

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

USO

NEW YORK CITY

FEBRUARY 3, 1966

It is a high honor to receive your Fifth Annual  
Gold Medal, <sup>and</sup> it is a privilege to join with you in  
celebrating the 25th anniversary of the USO.

↳ During this quarter of a century, over 20 million  
American men and women who have worn the uniform  
of their country have found in the USO a "home away  
from home."

↳ USO seeks to answer the two questions always on  
the mind of every GI wherever he is:

"Does anybody know I'm here? Does anybody  
care?"

↳ And to these two questions you answer, in actions as well as words: "Yes, we do know and we do care."

↳ We have an obligation to our American young men away from home -- young men serving without complaint and with a high standard of performance.

↳ At Clark Field, near Manila, I saw recently young Americans -- some of them terribly wounded -- fresh from the battlefields of Vietnam. ↳ As I talked with them, they showed in every word and action those special qualities of courage and determination which Americans have always demonstrated in every war. We can surely be proud of them.

*Tribute to  
youth &  
american*

↳ In Korea, I traveled north to the truce line and talked with American and Korean soldiers in this cold and bleak place.

↳ Here, over a decade after the UN repelled Communist aggression, our American soldiers are still standing guard in one of freedom's loneliest and most remote frontiers.

↳ The soldiers I saw in Clark Field and Korea, like those in other remote and often dangerous areas of the world, deserve the assurance that the American people have not forgotten them. And USO -- which I saw in action at Tokyo, Manila, and Seoul -- provides that kind of assurance.

↳ And ~~think~~ it is in the best spirit of American democracy that USO, representing our three major faiths, is non-governmental and represents a wholly voluntary commitment on the part of the American people.

People + Nat security / Giving  
American Business /  
Philanthropy - Volunteering

ⓧ Pay tribute to entertainment industry  
US Shows - Tickets to Serena  
Talent & Tickets  
- 4 -

↳ Why are so many American soldiers in Asia  
either standing guard or engaged in a shooting war?

They are there, primarily, to ensure the peoples  
of the countries in which they are stationed the right  
to choose, the right to decide their own futures -- in  
other words, to have the basic human rights of self-  
determination and of independence.

↳ Self-determination and independence are threatened  
today by Asian Communism. ↳ And so is man's search  
for peace. For we face adversaries who seek to prove  
that peaceful coexistence is a fraud . . . that militancy  
and force are the paths to final Communist victory.

↳ During my two recent trips to Asia, I had the  
opportunity to talk with many national leaders. I sought  
their impressions of Asian Communism, with which all  
of them have had first-hand experience.

↳ I did so because it is vital to know one's adversary as thoroughly as possible, and through many different eyes.

↳ I did not come back with simple answers or simple panaceas.

↳ Asian Communism is a complex ideology. It is deeply rooted in the tragic past of Asia, yet it is raw and dynamic.

↳ ~~It isn't the timeworn, bureaucratic Communism that has evolved in other places.~~ ↳ It is aggressive. And its leaders are convinced of their ultimate success.

↳ Its approach is not merely economic, although it capitalizes on the poverty and despair of the Asian peasant.

↳ Its tactic is not merely political, although its hard-core followers are dedicated believers in Marxist doctrine,

~~and although~~ it wraps itself in the robes of nationalism to attract those who aren't yet ready for the full gospel. <sup>communist</sup>

↳ Its thrust for power is not simply military, although it never has won power except by ruthless use of force -- and I believe it never will.

↳ The immediate threat is in Vietnam. <sup>→ yet the plans are worldwide</sup> What are the realities of today in Vietnam?

↳ First, there is the reality that we face in South Vietnam no mild-mannered liberal evolutionary reformist party. We face dedicated Communist-led revolutionaries seeking by force to subject a nation to their will. ↳ Some of these revolutionaries are from the South. ↳ Some are from North. ↳ Some are irregulars. Some are regular North Vietnamese soldiers. ↳ Some of their supply and direction comes from the South. Some of it comes from Hanoi. Some of it comes from Peking. Their creed is Communism and their means is terror.

↳ Second, there is the reality that what is happening in Vietnam is not an isolated occurrence, unconnected to events elsewhere. ↳ Those who inspire and support the use of force in Vietnam have made their plans clear.

↳ Those plans include the use of subversion, of propaganda, of assassination, of sabotage, and of outright military action to gain their objectives throughout the world. ↳ In some places, such as Vietnam, aggression has come in the guise of a war of national liberation. In others, such as India and Korea, it has come as movement of regular troops across a national frontier.

↳ The Communist-backed terrorism in Vietnam is being felt not only in Asia, but also in Africa and in Latin

America. - The Havana Conference -

3 continent Attack planned  
L.A. Africa, Asia

↳ Third, I would point to the reality that -- faced with this aggressive force -- our response has been measured and our objective peaceful.

↳ Last April President Johnson, at Johns Hopkins University, made clear the unconditional nature of our offer toward peaceful negotiation. ↳ He has reiterated that offer many times. He has emphasized that so-called National Liberation Front representatives could be represented in the negotiations.

↳ Last May the President ordered suspension of bombing in the North in the hope that this might stimulate negotiation. In December we suspended the bombing again - 37 Days

↳ In the past several weeks, the President has sent emissaries throughout the world to seek some means toward peaceful negotiation.

↳ Initiatives outside our own--by the UN Secretary General; by 17 non-aligned nations; by the United Kingdom, Ghana, India and other Commonwealth nations; by Japan, by the United Arab Republic; by Pope Paul VI -- have been undertaken without success.

↳ We have stated unequivocally that we support any effort toward negotiation, no matter where initiated. And we have directly communicated to Hanoi our willingness to begin immediately unconditional discussions.

↳ What has been the response from Hanoi and Peking?  
I read from Ho Chi Minh's letter of last Friday:

" . . . The U.S. imperialists are clamoring about their desire for peace and their readiness to engage in unconditional discussion in the hope of fooling world opinion and the American people . . .

"Obviously the U.S. search for peace is only designed to conceal its scheme for intensifying the war of aggression."

↳ From Peking has come an unusually violent torrent of hate propaganda regarding President Johnson's -- and I quote -- "filthy and vicious . . . basket of peace."

It is clear that -- in this time as in the past -- those whose creed is force disbelieve the determination of democratic societies to resist their force.

↳ Given this response to the U.S. peace offensive, President Johnson had no choice but to take steps to restore military pressure on North Vietnam.

*to protect our forces - to impede the movement of men*  
*But,* In announcing this decision, the President emphasized

that "the end of the pause does not mean the end of our own pursuit of peace." *In it is the achievement*

*of peace that is ~~our~~ our purpose - our goal.*

↳ For we must not permit the struggle to become purely military, either in Vietnam or elsewhere. -

↳ We must persist with diplomatic initiatives for peace, in the United Nations and in all the capitals of the world.

↳ We must counter the Communist political thrust with better politics -- the politics of ~~democracy~~ <sup>freedom</sup>, of self-determination, of human dignity. <sup>self respect</sup>

↳ We must help the nations of Asia move forward with economic and social reform so that the ~~Asian citizen will have a real stake in his country.~~

↳ This is where the struggle will be decided in the long-run.

↳ We have a clear obligation to help the people of Asia and of other continents to help themselves. It is for this reason that I commend to you the foreign aid program which President Johnson submitted to Congress this week.

The President has proposed, and I quote, "to help give the people of the less-developed world the food, the health, the skills and education -- and the strength -- to lead their nations to self-sufficient lives of plenty and freedom." - *a noble goal - but worthy goal.*

↳ We have set ourselves no easy task. It will require patience and fortitude for years ahead.

↳ But, I believe we can, in the end, succeed. ~~For~~ I believe Americans have learned the lessons of history so that we may not be doomed to repeat them.

↳ We have learned that the appetite of aggressors is never satisfied.

↳ We have learned that a threat to freedom elsewhere can soon become a threat to freedom here.

*We have learned that leadership is not a luxury, but a burden. It is not a privilege, but a responsibility. It gives no pride, but rather imposes duties. Leadership is not*

The Cloak of Comfort, but rather the  
robe of responsibility. It requires  
strength and discipline - ~~and~~ wealth  
and sacrifice. <sup>13</sup> - Patience and Perseverance.

↳ Can we accept the possibility that the struggle against  
Communist expansion can go on for years ahead?

↳ Can we adapt the use of our ~~military~~ military power to achieve  
limited goals while possessing military power in almost  
limitless quantity?

↳ Can we persevere in our search for peaceful negotiation  
in the face of rejection by our adversaries?

↳ Can we devote ourselves to patient efforts toward  
economic and social progress in an environment of violence  
and terror?

↳ Can we maintain our own devotion to free institutions  
while opposed by those without regard for them?

↳ Can we, finally, convince those who live by force  
that time is on our side?

Can we demonstrate to them that we are too strong  
to be afraid, too determined to be defeated?

I answer: Yes, we can and we shall.

*yes* Americans are capable of waging the long, hard  
battle for freedom around the globe for as long as freedom  
is threatened. We have the leadership and the resolution  
to fulfill our responsibility as leader of the free world.  
And we shall.

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We can + must be firm without  
being belligerent; resolute  
without being bellicose;  
Strong without being arrogant.  
~~There are the qualities of greatness~~  
Compassionate without being soft  
There are the qualities of greatness

*Edited Transcript  
Still Rough*

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY  
HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES  
AT  
UNITED SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK  
FEBRUARY 6, 1966

Thank you very much, Governor Dewey, my good friend, Governor Rockefeller, General Rosie O'Donnell, Mr. Walsh and the one and only eternal Ponce de Leon, Jack Benny.

I want to say, Jack, that you must have been a very, very illustrious youthful performer to have 25 years ago - at the age of 14 - been conducting these shows all around the world.

Truly tonight is a joyous occasion for me and one that sort of leaves me wondering how it all happened so well. Sometimes people say it is difficult to be Vice President. Well, what do you think about having to follow Jack Benny? I know my friend, Jack Javits, would never conceive such a plot despite the fact we at least claim we are of different parties. We have a true and warm friendship. The first time I had any doubt about this was when I found out tonight that he was attending some sort of a Republican Safari down there in Washington, honoring that illustrious and fine gentleman, Thruston Morton, and then decided that he would come by private - by commercial airline when he could have "hooked" a ride on a government plane. I would have been glad to have given you a little lift, Jack. After all, you're helping to pay for it, and it would have been nice to have had you along.

There are so many people here tonight to whom I should like to pay my respects, because this audience represents truly distinguished and dedicated citizenry. Distinguished and reverend clergy that are with us who represents the great faiths of our lands and are so much a part of the U.S.O, the many leaders of business and industry, finance and the professions, labor, the people here of every ethnic group. I think that if one could

select a single occasion in this magnificent metropolitan area of America where he could say that he was speaking to Americans all -- in the truest sense of the broad cross-section of land - he would want to be at this dinner. And also to be here with one whose line I know - John Daly - he never asked me what my line was, you know. And to have so many of our stars of stage and of the opera and of the great leaders in literature , the arts, I must say that I am very much touched.

I want to say to Nelson, tonight, Governor the other day one of your distinguished brotheres was in to see me - John Rockefeller the III. And I was happy to tell him how much I appreciate the fact that the line is getting stronger, because his son is running on a Democratic ticket in West Virginia. I cleared all this with Tom Dewey - this amount of bi-partisanship goes along in this meeting tonight.

But I come here to salte the U.S.O.

I only regret that it was not possible to be here a little earlier, but there's no use in keeping any secret because there aren't any. We had a meeting just before I was ready to leave. I received a call at about a quarter to five saying that there'd be a meeting at the White House at six. Well that was an hour after I was supposed to ~~start~~ depart.

I was planning to have at least an hour with Tom and Frances before we came to this dinner. But we were discussing this evening a very serious problem.- the grave crisis of food that affects five hundred million people in India, and what this nation might be able to do about it. And it only once again underscores the many grave problems that affect our nation and that perplex this world. Thank goodness that

we've had a moment of levity this evening. No one can make us feel happier and more relaxed, more at ease, than this great artist, Jack Benny. I am happy to know, Jack, that you're the treasurer of U.S.O, because I know that every dollar will be carefully spent. That wasn't listed here - that was the announcement that I am privileged to make in this program. So if any of you feel that you would like to be more generous, you can be sure that the money will be well taken care of.

This is the occasion of the presentation of the 5th annual Gold Medal. I have been informed of some of the previous recipients. I am sure you must understand how humble and grateful I feel tonight when there are men of (illegible) Francis Cardinal Spellman and Bob Hope, Douglas MacArthur and Roger Blough. With men of this great quality, you can't help but feel that if you are included, even by inference or reference, that your fellow citizens have paid you a high honor.

I only hope that what has been said tonight about the one that has been so fortunate to receive this Gold Medal is partially true. I've heard many people use it, but it's always good to say once again that when you hear these laudatory remarks, you can't help but think that, as it has been said, " your mother would have believed it and your father would have enjoyed it." I'm sure that would have been the case in my family tonight.

And I'm delighted to be here on a birthday party, celebrating the 25th anniversary of this great citizens organization. The emphasis that has been made here tonight is so sound - - this belongs to the people, belongs to you. This is the way it ought to be. During this quarter of

a century, over 20 million men and women who have worn honorably the uniform of the United States of America have found in the U.S.O. a home away from home. They have found a little bit of America wherever they were -- a place where they could feel comfortable.

I think U.S.O. tries to answer two basic questions that come to the minds of every GI wherever he is. The first question is quite natural, "Does anybody know I'm here?" And the second one is "Does anybody really care?" U.S.O. comes up with the answer. U.S.O. lets people know, it lets that young man or woman know we know that he or she is there. And U.S.O. gives the answer - we do care. We not only care about our own and our own country, but we care about humanity, we care about this world. I think that if we keep that uppermost in our thoughts and in our actions that it becomes a powerful force for our nation and for all that is good. We have a very, very deep obligation to our American young people away from home - those who serve in our Armed Services. These are, in the main, young men and women who are serving without complaint. I want to talk to you a little bit about that type. And what an amazing standard of performance. There is a new rule in American life which we have to seek to abide by, and that's the rule of excellence, not mediocrity. We have to be better than other people. We have more to do, more obligations, more responsibilities than just to get by; just to do it sort of well is not enough. The standard of excellence, the new E Award for citizenship is a standard that this nation must have in the days ahead.

I said to you that many of these men, in fact, a great majority are uncomplaining, and I want to give you evidence.

Not long ago Mrs. Humphrey and I were privileged to travel on quite an extensive trip to the Far East - to Japan, the Philippines, Taiwan

(The Republic of China), Korea and back home.

We were in Manila for the Inaugural of the new President, President Marcos. May I say that in itself was worth the trip, because it's good to go to a country where people come into office by ballots, instead of bullets. In the Philippines, with all its problems (and people are always prone to tell you about their problems) they still have elections, and there, they are pretty good elections. In Asia, that is a very heartening experience and demonstrates what we try to teach in our national life. Well, we were at Clark Field, near Manila, a great base. Really, when you look at the map, if you just put the map in your mind's eye for just a moment, that's a stone throw, as you would say, from Vietnam. It's just about three hours, three to four hours at the most by plane and less by a fast jet.

I went to Clark Airbase to visit the wounded in the hospital. Before we went, we had a doctor go to that hospital and question the young men as to whether or not it was alright to come. As I told the doctor, I didn't want to cause any difficulty for anyone. This was not a call to get one's picture in the paper. I went to call as their Vice President. When we arrived at the hospital air base, the first thing I saw was a huge transport plane, loaded with wounded. The men at Clark Base come directly from the battlefields of Vietnam. We saw over 300 of them... many of them the victims of malaria, some of accidents, but many of them of combat. I saw men that were taken up right out of the rice paddies and moved directly to this hospital - with only temporary or emergency aid - muddy, dirty, bloody, parts of their bodies blown apart. There they were in the hospital. They are separated in \_\_\_\_\_

sense there. For those we know will not live \_\_\_\_\_ next of kin, their loved ones, are notified. I saw several parents that had been brought there by the American Red Cross and the United States Air Force, visiting their sons. Then, there is another group that still must remain for a while before they can be moved to a base hospital. And there is a third group, that can go on to Honolulu or back to the mainland and receive the best of care. May I just assure you here, for a moment, that the finest of medical care is given. It is so wonderful to be home, to see the love, the dedication, the attention that is given by the doctors and nurses and personnel at that hospital touches your heart and moves your soul and spirit.

I visited with 352 of our \_\_\_\_\_ from room to room and floor to floor, individually. And I am here to tell you that I didn't hear one single word of complaint - not one, not a single gripe. In fact they discussed things with me, those that were able to talk ( and most of them were of this group because we were selective in terms of not going to rooms where there were unconscious or unable to speak.) They talked to me about what was going on at home. They talked to me about the protests. They talked to me about draft card burners, and they <sup>were</sup> ~~was~~ unimpressed, not nearly as excited, may I say, as some folks at home. They spoke to me of the spirit and morale of their comrades in arms back in <sup>Vietnam</sup> ~~Vietnam~~. And without exception, everyone said, " I hope I can get well, so I can go back." You have never seen anything like these young men. Now this tells <sup>something</sup> ~~something~~ about this generation. These young people are good, intelligent, tough. They know why they are there. They know what the battle is all about better than some of the people who talk about the battle. And more significantly, I think, this tells something about the society from whence they come.

We've always been told how "soft" this society is, and that it is a society of materialistic outlook, without many idealistic or spiritual values. That's not true. You cannot produce a generation of young Americans that gives an accounting of itself as this young generation does, unless that generation comes from a society in which values of the spirit and soul and heart and mind are held high. I thought it was wonderful. So I can say to you that I was very proud of them and I give them tribute once again tonight..

In Korea I travelled north to the truce line. I talked with American and Korean soldiers in that cold and bleak place. And it was cold, and it was bleak. Here , over a decade ago, the United Nations, mainly the United States with some of its good strong allies, repelled Communist aggression - the first major probing attack by the Communists of a military nature since World War II. Our American soldiers are still standing guard there on freedom's loneliest and most remote frontiers. And they are giving a good account of themselves. Now, the soldiers I saw at Clark Field and Korea, like those, as has been explained here tonight, in many other remote and often dangerous areas of the world - deserve and merit the assurance that the American people have not forgotten them. I'm not talking now about the Congress or the President or the Cabinet, or the Chief of Staff or the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs. I ask that the American people not forget them. One of the dangers of this time in which we live where we have a highly professionalized military, where we have had to be armed for 25 years in a troubled world, is that people are apt to think that this whole struggle is somebody else's business and that it belongs just to the few that are in the Armed Services, that few of the many \_\_\_\_\_ the officers and men in the pentagon or \_\_\_\_\_.

We never want that to happen. We never want to see any form of barrier between those who represent this nation in the most difficult areas of the world, wearing the uniform of this country, and the people. Remember, this Army, this Navy, this Air Force, this Coast Guard, this Marine Corps come from the people. It's a citizen army and the U.S.O is the heart connection, is the blood line, almost the sole connection between that professional , that highly able military arm of our society and the people. That's what you represent here tonight. That's what your contribution means, that's what your presence here means tonight. Now I think it's in the best American tradition and the best spirit of this democracy that U.S.O., representing the major faiths, is non-governmental, it represents a wholly voluntary commitment on the part of the American people. One characteristic of this nation which I think deserves special notice, and we take it for granted, is voluntarism. We have our great voluntary organizations, our great foundations, the philanthropy of American corporate business. This is unusual, Very few if any other countries have it in the degree that we do. And it makes it a better country. I agree with what Jack Benny said, that giving is receiving. I have never known a person of substance or well-being who gave to the point that it really hurt. It generally helps. The more we have shared and given, the more we have we have. I think the last part of the century demonstrates that, because America has more today than it ever had in all of its history. And we have given collectively, individually, publicly, and privately as no other people of Government on the face of the earth; and yet, look at us today; the evidence is here.

And might I too pay tribute to the entertainment industry - not only to the talent, to the actors and ~~actress~~ actresses, to the artists and musicians, and comedians, they are so wonderful. My goodness, I saw

the Bob Hope Christmas Show; it was magnificent. And we know what Jack Benny has meant and Danny Thomas and Martha Raye and the others ~~that~~ who have been mentioned here tonight. They're loved by the American people, not only because they're great artists but because they have great heart, and the entertainment industry, the performers as well as those who manage them, has been generous. I know of no more generous people.

Now let me talk to you now, for just a few moments, very seriously about the matter that is close to your heart, close to the nation. The question is very simple and yet its answer is very complex, "Why are so many soldiers, why are so many men of the Armed Services, of this nation, in Asia - either standing guard or engaged in a shooting war?" Now I'm one of those persons who believe in the (illegible).

I have said that I believe that everyone has a right to be heard. I don't mean to indicate that means that everyone needs to be taken seriously, but that they have a right to be heard. It depends upon what you are saying, as to whether or not what you're saying is deserving of serious attention. The precious right of dissent must be ever fearlessly guarded and protected, even when it's very distasteful to us. But, as much as I believe in the right to dissent, I also believe in the right of assent. I don't believe you have to roll over and play dead, because somebody else disagrees with you. I think it's about time in this nation that people who believe in what we're trying to do <sup>stand</sup> ~~stand~~ up and are heard, and that they speak out, not by just standing silently and nodding their and nodding their heads and saying, "Oh yes, I think I will follow the President." That's not enough. We ought not to be just following the President, we ought to have a national <sup>public</sup> ~~publ~~

opinion of our own. We ought to be in a sense asking the President to follow the people and to lead the people in the conviction of the people.

Now these men that I speak of are primarily in Asia to assure the people of those countries in which they are stationed, the right to choose, the right to decide their own futures, in other words to have the basic human rights of self-determination and independence. We believe in this, and I, for one, am a little weary of hearing about what the Communists believe in and about people wondering what we believe in. I think it's time that we speak up in terms of our own convictions and our own ideology. Now, self-determination and independence are a part of the great history of this nation and they are threatened today the world over and threatened for the moment in its fiercest form by Asian Communism.

Man's search for peace is man's noblest pursuit. It requires a courage beyond anything that's known in man's experience. During my two recent trips to Asia, I had the opportunity to speak to many of the national leaders of the countries that I was privileged to visit. I \_\_\_\_\_ their impressions of Asian Communism. All of them have had a good deal of first-hand experience with Communism, it's not theory with them. I did this because it is vital to know one's adversary as thoroughly as possible and through many different eyes. I didn't come back with any simple answers or any simple remedies; there are none. Asian Communism is \_\_\_\_\_ complex. It is deeply rooted in the tragic past of Asia, yet it is raw and it is dynamic; it has sharp cutting edges, and it is aggressive. Its leaders are convinced with a zeal of their ultimate success. Now it's approach is not economic it is not economic determinism, although it capitalizes on poverty and despair. Its tactic is not one that's political although its hard core followers are dedicated believers in the Marxist doctrine. It wraps itself in the honored robes of

nationalism, even as it seeks to destroy nationalism in the name of international communism. Its thrust for power is not simply military, although it never has won power except by the ruthless use of force, and I doubt that it ever will. The plans of this movement are to be seen worldwide. The immediate threat is in Vietnam where your sons are tonight.

Now what are the realities of today in Vietnam? Well first we are not fighting over a bit of geography, we are not fighting over the infected finger of the palm of Asia - the subcontinent alone. There is a much broader purpose. We seek to show the aggressor that the price of aggression come too high. And we also seek to make it clear that the rules of the 20th century for international conduct are not the rules of the jungle. Now, there is a reality that we face in South Vietnam, and it is that no mild mannered liberal, "evolutionary, reformist party" is at work there. Every once in a while I hear somebody say that all they're trying to do is just reform the area. These are not reformers! We face dedicated Communist leaders, reactionary revolutionaries, seeking by force to subject a nation and a people to their will. Now some of these revolutionaries are from the South, but most are from the North, some are irregulars - the guerrillas, and others are regular North Vietnamese soldiers. Some of their \_\_\_\_\_ come from the South, and some come from Hanoi, and some from Peking, plenty, and some from Moscow. Their creed is Communism, and their means is terror. I suppose it would seem that it is almost unnecessary to recite this, but I am of the opinion that it is necessary once again to say it, because many people seem to assume that what's going on is just a little old civil war between neighbors or family. But it is not that. It is a part of a much larger enterprise.

Now there is a second reality" What is happening in Vietnam is not an isolated occurrence, unconnected elsewhere.

Those who inspire and support the use of force in Vietnam made their plans clear. I sometimes wonder why we haven't more clearly understood them. Those plans include the use of subversion, infiltration, propaganda, assassination, sabotage, murder and outright military action to gain their objectives throughout the world. The fact that the battle is temporarily being fought in Vietnam in no way limits the design of those who are instigators of the aggression. In some places, such as Vietnam, aggression is in the guise of what they call a "War of National Liberation." In others such as India or in Korea, it has come as a movement of regular troops, divisions, armies across a national frontier. The Communist backed terrorism in Vietnam is being felt not only in Asia but tonight in Africa and in Latin America. The recent conference in Havana laid out in clear terms -- within 90 miles of the coastline of the United States -- the design, the plan for conquest, subversion, attack, murder and military action on three continents.. Latin America, Asia and Africa.

The testing ground is Vietnam in a "War of National Liberation." If they succeed there, they will spread like the plague -- a malignancy that will consume free peoples.

Three, I would point to the reality that, faced with this aggression, our response as a powerful nation has been a \_\_\_\_\_ one, and our objective has been peaceful. Last April, the President of the United States at Johns Hopkins University made clear the unconditional nature of our offer for

peaceful negotiation and settlement. He has reiterated that offer many times. He has emphasized that there are no insurmountable obstacles as to those who could be represented at the conference table, namely the so-called National Liberation Front. Last May, the President ordered suspension of the bombing in the north for five days . But the first day there was open repudiation and insult from the north. By the third day, Hanoi, Peking and Moscow said with clear tone and clear words that they considered it "an insult." Around December we suspended the bombing for 37 days, because many said this was the only way that you could hope to initiate the preliminary stages of discussion for peace. In the past several weeks, the President has sent his emissaries throughout the world to seek some means for peaceful negotiation. Initiatives outside of our own have been made - the United Nations Secretary General, the 17 non-aligned/nations and their proposals, the United Kingdom, Ghana, India, the President of India, the Commonwealth Nations, the efforts of Japan, of the United Arab Republic, by Pope Paul the VI. All of these efforts have been undertaken seriously and without success. All of them we have embraced -- all of them we have said we would accept. We have stated unequivocally that we support any effort towards peaceful solution and negotiation no matter where it is initiated - in any capital, in any form. And we have directly communicated to Hanoi - I repeat - directly our willingness to begin immediately unconditional discussions, leading toward settlement.

What has been the response by Hanoi and Peking? Let me just read you a line from Ho Chi Minh's letter of last Friday - less than a week ago: "The U. S. imperialists are clamoring about their desire for peace," says Mrs. Ho Chi Minh, "and their readiness to engage in unconditional discussions in the hope of fooling world opinion and the American people. Obviously

the U. S. search for peace is only designed to conceal its scheme for intensifying the war of aggression."

For 37 days we withheld the power of our Air Force while their supplies and men moved across the frontiers.

From Peking has come an unusually violent form of hate propaganda regarding President Johnson's and your nation's peace offensive. I quote. Here's what they called it: "filthy, vicious basket of peace." Even while I was in India, Peking said it - Mrs. Kosygin of the Soviet Union was there - that this was nothing but "a conspiracy on the part of Moscow and America to deny the people of Vietnam their independence."

I think that it's clear at this time, as in the past, that those whose creed and method is force disbelieve the determination of free peoples and democratic societies to resist their force.

Given this response to the U. S. peace offensive, your government, President Johnson, had no choice in my mind but to take steps to restore military pressure on North Vietnam - to protect our own men, to give them the means to fight back, to slow down the infiltration, to make it more difficult for the Communist forces to wage war. But in announcing that decision, the President emphasized what is the objective of this ' Republic - and it has been since its first date - the end of the pause does not mean the end of our pursuit of peace. For the achievement now, 25 years ago, 20 years ago, throughout our history, has been the goal of this nation.

You and I know that we must not permit the struggle to become purely military - either in Vietnam or elsewhere. We must persist with diplomatic initiatives for peace, and we are in the United Nations, in the capitols of the world, everywhere. We must counter the Communist political thrust with

better politics - the politics of progress. And may I say, in the presence of the Senator from New York, that I think that one of the most brilliant dissertations on this has been given by Senator Jack Javits. I want him to know that. In fact, I took the liberty of presenting ~~the~~ ~~via~~ a review of Senator Javits' argument and document on this matter of political ~~offensiveness~~ offensive to the President, and it is highly regarded. The politics of progress, of self-determination, of human dignity and self respect - this is the better politics that must be ours.

And we must help the Asian nations too move forward through economic and social reform. And this is where the struggle will be decided in the long run, even when the military victory is won. We have a clear obligation to help the people of Asia ~~in~~ and of other continents to help themselves. I listened tonight, only 3 hours ago, to the fact that from 10 to 12 million people may die of starvation in India. This country of ours, this great America cannot stand idly by. With almost 100 million acres of tillable rich land without production, with approximately 30 million tons of surplus grains in our granaries, we cannot stand idly by and see God's children perish from hunger. It just can't be done. And we're not going to - I want you to know that.

But it isn't good enough just to give. There must be self help. There must be leadership, so that people can help themselves. And this is what we seek to do now as we advance a new program in the Congress for foreign aid - a subject which seldom evokes much enthusiasm but as necessary to our national security as the military itself.

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Oh, I know, some people are going to say "That's a very noble goal, but it's a long way off." It is indeed. But we need to be challenged by lofty goals lest we lose our sense of dedication.

We've set ourselves no easy task, and we're not the kind of ~~ex~~ people who ought to have easy tasks. It will require patience and fortitude for the years ahead. I remind this audience tonight that this past year, this great nation produced 50% of all that was produced in this world. Much has been given us. We have been blessed by a fabulous system of politics, social structure and economics. We're the most fortunate people in the world. We have something else besides "our chains" to lose, as the Marxist speaks. We have everything to lose - our environment, the environment in which we want to live, in which we can grow and blossom and in which we can have the life that is worthy of our great nation and free people. So while our task is not easy, I believe that we can in the end succeed. Maybe I'm just a confirmed optimist, but I have tremendous faith, as you have, in the capacity of this nation to lead and create and to give and to share. Americans have learned their lessons, I hope - the lessons of history, so that we may not be doomed to repeat them. We have learned, have we not, that the appetite of aggressors is never satisfied. We have learned that aggression unchecked is aggression unleashed. And we have learned that ~~the~~ a threat to freedom elsewhere can soon become a threat to freedom here. And may I add that the surest guarantee of peace in this world is the integrity of the American commitment. I ask this audience tonight to think what would happen in Western Europe tomorrow if the word went from your nation's capitol that we have no intention of keeping our commitment to Western Berlin. I ask you to think what would happen if tomorrow the word went ~~out~~ from this land that we

did not intend to keep our commitments in NATO. The flood tide of Communism would envelop the globe. There would be disunity, disaster, chaos, everyone reaching for something and getting nothing but tyranny. I think that we've learned that leadership is not a luxury. I trust that we've learned that even this wonderful wealth, this great wealth of our country and the unbelievable power of this nation, has a more noble purpose than just to live an affluent life.

Our wealth is for the building of a more honorable and just world and our power is for the safeguarding of institutions of freedom and dignity to which we say, we dedicate our lives. Leadership is not a luxury. It is a burden. It gives you no privileges - but rather it imposes duties. Leadership is not the cloak of comfort but rather it is the robe of responsibility. And it requires strength and discipline, wealth and sacrifice, perseverance and patience from us all.

Knowing this, I ask these questions: Can we accept the possibility that the struggle against Communist expansion can go on for years?

Do we have the staying power (because make no mistake about this, our adversaries depend upon us tiring)? Can we adapt the use of our military power to achieve a limited goal while possessing military power in almost limitless quantity and quality.

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And can we demonstrate to them, my fellow Americans, that we are too strong to be afraid and too determined to be defeated?

I say that we can and must be firm without being belligerent - resolute without being bellicose, strong without being arrogant, and compassionate without being soft. These are truly the qualities of a great people and a great nation. I know that Americans are capable of these qualities. And of waging the long, hard battle for freedom here at home and whenever it's threatened around the globe. For as long as freedom is threatened, we have the leadership in our people, in our history, in our destiny and the resolution to fulfill the responsibility as a leader of the Free World.

And it is in this spirit that we should speak to a humanity that longs for leadership, motivated by justice - a leadership inspired by the cause of freedom.

Thank you.

*Edited Transcript  
Final Draft*

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY  
HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES  
AT  
UNITED SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK  
FEBRUARY 6, 1966

This is the occasion of the presentation of the 5th annual Gold Medal. I have been informed of the names of some of the previous recipients. I am sure you must understand how humble and grateful I feel tonight when they are men of the caliber of Francis Cardinal Spellman, Bob Hope, Douglas MacArthur, and Roger Blough. With men of this great quality, you can't help but feel that if you are included, even by inference or reference, your fellow citizens have paid you a high honor.

I only hope that what has been said tonight about the one that has been so fortunate to receive this Gold Medal is partially true. I've heard many people say, but it's always good to say once again that, when you hear such laudatory remarks, you can't help but think that, as it has been said, "your mother would have believed it and your father would have enjoyed it." I'm sure that would have been the case in my family tonight.

I'm delighted to be here on a birthday party, celebrating the 25th anniversary of this great citizen's organization. The emphasis that has been made here tonight is so sound -- U. S. O. belongs to the people, belongs to you. This is the way it ought to be. During this quarter of a century, over 20 million men and women

who have honorably worn the uniform of the United States of America have found in the U.S.O. a home away from home. They have found a little bit of America wherever they were -- a place where they could feel comfortable.

I think U.S.O. tries to answer two basic questions that come to the mind of every GI wherever he is. The first question is quite natural, "Does anybody know I'm here?" And the second one is, "Does anybody really care?" U.S.O. comes up with the answer. U.S.O. lets people know. It lets that young man or woman know that we do know that he or she is there. And U. S. O. gives the answer - we do care. We not only care about our own and our own country, but we care about humanity, we care about this world. I think that if we keep that uppermost in our thoughts and in our actions that it becomes a powerful force for our nation and for all that is good.

We have a very, very deep obligation to our American young people who are away from home - those who serve in our Armed Services. These are, in the main, young men and women who are serving without complaint. I want to talk to you a little bit about that fact. What an amazing standard of performance they have achieved. There is a new rule in American life we have to seek to abide by, and that's the rule of excellence, not mediocrity. We have to be better than other people. We have more to do,

more obligations, more responsibilities than just "to get by;" just to do it "sort of well" is not enough. The standard of excellence, the new "E" Award for citizenship is a standard that this nation must have in the days ahead.

I said to you that many of these men, in fact, a great majority are uncomplaining, and I want to give you evidence.

Not long ago, Mrs. Humphrey and I were privileged to travel on quite an extensive trip to the Far East - to Japan, the Philippines, Taiwan(The Republic of China), Korea and back home.

We were in Manila for the Inaugural of the new President, President Marcos. May I say, that in itself was worth the trip, because it's good to go to a country where people come into office by ballots, instead of bullets. In the Philippines, with all its problems (and people are always prone to tell you about their problems), they still have elections, and there, they are pretty good elections. In Asia, that is a very heartening experience; it demonstrates what we try to teach in our national life. Well, we were at Clark Field, near Manila, a great base. If you just put the map in your mind's eye for a moment, that's a stone throw, as you would say, from Vietnam. It's just about three to four hours at the most by plane and less by a fast jet.

I went to Clark Airbase to visit the wounded in the

in the hospital. Before we went, we had a doctor go to that hospital and question the young men as to whether or not it was alright to come. As I told the doctor, I didn't want to cause any difficulty for anyone. This was not a call to get one's picture in the paper. I went to call as their Vice President.

When we arrived at the hospital air base, the first thing I saw was a huge transport plane, loaded with wounded. The men at Clark Base come directly from the battlefields of Vietnam. We saw over 300 of them; many of them - the victims of malaria, some of accidents, but many of them of combat. I saw men that were taken up right out of the rice paddies and moved directly to this hospital - with only temporary or emergency aid - muddy, dirty, bloody, parts of their bodies blown apart. There they were in the hospital. They are separated in a sense there. For those we know will not live, the next of kin, their loved ones, are notified. I saw several parents who had been brought there by the American Red Cross and the United States Air Force, visiting their sons.

Then, there is another group that still must remain for a while before they can be moved to a base hospital. And there is a third group, that can go on to Honolulu or back to the mainland and receive the best of care there.

May I just assure you here, for a moment, that the finest of medical care is given. It is so wonderful to be home, and it is wonderful to see the love, the dedication, the attention that is given by the doctors, nurses and other personnel at that hospital; it touches your heart and moves your soul and spirit.

I visited with 352 of our sons, I moved from room to room, floor to floor, individually. And I am here to tell you that I didn't hear one single word of complaint - not one, not a single gripe. In fact, they discussed things with me, those that were able to talk (and most of them were of this group, because we were selective in terms of not going to rooms where men were unconscious or unable to speak.)

They talked to me about what was going on at home. They talked to me about the protests. They talked to me about draft card burners. They were unimpressed, not nearly as excited, may I say, as some folks at home. They spoke to me of the spirit and morale of their comrades in arms back in Vietnam. And without exception, everyone said, "I hope I can get well, so I can go back." You have never seen anything like these young men.

Now this tells something about this generation. These young people are good, intelligent, tough. They know

why they are there. They know what the battle is all about -- better than some of the people who talk about the battle. And more significantly, I think, this tells something about the society from whence they come. We've always been told how "soft" this society is, and that it is a society of "materialistic outlook," without many idealistic or spiritual values. That's not true. You cannot produce a generation of young Americans which gives an accounting of itself as this young generation does, unless that generation comes from a society in which values of the spirit and soul, heart and mind are held high. I thought it was wonderful. So, I can say to you that I was very proud of them and I give them tribute once again tonight.

In Korea, I travelled north to the truce line. I talked with American and Korean soldiers in that cold and bleak place. And it was cold, and it was bleak. Here, over a decade ago, the United Nations, mainly the United States, with some of its good strong allies, repelled Communist aggression - the first major probing attack by the Communists of a military nature since World War II.

Our American soldiers are still standing guard there on freedom's loneliest and most remote frontiers. And they are giving a good account of themselves. Now, the soldiers I saw at Clark Field and Korea, like those, as has been explained here tonight, in many other remote and

often dangerous areas of the world - deserve and merit the assurance that the American people have not forgotten them. I'm not talking now about the Congress or the President or the Cabinet, or the Chief of Staff or the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs. I ask that the American people not forget them. One of the dangers of this time in which we live where we have a highly professionalized military, where we have had to be armed for 25 years in a troubled world, is that people are apt to think that this whole struggle is "somebody else's business," and that it belongs just to the few who are in the Armed Services overseas, as well as the officers and men in the Pentagon.

We never want that to happen. We never want to see any form of barrier between those who represent this nation in the most difficult areas of the world, wearing the uniform of this country, and the people. Remember, this Army, this Navy, this Air Force, this Coast Guard, this Marine Corps come from the people. It's a citizen army, and the U.S.O. is the heart connection, it is the blood line, almost the sole connection between that professional, that highly able military arm of our society and the people. That's what you represent here tonight. That's what your contribution means; that's what your presence here means tonight.

Now, I think it's in the best American tradition and the best spirit of this democracy, that U.S.O., representing the major faiths, is non-governmental. It represents a wholly voluntary commitment on the part of the American people. One characteristic of this nation which I think deserves special notice, and we take ~~it~~ for granted, is voluntarism. We have our great voluntary organizations, our great foundations, the philanthropy of American corporate business. This is unusual. Very few if any other countries have it in the degree that we do. And it makes ours a better country. I agree with what Jack Benny said, that giving is receiving. I have never known a person of substance or well-being who gave to the point that it really hurt. It generally helps. The more we have shared and given, the more we have. I think the last part of the century demonstrates that, because America has more today than it ever had in all of its history. And we have given collectively, individually, publicly and privately as no other people of Government on the face of the earth; and yet, look at us today; the evidence is here.

And might I too pay tribute to the entertainment industry - not only to the talent, to the actors and actresses, to the artists, musicians and comedians; they are so wonderful. My goodness, I saw the Bob Hope Christmas

Show; it was magnificent. And we know what Jack Benny has meant and Denny Thomas and Martha Raye and the others who have been mentioned here tonight. They're loved by the American people, not only because they're great artists, but because they have great heart, and the entertainment industry, including both the performers as well as those who manage them, has been generous. I know of no more generous people.

Now, let me talk to you, for just a few moments, very seriously about the matter that is close to your heart, close to the nation. The question is very simple, and yet its answer is very complex, "Why are so many soldiers, why are so many men of the Armed Services of this nation, in Asia - either standing guard or engaged in a shooting war?"

Now I'm one of those persons who believe in the right of dissent. I have said that I believe that everyone has a right to be heard. I don't mean to indicate that means that everyone needs to be taken seriously, but that they have a right to be heard. It depends upon what you are saying, as to whether or not what you're saying is deserving of serious attention. The precious right of dissent must be ever fearlessly guarded and protected, even when it's very distasteful to us. But, as much as I believe in the right to dissent, I also believe in the right of assent.

I don't believe you have to "roll over and play dead," because somebody else disagrees with you. I think it's about time in this nation that people who believe in what we're trying to do stand up and be heard, and that they speak out, not by just standing silently and nodding their heads and saying, "Oh yes, I think I will follow the President." That's not enough. We ought not to be just following the President, we ought to have a national public opinion of our own. We ought to be, in a sense, asking the President to follow the people and to lead the people in the conviction of the people.

Now, these men that I speak of are primarily in Asia to assure the people of those countries in which they are stationed - the right to choose, the right to decide their own futures, in other words to have the basic human rights of self-determination and independence. We believe in this, and I, for one, am a little weary of hearing about what the Communists believe in and about people wondering what we believe in. I think it's time that we speak up in terms of our own convictions and our own ideology. Now, self-determination and independence are a part of the great history of this nation, and they are threatened today the world over, threatened for the moment in its fiercest form by Asian Communism.

Man's search for peace is man's noblest pursuit. It requires a courage beyond anything that's known in man's experience. During my two recent trips to Asia, I had the opportunity to speak to many of the national leaders of the countries that I was privileged to visit. I learned their impressions of Asian Communism. All of them have had a good deal of first-hand experience with Communism; it's not theory with them. I did this, because it is vital to know one's adversary as thoroughly as possible and through many different eyes. I didn't come back with any simple answers or any simple remedies; there are none. Asian Communism is complex. It is deeply rooted in the tragic past of Asia, yet it is raw and it is dynamic; it has sharp cutting edges, and it is aggressive. Its leaders are convinced with zeal of their ultimate success. Now its approach is not economic; it is not economic determinism, although it capitalizes on poverty and despair. Its tactic is not one that's political, although its hard core followers are dedicated believers in the Marxist doctrine. It wraps itself in the honored robes of nationalism, even as it seeks to destroy nationalism in the name of international communism. Its thrust for power is not simply military, although it never has won power except by the ruthless use of force, and I doubt that it ever will. The plans of this movement are to be seen worldwide. The immediate threat

is in Vietnam where your sons are tonight.

Now, what are the realities of today in Vietnam? Well, first we are not fighting over a bit of geography; we are not fighting over the infected finger of the palm of Asia - the subcontinent alone. There is a much broader purpose. We seek to show the aggressor that the price of aggression come too high. And we also seek to make it clear that the rules of the 20th century for international conduct are not the rules of the jungle.

Now, there is a reality that we face in South Vietnam, and it is that no mild mannered "liberal, evolutionary, reformist party" is at work there. Every once in a while, I hear somebody say that all they're trying to do is "just reform the area." These are not reformers! We face dedicated Communist leaders, reactionally revolutionaries, seeking by force to subject a nation and a people to their will. Now, some of these revolutionaries are from the South, but most are from the North; some are irregulars - the guerrillas, and others are regular North Vietnamese soldiers.

Some of their supplies come from the South; some come from Hanoi; some from Peking, plenty, and some from Moscow. Their creed is Communism, and their means is terror. I suppose it would seem that it is almost unnecessary to recite this, but I am of the opinion that it is necessary once again to say it, because many people seem to assume that

what's going on is just a little old civil war between neighbors or family. But it is not that. It is a part of a much larger enterprise.

Now there is a second reality. What is happening in Vietnam is not an isolated occurrence, unconnected elsewhere. Those who inspire and support the use of force in Vietnam have made their plans clear. I sometimes wonder why we haven't more clearly understood them. Those plans include the use of subversion, infiltration, propoganda, assassination, sabotage, murder and outright military action to gain their objectives throughout the world. The fact that the battle is temporarily being fought in Vietnam in no way limits the design of those who are instigators of the aggression. In some places, such as Vietnam, aggression is in the guise of what they call a "War of National Liberation." In others such as India or Korea, it has come as a movement of regular troops, divisions, armies across a national frontier.

The Communist-backed terrorism in Vietnam is being felt not only in Asia but, tonight, in Africa and in Latin America. The recent conference in Havana laid out in clear terms -- within 90 miles of the coastline of the United States - the design, the plan for conquest, subversion, attack, murder, and military action on three continents -- Latin America,

Asia and Africa.

The testing ground is Vietnam in a "War of National Liberation." If they succeed there, they will spread like the plague -- a malignancy that will consume free people.

Three, I would point to the reality that, faced with this aggression, our response as a powerful nation has been of moderate tone, and our objective has been peaceful. Last April, the President of the United States at John Hopkins University made clear the unconditional nature of our offer for peaceful negotiation and settlement. He has reiterated that offer many times. He has emphasized that there are no insurmountable obstacles as to those who could be represented at the conference table, namely the so-called "National Liberation Front."

Last May, the President ordered suspension of the bombing in the north for five days. But the first day, there was open repudiation and insult from the north. By the third day, Hanoi, Peking and Moscow said with clear tone and clear words that they considered it "an insult."

Around December, we suspended the bombing for 37 days, because many said this was the only way that you could hope to initiate the preliminary stages of discussion for peace. In the past several weeks,

the President has sent his emissaries throughout the world to seek some means for peaceful negotiation. Initiatives outside of our own have been made - by the United Nations Secretary General, the 17 non-aligned nations and their proposals, the United Kingdom, Ghana, India, the President of India, the Commonwealth Nations, the efforts of Japan, of the United Arab Republic, by Pope Paul the VI. All of these efforts have been undertaken seriously and without success. All of them we have embraced -- all of them we have said we would accept. We have stated unequivocally that we support any effort toward peaceful solution and negotiation, no matter where it is initiated -- in any capital, in any form. And we have directly communicated to Hanoi -- I repeat, directly -- our willingness to begin immediately unconditional discussions, leading toward settlement.

What has been the response by Hanoi and Peking? Let me just read you a line from Ho Chi Minh's letter of last Friday - less than a week ago: "The U. S. imperialists are clamoring about their desire for peace," says Ho Chi Minh, "and their readiness to engage in unconditional discussions in the hope of foiling world opinion and the American people. Obviously, the U. S. search for peace is only designed to conceal its scheme for intensifying the war of aggression."

For 3½ days, we withheld the power of our Air

Force while their supplies and men moved across the frontiers.

From Peking has come an unusually violent form of hate propaganda regarding President Johnson's and your nation's peace offensive. I quote. Here's what they called it: "--a filthy, vicious basket of peace."

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this nation.

You and I know that we must not permit the struggle to become purely military - either in Vietnam or elsewhere. We must persist with diplomatic initiatives for peace, and we are in the United Nations, in the capitols of the world, everywhere.

We must counter the Communist political thrust with better politics - the politics of progress. And may I say, in the presence of the Senator from New York, that I think that one of the most brilliant dissertations on this has been given by Senator Jack Javits. I want him to know that. In fact, I took the liberty of presenting a review of Senator Javits' argument and document on this matter of political offensive to the President, and it is highly regarded. The politics of progress, of self-determination, of human dignity and self-respect - this is the better politics that must be ours.

And we must help the Asian nations to move forward through economic and social reform. This is where the struggle will be decided in the long run, even when the military victory is won. We have a clear obligation to help the people of Asia and of other continents to help themselves. I listened tonight, only 3 hours ago, to the fact that from 10 to 12 million people may die of starvation in India. This country of ours, this great America cannot stand idly by. With

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We've set ourselves no easy task, and we're not the kind of people who ought to have easy tasks. Our goal will require patience, and fortitude for the years ahead. I remind this audience tonight that, this

past year, this great nation produced 50% of all that was produced in this world. Much has been given us. We have been blessed by a fabulous system of politics, social structure and economics. We're the most fortunate people in the world. We have something else besides "our chains" to lose - our environment, the environment in which we want to live, in which we can grow and blossom and in which we can have the life that is worthy of our great nation and free people.

So, while our task is not easy, I believe that we can in the end succeed. Maybe I'm just a confirmed optimist, but I have tremendous faith, as you have, in the capacity of this nation to lead and create and to give and to share. Americans have learned their lessons, I hope - the lessons of history, so that we may not be doomed to repeat them. We have learned, have we not, that the appetite of aggressors is never satisfied. We have learned that aggression unchecked is aggression unleashed. And we have learned that a threat to freedom elsewhere can soon become a threat to freedom here.

May I add that the surest guarantee of peace in this world is the integrity of the American commitment. I ask this audience tonight to think what would happen in Western Europe tomorrow if the word went from your nation's capitol that we have no intention of keeping

our commitment to Western Berlin. I ask you to think what would happen if tomorrow the word went from this land that we did not intend to keep our commitments in NATO. The flood tide of Communism would envelop the globe. There would be disunity, disaster, chaos, everyone reaching for something and getting nothing but tyranny. I think that we've learned that leadership is not a luxury. I trust that we've learned that even this wonderful wealth, this great wealth of our country and the unbelievable power of this nation, has a more noble purpose than just to live an affluent life.

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And it is in this spirit that we should speak to a humanity that longs for leadership, motivated by justice - a leadership inspired by the cause of freedom.

Thank you.



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