## Address by

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Thank you very much, Governor Terry, Mr. Karrer, Mr. Anderson, my friend Senator Boggs, Congressman Roth, the very many distinguished citizens of this State, members of the Chamber of Commerce. I look around this audience and I see an old friend - and I want to greet you Allen and Mrs. Frear. Once a Senator, always a Senator. My old friend out there -- he's not so old -- not as old as I am -- former Governor Carvel, and I'm glad to see you here. I've been looking around for Harris, and I know he's here, former Congressman Harris McDowell. I wanted to just say "hello" to them because I don't get this chance very often.

Now this is a very unusual occasion for me tonight, and I'm going to, as they say, "level with you" and tell you what it's all about. First of all, I should tell you that as a Democrat these days you're not always sure you'll get invited to anything. But my friend Senator Boggs has always told me that Delaware is a charitable and friendly State. And he said as long as you have the Governor on your side, you can get in any time you want to, Mr. Vice President.

Well, Governor Terry has called me on several occasions to come over and go fishing with him, go hunting, and just enjoy life. This is, of course, something that a Vice President is never supposed to do. You're not supposed to enjoy life. This office was designed by our forefathers to bring proven humility, and I'm not sure but what maybe in due time it might work on me that way. But I couldn't help but think when the invitation came this morning --

which I want to talk to you about -- about the story a friend of mine told me a couple of weeks ago.

I don't believe it was an industrialist here in Delaware, because your industrialists are so good. And I'm so happy to see Mr. McCoy here tonight. I know that Du Pont people are very, very good. But -- this chap was taken ill, something like Governor Connally who was supposed to really be your speaker -- we'll get to him a little later. And this fine industrialist was stricken with the flu, and he was lying in bed suffering from fever and virus -- and he didn't seem to be getting well. Nobody called him; nobody wrote to him; nobody came to see him. No flowers. The fellow was getting to feel like he really was at the end of the line. One week went by. And then -- in the middle of the second week -- the local union Executive Board had a meeting. And they deliberated, and they argued, and finally a resolution was adopted -- which resolution was incorporated in a message to their boss. And it read something like this -- The Executive Board of Local 100 has met, and we have deliberated, and by a vote of 8 to 7 we wish you a speedy recovery.

Now, that's what Charlie Terry told me this morning. He said we have met and we have deliberated. And he said by a vote of 8 to 7 we invite you to come on over to the Delaware State Chamber of Commerce. And I'm here. The fact of the matter is that when I received the call this morning, I knew what a predicament you were in and what predicament my friend, the Governor, was in, because I, too, have been a program chairman on occasion, having to find a speaker and deliver him. I have been a mayor of a city, I've never been a governor of a state, but I know what it is to have a meeting all set up, programs all printed, and everything all set, and then the speaker disappears, or doesn't turn up. In this instance, of course, there were several other factors involved. The gentleman who was to speak to you is the Governor of the State of Texas. I always stand in respect of any governor, but when the President of the United States comes from the State of Texas and is a good friend of the Governor of the State of Texas, and my good friend is Charlie Terry, I thought that in the name of Texas I would come to Delaware. Mr. Mayor, you know the predicament that I am in, and I'm sure that you will bear with me.

Well, I'm pleased that you reprinted the programs. I don't know for sure if I am at that because Connally's better looking than I am.

But then I had another reason for wanting to come here. Last night I sat silent and quiet and dour like the great stone face

for 55 minutes while the President was addressing you on the State of the Union. I just thought I'd just come over and talk to you about the State of Delaware. There were a few extenuating circumstances, however, to this occasion and my presence here. I am supposed to be the guest of honor tonight at the Women's National Press Club in Washington, D. C. And you know what I mean, Allen, you know what it means over there. The ladies expect you to turn up but I don't want you to feel let down but I sent the best part of the family to that meeting and you just got what was left over. Mrs. Humphrey, who would have loved to come here with me tonight, we really like to go together to these meetings. I like to have her because so many people come up to me and say, Gee, I like Mrs. Humphrey. And I smile and I say, Yes, we're married. But tonight she's in Washington and I intend to go back there immediately after I've spoken to you and visited with you tonight. I left a little message there with the President of the Women's National Press Club. And I said that I've always believed in freedom of choice. And since they were limiting the speakers to three minutes in Washington and since I knew that Governor Terry would give me an hour, I took off for Wilmington. So here I am and you can just lean back now and expect to hear almost anything.

I want to really visit with you. I have some notes here that we've put together hurriedly today. I started my morning with

a breakfast meeting with some of the overseas press writers. A little later at noon I was with the Washington Post editorial staff. We've had meetings all day including the Senate. So I really haven't had a great deal of time to do justice to this audience. But I thought maybe that I could share with you some of my thinking. You're a tolerant audience. I want to talk to you about our country. I want to talk to you about its place in this troubled world. And I want to talk to you also in the spirit of optimism and confidence about our country and about this troubled world. I notice that your program speaks about attacking challenges with positive action. I like that. Most people spend their time on difficulties and problems. I like to think of challenges and opportunities. It's all the way you think. You burden yourselves with problems and difficulties, you can grow old in a hurry. And very tired. But if you speak of challenges and opportunities, you become ageless. You live for the future. I sense that that's what's happened here. I've been told here at your table that the Chamber has literally taken on a new lease of life, that it is issue-oriented, it's concerned about the State, the community, and I'm very pleased because, frankly, you are much needed. You know the badge of success in this country is business. Commerce. You're a success in it and you can't

expect to have the honors if you're not going to take on the responsibilities. It's sort of like a great nation like ours. We love to have people tell us we're a world leader. And then when the going gets tough, and the responsibilities are heavy, and the burdens are great, some people say well I didn't know it meant that. But leadership is not a luxury, it's a burden. Leadership is not the cloak of comfort, it's the robe of responsibility. And when you take on this badge, or these laurels of leadership and success, which comes with business achievement, professional achievement, then you also take on the extra responsibility to do more. You're expected to do more than those who are less fortunate or those who are less successful. That's the way it is individually and that's the way it is in this country. This great America of ours is so blessed. When I heard the President say last night an 800 billion dollar economy, we represent less than 6% of the population of the earth and we have 40% of the gross national product of the world. And so it boils down to this that if we can't do things, who can? If we're incapable of the burdens of leadership, of wrestling with the burdens of leadership, who do you think can lead? If we can't educate our young, who can? If we can't do something about the curse of poverty, not only the poverty of the purse but the poverty of frustration and bitterness and hopelessness and despair, who can?

In other words, if we can't cure our problems at home, meet our challenges and our opportunities, what makes you think anybody can. Because we have so much.

Now I said I'm an optimist and a man that has a confident attitude. Not because of myself but because of the history of this country. It's a great success story. And over in Washington we got an awful lot of pessimists, and I learned a long time ago that/the competition was too rough in one field move over to the other one where there weren't quite so many competitors, so I'd stake myself out as the optimist in Washington. There were several of us some time ago, a few of them have sort of faded away, but I'm still there. But I don't believe that pessimism is the proper spirit for this country. Every single generation has had its prophets of doom. Without exception, without exception, you go back and read the history from the beginning of this Republic and there are always those that talked about our community was no longer safe that violence was everywhere that the nation was incapable of governing itself that the moral standards were at an all time low you can go back to the time of Washington or Jefferson or Lincoln or Cleveland or Wilson or Hoover or anyone, you just go back any place, you will find people who were always able to point out that we were literally on our last legs.

But that isn't of course the truth of our country, the truth of America is ordinary people doing very unordinary things, plain ordinary people from plain ordinary stock, as we say, developing their human capabilities emancipating themselves from their fears and their limitations, doing unbelievable things, doing the impossible, like the Man from LaMancha, that's the whole story of America. Doing the impossible, the impossible dream.

It was impossible to dream of self-government when we started it. It was impossible to have a Federal system when we conceived it, it was impossible to have universal sufferage when we tried it. It was impossible to hold a union together after a bloody civil war, but we did it. And so on down the line, and some people have said throughout at least the last hundred years that it is impossible to make the capitalist system work to the benefit of all our people, but we've done it and no system has worked so well, so fully, so generously, so humanely, we've been able to do it.

And some people said it was impossible to split the atom but we did that, and I don't think it's impossible to split the difference either, I think we can do that on some of the problems that we have.

So this is the spirit in which I speak to you tonight

Now we're going through tremendously difficult times. I've just jotted down a note here as I was getting ready to rise to talk to you about my own experiences, and my experiences are limited. They're different from yours, some of them, but not necessarily better or worse.

My experience as Vice President in this very strange and awkward office, and that's what it is, I've traveled the five continents, speaking for our country hopefully representing it with a degree of honor and dignity.

I have been to about fifty countries, five continents in every conceivable kind of climate and culture and environment. I've been in over 500 American communities. I've traveled over 575,000 miles. The jet with its speed. And I've been in 48 states and will be in all of them before many months.

And every place I've gone I've found something that interested me, and I've found something else; I've found that people are really trying to do something for themselves on what you might call on the international scene. There's a craving on the part of people for national independence, their own identity, national security, their own safety, national development, their own progress, every place it's that way.

They have different ways of getting at it, but that's what they want, and yet there's also the sobering reality that you

can't have national independence without interdependence. There's also the sobering reality that you can't have national security without a kind of spirit of international coordination and cooperation and peacekeeping, and there's also the sobering reality that you cannot have national development alone. Living as an island unto yourself. Peoples and nations must trade, they must work together, there must be economic integration and regional development, international cooperation.

Now these are just the broad things that you see and you learn. What else do you learn? That this is such a small world I think one of the greatest statements that has been made in this century was made by Wendall Wilkie when he said in 1940 in that book of his "One World" he talked to us about one world. I think he was a little ahead of his time at that time. He was trying to tell us something. And it is one world even though there are many conflicting ideologies and cultures in it and that world which was that big a few years ago is now this big, and with the supersonic transport, it will be that big. It will be like a golf ball as compared to a basketball.

We'll be able to leave Los Angeles, I'm speaking now of 1972—not a bit later, not a day later than 1972, possibly 1970, we'll be able to leave Los Angeles and travel to Canberra, Australia, in less time than it used to take to go from New York to London. It takes less time now to go from Chicago to Saigon than it took to go from New York to London in 1940.

So when people talk about faraway places, what they're really talking about is their old geography, their old maps which are useless. You must think in terms of the world today in terms of time, not distance. And you must think of the world today in terms of peoples — terms of peoples / and not just nations.

So I've seen some of this and felt it. There's a turbulence, there's a restlessness, as our President said last night, not merely in American society, all over. And that restlessness is a sign of growth. Many of you have seen the Walt Disney, you know TV movies, when you see the plant life in the slow motion camera, and you see the earth start to break, and you see the plant start to come into being. Yet if you were to view that with your eye without the capability of the lens and the camera, you'd wait for weeks, for months to see what you see in a fleeting second.

Well there is this crust, this social crust that is beginning to break now. The social crust that was incased for years in colonialism, in segregation, in the poor that were forgotten, in the rich that had much and all too much. In the elite, in the royal caste or class, it's all over. Oh, there are some remnants of it, but it has had its day.

There's a new day. I travel a great deal by plane, and there isn't a time that I take a plane flight but what I ask sometime before or during flight of the pilot, how's the weather? Now that's just a nice way of saying that I'm a little bit afraid you

know why do you ask about the weather? Do you just want to know are we really going to make it? Is it going to be rough? Are we going to get iced up? Are we going to be bounced all over the place? Do you really think we'll get through? And what do we hear frequently, or when you watch that Today show early in the morning when they put that map on there, that weather map, what do you hear them say? You say well there's a low and then as you come to the East there's a high; the weather systems meet, right over the border states, or right near the Alleghenies and so on, they describe it. Now what are they talking about?

They're talking about two systems, and then they tell you the navigator or the pilot will tell you in that plane that when you go through those weather systems, you're going to have some trouble. You better put on the seat belt, it's going to get a little rough. But you're going to make it all right, we've got good equipment here, they always reassure you, you know. And you hope and pray that that's the case. And I do this time after time. I came back the other night from Fresno, California, and for at least a half an hour we were going through a miserable weather system, shaking the living daylights out of a Jetstar, unable to get high altitude, high enough even though it will fly at 40,000 feet and better. What was it all about. We left a clear blue sky of the west and came into the cloudy, the fog, the weathered sky of the east. From a high to a low.

Well what's really happening today in America and in the world is that we're going through a great social system change.

We're going through it here in America. We're going through it here in Delaware. We're going through it in Washington. In Detroit. We're going through it in Minnesota. Everyplace.

From one system that we've had for years, in which there was, yes segregation. In which there was a feeling, well, that the poor are with us, they'll always be with us. In which there was a feeling that there are some things you can't do. But that's changed. I don't mean that it's easier. And I'm not going to predict that it's going to be a lot better for awhile. I'm simply saying that it's changed.

And all you have to do is fasten on the seat belt, pray that you have a machine namely your ship of State, your social structure strong enough to take it and hope that you can have the kind of pilots and crew that'll get you through, and do a little praying. And I think it will work. That's what's really happening. Now I just came back from a journey of some 27,000 miles, I believe it was. Your President asked me to go to Africa to take the message of America to nine countries. I didn't take much more, we didn't go promising pie-in-the-sky. We didn't say that we're here to buy you or to sell you. We took the message of this nation, its freedom, its independence, its promise, its meaning, and we went as a good neighbor.

And it was really a very neighborly visit.

When I was in Monrovia, Liberia, on the west coast of Africa, I was closer to Washington, D. C. than Nairobi, Kenya.

Africa is a continent four times as big as the United States with three hundred million people. It's farther from Monrovia,
Liberia to Nairobi, Kenya, than it is from New York to London, or from New York to Los Angeles by far, twice as far. When I left Nairobi to fly to Tunisia I traveled over 6000 miles in one continent.

It's massive. And it's different. The climate is different.

The people are different. The cultural patterns are different.

The tribes are different. The forms of government are different.

The food is different, and not too good. It's very different. But it's there and we need to know it. It's the first time I visited this continent, and it's very little known to Americans what we generally know about it is what we've read as children.

Childhood images of Africa full of lions and elephants, and we even think tigers, but they don't have tigers in Africa.

White hunters and impenetrable jungles that's what we think of it.

But really there are gleaming cities. Nairobi, Kenya is a beautiful city, and there are others besides. And that childhood image that we have of Africa would do us a great disservice today if we maintain it. We need to know more about this continent. Because there is something going on, there's a dynamic and exciting experience in nation building.

Primitive, yes, but let's not forget ourselves. Sometimes I wonder about us. We are so well fed now. It's so nice, so much perfume and deodorant. You know so much of all the good things of life; it wasn't always this way. We were an agrarian society not long ago. We were very plain people not long ago. We didn't know what it meant to have modern sanitary facilities not long ago. And most of the people not long ago were taught by teachers who at most had a Tenth Grade education. I think of my own Mother, who yet lives, who was a schoolteacher in South Dakota, who went through the Tenth Grade and was a good schoolteacher. Was able to meet some of the needs, the basic needs of education. Everybody doesn't have to be a graduate, from the great universities to be able to help people who are in their infancy of nationhood. Sometimes I think we almost overdo it. The diet is too rich, and I think of the way we built our/agricultural economy in America. It wasn't all built on the modern sophistocated agricultural science of today. It was built by men like my grandfather, an immigrant, who came to this country, if you please, and staked out a homestead, who had little or no education, was a Norwegian Sea Captain. All he knew was work, and he had pride. But there was a county agent who was just a very plain ordinary man with less than a high school education frequently, and then there was a farm organization that went around and talked to the farmers

and people learned how to produce food and fiber and they had a great ambition to improve themselves. And the changes that have come in the last few years are phenomenal. I was impressed again last night as I thought half of the students who graduate from our high schools now go to universities. Over 7 million will be in universities in America. That's more than all the university students in the world, right here in the United States. We build a new college, as the President said, every week. That's why it's difficult for us to understand nations that are just groping and grasping. This is true of Africa/Asia. I've been to these places. They're trying to come into the 20th century and they, some of them, haven't quite had time to leave the 16th century.

But they don't have time to catch up. They've got to hurry, and in the process they make mistakes, and we report on every one. Have you ever thought, some of you/my age, what would happen if there had been quite so many cameras, newspapermen, television cameras when we were kids, as there are now? I hate to think of how many shots they'd got of me on those Halloween nights, and what I was doing; and a few other things that went on, which I will not confess, to you or my wife. Guess what I'm saying is that there are so many countries today that are young, and I don't want our America to act like it's old, because it's not.

Africa is a continent that is filled with young countries struggling through the growing pains that characterized our own first years as an independent nation. And it's a continent that's in its post-colonial turmoil period. But it's a continent, believe me, where doctrinaire ideologies seem to have little influence, and you ought to be very happy about this. The singular failure of communist foreign policy, communist penetration, is in Africa. The tribal structure resists it. Their love of private property resists it. Their basic religion resists it. The communists have had more foreign policy defeats than we ever dreamed of. If they ever had to have a free election, they'd have a housecleaning I don't know how often. Because just think of communist out - China. It's been booted/lock, stock and barrel out of six African countries -doesn't even have representation -- spent hundreds of millions of dollars. I was in one country where the Chinese Communists built a great big theatre -a beautiful theatre -- magnificent; gave it outright as a sort of what they called a gift. I think it was less than a gift -- a kind of a bribe to the country. The Prime Minister of that country is going to come visit us. He's pro-West. There's been an election take place -- there's been a free election in that country, and a free election gave leadership to that country that's with us. Do you know what that Prime Minister told me? He said "Mr. Vice President, the Chinese Communists built the theatre, but I want American films in it to open it. " It's interesting. He said, "We don't like those communist films. We don't like those Russian, or those Chinese, or those communist films. We want your films." Now sometimes I suppose we don't like all of ours, but it's all a matter of comparison.

Now, what else did I see in this visit? Now I'm not going to keep you in Africa all night, but I thought maybe you ought to get a little feel of it.

I found people that were not visionaries in terms of "pie-in-the-sky."

I found a very practical kind of people. And the governing people are educated -- well educated, many of them in our own universities. And by the way, that's the best investment this country ever made. You can give them money and supplies, and the money will erode, and the supplies will vanish. But you give them an education, and ultimately you have a friend, in most instances, over the long pull.

And many of these men and women, that are guiding the destinies of these 39 African nations -- those men and women who are educated here or in Western European universities (but thousands of them were educated right here in the United States), they are our friends. But they're a practical people. I didn't have a single African leader tell me how to win the war in Vietnam -- and what a relief! Not one. Absolutely. And our reporters kept asking me what did they say about Vietnam, and I said frankly what they talked to me about was their own country. That's what they were primarily interested in. I didn't have a single African leader tell me how to be able to rebuild our cities and how to take care of our own problems. But they did ask me for help and counsel about their problems. And far from fearing the so-called supposedly pernicious influence of foreign capitalism, which you constantly hear people say, they welcome private investment. Not only welcome it, they're begging for it and trying to create a climate in which it can be productive and profitable. I found a remarkable amount of good will towards the United States. I think that was the main news that I found. Because when I read sometimes, I come to the conclusion that no one likes us. That's not true. That's not true.

Of course people do say things about us. You say things about your neighbor. You say things about your family. That doesn't mean that you don't care for them. Sometimes you just say it in anger, sometimes in a mood of petulance. But the good will is everywhere. Everywhere for us. And a tremendous admiration of our achievements in industry and agriculture and education and health, and in the business of democratic living. Everywhere. I think Americans need to know that. And we don't spend vast sums of money there. The total amount of foreign aid from the United States for the whole continent, for the whole continent, is under \$200 million. And that's most all of that in repayable loans.

Then there's something else about this continent I want you to know. It has a youthfulimage. An image which Africans find in America too, if we'll but let it. We need that youthful image in Africa. 45% of the Africans are under 14 years of age. 75% are under age 26. A young continent, and just the beginning of health programs and education programs. And our Peace Corps and our economic assistance programs have helped play a very constructive role in that continent. So, I think there's real hope there for us. And hope for them. I think there's a broader role not only in Africa for the United States Government, but for American private business. And the climate in many of those countries is extremely favorable, as I said, for private investment -- and they want Americans.

I had the President of the Congo say to me time after time: "Mr. Vice President, we want to see American names on banks and business houses in Kinshasa, the capital." I said to him, "But one of the big banks in New York has a 20% interest in your biggest bank down town"; but he said what's its name? "We're not a colony, we're a free country. Yes, we've

had trouble. You've saved us three times", said President Mobutu. "The freedom of Congo is due to America. We're everlastingly grateful to you." He said, "you've many times spoken of how the French helped you win your Revolution at your time, and your Lafayette. Well, let me tell you that you've helped us win our independence and keep it. We'll never forget it. Your C-130s that came in this past year to help us defeat the mercenaries -we'll never forget it." And I want to say in the presence of my friends in Congress and Government, there was a great deal of debate in Congress as to whether or not we should have loaned them three airplanes to defend their own territorial integrity against mercenaries. I said to the President, you know we had to fight the mercenaries, too, once. They called them Hessians. Our experiences are somewhat alike. We know what it means. He said to me, we want to see your names -- great American companies; that means we're free, that means we're independent. It means that the old colonial powers are not hanging on. I want you to think about that. Because I've heard this in other parts of the world as well. Well, what we're really talking about is that these people know that there's some good old American principles that mean a lot to them. Self-determination and majority rule. That's what they like about us. And it pays off in good will -- in international understanding.

And I want to say to my friends that are here tonight, you're all family people. The fate of the United States is not going to be decided in the mid—

I think west, in total. Of course, our mid-west, from whence I come,/is an important part of America. But the safety of your family is maybe going to be determined in the Middle East, or in southeast Asia. And it's not going to be decided in Peoria, or even Chicago. But it may very well be decided in a vast continent that's four times the size of the United States where we've paid very little

attention. The power struggle is on, and you can't ignore it, and we have to be up to it.

Now let me say a word about another part of the world that I visited, and I know that you are very keenly interested in it. I'm not going to keep you all night.

That's about Vietnam. I've been to Asia five times since I've been Vice President. That doesn't mean that I know too much about it. It means that I've been there and I've tried to observe and tried to learn. I have no vested interest in any prejudice. I do not believe that consistency has any merit if you're consistently wrong. I think that the first thing that a man needs to do is to try to search relentlessly for truth. After all we're talking about life and death, we're talking about sons and daughters. We're talking about peace and war. We're talking about the survival of our country. And you ought not to get yourself fixed on a position and defend it at all costs if it turns out that there is no evidence to support it. So I have a great respect for those that disagree with us. We ought to examine every argument. What I want in terms of disagreement and dissent over Vietnam is more of the reasoning, more of the dialogue, and less of the diatribe and less of the violence, and less of the ugliness. Because debate and discussion and dissent are vital to a free society. Vital. But they are destroyed, their meaning is destroyed, when people become ugly, obscene, vulgar, boisterous, violent, and some of the people who today say that they're exercising dissent, are the very enemies of dissent. And they know it. This is why there's a new feeling in America that's coming. A new spirit of rationality. Even amongst those that disagree with the Government's policies.

They say let's stop and take a look quietly. Let's offer alternatives. Let's think it through. Because believe me foreign policy is not a subject for adult, for juvenile delinquency or adult immaturity.

It's something that has to be thought out very carefully.

Well I heard the President report to you last night that there'd been progress in Vietnam, and there has been. I was there 20 months ago, a little less than 2 years ago, travelled the country. I went back this year. I don't want to just see the good things, I know there are limitations, but there's been decided military progress, there surely has been political progress that's very significant in the elections that have taken place, and we ought not to minimize this. It's very difficult to get any kind of a free election even in a peaceful society. And in a country that's in soige, under seige, in which there's terrorism and subversion, to have any kind of a vote is nothing short of amazing.

And this is what we ought to be proud of. Do you think this would have happened without us? What was our own Revolution all about.

Government by the consent of the governed. That's what it was all about. That's what the Boston Tea Party was about. That's what Lexington and Concord was about. That's what the Declaration of Independence was about. And we have people today that seem to forget it. A people that have been able to create even if it's in its crudest form, a free government, have done something.

They've had an election. There were opposition candidates, plenty of them. There were seven candidates for every Senate seat. We know what that means, don't we Senator. That's too many. I used to have one, and that was one more than I wanted.

There were nine candidates for every seat in the House of Representatives. There were village elections that had never been held in

a thousand years. And it happened. Oh,/somebody comes along and says well you know they were a little crooked here and there. Well, I want to take you around the country here a little bit, once in a while.

Who are we? We've been at this business of freeelections for 200 years. Almost 200 years. And I must say there are a few counties and voting precincts that seem to occasionally come in with a rather large vote. I'll never forget one time in a little election I had back home for Mayor there was a certain Ward, I was ahead until 6 o'clock in the morning. Then this Ward, this little Ward, came in and they had the greatest movement of civic activity and consciousness that Ward has ever had before or since. Ninety some percent of the eligible vote in that Ward voted in that municipal election, It averaged 20 some percent of the preceding hundred years but that night there was an amazing turnout. Oh, I have never forgotten how honorable it was.

Well, it happens, We don't like it, but there's been progress. I can't say that it will be sustained, but I think so. After all, our own country got off to a rather bad start. Maybe you've forgotten, We've changed our capital eleven times. The Chief of Staff of the United States Army under John Adams was a traitor to the Spanish emperor. We had a secessionist movement under way in the early 1800's. We had a Benedict Arnold. We had a war between the States. We had the whiskey rebellion. We had a lot of things going that weren't so hot. And by the way, we never even did have a free election for a constituent assembly to write our Constitution. I used to teach this course. George Washington, Alexander Hamilton and James Madison got together at Annapolis and said the Articles of Confederation will never work we got to do something about that. And they said but if you ever

tell the people, they'll never let us do it. So they had some little letters that went back and forth and the Governors appointed a few people from the legislative bodies and they gathered at Philadelphia, not to write a new Constitution, not on your life, to review the Articles of Confederation, period. Then they locked the doors. They didn't let a cameraman in, a newspaper man in and there were no televisions. They put two fellows on old Ben Franklin because every time he would get a drink of wine he would talk too much. And they wrote a Constitution, and they brought it out and they had their propaganda all organized and called the Federalist papers. 100 were invited to Philadelphia; 55 came. They couldn't get a quorum for three weeks, 39 stayed, and only 38 signed. That's the history of the United point of States. And I think the folks of Delaware had a pretty independent/view about the Constitution as I recall. But we got a great country. And we didn't have universal manhood suffrage in this country until Andrew Jackson. I mention these things because nation building is not instant. It takes time, And what America stands for in this world more than anything else is nation building. What else do we stand for? For law and order. For selfdetermination. Resistance to aggression, We always have, and that's why we're in Vietnam. The President told us that the aggression continues, and you and I know it, but something else needs to be told, and only you can tell that. That we will persevere. That's what the people need to know, -at home and abroad. And then he went on to tell us that our goal in which you know, is peace. And peace at the earliest possible moment. And every person in this audience must know tonight that we're exploring every possible avenue for that peace. Let me just lay it on the line. Who do you think wants peace the most? The President of the United States, if he can get peace in Vietnam, I don't want to inject a partisan note here, but my dear friends, from every point of view, he's got a great stake in peace,

hasn't he? But more important, he's got a stake in peace for our country. But an appeasement peace, a dishonorable peace, that's not in the books. We saw that happen once before in our lifetime. We saw peace in our time. We saw the appeasement of aggressing, of aggressors and aggression. We saw that the appetite of the aggressor is never satisfied.

And if we haven't learned that lesson, my fellow Americans, then we've learned nothing, and we'll live to suffer/. So we will pursue every possible approach that's made for an honorable peace. I do, however, want to take a moment to emphasize what is at stake, in the achievement of/peace with honor And this is why we're there, and this is why the peace must be with honor. We're not there just to protect the Vietnamese. That's a worthy purpose. But we're there first of all in the national interest of the United States. And we happen to think after the lessons of history of this century that it's better to fight a limited war far away, than to have it pile up Armageddon by the installment plan close to home. We have a national interest in this area of the world as we have elsewhere. Secondly, there's the right of 250 million free people in ten free nations in southeast Asia to determine their own destiny. And everyone of those ten nations looks to us. isn't it interesting that all of them feel that their only hope of independence is our help, our being with them?

And I remind you once again, we didn't get our independence alone.

We did not gain our independence alone, we gained our independence with the a king, help of many. With foreign loans, even \*\*\*\* from/Louis XVI, who had no love of freedom or democracy. There were more Frenchmen that died at Yorktown than Americans. There were more French troops when Cornwallis surrendered than there were Continentals. And the Navy that bottled up the English fleet was a French fleet. That's the way we got our independence.

We paid for it many times, but let us not forget, and it's good for us to walk in humility in that remembrance. I think we need to understand that the freedom and the integrity of South Vietnam itself is at stake with its fragile political institutions, but more importantly the credibility of America's commitments, and I hear a lot about the credibility gap.

Well, let me tell you, you can't afford to have a credibility gap on our commitments. This nation has been brought up in the belief of the sanctity of contract, and we don't excuse ourselves because the other fellow doesn't keep his contract. To renege on any major national commitment when you're a leader, when you set the design, when you establish the cadance of international action, would be dangerous and dishonorable. But to renege on a commitment which has been upheld by four Presidents, a commitment which clearly serves the national interest of this country, I think would not only be dangerous and dishonorable, but it would be proof of a fatal weakness in this nuclear age. There's one thing that keeps the peace \*x this day and age, my dear friends - the power of the United States.

That's what keeps it. That's what kept Khrushchev out of Cuba.

That's what stopped communist aggression in Korea. That's what keeps

West Berlin a free city. That's what prevented the communists from moving
in and taking Greece and Turkey. Have you ever stopped to think what kind
of a world this would have been had we gauged our foreign policy on public
opinion polls? Thank God for Mr. Truman. I think I can say it now. Many of
you didn't like him when he was President. But I'll tell you one thing he was the living embodiment of the spunk and the bravery and the courage and
the independence of the basic instincts of our people. He didn't have all of
the diplomatic niceties, but when he told Joe Stalin where to go, he understood
it.

And when he said that we're not going to tolerate subversion and aggression and terrorism in the Mediterranean, the Russians understood it. And when the Berlin airlift was required in 1948, even though a majority of his Cabinet was against it, he did it. And all the experts said, "it isn't feasible."

Let me tell you something, my dear friends, if we always indexed what was feasible, we'd never have gone to the west coast. No, my friends, what was done needed to be done. And a great nation has to make these great decisions. You know this business of peace is not what some people think it is. Peace is not just praying for it, important as that is, it's not just wishing for it, it's not just giving a speech for it as I'm doing tonight. This business of peace is building, stone by stone, block by block. Sometimes it's defeat, retreat. Sometimes the edifice collapses right before you, and you start all over again. We find out that the temples and the cathedrals sometimes took centuries to build, but there was the master plan of an architect, and the work of many over ages, and decades, and generations - that's peace.

The United Nations, economic development, private investment, education, the Alliance for Progress, NATO, OECD, Food for Peace, Peace Corps - these are all the building blocks of peace. Peace doesn't come because somebody prints a banner and says "I Want It." And it doesn't even come in a treaty. A treaty is but the official signature that the conditions are available for the building of peace. And sometimes you even fight for peace. We've done it many times. We didn't go into World War I for conquest. We went into it for peace. We did not enter World War II for conquest. If we did, we surely didn't do much of the conquering, because all of the adversaries were rebuilt. We went in it for peace. I think when we think it through, we know that peace is not for the weak, or the timid, that peace is not negative or passive,

it's active, it's positive, it's building, it's nation-building. And I know \*\*\* that's the kind of peace that this country is dedicated for.

Finally, let me leave you with this observation. As I said, in the last three months I've made these tours. One of my most interesting was to Indonesia, a nation of over a hundred million people, the fifth largest nation on the face of the earth, that two and a half years ago was in the grips of communism - plain, unadulterated, Chinese-oriented communism. Sukarno at the head of the state, that had bled it dry, adulterated, contaminated, the whole political, economic, social structure. The American Embassy stoned; an American unable hardly to be there. I was there less than a month, two months ago. A million people stood along the road in Java as I went to Demak, the center of Java, the former center of communist activity - cheering, not the Vice President of the United States, but the flag of the United States. They didn't know who the Vice President was and couldn'tcare less, but what they did know was that flag, and a great welling of hospitality, of friendship, and of appreciation for what we'd done, and we hadn't done much. A little food, a little rice, a few spare parts, just a little Well, I traveled to these countries, and one message stands out in my heart and my mind more than any other, the human family, this human family of ours, of which you and I are a part, whether it's in America, or Asia, or Africa, or in Europe, or in the striving new nations, seeks but one thing. Every human being on this earth seeks to determine his own destiny in his own way. That's what the Declaration of Independence said, these "certain inalienable rights - of life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and we said we "pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor," to these things.

That was the pledge of this country. We didn't say we pledge two percent. We didn't say we'll give you half a day a week, and about once a month we'll be honorable about it. We said we'd pledge our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor.

And it became a reality. The total commitment. Every human being seeks this way, finding his own way, his own destiny, free of coersion and tyranny and want. And the search for that right and that freedom is the great story of the last third of the 20th Century.

It's being written in new nations. Its/written right home here amongst many of our own people, who never had a chance in this country, being who at long last are getting their chance. It's/written in the cities and towns of America and the rural areas. Everywhere the quest is the same, common denominators, self-determination, economic growth, civil rights, individual betterment, education, to release your capacities to free the human spirit. That's what people want, training. They cry for it so that meny may support their families in dignity. An environment that is clean and wholesome. Cities and streets that are safe and towns and rural communities where you can have the advantages and the opportunities of modern society. That's what people want even in Africa. And that's what they want here. And And they want to see science, not to become our master, but we to be the masters of science and technology to use it for human betterment. And I think the outcome of that historic quest depends heavily Toynbee said, now let me see how he put it, yes, "Civilization is a race between education and catastrophe." Jefferson said, You can't be both ignorant and free." We've had to make a choice. People are making that choice all over the world. They want to be free. Now we are the richest, the strongest, the most powerful nation on this

planet and we with those assets can give the leadership and we ought to feel honored that it's our privilege to give this leadership. We can reach out. And we can help bring self-determination. And we can help bring freedom from want to a greater part of the human family. And we can do it without making ourselves weak and insolvent.

Most of you know in this room that the more you share, the more you have. That's a fact of life, it's not a matter of/religious ethic, its a fact of economic life as well. Or we can turn inward, we've done it before and try to forget the others, leavethis country and the world divided between the haves and the have nots, the healthy and the sick, the educated and the illiterate, the despairing and the hopeful, the peaceful and the seething, the threatening and the threatened. We can leave it that way, and it won't be long before there is catastrophe. I like what our President said to us last night because I think it meets the requirements of every American, that wants to be a proud American. He said it is our will that is being tried, not our strength. We've got strength. We've got so much of it, it's almost frightening. The task of leadership in this country today is to control power, not to develop it, to control it. We have such unbelievvable power that we can destroy everything on the face on this earth. And what you need in your leaders today is a great moral commitment, not to unleash that power, but to control it, to manage it.

We have incredible wealth, even as individuals in our families, and the task is how do we use it to bring up a decent family. To imbue

character in our young. To have happiness, because wealth doesn't necessarily bring you happiness. And power doesn't necessarily bring you respect. Well, the President went on to say our sense of purpose, and not our ability to achieve a better America and a safer world, is what's being tried. Do we have the will, do we have the purpose. I think I know the American people well enough, I know I know them well enough to know what path they'll choose. And I couldn't help but agree even as I sat there immobile under the rules of the joint session, supposedly not to even reveal any feelings at all. But it welled up inside of me when I heard him speak when he said that if there ever was a people who sought more than mere abundance, it is our people. We don't want just more, we want better.

We don't want just a bigger America, we want a better America.

We don't want just more products, we want better products. Quality.

I remember I grew up in a drug store, and there was one drug company that used to have this slogan: Quality for Forty Years. Squibbs.

I've never forgotten it. And my father used to tell me as a boy that there were two kinds of advertising. He said there is economic advertising, son, and then there is institutional or character, And he said that if you put your money in the latter, and if you put your emphasis on the latter, we'll survive. And the Pineboards will go out of business, and he was right. There's no substitute for it.

If there ever was a nation that was capable of solving its problems, said our President, it is this nation. That's what I started with. And if there ever was a time to know the pride and the excitement and the hope of being an American, it is this time.

Boy am I proud when I represent my country. And when I see people back home complaining about it, I often want to take them with me and let them see what I see. Of course, we must have our own standards. But we also should have our own sense of appreciation. Attacking challenges with positive action, that's your business. what that means is what we could have said tonight, what your children said this morning, and what we have had as our creed and as our commitment and as our promise. I think it was summarized so beautifully I love to say it wherever I go when people ask me what's your country all about? What's it all about Mr. Vice President? I say, well I wish you'd ask my little granddaughter, cause she can repeat it. It's called the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag, and there's a part of it, there's one part of that Pledge, after you get through the imprimis, the first words that really get right to the heart of it. One nation -that's what we've been trying to build-one nation and then Congress wisely said, under God, so that we would recognize that there's a Greater Power than ourselves. One nation, under God, indivisible, and we've spent two centuries trying to achieve that. And now more than ever before in our lives, we're trying to make the other part come true. With liberty and justice for all. That's the commitment of this country, that's what this country stands for. That's our

real power in the world. The knowledge that we can create something that nobody before has ever created. A nation that recognizes its place in this world and in the Divine scheme of things. One nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. I believe it as an article of faith and I'm convinced that we need to have the American people be imbued with this love of country. Not merely of the land and of the physical flag, but of what it stands for. The vitality, the decency, the commitment of this country, every man and his chance to be something. To be whatever his manhood can'ld make of him. That's the promise of America. Thank you very much.

Harris mc Dowell

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
DELAWARE STATE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

WILMINGTON, DELAWARE

JANUARY 18, 1968

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Mr Karry (Brendent)
- mr Ross Anderson
v Sen Bragge
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As you know, I am here on short notice.

As many of you also know, that doesn't necessarily mean a short speech ... but I shall do my best.

I would like to touch on three subjects tonight.

visited for the first time ... a continent I have just

visited for the first time ... a continent little known to

Americans ... and a continent they must learn to know quickly.

Simor V.P.
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Communition

For it would be tragic if our childhood images of an Africa full of lions, white hunters, and impenetrable jungle should obscure the dynamic and exciting experiment in nation-building that is going on there today.

Africa today is a continent of young countries struggling through the growing pains that characterized our own first years as

It is the continent where post-colonial turmoil is still most evident -- but it is also a continent where doctrinaire ideologies seem to have little influence.

The African leaders I met were pragmatists to a man.

(Practical

Far from fearing the supposedly pernicious influence of foreign capitalism, they welcome private investment as a critical tool for growth.

And I found a remarkable amount of good will toward the United States -- admiration for our achievements in industry, in agriculture, and in the business of democratic living.

Moreoever, America seems to have a youthful image in Africa -- an image which Africans find sympathetic. Perhaps that is because 75 per cent of all Africans are under 26 years of age.

Our Peace Corps and our economic assistance programs have played a constructive role in Africa.

There are 39 African nations -- and 320 million

people -- who can not get adequate developmental assistance
from the former colonial powers. As some of them have
clearly demonstrated, they fear and resent the strings that
frequently accompany aid from communist countries.

( 6 countries - Kielled out chimes commiss)

United States government in Africa, but for the American private sector. The climate in many of those countries is extremely favorable for responsible private investment. The opportunities are enormous to contribute to economic growth and make a profit at the same time.

I urge the establishment of a private Council for Africa to encourage the U.S. private sector to invest in those promising new countries.

As for the future, I think Africa is going to see rapid economic growth and a continued expansion of regional cooperation. I think we shall see change with increasing stability.

And Mark we are going to see Africa and America
grow closer together -- provided we are true to our own
traditions and continue to make perfectly clear out full
support for self-determination and majority rule for all Africans.

(american Principle)

Next, a word about Vietnam:

Line Bontlere

Last night the President reported to you that there has been progress in Vietnam this year -- three free elections ... military victories for American and South Vietnamese and other allied troops ... a million more South Vietnamese now living in areas under government control.

He said that aggression continues -- and that America will persevere.

And he said, "Our goal is peace, and peace at the earliest possible moment."

As you know we and our allies are now exploring or privately the latest North Vietnamese statements regarding negotiations to see whether they are compatible with the American position set forth by President Johnson at San Antonio.

Until those explorations are concluded, it would not be useful to say much more about the subject which is uppermost in the minds and hearts of every American—peace.

I do, however, want to take a moment to emphasize what is at stake in the achievement of a peace with honor in Vietnam.

First, the national interest of the United States is in preventing a third world war.

Second, the right of 250 million free people and ten free nations in Southeast Asia freely to determine their own destiny.

Third, the freedom and integrity of South Vietnam itself, with its new and still-fragile democratic institutions.

His is He shald Reace And fourth, the credibility of America's renege commitments. To / on any national commitment would be dangerous and dishonorable; but to renege on a commitment which has been upneld by four Presidents -- a commitment which clearly serves the national interest of this country - would be proof of fatal weakness

America not weaken, either in its

determination to resist aggression ... or in its tireless

quest for a lasting peace. I think every American knows

that.

in this nuclear age.

Finally, let me leave you with this observation.

In the last three months I have traveled in Indonesia,

Malaysia, and Vietnam, and in nine African countries.

I have visited 49 American cities -- including Wilmington tonight.

And one message stands out in my heart and in my mind more than any other: This human family of ours -- whether it wells in America, in Asia, in Latin America or in the striving new nations of Africa -- seeks but one thing.

Every human being on this earth seeks to determine his own destiny in his own way -- free of coercion and tyranny and want,

The search for that right and that freedom is the great story of this last third of the 20th century It is being written in the new nations. It is being written in the cities and towns of America. Everywhere the quest is the same:

- Self-determination.

-- Civil rights and civil liberties.
-- Economic growth

-- Education to free the vital human power

Z- Training, so that men may support their families in dignity.

- Cities that are clean and safe.

- Towns and rural communities where all the advantages and opportunities of modern society are at hand.

-- Exploiting science and technology for the benefit of man.

And the outcome of that historic quest depends
heavily on us.

For we have a choice.

We, as the richest, the strongest, the most powerful nation on this planet, can give leadership... can reach out and help bring self-determination, and freedom from want to a greater part of our human family.

Or we can turn selfishly inward ... try to forget the others ... and leave this country and the world divided between rich and poor ... healthy and sick ... hopeful and despairing ... peaceful and seething ... threatening and threatened.

As the President said last night, "It is our will that is being tried, and not our strength; our sense of purpose and not our ability to achieve a better America" and a safer world.

I think I know the American people well enough to know which path they will choose. And I agree with the President's final assessment:

"If ever there was a people who sought more than mere abundance, it is our people.

"If ever there was a nation that was capable of solving its problems, it is this nation.

"If ever there were a time to know the pride and the excitement and the hope of being an American, it is this time."

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Today Africa is a continent of young nations struggling through the growing pains that characterized our own first years as a democracy. It is the continent where not colored turnollist the termoil of the post-colonial world is perhaps most evident--but it is also the continent where the revolutionary ideologies of the

late 19th and early 20th century seem to have least influence.

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sceen by indulging in the doubtlful luxury of big-power politics,

they want only to be left alone to do the job in education, in health,

in land reform, and in ntional development generally that their

people require Medice

Those are young countries in every sense. 40% of all

africans are under 14. Winner Seventy-five percent are under 25.

A decade from now, most of those countries will be led by men who

are now in high school or college.

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--- Cities that are clean and safe

--Towns and rural communities where all the advantages

and opportunities of modern soc iety are at hand.

- Creative use of natural respects...rescuing our rivers, preserving our forests.

--Expoliting sicence and technology for the benefit of man.

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It is the same with Self-determination --- governments

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teastmaster -

## Max R. Karrer (cont'd) --

On behalf of the Delaware State Chamber of Commerce I extend my congratulations to you and present to you this silver plate in recognition of this honor.

The inscription to be engraved on the plate reads as follows:

Delaware State Chamber of Commerce, Inc.

The Marvel Cup

Awarded Annually to a Citizen of Delaware Who
Has Been Selected by His Fellow Citizens For
Outstanding Service to the State, the Community,
Society or His Fellowman, and Has Performed
Something Worthy to be Remembered.

Emily H. Womac

January 18, 1968

And, for the permanent record, your name has been suitably inscribed on the Marvel Cup in front of us, which is kept on permanent display in the State Chamber's office.

I presume you may want to say something now.

Mrs. Womack -- (remarks)

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MRS. EMIL H. WOMACH VICE PRESIDENT SUSSEX TRUST CO. LAUREL | DELAWARE Letter to Letter to Le coreta V.P. see at most able to remain presentation presentation presentation presentation presentation

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Max R. Karrer (cont'd) --

Traditionally, and for the past 17 years at these
Annual Meetings, we have presented the Josiah Marvel
Cup Award.

The Award is presented each year to a Delawarean for outstanding service to the State, the community, society or to his fellow man.

The silver cup originated with a presentation to Josiah Marvel in recognition of his voluntary service in reorganizing the Chamber of Commerce in 1913-14. Mr. Marvel's heirs gave the cup to the State Chamber of Commerce for such use as the Chamber might decide. As a result, the Annual Josiah Marvel Cup Award was established.

A committee of three was named to receive the nominations and to make the final decision. At this moment, very few know their decision. The recipient doesn't know. The committeemen are Dr. Robert H. Parker, Fulton Downing and Frederick Walter.

Dr. Parker will make the report.

Dr. Robert H. Parker -- (Bob will prepare his own remarks).

Max R. Karrer -- Mrs. Womack, will you come up here, please?

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