

St. Patrick's Day Speech Draft

St. Droppa Hat!
 I have a reputation ^{But} I have no idea how I came by it -- as a man who likes to make a speech and who has actually made one or two in my time. ^{or} perhaps I should say on your time! But regardless of my experience, I feel quite differently talking to a gathering of Irishmen -- since everyone knows the Irish speak the best English. Therefore, I feel like St. Patrick himself who wrote in his autobiography, "My writing ... betrays how little instruction and training I have had in the art of words."

according to Jim Farley
 But I take comfort from the fact that, of course, you are all Democrats. ^{But} I won't deny that I've heard those rumors that now and then an Irishman has been ~~known~~ charged with voting Republican ~~but I never believed it.~~ I never believed it. An Irish friend of mine ~~from Connecticut~~ from Connecticut told me recently about a prominent lawyer in his town who was alleged to have switched his registration from Democratic to Republican. Two old Irish Catholic ladies were discussing this rumor ~~the other Sunday at Mass~~. "Have you heard that Patrick ^{O'Malley} has become a Republican?" The other replied: "It can't be true -- I saw him at Mass last Sunday." ! (for god's sake - your enemies!)

Tom Walsh Brother John
 The late Senator Tom Walsh of Montana used to like to tell the story of what happened to him and his brother John when they stopped in my home state -- Minnesota -- on their way west from Massachusetts. They were thinking of settling in Minnesota and stopped for a few days along the banks of the Red River. The first thing they noticed was that ^{unlike} ~~most~~ most rivers, which flow south, the Red River flows north. While they were pondering this geographical oddity, a

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introduced himself with a good Irish name, local citizen came by, and remarked that a county election was being held. "How are you going to vote?" Tom Walsh asked. "Oh, we're all Republicans around here."

Tom turned to his brother and said, "Let's move on. This is no country for us -- where the rivers run north and the Irish vote Republican." - ~~So into mind~~

Although, like Tom Walsh, I believe that an Irish Republican is contrary to the law of nature, I am sure that if any of you have fallen into this political bad habit, it is due to all this affluence and prosperity we Democrats have created. It reminds me of Fred Allen's definition of the "lace curtain Irish" -- "They have fruit in the house when no one is sick."

~~The prominence of the Irish in politics is a remarkable thing. I was ~~just~~ talking about it recently with a friend of mine -- a priest -- and I asked him if he had any explanation for the success of a family like the Kennedys which has produced a great president and now there's Bobby in the Senate from New York and Teddy in the Senate from Massachusetts, -- and Sarget Shriver coming up fast on the outside. My priest friend thought about it a minute and said: "I suppose the family that prays together stays in office together."~~

Speaking of President Kennedy, I once talked to him about all this criticism that used to be heard that he was "too young" for the job. He quoted to me what Mr. Dooley wrote on the subject when that same criticism was made of President Theodore Roosevelt back in 1901.

March 17, 1965
Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick

I love conversation. I love politics. And I
love the Irish. ~~Each year someone stands here to tell~~
~~you his name may be Bernstein but he's really Irish.~~

Well, ~~My~~ family Bible tells me I am of Welsh and
Norwegian descent. And I won't deny it. But I do feel
a kinship ~~of the heart~~ with the Irish ~~and with Ireland~~ --
and I will admit that there have been times when I've
shaken the family tree in the good cause of getting some
needed votes.

I remember back in 1960 -- that was a great year
for the Irish, ~~but~~ ^{and last in the yr} a hard one for Humphrey -- I remember

campaigning with the late President Kennedy up in the
~~Scandinavian~~ ^{farm} country of northwestern Minnesota, where the
~~Swedish and Norwegian~~ farmers live. I would say, "Now
listen to me, my friends, I want to point out something
special to you about Jack Kennedy. See those blue eyes?"

JFK
N.W.
Minn.

Notice that sandy hair? See that fine, ruddy complexion!

And then I would remind them of those Norse invasions

of Ireland long ago. Norse is "that's the great secret," I would

say, John Kennedy is really a Scandinavian! and,

Common,

President Kennedy carried Minnesota -- and it was

the only state he carried in the whole Great Plains area!

~~What a loss of goodness and talent to this country~~

Senate!

~~was the loss of the President Kennedy.~~ Today, more than

four years later, I find myself presiding over the

United States Senate. And there each day I see before me

the bearers of other great names from the Green Isle. The

majority leader, Mike Mansfield. Tom Dodd and Pat McNamara.

Gene McCarthy and Mike Monroney. Tom McIntyre, George

Murphy -- (how did that Republican sneak in?) -- Phil Hart,

Ted and Bob Kennedy. And my thoughts often turn to

another great American, whose friendship, counsel and

wisdom I value most highly -- Mr. James Farley! Thank

A man who is just a free man

you, Jim, for all you have done for our country!

S. DAK

I remember back to the early days at home in South Dakota and Minnesota and the Irish boys and girls I grew up with, the teachers and doctors and lawyers of my

generation. Their fathers had come West as Railroad workers,

miners, millers, loggers, laborers. I think of my father

and his pride at campaigning in South Dakota for Al Smith,

that strong and gay and dedicated leader. Al Smith was the

"Happy Warrior" indeed. He fought the good fight for the cause he believed in, with the joy of battle in his eyes!

and It was no accident that my campaign plane last fall bore

the emblem The Happy Warrior. No one could have had a

higher standard to live by!

Al Smith represented and symbolized what we all

admire in the Irish. For the Irish ~~to~~ together have

been throughout history "Happy Warriors" for the freedom of

man and his spirit.

Thus, it is here tonight, among the Irish,
~~For I have come to know and appreciate, in my twenty~~
 that I would say a few ~~words~~ words for
~~years of public office, the Irish heart and spirit in the defense~~
 freedom. ^{(*) Irish, Welsh, + Norwegians}
~~of human freedom.~~ ^{fierce fighters of tyranny + strong}
^{friends of freedom.}

*that
 part*

~~It is the Irish ethic - the Irish culture - that~~
government can and will be made to serve the inner craving

Govt of
 the People
 By the People
 For the People.

of man for freedom of spirit, for comfort of body, for peace

of soul that government can protect and defend, that government

can enrich the life that God has ennobled. ~~But the centuries of~~

~~Irish history, including the 20th, in Europe and America, also~~

~~loudly and proudly proclaim that government shall not enslave.~~

~~My public life has permitted me to enjoy some rare~~

~~privileges. Among these, as Mayor and as Senator, and now~~

~~as Vice President, I have an identity with the cause of equal~~

~~opportunity for all, regardless of race or creed or color.~~

~~Thus it is here tonight, among the Irish, that I would say a few extra words for freedom.~~

Prank with Spence me C.



↳ It was my honor this week to see and hear President Johnson in his greatest ~~moment~~ ^{hour} -- in his magnificent speech on Monday before the Congress. That speech was about freedom. *It was an epistle of freedom!*

↳ President Johnson requested ~~Monday night~~ a new law to protect voting rights of all our citizens. ↳ But at the same time he asked basic questions which we must each answer in our heart. ↳ And there ^{is} lay the greatness of the President's speech. #

↳ ~~We~~ We have the strength and fortune to answer the questions. ↳ But do we have the courage -- ~~the courage and fortitude of Al Smith and of John Kennedy?~~

↳ I am going to ask these questions loudly and clearly tonight so that we will not mistake them or confuse them.

Questions - from the Teachings of St. Patrick.
↳ Can we have a Great Society -- can we be free men --

all too many

as long as ~~millions~~ of our people live in ~~existing~~ poverty --

*Poverty & Power -
Friedrich*

for lack of training -- as long as jobs are denied for

no good reason, but because of the color of a man's skin --

↳ as long as doors are closed to immigrants because of

where they happened to be born -- as long as some of our

citizens are denied the right to vote?

↳ Can we be free men as long as millions of our old

people live without proper care or light of hope? ↳ Do

we believe that men are created equal? Do we immigrants --

and all of us are immigrants or sons of immigrants -- do

we still *offer* welcome to those who would come to America

to build a better life? ↳ Are we willing to pay the ~~great~~

price necessary to educate our children for a world that

is frightening in its danger and *exciting* its promise?

↳ And then: Do we in America still stand for the

belief that the world need not destroy itself by war,

and that we Americans can help others, too, to find a

better society?

↳ The answers are not easy. Freedom is not easy. *— Not is freedom free*

↳ We hear many voices these days saying that America

is overextended in the world -- that other people's problems

need not be our problems —
needn't be our problems -- that we ought to close up shop as

+ pleasure + luxury
fighters for freedom and enjoy our ~~rights~~ here in the good old U.S.A.

~~too costly a price to pay if one conviction must be debauched
in order that another conviction may prosper. . . ."~~

~~So wrote Mr. Humphrey Desmond 47 years ago, in~~

~~WHY GOD LOVES THE IRISH.~~

1-15ERT
P.6

Thank God we have not heard such
~~In another area in which I have been identified over the~~
words from the Irish nation. To the contrary,
~~past two decades, the Irish nation has made a distinctive~~
the Irish have made a great contribution to a ~~testament~~
~~contribution~~ and to the peace-keeping machinery of

the United Nations.

Irish Army officers were on the Armistice line between
the Arabs and the Israelis in 1949. And in 1958 ~~some fifty~~

troops Irish ~~officers~~ were serving on the United Nations Observation
Group during the Lebanese crisis.

Again, in 1960, the Irish were gallantly represented in
another world hot spot. An Irish battalion served with

distinction in the Congo under the United Nations command,

suffered many ~~serious~~ casualties
and more than two dozen fatalities in that far-off place.

↳ Last year, as you may recall, Ireland responded quickly to a U.N. request for troops to maintain the peace on Cyprus. And with more than a thousand Irish troops in Cyprus today, the Irish contingent is the second largest unit in the U.N. command.

↳ And it is a matter of some interest that the Irish themselves are paying for the maintenance of their forces.

↳ Indeed, while the Irish people may well be called "The Fighting Irish" ^{because of} their long history of struggle to preserve their faith and to restore their own freedom as a nation, it is

a fact that the Irish nation has never engaged in a war of aggression.

! Fight for freedom - but never ~~attack~~ for aggression.

L One has only to inspect the grand roll of ^{our} ~~the~~ Congressional
Medal of Honor winners to know that individual fearlessness
and courage under fire - uncommon valor - is a frequent
virtue among Americans of Irish descent But there is also
 a strong tradition among the Irish community that courage is
more than the courage to face physical hurt and death.

L It was a great Irish-American President who said,
 "Never negotiate from fear, but never fear to negotiate."
Never negotiate from fear, but never fear to negotiate.

L In a world in which destruction awaits both the weak and
the reckless, we must remain both strong and prudent.

L In a world in which ~~disaster~~ [#] disaster can come down on all
civilization through miscalculation or misunderstanding, the
voice of the United States must be clear and unmistakable.

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Let us hope that the Communist world reads the message

of our President: that we work for peace - with honor and

justice - that we seek no dominion, that we seek no territory,

But we will defend ourselves. And we will keep our commitments.

~~I think that all of us here tonight, celebrating the
birthdate of a great and brave man, and with it the history
of a great and brave nation, will agree with President Johnson.~~

*We are the home of free, the
land of the brave.*

~~better society?~~

~~The answers are not easy. Freedom is not easy.~~

~~We hear many voices these days saying that America is overextended in the world -- that other people's problems needn't be our problems -- that we ought to close up shop as fighters for freedom and enjoy our fruits here in the Good Old U.S.A.~~

~~THESE~~
~~LEAD~~ →

~~My friends, when that time comes, this nation is~~
~~doomed.~~ *For who* *struggle freedom*
~~in the world will work for democracy, if we~~
~~do not?~~ *will*
~~Who in the world can preserve the peace if we do~~
~~not? Who in the world can set the example, can offer the~~
~~needed hand, if we do not?~~

~~We live in a time when everything is complex, when~~
~~there are no more rapid, pre-cooked answers.~~ ~~We live in~~
~~a time when we must exert our patience as never before.~~

~~Have we the patience, for instance, to work and bleed~~
~~five thousand miles from home for months and years ahead --~~

without any guarantee of ^{total} ~~final~~ success? I can tell you

that the forces of totalitarianism have that patience.

This is what the Great Society is all about. It is the recognition that a second car and power mowers and dry martinis are not enough. It is the recognition

that we stand for something not seen before in the world.

We stand for the dignity and fulfillment of individual

man and woman. We stand for the chance for each man to

make something better of himself. We stand for free

speech and government of the people. We stand for peace

without conquest. We stand for the belief that others,

too, in less fortunate places should have opportunity for

the blessings of abundance and should be free of tyranny.

We stand for the pledges made by men and women who left

the old ways and fought a living out of the soil and

streets of a new continent, as your fathers and grandfathers

did.

It sometimes seems that those of us who still have
the old dream are in the minority. But on this Saint
Patrick's Day, surrounded by freedom's Happy Warriors,
I know the dream still lives and that it will be fulfilled.

May the blessings of Patrick and all the Saints of
Ireland be on the Irish and on all their friends.

May our cause prevail;
May freedom live.
~~and hope.~~
May God be with you
& bless you!

ditional toasts.

Gentlemen, to respond to the toast "The United States", the Vice-President of the United States.

(The audience arose and applauded.)

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY: Mr. Moran, Your Eminence, Francis Cardinal Spellman, Governor Rockefeller, Mayor Wagner, Ambassador Guest, all of the Distinguished Guests, Fellow Americans here at the head table, the Reverend Clergy, members of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, and all the rest of us that got in here. I want to welcome you, too.

I am simply delighted that it has been my privilege to be invited to this marvelous, unique and wonderful occasion. I have been reading the New York press and, like most Americans, I like to believe what I read. But, like most Americans, there are occasionally moments of doubt. But tonight I have had all my doubts erased. I was so pleased to hear the Mayor say: my good friend Governor Rockefeller. (Laughter) And, Mr. Mayor, I shall take this message back to the United States Senate. (Applause)

Mr. Farley, my friend, and friend of my

father, what a joy it is to be in your company, and the company of your friends. (Applause) I think tonight, Mr. Farley, the first thing I should do, since there seemed to be a rather substantial number of people, as they have come forth to pay their respects to His Eminence, Francis Cardinal Spellman, and in doing so occasionally stopping by to make a slight political confession to me, I think I should make some political reference.

I know that many in this audience a few months ago may have ^{the} strayed away from the paths of their most recent generation, and you may have cast your vote for that noble son of Texas, Lyndon B. Johnson, as President of the United States. (Applause) But, in so doing, in case you didn't remember it, you got me, too. I thought maybe I ought to appear and let you take a look. (Applause) I thought you ought to take a look at the other part that came along with the deal.

My father was a druggist. Every so often we used to have these sales in the store that we called "two for one". (Laughter) No one was really ever interested in what the other one was. I want to tell you, I can never properly and adequately express my

thanks for the first one.

But I thought possible for a moment we might have a little lesson in American Government on the duties of the Vice-President. It won't take long. First, the Vice-President is to preside over the Senate; and today I want you to know that I attempted to preside, but several things interrupted that. First of all, there is an Irish Majority Leader, and this man thinks that St. Patrick's Day is a national holiday. (Cheers and applause) He asked me to test out the sentiment up here. But, it is a fact, of course, that my first constitutional duty is to preside over the Senate. The next constitutional duty is to wait; and the third constitutional duty is to attend banquets of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick. (Applause)

Now, many of you may not have read that in your courses in American Government; but if you will read in some detail the minutes of the Constitutional Convention, you will see that this was discussed because this, after all, is the one hundred eighty-first anniversary of this distinguished organization. (Applause)

Now, the funniest thing happened to me on

the way to the parade this afternoon. I was out at the National Airport in Washington getting ready to board my plane, and all at once a message, an urgent message came that I was wanted on the telephone. I went to the 'phone, and the telegram read as follows: I just jotted it down here out of memory and so, of course, I will have to paraphrase it. I don't want to be held accountable for every word. But, it said as follows: "Mr. Vice-President: Situation in New York deplorable. Storm predicted. Sit-ins sit down. Urge you remain in Washington". And it was signed: Mayor Wagner, Governor Rockefeller and Bobby Kennedy.

I can't understand why those fellows would want to do that to me. But just to make sure that that message took hold, they had the Speaker of the House of Representatives on the 'phone -- and this is a fact. The Speaker said to me: "Mr. Vice-President, I urge you to remain in Washington."

I said: "Mr. Speaker, this, sir, is St. Patrick's Day; and, Mr. Speaker, I am to be in New York for the parade on St. Patrick's Day, and I am to be in New York on this evening for the annual dinner of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick."

And he said: "Mr. Vice-President, there is

nothing within your constitutional duties that requires you to be ecumenical. Stay here."

The truth is that I had duties in Washington, and I had to stay there; otherwise I surely would have been here to have witnessed that great parade, and to have enjoyed the fellowship of this wonderful afternoon.

I am really very, very happy to be here tonight. I am very happy that the ladies are here. I am going to have a word their way. They don't let you see them when you speak. They don't want you to be too inspired for this occasion.

I am very happy for many reasons. First of all, I am happy to be able to wear my inaugural suit for a change. (Laughter and applause) Then, I am very happy, too, because I have had the privilege of listening to your great choir - and it is really a wonderful choral group. (Applause) In fact, I said to Gene Moran a moment ago, "What a wonderful choir. Those voices sound like they are the voices from the hills of Wales."

He said, "I thought you were enjoying this party. Do you want to start a fight?"

Well, the wives in the balcony. I must

state for just a moment, if you will permit me to have a very serious note, you know what the position of the present administration is on the matter of equal rights and equal opportunity. We have never believed in separate but equal, and we surely never believed in separate but more than equal, and we have never believed in segregation; and I want you ladies to know we shall overcome this, despite these men down here. One of these days you will be here.

Well, I am not an Irishman. I have tried to claim it on occasion. My forbears came from Massachusetts. They checked me up, you see, and I didn't get by with it. I want you to ponder for a moment just imagine how far I could have gone had I been an Irishman. I have some Irish qualities which I will talk to you about a little bit later, possibly you have already fathomed, such as loquaciousness. I have a reputation, but I have never been able to see, truthfully, how I came by it, as a man who likes to make a speech, and who has actually made one or two in my time.

Regardless of my experience, and I have made some speeches, not only in my time but on yours, I feel differently when I am talking to a

distinguished audience of Irishmen, since everyone knows, of course, that the Irish speak the best English. Therefore, I would like to feel like St. Patrick himself, who wrote in his autobiography: My writings, said St. Patrick, betray how little instruction and training I have had in the art of words. But I take comfort from the fact that, of course, according to my mentor and my adviser, Mr. Farley, that you are all Democrats. Now, I mean except you, Governor. I didn't want to go too far there. I won't deny, of course, that I have heard rumors that now and then an Irishman has been charged with voting Republican. But the truth is, I have never believed it. I want you to know that.

An old Irish friend of mine told me recently about a prominent lawyer in his town who was alleged to have switched his registration from Democrat to Republican. It is an old story, but there is an awful lot of truth in it. Two dear old Irish ladies were discussing this rumor, and one said: "Have you heard? Have you heard about Patrick O'Malley; he has become a Republican, they say."

And the other replied, she said, "Can't be true. I saw him at Mass last Sunday."

Your Eminence, I hope you will forgive me for that. You see, Your Emience, I am under instructions from the President up here tonight.

The late Senator Tom Walsh, one of our beloved Americans -- and I know, Mr. Farley, you remember him well -- used to like to tell the story of what happened to him and his brother John when they were journeying westward from Massachusetts, and they were going through my home state of Minnesota, and they were thinking about settling in Minnesota, and wouldn't it have been wonderful if they stopped there. They did stop along the banks of the Red River, the Red River of the North. And the first thing they noted was that, unlike most of the rivers they had ever heard about, which flow south, the Red River flows north.

While they were pondering this geographical oddity, a local citizen walked up to them and introduced himself, and he had a good Irish name, and he remarked that on that day there was a county election, a hot election going on. This fellow was sort of working the precincts, you know. He didn't ask: How long have you lived here; and what is your name; and where is your precinct. He just said to

him: I would like to have you vote. And Tom Walsh said: How are you going to vote?

This fellow said: Oh, we are all Republicans around here.

Tom turned to his brother and said: Let's move, John. This is no country for us, where the river runs north and the Irish vote Republican.

Well now, I want to say that those are old stories. People nowadays make their own choices. We are going to hope that in the days ahead, Governor, everybody makes the right choice.

I am sure you all remember Fred Allen. He was a great comedian. He just used to make all of us so happy. He gave a definition of what he once called - and I hope you won't toss me out for it -- lace curtain Irish. He said, they are the folks that have fruit in the house when no one is sick. Folks, that was before medicare.

Well, I guess you know why I am here, because I just love people, and I love conversation, and I love politics and, frankly, I love the Irish, particularly when they are on my side. My bible tells me -- mother always kept the family bible, and my wife kept her family bible. That bible tells me that I am of Welsh and Norwegian descent. Doesn't

help you much on an occasion like this. But I understand that adversity builds character. But I won't deny this ancestral heritage. But I do feel a sort of kinship with the Irish; and I will admit that there have been times, if you won't tell the folks back home, that I have shaken the family tree just a little bit in the cause of getting some much needed votes.

I remember, for example, back in 1960 -- and that was a great year; that was the year that Bob Consigned said that America once and for all eliminated that old sign that "Irish need not apply". Early in that year, it was good for the Irish; and early in the year it was bad for Humphrey. And some of you folks, apparently, have forgotten; I haven't. I remember very well campaigning with our late and beloved President Kennedy up in the farm country. (Applause) I remember campaigning up in the farm country of northwestern Minnesota, where the Scandinavians live - and believe me they are there -- and some folks told me that it might be a little difficult in that area. I would go up there and I would campaign for our candidate, this man that was to become our President. I gathered these fine Scandinavians

around me in a good old coffee clatch, which we would have in the morning, evening, noon, whatever time it was. As I say, we would get together. I can still hear them: I am not going to vote for him. I would say: Now, look here, listen to me, my friends. I want to tell you a little bit about Irish history, things that you may not even know, and things that I hope you won't tell back home.

I said: I want to tell you something special about my friend; and I spoke of him then as a fellow Senator, and spoke of him as a friend, John Kennedy.

I said: You see those blue eyes. Have you ever noticed that sandy hair? Do you see that fine ruddy complexion? By this time I would have their attention; they had forgotten some of their prejudices.

And then I would say: Do you remember the days when the Vikings invaded Ireland? (Laughter) Do you remember those strong, healthy men? Do you remember those lovely, lovely, lovely ladies? I said: Here is the secret of this generation. John Kennedy is really part Scandinavian. (Laughter)

And, my dear friends, I am happy to announce to you tonight, lest you have forgotten, that President Kennedy carried Minnesota; and it was the only

State in the whole great plains area that he did carry. (Applause)

Well, today, more than four years later, I find myself presiding over that United States Senate; and it is a great responsibility and a wonderful opportunity. - And there each day before me I see the bearers of the great names from old Erin, the green isle. I am serious when I tell you that some of the greatest names in American political life, as Mayor Wagner has told you so eloquently tonight, were men of Irish ancestry, who loved freedom and justice with a passion, and who love it even today with as great a dedication. There I see my friend, the Majority Leader -- and none finer, believe me; no finer character will you ever meet than Mike Mansfield. (Applause) Also, Pat McNamara, Tom Dodd, and my colleague, my former colleague in the United States Senate that I know just really thrilled you in his appearance here, Gene McCarthy of Minnesota. (Applause) And there, of course, is Tom McIntyre; there is Mike Moroney; there is -- Governor, I want to get a Republican in here -- Phil Hart; and then there are those two distinguished sons of a great family, Robert and Ted Kennedy.

(Applause)

I remember back to the early days in my home in South Dakota, where I was born - and my friend, Mr. Farley, will remember these days, because he there met my father or, should I say, my father met him. I remember those days when the Irish boys and girls that I grew up with became teachers and doctors and lawyers of my generation. Their fathers had come west as railroaders, just hard workers; minorities may I say -- and don't forget it -- and the minority of yesterday may become the elite of today. (Applause) Never forget it. Miners, millers and loggers, just plain laborers, but good people.

I think of my father and his pride in campaigning out there in that area. It was against the law to vote Democratic; it really was. You think they have trouble in Selma; you should have lived in South Dakota and been a Democrat. He was one of the few in his county who was for Al Smith, (Applause) that strong and gay and dedicated leader. And Al Smith is a part of the great legend of this City and this State, and an inspiration to every person that was ever in public life. (Applause) Al

Smith was truly the Happy Warrior. He fought the good fight, didn't he, and he fought it for the cause that he believed in, with the py of battle and those smiling Irish eyes of his. Even in defeat he was a magnificent character and a man of principle. (Applause)

And I mention this, my friends, tonight because it was no accident that in the Fall months in the campaign of 1964 the aircraft that I was privileged to use was christened the Happy Warrior. I wanted it to be named after one that I thought had all of the qualities of brilliance, of dedication, of principle, of humanity, and of the smiling Irish eyes that it was named after. (Applause)

Now, the truth is that the Irish have really been Happy Warriors for many generations, and they have been Happy Warriors not just one but many; and that's why tonight, in my moments of serious conversation with you, I want to talk to you about the cause of America and human freedom, and I think we need to pause for it just a little while. The Irish, yes, the Welsh and the Norwegians, and many others, to be sure, are fierce opponents and foes of tyranny, and they are avid, yes, at

times fiery advocates of freedom. The Irish epic, the Irish culture, the government can and will be made to serve the inner craving of man for freedom of spirit, for comfort of body, for peace of soul.

Abraham Lincoln did not create the words that have been so much identified with his political career and his public service. Those words literally came from the great culture of Western civilization to which the friends of freedom in Ireland, yes, in other countries, lent so much. Those words "by the people" were first spoken, if not in exactly those lines, by the champions of freedom and the foes of tyranny in Ireland itself; and those of Irish faith believe that government can protect and defend, and that government can enrich the life that God has ennobled.

It was my honor this week, and it was yours, but mine, if I may say so, in a little larger ^{Measure} major, because I was privileged to be with Speaker McCormack to preside in the joint session of the Congress of the United States. It was my honor to hear the President, President Johnson, in his greatest hour, in his magnificent speech on Monday before that session of the Congress. (Applause) That speech

was on only one subject. It was the subject closest to the heart of all of us, the cause of freedom. It was a layman's encyclical of freedom. President Johnson requested in that speech protections by law for the constitutional right of voting for all of our citizens. But, at the same time, he went at us a little deeper. He asked basic questions which each of us answer in our heart every day henceforth. There lay the greatness of the President's speech. We have the strength and the fortune to answer questions, we in this country, as free people. But the issue is, do we have the courage?

Tonight I am going to ask these questions succinctly and loudly and, I hope, clearly so that we will not mistake them or confuse them, questions that come from the very teachings of St. Patrick himself. Can we, my fellow Americans, have a great society? Can we really be free men as long as many of us in this, the richest and most powerful nation that the world has ever known, live in conditions that have been described by our social scientists as conditions of poverty? Not poverty of the purse alone, let me say, because that poverty is the easiest to remedy, but poverty of the spirit that comes from

hopelessness, from frustration, from generation after generation of misery, from not being wanted, from having no place, from never knowing that there was opportunity in this the land of opportunity; poverty for lack of training so long as jobs are denied for no good reason other than the color of a man's skin; so long as doors are closed to immigrants because not of what they are but where they were born; so long as some of our citizens who have been here generation after generation, their forebears have been here for over two hundred, yes, three hundred years, and yet they are denied the right to political participation in what we call democracy.

I ask you tonight, can we be free men so long as millions of our people live without opportunity, without proper care, without the light of hope? Do we believe that men are created equal, or do we just say it? Do we really believe, my fellow Americans, in the Pledge of Allegiance, "one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all", or do we just ask our children to recite it? (Applause) Do we immigrants because all of us are, in a very real sense, immi-

grants, or sons of immigrants -- do we still offer welcome to those who would come to America to build a better life and to enrich our society? Are we willing, I ask you tonight, to pay the price for education for our children for a world that is frightening in its danger and so exciting in its promise, and then do we still in America stand for the belief that the world need not destroy itself by war, and that we Americans can help others, too, to find a better society?

I know the answers are not easy. The questions are easy. Freedom is not easy. I think what this generation needs to know, as you know it, but we need to teach it to others, is that freedom has never been free. It is costly. It is precious.

We hear many voices today saying that America is over-extended in the world; that other people's problems need not be our problems; that we ought to close up shop and stop being the fighters for freedom and enjoy the pleasures and the riches and the luxury of life that is so much available to us here at home.

But, thank God, I say to you that we have not heard such words from the responsible leadership of our nation; and, thank God, we haven't heard such

words from a nation that doesn't enjoy the affluence of this society, that doesn't enjoy the power and the wealth of America.

And I ask you, those who are so proud of their Irish heritage, to think of what the words are, that come from a little country that Ambassador Guest will represent, where he will represent our nation, that nation of Ireland. To the contrary, the Irish have made a great contribution to a better world, and they haven't said that they will withdraw. They are busy in the process of building a greater society for themselves and keeping the peace. Even as a small country making a great contribution, Irish army officers, my fellow Americans, were on that armistice line between the Arabs and the Israelis in 1949 to keep the peace in the Middle East; and in 1958 Irish troops were serving with the United Nations group during the Lebanese crisis; and again in 1960 the Irish gallantly represented our world in another hot spot, and Irish battalions served with distinction in the Congo when the communists were seeking to take it over, and they suffered many casualties in that faraway place that their sons never heard of. Last year, as you may recall, Ire-

land responded for troops to maintain the peace on Cypress; and more than a thousand Irish troops are in that country today. The Irish contingent is the second largest contingent in the United Nations command. (Applause)

Gentlemen and ladies, this is what I mean by fighting for freedom. Yes, it has been said that the Irish are the fighting Irish because of their long struggle to preserve their faith and restore their freedom as a united nation; but I want to make it clear that the Irish have never engaged in a war of aggression. It is one thing, my fellow Americans, to fight for freedom, and it is another thing to be an aggressor. That's the difference between a patriot and a tyrant. (Applause)

So I conclude, my friends, by saying that this America of ours can learn lessons not only from its own history but from the lands of the sons and the daughters that helped make this history. For who in the world will struggle for freedom if we do not; who will preserve the peace, my fellow Americans, if we do not; who will set the example and offer the needed helping hand if we do not? Why do you think that God Almighty has so blessed this nation un-

less we are willing to undertake the responsibilities that come with the privileges of leadership?

We live at a time when everything is difficult; when there are no pre-cooked, pre-conceived answers. We live at a time when we must have the patience, as never before. And I ask you, have you the patience, for instance, to work and to bleed for freedom of other people several thousand miles away from home months and years ahead without any guarantee of total success?

I tell you tonight that the communist forces have that patience, and that if we do not, we will be unworthy of the heritage that is ours.

(Applause)

This, my friends, is what the Great Society is all about. It is not a phrase; it is a sacrifice. It is the recognition that a second car and power lawn mowers are not enough. It is the recognition that we in this nation stand for something not seen ever before in this world by a major power. We stand for human dignity, and we stand for individual fulfillment of men and women.

My fellow Americans, the difference between a totalitarian and a free man is his belief in human

dignity - a dignity that does not come by law; a dignity that does not come by edict, but a dignity that comes because God created man in His own image, and every man has a spark of the divine within him.

(Applause)

We tonight in this wonderful dinner, with all of our gaiety, and all of our joy, let us never forget that tonight we stand for free government and for free speech, and government of the people; and we stand for peace without conquest, and we stand for the belief that others in less fortunate places should have the opportunity of the blessings of freedom and abundance, should be free of tyranny. And we stand for the pledges made by men and women who, years ago, left the old ways and fought a living out of the soil and the streets of a new continent, as your fathers and your grandfathers did. And never forget it. It sometimes seems that some of us who have the old dream are still in the minority; but I think not.

But on this St. Patrick's Day, this blessed Saint, surrounded by freedoms, Happy Warriors, and that you are, I know that this dream of dignity, and this dream of freedom, and this dream of oppor-

tunity for all, still lives; and I know that it will be fulfilled.

And I say to you, may the blessings of that beloved Saint that you honor and worship, the blessings of Patrick, and all of the Saints of Ireland, and the world over, be on you, and all the blessings be on the Irish and all of your friends. May our cause prevail tonight. May freedom live. My God bless you and be with you in your hour of happiness and joy. Thank you.

(The audience arose and applauded.)

PRESIDENT MORAN: Thank you very much, Mr. Vice-President, for honoring us with your presence here tonight and, also, for your most stirring address.

And now, gentlemen, for the purpose of security, I ask each one of you to remain in your seats until after the Vice-President has left the dais and the Ballroom.



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