sure that we stalled it in Korea, and just as I am sure that we have stopped it on three occasions in Berlin, and we ought to have learned those lessons. So, our objective is not force. Our objective is not even the use of force, any more than the objective of the Mayor of your City is the use of the police, or the objective of President Eisenhower was the use of the National Guard, or the objective of John Kennedy was the use of the National Guard. Those were not their objectives. Those were temporary actions for a much nobler purpose, and that nobler purpose was to open up the gates of opportunity, to

get first-class citizenship for every American here.

There is a much more noble purpose on the whole world scene that we can seek, and that nobler purpose is building the conditions that are conducive to peace. And my final word is simply this, that peace doesn't come by one single act. If there is any lesson America needs to learn, it is that peace is like a mighty cathedral, the beautiful cathedrals that you have seen in Europe. They take sometimes centuries to build, but there has to be a design, and, as we have said about the cathedral, it is the plan of a master architect and the labors of many for generations. We have built this **pattern** of peace block by block, stone by stone, year by year, decade by decade, and we have done fairly well. We have averted a nuclear war for twenty years; a billion people have gained their freedom in twenty years; seventy new nations have come into being in twenty years, and not one of them has gone communist.

Now, if you will take the long view of history, and not always be frightened by the momentary mistakes, or what seems to be the momentary defeats, as free men and as citizens of a great free country,

I think you can have some reason for optimism. I am not one who believes that totalitarianism is the way of the future. It is the swampwater and the backwater of a dismal past. This is the fresh stream of the tomorrow, what we represent, what we represent in human dignity and self-determination and the right of people to make their own choices. And we have to believe. Faith is the first building block to strength and victory, and the minute that people lose faith in themselves or lose their sense of vision, they are already on the road to defeat.

If I can do one thing for my country, I hope it is that I can instill faith in those who are older and vision in those who are younger, and then maybe we can have the kind of world in the days to come that we have dreamed of and prayed for.

Now, that is my little message to you, and now we are open for questions.

Thank you very much.

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FROM THE AUDIENCE: It was an eloquent and understanding speech. I regret that the world was denied the opportunity for it to be heard.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: That is a very nice compliment, believe me. In my position, you enjoy them.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, I think the existence of a network and its affiliates probably belongs to a greater team of those who introduce new products along with our other news and our information to the country, and I am wondering if it isn't unfair to ask you if Mr. **Turner** of the Justice Department, whose recent speech advocated the fact that maybe it would be a good idea to have the government take over the information about new products, rather than commercial advertising, if that reflects the views of the Administration?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I didn't hear him say that, but I don't think the government ought to be in the business of selling products. The government has enough to do just to watch the people who are selling products.

I am interested in agriculture, as are **many**

friends of mine, and the Commodities Credit Association is a great credit corporation, that makes other private corporations insignificant, and so often the Department of Agriculture gets the idea that they ought to be out merchandising, and I tell them, "Look, boys, if you fellows were that good at merchandising, you wouldn't be working around here for \$15,000 or \$20,000." I come from Minnesota where we have the grain trade. And I think if you are going to be merchandising with the Russians, you ought to put one of those fellows over there, because they have no one to take care of that and they are very sharp traders.

I think that one of the best things that can ever happen to this country, is to turn loose in Eastern Europe about 10,000 of the best businessmen that we have, the best salesmen that we have, the best people that understand this private enterprise system, and let them go over there. I think it would do us a lot of good. I don't think any of them would turn communist, as long as we have the wages that we have over here.

So, Turner is wrong, and it doesn't

represent the Johnson-Humphrey Administration. We say Johnson-Humphrey, because my friends want me to keep out of trouble.

QUESTION: Senator Long of Missouri introduced a Freedom of Information Bill. Could you give us a little insight on the status of that bill now? And, if it is effective, will it be with real teeth in it to give freedom of information to the press, and particularly to the radio?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: My friend, you know that there is sort of a constant rivalry between those in government and those who seek the news. It is sort of like cats and dogs. We are all of the animal world, but we do have a little different appetite and some different purposes, and sometimes we learn how to live together, but always with sort of a quizzical eye. I wish it weren't always so, but, you know, one of the things you learn in life is to stand up and understand what things are.

I think we have a great deal of freedom of information and I believe we have to be constantly on guard to make sure that there is not what we call managed news, but I would be less than honest with

you if I did not say that everyone of those in public life would like to manage news. You have no idea how much it means to me to have something said the way I would like it said, but seldom does it happen.

I am not sure that any legislation that was passed would really be of significant benefit, but I am sure of one thing, that the fact that there is legislation introduced and the fact that the searchlight of inquiry is put on the agency, the Executive agencies of government and the Committees of Congress, that the fact that somebody is looking into it, the fact that somebody is watching government all the time, guarantees the freedom of information; and this is why this Vice President has never ever been critical at even the most abusive means of a Committee of Congress, because I would rather take their excesses and abuses as they inquire into things, rather than have them stifled because, in the main, ninety-five percent of the Committees of Congress will make sensible inquiries.

Oh, there will always be somebody who is asking a ridiculous question, because there are some

ridiculous people occasionally who get into government, and you can't always ask a good question, anyway, and when you have got the radio on and television on you always want to ask a question, but quite frankly Senator Long of Missouri is doing a very, very significant job, just as Mr. Morse of the House of Representatives has done, and I just want to commend their efforts.

I think that Senator Long's battle against snooping is a mighty good battle. I like privacy; I have little of it. And I believe there is getting to be a tendency in this great, complex society, in business as well as well as in government, to do just a little bit too much on the invasion of privacy, and the government is too big to let that happen.

QUESTION: Sir, would you discuss briefly, if you could, your opinion, and forecast the end of this Viet Nam situation? You have been there. You have been in Korea. Would it be the same situation we have in Korea now, sir?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I doubt that it would be the same, insofar as bringing the Viet Namese struggle to a conclusion. We learned a number of

things out of Korea that were long delayed, that took place during negotiations, in which the communist forces continued their aggression even as we negotiated.

I think you ought to know what our government is thinking about, what we are trying to do, because sometimes I am afraid it doesn't come through very clearly. You see, what we have been doing about the Viet Nameese policy is debating it; and, ladies and gentlemen, I have been a debater a long time. I debated for four years at the University of Minnesota, and I will let you in on a secret. We never lost one, and I could debate both sides of a question, and frequently did. Debate is not a search for truth; it is a search for points. Debate is competition. Now, we have been debating, and the critics of the Administration have been trying to score points, and we in the Administration have been trying to score points. We have tried to take the measure of a few of our critics on occasion and, in fact, what we noticed and what I am going to talk about up at Rutgers University this week, is to find a solution rather than trying to find out who won the debate.

It isn't important who wins the debate in this country. It is important what happens in Viet Nam; what is the outcome; how do we, on the one hand, sustain a position that will permit South Viet Nam to make its own destiny, to prevent the success of aggression; and, secondly, how do we get out of that place without a prolonged conflict that runs the constant danger of acceleration. That is a constant danger, don't you ever underestimate it. We seek to de-escalate this war, not to escalate it. De-escalate. We seek every conceivable way that we can find to make contact, with third parties, fourth parties, through less important people, contact with Hanoi.

The President, in what I think was maybe his finest statement on foreign policy, while at White Sulphur Springs, talked about the purpose of our nation and conciliation of ideologies. We have to learn, as the Russians have had to learn, that there is such a thing as peaceful coexistence. How do we build bridges of understanding, bridges of contact, even with the most militant forces. Temporarily that is impossible with Communist China, because Communist China is going through an internal

revolt and she is very dangerous at this time, and it is very important for us to keep out of the path of that danger; very, very important. So, our purpose is to pursue relentlessly, through every office that we possibly can, a negotiated peace.

It is my personal view that that will be possible only through de-escalation, and that means that we will have to try to find some way, some means possible in the quarters of the United Nations, hopefully with the cooperation of the Soviet Union, possibly with the help of India, and most likely, if it is to be successful, through Asian initiatives, by Asian countries themselves, to de-escalate where there is an understanding that neither side adds any more fuel to the fire, and hopefully that you start to draw back, but not to draw back to the point where the communist forces can move in for the kill. I happen to believe that negotiations are less probable than the strategic withdrawal of the North Viet Nameese forces out of the line of combat. I don't think Ho Chi Minh **wants to admit** defeat, and he hasn't been defeated, quite frankly, to this point, but, as the pressure is put on, and

more pressure is being put on, he most likely will resist going to the conference table with the super powers, because the super powers generally take care of themselves, and don't necessarily take care of his needs, so he may very well want to tell his people that "We have not been defeated," that "We have not lost. We have momentarily withdrawn, only to come back another day." Whatever he tells them is inconsequential to me. The important thing is that we bring this thing to a timely halt, without the sacrifice of Viet Nameese self-determination. And we have Mr. Marman heading up a peace mission quietly. We work closely with the Vatican. We have very close contact, as you may know, with seventeen nations, headed up by Yugoslavia. We have contact with the Rumanians and Poles and Hungarians. We are trying our best to keep the line of communication open with the Soviet Union and, when I was in the Far East, I spent a great deal of time with the President of India, who possibly might be of some help to us in this, because it is this man's view, speaking to you, that if there is to be peace in Asia it will have to come with Asian initiatives, with an Asian pattern;

that we will never be able to dictate it, that we will be able to support it, but they themselves, the people in Asia, who are beginning to understand the real meaning of this conflict, will find a way to bring it to a conclusion. Every Asian country is afraid of Communist China, don't forget.

I think Mr. Marcos' most important statement in America to date is that we are temporarily filling the security gap in Asia; that the smaller nations, and even including the larger ones, and India, standing alone against the forces of Communist China, cannot hold back the avalanche, and that the United States of America temporarily is filling that security gap. But, having said that, the answer to peace will rely primarily upon their own capacity, in their own Asian way, to talk in terms of Asian mentality, to find a solution which we must back and be willing to back. It may not be so pleasant for us.

That is the best I can give you.

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