

① Bi-Partisan - Non-Partisan - All American

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

CIVIC LUNCHEON

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

September 1, 1967

② Ecumenical Spirit

Palliam - Brannigan

Hartke - Jensen

Boyle - Casper

St. George - Stanley - ~~St. George~~

& the V.P.

The Bishop

③ Frank McKinney

Talk to you about our America

④ Relive!
Rogers - his Law people
denied your offer

Sept 3 - Day after tomorrow

Sunday is election day in South Vietnam.

We have heard charges by prominent Americans

that the election will be a "fraud" and a "farce" ... that the

result has already been fixed ... and that the Republic of

South Vietnam is therefore not worthy of continued

American support.

1 - There are serious charges

No one who hears these charges can hear them

complacently or without giving them full attention. For, as

a people who believe in the democratic process, we are repelled

by the idea that that process might be subverted -- especially in

a place where so many American lives and resources have been

committed.

My Dad
Mother
Parties

Moreover, the election stands out as a hopeful and familiar beacon in a situation which all Americans find complex and frustrating.

Today I would like to share with you my thoughts about the forthcoming election, about the charges that have been made, and about its ~~relativity~~ ^{relationship} to the American commitment in Asia.

— *Let's get some things clear.* —
First, may I say that the election campaign in South Vietnam does not resemble one in Bloomington, Indiana — nor should we expect it to. The people of South Vietnam have some experience with the democratic processes at the village level, but they are inexperienced in such things as a national election campaign.

They are also trying to conduct that campaign in the midst of a military conflict and in the face of terrorism and assassination by the forces of the Viet Cong, which have as a prime objective the undermining of the electoral process.

Terrorism

So things are not tidy and orderly. They are confused and disorderly.

~~Vietnam is not a free and~~
~~community~~

A good example of that came a few days ago -- when a plane carrying several non-government candidates to a political rally was diverted to another airport because of weather conditions. Because of this, the small crowd at the original destination missed the candidates.

Now if this were to happen in the United States -- and it has -- it would be the subject for some humor on the Huntley-Brinkley Report, and, at the minimum, a newspaper column by Art Buchwald or my friends Evans and Novak.

I can see in my mind's eye the headlines: "Ill Wind Blows.

Humphrey Misses Crowd at Rally" or "HHH Plan Diverted:

Sorry, Wrong Airport" or even "I rate Humphrey to Pilot:

~~What Goes on Here?"~~

Now it happens that there ^{were} several American observers who witnessed that incident in Vietnam. They reported that the wind was blowing, that the candidates' plane was diverted, and that the small crowd assembled missed the rally.

They also reported that several of the candidates on the plane, when they found themselves stranded at the wrong airport without any voters, were less than pleased.

So what did that incident become for several critics here at home of the South Vietnamese government and of our involvement in Vietnam? It became a deep plot by the regime to undermine the opposition candidates. It became a subject for speeches and public denunciations.

I have no doubt that the critics spoke out in good faith.

I have no doubt that their concern was genuine.

But I would ask this: When the stakes are so high ... when it is so important that the American people know what is and is not going on in Vietnam, wouldn't it have been a good idea ^{for the critics} to check the facts?

What are the facts concerning this election?

In January 1966 -- seven months after assuming power -- Prime Minister Ky announced his government's intention to seek constitutional, representative government by the end of 1967. That schedule has been adhered to. !

In September of last year, elections were carried out for a Constituent Assembly to draft a constitution. In those elections some 532 candidates competed for 117 seats. Some 4.3 million people voted -- or over 80 per cent of those registered -- despite calculated terror and disruption on the part of the Viet Cong.

and Despite predictions that it could not be done, the Constituent Assembly -- after open and often angry debate --

completed a draft constitution within the stipulated period
of six months. Despite predictions that it would never do so,
the Vietnamese government promulgated that constitution
without change on April 1 of this year.

In accordance with the transitional provisions
of the new constitution, the Assembly prepared draft
election laws for the Presidential and legislative elections.

These laws provide for all normal safeguards for a free
election, including full and equal representation by all
candidates in campaign activities, in vote-counting and
election supervision.

¹ ~~This Sunday~~, ^{SPT 3} Presidential and Upper House
elections will be held. Lower House elections will take
place October 22.

For the Presidential election, no less than 19
slates filed. One dropped out and seven were disqualified
by the Assembly (not by the ruling directorate),

for a variety of reasons under the elected Assembly's
but,
own ground rules, This leaves 11 slates in the running.

↳ For the Upper House, 64 slates filed. Of these,
16 were disqualified for failing to meet requirements of
the election law. This leaves 48 slates remaining, or
480 candidates, offering a wide choice of persons from
all sects and non-Communist political persuasion, for
the 60 Senate seats. - 408 for 60 Seats!

↳ In addition to these political developments at the
national level, elections have also been taking place at
the local level. Elections for village councilors were held
on successive Sundays in April. Some 77 per cent of the
registered electorate in the villages voted -- some 2.5
million people.

There were 12,719 candidates for the 8,948 seats
on these councils. The Viet Cong responded to the village elections by
threatening voters and by killing 12 and kidnaping 31 candidates.

In May and June elections were held on successive Sundays for hamlet chiefs. Some 78 per cent of those registered for these elections voted -- some 2.3 million people. Some 4,476 hamlet chiefs and 507 assistant hamlet chiefs were elected from among 11,643 candidates. The Viet Cong harrassed voters and polling places and assassinated two hamlet chiefs. By the end of this year about half of South Vietnam's hamlets will have held elections for their local leadership.

Now, in the important presidential election, there is no question that the Thieu-Ky ticket enjoys an advantage because it is in power ... because it is by far the best known of the 11 Presidential slates ... and because its opposition is divided and fragmented.

Yet, according to the reports filed by our diplomatic and other representatives in South Vietnam, their election is by no means a sure thing.

There has been criticism here, and in South Vietnam, of press censorship. But since July 21 there has been no censorship; numerous articles have been published which are critical of the present government; and all candidates' views have been given coverage.

There have been claims that some of the candidates have been harrassed. Yet, our observers can find no solid evidence of this. The Government of South Vietnam -- perhaps because of expressed concern on this point -- has gone beyond the legal requirements to see that each candidate has gotten a full hearing.

Free transportation (not required by law), free radio-tv time, and even campaign funds have been provided to each candidate. Posters and leaflets for each candidate have been printed at government expense. Needless to say, these are things that in the United States would be the responsibility of each candidate to do for himself.

What have been the issues in the campaign?

Much of the campaigning has focused on criticism of the government and the Thieu-Ky ticket.

There has been a good deal of debate on economic and social development -- and on the best way to find peace.

Most of the candidates advocate negotiations with Hanoi and some accept the idea of informal discussions with the Viet Cong. However, it is not surprising that the candidates' individual personalities seem to be playing as important a role as anything else.

What is our interest in this election?

There is no doubt we have a stake in it. We have always believed -- and the documents and broadcasts show that Hanoi believes -- that a popularly-elected, representative government in Saigon could be a powerful and positive antidote to the pressure, terror and propaganda of the Viet Cong.

And we as a government have made it crystal clear that, in our view, any subversion of the electoral process -- any denial of the chance for democratic government in South Vietnam -- would be a setback on the road to progress and to peace.

Last week President Johnson appointed a distinguished group of Americans -- a cross-section of the leadership community in this country -- to go out to South Vietnam and take a first-hand look at the elections on behalf of the American people. That

delegation is now in Vietnam. *- Not to tell the Vietnamese what to do, but observe what they are doing.*

Other nations are also sending observers --

including Japan, Australia, Laos, New Zealand, Belgium, Turkey, and the Republic of Korea so far.

And the election will, of course, be observed and covered by hundreds of American and other reporters.

But until those reports come in, I suggest that it is time for some restraint and some application of a sense of perspective by those who would pre-judge those elections.

I think, in short, it is time for a Moratorium on Hasty Impressions and Galloping Conclusions.

~~I think,~~ It is time to watch, to wait, and to listen.

* * *

Finally, may I say this:

↳ Self-determination has been one of our foremost objectives in South Vietnam. Americans are entitled to feel a considerable amount of satisfaction because of the very fact that elections will be held ~~on Sunday~~ the day after tomorrow

Regardless of who wins, regardless of whether any candidate gets a clear majority of the vote, the South Vietnamese people have participated in ^a nation-wide election campaign. ↳ Despite terrorist intimidation, voter registration

is at an all-time high. The people have heard vital national issues publicly debated. On Sunday they will express their will at the polling places. *This is a victory.*

↳ Once it is acquired, the habit of self-determination is hard to overcome. But it also requires a lot of maturing before it provides a stable foundation for democracy.

↳ Lest we forget, our own history offers some valuable perspective on the growth pains that go with self-determination *and*
Nation Building.

↳ Our Articles of Confederation were adopted in 1777, but it was over four years before all states had ratified them.

Meanwhile a good share of General Washington's Continental Army had deserted, and at least a third of the population thought the whole idea of the Revolution was a bad one.

The Confederation had serious flaws, so in 1787 delegates from each state were invited to Philadelphia to make a fresh start. The first 29 delegates assembled a week and a half after the appointed time.

amends.

... omitted

It was several weeks before all 55 delegates had appeared, and Rhode Island never did send a delegation.

By September 15, 1787, when the draft Constitution was voted on, 13 delegates had gone home. Three more refused to sign. Rhode Island refused to join the Union for three years.

It wasn't until 1865 that we were really sure we were in business as one nation.

So even if ^{the} ~~Sunday~~'s election proves to be an unqualified triumph of popular government ... even if the sternest of the skeptics is proved completely wrong, that election will be only one more tortuous step -- an important one, to be sure -- on the road to self-determination and to peace in Vietnam.

✓ We are dealing there with a struggle that has been years in the making and that is being waged not just militarily, but above all ~~socially~~, politically, economically and psychologically. —

And we are dealing with an adversary who -- according to all our information -- still genuinely believes that time is on his side ... an adversary who, despite his military setback after setback, still believes that we must ultimately tire and withdraw. And that is why he will not come to the conference table. ~~He~~

Our hearts cry out at the human and material loss we see in Vietnam. All of us desperately want an end to the struggle.

~~The reliance on our~~
The ~~enemy's~~ hope for victory ^{for the enemy} is not in his power, but ⁱⁿ our decision - our weariness, our uncertainty.

{ The road to peace is in our unity -
our steadfastness - and the enemy
knowing it. }

~~But, despite these feelings,~~ We have no choice

but to persevere, choosing neither the reckless and

irresponsible choices of massive escalation nor of withdrawal --

but sticking with the difficult but necessary ~~middle~~ course

resolve which can ~~bring~~ ^{+ will} bring the conflict to a just and peaceful

end.

I am talking of ~~the middle course~~ ^{a course of action} which means

keeping tirelessly, day-by-day at the business of meeting

and defeating the enemy forces ...

and we are!

John F. Kennedy -

"Let every nation know, whether
it wish us well or ill, that
we shall pay any price, bear any
burden, meet any hardship, support
any friend, oppose any foe to
assure the survival and the
success of liberty."

of building security and a better standard of living in the
Vietnamese countryside ^{and we are!}... of doing what we can to nurture
stable, democratic government ^{and we are!}... of tirelessly seeking
honorable negotiation, until one day our adversary
realizes that time is not on his side. ^{(X) JFK -}

Yes, we must persevere ^{and be confident.}

For what is at stake in Vietnam is more than the
fate of one nation. It is the fate of a long-standing American
involvement in Asia which goes back at least to Pearl Harbor.

^{It is the fate of free man itself - The fate of Peace (X)}
We have been involved in economic development of

the non-Communist nations of Asia, both on a national and
regional basis.

↳ We have been involved in building the freedom and
independence of those nations. <sup>if nation building is
our business,</sup>

We have been involved in preventing the expansion
of Asian communism through either subversion or open
aggression.

<sup>We are involved in Asia -
in Africa - in Latin America - in
nation building.</sup>

*our policies
have been rewarded
by progress*

And I believe our involvement has been right, and protection,

Due in large part to our involvement/ Japan is a

staunchly democratic nation, and among the great economic powers of the world.

Aggression has been repelled in South Korea.

Korea's economy is flourishing.

- Taiwan -

The Republic of China is self-sustaining, no

longer depends upon American foreign aid, and is

extending aid to others around the world.

The Philippines is a dynamic, developing democracy.

The people of Indonesia have ~~not~~ ^{resisted} against communism.

have rejected

against expansionism, and ~~for~~ ^{are committed to} peaceful national development.

This alone is a great victory.

Thailand is a flourishing and developing nation.

Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia, Singapore -- all

are independent, all are developing.

*What once
appeared to be the flood tide of Communism
has not engulfed S.E. Asia. ~~with~~
Free Nations are joining together
in common purpose for regional
development and defense.*

And all the nations of Southeast Asia are working together in a spirit of cooperation unknown only a few years ago.

None of these nations is a mirror image of America.

None wants to be.

Nor can we claim all the credit for their successes.

But I have talked first-hand and face-to-face with the leaders and the people of the nations of non-Communist Southeast Asia. Without exception, they have told me that, if we fail and withdraw in Vietnam, they cannot help but fear for their own safety and independence in the future. And the pressures would be great for them to come to accommodation with those who would have their way in Asia by subversion and force.

Lee Kuan Yew, the non-aligned Prime Minister of Singapore, summed it up when he said recently:

"I feel the fate of Asia -- South and Southeast Asia -- will be decided in the next few years by what happens in Vietnam. "

A senior correspondent of The New York Times wrote the following after a recent tour of Southeast Asia:

"Non-Communist countries of Southeast Asia appear to be more confident about the future as a result of the United States' stand in Vietnam and the political convulsions in Peking ...

"The officials (in these countries) believe that in the pause occasioned by allied resistance in Vietnam and Communist China's turmoil, this area can be strengthened to the point of successful resistance to political subversion and economic pressures. "

I believe that what those Southeast Asian officials have said is, in all probability, true.

LBJ - State of the Union - 1966

"This nation is mighty enough -
its society is healthy enough - its
people are strong enough - to pursue
our goals in the rest of the world
while still building a Great
Society here at home."

⌞ In any case, I believe the risks -- to all that has been achieved in Asia since World War II -- are far too great to act on any other assumption.

⌞ To act otherwise, and to be proved wrong, would go down as one of the massive blunders in history.!

~~+~~
Lastly, a personal word.

These are difficult times for America -- both at home and in the world. ~~(LBJ)~~ ~~But~~ LBS-
But Pres. Johnson said
Our achievements surround us -- unprecedented prosperity ... our increasing mastery of technology ... progress in slowing down the nuclear arms race ... a Western world that has raised itself from World War II ... social progress in our nation.

⌞ On all sides we see the evidence of what we have done, and we have reason to be proud of it.

LBJ

Yet the satisfactions seem somehow to be missing.
For, at the same time, for instance, we bear the pain of
Vietnam and of the disturbances in our cities. And there
is the inescapable feeling that -- no matter what we do -- we
shall be surrounded by problems for as far ahead as we
can see.

I wish I could tell you that were not so. But I
cannot. For that is the way it is.

~~Yes, there~~ is no immediate end to our problems
in sight.

But one ^{thing} / is certain: We will not find peace in

Vietnam, nor will we build better American cities, simply
by ^{massive} applications of money or of power. For if money or
power were enough, we would long since have solved those
problems.

No, we shall need the qualities that have always
pulled this nation through its trials.

Check
Book

We shall need courage. We shall need patience.

We shall need confidence. We shall need humility and understanding. We shall need hope.

And, above all, we shall need faith -- new faith in old American dreams.

We shall need faith in our country ... in our fellow citizens ... in our capacity to meet whatever comes and to master it. ~~We need unity~~

If we have that faith, and if we persevere, I believe that the problems of today can be the victories of tomorrow.

~~The future belongs to free~~
and that the future can lie open ahead.

as Victor Hugo Put it!

#

"The future has several names. For the weak, it is the impossible. For the faint-hearted, it is the unknown. For the thoughtful and valiant, it is ideal. The Challenge is Urgent. The Task is Large. The Time is Now.

Speech Given by Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey
Athletic Club, September 1, 1967

Mr. Pulliam:

One of the very happy incidents of this luncheon is that it brings together two long-time friends. Bishop Raines and our guest of honor were close friends in Minneapolis when the Vice President was Mayor of Minneapolis. So I think it's very appropriate that we have Bishop Raines say grace and if you'll all remain standing I'll ask the Bishop to say grace.

Bishop Raines:

I'm going to suggest that we turn to the Ultimate Authority. Shall we bow in prayer together?

Almighty God, who brought our forefathers to this bountiful and blessed land, grant that we their children may prove ourselves. Those who acknowledge Thy providence and our responsibility to live not for ourselves alone but for the welfare of all mankind. Make it clear to us, our Father, what the causes and cure are for the rioting in our cities. Show us how to help the poor escape from unemployment and frustration and to achieve personal dignity and have a stake in the economical and cultural life of our country. Grant us repentance for the centuries of tragic wounding of the soul and mind and body of the Negro and an honest desire and courage to accord him justice and friendship. Bless with wisdom and courage, we pray Thee, the leaders of our government, that they may find and walk in the ways of peace with justice and freedom. And may they be given of Thee daily, strength to carry the crushing burdens of

responsibility which are theirs. We thank Thee for this Thy servant, the Vice President of our land, and for his self-giving and service on our behalf across the earth. We thank Thee for his concern for the welfare of the less fortunate among us and his poise and courage in face of danger. And now may Thy holy spirit be in our midst this hour. Thou God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and of Jesus of Nazareth in whose name we pray. Amen.

Mr. Pulliam:

I don't like to interrupt your coffee and dessert. If you'll go right ahead but we are on a dead-line for television and we will have to start our program. I think the waiters will be out by the time it's necessary.

First I want to welcome all of you here. It's a great privilege to thank each and every one of you for coming. I've looked around this room, I've had some of my friends look around it and Governor Branigin, who knows everybody in Indiana and he's agreed with me, Birch Bayh's agreed with me, that this is about as near a complete cross section of the leadership of Indiana as ever assembled in one room. And that makes me very happy. There are a good many Democrats here as you would probably expect, and a good many Republicans are here, too. But all of you are here because you are good Americans, interested in the welfare of this nation. We have as our guests the entire membership of the Supreme Court, Federal judges, Appellate Court judges, Superior Court judges, mayors of most of the important cities and towns of Indiana, the presidents of our universities and important colleges, other leaders in education; here too, are the

leaders of the state legislature, both the House and the Senate. State officials are here, newspaper men from almost every section of the state are here; television and radio executives are here with a lot of light in my eyes. Religious leaders of every faith are here. The state's leading bankers, and lawyers, and the heads of the most important industries of the state are here. Many leaders and presidents of the labor unions are here. Many noted physicians and surgeons are in this room. And many merchants who have made Indianapolis the great shopping center of the middle west. And of course, we have our senators, both former and current, and almost the entire Indiana delegation to the House of Representatives are among our guests. So, we do have a cross-section of Indiana, and that's exactly what we ought to have on this kind of an occasion.

Introducing the Governor of this state is just about like introducing my son. I have known him for almost fifty years and he hasn't changed a bit in all those years. He's always witty, he's always unpredictable but he's always himself. And he is making a magnificent record as Governor of Indiana. He is utterly independent, thank God, and I believe he always does what he thinks is the best thing to do regardless of political expediency or his own personal interest. He worked for my newspaper in Franklin when he was in high school and also while he was in college. So you can understand that it is with a good deal of sentimental pride that I introduce him as the Governor of this State, the Honorable Roger Branigin, who will extend the official greetings of the state of Indiana.

Governor Branigin:

Vice President, Bishop Raines, Mr. Pulliam, distinguished company: It is true that I worked for Mr. Pulliam and the distance between us financially has always remained the same. Your guest list is proof positive that Mr. Lincoln was wrong, Mr. Pulliam; a house divided against itself can stand. Mr. Vice President, welcome to Indiana. Hoosiers are delighted to have you in their midst. We join in tribute to you and your old friend, Bishop Raines. You and Bishop Raines are kindred spirits. You share a passion for fairness for everyone, for improvement of the lot of the weak and the underprivileged and the courage to carry out your objectives. You have very much in common, vision, persistence and dedication. The only difference I observe is, he wants to retire. And the public may accommodate you anyway. But how nice of you to come to Indiana and to participate in the DePauw salute to Bishop Raines, to renew that friendship forged years ago in the twin cities, when Minnesota was young and gay. Again, welcome to you and bon voyage to Bishop Raines what ever his destination may be. (Much laughter) You're a little slow on that but I had thought of it a long time. Thank you for honoring us with your presence.

Mr. Pulliam:

I told you he was always unpredictable, but by God, he's always good. Before proceeding further in this program, I want to give particular emphasis to the fact that this really is a non-partisan luncheon. I'm going to prove it to you by four introductions. During the heyday of his political career, Bill Jenner probably was the best-known politician in Indiana. He was like the great Jim Watson. He knew everybody and everybody knew him. He made lots

of friends and he made lots of enemies. Nobody, to my knowledge, ever questioned Bill Jenner's patriotism. He's always been All-American from his toes to his nose, he served in the Senate with our guest of honor, and we're happy indeed to have him here and I'm happy to introduce the Honorable Bill Jenner, former Senator from Indiana. (applause)

But when Homer Capehart was the chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate, he had the fringe (get this, please) he had the fringe benefit, opportunity, of visiting a good many foreign countries, where the U.S. had financed both the military and the economic programs. The people called them give-away programs then. Others insisted they were necessary to maintain the world prestige of the U.S. and assist the undeveloped countries in getting on their feet. However, when Senator Homer Capehart returned to private business and began to promote some financial projects of his own, he didn't follow the U.S. foreign policy. He thoroughly believes in free enterprise, but nobody in Indiana had ever discovered him giving anything away. They tell me he's very successful and having a whale of a good time anyway. We're glad to have him here and I'm glad to present the Honorable Homer Capehart, former Senator from Indiana. (applause)

You know, they say that a turtle makes progress only when it sticks its neck out. Well, maybe that explains why Vance Hartke has made rather sensational progress with his turtle complex in the U. S. Senate. Because he never hesitates to stick his neck out. Maybe that's why he makes progress. He doesn't hesitate to speak his mind and while some of us don't agree with him, it could be that

the man is right. Anyway, we're delighted to have him here and I'm happy to present the Honorable Vance Hartke.

The Junior senator from Indiana is young, but he's already an old hand at being in the right places at the right time with the right people. I doubt if any young senator has made more solid progress on his way up the Democratic party ladder than Birch Bayh. He needs no introduction. But I'm very happy personally to present the junior Senator from Indiana, the Honorable Birch Bayh.

A good many years ago when I was a member of the State Police board, appointed by a Democrat by the name of Townsend who wouldn't let me off the hook, I made the motion to promote John Barton to be a senior officer of the State Police. I made that motion because I had observed his record as a very fine, efficient and honest police officer. It never occurred to me then that some day I would be introducing him as the Mayor of Indianapolis to extend greetings to the Vice President of the United States. There are a lot of things you can say about John Barton, but one thing you can say is this-- John Barton is like the Mississippi River - he just rolls along and rolls along and rolls along, and I'm happy to have him here to extend the greetings of Indianapolis to our guest of honor. Mayor John Barton.

Mayor Barton:

Thank you Mr. Pulliam. I hope your opinion doesn't change. Bishop Raines, Mr. Vice President, Governor Branigin, Senator Hartke, Senator Bayh and distinguished guests: It is a distinct honor for me on behalf of the citizens of Indianapolis to extend the most hearty welcome to you, Mr. Vice President, to this great city, and I'm happy that you were able to visit Greencastle and DePauw University.

Because we both share a mutual friend in Bishop Raines. I understand that you have had a long friendship with Bishop Raines and it was helpful to you when you served as mayor of Minneapolis. And I assure you that he has been instrumental in helping me in the development of our city. He has been an outstanding church leader, not only in Indianapolis, but he has also served nationally as head of the Methodist Church. And I'd like to take this opportunity to thank you, Mr. Vice President, for what you have done for the mayors of the Lord's citizens of large cities in your capacity as liaison between the federal government and the local community. Your knowledge and understanding has been a great help to all of us. And because of your wide experience and your background I don't think anyone in government is more knowledgeable or better-versed in the problems of the local communities. So, as all of the mayors of the nation agree, you have been most helpful. I wish you had more time to visit here--maybe you could give me a few pointers--but I know you have a tremendous schedule. I'd like to tell you that you're visiting one of the greatest metropolitan cities in the nation, a city where we have had peace and understanding among all our citizens, and a city that has proud citizens and Mr. Pulliam's two great papers refer to Indianapolis as a 'city on the move'. so, on behalf of all of our citizens, I want you to know that you are most welcome in our great city and we are looking forward to seeing you again whenever your schedule permits. Thank you very much.

Robert Gamble:

Good afternoon ladies and gentlemen. A crowd of several hundred business and civic leaders is assembled here at the Indianapolis

Athletic Club to hear the Vice President of the United States. The Vice President came to Indiana to honor a long-time friend--Indiana Methodist Bishop, Richard C. Raines. This gathering for Mr. Humphrey was given by Indianapolis publisher, Eugene C. Pulliam, who will now introduce the Vice President. Mr. Pulliam.

Mr. Pulliam:

His parents named him Hubert Horatio. I don't know whether it was Horatio at the bridge or Horatio Alger of American legend. But the connotation and hope of his parents were the same. They knew in their hearts he was bound to succeed. Horatio Alger was the All-American boy. A lot of appointed critics have pooh-poohed the Horatio Alger legend. But the Horatio Algers of the '80's and '90's gave this country the impetus and the inspiration and the example to achieve on one's own ability and industry. I would love to have known the father of our guest of honor. He believed in hard work, honesty, and good local government. Think of this--he was the only Democrat in a town where the voters were 98% Republican. And yet those Republican voters elected the Vice President's father mayor of that town for four terms. They knew him, and they trusted him. Our guest of honor inherited the qualities of character which have guided him all of his life--integrity, industry, loyalty, and unswerving devotion to the principles and policies in which he believes. His election as mayor of Minneapolis is one of the great political success stories of this century. He's come up the hard way in politics, but he has always been gracious; he has always been courteous to his opponents, while never compromising with himself or his principles.

I know all of you will join with me in expressing our heartfelt sympathy to him in the loss of his beloved brother and to tell him how very grateful we are that he did not allow that great tragedy to interfere with his coming to Indianapolis today. Some of you may say-"why this luncheon for the Vice President?" Let me tell you why. In the first place, I like this man. I know that he believes in free enterprise just as much as I do. I know that he is truly a great American and he has always put the best interests of this country ahead of his personal interests or his party interests. But the main reason I wanted him to come to Indiana at this time to meet the leaders of Indiana, regardless of party affiliations, is that I think we need to know more definitely just what the Administration is doing in Vietnam and how it plans to win this war.

We are Democrats, Republicans and Independents on election day, but today we are citizens of Indiana giving a Hoosier welcome to a great American. Gentlemen: The Vice President of the United States, the Honorable Hubert Humphrey.

Vice President Humphrey:

Thank you. Thank you very much, our good friend, your good friend, my good friend--Gene Pulliam. Thank you for this luncheon. Thank you above all for your hospitality, for your courtesy, and thank you for your dedicated citizenship. I have many things in my heart today and the senators that are here, former and present, know what they're in for under those circumstances. And some of the rest of you that have been the unfortunate victims of such emotions may also know what you're in for. But I want to just for a moment, make a comment or two on the proceedings thus far. When Gene Pulliam asked for the lights to be turned down and was having his difficulties,

as a Democrat it did please me to see the Governor of this state speak with such authority. What pleased me more, since I have witnessed what happens in Washington, is that somebody paid attention to what he said. But I knew, of course, that this distinguished citizen of yours, this excellent Governor, Roger Branigin, would speak with authority and, of course, I knew of his politics, and then when my dear friend and the man who has honored us by his presence today, Bishop Raines, came to this podium and said that he spoke with ultimate authority; for a moment, I thought he was speaking of the President and was a Democrat. And then I remembered that he was a Bishop. And I must say that the spirit of levity and good fellowship that has been exemplified here just warms my heart. Roger Branigin took note of the fact that I am in public life and that there is a difference between the distinguished Bishop and myself, namely, that he is retiring and that I don't want to retire. And then he added something which he could have just as well not said. Something to the effect that "he may retire." I want you to know Mr. Pulliam, that while I have never worked in a newspaper, I could learn. But I notice one thing about the people of Indiana. The didn't give this fellow Branigin any choice. After one term, he has to retire. At least I have the anticipation of what might happen. I'll come back to you some months later on this subject.

I notice that there is an ecumenical spirit at this meeting. And I've seen as I've looked over this audience the careful balance that is here. I've looked around at our head table and of course, you see the distinguished publisher, Mr. Pulliam, the excellent distinguished Governor, Mr. Branigin,--that's a stand-off-as has been indicated here. Since I don't like to choose up sides-- I have

friends on both sides and I like to stick with my friends on this matter. And then there is the senator--the senior senator, Mr. Hartke and former senator, Mr. Jenner. And Bill, I want to thank you for coming away from that vacation spot up here (next words not clear on tape) That is beyond the call of duty, believe me. And then there is this able and distinguished senator, Birch Bayh, along with his compatriot there, Homer Capehart. Homer is the only farmer that I've met thus far that hasn't condemned the administration. That is, to my knowledge. But I want to thank you, Homer, for being here and taking part. I think it's no secret to this audience that I do cherish the friendship of these four men and I value their friendship beyond the call of partisanship. We've had some mighty good times together and some rough times, debates and fun. And then I noticed also that there was another balance-off here. The distinguished ex-governor Handley and the former Governor Welch. So, so far Mr. Pulliam, you've done well. You've kept everything right. And then there are two non-partisans, the Bishop and the Vice President. So I call this the best bi-partisan, nonpartisan, All-American forum that I've been to for a long time. And I want to say a word about this Vice Presidency as being nonpartisan. There are many people who think it's not much of an office. And I've tended to go around the country to underscore that, in a way. Because if it's not much of an office, I don't see why either party should put such such a fuss about it. And I want to tell Homer and Bill, as well as Vance and Birch, and Roger and Gene, I want you to know that since I've had so much experience at this office and have grown to like it that I'm perfectly willing to run on either ticket or both

at the same time. Now I don't know how you can be more nonpartisan than that.

I want to visit today with you, not in the form or in the manner of an advocate or of a debater, but rather as a fellow citizen. I'm going to talk to you about our country, as Mr. Pulliam put it. We are Democrats and Republicans, Governors and former Governors, Senators and former Senators, members of Congress, Judges, businessmen, labor, and all different races, religions. There truly is an ecumenical spirit here in every sense of that term. But above all, we are citizens of this republic. And I am a little bit sentimental about our country and unashamedly, may I say, particularly in these days. Because I really believe that Americans are concerned about their country. I think they're concerned as to whether or not we're going to really be able to make this great democracy of ours work as we want it to. To keep it, if you please, responsive to human need without destroying motivation and incentive. To keep this great system of ours working. Working with constant forward progress and yet not with a type of erratic behavior that leaves casualties in its wake. We're blessed by what we call representative government. We're a very pragmatic people. We're not doctrinaire or dogmatic. We seek to develop economic institutions and political institutions that work, that serve the people. I think it was Thomas Jefferson who once said that "only legitimate objective of government is the happiness and the well-being of the people." And yet you and I know that America is not just government and it ought never to be. It isn't just Federal government, state or local government, and it must never be - it really is a partnership of the people. It is in a sense, a compact, a contract, between peoples and

their leaders - peoples and their institutions. So, while we must have the debate, so that we can find the answers - or hopefully find them - while we must think out loud and be critical when criticism is justified, and propose and initiate when such initiatives are required, I think we ought to remember that there are rules of the game, so to speak. And we ought to be in a sense what Abraham Lincoln put so beautifully when he said, "With malice towards none, with charity for all, but with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right." That's the predicate of citizenship upon which this country is based, so I come to you today with a point of view - my goodness, everybody has one - and I've always said that while we'd like to eliminate men's prejudices we're entitled to exercise ours during that process of elimination, and I come to you with, I'm sure, some built-in prejudices. I told Bishop Raines this morning about my dear mother and about my beloved father and it's true that he was just about the only Democrat in town and it's true that he was the Mayor time after time and that he served in the Legislature and that he was a druggist, and I'm still a druggist - and by the way, before I came to this meeting I was on the telephone still trying to run a family business, with no conflict of interest, I want you to know. We have no government contracts - haven't been able to get one at all, but my father brought up his sons - and particularly his sons - to respect their mother. I'll be quick about this. And one day when I didn't show that respect as a young lad, he gave me some fundamental treatment. Not modern psychology - fundamental South Dakota psychology at that time, and after the treatment was over, he said to me, "Listen, young man, I want to tell you a thing or two about your mother. She's my sweetheart,

she's my wife, she happens to be your mother, and you treat her with respect - she's a wonderful woman. She has only one limitation-- she's politically unreliable." So, I guess I'm the man for this meeting, because there was a sort of divided house on many an occasion in our family and it's about elections I want to talk to you about. I have been in a few, I hope to be into some more, but I want to talk to you about an election that's going to take place several thousand miles away from this city. And it's a very important election - it's an important election to every American - it's an important election to everybody that ever believed in freedom or ever hoped to have anything called freedom. On September 3rd, the day after tomorrow, in just a few hours, election day is in Vietnam. Now you've heard all kinds of charges by prominent Americans - all I'm sure, sincere in their utterances, that this election will be a fraud, a hoax, or a farce. And you've even heard that the result is already fixed and then you've heard that the Republic of South Vietnam is therefore not worthy of our continued American support and all that it entails. Now these are serious charges. And I don't take them lightly and I'm going to say to you what I've said to others -- I'm not so much of a partisan nor am I so much of a loyal man to an office that I would deceive deliberately by premeditation my countrymen on a matter that relates to the life and the welfare and the well-being of thousands of our fellow citizens, because we're talking about lives--not money--we're talking about sons, and daughters--not things. So anyone that hears these charges has a right to be worried and we should give them full attention and I intend to. And I've been doing so for a long time. We believe in the democratic process and we're repelled by the idea that this process could be

subverted -- especially in a place where so many lives -- American lives -- have been given, and so much of our resources are already dedicated. Moreover, this election, far away as it may seem to us, stands out as a hopeful and familiar beacon, in a situation in which all Americans find very complex and frustrating. It's very difficult to get the picture of what goes on, thousands of miles away, by a moment on the television, or a paragraph in the press. If you want to find out how difficult it is for people to get their story told, read American history. See how little people understood in other parts of the world then what we were trying to do. I'll come back to that in a moment. Today I want to therefore share my thoughts with you on this situation. Let's get some things clear right now. First, may I say that the election campaign in South Vietnam does not and will not resemble one in all its features that you'd have in Bloomington, Indiana. Nor should we expect it to. There may be a spot or two in the country that it resembles, but not Bloomington. Now the people of South Vietnam have had some limited experience with the democratic process at the village level. But they are really inexperienced in such things as a national election campaign. As a matter of fact, most of the people of the world are inexperienced in national free elections. We are a minority in this blessed privilege. But they're trying to conduct that campaign in the midst of a military conflict in a background of a quarter of a century of war, and in the face of unbelievable terrorism and assassination by the forces of the Viet Cong and North Vietnam which have stated as their prime objective, the undermining of the electoral process. Now my friends, if the Viet Cong and the communists really were interested in the freedom of the peoples of Vietnam, what

greater proof could they offer than to permit the election process to take place? So, to put it frankly, things are not tidy, or orderly; they are confused and disorderly. Hundreds, yes into the thousands, of people have already had their lives snuffed out because they are trying to have an election -- and not by the government of South Vietnam -- but by the Viet Cong and by the forces of North Vietnam. Now there are many examples of confusion and misunderstanding. One not long ago was of a plane carrying several non-government candidates to a political rally that was diverted to another airport because of weather conditions -- because of this, the small crowd at the original destination missed the candidates, and my goodness, there was such a flurry, such a commotion in America about this. Now if this had happened in our own country - and by the way - it happens all the time -- it's happened to me, it's happened to others -- I recall in the recent elections in New York City - in the State of New York - where candidates for Governor in that great state turned up at places where they thought they were supposed to be and the meeting was in another end of town. And somebody just blamed the campaign manager. They didn't say it was a conspiracy, the best that it rated was a little note in Art Buchwald's column - and maybe an expose by Evans and Novak, and I'm sure had it happened to me they would have just said - "Ill wind blows. Humphrey misses crowd at rally." But that isn't the way it was reported to us. It was reported as if the candidates had been conspired against. I haven't any doubt but what the critics who spoke about this were honest in their views and that they spoke with genuine concern. But I would ask this -- since there were observers there,

who subsequently have told us the whole truth, that it was impossible for the plane to land, that it had to land at another airport simply because the runway wouldn't accept the plane with the crosswinds that were prevalent that day. That there was no conspiracy, there was no conniving, there was no effort made by the government to divert the candidates, I think it might have been well that when the stakes are so high -- when it is so important that the American people know really what is going on in Vietnam, for the critics to have checked the facts before they reported the prejudices. Now what are the facts concerning this election? And I have given you one fact. In January, 1966, seven months after assuming power, Prime Minister Ky announced his government's intention to seek constitutional representative government by the end of 1967. That was announced at the Honolulu conference. The schedule, my fellow Americans, has been adhered to. At the time of the announcement, cynicism permeated the air of American opinion -- they said it won't happen - it's deceptive - it's a fraud. In September of last year, elections were carried out for a constitutional assembly to draft a constitution. No such election was ever carried out in America to draft our constitution. This is not to blame us -- it's merely to state the fact. In those elections, some 532 candidates competed for 117 seats. That's quite a few candidates. And by the way, now that they've gotten accustomed to some elections in Vietnam, everybody wants to run. It isn't safe, fellows, for candidates. Some four-million-three-hundred-thousand people voted, or 80% of those that were registered. A mighty good example compared to the 49 to 50% that voted in our election in 1966. All of this despite calculated terror and disruption on the part of the Viet Cong. And by the way, some

400 observers were there, of the press and the media, and they found no fault with the election. Despite predictions that it couldn't be done, the constituent assembly after open and angry debate, completed a draft constitution within the stipulated period of six months and it was an open debate. Benjamin Franklin in our Constitutional Convention, and George Washington, I should say George Washington in particular, and others insisted that our Constitutional Convention back in Philadelphia be closed. Not a reporter team was present - not a camera - and they attached two men to Ben Franklin every day and night lest the garrulous old gentleman, after having a sip of wine or two, might tell all that had been going on the day before -- a historical fact. Despite the predictions that it would never be able to do so, and never would do so, this Vietnamese government -- this non-elected one - promulgated that constitution, accepted the work of the elected representatives of a constituent assembly, and put that constitution in effect as of April first of this year. In accordance with the transitional provisions of the new constitution, the Assembly prepared draft election laws -- not the military directorate -- but the elected Assembly -- for President and for legislative elections. These laws provided for all the normal safeguards for a free election, including a full and equal representation by all candidates and campaign activities in both counting and election supervision. The presidential and the Upper House elections will be held September third. The Lower House elections will take place October 22. For the Presidential election, no less than 19 slates are filed. We get a little excited when we get three or four. One dropped out; seven were disqualified by the Assembly -- the elected Assembly -- not by the military directorate -- for a variety of reasons. This leaves 11 slates in the

running for President and Vice President. For the Upper House, 64 slates filed. Of these, 16 were disqualified by the Assembly, failing to meet the requirements of the election law. This leaves 48 slates remaining or 408 candidates for 16 Senatorial seats. I might add, compared to the enemy of the north, this is quite a competition for the right of self-government. In addition to these political developments at the national level, elections have been taking place at the local level. Elections for village council members were held on successive Sundays in April. Some 77% of the registered electorate in the villages voted... some 2½-million. Do you know what the average vote in America is in the municipal elections? The maximum has been 35% of the eligible registered electorate in municipal elections. And yet in some of these villages in Vietnam there had never been an election in a thousand years. But they had one this year, despite terror, despite that the election officials were the number-one target of the Viet Cong, despite the fact that the voting booth was the number-one building to be destroyed, or facility (this word not clear on tape) by the bombs of the Viet Cong. Now there were 12,719 candidates for 8,498 seats on these village councils. The Viet Cong responded to the village elections by threatening voters, by killing 12 of the candidates outright and kidnapping 31.

In May and June, elections were held for hamlet chiefs. This is like the Mayor -- Mayor Barton -- some 81% of those registered for these elections voted. I was Mayor of Minneapolis for two terms -- we never had 78% of the registered voters vote for Mayor. Oh, how I used to hope that we could get 50% to show interest. Some 2,300,000 voted. Some 4,476 hamlet chiefs and 507 assistant hamlet chiefs were

elected out of 11,643 candidates. The Viet Cong terrorized the voters and the polling places, assassinated hamlet chiefs. By the end of this year, about half of South Vietnam's hamlets will have held their local elections for their local leadership, despite assassination, kidnapping, terror and brutality from the Viet Cong. Now in this important presidential election, there is no question that the Thieu (that is the present head of state) - Ky ticket enjoys an advantage because it's in power ... I'd like to think that that is true of most of the incumbents ... Of course there's some advantage, because it is by far the best known of the eleven presidential slates -- because its opposition is divided and fragmented -- which most incumbents hope is the case. Yet according to the reports, filed by our diplomatic and other representatives of other countries in Vietnam, the election of Thieu and Ky is by no means a sure thing. To the contrary, this is a hotly contested election. Now there has been criticism here and in South Vietnam of press censorship and to be sure, for a while there has been. But since July, there has been no censorship. Numerous articles have been published which are critical of the present government -- highly critical -- and all the candidates' views have been given wide coverage. There have been claims that some of the candidates have been bothered, harrassed. Yet our observers can find no solid evidence of this. Now the government of South Vietnam perhaps because of our concern, and we have expressed it pointedly, has gone beyond the legal requirements to see that each candidate has been given a full hearing. Listen to this - of course, this is what some senators are interested in, and congressmen in America -- free transportation for

every candidate -- this isn't required by the election law set up by the elected constituent assembly, free radio and TV time -- Oh my, wouldn't that be good! And even campaign funds have been provided to each candidate. Now we've been debating for a year in the Senate of the United States as to whether we should have even some of this. Posters and leaflets for each government candidate have been printed at government expense -- these are things that in the United States would be the responsibility of each candidate and his committee to do for themselves.

Now what have been the issues in this campaign -- has it just been nonsense? To the contrary -- much of it is focused -- much of the campaign is focused with a vitriolic fervor on the rule and the administration of Thieu and Ky, the present rulers, and the military directorate -- bitter criticism of them. There has been a great deal of debate on economic and social development -- and above all, on the best way to find peace in that war-torn country. Most of the candidates advocate negotiations with Hanoi and some even have openly expressed the idea of informal discussions and formal discussions with the Viet Cong. It's not surprising that the candidates' individual personalities seem to be playing an important role above everything else, because political parties take time to build. Now what is our interest in all of this? I've reviewed it for you because frankly we lose perspective in the moment of the headline -- and the flash story -- the 15-second spot on TV. There is no doubt that we have a stake in it. We've always believed, and the documents and broadcasts show that Hanoi believes, and I want to repeat it -- the documents and the broadcasts from Hanoi show that North Vietnam believes that a popularly-elected

representative government in Saigon, South Vietnam, could be a powerful and positive antidote to the pressure, terror and propaganda of the Viet Cong. As a matter of fact, this election is a number-one danger to the communists, to the Viet Cong. And they're fighting it with a sense of ferocity such as no one has ever experienced. We as a government have made it crystal clear that in our view this election is very important. That any subversion of the electoral process, any denial of the chance of a democratic government in South Vietnam would be a setback to all the allies and a setback on the road to progress and peace. Last week the President appointed a distinguished group of Americans, a cross-section of the leadership community in this country, to go out to South Vietnam and take a first-hand look at the elections on behalf of the American people. Bipartisan, from every walk of life. That delegation is now in Vietnam -- not to tell the Vietnamese what to do, but to observe what they are doing, and to come back and report to the American people. Other nations are sending observers, many of them -- Japan, Australia, Sweden, New Zealand, Belgium, Laos, Turkey, the Republic of Korea -- and the election will, of course, be observed, covered, by hundreds of Americans and other reporters. But until these reports come in, I want to make a suggestion which I hope will be taken in good grace. I said suggest -- that it is time for some restraint and some application of a sense of perspective by those who would prejudge those elections, who would call them a hoax, a fraud, and a farce before they take place. Is this the way to encourage self-government? Is this the way to show that we have faith in the

processes of freedom? I think, in short, it's time for a moratorium on hasty impressions and galloping conclusions. It's time to watch, to wait, to listen, and then to evaluate. Now finally, may I say this -- self-determination has been one of our foremost objectives in South Vietnam. People have said many times, "Why are we there?" One of the reasons, we've stated the reasons, to defeat aggression -- and, gentlemen, the fact of aggression is an undeniable fact, an undeniable fact. So we are there to help defeat aggression; we are there to promote self-determination; we are there to help defeat social misery; and to promote economic development and representative government. And we are there for the cause of peace, not only in Vietnam, but in all of Asia, indeed, in all of the world. Americans are entitled to feel a considerable amount of satisfaction because of the very fact that the elections will be held. I proclaim from this platform that if these elections are held, and they will be held, on the day after tomorrow, September 3, that this is a victory within itself. This is one of the main reasons that we're there. The right of the people to choose their government, the right of self-determination, the right to express one's self, to make a choice. That's what this struggle in this world is all about. More than anything else, more than economics, it's whether or not man shall have the right to be represented by men of his own choosing, which is another way of placing emphasis under that spiritual concept of human dignity. Now regardless of who wins, and we're not selecting any favorites, regardless of whether any candidate gets a clear majority of the vote, and possibly none will, it looks like they may not, the South Vietnamese people have participated in a nation-wide election campaign. This is an important development

despite terrorist intimidations. Voter registration is at an all-time high. They want to vote. They want to be free. They want to select their own people. We spend millions of dollars begging people to register in America. We have huge programs of voter registration enticing people to vote. And the voter registration today in Vietnam is incredibly high. I say this is a victory, and we ought to so proclaim it to the whole world! That's what America stands for, is self-determination, freedom, self-government, representative government. This is what it's all about. And once it is acquired, the habit of self-determination is hard to overcome. But it also requires a lot of maturing before it provides a stable base for democracy.

Let me give you a little American history. I'm an old teacher and I may be back at it - I thought I'd renew my credentials in the light of what Roger had to say here a moment ago, the Governor. And I know that some of my friends -- my friend, Dr. Herman Wells -- is here and others, I may want a job. As an old political scientist and one who has taught American government, constitutional law, let me review for you some history about the growth pains that go with self-determination and nation-building. Our Articles of Confederation, our first Constitution, was adopted in 1777. It was over four years before all the states had ratified those Articles. The capital of the United States changed 11 times from 1776 to 1790. Eleven different locations. Meanwhile, a good share of General Washington's Continental Army during those war years of revolution had deserted, and when you read of the high desertion rate in Vietnam, would you please study your early American history? And at least one-third of the total population of the 13 states were Tories, who

thought the whole idea of the Revolution was a bad one and many of them left and went to Canada and others stayed and sabotaged our efforts for freedom, or did nothing. Washington didn't even have money for his armies. He prayed at Valley Forge in the snow and begged for food, and might I add that we didn't get our freedom alone. And we didn't get our help from a great democrat with a small D. We got our loan from Louis XVI who was subsequently beheaded as a tyrant. And more Frenchmen were present at Yorktown than Americans. And the British fleet was not bottled up by the American frigates, but by the French fleet. And when you visit Yorktown, my fellow Americans, and look at the memorial tablets there, you will see the names of hundreds of Frenchmen ~~that~~ gave their lives at Yorktown for the defeat of Cornwallis. We had help -- plenty of it for those days. And we had help because the country that helped us thought it was in its interest to help us. And we're helping in Vietnam because we think it's in our interest to help in Vietnam. And that interest we happen to believe, is the interest of most of humanity, all of humanity.

Well, the Confederation had some serious flaws, the Articles of Confederation, so in 1787 some delegates from each state were invited to Philadelphia to make a fresh start, and let me let you in on the history -- they were never told that they were going to write a new constitution. There was the -- what we call the Annapolis Meeting -- where the real leaders got together -- the Madisons, the John Jays, and the Hamiltons, and the Washingtons, and they said we ought to have a little meeting and see if we couldn't sort of do something about the Articles of Confederation, knowing full well that

they had to abandon the Articles and write a strong Constitution, with a strong central government. Were there elections? No, they asked the state legislatures to appoint representatives. They invited a little committee, invited representatives to come. One hundred were invited to Philadelphia to make a fresh start. The first 29 delegates assembled a week-and-a-half after the appointed time and it was several weeks before a quorum was present. In other words, before all 55 delegates had appeared out of the hundred that were invited. Rhode Island never did send a delegation. By September 15, 1787, after the convention had started in May when the draft constitution was voted on, 13 delegates had already given up in despair and gone home. Three more refused to sign. Rhode Island refused to join the Union for three years. A hundred were invited, 55 came, 39 stayed, 38 signed -- barely over a third of those who were supposed to participate. So you see, growing pains are painful. Nation-building isn't easy. And some perspective in this day and age is necessary and possibly the lessons of our own beloved America can be helpful. So even if this election proves to be an unqualified triumph of popular government, even if the sternest skeptics are proved completely wrong, the election will only be one more tortuous step, but an important one to be sure, on the road to self-determination, and ultimate peace in Vietnam. Because we're dealing there with the struggle that has been years in the making and has been waged not just militarily but above all politically, economically, and psychologically. And we're dealing with an adversary who according to all our information, still genuinely believes that time is on his side. An adversary who despite his military set-back after set-back, defeat after defeat, still believes that we will ultimately tire and withdraw. That's why he will not come to the conference table. He says, "Why should I? These Americans can't take it, won't persevere ...

they believe what Mao said - we're a paper tiger - that we just have no stomach for it. Our hearts cry out - mine does and yours does -- everyday of my life -- at the cost in misery and with the loss of life in Vietnam. We desperately want to see an end to this struggle, but I want to warn this audience - the enemy's hope for victory is not in his power because he doesn't have that much power - but in our division, our weariness, our uncertainty. The road to peace -- and that's what we want - peace, with honor -- is in our unity, our steadfastness, and in having the enemy know it. And that we mean it. Despite these feelings, we have no choice but to persevere. It isn't a very encouraging picture for the moment, choosing neither the reckless and irresponsible choices of massive escalation nor of withdrawal--but of sticking with the difficult but necessary course of firm resolve which can and will bring this conflict to an end; to a peaceful end. And I'm talking of a course of action which means keeping at it tirelessly, day by day, at the business of meeting and defeating the enemy forces and all that that means. And we are, day by day, defeating them. And of building security and a better standard of living on the Vietnamese countryside, and we are. And of doing what we can to nurture stable and democratic government, and we are. And tirelessly seeking honorable negotiation everywhere, anyplace, and we are. Why is it that you would believe, anyone believe, that whoever is President of this country, would want to prolong a war, or would not seek an honorable peace? This nation is not a nation of destroyers, we're builders. We're not essentially warriors, we're teachers and doctors, and merchants and laborers, and farmers. We have no desire for war, but we know that appeasement is not peace and we know that to dishonor ourselves is not to build greatness.

You know, I want to call to your attention and I've taken too much of your time, but I have a little note here - the words of our late President, John Kennedy - some people need to remember this -- at his inaugural, when he said "Let every nation know whether it wish us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, to assure the survival and the success of liberty." Did we mean it? I think so; I think our history proves that we mean it. So we must persevere and be competent. For what is at stake in Vietnam is more than the fate of that little nation, it is the fate of a long-standing American involvement in Asia, which goes back far beyond Pearl Harbor and at least to that, but it is the fate of free Asia itself, it is the fate, frankly, of world peace. All the wars that we've been involved in in the last half of this century started in Asia. So peace in Asia is important to us. We have been involved in economic development of the non-communist nations of Asia, both on a national and regional basis. We've been involved in the building of the freedom and the independence of those nations and nation-building is our business and it's hard business. We've been involved in preventing the expansion of Asian communism, which is the danger of our time, thru either subversion or open aggression. We're involved, my friends, whether we like it or not, we can't get off on this world- we're on it - there's only a few that are going to make that trip to the moon -- we're involved in Asia and Africa, in Latin America - we're involved in nation-building and in the cause of freedom. And our policies have been rewarded by substantial progress and success. I believe our involvement has been right. Let me tell you why. Japan today, due to a large part in our involvement and indeed to our

protection, is a staunchly democratic nation, and among the great economic powers of the world, and our friend. Agression has been repelled in South Korea. Ten years ago not a man in this audience would have given one chance in ten for Korea to survive as a free nation. Today it is a free nation. Its economy is on the break-thru point, moving ahead rapidly. The Republic of China in Taiwan, Formosa, is self-sustaining, and not only no longer depends on American aid--it's extending aid, giving help to others. The Philippines is moving ahead, developing its democracy. The people of Indonesia--a hundred-million people--only two years ago in the hands of Sukarno and the communists, a hundred-million--the fifth largest nation on the face of the earth, a treasure-house, a communist sattelite two years ago, before we put our forces in Vietnam, is today rid--has revolted against communism - rid itself of that rule. Its leaders have again reestablished their presence in the United Nations, their diplomatic relations with the United States, their foreign minister comes and visits us as a friend, General Sukarno speaks to your President as a friend. If nothing else had happened, this within itself is a major victory and the leaders of Indonesia are the first to tell you that they never could have succeeded without our presence in Southeast Asia. They openly say so. Thailand is flourishing and is a developing nation facing communist infiltration to be sure, but meeting it. Burma, Laos, Malaysia, Singapore, all are independent. All are developing. What once appeared to be a floodtide of communist power sweeping over Asia, engulfing all of Southeast Asia, that floodtide has been stopped. Free nations are joining together in common purpose and regional economic development and common defense. None of these nations, to be sure, is a mirror

of the United States and we don't want them to be and they don't want to be. They're themselves. We can't claim credit for all of their success. But I've talked first-hand, face to face, with all the leaders of these countries, and without exception they have told me that if we fail and withdraw in Vietnam they cannot help but fear for their own safety and independence in the future and the pressures would be great for them to come to accommodation with those who would have their way in Asia by subversion or force. Lee Kuan Yew, the non-aligned prime minister of Singapore, and no particular friend of the United States, that is, professed friend, summed it up this way. He said "I feel the fate of Asia, south and southeast Asia, will be decided in the next two years by what happens in Vietnam." Well, I believe that what these Asian officials have said is, in all probability, true. In any case, I believe the risks to all that has been achieved in Asia since World War II are far too great to act on any other assumption. To act otherwise and to be proved wrong would go down as one of the massive blunders in history. Now a personal word. These are difficult times. They break your heart at times. Everyone of us are bothered. Difficult times at home and abroad for America. Our achievements surround us. Unprecedented prosperity, increasing mastery over technology, progress in slowing down the nuclear arms race, a Western world that has raised itself from ashes of World War II. There is solid social progress that we can see. On all sides we see evidence of what has been done and we have reason to be proud of it. President Johnson put it this way. He said this nation is mighty enough, its society is healthy enough, its people are strong enough to pursue our goals in the rest of the world while still building a great society here at home. Some

people disagree with that, but I say we have the means and the resources. But there is a question that needs to be asked. Because the satisfaction somehow seems to be missing from all of this. We bear the pain of Vietnam and the disturbances of our cities. And there is the inescapable feeling that no matter what we do we shall be surrounded by problems as far ahead as we can see. Well, my friends, there are no immediate solutions. These are age-old problems. We like instant things in America. Instant coffee, instant tea and we even want instant victories and instant world peace. Peace doesn't come instantly, anymore than character comes that way. Anymore than building a family comes that way. Building a business. It takes time-block by block, stone by stone, pillar by pillar. Peace is not passive, it's active, it's construction. One thing is certain. One thing is certain, gentlemen. We'll not find peace in Vietnam nor will we build better American cities simply because we apply massive amounts of money or power. For if money and power were the answer, we would have long ago solved these problems. My, the money we've spent. Checkbook diplomacy, checkbook answers, and some people say, "I never thought I'd hear Hubert Humphrey say that." Well, I say it. Because, the fact is that money cannot bring peace, progress, character, integrity, and all the things that make up the meaning of life. No, we are going to need qualities that have always pulled this nation through its trials. Money, yes, power, yes, we must have both. But we are going to need courage. We'll need patience, perserving patience and we are going to need confidence. We shall need humility, too. And understanding. And we shall need hope. Hope. And we shall need faith. Indeed, new faith in old American dreams. And we shall need faith in our country and why not--it's a great country. The last

hope on earth. And we are going to need faith in our fellow citizens. And they are going to need faith in each other. And in our capacity to meet whatever comes. And to master it. A great nation does the impossible. Great people know no defeat. And this is the kind of faith that must imbue this republic and the people of it, united in common purpose, submerging their personal petty differences, rallying around the common cause. And I say that if we have that faith and if we persevere, and I think we can and will, the problems of today can be the victories of tomorrow. It is the impossible, for the faint-hearted it is the unknown, for the thoughtful and the valiant it is ideal. The challenge is urgent. The task is large. The time is now. I think Victor Hugo said what really every American believes deep in his heart. Let's practice it. Let's show it by work and deed, by conviction and faith. Thank you.

Mr. Pulliam:

I think it would be difficult to envision a luncheon more thoroughly in keeping with Indiana's famous reputation for hospitality. And it is gatherings such as this that bind people together and create understanding and a greater sense of tolerance. I can't tell you how very, very grateful I am to all of you for coming here today and listening to the Vice President's message. You have given the Vice President a warm Indiana welcome and I honestly believe and hope that everyone of us is a little happier and a little prouder to be American than ever before. And so now and again as always, happy have we met, happy have we been, happy may we be until we meet again. Thank you so much for coming. This meeting is adjourned.



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