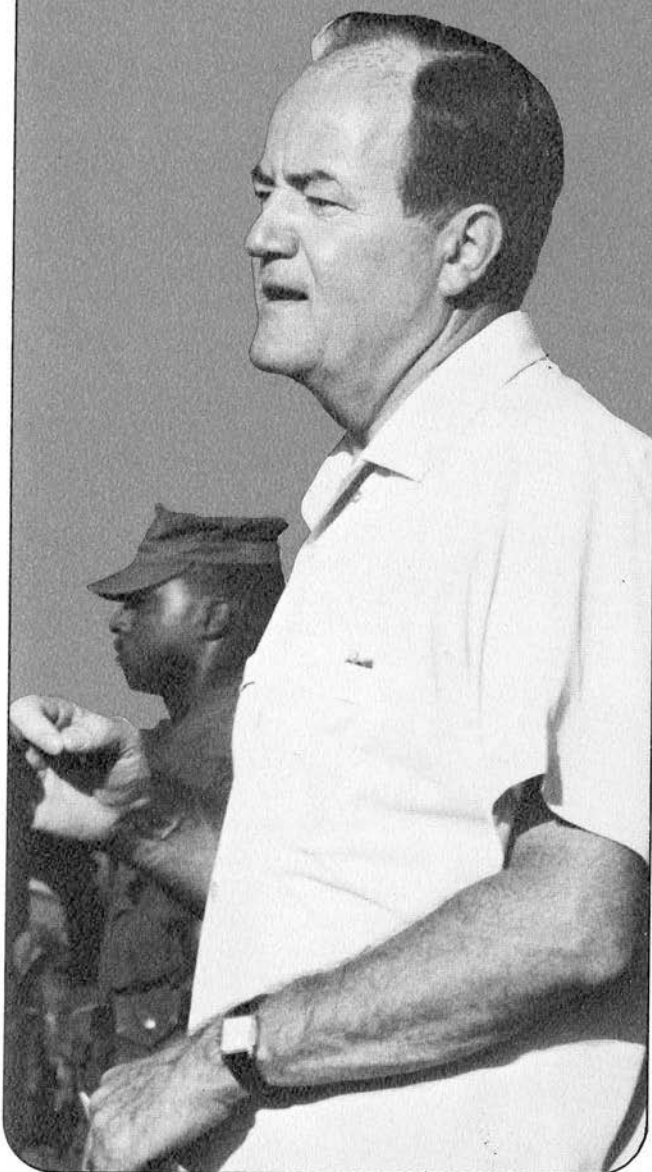


**Vice President
Hubert Humphrey
Reports On
Southeast Asia**



A few days ago I returned from a mission, at the request of the President, to three nations of Southeast Asia. Today I wish to report to you the observations and conclusions which I bring home with me.

First, and most importantly, I come home with a reinforced belief that the safety, security, and independence of the nations of Southeast Asia are critical to the safety, security and independence of the United States — and that this will be even more true in the years ahead.

Secondly, I am convinced that our present struggle in Vietnam is critical to the security of all of Southeast Asia.

Thirdly, I am heartened by the progress I saw.

I visited three nations in Southeast Asia: South Vietnam, Malaysia, and Indonesia.

Each of these nations has its own distinctive character. But all share two vital common denominators:

- past and present resistance to Asian Communist subversion and aggression;
- urgent and priority efforts toward constructive nation-building.

These are the tasks in which we are helping — the tasks of national security and of national development, neither one of which can exist without the other.

And these are the tasks in which we must persist — or run the risk of chaos, disorder and war in a vast and strategic crossroads of the world.

I had the privilege of representing our country at the Inauguration of President Thieu in the Republic of Vietnam.

The Republic of Vietnam has not created overnight a carbon copy of American representative government. Nor should we either expect or want it to do so.

Our objective is not a Vietnam made by Americans and stamped made in U. S. A. It is a Vietnam, made by the Vietnamese for the Vietnamese.

It has succeeded in building for the first time in modern history — so far as I know — representative, civilian, constitutional government in the midst of war.

This is no small achievement. Nor should it be taken for granted. It took place in the fact of calculated terrorism and disruption and amid warnings from a thousand directions that it could and would not happen.

A Constituent Assembly was freely elected.

A constitution was freely written.

Local, parliamentary and Presidential elections were freely held.

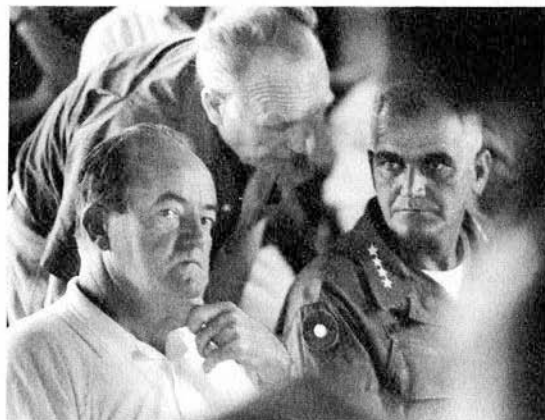
And a popularly elected government — elected in a voter turnout far higher than ours in the United States — was freely installed.

All these things were done despite widespread predictions that none of them could be done.

All these things were done by the Vietnamese themselves.

And today the Republic of Vietnam has something no Communist nation possesses: A government elected by the free votes of its people.

I met and talked with President Thieu, with Vice President Ky...with leaders of the government and of the newly-elected members of the Upper and Lower Houses. I met with non-governmental people, with students and labor leaders, with university



professors and military officers.

It is clear that this new government will face massive problems. The war itself would be problem enough without the additional problems of young nationhood.

But I am encouraged by the determination and spirit of cooperation which I found among all these groups and people. And they deserve from all of us the benefit of the doubt — and should be judged not by our but by their own standards — as they try to create a responsive framework of self-government in their country.

The next six months will be critical in this process — as a working relationship develops between the executive and legislative branches and as the Thieu-Ky government begins to follow-through on its plans and programs.

I had not been to Vietnam since early 1966 — some 20 months ago. The political progress and development since then were clear and encouraging.

I was also encouraged by other progress in positive nation-building — specifically in the so-called Revolutionary Development program being carried on by the Vietnamese.

When I was in Vietnam early last year this program had barely started. By the end of 1968, there will be 70 to 75 thousand Revolutionary Development cadre in Vietnamese hamlets.

This program recruits young men — most largely unschooled “countryboys” — and trains them for responsible leadership.

They return to their home provinces for four-year tours of duty. Their task: To build so-called “communities of responsibility” — communities with local self-government and initiative — which can develop in time into “communities of prosperity.”

Most of the present cadre are now serving in the northern provinces where the Viet Cong infrastructure has been entrenched for years. Their work is hard and demanding. They literally build communities with their hands. They are singled out by the Communists for abduction and assassination. But these young people are doing their job in face of Viet Cong terrorism and the long-established traditionalism and inertia of the old order.

I visited their training camp at Vung Tau. Major Be, who runs the training camp is a dedicated patriot. He is a former Viet Minh battalion commander who fought the French for six years and has fought communism for 16. The young people in training there are idealistic and highly-motivated.

Through this program, the Vietnamese are not only building secure and stable communities and localities. They are also training future political and civic leaders and setting the foundations for long-term political and social health.

The Vietnamese economic situation has also stabilized over 20 months ago. The fires of inflation have been dampened — thanks in large part to massive importation of consumer and capital goods, strict U. S. and Vietnamese controls on spending, devalua-

tion of the piaster, and increased taxation.

I do not mean to overstate the progress made in these non-military areas. It is painstaking and slow, particularly to those of us possessing typical American impatience.

But there is progress — not marked from day-to-day or week-to-week, but clearly measurable over the course of months.

The greatest and most obvious progress of all is in the military effort.

We should remember that when our forces entered Vietnam in strength they were almost totally lacking in support facilities.

Today a full military infrastructure is nearly complete. A system of ports, airfields, communications and bases has been established.

With this infrastructure behind them, our troops have been able to concentrate over the past few months on fighting and defeating enemy main-force units.

At the same time the South Vietnamese forces — both regular forces and regional and popular forces are growing more competent. During my stay in Vietnam they achieved several victories over both North Vietnamese regular and Viet Cong units.

We don't hear much about South Vietnamese military successes, because our reporters travel almost exclusively with American forces. But those successes are more and more frequent. And their American military advisers told me South Vietnamese units are gaining pride and professionalism, just as our Korean allies did 15 years ago.

I think it should be remembered that, in the past six years the South Vietnamese army has lost 51 thousand men killed in action, 26 thousand missing in action and has had 109 thousand wounded in action. Since the first



of this year almost 9 thousand Army of Vietnam troops have been killed in action. This is in addition to countless Vietnamese civilians who have been victimized since this war began.

The South Vietnamese, in relation to the population, now have an army which would be comparable to one of 8 million in the United States.

We are now joined in Vietnam by more allied forces than joined us in Korea. The Koreans, Australians, New Zealanders and Thais have all performed well.

By all measures — roads opened, villages cleared, enemy casualties and desertions — we are winning militarily.

What about the bombing? This is a question regularly asked here at home, but almost never in Vietnam.

I visited our troops near the Demilitarized Zone. They told me that bombing was the single greatest factor enabling them to hold off the three North Vietnamese divisions now deployed in and behind the DMZ. I talked with our pilots. I also reviewed photos and charts which indicate that our bombing further North is not only accurate, but that it

has drastically slowed down the flow of Communist men and supplies in South Vietnam... and diverts hundreds of thousands of North Vietnamese to reconstruction and repair of facilities that support the aggression.

If you have questions about the bombing, I suggest you ask any of the American boys dug in under artillery fire along the DMZ. I suggest you ask our troops in the Central Highlands and the Delta who face mortars and guns carried in from the North.

I went to our Riverine Forces operating in the Delta... to the Third Marine Amphibious Forces and Naval Support Hospital at Danang... to the American Division at Chu Lai.

Wherever I went I found the highest level of American morale and the highest order of dedication and leadership. I was quoted as saying that I hadn't heard one American complaint during the entire time I was in Vietnam. And it was true.

There was one question I often heard from Americans in Vietnam, however. It was: "Why are we winning the war here and seem to be losing it at home?"

That is a difficult question to answer, I can assure you.

It is particularly difficult when you read, as I do, the statements and captured documents of the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong leadership — statements and documents which indicate that they believe their only hope of winning is through division, despair and defeatism on the American home front.

It is particularly difficult when all evidence indicates that we are winning this struggle and that — if we persevere — Hanoi will eventually face a critical and inevitable decision: Whether to come to the conference table, or to de-escalate and withdraw.

I told our Americans in Vietnam that the overwhelming majority of Americans at home do support them and what they are doing. I told them that their President, their Vice President, and their fellow citizens do have the determination to see it through.

As a long-time dissenter myself, I ask no American who dissents in good conscience to still his voice. But I do ask all Americans, before they dissent, to search their hearts ... to examine the facts ... to know the effect of what they say on our civilians and soldiers in Vietnam — and on our adversaries as well.

I ask them to face, before they raise their voices, the hard fact of cynical Communist-initiated aggression and terror and to offer workable alternatives to meeting it.

I ask them to recognize that we face in Vietnam no peaceful reformer seeking power through parliamentary means.

We face not handbills, but hand grenades.

We face in Vietnam no indigenous movement of Robin Hoods, but one more Com-

munist apparatus trying to seize land and people by brute force.

And to those who deplore war and use of arms, as I do, I ask: What other course do you recommend in meeting this challenge? If you can find it, we will use it.

So that is the picture I bring back from Vietnam.

Political, economic, social progress: Steady but slow.

Military progress: Steady and gaining momentum.

National security and national development: Both proceeding.

The clear and present need: Support by the American people — support which can give a clear, unmistakable signal to our adversary and thereby shorten the war.

For those who may lack patience today in Vietnam, I point to the example of the second country I visited: Malaysia.

Malaysia, with assistance from nations of the British Commonwealth, fought Communist terror and subversion within its borders for 12 almost-endless years.

Today Malaysia stands independent and strong. It has a stable government which is meeting the needs of its people through an integrated, national industrial and rural development program including the essentials of education, health, land reform, public works and vocational agriculture.

The Malaysians combined national development with national security, and they and their allies stayed with it against a strong and externally supported Communist insurgency — building their country, resisting force. And they won.

Today Malaysia not only earns its own way. It is a leader in the movement toward

Asian regionalism. It is an effective partner in Asian freedom and progress. And, during my visit, the Malaysian government — at its own initiative — indicated a willingness to send additional assistance to Vietnam.

Malaysians have no doubts about the danger of communist aggression and subversion. Malaysians openly support our course in Vietnam.

My final stop was Indonesia. I cannot over-emphasize the critical importance to Southeast Asia and to us of this potentially-rich, strategically-situated nation of more than 100 million people.

Here, too, a crude and brutal attempt at communist takeover had to be resisted and put down.

Here, too, the dual formula for eventual success is national security and national development.

The Indonesian nation is struggling. It is the victim of 20 years of mismanagement and neglect, of corruption and subversion and exploitation.

But today Indonesia, under Acting President Suharto, has an honest government which is providing leadership, the right priorities, and determination and energy.

Despite years of anti-American propaganda there, I was met in the poverty-stricken, former Communist belts of Bali and Central Java by literally hundreds of thousands of cheering people gathered along the roadsides.

They wore no shoes. Most of them were hungry. But they knew that new leadership in their country cared about them. And they knew that America cared and that America was there in their neighborhood of Southeast Asia as a friend.

They know America means hope.

They greeted me with one word: "Merdeka" ... "Freedom."

I challenge any American who asks for withdrawal within a Fortress America ... who denounces foreign aid, to make the same journey and travel those roads.

Indonesia needs help. I return home determined to do my utmost to stimulate that help — not only by our own nation, but by others in the world who bear responsibility to the less fortunate. Indonesia doesn't ask for billions — she seeks only modest assistance. She asks for a little of our surplus food, some long-term loans, a few of our able technicians, and above all, our friendship and faith.

Will Indonesia make it? Despite its new leadership, the problems are staggering, the solutions yet to come. If it does not make it, the failure of a nation potentially equal in importance to India or Japan could bring fearful consequences both to southeast Asia and the United States.

If there is doubt today about the rightness of our presence or our involvement in Southeast Asia, I point to what has happened over these past few months and years in that part of the world.

Behind the shield of power both of ourselves and our allies, the independent nations of Southeast Asia have withstood Communist pressure, have joined together in new regional development, have moved forward to provide peace and security to their citizens. Behind that shield, in fact, nations across the whole, broad Asian-Pacific arc — from Australia and New Zealand to the Philippines, Indonesia and Taiwan; from Korea and Japan to Thailand, Laos, Malaysia and Vietnam; to India and Pakistan — are joining

together to provide both security and peaceful development to their peoples.

Should that shield now be removed?

Should we withdraw from the work of national security and national development in an area inhabited by over half the world's people?

Should we instead concentrate our attentions only on those nations which share a common Western cultural heritage with us . . . where the names and skin colors are more like our own?

I believe that to do so would be both short-sighted and dangerous.

There is no question what the leaders of Asia — in Vietnam, in Malaysia, in Indonesia, in the other countries I have visited these past three years think would be the result.

Without exception, they have told me that their governments, and their people, would be brought under immediate pressure — direct and indirect — to come to terms with the virulent, expansionist militant Asian communism which each of them has had to resist.

I believe, therefore, that we should apply in Asia the same formula which we have so successfully applied since World War II in Europe and other parts of the world: The dual formula of national security and national development which enables independent nations to stand on their own feet . . . which deters potential aggressors to more peaceful paths.

I believe that, if we do, we can see in Asia precisely the same process of consolidation, of regionalism, of peaceful growth that took place in Europe after World War II.

I believe that through such a policy, malignant Asian communism can be contained until its leaders change or choose a more moderate path.

I believe that, through such a policy, the energies, the aspirations and talents of vital

peoples and civilizations can be channeled constructively into nation-building rather than violence and disorder.

East is East. And West is West. But, in this dangerous nuclear age, the twain have met. It is at our own peril that we ignore this fact.

We have no choice but to stand strong and last it out — with both power and compassion — not only for those who strive for freedom in Asia but for the futures of our own American children.

Thomas Paine put it well: "Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom, must, like men, undergo the fatigue of supporting it."

As I said earlier, our progress is such in Vietnam that our adversary sooner or later must surely see the inevitable necessity of negotiation or withdrawal.

In this light, I believe we must continue with ingenuity and imagination every possible effort to find a way to a just and honorable peace — through the United Nations, through third parties, through religious leaders, through whatever means can possibly be of use.

We cannot afford to be bogged down in old channels. We must, and will, consider each new initiative a fresh start.

If we do, and if we persist in the dual tasks of national security and national development in Vietnam, and in Southeast Asia, I am convinced that the time can come when nations can live together in Asia without regard for ideology, in peace and diversity.

Speech by Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey
New York, N.Y., November 13, 1967
to the
Grocery Manufacturers of America, Inc.



Democratic National Committee
2600 Virginia Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

GROCERY MANUFACTURERS OF AMERICA, INC.

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

NOVEMBER 13, 1967

General Rawlings (Ch. of Gen Mills)
J.P. McFarland (Pres. Gen Mills)

Bob Keith (Pillsbury)

A FEW DAYS AGO I RETURNED FROM A MISSION,
AT THE REQUEST OF THE PRESIDENT, TO THREE ^{important} NATIONS
OF SOUTHEAST ASIA. TODAY I WISH TO REPORT TO YOU ^{my}

~~MY~~ OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS, WHICH I BRING HOME
WITH ME.

First, AND MOST IMPORTANTLY, I COME HOME
WITH A REINFORCED BELIEF THAT THE SAFETY, SECURITY,
AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE NATIONS OF SOUTHEAST ASIA
ARE CRITICAL TO THE SAFETY, SECURITY AND INDEPENDENCE
OF THE UNITED STATES -- AND THAT THIS WILL BE EVEN
MORE TRUE IN THE YEARS AHEAD.

My 4th
visit to
Asia
in 3 years

SECONDLY, I AM CONVINCED THAT OUR PRESENT STRUGGLE IN VIETNAM IS CRITICAL TO THE SECURITY OF ALL OF SOUTHEAST ASIA.

THIRDLY, I AM HEARTENED BY THE PROGRESS I SAW. *on this mission* I VISITED THREE NATIONS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: SOUTH VIETNAM, MALAYSIA, AND INDONESIA.

EACH OF THESE NATIONS HAS ITS OWN DISTINCTIVE CHARACTER. BUT ALL SHARE TWO VITAL COMMON DENOMINATORS:

- (a) -- PAST AND PRESENT RESISTANCE TO ASIAN
COMMUNIST SUBVERSION AND AGGRESSION;
- (b) -- URGENT AND PRIORITY EFFORTS TOWARD
CONSTRUCTIVE NATION-BUILDING.

< THESE ARE THE TASKS IN WHICH WE ARE HELPING -- THE TASKS OF NATIONAL SECURITY AND OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, NEITHER ONE OF WHICH CAN EXIST WITHOUT THE OTHER.

AND THESE ARE THE TASKS IN WHICH WE MUST PERSIST -- OR RUN THE RISK OF CHAOS, DISORDER AND WAR IN A VAST AND STRATEGIC CROSSROADS OF THE WORLD.

I HAD THE PRIVILEGE OF REPRESENTING OUR
COUNTRY AT THE INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT THIEU IN
THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM.

THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM HAS NOT CREATED
~~OR REPRESENTED~~ A CARBON COPY OF AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVE
GOVERNMENT. NOR SHOULD WE EITHER EXPECT OR WANT
IT TO DO SO.

↳ OUR OBJECTIVE IS NOT A VIETNAM MADE
BY AMERICANS AND STAMPED MADE IN U. S. A. ↳ IT
IS A VIETNAM, MADE BY THE VIETNAMESE FOR THE
VIETNAMESE.

↳ IT HAS SUCCEEDED IN BUILDING FOR THE FIRST
TIME IN MODERN HISTORY -- SO FAR AS I KNOW --
REPRESENTATIVE, ^{selected} CIVILIAN, CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT IN
THE MIDST OF WAR.

THIS IS NO SMALL ACHIEVEMENT. NOR SHOULD
IT BE TAKEN FOR GRANTED. IT TOOK PLACE IN THE
FACE OF CALCULATED TERRORISM AND DISRUPTION AND AMID
WARNINGS FROM A THOUSAND DIRECTIONS THAT IT COULD AND
WOULD NOT HAPPEN. *Here is the Record*

A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WAS FREELY ELECTED,

A CONSTITUTION WAS FREELY WRITTEN,

LOCAL, PARLIAMENTARY AND PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTIONS WERE FREELY HELD.

AND A POPULARLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT --
ELECTED IN A VOTER TURNOUT HIGHER THAN OURS IN
THE UNITED STATES -- WAS FREELY INSTALLED.

ALL THESE THINGS WERE DONE DESPITE WIDE-SPREAD
PREDICTIONS THAT NONE OF THEM COULD BE DONE.

and ALL THESE THINGS WERE DONE BY THE VIETNAMESE *people*
THEMSELVES,

AND TODAY THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM HAS
SOMETHING NO COMMUNIST NATION POSSESSES; A GOVERNMENT
ELECTED BY THE FREE VOTES OF ITS PEOPLE.

✓ I MET AND TALKED WITH PRESIDENT THIEU,
WITH VICE PRESIDENT KY ... WITH LEADERS OF THE
GOVERNMENT AND OF THE NEWLY-ELECTED MEMBERS OF THE
UPPER AND LOWER HOUSES. ✓ I MET WITH NON-GOVERNMENTAL
PEOPLE, WITH STUDENTS AND LABOR LEADERS, WITH
UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS AND MILITARY OFFICERS.

✓ IT IS CLEAR THAT THIS NEW GOVERNMENT WILL
FACE MASSIVE PROBLEMS. ✓ THE WAR ITSELF WOULD BE
PROBLEM ENOUGH WITHOUT THE ADDITIONAL PROBLEMS
OF YOUNG NATIONHOOD.

✓ BUT I AM ENCOURAGED BY THE DETERMINATION
AND ^{the} SPIRIT OF COOPERATION WHICH I FOUND AMONG ALL
THESE GROUPS AND PEOPLE. AND THEY DESERVE FROM
ALL OF US THE BENEFIT OF THE DOUBT -- AND SHOULD
BE JUDGED NOT BY ~~our~~ ^{our} BUT BY THEIR OWN STANDARDS --
AS THEY TRY TO CREATE A RESPONSIVE FRAMEWORK OF
SELF-GOVERNMENT IN THEIR COUNTRY.

THE NEXT SIX MONTHS WILL BE CRITICAL IN THIS
PROCESS -- AS A WORKING RELATIONSHIP DEVELOPS BETWEEN
THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES AND AS THE
~~THIEU KY~~ ^{new} GOVERNMENT BEGINS TO FOLLOW-THROUGH ON ITS
PLANS AND PROGRAMS.

I HAD NOT BEEN TO VIETNAM SINCE EARLY
1966-- SOME 20 MONTHS AGO. THE POLITICAL PROGRESS
AND DEVELOPMENT SINCE THEN WERE CLEAR AND ENCOURAGING.

I WAS ALSO ENCOURAGED BY OTHER PROGRESS IN
POSITIVE NATION-BUILDING -- SPECIFICALLY IN THE
SO-CALLED REVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM BEING
CARRIED ON BY THE VIETNAMESE.

WHEN I WAS IN VIETNAM EARLY LAST YEAR THIS PROGRAM
HAD BARELY STARTED. ^{an idea} BY THE END OF 1968, THERE WILL BE
70 TO 75 THOUSAND REVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENT CADRE IN
VIETNAMESE HAMLETS.

THIS PROGRAM RECRUITS YOUNG MEN -- MOST
LARGELY UNSCHOOLED "COUNTRYBOYS" -- AND TRAINS THEM
FOR RESPONSIBLE ^{Civic} LEADERSHIP.

THEY RETURN TO THEIR HOME PROVINCES FOR FOUR-
YEAR TOURS OF DUTY. THEIR TASK ~~is~~ TO BUILD SO-CALLED
"COMMUNITIES OF RESPONSIBILITY" -- COMMUNITIES WITH
LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT AND INITIATIVE -- WHICH CAN
DEVELOP IN TIME INTO "COMMUNITIES OF PROSPERITY."

MOST OF THE PRESENT CADRE ARE NOW SERVING
IN THE NORTHERN PROVINCES WHERE THE VIET CONG
INFRASTRUCTURE HAS BEEN ENTRENCHED FOR YEARS.

THEIR WORK IS HARD AND DEMANDING. THEY LITERALLY
BUILD COMMUNITIES WITH THEIR HANDS. THEY ARE
SINGLED OUT BY THE COMMUNISTS FOR ABDUCTION
AND ASSASSINATION. BUT THESE YOUNG PEOPLE
ARE DOING THEIR JOB IN FACE OF VIET CONG TERRORISM
AND THE LONG-ESTABLISHED TRADITIONALISM AND INERTIA
OF THE OLD ORDER.

I VISITED THEIR TRAINING CAMP AT VUNG TAU.
MAJOR BE, WHO RUNS THE TRAINING CAMP, IS A DEDICATED

PATRIOT. HE IS A FORMER VIET MINH BATTALION
COMMANDER WHO FOUGHT THE FRENCH FOR SIX YEARS
AND HAS FOUGHT COMMUNISM FOR 16.

THE YOUNG
PEOPLE IN TRAINING THERE ARE IDEALISTIC, *dedicated and*
HIGHLY-MOTIVATED.

THROUGH THIS PROGRAM, THE VIETNAMESE ARE
NOT ONLY BUILDING SECURE AND STABLE COMMUNITIES
AND LOCALITIES ~~but also are~~ TRAINING FUTURE
POLITICAL AND CIVIC LEADERS AND SETTING THE
FOUNDATIONS FOR LONG-TERM POLITICAL AND SOCIAL
HEALTH.

Rice!

< THE VIETNAMESE ECONOMIC SITUATION HAS ALSO
STABILIZED OVER 20 MONTHS AGO. < THE FIRES OF
INFLATION HAVE BEEN DAMPENED -- THANKS IN LARGE
PART TO MASSIVE IMPORTATION OF CONSUMER AND
CAPITAL GOODS, STRICT U. S. AND VIETNAMESE
CONTROLS ON SPENDING, DEVALUATION OF THE PIASTER,
AND INCREASED TAXATION.

< I DO NOT MEAN TO OVERSTATE THE PROGRESS
MADE IN THESE NON-MILITARY AREAS. IT IS PAINSTAKING
AND SLOW, PARTICULARLY TO THOSE OF US POSSESSING
TYPICAL AMERICAN IMPATIENCE.

< BUT THERE IS PROGRESS -- NOT MARKED FROM
DAY-TO-DAY OR WEEK-TO-WEEK, BUT CLEARLY MEASURABLE
OVER THE COURSE OF MONTHS.

Military

< THE GREATEST AND MOST OBVIOUS PROGRESS OF
ALL IS IN THE MILITARY EFFORT.

WE SHOULD REMEMBER THAT WHEN OUR
FORCES ENTERED VIETNAM IN STRENGTH THEY WERE ALMOST
TOTALLY LACKING IN SUPPORT FACILITIES. *Ports, airfields,
Warehouses, roads*

TODAY A FULL MILITARY INFRASTRUCTURE IS
NEARLY COMPLETE. A SYSTEM OF PORTS, AIRFIELDS,
COMMUNICATIONS AND BASES HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED.

*32 Airfields
8 Jetties*

WITH THIS INFRASTRUCTURE BEHIND THEM, OUR
TROOPS HAVE BEEN ABLE TO CONCENTRATE OVER THE PAST
FEW MONTHS ON FIGHTING AND DEFEATING ENEMY
MAIN-FORCE UNITS.

AT THE SAME TIME THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE FORCES --
BOTH REGULAR FORCES AND REGIONAL AND POPULAR FORCES --

GROWING ARE/MORE COMPETENT. DURING MY STAY IN VIETNAM
THEY ACHIEVED SEVERAL VICTORIES OVER BOTH NORTH
VIETNAMESE REGULAR AND VIET CONG UNITS.

*2 yrs Ago
4 men for
1 combat*
*Today
1 support for
4 combat*

ARUN

WE DON'T HEAR MUCH ABOUT SOUTH VIETNAMESE
MILITARY SUCCESSES, BECAUSE OUR REPORTERS TRAVEL
ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY WITH AMERICAN FORCES. BUT THOSE
SUCCESSES ARE MORE AND MORE FREQUENT. AND THEIR
AMERICAN MILITARY ADVISERS TOLD ME SOUTH VIETNAMESE
UNITS ARE GAINING PRIDE AND PROFESSIONALISM, JUST AS
OUR KOREAN ALLIES DID 15 YEARS AGO.

I THINK IT SHOULD BE REMEMBERED THAT,
IN THE PAST SIX YEARS THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE ARMY
HAS LOST 51 THOUSAND MEN KILLED IN ACTION,
26 THOUSAND MISSING IN ACTION AND ^{HAD} 109 THOUSAND
WOUNDED IN ACTION. SINCE THE FIRST OF THIS YEAR
ALMOST 9 THOUSAND ARMY OF VIETNAM ^{TROOPS} HAVE BEEN
KILLED IN ACTION. THIS IS IN ADDITION TO
COUNTLESS VIETNAMESE CIVILIANS WHO HAVE BEEN
VICTIMIZED SINCE THIS WAR BEGAN.

Population here
equals about
800,000
6 million
read
500,000
many.
1,800,000
wounded

THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE, IN RELATION
TO THE POPULATION, NOW HAVE AN ARMY ~~which~~ *fighting in Vietnam*
~~which~~ BE COMPARABLE TO ONE OF 8 MILLION *U.S. troops*
~~THE UNITED STATES~~

and *L* WE ARE NOW JOINED IN VIETNAM BY MORE ALLIED
FORCES THAN JOINED US IN KOREA. *L* THE KOREANS, *Phillipines,*
AUSTRALIANS, NEW ZEALANDERS AND THAIS HAVE ALL
PERFORMED WELL.

L BY ALL MEASURES -- ROADS OPENED, VILLAGES
CLEARED, ENEMY CASUALTIES AND DESERTIONS -- WE ARE
WINNING MILITARILY.

L WHAT ABOUT THE BOMBING? THIS IS A QUESTION
REGULARLY ASKED HERE AT HOME, BUT ALMOST NEVER IN
VIETNAM.

h I VISITED OUR TROOPS NEAR THE DEMILITARIZED
ZONE. THEY TOLD ME THAT BOMBING WAS THE SINGLE
GREATEST FACTOR ENABLING THEM TO HOLD OFF THE THREE
NORTH VIETNAMESE DIVISIONS NOW DEPLOYED IN AND BEHIND
THE DMZ. I TALKED WITH OUR PILOTS. I ALSO REVIEWED
PHOTOS AND CHARTS WHICH INDICATE THAT OUR BOMBING
FURTHER NORTH IS NOT ONLY ACCURATE, BUT THAT IT HAS
DRASTICALLY SLOWED DOWN THE FLOW OF COMMUNIST MEN AND
SUPPLIES IN SOUTH VIETNAM ... AND DIVERTS
HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TO
RECONSTRUCTION AND REPAIR OF FACILITIES THAT
SUPPORT THE AGGRESSION.

h IF YOU HAVE QUESTIONS ABOUT THE BOMBING, I
SUGGEST YOU ASK ANY OF THE AMERICAN BOYS DUG IN UNDER
ARTILLERY FIRE ALONG THE DMZ. I SUGGEST YOU ASK OUR
TROOPS IN THE CENTRAL HIGHLANDS AND THE DELTA WHO FACE
MORTARS AND GUNS CARRIED IN FROM THE NORTH.

↳ I WENT TO OUR RIVERINE FORCES OPERATING IN
THE DELTA ... TO THE THIRD MARINE AMPHIBIOUS FORCES
AND NAVAL SUPPORT HOSPITAL AT DANANG ... TO THE
AMERICAL DIVISION AT CHU LAI. - Visited ARVN & Korean
forces.

↳ WHEREVER I WENT I FOUND THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF
AMERICAN MORALE AND THE HIGHEST ORDER OF DEDICATION
AND LEADERSHIP. ↳ I WAS QUOTED AS SAYING 'THAT I HADN'T
HEARD ONE AMERICAN COMPLAINT DURING THE ENTIRE TIME
I WAS IN VIETNAM. AND IT WAS TRUE.

↳ THERE WAS ONE QUESTION I OFTEN HEARD FROM
AMERICANS IN VIETNAM, HOWEVER. IT WAS: "WHY ARE
WE WINNING THE WAR HERE AND SEEM TO BE LOSING IT AT
HOME?"

↳ THAT IS A DIFFICULT QUESTION TO ANSWER, I CAN
ASSURE YOU.

IT IS PARTICULARLY DIFFICULT WHEN YOU READ,
AS I DO, THE STATEMENTS AND CAPTURED DOCUMENTS OF THE
NORTH VIETNAMESE AND VIET CONG LEADERSHIP -- STATEMENTS
AND DOCUMENTS WHICH INDICATE THAT THEY BELIEVE THEIR
ONLY HOPE OF WINNING IS THROUGH DIVISION, DESPAIR
AND DEFEATISM ON THE AMERICAN HOME FRONT.

↳ IT IS PARTICULARLY DIFFICULT WHEN ALL EVIDENCE
INDICATES THAT WE ARE WINNING THIS STRUGGLE AND THAT --
IF WE PERSEVERE -- HANOI WILL EVENTUALLY FACE A CRITICAL
AND INEVITABLE DECISION: ~~Whether~~ ^{Either} TO COME TO THE
CONFERENCE TABLE, OR TO DE-ESCALATE AND WITHDRAW.

↳ I TOLD OUR AMERICANS IN VIETNAM THAT THE
OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF AMERICANS AT HOME DO SUPPORT
THEM AND WHAT THEY ARE DOING. I TOLD THEM THAT THEIR
PRESIDENT, THEIR VICE PRESIDENT, AND THEIR FELLOW
CITIZENS DO HAVE THE DETERMINATION TO SEE IT THROUGH.

As a long-time dissenter myself, I ask no American who dissents in good conscience to still his voice. But I do ask all Americans, before they dissent, to search their hearts ... to examine the facts ... to know the effect of what they say on our civilians and soldiers in Vietnam -- and on our adversaries as well.

I ask them to face, before they raise their voices, the hard fact of cynical Communist-initiated aggression and terror and to offer workable alternatives to meeting it.

I ask them to recognize that we face in Vietnam no peaceful reformer seeking power through parliamentary means.

We face not handbills, but hand grenades.

↳ WE FACE IN VIETNAM NO INDIGENOUS MOVEMENT
OF ROBIN HOODS, BUT ONE MORE COMMUNIST APPARATUS
TRYING TO SEIZE LAND AND PEOPLE BY BRUTE FORCE.

↳ AND TO THOSE WHO DEPLORE WAR AND USE OF ARMS,
AS I DO, I ASK: WHAT OTHER COURSE DO YOU RECOMMEND
IN MEETING THIS CHALLENGE? IF YOU CAN FIND IT, WE
WILL USE IT.

↳ SO THAT IS THE PICTURE I BRING BACK FROM
VIETNAM.

↳ POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL PROGRESS: STEADY
BUT SLOW.

↳ MILITARY PROGRESS: STEADY AND GAINING MOMENTUM.

↳ NATIONAL SECURITY AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT:

BOTH PROCEEDING.

↳ THE CLEAR AND PRESENT NEED: SUPPORT BY THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE -- SUPPORT WHICH CAN GIVE A CLEAR,
UNMISTAKEABLE SIGNAL TO OUR ADVERSARY AND THEREBY
SHORTEN THE WAR.

Malaysia

FOR THOSE WHO MAY LACK PATIENCE TODAY IN
VIETNAM, I POINT TO THE EXAMPLE OF THE SECOND
COUNTRY I VISITED: MALAYSIA.

MALAYSIA, WITH ASSISTANCE FROM NATIONS
OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH, FOUGHT COMMUNIST
TERROR AND SUBVERSION WITHIN ITS BORDERS FOR
12 ALMOST-ENDLESS YEARS.

~~But~~ L TODAY MALAYSIA STANDS INDEPENDENT AND STRONG.

IT HAS A STABLE GOVERNMENT WHICH IS MEETING THE
NEEDS OF ITS PEOPLE THROUGH AN INTEGRATED,
NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT
PROGRAM INCLUDING THE ESSENTIALS OF EDUCATION,
HEALTH, LAND REFORM, PUBLIC WORKS AND
VOCATIONAL AGRICULTURE.

THE MALAYSIANS COMBINED NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
WITH NATIONAL SECURITY, AND THEY AND THEIR ALLIES STAYED
WITH IT AGAINST A STRONG AND EXTERNALLY SUPPORTED
COMMUNIST INSURGENCY -- BUILDING THEIR COUNTRY,
RESISTING FORCE. AND THEY WON.

TODAY MALAYSIA NOT ONLY EARNS ITS OWN
WAY, IT IS A LEADER IN THE MOVEMENT TOWARD ASIAN
REGIONALISM. IT IS AN EFFECTIVE PARTNER IN ASIAN
FREEDOM AND PROGRESS. AND, DURING MY VISIT, THE
MALAYSIAN GOVERNMENT -- AT ITS OWN INITIATIVE -- INDICATED
A WILLINGNESS TO SEND ADDITIONAL ASSISTANCE TO
VIETNAM.

MALAYSIANS HAVE NO DOUBTS ABOUT THE DANGERS
OF COMMUNIST AGGRESSION AND SUBVERSION. MALAYSIANS
OPENLY SUPPORT OUR COURSE IN VIETNAM.

* * *

Indonesia

-19-

↳ MY FINAL STOP WAS INDONESIA.

I CANNOT OVER-EMPHASIZE THE CRITICAL
IMPORTANCE TO SOUTHEAST ASIA AND TO US OF THIS
POTENTIALLY-RICH, STRATEGICALLY-SITUATED
NATION OF MORE THAN 100 MILLION PEOPLE.

↳ HERE, TOO, A CRUDE AND BRUTAL ATTEMPT
AT COMMUNIST TAKEOVER HAD TO BE RESISTED AND uprooted.

~~THE DOWN~~

↳ HERE, TOO, THE DUAL FORMULA FOR
EVENTUAL SUCCESS IS NATIONAL SECURITY AND
NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

↳ THE INDONESIAN NATION IS STRUGGLING. IT IS
THE VICTIM OF 20 YEARS OF MISMANAGEMENT AND NEGLECT,
OF CORRUPTION, AND SUBVERSION AND EXPLOITATION.

BUT TODAY INDONESIA, UNDER ACTING PRESIDENT
SUHARTO, HAS AN HONEST GOVERNMENT WHICH IS PROVIDING
LEADERSHIP, THE RIGHT PRIORITIES, AND DETERMINATION
AND ENERGY.

↳ DESPITE YEARS OF ANTI-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA THERE
I WAS MET IN THE POVERTY-STRICKEN, FORMER COMMUNIST
BELTS OF BALI AND CENTRAL JAVA BY LITERALLY
HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF CHEERING PEOPLE
GATHERED ALONG THE ROADSIDES.

↳ THEY WORE NO SHOES, MOST OF THEM WERE HUNGRY.
BUT THEY KNEW THAT NEW LEADERSHIP IN THEIR COUNTRY
CARED ABOUT THEM. ↳ AND THEY KNEW THAT AMERICA
CARED AND THAT AMERICA WAS THERE IN THEIR NEIGHBORHOOD
OF SOUTHEAST ASIA AS A FRIEND.

↳ THEY KNOW AMERICA MEANS HOPE.

THEY GREETED ME WITH ONE WORD: "MERDEKA" ...

"FREEDOM,"

↳ I CHALLENGE ANY AMERICAN WHO ASKS FOR
WITHDRAWAL WITHIN A FORTRESS AMERICA ... WHO
DENOUNCES FOREIGN AID, TO MAKE THE SAME JOURNEY
AND TRAVEL THOSE ROADS 0

↳ INDONESIA NEEDS HELP! I RETURN HOME
DETERMINED TO DO MY UTMOST TO STIMULATE THAT
HELP -- NOT ONLY BY OUR OWN NATION, BUT BY

Private
enterprise
too

OTHERS IN THE WORLD WHO BEAR RESPONSIBILITY TO THE

LESS FORTUNATE. ↳ INDONESIA DOESN'T ASK FOR BILLIONS --

SHE SEEKS ONLY MODEST ASSISTANCE. ↳ SHE ASKS FOR A

LITTLE OF OUR SURPLUS FOOD, SOME LONG-TERM LOANS,

A FEW OF OUR ABLE TECHNICIANS, investment by private enterprise AND ABOVE ALL, OUR

FRIENDSHIP AND FAITH.

Rice
Balgon
Wheat
corn
Veg oil

WILL INDONESIA MAKE IT? DESPITE ITS
NEW LEADERSHIP, THE PROBLEMS ARE STAGGERING, THE
SOLUTIONS YET TO COME. IF IT DOES NOT MAKE IT,

THE FAILURE OF A NATION POTENTIALLY EQUAL IN
IMPORTANCE TO INDIA OR JAPAN ^{COULD} BRING FEARFUL
CONSEQUENCES BOTH TO SOUTHEAST ASIA AND THE

UNITED STATES.

If Indonesia should once again

* * *

IF THERE IS DOUBT TODAY ABOUT THE
RIGHTNESS OF OUR PRESENCE OR OUR INVOLVEMENT IN
SOUTHEAST ASIA, I POINT TO WHAT HAS HAPPENED
OVER THESE PAST FEW MONTHS AND YEARS IN THAT
PART OF THE WORLD.

BEHIND THE SHIELD OF POWER BOTH OF
OURSELVES AND OUR ALLIES, THE INDEPENDENT NATIONS
OF ~~SEAN~~ ^{and Comintern} ASIA HAVE WITHSTOOD COMMUNIST PRESSURE;

- Malaysia Korea India
- Thailand Philippines Ceylon
- Laos
- Singapore Taiwan Republic
Japan Burma

they HAVE JOINED TOGETHER IN NEW REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT,
HAVE MOVED FORWARD TO PROVIDE PEACE AND SECURITY TO
THEIR CITIZENS. BEHIND THAT SHIELD, IN FACT,
NATIONS ACROSS THE WHOLE, BROAD ASIAN-PACIFIC ARC --
FROM AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND TO THE PHILLIPINES,
INDONESIA AND TAIWAN; FROM KOREA AND JAPAN TO
THAILAND, LAOS, MALAYSIA AND VIETNAM; TO INDIA
AND PAKISTAN -- ARE JOINING TOGETHER TO PROVIDE
BOTH SECURITY AND PEACEFUL DEVELOPMENT TO THEIR
PEOPLES. *This is Progress - This is Success!*

now, Jack / SHOULD THAT SHIELD NOW BE REMOVED?

◀ SHOULD WE WITHDRAW FROM THE WORK OF NATIONAL
SECURITY AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN AN AREA INHABITED
BY OVER HALF THE WORLD'S PEOPLE?

Should we INSTEAD CONCENTRATE OUR ATTENTIONS
ONLY ON THOSE NATIONS WHICH SHARE A COMMON WESTERN
CULTURAL HERITAGE WITH US ... WHERE THE NAMES AND SKIN
COLORS ARE MORE LIKE OUR OWN?

well, I BELIEVE THAT TO DO SO WOULD BE BOTH SHORT-
SIGHTED AND DANGEROUS -- *and endanger our own Security.*

There IS NO QUESTION WHAT THE LEADERS OF
ASIA -- IN VIETNAM, IN MALAYSIA, IN INDONESIA, IN
THE OTHER COUNTRIES I HAVE VISITED THESE PAST
THREE YEARS THINK WOULD BE THE RESULT.

WITHOUT EXCEPTION, THEY HAVE TOLD ME THAT
THEIR GOVERNMENTS, AND THEIR PEOPLE, WOULD BE
BROUGHT UNDER IMMEDIATE PRESSURE -- DIRECT AND
INDIRECT -- TO COME TO TERMS WITH THE VIRULENT,
EXPANSIONIST MILITANT ASIAN COMMUNISM WHICH EACH
OF THEM HAS HAD TO RESIST.

✓ I BELIEVE, THEREFORE, THAT WE SHOULD
APPLY IN ASIA THE SAME FORMULA WHICH WE HAVE SO
SUCCESSFULLY APPLIED SINCE WORLD WAR II IN EUROPE
AND OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD: THE DUAL FORMULA
OF NATIONAL SECURITY AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
WHICH ENABLES INDEPENDENT NATIONS TO STAND ON THEIR
OWN FEET ... WHICH DETERS POTENTIAL AGGRESSORS TO
MORE PEACEFUL PATHS.

✓ I BELIEVE THAT, IF WE DO, WE CAN SEE IN ASIA
PRECISELY THE SAME PROCESS OF CONSOLIDATION, OF
REGIONALISM, OF PEACEFUL GROWTH THAT TOOK PLACE IN
EUROPE AFTER WORLD WAR II.

✓ I BELIEVE THAT, THROUGH SUCH A POLICY,
MALIGNANT ASIAN COMMUNISM CAN BE CONTAINED UNTIL
ITS LEADERS CHANGE OR CHOOSE A MORE MODERATE ~~and~~

Peaceful Path.

I BELIEVE THAT, THROUGH SUCH A POLICY, THE
ENERGIES, THE ASPIRATIONS AND TALENTS OF VITAL
PEOPLES AND CIVILIZATIONS CAN BE CHANNELED
CONSTRUCTIVELY INTO NATION-BUILDING RATHER THAN
VIOLENCE AND DISORDER.

East is East, And West is West, BUT,
IN THIS DANGEROUS NUCLEAR AGE, THE TWAIN HAVE
MET. IT IS AT OUR OWN PERIL THAT WE IGNORE THIS
FACT,

WE HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO STAND STRONG
AND LAST IT OUT -- WITH BOTH POWER AND COMPASSION --
NOT ONLY FOR THOSE WHO STRIVE FOR FREEDOM IN ASIA
BUT FOR THE FUTURES OF OUR OWN AMERICAN CHILDREN,

THOMAS PAINE PUT IT WELL: "THOSE WHO
EXPECT TO REAP THE BLESSINGS OF FREEDOM, MUST, LIKE
MEN, UNDERGO THE FATIGUE OF SUPPORTING IT."

∠ IT WILL BE DIFFICULT, BUT I BELIEVE
WE CAN, AND SHALL.

FOR I BELIEVE THAT, UNDER A FEW INCHES
OF SOFT TOPSOIL, THERE IS WITHIN AMERICA COURAGE,
DETERMINATION AND STRENGTH BUILT ON SOLID ROCK.

* * *

FINALLY, MAY I ADD A WORD ABOUT THE
SEARCH FOR PEACE WHICH MUST GO ON EVEN WHILE WE
PURSUE OUR MILITARY, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND
SOCIAL EFFORTS IN VIETNAM AND THROUGHOUT ALL OF ASIA.

WE HAVE SEARCHED THROUGH EVERY CHANNEL
FOR SOME WAY TO COME TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE IN
VIETNAM. THUS FAR, HOWEVER, WE HAVE RECEIVED NO
POSITIVE RESPONSE.

THIS SHOULD NOT DETER US.

As I said earlier, our progress is such
in Vietnam that our adversary sooner or later
must surely see the inevitable necessity of
negotiation or withdrawal.

In this light, I believe we must continue
with ingenuity and imagination every possible effort
to find a way to a just and honorable peace --
through the United Nations, through third parties,
through religious leaders, through whatever means
can possibly be of use.

We cannot afford to be bogged down in old
channels. We must, and will, consider each new

initiative a fresh start. — our initiatives,

those of Brockenhaven, of all others.

But the hope for peace — for an end
to this bloodshed, lies not only
in strength and diplomacy,
but in perseverance and unity.
— End

~~IF WE DO, AND~~ IF WE PERSIST IN THE DUAL
TASKS OF NATIONAL SECURITY AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
IN VIETNAM, AND IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, I AM CONVINCED
THAT THE TIME CAN COME WHEN NATIONS CAN LIVE
TOGETHER IN ASIA WITHOUT REGARD FOR IDEOLOGY, IN
PEACE AND DIVERSITY.

#

1 THE GROCERY MANUFACTURERS OF AMERICA, INC.
2 59th ANNUAL MEETING
3 GRAND BALLROOM
4 WALDORF-ASTORIA, NEW YORK CITY
5 NOVEMBER 13, 1967
6 ADDRESS: HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
7 VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

8 MR. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY: Thank you
9 Mr. Gamble. Mr. Dunning and Mr. Kendall my friends
10 of the Congress of the United States, and I looked
11 around to see at least two of them behind me, that's
12 more than the Administration has on most occasions-
13 (LAUGHTER) APPLAUSE Distinguished Ladies and
14 Gentlemen.

15 I have but one other observation that
16 I should like to offer in the spirit of good fellow-
17 ship and levity. yet I trust that there may be some
18 that take it as serious note. I notice that in the
19 Grocery Manufacturers of America that they've
20 established a precedent which, to me, seems to make
21 a great deal of sense, namely that the President of
22 the organization is succeeded by the man that stands
23 along side of him - (LAUGHTER) (APPLAUSE) I've always
24 known that our corporate executives had mature judg-
25 ment, great wisdom, and now I have it confirmed. I'll
take this message back to President Johnson, you will
hear from him and I am sure I will too.

I come to you today with a very serious
purpose in mind. In one sense I really owe you an
explanation and maybe an apology. This is the first
opportunity that I have accepted to report to you as

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1 representatives of the American Nation on my observations
2 and conclusions relating to my recent mission to Southeast
3 Asia when I visited at the request of the President, three
4 of the important nations in that area. With one other
5 exception a very few moments on an important and respected
6 television morning show, I have waited until today to
7 share with you and with others, these observations and
8 conclusions.

9 What I have to say is not only the product
10 of this one visit, which was not as long as you might
11 have hoped or as I might have wanted, but it is the
12 result of four visits to Asia in the last three years
13 and in those four visits I've had the privilege of
14 visiting fifteen of the nations of Free Asia talking to
15 their leaders, visiting with their people, seeing what
16 is going on, to the best of my powers of observation
17 and intensively studying all that I could perceive. I
18 believe I can say to you in candor that while sometimes
19 these journeys may last what appears to be two weeks,
20 15 days or 20 days that the days are 18 hours a day,
21 sometimes longer, and every minute intensively programmed.
22 So I report to you as a member of your Board of Directors,
23 so to speak, you are the stockholders in America's
24 democracy, you represent a vital and an important segment
25 of the American population.

My first observation, and most importantly,
I come home with a reinforced belief that the safety,
security and independence of the nations of southeast Asia,

1 of Free Asia are critical to the safety, the security
2 and the independence of the United States and that
3 this will be even more true in the years ahead. Secondly,
4 I am convinced that our present struggle in Vietnam is
5 critical to the security of all of Southeast Asia and, in
6 the long run, to all of Free Asia. Thirdly, I am heartened
7 by the progress that I witnessed. On this mission, as I've
8 said, I visited three nations, South Vietnam, Malaysia and
9 Indonesia. All of my observations should be taken in a
10 background of having been in this same area some twenty
11 months before. So when I speak of progress, or if I
12 speak of troubles, it is in reference to that base point
13 of February 1966.

14 Now each of these nations has its own
15 distinctive character. There isn't any Asia, as such,
16 there are the nations, the peoples and the cultures
17 of Asian countries. But all of the nations share two
18 viatl common denominators, first, past and present
19 resistance to Asian Communist subversion and aggression.
20 Secondly, urgent and priority efforts towards constructive
21 nation building. Now these are tasks in which we are
22 helping, these are taks of national security and national
23 development, neither of which can exist without the other
24 and I emphasize that they are one and inseparable, and
25 these are tasks in which we must persist or run the risk
of chaos, disorder and war in a vast and strategic cross-
roads of the world. Now, I had the privilege of repre-
senting our country at the Inaugurations of President

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1 Thieu in the Republic of Vietnam. That Inaugural ceremony, by
2 the way, was conducted with great dignity. The Republic of
3 Vietnam was not created as a carbon copy of American Representa=
4 tive Government, nor should we either expect it to be, or want
5 it to be so. Our objective is not a Vietnam made by Americans
6 and stamped "made in the U.S.A.", it is or, at least, it should
7 be a Vietnam made by the Vietnamese for the Vietnamese in Vietnam.
8 It has succeeded in building for the first time in modern history,
9 as far as I know, representative elected civilian constitutional
10 government in the midst of war. This fact goes all too often
11 unnoticed in American public ,media, all too often underplayed
12 or misunderstood in American public opinion. Now this is no
13 small achievement, nor should it ever be taken for granted. It
14 took place in the face of calculated terrorism and disruption
15 and amid the warnings from a thousand directions that it could
16 not and would not happen.

17 Here is the record since February 1966, when I
18 was there the first time. A constituent Assembly has been freely
19 elected, a Constitution was freely written, local and parliamentary
20 and Presidential elections were freely held and a popularly elected
21 government elected in a voter turnout, higher than ours in the
22 United States , was freely installed. Now, all of these things were
23 despite wide-spread predictions that none of them could be done.
24 And all of these things were done by the Vietnamese people themselves.
25 And today the Republic of Vietnam has something that no Communistic

1 Nation possesses, a Government elected by the free votes of its
2 people. Americans ought to be proud about that, or proud of it
3 and have a reasonable degree of pride in having helped make it
4 possible.

5 Now I met and talked with President Thieu and Vice
6 President Ky, with the leaders of the government of the newly
7 elected of the members of the Upper and Lower Houses. I met with
8 non-governmental people too, with students and business leaders
9 and labor leaders, with University Professors, Religious leaders
10 and Military Officers. I talked with them frankly, openly about
11 our common concerns. As a matter of fact, I even shared some
12 thoughts with Vice Pre sident Ky about the relationship of a
13 Vice President to a President. I shant give you any more detail
14 than that. (LAUGHTER) And I spoke to the President of the Republic
15 of Vietnam about the relationships of the executive with the legis-
16 lative. I think iI would have been more persuasive a year ago but,
17 at least, I gave him the benefit of my experience.

18 Now, it is clear that this new government still and
19 will face massive problems. The war itself would be enough of a
20 problem, without any additional problems of young nationhood. But
21 I am encouraged and that's the word I wish to emphasize, by the
22 determination and the spirit of cooperation which I found among
23 all these groups and people, and they deserve from all of us here
24 in the United States the benefit of the doubt and should be judged
25 not by our, but by their own standards, as they try to create a

1 responsive framework of self-government in their country, in
2 their tradition, in their experience, not in ours.

3 Now the next six months will be critical in
4 this process. I emphasize this again and again in these
5 visits. As a working relationship develops between the
6 executive and legislative branches and as the new government
7 begins to follow through on its announced plans and programs.
8 Every conceivable subject was discussed in our conversations.
9 Reforms in government, in the military, the struggle against
10 corruption, the importance of strengthening the ARVN. I left
11 nothing untouched or without discussion that was of concern to
12 to the American people.

13 I spoke with complete candor to the leaders of
14 South Vietnam and I can tell you that they responded with
15 equal candor. It seems to me that as allies this is the way
16 we should conduct our business.

17 Now as I have indicated I haven't been there
18 progress and
19 since February '66. The political/development since then was
20 clear to me and encouraging. I was also encouraged by the other
21 progress. Progress in nation building, specifically in
22 the Revolutionary Development Program being carried out by the
23 people of Vietnam. When I was in Vietnam in early last year,
24 this program was but an idea, I heard them talking about it,
25 barely started. By the end of 1968 there will be from 70 to
75,000 Revolutionary Development Cadre working and living in

1 the Vietnamese Hamlets and Villages. This program, let me
2 explain it to you for a moment, recruits young men, most
3 largely unschooled country boys, and trains them for
4 responsible civic leadership. They return to their home
5 provinces for four year tours of duty, their task is to
6 build so-called communities of responsibility, communities
7 with local self-government and initiative which can develop
8 in time into communities of prosperity. I would remind
9 this fine audience that during the period of French
10 Colonialism local government in Vietnam was destroyed and
11 we know that the heart and the core and the basis of repre-
12 sentative government is local government. And now it has
13 to be painstakingly rebuilt. Sometimes when we criticize
14 the people of Vietnam, it might be better to look deeper into
15 why their problems.

16 Now, most of the present cadre are now serving
17 in the Northern Provinces where the Viet Cong infra structure
18 the Viet Cong Communist Base has been entrenched for years.
19 Their work is hard and demanding, you seldom read of it. They
20 literally build communities with their hands. I have seen,
21 with my eyes, the villages that they have created, they are
22 singled out by the Communists for abduction and assassination.
23 The number one target of the Communist hand grenade, booby trap
24 and gun. But these young people, and I saw 9,000 of them in
25 training at one time, and at work, are doing their job in the

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1 face of Viet Cong terrorism and also the long established
2 traditionalism and inertia of the old order which they seek
3 to root out and build the new order. I visited their
4 training camp at Vung Tau, Major Be, the man who runs the
5 training camp is a dedicated patriot. I hope he can come
6 to the United States some time and that you can meet him.
7 I want him to appear on our networks, I want the American
8 teacher to see a man that knows, really, how to teach in a
9 way that gets the message to the simplest of people. A
10 tremendous knowledge of human nature to be found in this man.
11 He's a former Vietnam Battalion Commander, who fought the French
12 for six years, who left the Viet Minh which was all, in many
13 instances, with Communist collaborators and has fought Communism
14 for 16 years. The young people in training there, under his
15 guidance, are idealistic, dedicated and highly motivated. I
16 spent some time with them, I didn't just stay in Saigon.

17 Through this program, the Vietnamese are not only
18 building pure and stable communities and localities but they are,
19 also, training future political and civic leaders and setting the
20 foundation for long term political and social health. In fact,
21 the Revolutionary Development Cadres may well represent the
22 political base for a new Nationalism and a new sense of National
23 pride in South Vietnam. Young men, patriots, taken from villages
24 and hamlets to become citizens of a nation.

25 Now a word about the Vietnamese economic situation

1 and I'm talking to a group of people that surely know a lot
2 about it, because if there's any one factor that effects
3 Vietnam today it's food, and the price of food. That economic
4 situation has been somewhat stabilized over twenty months ago,
5 considerably stabilized. The fires of inflation have been
6 dampened, not put out but dampened. Thanks in a large part
7 to massive importation of consumer and capital goods, in large
8 quantities, large quantities of food, rice in particular, strict
9 United States and Vietnamese controls on spending, devaluation
10 of the Piasta and increased taxation. Now, I do not mean to
11 overstate the progress made in these non-military areas, but it
12 is progress. It is painstaking and it is slow, particularly to
13 those of us possessing typical American impatience, but I repeat,
14 there is progress, not marked from day to day or week to week,
15 but clearly measurable over the course of months. Now the
16 greatest and most obvious progress of all is in the military
17 effort, and let me put at rest, right now, a myth which prevades
18 the American environment namely thatthere is a stalemate, there
19 is no stalemate in the military, in the military sector. The
20 enemy is being systematically defeated. We should remember
21 that when our forces entered Vietnam in strength, they were almost
22 totally lacking in support facilities. There was but one berth
23 that could accept a large ship, in one harbor. There was but one
24 jet airfield and ships were lined up by the dozens, the hundreds,
25 waiting to be unloaded. Today a full military inferstructure is

1 nearly complete. A system of ports, 32 berths for large ocean
2 going tankers and liners. Three major deep water ports have
3 been constructed, eight large jet airfields, 200 other smaller
4 airfields. Airfields, communications and bases have been
5 established. That took some time. And with this infrastructure
6 now behind them, our troops have been able to concentrate over
7 the past few months on fighting and defeating the enemy, main
8 force units and, indeed, even the smaller units. Let me give
9 you a figure. Two years ago when I was there, or 20 months ago,
10 it took four men in logistics to supply one man in the field in
11 combat. Today, one man in logistics supplies four men in the
12 field in combat. The manpower has been released for the task
13 of the war. At the same time, the South Vietnamese forces,
14 both regular forces, regional and popular forces are becoming
15 and growing more competent. I say this because of the known
16 criticism of what we call the Arvam, the Army of the Republic
17 of Vietnam.

18 During my stay in Vietnam, these forces of Viet-
19 nam achieved several victories, significant victories, over
20 North Vietnamese regular and Viet Cong units. Three of them
21 on the day before the inaugural in which they smashed Nort
22 Vietnamese forces in open battle. Now, we don't hear much
23 about South Vietnamese military successes, and it's under-
24 standable, because really our reporters travel almost exclusively
25 with American forces, not all, don't misunderstand me, it's not

1 by some conspiratorial devious plot, it's that our reporters
2 are essentially concerned about what happens to American
3 forces. But, I want to repeat, that the force = the successes
4 of the ARVAM ARE more and more frequent. General Abrams
5 reported to me that significant progress has been made in
6 upgrading the quality of Vietnamese fighting men. And their
7 American military advisers told me that South Vietnames units
8 are gaining pride in professionalism, just as our Korean allies
9 did 15 years ago.

10 Now there are men and women in this room that
11 remember the comments in our media about Korea's troops in
12 1950 and '51, the things that were said about the so-called
13 rocks, their inability, their lack of fighting ability, all
14 the things that were said, ladies and gentlemen, there isn't
15 a finer fighting force in Vietnam ,today, than the troops
16 that are there from Korea. In 15 years they have built a
17 powerful military force, one which any American is proud to
18 stand alongside of. I think it shoujld be remembered that in
19 the past 6 years, the South Vietnamese Army has lost 51,000
20 men, killed in action, 26,000 missing in action, 109,000 wounded
21 in action. You translate that on a basis of population to the
22 United States and that would mean one million men killed,
23 500,000 missing and 1,800,000 wounded. That's what Vietnam has
24 suffered. So if at times they appear to be a little weary, it
25 might be understandable. This is in addition to the countless

1 Vietnamese civilians who have been victimized since this war
2 began and the victims of terrorism and kidnapping and abduction
3 by the Viet Cong. The South Vietnamese in relation to the popu-
4 lation now have an army fighting in Vietnam comparable to
5 8 million U.S. troops, on a population basis. They're making
6 quite an effort and we are now joined in Vietnam by more allied
7 forces than joined us in Korea. This is a fact that's all too
8 often forgotten. There are more allied forces standing along-
9 side of the United States and South Vietnam today, in Vietnam,
10 than all of the United Nations Allied Forces put together in
11 Korea. The Koreans, the Philippines, the Australians, The
12 New Zealanders, The Thais have all performed well. Now by all
13 measures, roads opened, population under government control,
14 villages cleared, enemy casualties, desertions of the enemy,
15 we are winning in Vietnam, militarily. The American people
16 need to know this, it doesn't do us any good to either over-
17 estimate or underestimate, to speak in braggadocio or to speak
18 in pessimism but there are some facts that need to be understood.

17 Now what about the bombing? A highly controversial
18 matter. This is a question regularly asked about here at home,
19 but almost never asked in Vietnam. I visited our troops near the
20 demilitarized zone, I was within two miles of the bombardment of
21 the area, they told me that bombing was the single greatest factor
22 enabling them to hold off the three North Vietnamese Divisions now
23 deployed in and behind the DMZ, which by the way is a total viola-
24 tion of international covenant and law. I talked with our pilots,
25

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1 some that had come back that very morning from their strikes
2 in the DMZ area. I also reviewed photos and charts which
3 indicate that our bombing further north is not only accurate,
4 but that it has drastically slowed ,down the flow of communist
5 men and supplies in South Vietnam, and diverts hundreds of
6 thousands of North Vietnamese to reconstruction and repair of
7 facilities that support the aggression. No one has ever said
8 that bombing alone would win this struggle, no one has said
9 that bombing alone would bring North Vietnam to the conference
10 table. What has been said is that bombing by us is one of the
11 factors in our military power that needs to be used to slow
12 down the movement of men and supplies from the north to the
13 south. Another one of the instruments that we use, a form of
14 artillery that we use, to slow down the infiltration to help
15 defend ourselves in South Vietnam. That's the purpose of the
16 bombing.

17 Now if you have questions about the bombing, and
18 I'm sure you have, I suggest that you ask any of the American
19 men dug in under artillery fire along the DMZ, I suggest you ask
20 our troops in the Central Highlands who, at this very hour, are
21 under bitter attack from the North Vietnamese regulars. I
22 suggest you ask our troops in the Delta that I visited who face
23 mortars and guns that have been carried in from the North. I
24 went out to our Riverine Forces, a whole new weapon system, by
25 the way, that we have developed operating in the Delta. To the

1 Third Marine Amphibious Forces, I was with them, and to the
2 Naval Support Hospital at Da Nang and I visited the Americal
3 Division at Thua Ly, I visited with the Arvam and with our
4 Korean allies and wherever I went I found the highest level
5 of American moral and the highest order of dedication and
6 leadership in American forces and in the forces of the Allies.

7 Now I was quoted as saying that I hadn't heard
8 one American complaint during the entire time that I was in
9 Vietnam. That's an , it was true. There was
10 one question that I often heard from Americans in Vietnam,
11 however, it was, why are we winning here and seem to be losing
12 the war at home? Now that's a difficult question to answer.
13 I can assure you and it's particularly difficult when you're
14 out there with these young men who are facing death, every
15 minute of their lives. It is particularly difficult when you
16 read, as I have and do, as I did today, the statements and
17 the documents, the statements and the capture documents of the
18 North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong leadership. Statements and
19 documents which indicate that they believe that their only hope
20 of winning is through division, despair and defeatism of the
21 American home front. And this is a matter of historical, factual
22 record. It is particularly difficult when all evidence indicates
23 that we are winning this struggle and that if we persevere, Hanoi
24 will eventually face a critical and inevitable decision, either
25 to come to the Conference Table to negotiate an honorable peace,

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1 or to deescalate and to withdraw. Those are the choices.

2 I told our Americans in Vietnam that the over-
3 whelming majority of Americans at home do support them and
4 what they are doing. I think you do. (APPLAUSE) I told them
5 that their President, their Vice President, their Congress and
6 their fellow citizens do have the determination to see it
7 through. Now as a long time dissenter myself, and I've engaged
8 in it, I ask no American who dissents in good conscience to
9 still his voice. But I do ask all Americans before they dissent
10 to search their hearts to examine the facts, to know the effect
11 of what they say on our civilians and our soldiers in Vietnam
12 and on our adversaries as well. I ask them to face before they
13 raise their voices, the hard fact of cynical communist initiated
14 aggression and terror and to offer workable alternatives to
15 meeting that aggression. (APPLAUSE) I ask them to recognize
16 that we face in Vietnam no peaceful reformer seeking power
17 through parliamentary means. We do not face handbills, but
18 hand grenades. We face in Vietnam no indigenous movement of
19 Robin Hoods, but one more communist apparatus trying to seize
20 land and people by brute force. And to those who deplore war
21 and the use of arms, and I do, I ask this question. What other
22 course do you recommend in meeting this challenge? If you can
23 find it we will use it. No one wants peace more than those who
24 are entrusted with the responsibilities of government.
25

So this is the picture that I bring back from

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1 Vietnam. Political, economic and social progress, steady but
2 slow. Military progress steady and gaining momentum. National
3 security and National development both proceeding. The clear
4 and present need, support by the American people, support
5 which can give a clear unmistakable signal to our adversary
6 and, thereby, I sincerely believe to shorten this war, our
7 adversary knows he does not have the strength to defeat our
8 forces in battle, he hopes that he will wear us down, here
9 at home, in disunity, in despair, in argument and bitter
10 debate and then to pick up the victory. I think he mistakes
11 America for the Colonial power of France in the 1950's. I
12 have to say with great respect there is a vast difference
13 between a free America trying to help a people remain free
14 than a power of Colonialism, no matter whose it may be.

14 Now my friends, for those who may lack
15 patience, today in Vietnam I point to the example of a second
16 country that I visited, Malaysia. Malaysia with assistance
17 from nations of the British Commonwealth, and I remind you it
18 had outside assistance, fought the Communist terror and sub-
19 version within its borders for twelve, almost endless, years.
20 But today Malaysia stands independent free and strong, it has
21 a stable government which is meeting the needs of its people
22 through an integrated national economic industrial and world
23 development program, including the essentials of education,
24 health, land reform, public works, vocational agriculture
25

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1 and vast investments in private enterprise. The Malaysians
2 know what the fight's all about. The Malaysians combine
3 national development and national security and they and
4 their allies stayed the course, stayed with it against a
5 strong and externally supported Communist insurgency, building
6 their country and resisting force. And they won and today
7 Malaysia is a free country, your friend and our friend, one of
8 the bright spots of all Asia. Today Malaysia not only earns
9 its own way, it's a leader in the movement towards Asian
10 regionalism. It is an effective partner in Asian freedom and
11 progress. And during my visit, the Malaysian Government at
12 its own initiative indicated a willingness to send additional
13 assistance to Vietnam. Malaysians have no doubt about the
14 dangers of Communist aggression and subversion, they lived
15 through it. Malaysians openly support our course in Vietnam.
16 They have received their education through the hard course of
17 experience, not the easy course of intellectual theory.

18 Now my final stop was Indonesia and then I
19 speak to manufacturers of food products, once again I remind
20 you that here food may be decisive. I cannot overemphasize
21 the critical importance to Southeast Asia and to all of us
22 of this rich, potentially rich and strategically situated
23 nation of more than a hundred million people, the fifth largest
24 nation on the face of the earth. Here too, a crude and brutal
25 attempt at Communist takeover had to be resisted and uprooted.
I keep mentioning this brutal and crude attempt because so

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1 many of our fellow Americans seem to forget that this happens.
2 This period of the 1960's seems some how to have erased the
3 memories of the 30's and the 40's and the 50's. Some Americans
4 seem to have even forgotten about Korea. Our commitment there,
5 the sacrifices we made, who started the trouble and who we had
6 to fight. And some Americans that justified our position in
7 Korea seem having difficulty even condoning our mentioning
8 Vietnam.

9 Well here in Indonesia, the dual formula for
10 eventual success is the one that other Asians understand,
11 national security and national development. This Indonesian
12 nation is struggling, it is a victim of 20 years of mismanage-
13 ment and neglect, of corruption, of subversion and exploita-
14 tion.

15 It's a sad sight to behold when you come to
16 Jakarta and yet there is something there that you sense the
17 spirit of their people that gives ,you hope. Today, Indonesia
18 acting or under the acting President, General Soeharto has an
19 honest government which is providing leadership, the right
20 priorities, determination and energy. And by the way, many
21 of the advisers to that government, many of the Ministers that
22 I met were educated in American Universities. Officers educated
23 at Fort Leavenworth and Fort Bragg and Fort Benning. If ever
24 there was evidence as to the importance of our leadership training
25 programs for foreign Nationals, I found it in Indonesia. The

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1 second language is English, it is easy to communicate. Now
2 despite the years of Anti-American propaganda there, under
3 Sukarno, I was met in that poverty stricken former Communist
4 Belts of Balli and Central Java by literally hundreds of
5 thousands of cheering people gathered along the roadsides,
6 cheering your America. Ladies and Gentlemen, I have witnessed
7 many times the stories of the pickets that greet us when we go
8 someplace, but I saw better than one million people of Indonesia
9 and Central Java, the heartland of the Communist party they said
10 in Indonesia, over a million people standing in blazing sun from
11 early in the morning until early in the evening to greet the Flag
12 of the United States, to hold their hands high and say, thank you
13 America, America, America, America. One of the most heart warming
14 experiences of my life. Now these people wore no shoes, most of
15 them were hungry, but they knew that the new leadership in their
16 country cared about them, and they knew that America cared. I
17 tried to bring them that message and that America was there in
18 their neighborhood of Southeast Asia as a friend. They know that
19 America means hope. They greeted me with one word "Merdecca"
20 which means freedom, they cried it out, Merdecca America, Merdecca
21 America, by the hundreds of thousands, and no government organized
22 it, my itinerary was not even announced until 12 hours before I
23 entered the area because they thought there was a security risk.
24 I walked with those people in the blazing heat of an Indonesian
25 Sun in the dirt of Indonesian ditches that were ,being cleaned out

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1 by Indonesian boys so that their irrigation projects could work,
2 and I saw American food being used to pay the wages for Indonesian
3 work. American corn as the only sustenance, the only thing they
4 had between life and death. Indonesia needs rice, not much,
5 200,000 tons is the difference between salvation and starvation.
6 It needs bolgar wheat, it needs a little vegetable oil, it needs
7 corn, it can use all of it. Indonesia needs help, and I returned
8 home determined to do my best to stimulate ,that help. Not only
9 by our own nation but by others in the world ,who bear responsi-
10 bility to the less fortunate also. Indonesia doesn't ask for
11 billions, she seeks only modest assistance, she asks for a little
12 of our surplus food, some long term loans, a very few of our able
13 technicians, investment by private enterprise, and it's a good
14 place to invest. And above all - our friendship and faith. Here
15 is a country that wants to work on the basis of the free market
16 system, as another answer to Communism, not merely to say that
17 they're non-communist but to say that they're pro-capitalist.
18 What an opportunity. And I'm a competitive sort of fellow. I
19 think we ought to accept the challenge. Now, will Indonesia
20 make it? Well despite its new leadership, the problems are
21 staggering, the solutions are yet to come. If it does not make
22 it, however, the failure of a nation potentially equal in
23 importance to India or Japan could bring fearful consequences to
24 both Southeast Asia and the United States. So there's only one
25 alternative, to do our best, without smothering her with American

1 personnel, to do our best to help Indonesia make it.

2 Now if there is any doubt then, today, about the
3 rightness of our presence or our involvement in Southeast Asia,
4 I point to what has happened over these past few months and
5 years in that part of the world as I've seen it. Behind the
6 shield of power and commitment, both of ourselves and our
7 allies, the independent nations of Asia have withstood Communist
8 pressure, without us it's doubtful that they could have. They
9 have joined together in new regional development, they have moved
10 forward to provide peace and security to their citizens, and
11 behind that shield, in fact, nations across the whole broad
12 Asian Pacific arch from Australia and New Zealand to the
13 Philippines, Indonesia and Taiwan from Korea and Japan to Thailand
14 to Laos, Malaysia and Vietnam, to India and Pakistan, they are
15 joining together to provide both security and peaceful develop-
16 ment to their peoples. Ladies and Gentlemen, I say this is
17 progress, this is a measure of success and we have had a part in
18 it. We have not done it for them, we have been a partner in
19 their progress. I'm proud of it and I think the American people
20 ought to know it. We have helped in their nation building which
21 is our business, nation building.

22 Now I ask you, should that shield now be removed,
23 as some say? Should we withdraw from the work of national
24 security and national development in that area, inhabited by over
25 half of the worlds population? Should we instead concentrate our

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1 attentions only on those nations which share a common Western
2 cultural heritage with us, where the names and the skin colors
3 are more like our own? Well, I believe that to do so would be
4 both shortsighted and dangerous and endanger our own security.
5 There is no question what the leaders of Asia in Vietnam,
6 Malaysia and Indonesia and other countries I visited these
7 past three years think would be the result. Without exception,
8 they have told me that their governments and their people
9 would be brought under immediate pressure direct and indirect
10 to come to terms with the virilant, expansionist, militant
11 Asian Communism which each of them has had to resist. I believe,
12 therefore, that we should apply in Asia the same formula that we
13 have so successfully applied since World War II in Europe and
14 other parts of the world. The dual formula of national security
15 and national development which enables independent nations to
16 stand on their own feet which detours potential aggressors to
17 more peaceful paths. I believe that if we do this, we will be
18 able .to see an Asia precisely the same process of consolidation
19 of regionalism of peaceful growth that took place in Europe
20 after World War II. I believe that through such a policy malig-
21 nant Asian Communism can be contained until its leaders change
22 or choose a more moderate and peaceful path. And I believe that
23 through such a policy the energies and the aspirations and the
24 talents of vital peoples and civilizations can be channeled con-
25 structively into nation building, rather than violence and

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1 disorder. Oh, I know, East is East and West is West but in
2 this dangerous nuclear age, the twain have met, and it is at
3 our own peril that we ignore this fact. We have no choice,
4 therefore, but to stand strong and to last it out with both
5 power and compassion, not only for those who strive for
6 freedom in Asia but for the futures of our own American
7 children. Thomas Payne put it well - Those who expect to
8 reap the blessings of freedom must like men undergo the
9 fatigue of supporting it. We need a Thomas Payne now as we've
10 never needed a pamphleteer or an advocate in all of our history,
11 to tell us the profound and simple truths. I know that it will
12 be difficult and fatiguing, but I believe we can and we shall
13 last it out. For I believe that under the few inches of soft
14 American topsoil which seems so evident these days, there is
15 within this same America courage and determination and strength
16 that's built on solid rock and that will be the lasting quality
17 of our country.

18 Now let me, finally, add this word about the
19 search for peace which is at our heart and it must go on even
20 while we pursue our military and economic and social efforts in
21 Vietnam and throughout all of Asia. We've searched for peace
22 and we'll continue it through every channel for some way to come
23 to the Conference Table, thus far we've received no positive
24 response. And my fellow Americans, I must say here what I've
25 said elsewhere, the roadblock to peace is not in the United States,

1 it's not in Washington, not at all. Your government, your
2 President, your Congress, your Secretary of State, this
3 government is/^{not}ready to sell out either its honor, its commit-
4 ment or other people. We have learned ,those lessons a long
5 time ago and the tragedy of such false peace. As I said
6 earlier, our progress is such in Vietnam that our adversary
7 sooner or later must surely see the inevitable necessity of
8 negotiation or withdrawal.

9 So, in this light, we must continue with
10 ingenuity, with imagination, every possible effort to find a
11 just and an honorable peace through the United Nations, through
12 the efforts of the government of South Vietnam, President Thieu,
13 and whatever contacts he can make, through third parties, through
14 religious leaders, such as The Holy Father, through whatever
15 means can be of use, we stand ready to use every legitimate
16 honorable form and means. We cannot afford to be bogged down
17 in old channels, and I can tell you, as your Vice President, that
18 we must and we will consider each new initiative as a fresh start.
19 But the hope for peace, for the end of this bloodshed lies not
20 only in our strength and our diplomacy, but it lies in our per-
21 severance, it lies in our faith in ourselves and in our cause,
22 and it lies, above all, in our national unity and our national
23 purpose. And I call upon the people of this land through your
24 leadership to give the benefit of the doubt to your country, to
25 stand fast, to let the enemy know that we've taken our stand and

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1 that we will not retreat, that we are strong enough to seek
2 a peace in honor and in justice, but we are too strong to
3 retreat in shame. And I think if we think this way and speak
4 this way, without being bellicose or belligerent, but being
5 firm and resolute with a sense of compassion and justice,
6 that our efforts will bear fruit.

7 Lincoln said it so well, and it still stands
8 true today, we have as our guiding spirit, these words, "with
9 malice towards none, and with charity for all, but with firmness
10 in the right as God gives us to see the right." That is the
11 way this government operates and this country works and I
12 think the world needs to know it, by a clear signal from the
13 American people in their actions and their words.

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THANK YOU.

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