

Father Michael Zern Zewski
REMARKS Zern Zewski
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

NATIONAL SHRINE OF OUR LADY

OF CZESTOCHOWA

Chen - Sta - Hova

DOYLESTOWN, PENNSYLVANIA

OCTOBER 15, 1967

Most Rev Bishop
Rt Reverend
Reverend Clergy

Dro-Dzy-Polacy
Drozy-Polapsee

Platze

A century ago, the great Polish author,
Sm-Kay Vid
Henry Sienkiewicz viewed the future of Poles in
America with foreboding. He wrote:

msg
Francis
Iron Chack

"Sooner or later, they will forget. They
will change everything, even their names,
which (Americans) find hard to pronounce ...
will
Just as Poland disappeared, so the same sad fate
eventually befall our children (here) ..."

Names have been changed -- but not the
hearts of Poland's children.

Beautiful scene - 1st anniversary
of the National Shrine of our Lady of
Chen Sta Hova

I'm sorry that Cardinal Krol cannot
be with us today. ⁻²⁻ President Johnson wanted
me to bring his greetings -

That has not happened. It must not happen. And

this great religious and cultural center itself gives
enduring assurance that it will not happen.

Cardinal
Krol in
Rome

When President Johnson helped dedicate this
National Shrine a year ago -- in the year of Poland's
Christian millenium -- it was already a splendid building.

Now there is new beauty and nobility.

There is the magnificent mural -- a true
reproduction of that priceless treasure of Poland and its
faith, the painting of the Blessed Virgin.

There are the great stained glass windows that
give vibrant life and color to the east and west walls
of the Upper Church. One portrays Poland's thousand
years of Christianity and the other the life and work of the

Polish People in the new world.

I'm Reminded of my visit to Rome -
to St. Peter's Basilica - to the Holy Father
Pope Paul VI - John the 23rd

Polish people in this new world of ours.

These fine works of art are a reminder that your forefathers brought with them much more than the will to work. ~~They remind me of my own to Rome -~~

They brought with them one of the oldest and richest cultures in Europe -- a culture of excellence in literature, in drama, in music, in painting, and in architecture.

But this is more than a religious shrine and a cultural center. It is a monument to freedom.

Devotion to freedom and a belief in the dignity of man have been the undying characteristic of all Poles in America since the beginning.

Kazimierz Pulaski

Casimir Pulaski, who fought for liberty in the American revolution, said: "Wherever on the globe men are fighting for freedom, it is as if it were our own affair."

X
X

KO ShewSKO

↳ That was the spirit that brought Kosciuszko to our shores; and it is fitting that we remember him today on the 150th anniversary of his death. He was not only a skillful soldier and devoted patriot, but a compassionate and great-hearted humanitarian.

↳ And we honor that same spirit as we commemorate another anniversary today. It was fifty years ago this year that the "Blue Legion" of Polish freedom fighters was founded on American soil.

Starzynski Paderefski
↳ Starzynski, a founder along with Paderefski, of the Blue Army, rests here in the Lot of Honor in your cemetery. It is a worthy place for a man who so greatly loved both Poland and America.

↳ This is truly a National Shrine -- a shrine in which all Americans can take pride. For we are both

one nation and many nations / As one of our greatest American authors, Herman Melville wrote:

"Settled by the people of all nations, all nations may claim her for their own... Our blood is as the flood of the Amazon, made up of a thousand noble currents pouring into one.

We are not a nation so much as a world."

/ It is because they saw America as a land of freedom and opportunity that our forefathers came here from all parts of the world -- yours from Poland and mine from Norway *and Wales.*

/ And we must see to it that America is indeed a land of every-widening opportunity -- not just for some Americans, not just for most Americans, but for all Americans.

Each and every American must have the opportunity to develop his God-given talents to the fullest -- and to apply them for his own advancement and the welfare of the community.

It is an opportunity state, not a welfare state, that we are building here in America. We want every American to be able to stand, ~~strong~~ ^{firm} and self-reliant, on his own two feet. For, in the words of your Polish proverb, "From someone else's cart, you have to get off half way."

We have witnessed grave disorders in our cities. There is no room in America for lawlessness and violence, and it will be met by strict and uncompromising enforcement of the law.

But every thinking American knows that the violence

we have seen is a symptom of deep social problems -- of the conviction among an alienated minority that society has nothing to offer them that is worth saving.

It is vital that we maintain law and order, but it is not enough. We need also the kind of vision and compassion that Kosciusko showed in the well-known words of his will:

as I said in
1964 - at the
Polish American
Congress, Chic,
Charles Rozmar

"I...hereby authorize my friend Thomas Jefferson to employ the whole of my property in the United States in purchasing Negro (slaves)...and giving them liberty in my name..."

I am confident that Americans of Polish descent, true to this great tradition, will join in making the promise of America a reality for all Americans.

Our regard for our fellow-men does not stop at
the water's edge. In this fast-shrinking world, we
are -- all of us -- more than ever our brothers' keepers.

and We have not forgotten ~~our~~^{our} friends and relatives
in Poland, ~~any more than you have.~~

You can still see at work in Polish factories the
machine tools which were sent there through the
United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA).

~~America's total contribution to the Polish people through
UNRRA was over 360 million dollars.~~

Under the Food for Peace program, over half
a billion dollars worth of American food and fiber has
gone to Poland.

Much of that
~~Over 20 million dollars worth of our surplus~~
food has been distributed in Poland by American voluntary

organizations. This means that:

└ --Hundreds of thousands of children in school and in summer camps enjoy hot and nourishing meals.

└ -- Many thousands of the aged and infirm in hospitals and institutions are better fed.

└ Ambassador Gronouski -- a distinguished Polish American -- this spring signed agreements with the Polish government for a ten-year English language teaching program and a seven-year cultural exchange. ~~to be paid for with Polish currency we have earned with Food for Peace.~~

└ As you may know, I have a particular and personal interest in the thoroughly modern research hospital for

Kaä Kööf -10-

children in Krakow. It was conceived and planned

by a good friend of mine, the architect Biernacki-Poray,

and I worked closely with him in making his great

dream come true.

As a Senator I had the this Hospital
~~pleasure of sponsoring in the Senate~~

~~the appropriation of the funds required to build~~

in cooperation with
this hospital, and my good friend Congressman Zablocki
and John Rooney.
~~did the same in the House~~

I hope
someday
I will
visit
this Hosp

This life-giving gift of the American people to
the children of Poland was dedicated almost two years ago.

It has been in full operation ever since. Its 320 beds
are regularly full to capacity, and literally thousands
of Polish children have come out of it with their health
and strength restored.

Bridges of peaceful trade and commerce are being
built as well. This year Poland became — with vigorous

~~American support -- a full member of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the principal trading forum of the world.~~

↳ The expansion of trade with Poland and the other nations of Eastern Europe remains the goal of this Administration. Everyone stands to gain by it and no one need lose -- for, as our late beloved President Kennedy liked to say, "a rising tide lifts all the boats."

* * *

↳ In March of this year, I stood at the rostrum of Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri -- the same rostrum from which Winston Churchill warned us 21 years ago: "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an Iron Curtain has descended across the continent of Europe."

∟ I declared on that occasion my belief that we stand on the threshold of a new era in our relations with the peoples of Eastern Europe, a period of peaceful engagement. ∟ And I stated my conviction that, if we do not lose our nerve or our patience, we can look forward with confidence to the replacement of the Iron Curtain by the Open Door.

∟ The ties which you -- and other Americans of Eastern European descent -- have maintained with the countries of your forefathers are very important in this respect. For they will help mightily in opening that door and keeping it open.

∟ That will be a real service to peace in this tormented world. ∟ For it is open doors -- not iron curtains -- that mean peace in a world which science and technology are making one great neighborhood.

∟ The peace of the world neighborhood is threatened in Asia. The tragedy and sorrow of war grips Vietnam.

∟ Once again our nation pours out its treasure and offers the lives of its young men in resisting aggression and Communist tyranny in Southeast Asia.

∟ 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, 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.

∟ 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 hope of victory for the enemy is not in his power,
but in our division -- our weariness, our uncertainty.

⌞ The road to peace is in our unity -- our steadfastness --
and the enemy knowing it!

⌞ 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 course of firm resolve which can and will bring
the conflict to a just and *honorable peace*.

⌞ I am talking of a course of action which means keeping
tirelessly, day-by-day at the business of meeting and
defeating the enemy forces and we are! 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.!

John F. Kennedy 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." *This is our creed!*

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 Asia itself -- the fate of peace.

Our own American security is at stake. Today the
threat to world peace is militant, aggressive Asian Communism,
with its headquarters in Peking, China. The aggression of
North Vietnam is but the most current and immediate action
of militant Asian communism.

└ If it should succeed in its goal of conquest of South Vietnam, ~~it would~~ it would add to the strength of Communism.

It would stimulate the appetite for more aggression and conquest. It would represent a defeat for freedom.

Europe
1930's
Hitler
Hoxum

└ The late President Kennedy saw this clearly when he was asked by Mr. David Brinkley, the eminent and noted commentator, this question:

└ Mr. Brinkley: "Mr. President, have you had any reason to doubt this so-called 'domino theory,' that if South Vietnam falls, the rest of Southeast Asia will go behind it?"

And here was his reply:

President Kennedy: "No, I believe it. I believe it.

I think that the struggle is close enough. China is so large, looms so high just beyond the frontiers, that if South Vietnam went, it would not only give them an improved geographic position for a guerrilla assault on Malaya, but would also give the impression that the wave of the future in Southeast Asia was China and the Communists. So I believe it."

out

General Pulas Key

"Wherever on the globe men
are fighting for freedom,
it is as if it were our
own affair."

I imagine what kind of a world we would be living in if the sweep of Asian Communism should include all of Southeast Asia with its millions of people and its vast resources. The entire power structure of the world would be distorted and drastically changed.

So, my fellow Americans, we are in Vietnam not only because of a treaty, not only because that a small nation is being set upon by a powerful, aggressive force, We are there because the United States of America has a stake in freedom and because our own national security is best protected when the enemies of freedom are denied victory.

We have proven in Europe that resistance to aggression - the containment of Communist power -- serves the cause of peace and our own security. The threat to that peace is now in Asia. The threat to our security is in Asia. And we are defending the cause of peace in Vietnam, and we are fighting there not only for the Vietnamese but for ourselves and the future of our country.

Make no mistake about it. Communist China has
failed in its attempt to overrun Southeast Asia because we are
there resisting aggression. North Vietnam has failed in its
objective to absorb South Vietnam in the swamp of Communism.

~~North Vietnam has failed~~ because we are there resisting
aggression.

It is the Communist that is losing the war.

Again, as the late President Kennedy said: "We can't
make the world over, but we can influence the world. The fact
of the matter is that with the assistance of the United States,
SEATO, Southeast Asia, and indeed all of Asia has been
maintained independent against a powerful force, the Chinese
Communists. What I am concerned about is that Americans
will get impatient and say because they don't like events in
Southeast Asia or they don't like the government in Saigon,
that we should withdraw. That only makes it easy for the
Communists. I think we should stay.

~~"I don't agree with those who say we should withdraw.
That would be a great mistake~~

~~"We took all this -- made this effort to defend Europe.
Now Europe is quite secure. We also have to participate --
we may not like it -- in the defense of Asia."~~

Yes, three Presidents -- President Eisenhower, President Kennedy, and President Johnson have determined in their wisdom and judgment that it is in the interest of the United States and the cause of freedom to resist aggression in Southeast Asia. Three great Presidents, following the best advice that they could obtain, have concluded that it is in the interest of this nation to check the tide of Communist aggression in Vietnam. If we fail to do it there, we will have to meet it someplace else. ^{and} Later it ^{may} ~~will~~ be even more difficult, more costly, more dangerous.

But we are not only in Vietnam to resist aggression. We are there for nation-building because nation-building is our business.

We are involved in Asia so that those who aspire to freedom can have their day -- have their chance.

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. Yes, nation-building is our business.

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

Our policies have been rewarded by progress, and I believe our involvement has been right.

Due in large part to our involvement and protection, Japan is a staunchly democratic nation, and among the great economic powers of the world.

not used

- 21 -

Aggression has been repelled in South Korea.

Korea's economy is flourishing.

The Republic of China -- Taiwan -- 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 revolted against Communism -- have rejected expansionism, and 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 floodtide of Asian Communism has not engulfed Southeast Asia. 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.

not used

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."

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.

But, as President Johnson 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."

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.

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.

↳ 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. *+ Faith in God*

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

IT HAS BEEN AN INSPIRATION

TO BE WITH YOU TODAY IN THIS
MAGNIFICENT OCCASION OF POLISH-AMERICAN
RELIGIOUS AND PATRIOTIC DEVOTION.

THE MILLENIUM OF POLISH CHRISTIANITY,
CELEBRATED LAST YEAR HERE AND THROUGHOUT
THE WORLD, WAS NOT THE END; IT WAS A
NEW BEGINNING OF A SECOND MILLENIUM.

GOD GRANT THAT THE YEARS AHEAD
WILL SEE THE FULFILLMENT OF THE
Noblest IDEALS OF THIS SUPERB SHRINE.
AND MAY Poland - free, INDEPENDENT,
CHRISTIAN - ACHIEVE her PROUDEST ROLE IN
THE family OF MAN.

— //

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."

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Transcript
Shrine of our Lady of Czestochowa
Dayletown, Pa.
October 15, 1967

VOICE: May I ask Right Reverend Alexander Frontchek of Wellington, New Jersey to introduce our speaker of today, the Vice President of the United States. (Applause)

VOICE: Your Excellency Most Reverend Bishop, Right Reverend and Very Reverend Monsignors, Very Reverend Father Michael, Reverend Fathers, distinguished guests, venerable Sisters, ladies and Gentlemen. It will be exactly one year tomorrow that this imposing and majestic shrine was dedicated. It was built for the continual veneration of the blessed Virgin, the Mother of God, under her special title of Our Lady of ~~Chance de Nova~~ ^{CZESTOCHOWA}. It was erected as an enduring and perpetual memorial, and a millennium monument commemorating the ~~millennium~~ ^{millennium}. One thousand years of Christianity. On that great and historic occasion we were all honored by the President of our country, President Lyndon B. Johnson. Today we celebrate the first anniversary of that most happy event, and as we enter the threshold of

what we confidentially hope will be a second ^{mellenium} ~~millenium~~, we are, again, singularly honored by the presence of one who is second only to the president himself, one whom we like to call the ambassador of peace, one who has made many journeys, as well as many efforts to bring to fulfillment everywhere the great ideals of righteousness, justice, liberty and fraternity.

Our democracy believes in the fatherhood of God, and practices the brotherhood of man. This shrine is likewise dedicated to the fostering of love of God and neighbor, and is an outstanding symbol of peace. I know of no one among all our officials who is more zealous of the cause of peace, a just peace, than one who I now have the great honor and privilege of presenting to you. Ladies and gentlemen, the Vice President of the United States, the honorable Hubert H. Humphrey.

(Applause)

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Most Reverend Bishop, Right Reverend and Reverend Clergy, Monsignor Frontchek and our dearly beloved friend Father ~~Mixahak~~ Michael Zemjuski and ladies and gentlemen. I suppose that an appropriate greeting from a midwestern Norwegian would be "drose polatski". (Applause) Or better yet, as we would say, Father Michael, back in the home city of Minneapolis, "naz drovia". (Laughter and applause)

My fellow Americans, I'm sure that you must feel as I on this moment what a magnificent and beautiful scene, how the good Lord has blessed us today with this lovely day, and I am sure that you must sense the feeling of inspiration and exhilaration that is mine when I meet your young people dressed in their native costume, bright, attractive, healthy, all that makes up for youth. It is, indeed, a wonderful experience for me. Now I know how President Johnson must have felt just a year ago. Indeed, only last evening, my dear friends, I was with the president and Mrs. Johnson, and was visiting with them about this particular occasion, and the President of the United States, Father Michael, wanted me to express to you, to every person gathered here today, and in particular the Most Reverend Bishop, the Right Reverend and Reverend Clergy, and our fellow Americans his heartiest good wishes and greetings. How he wishes he could be here on this hour. (Applause) And might I ask that you convey his greetings as well as mine to a great church-man who only recently has been elevated to the high and honored title in office of Cardinal, Cardinal Kroll. I know he is in Rome at the Conference of Bishops, but I wanted to say hello to him even at this distance.

When President Johnson helped dedicate this national shrine a year ago, in the year of Poland's

mellenium
 Christian ~~Melanchon~~, it was a beautiful and ~~spark~~ splendid thing. All of America heard of it, but ~~from~~ now there is new beauty and nobility. There is this magnificent mural, a true reproduction of that priceless treasure of Poland and its fate, the painting of the Blessed Virgin. And there are the great stained glass windows that give vibrant life and color to the east and west walls of the upper church. One portrays Poland's thousand years of Christianity and the other the life and the work of the Polish people in the new world.

You know, I'm reminded, and when I speak of this, of my visit to Rome this past April, when I had the rare honor of visiting with his Holiness, the holy Father, Pope Paul VI, and in discussing with him matters of great concern to church and state, and of that day in the Basilica of St. Peter, I shall never forget, nor how can I forget of my experience only a few years past of visiting with that beloved peasant priest that brought so much of goodness to the world and brought the peoples of the world so close together in that spirit of the Ecumenical Movement, Pope John XXIII, one of the great spirits of all time. So there are many happy memories that come through my mind today. These fine works of art that are here are a ~~reminder~~ reminder that your forefathers brought with them much more than just their indomitable courage, their strength and

their will to work. They brought with them one of the oldest and one of the richest cultures in Europe. A culture of excellence in literature, in drama, in music, in painting and as we see before our very eyes, in architecture.

But this is more than a religious shrine and cultural center. It is a monument to freedom, strong, beautiful, imposing, a monument to man's freedom. Devotion to freedom and a belief in the dignity of man have been the undying characteristic of all Poles in America ~~and~~ and elsewhere since the beginning.

Oh, we have so many great men of Polish descent to remember, we Americans. We have Casimir Pulaski who fought for liberty in the American revolution. Who can forget him? What boy or girl will not remember that name? (Applause) Do you remember what this great patriot said? Well, let me remind you once again. Because his words of those days of our early American history are so relevant and so meaningful this very hour when America finds herself once again facing powerful forces of oppression. Pulaski said, "Wherever on the globe the men are fighting for freedom, it is as if it were our own affair." This great human being, this dedicated patriot understood that freedom was personal, that freedom belonged to each individual, and wherever freedom was in trouble, man was in trouble. Now, that was the spirit that brought Kosciusko to our

shores. And it is fitting that we remember him today, too, on the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Kosciusko's birthday. (Applause)

Kosciusko was not only a skillful soldier and a devoted patriot, but my dear friends, a compassionate and great hearted humanitarian. He demonstrated in his life that you can be strong, devoted, patriotic, and still, kind and compassionate. And we honor that same spirit as we commemorate another anniversary today.

It was fifty years ago this year that the Blue Legion, a Polish freedom fighters was founded on American soil. Oh, the valiant men of Polish descent that have fought for freedom here and elsewhere in the name of freedom and America. Many of them here today with us on this platform. (Applause)

Starsinski, a founder along with Paderewski of the Blue Army rests here in the lock of honor in your cemetery. What a hallowed place. It is a worthy place is it not for a worthy man who so greatly loved both Poland and America. And you know dear friends, you can love both and know that you are loving freedom. (Applause) How wonderful.

This is truly a national shrine, this national ~~shrine~~ shrine of Our Lady of ^{CZESTOCHOWA} ~~Chance de Nova~~. Beautiful. A shrine in which all Americans can take pride. For we are

both one nation and we are ~~was~~ many nations. As one of our great American authors, Herman Melville wrote speaking of our America, he ~~said~~ said it was settled by the people of all nations, and all nations can claim her for their own. Our blood ~~is the flood~~ is as the flood of the Amazon made up of a thousand noble ~~currents~~ currents pouring into one. We are not a nation so much as a world. What a description of America. This pluralistic, mosaic society. The society of many, yet bound together in unity.

It is because they saw America as this land of freedom ~~and~~ and opportunity that our forefather came here from all parts of ~~the~~ world. Yours from Poland and mine from Norway and Wales. My dear beloved mother was a foregin born girl coming to this country with her parents to seek what man and women for generations have sought. A chance. A new day. A better day. A chance to live in greater freedom. And we must see to it that America is, indeed, now as in the past, ~~xxx~~ a land of ever widening opportunity. Not just for some Americans. Not just even for most Americans. But a land of opportunity for all Americans. Everyone of us. (Applause)

I spoke to a high school and junior high school dedication a couple of hours ago, and I ended my visit with that lovely and wonderful audience with so many fine young people present by reciting for them the creed of ~~xxxxxx~~

this nation, and I think it so appropos, so appropriate on every occasion. Just as we sing the national anthems of America and Poland, so we can recite time and again the story of this land, the key to its greatness when I spoke of all Americans having opportunity. We say, you know, in our schools and elsewhere when we look at our great flag, "One nation under God, Indivisible with liberty and justice for all." That is the story of this land, my dear friends. That is America. One nation of many peoples but under God. Recognizing our humility and our humbleness, but indivisible and with liberty and justice for all. What a precious presentation of the purpose of this nation. (Applause)

Each and every American must have the opportunity as we see it to develop his God given talents to the fullest and to apply them for his own advancement and the welfare of his community.

You see, it is an opportunity state, not a welfare state that we're seeking to build in America. We want every American to be able to stand strong and self reliant on his own two feet, proud in his ~~ink~~ inheritance, proud of his name, his family, his faith, his church, proud of his state and his nation. That's the kind of America we want. For in the words of your Polish proverb, "From someone else's cart, you have to get off half way." But when it's your cart, when you can have it yourself, it goes

with you the full way.

We have witnessed at a recent date grave disorders in our cities. You and I know that there can be no room in America for lawlessness and violence. You and I know that it will and must be met by strict and uncompromising enforcement of the law and respect for the law. But you and I know that every thinking American realizes that the violence that we have seen is in part a symptom of deep social problems. Of the condition amongst an alienated minority. That society has nothing to offer them that is worth saving. It is vital that we maintain law and order because only through that can we obtain progress. But it is also important to remember that it is not enough. We need, also, the kind of vision and compassion that that great patriot Kosciusko showed in the well known words of his will. And I repeated those words in 1964 at Chicago at the Polish American Congress and I wanted to repeat them here to you today. Kosciusko said these words: "I hereby authorize my friend Thomas Jefferson to employ the whole of my property in the United States in purchasing Negro slaves and giving them liberty in my name." What a remarkable testament. (Applause)

So, I am confident that Americans of Polish descent true to this great tradition will join in making the promise of America a reality for all Americans. But our regard for our fellow man does not stop at the coastline or

at the water's edge. In this fast shrinking world we are all of us more or less neighbors and we are all of us our brother's keepers. And we have not forgotten our friends and relatives in Poland. Oh, you can still see it work in Polish factories today. The machine tools which were sent there much of it by the United States, through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. And under the Food for Peace Program which you have supported, literally over a half of a billion dollars of American food and fiber have gone to Poland. And much ~~have~~ of that food has been distributed in Poland to the Polish people by American voluntary organizations speaking in the name of American people. (Applause)

And what does this mean in more human terms? It means that hundreds of thousands of little children in school and summer camps now can enjoy a hot and nourishing meal. That many thousand of the elderly and the infirm in hospitals and in institutions are better fed. That's what Food for Peace means. It means life for little children. Life for God's children.

Ambassador ^{GRONOWSKI} ~~Gornowski~~, a distinguished Polish American who serves this nation honorably and well, this spring signed a new agreements with the Polish government for a ten year English language teaching program and a seven year cultural exchange so that English, the American tongue

will become the second language of the Polish child of tomorrow. What a bond of friendship! (Applause)

And as you may know, I have a particular and personal interest in the thoroughly modern research hospital for the children in Krakov, Poland. It was conceived and planned by a good friend of mine. A distinguished architect by the name of Bernaski Poray, and I worked closely with him in making this great dream come true. And I'm happy to say that Senator Joseph Clark who is on this platform with me today from your state ~~has~~ helped make this dream come true. And I had the privilege of working with the great congressman from the state of Wisconsin, Congressman Zablaki and another great Congressman, John Rooney, to make this dream of this hospital come true. (Applause) And I hope that someday I'll be able to visit that hospital and see those children and bring them your greetings. (Applause)

Now, this life giving gift of medicine and care of the American people to the children of Poland was dedicated almost two years ago and it has been in full operation ever since. It has three hundred and twenty beds and they are regularly filled to capacity, and literally thousands of children have come out of it with their health and their strength restored because American care, because America loved, because America thought of children even before

it thought of etiology or politics. (Applause)

There are many ways that we build bridges of understanding. Bridges of peaceful trade in commerce are being built today. The expansion of that trade ~~xxx~~ remains one of the goals of this administration. Everyone stands to gain by it and no one need lose. For as our late and beloved President Kennedy liked to say, "A rising tide lifts all the boats." All the boats. (Applause)

In March of this year, I stood at another rostrum in mid America. At Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri. The same rostrum from which Winston Churchill warned us twenty one years ago as he said, "From ~~Stettin~~^{Stettin} in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic an Iron Curtain has descended across the continent of Europe." That was his famous Iron Curtain speech. I declared ~~on my occasion,~~ on that occasion of my speech twenty one years later my belief that we stand on the threshold of an entirely new era in relations with the people of Eastern Europe. A period of peaceful engagement. And I stated my conviction then as I do now. That if we do not lose our nerve or our patience, we can look forward with confidence to the replacement of that ugly Iron Curtain by a beautiful open door. (Applause)

And the ties which you and other Americans of central and eastern European descent had maintained with the countries of your forefathers are very important in this ~~respect~~

respect. For they will help mightily in opening that door and keeping it open so that people ~~thaxx~~ can talk to one another, be with one ~~xxx~~ another. This will be a real service to peace in this ~~xx~~ tormented world. For it is open doors and open hearts, not iron curtains and closed minds that mean peace in a world where science and technology are making one great neighborhood for all the children of the earth. (Applause) But the peace of that world neighborhood today is threatened and torn in Asia. The tragedy of ours and the soul of war grips many a family in America and grips a far away place called Viet Nam.

Once again our nation pours out its treasure and offers the lives of its young men, not for its selfish purpose, not for imperial gain, not for trade or commerce, but in resisting aggression and resisting Communist ~~xx~~ tyranny this time in Asia. (Applause)

We are dealing there with a struggle that has been on for years and has been waged not just militarily but above all, politically, economically and psychologically. A struggle hard to fathom and understand. We are dealing with an adversary who according to all of our information still genuinely believes that time is on his side. An enemy who despite his military defeats, defeat after defeat still believes that we the American people will ultimately tire, ~~give up and withdraw~~

give up and withdraw. And that my dear friends is why that enemy will not come to the conference table and negotiate a just and honorable peace. (Applause)

Our hearts cry out at the human and material loss that we see in Southeast Asia, Viet Nam. All of us I pray God desperately want an end to this struggle. The hope of victory, however, for the enemy is not in his power but in our division, in our weariness, in our uncertainty. The road to peace that you want and I want is not in our words but rather in our unity, in our courage, in our steadfastness and in having the enemy know that the United States of America will never give up, will not tire, and will remain there until the job is done. (Applause)

We have no choice but to persevere. Choosing neither the reckless and ~~irresponsible~~ irresponsible choices of massive military escalation that could confront us with greater danger nor a withdrawal. But of sticking with the difficult and necessary course of firm resolve which can and will bring the conflict to a just and honorable peace. I'm talking of a course of action which means keeping at it day by day, defeating the enemy forces, and we are. Of building security and a better standard of living in the Viet Nameese countryside, and we are. And of doing what we can to nurture and develop responsible representative democratic government, and we are. I'm speaking of tirelessly

seeking honorable negotiations until one day our adversary realizes that time is not on his side, but time is on the side of the men of freedom who fight for freedom there as you fought for it elsewhere. (Applause)

I stood on the platform in Washington in January, 1961 and heard a brave young President John Kennedy say these words: "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." Ladies and ~~gent~~ gentlemen, that is the American creed. (Applause)

Yes we must do as he said. For what is at stake in Viet Nam is more than the fate of one little country. It is the fate of a long standing American ~~involvement~~ involvement in a part of the world where better than half of the children of this earth live. A fate in the involvement of Asia that goes back at least to Pearl Harbor and beyond that. It is the fate of free Asia itself. The fate of peace. Our own American security is at stake. That's why we're there. Today the threat to world peace is militant Asian aggressive Communism with its headquarters in Peking, China. The aggression of North Viet Nam is but the most current and immediate action of that militant Asian Communism, and if it should succeed in its goal of conquest of South Viet Nam, it would add to the ~~six~~

strength of Communism in Asia and Europe, and it would stimulate the ~~appetite~~ appetite for more aggression and conquests. It would represent a defeat not only for America but for freedom everywhere. I need not tell people of Polish descent what aggression means. I need not tell you of the evils of totalitarianism. I need not tell you of the brutality of Naziism and Communism. You know. And ladies and gentlemen, had the free nations of the world had the courage that little Poland had in 1939 and '40 there would have been no Nazi World War II. (Applause) What we seek today to do is what our -- the generation before us should have done when Hitler was on the march. Stop him before it was too late. Stop the aggressor before he becomes accustomed to the habit of conquest. And this my friends is what it's all about. (Applause)

So my fellow Americans, remember what General Pulaski said, "Wherever on the globe men are fighting for freedom, it is as if it were our own affair." We are in Viet Nam not only because of the Viet Nameese, not only because of a treaty. Not only because a small nation has been set upon by a powerful aggressive force. We are there because the United States of America has a stake in freedom and because our own national security is best protected when the enemies of freedom are denied victory anyplace, anywhere in the world. (Applause)

Now, make no mistake about it my ~~for~~ fellow Americans, it is not the United States and her allies who are failing. To the contrary. Communist China has failed in its attempt to overrun Southeast Asia. And why? Because we are resisting aggression. North Viet Nam has failed in its objective to absorb South Viet Nam in the swamp of Communism. Why? Because we are resisting aggression. It is time that the American people understood that it is the Communists that are losing this war and that victory will crown our efforts if we persevere with the courage that has characterized the Polish people and the Polish nation to a millennium of Christianity. (Applause)

Three great presidents, President Eisenhower, President Kennedy and President Johnson following the best advice that they could find have concluded that it is in the interests of this nation to check the tide of aggression in Viet Nam. If we fail to do it there, we'll have to meet it someplace else, and later it may be even more difficult and more dangerous.

Now, let me leave you with a personal word. I know these are difficult times for America both at home and abroad. It has never been easy, but what a great nation this is, how blessed and how fortunate. No nation more rich, no nation more powerful. President Johnson put it this way. "This nation is mighty enough, it's 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." I know that's a mighty task, but we dare not ~~be~~^{do} less.

My fellow Americans, if we are not strong enough to stand the test, who is? If we are not with our wealth able to pay the cost for freedom and justice, who is? If we, blessed as we are with material abundance, with knowledge, with science and with technology, with good people, if we cannot fulfill the responsibilities of leadership for freedom, who can? We have no choice. We are leaders. We have a responsibility and a burden to carry, and we're great enough to do it. (Applause)

But one thing is certain my friends, with all of the wealth, with all of the prosperity, with all of the power we will not find peace here or abroad, we'll not find peace in Viet Nam nor ~~we will~~ will we build better American ~~cities~~ cities simply by massive applications of money and power. For if money and power were enough we would long ago have solved these problems, because no one has known so much money or power. No, we shall need other qualities. We shall need the qualities that have always pulled this nation through its dark days when it has been tested and found not wanting. We shall need good old fashioned American ~~XXXXX~~ courage. We shall need patience, persevering patience,

and we shall need confidence, confidence in ourselves, confidence in the rightness of our cause. As Lincoln put it, "With malice towards none. With charity for ~~all~~ all. But with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right." We're going to need that kind of Lincolnian philosophy and ~~and~~ dedication, and we'll need humility and understanding, and we shall need above all the ever inspiring spirit of hope, and 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. And we shall need faith in God Almighty and His message. (Applause)

If we have that faith, and I believe we have, then I think the problems of today can be the victories of tomorrow. ~~It has been~~

It has been an inspiration for me to be with you on this magnificent occasion. A Polish American religious and patriotic devotion. The millennium of Polish Christianity celebrated last year here and ~~through~~ throughout the world was not the end. It was the new ~~beginning~~ beginning of a second millennium.

May God grant that the years ahead will see the fulfillment of the noblest ideals of this magnificent, beautiful, superb shrine. And may Poland, free and independent and Christian achieve her proudest role in the

family of man. Thank you. (Applause)



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