

FOR RELEASE: Saturday AM's
October 29, 1966

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
BLUE KEY BANQUET
UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA

OCTOBER 28, 1966

Tonight President Johnson is in Thailand.

Earlier this week, he met in Manila with the leaders of six Asian and Pacific nations who are committed to the defense of Viet Nam.

We are surrounded each day by a new set of places, a new cast of characters, a new range of conflicts and problems.

For many Americans Viet Nam and Asia remain strange and distant places. Yet we must focus our attention there. For our own peace and security are very much involved.

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

In our power, wealth and freedom we stand as a world leader. And, as such, we cannot afford the luxury of isolation or inwardness.

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?

Fair enough questions they are.

For the answers affect the great majority of nations and the great majority of the world's people -- 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 bear its future responsibilities 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 can live together in harmony without threat of external coercion.

No nation has done more for peace than ours has since World War II. The U.N. . . . the Marshall Plan . . . Point Four . . . the Alliance for Progress . . . the Peace Corps . . . 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 take place in an environment of violence, aggression, and fear.

Today peace is at stake in Asia.

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

Peace is at stake in a tortured South Viet Nam, 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 hatred against their peoples, that we have no designs on their sovereignty. We look only toward the day when all nations may choose to live in harmony with their neighbors -- when they may together turn 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.

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 undernourished 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 people 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.

Yet some people still regard foreign aid as an extravagance -- when actually it is a minimum kind of insurance.

To put the matter in its proper perspective, our expenditures in the first year of the Marshall Plan amounted to about two per cent of our Gross National Product, and 1 1/2 per cent of our Federal budget. Today appropriations for foreign aid amount to only 0.3 per cent of our Gross National Product and 1.9 per cent of our 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.

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 have not only 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 a 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?

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 build an America so strong, so free, so able to lead, that there may be no question about our purpose or our endurance.

Basic to this is the necessity of building an economy of growth and opportunity, yet stable in times when it is tested.

I need not remind this audience of the long-held Communist belief -- I suppose some of them still hold 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 by now some of the Communist doctrinaires have come to realize that Lord Keynes was speaking of 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."

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

As I speak to you tonight, we are enjoying our 68th straight month of sustained and vigorous economic growth. Our Gross National Product is running at 50 billion dollars a year. Profits, wages and farm income are all setting new records. Meanwhile, we have restrained inflation more successfully than any other major industrial nation.

This economic miracle 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 and empty labels such as "labor boss" and "economic royalist"?

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 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 a Great Society or the 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 ... to keep our pledges all the while: This indeed is the way to erase any doubts the world may have about our ability to fulfill the responsibility of leadership.

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 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 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, of rich and poor alike are allocated, in the most effective manner possible, to challenges that are far too great for any one nation to attempt to overcome.

This, then, is the test we must set 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.

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

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

BLUE KEY BANQUET -

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA

OCTOBER 28, 1966

"Influencing"

✓ Gov Burns
✓ Sen Holland
✓ Sen Smathers
✓ Mr. Rosten

Honorary Leadership
Society
~~17-4-4~~
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✓ Tonight President Johnson is in Thailand.

Earlier this week, he met in Manila with the leaders of six Asian and Pacific nations who are committed to the defense of Viet Nam.

✓ And yesterday we received news of an event in mainland China which will be felt for many years ahead.

✓ We are surrounded each day by a new set of places, a new cast of characters, a new range of conflicts and problems.

④ ✓ For many Americans, Viet Nam and Asia remain strange and distant places. Yet we must focus our attention there.

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Asia - Manila

-5-

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Pope John 23
In a world of constant want there is no peace

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Venezuela
Peru
Peru
Central
America

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

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.

Partnership

Among other things, we are ~~united in our determination~~ ^{*determined*} 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, education, *(health)* in opportunity, in enterprise, in greater social justice, in self-help.

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Education... medical care... war against poverty ... programs of retraining and redevelopment ... better cities and transportation ... an even more productive agriculture... yes, equality at the ballot box and before the law -- these are ~~the most~~ basic investments *for* ~~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 a Great Society or the 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.

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

And in this regard, I wish to call your attention to an opportunity for American leadership which we shall not let pass: The chance to bring to a halt the grim race toward world destruction that is contained in the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

An increasing number of such weapons -- and delivery systems -- in the hands of an increasing number of nations can only lead inevitably to the ghastly mistake or miscalculation which could bring on holocaust.

We have made it -- and shall continue to make it --
our highest national priority that a nuclear non-proliferation
treaty be concluded.

We would welcome -- and shall actively work toward --
the adherence of all nations, including Communist China,
to such a treaty. The stakes for mankind are far too high
for any other course.

This, then, is the test we must set ourselves: Not
to march alone, but to march in such a way that others
will wish to join us. - *Sant But Hope on Earth*

I will add one caveat: In none of this should we
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[Transcript]

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
FLORIDA BLUE KEY BANQUET
UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
October 28, 1966

Thank you very much my good friend and colleague--Senator Smathers, George Smathers; Senator Holland, Spessard; distinguished governor of this state, Haydon Burns; our esteemed and very distinguished Justice of the Supreme Court that graces this podium tonight, Justice Clark; President Reitz; Ralph Turlington; former governors; legislators; cabinet members; candidates for the United States Senate, 1968; our fellow students.

Adali Stevenson once said that it's all right to have a little flattery as long as you don't inhale it. George, I want you to know that I took three deep breaths for every word you said. And for a vice president, that was one breath too short. I should have had four. Because one can use it.

May I just salute tonight, on behalf of all of you, I'm sure, these fine men that are with us, veterans of Viet Nam, these fine Marines. And permit me also, if you would, to thank the Brevard County commissioners, bipartisan. I want you to know that I have nothing against Republicans that vote for Hubert Humphrey--I think it's a great idea. In fact, they were some of the finest folks I knew back in Minnesota. And I'd hoped that they'd got the habit.

But I do want to thank the Board of Commissioners for the honor that they've bestowed upon me. The only other time that anything either living or inanimate has been named after Hubert Humphrey is when I insisted that our oldest son be named after me. And that was over the protests of his mother. But you will never know what this means when I go home. I've told Muriel that things like this would happen.

This is a delightful gathering, and how I've looked forward to it. The Blue Key banquet--this fine leadership society of the distinguished civic and public and private leaders of this great state of Florida. And I want to talk to you tonight about many things, but before--by the way, you're very lucky, because I've been cancelling out page after page here. I think you ought to know that. Spessard Holland is just rejoicing at the thought of it, and so is George. They've had to listen to me in the Senate. I want you to know they've gotten even with me. They made me vice president, and I haven't been able to speak for one minute since I became vice president. It only proves that a man does pay for his sins. And I'm afraid that I was awfully guilty.

But, Homecoming--what a wonderful day this is. And how I wish I could be here for that game tomorrow. But maybe it's just as well. We have enough trouble already in Washington without having to choose up between Florida and Alabama. Now you can read into that anything you want to. The one pledge I had to give President Johnson is that I wouldn't make any more trouble for him in the future than I have in the past. You see,

he's out of the country and the least that I can do is be non-committal on most of these controversial subjects.

But Homecoming brings back some very wonderful memories. Except just last week I was supposed to be home to Minnesota for homecoming last week. But they always say the Lord protects fools and Democrats, and I guess I qualified, one title or another, because I didn't go home. And the score was 49-0 for Michigan. I think we have to investigate that university. There must be something under way there that doesn't fit within the American pattern. I'm going to see if they don't have a CIA contract or something up there.

But you see, the reason for it is, they listed the 10 outstanding universities on academic rating some time ago, and Minnesota didn't qualify and even though we have a winning team this year, we decided to be intellectual and quit winning in order to get on that list. But it's nice when you can have both, like Florida, where you have-- I don't mind your winning six games straight, and I don't mind your rating being seventh in the Associated Press poll, and you can do even better tomorrow, but what bothers me is why did you have to do it at the expense of Louisiana State University? I graduated from that school. I didn't like that. I want you to know that Russell Long and Hubert Humphrey will take a dim view of that, and you'll have to watch out for your laurels from here on out.

But I was so pleased to see Coach Graves here standing before us. My, it's wonderful to see a man that's applauded so lustily

and heartily. I haven't heard such applause for a long time for almost anybody that I knew. Coach, I've got a little tip for you--keep winning. You ought to see what they almost did to Murray Warmath up in Minnesota. And that's before we even had an argument with Mississippi about civil rights or anything. It was just-- but he's doing all right. He's a good man.

I'm down here for a particular purpose. Some of you may have thought that I was invited to make a major address, but I'm really down here recruiting. I saw this fellow Jerry (Red) Anderson. And any man with the name of Anderson doesn't belong to Florida, he belongs to Minnesota. And I saw Bill Carr, too. Bill Carr's the offensive team captain; he's the Johnson of this crowd. Jerry (Red) Anderson is the defensive team captain; he's the Humphrey of this crowd. I hope he isn't as tired defending as I am.

Now I'll tell you, you folks have really got the ecumenical spirit down here. I find out that you have a Bill Carr who's the son of a Methodist minister, handing the ball to quarterback Spurrier, who's the son of a Presbyterian minister, coached by two Catholics and another protestant with a Jewish guard by the name of Warner. Now I'll tell you, you just can't beat that. I don't know what maybe Auburn ought to just call it off.

Well, it's nice to be here. I'm just having a delightful time and I hope you are. I don't get this much fun ordinarily. I had to get the President to take a 25,000 mile trip to get out of town. Ordinarily when I get up to make a speech like this I check all the doors; you notice there are several people at each

door. The last time I was in Washington making a speech along this nature was at the Gridiron Club. I had a speech, it was a dandy. You know, you're supposed to be scintillating, bright, humorous, profound--all in six minutes. Glad I didn't have to make that speech, because I couldn't have made it. But, I was just about ready to be introduced, and it was my night, you know. I was just waiting. They had the flourish, the ruffles, the music, and almost everything going great, and I was there before all the publishers, all the big men of business and labor, and all the big politicians.

And I said, well, this is the time I'll show them. And then just as I got up, they were ready to introduce me, in walks, they played Hail the Chief, and in comes President Lyndon Johnson. Now I just want you folks to know that I carry that speech around, here it is. And it's going to be in the Johnson Library. It will be there and you'll read it 25 years after. And I'm not going to give it to you tonight. I feel perfectly safe tonight. The President's in Thailand. And there's no need of my worrying at all.

But I do know that this is the right place for a man of my position to be. They tell me that when you come here from here on out, you on the way. I know, for example, that our late and beloved President John Kennedy spoke here when he was a senator. I know that our beloved President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson spoke here, also. Now I don't want anybody to draw any conclusions from this. The only thing--the only thing that worries me is why George Smathers has made himself available for

something else besides Senator in 1968. I've got enough people after me, George. You don't need to be messing it up.

My dear friends. This is a very unique occasion and any man that's invited to come here could not help but feel very honored. Because I know that I speak not only at a great university; and Dr. Reitz, I want to commend you and the Board of Regents, the State Legislature, the Governor, the great citizens of this state, for having built, expanded and improved one of the great universities of America. I know today that you are singularly honored by the dedication of this new law school building and the speech of the distinguished Justice of the Supreme Court, Tom Clark. I know what it meant to you to have this fine health center, this great medical school.

I remember the days in the Senate when my friend Spessard Holland spoke up for these medical schools. And I must say that the University of Florida has gained a position in academic life that brings honor to the state, that brings honor to its graduates, and indeed, it brings honor to our nation. So I salute you, not only because of your great record in all of these extra-curricular activities, but more significantly, because of the kind of people that you have produced.

When I heard these introductions tonight, and knowing that you are alumnus of this university, most all of you in this great hall this evening, it tells me what a wise investment for this state to build this university, to improve its faculty, to expand its facilities, to make it what it is. So, what a joy it is to come here.

Now let me bear with you for a few moments tonight, a few serious thoughts. Our President is on a long journey. And it is a significant journey, in a troubled world. He carries with him the hopes and the prayers, not only of the people of the United States, but of peace-loving people everywhere and of freedom-loving people. Earlier I said, in some spirit of levity, that he was in Thailand, and that is true. A nation that today is besieged in its northeastern sector by the guerrilla communist bandits, just as some of its other neighbors have suffered. And earlier this week he met in Manila with the representatives of six other nations--six other nations that represent the emerging new Asia. The leaders of six other nations that are taking initiative, that are trying to find some answers to their centuries-old problems. And yesterday we received news of an event on Mainland China that will be felt for many years ahead...that will affect the lives of all of us of this generation and yet generations unborn.

We're surrounded every day by a new set of facts and new names and new places, new characters. For many Americans, Viet Nam, yes, even Asia, in the broadest sense is a faraway, distant place, with exotic and strange names. Yet, my fellow Americans, you and I tonight must focus our attention on that part of the world.

May I just refresh your memory. The last three wars in which this nation has been engaged had their beginnings in Asia or the Pacific. Pearl Harbor, Korea, and now Viet Nam. It can be said, I think, with a reasonable degree of certainty, that Asia is the danger spot of the world...and yet the area of promise.

But now let's look at our own great country, because I'm not an American that believes that we should stand in fear and trepidation. I've been accused of over-optimism. Well, sometimes, may I say that lends a healthy, wholesome balance to some of the over-pessimism that others seem to enjoy. I have a sense of optimism about America because the history of this republic tells me that I'm right. I have a belief in the capacity of this nation to do what needs to be done because history tells me we've always been able to do it. And I know that today, for example, our America stands as the richest, the most powerful, the most prosperous, the freest nation on earth. This is indeed a rich blessing. And yet it is also, may I say, something for which we should be reverently grateful.

In our power and in our wealth and in our freedom, we stand as a world leader. We didn't ask for it, we didn't plan it, but here it is. There's never been a power vacuum in the world and there never will be. Either we are capable of exercising this role of leadership or someone else will. And that someone else is not those who believe in the principles of Thomas Jefferson, but rather those who believe in the principles of Karl Marx, of Stalin or Mao Tse Tung. You have to make up your mind. There isn't any way that you can stop the world and get off. There isn't any way that you can say let's change it now--instant changes. Because you and I know that there isn't any instant solution to age-old problems. So we have a right to ask ourselves some questions tonight, and that's what I've come here to do.

Here are the questions that people at home are rightfully asking, and questions that people abroad are asking.

Question number one: Are we overreaching ourselves? You have concern about that. Will we tire in our tasks? Many people around the world are asking that. Because they're wondering of our perseverance, of our patience.

And then, the final questions: Can our economy bear or support the tremendous burdens that we carry at home and abroad? Or are we, in other words, equal to the task of leadership? I have an answer, a quick answer to all of this. And my answer is, I think so. My answer is more positively, yes.

But let me document my case. Because all of these are fair questions. And the answers that we get will affect not only our people but the majority of the people on the face of the earth. Because remember these immortal words of Thomas Paine, and I think they stand as well even now, when he said the cause of America is in a great measure the cause of all mankind.

What a burden and yet what a privilege we have. What an awesome responsibility, and yet what a noble challenge. The cause of America is in a great measure the cause of all mankind. Now in the final analysis, the questions asked about us can only be answered by how we measure up to these challenges. I think we face three challenges.

First, the pursuit of peace. Secondly, the effort to narrow the gap between the rich and the poor nations. Thirdly, the necessity to sustain this American economy so that it is able for years to come, to provide the sinews, the strength, to bear our responsibilities at home and abroad.

Now our search for peace. I don't think I need to spend too much time with you on it. And I only want to paraphrase what I've put down on these pieces of paper. No nation has given so much in the cause of peace, my fellow Americans, as this nation. No nation with all of this power and all of this wealth has sought so little from others. No nation has given so generously and expected so little. It is this nation, if you recall, that provided the inspiration for the United Nations. Not alone, but at least we were at the center of it. It is this nation, may I say, that gave the world the Marshall Plan... Point Four...the Alliance for Progress...the Peace Corps...the World Bank...Food for Peace...the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty... and these have all been initiatives worthy of our heritage... worthy of what we call Americanism. And they came from our real desire to find the path to peace.

But there have been other initiatives, too, beyond these. Firmness in Berlin on three occasions when we were challenged. Aid to Greece and Turkey when the Communists tried their first effort at what they called "the wars of national liberation." The founding of a NATO...CENTO and SEATO. The resistance to aggression in Korea, and the determination that nuclear missiles should not be introduced in this hemisphere, within a few miles from the coastline of this great state of Florida. These are some of our initiatives for peace, too. Because we've long since learned, haven't we, that peaceful development cannot take place in an environment of violence, aggression and fear. You are not a peace-maker by ignoring those who blackmail others.

You are not an agent of peace by standing idly by when brute force is used as a means of the accomplishment of political objectives. We've been reminded a thousand times in our lives that peace does not come by wishing for it.

Peace is not passive, it's active. It takes as much courage sometimes to stand in the defense of peace as it does even to mount a major military attack. In fact, there are times when force is needed to preserve the peace of the whole world. And this nation knows it. But we also know that force alone does not make for peace.

Now today that peace that I speak of is at stake in Asia and your sons and daughters are involved in this. It's at stake in a thousand Asian villages where the peasants are trying to find their way out of a terrible, terrible past of poverty, disease and despair. And it's at stake in that tortured area called South Viet Nam. A thousand years of mandarin rule, a hundred years of French colonialism and 26 years of war since 1940. My fellow Americans, if it seems unstable, and it is; if it seems to be confusing, and it is; if it seems painful and if it seems awful, and it is; remember that building a nation is never easy.

Oh, I wish I had the time tonight to recite the chapters of history of our own republic. Let me just quickly tell you, that our own capitol was moved 11 times before it finally got to Washington. I would remind you that our own constitutional convention, over a hundred were invited, 55 came, 39 stayed and 38 signed. And it took them weeks to get a quorum. And yet I

read today in the press, what difficulty they're having in South Viet Nam to get their constituent assembly under way. No more difficult than ours: in fact, they've cut the time in half...in a nation that has been under siege. So there is hope.

All I'm trying to tell you is that peace doesn't come easy. It'll be frustrating, it'll be heartbreaking, but to do anything less than we're doing would be to deny our leadership. And if we're not to deny the principles in which we believe and the things that we've said, we have no choice but to stay and see it through.

And free nations of the world need to know--they need to know tonight and they need to know tomorrow--that we have the vision, we have the strength, we have the will and we have the endurance to see it through. And even more significantly, those who threaten their neighbors in Asia should need to know this, too. They need to know that we will, in concert with others, resist their aggression.

But they also need to know that we have no hatred. We seek no conquest. In fact, we look only to the day when we can work in harmony with all peoples. The President of the United States has said the central principle of his administration's foreign policy is reconciliation. Not pushing people aside, not pushing people around. But to reconcile the differences of the world. For this after all, the second great task before us, is the desperate need to narrow the widening gap between the rich and the poor nations.

Let me just quote a great churchman, in this audience, and I can summarize this case quickly. The late and beloved Pope John the 23rd said that where there is constant want, there is no peace. And in the world in which we live, most people are sick, most are hungry, most are illiterate, most are poor. And therefore, whatever we do to alleviate that condition contributes to peace. And peace is our goal. Not the peace of appeasement, but the peace of progress. We sit here today rather comfortably, examining this situation. But for those who are the disinherited and the deprived, this isn't any matter of academic discussion. This is a matter of life and death and survival. Today there are people that are spending their last hour on this earth due to hunger. But I can tell you one thing, that you can be sure of one thing. They will not remain silent. They'll take to the streets, they'll follow the demagogues. They'll tear the fabric of peace to shreds. Unless they have some reason to believe that there is hope for a better day.

And that hope is what we represent, my fellow Americans. And that's why every word that we say, every action that we take is so important. And that's why every senator, every congressman, every public official, has an extra obligation today to be careful of his words and to make sure that whatever we do, whatever we say, offers people the hope that there is a better day. And that there is something besides dictatorship. Something besides misery; that there is something called freedom.

Now there are many who condemn our foreign aid program. I can only say that with all of its limitations, it offers some

hope. And it is not nearly as costly as others would have you believe. The Marshall Plan saved Western Europe. It created new markets for us. And I have a feeling, may I say, on this great part of America, that the Alliance for Progress which means so much to so many of you in this part of the western hemisphere, can do exactly for Latin America, for example, what the Marshall Plan did for Europe. We want it so. We know that a war in this area is more costly than any aid.

But we can't do all of this that I speak of tonight alone. And this is what I want to center upon. The task is not ours alone. But if we do not set the pattern, how do we expect others to follow?

President Eisenhower described the third great task that we face. And that third great task, and I quote his own words, because they couldn't be stated more succinctly. The firm base for the problem of leading the world towards the achievement of human aspirations, towards peace with justice and freedom must be the United States.

Here is a great patriot. Here is a man who served you as your president. Here is one who understands both the burdens of war and peace. A man who spoke not as a partisan but as a great American. That said that the firm base for leading the world towards the achievement of human aspirations, towards peace and freedom must be the United States. This is what Abraham Lincoln said when he said that America is the last best hope on earth.

And I remind you what else he said. He said that we shall either meanly lose it or nobly save it. He said it a hundred

years ago and it's even more true today. The Lincolns, the Kennedys, the Eisenhowers, the Roosevelts, the Johnsons...the men that have led this nation without regard for partisanship have told us time after time that whether we like it or not, we must set the example. We need to build America so strong, they say, so free and so able to lead that there can be no question about our purpose or our capacity.

And basic to all this is the necessity of building an economy of growth, an economy of opportunity, yet an economy that can be stable when it's tested. And that's why today your president, and indeed your vice president, ask this nation for self-discipline. For self-restraint. I've said so many times that back in my home state of Minnesota we have what we call the smorgasbord. And you can come in to that great festive board and you can fill up your plate and you can literally fill yourself to point of illness. Or you can wait and come back next week and get a little more, and next week and get a little more. Exercise some self-discipline and enjoy the good life.

America is being called upon today to see whether or not she can sustain her effort at home and abroad without mandatory controls. We're being called upon to see whether or not voluntarism, self-discipline, self-restraint, self-denial can replace government as the force that gets us through these turbulent days. I think we can. And I'm here to appeal to you to help us. I'm here to say that the choices are rather direct. Either we do it as responsible citizens or we will have to forfeit our opportunity for leadership. Or we will have to do it under government mandate.

And I believe that this United States of America has developed at a point now in its history where we know now what the challenges are. Where we don't have to be told from on high. Where the people themselves sense what needs to be done. In fact, I think sometimes the people sense even more clearly what needs to be done than some of us who think we articulate what the wishes of the people are.

Yes, I have abiding faith in our country and in its wisdom and its destiny. The fact is that America's economy is the miracle of the world and it's a free economy. And we put our faith in that free economy. And with all of its limitations, it works better than any other economy. Even with the threats of the forces of inflation at work, it has a better record of price stability; a better record of credit availability; a better record of interest rates, lower interest rates; a better record of economic growth than any industrialized nation on the face of the earth.

Don't sell your country short, my fellow Americans. This great country of ours has the enduring capacity to do things that other people thought was impossible. If there is any one word that signifies the history of this nation and all that it means, it is that whenever somebody said it couldn't be done, somebody in our midst or some group in our midst at some hour of crisis, said it must be done, and it was done. It's been done many, many times. That's why we speak of our country with such fervor, such belief.

We happen to believe that the secret to this economic miracle is not government, even though government has been a working partner, but it has been this partnership of government, business, labor and the university, Dr. Reitz, because the university today represents the new wealth--the brain power--the intellectual power--the scientific and technological power--yes, the moral power, too, because the university teaches ethics. And we've put together a working partnership. Not where the government dominates, but where it cooperates. Not where the government supplants, but where it supplements. And this is the new spirit of moderation and of understanding that permeates the entire attitude of government.

We've quit calling each other names. There was a time when there were words raised like economic royalists, labor bosses, the profiteers, the hoodlums. We now speak of each other in more responsible and restrained manners. We speak of management. We speak of finance. We speak of labor. We speak of agriculture. And we ask all to keep away from abuse and from excesses.

Among other things that have made us what we are is our determination to see to it that every American, every American that bears the title of citizen has his full opportunity to make something out of his life. And this is a commitment that no other nation has ever made. No nation has previously even dared to try to make every citizen in its society a full and productive member of that society. We dare. We try. We happen to think the most honored title that can be given to any person on the face of this earth is not president, king or emperor. Not senator, or governor,

or congressman. But the most honored title for all is to be "citizen of the United States of America." What better title could you find?

And so we proceed to make investments...investments in people...investments in education. And I want to commend this state and this university. Let me just reaffirm what you know. There has never been a state, there has never been a city, a county or a nation that has become insolvent because of its investments in education. Investments in people--we're making investments in the health of our people--in our cities--in retraining--in a more productive America. Yes, investments in equality at the ballot box and before the law. And these are basic investments that will stand us well for the years to come.

Now if we can build a society that works on all cylinders, to use an old-fashioned phrase, before the jet engine, I think that others in the world may have some hope of doing it. But my fellow Americans, if we can't make freedom work, who can? If we can't overcome the problems of poverty and injustice, who can? If we can't gear up an economy for the long pull, who can? With all that we have, with the tools that are at our command, with the science and technology with which we are blessed, with our unbelievable capacity in industry, in agriculture, if we can't make freedom a reality for everyone, what hope is there in the rest of the world?

Now let me say just a word, then, as I close, about the nature of that responsibility of leadership. Leadership isn't

doing it our way--stamped USA. Leadership in today's world requires far more than a large stock of airplanes, gunboats or a hard fist at the conference table. Leadership requires more than the ability to go it alone. Leadership today requires the understanding of the problems that we face...the understanding of the resources at our command. And above all, the objectives we seek. And I think that it requires perhaps even more to lead--the ability to inspire others. To challenge them. To lift them. And to seek their cooperation in a common enterprise. For strong and rich as we may seem, and we are, our goal of a just and a peaceful world will never be reached or achieved by America alone. It's too big for us alone. It will be achieved only when the resources of the strong and weak, the rich and the poor, are allocated in the most effective manner possible. The challenges are far too great for any one nation to overcome.

Now I don't think I need to call to your attention the challenge that faces this nation tonight. But maybe for this fleeting moment it is worthy of your time. We've been trying for a long time to bring a halt to the grim race towards world destruction that is contained in the proliferation, the expansion, in the dispersion of the nuclear weapons. An increasing number of such weapons and delivery systems in the hands of an increasing number of nations, many of them with irresponsible leadership, could lead inevitably to the ghastly mistake or miscalculation which could bring a nuclear holocaust. I didn't come here to frighten you because I don't believe in the politics of fear.

I come here as a member of the National Security Council, as chairman of the Space Council, as one who is privy to the innermost secrets of this land. And I can only tell you this. That the nuclear arsenal of this world today is so big that no living thing can survive if man goes into the madness of nuclear war.

Now we have made it and we shall continue to make it our highest national priority that nuclear non-proliferation treaty or agreement be concluded. We would welcome and we work actively even as this hour to the adherence of all nations, including Communist China, to such a treaty, knowing full well, may I say, regrettably, that that adherence may be long in coming, if at all. The stakes for mankind are far too high for any other course.

This, then, is the test that we must set for ourselves. Not to march alone, but to march in such a way that others will wish to join us. Not to speak with just arrogant pride of our America, but to be firm without being belligerent. To be strong without being bellicose. To be compassionate without being weak. And to be just without appeasement. And my fellow Americans, I think that every one of these goals that I've uttered for you tonight are within our reach.

I happen to believe that if we have the will, if we muster the resources, if we determine our course, that with others of like ideals and objectives there is a better day ahead and there is a world of peace. A peace of progress. A peace that's filled

with action. A peace that means growth. And thank goodness that I come to a state tonight, to a society and an honored group, that by its very title and by its very personality, symbolizes growth...symbolizes enterprise...symbolizes personal achievement...symbolizes intellectual excellence...and symbolizes dedication to the cause that this nation represents: the cause of mankind.

Thank you very much.



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