

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

'LIFE' MAGAZINE SPACE TOUR

CAPE KENNEDY

APRIL 1, 1966

I am pleased that you good friends of the academic, advertising and publishing worlds have had an opportunity for an orientation-in-depth in the aeronautics and space world.

Eight years ago, our nation fashioned a program designed to put the United States in the forefront of space exploration. We resolved in the Space Act of 1958 to explore space for peaceful purposes -- to gain new perspectives about the world we live in and to apply this new knowledge for the benefit of all mankind.

This resolve has been singularly free of political partisanship. The original program was undertaken by President Eisenhower. It was accelerated by President Kennedy, and given new impetus by President Johnson, who was one of the original architects in defining and drawing up the basic blueprints that set the pattern for our entry into space.

As a result of the Space Act, we have channelled the energetic and balanced endeavors of a free economy into the achievement of important national goals.

In developing space capabilities, our country has maintained its prestige and its national security . . . promoted its own economic welfare . . . and stimulated those characteristics vital to the spiritual growth of the nation -- I mean, our determination to seek new knowledge and to strive ahead into the unknown.

Then there is the "spinoff" benefit: Through the space program, our nation has developed an unparalleled scientific, engineering, and managerial talent and capability.

We also have now, not the promise, but the realization of practical space applications undreamed of in Jules Verne's wildest imagination -- weather forecasting and communications are two of many previously unexplored areas.

Our space program has stimulated research into extremely high and low temperature physics . . . miniaturized electronic components . . . and advanced computer techniques.

The Space Age did not create these researches. Many of the scientific marvels we are witnessing today are based on principles that were initially uncovered back in the 18th and 19th centuries.

But sending rockets out beyond the earth did, indeed, stimulate the investigation of many fields previously ignored -- ignored because no one could think of an immediate, practical reason for exploring them.

But once the impetus of space exploration was applied, new knowledge and new applications blossomed.

The need to monitor the blood pressure and pulse rate of an astronaut 100 miles up and traveling at the rate of more than 17,000 miles an hour led to the development of techniques that have proved useful for studying and diagnosing ills here on the ground.

A device invented to measure micrometeoroid particles (and, by the way, never used for that purpose) resulted in a research instrument so sensitive it could measure the heartbeat of chicken embryos.

The examples of how space-oriented science and engineering have "spun-off" into non-space uses are too numerous to mention.

As the result of a strong space program, America today has an operational weather satellite program -- our ESSA I and II scan the skies daily and return cloud cover maps of weather all over the world. The availability of advance meteorological information means savings of millions of dollars to farmers and others whose livelihood depends on the weather all over the world.

Early Bird, the first operational satellite of the ComSat Corporation, brings two whole continents -- Western Europe and North America -- into virtually simultaneous two-way communication.

Our scientific satellites have brought back information and data about the mysterious cloud-wrapped planet Venus, and remarkably clear pictures of the Moon and Mars, that in less than a decade have given us more astronomical knowledge than we had obtained in the centuries since Galileo first pointed his telescope toward the heavens.

∟ And in the process of carrying out this program we have stimulated education -- this alone would make the program worthwhile -- and developed a vast fund of scientific and managerial skills that would serve our country well even if our satellites never got any higher than Charlie Brown's kite. !

The Space Age has demanded the careful managing of funds and personnel. We have had to administer wisely a budget of more than 5 billion dollars a year. FOR NASA,
AND ANOTHER 2 BILLION FOR THE OTHER
AGENCIES -

deal with 20,000 private companies who employ more than 400,000 people . . . enlist the aid of more than 150 universities, and build the greatest research and development

program in all history. And our success in space reflects how well we have managed to master these skills.)

IT ALSO REFLECTS THE GREAT TEAMWORK OF UNIVERSITIES, INDUSTRY, NASA, AND THE MILITARY.

Beyond this, the accomplishments in space have had an effect on attitudes toward innovation in non-space fields.

Our researcher in the field quotes various manufacturers in non-space businesses as saying such things as:

↳ "We don't use space technology, but it makes us rethink our old ways of doing things. We don't take anything for granted now. Also the space program makes us measure things, instead of playing our hunches."

Or "If they can get to the moon on time, I can get my transportation system to run on time."

The space program stimulates progress in aeronautics. For example, many of the advantages the United States has over other countries in developing advanced aircraft in all speed ranges stem from space research and development. This will be much more noticeable as we work toward commercial V/STOL planes and supersonic and hypersonic transports.

↳ Furthermore, the space program has spurred interest in education from Kindergarten to the PhD level.

It has helped to popularize difficult subjects such as mathematics and physics, which large numbers of our population must master if America is to survive in the modern world.

↳ NASA's sustaining university program, for instance, has helped universities in all 50 states participate in valuable space research programs while carrying out their most important function of training the leaders of the future generations.

↳ But beyond all this, the space program has added greater meaning to our lives. I have talked to a great many Americans recently about the benefits of the space program, and I have found that my fellow Americans get a thrill and a sense of accomplishment and satisfaction out of this great undertaking of our nation.

Our young people have a new frontier to explore. And this comes at a time when we thought all the frontiers were gone. They have new and exciting places to go out in the universe, new ideas to bring home and enrich their lives, new challenges to hone their character.

Yesterday our horizon was limited by the globe of earth, and today, as a result of this new frontier, our horizons are as limitless as the universe itself.

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Furthermore, the space program has spurred interest in education from Kindergarten to the PhD level. It has helped to popularize difficult subjects such as mathematics and physics, which large numbers of our population must master if America is to survive in the modern world.

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OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301

April 7, 1966

MEMORANDUM FOR Colonel Donald W. Paffel
Military Aide to the Vice President
Room 176, Executive Office Building

Thank you for taking me around the Vice President's Office today when I dropped by. He certainly is an impressive man, and it must be a wonderful experience to work for him.

Attached are two copies of the transcript of the Vice President's speech at Cocoa Beach, Florida. I am also returning the tape.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Richard de Neufville", is positioned above the typed name.

Dr. Richard de Neufville
Office of The Special Assistant

Attachments

ADDRESS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY

AT COCOA BEACH, FLORIDA

April 1, 1966

CHAIRMAN: I think protocol demands that I should introduce the Vice President. This seems not only unnecessary but somewhat irrelevant, because everybody knows the Vice President, but the Vice President doesn't necessarily know everybody who's here.

So, if I may, sir, I would like to reverse the role and introduce those here to you. Those here consist of approximately six eminent educators from the university field, 20 eminent practitioners of the advertising business, and they have spent now six days moving at a fantastic pace, seeing everything that there is to be seen, and my goodness, dear sir, Vice President, they have survived, which, after all, is one of the only important things there is in life and they've survived brilliantly and they look rather fresh--they look rather fresh and they're prepared to make trips and obviously they'd like to start all over again tomorrow morning for another six days.

(Laughter and applause)

Now this has been an opportunity, quite an extraordinary opportunity for all of us, and we have obviously, as you know, Mr. Vice President, seen all that there is to see, that we are allowed to see, at least, and we have been enormously

1 impressed ending up this evening with _____ which
2 frankly is somewhat depressing in that your own sense of your
3 own importance disappears to practically nothing at all in front
4 of you.

5 (Laughter)

6 I try to make up for this by saying to Dr. Davis that
7 obviously he had gone insane because either I had to believe in
8 this or he had gone insane and I preferred to have it the other
9 way.

10 The thing that--but you know with all we have seen,
11 all the marvels of science, the most minute and the most enormous,
12 the thing that I think everyone of us most had to do with the
13 peoples that we met--the Air Force, the NASA people, inexhaustible
14 Jim Webb--

15 (Laughter and applause)

16 --I don't know how anybody does what Jim Webb does.
17 I don't know how anybody had the wisdom to pick him. I don't
18 know how he survived. All I can do is to take my hat off to him
19 and I know all of you join me in taking your respective non-
20 existent hats off to Jim Webb.

21 (Applause)

22 These people have lived a great week. We all have
23 lived a great week. We are terribly grateful to all of you of
24 NASA and the Air Force for what you are doing--not we just person-
25 ally, but we as members of the United States, as citizens of the

1 United States.

2 And, sir, if I may say so, we are terribly grateful to
3 you for being kind enough to take the time off to have that last
4 bit of additional energy at the end of the week to come down and
5 visit with us.

6 Gentlemen, may I present the Vice President of the
7 United States.

8 (Applause)

9 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you very much.

10 Thank you Astronaut Heiskill.

11 (Laughter)

12 So this is your life, Mr. Hardy, and General Houston
13 and Dr. Kurt Giebis and the No. 1 briefer of all times, Colonel
14 Roco Petrone--

15 (Cheers and applause)

16 --Mr. Saturn V himself and may I express a word of
17 thanks from all of us to the very lovely and talented and gifted
18 and able woman that I hear really made the arrangements for this
19 festive evening and many other festive evenings on your six-day
20 journey, Ruth Fowler.

21 (Applause and cheers)

22 I just wanted two casual observations by a specialist
23 in space program, namely myself, I know that all of the gentlemen
24 here are very pleased that I saw fit to override all the protests
25 of the Life magazine editorial staff, executive office, in seeing

1 to it that the ladies were invited tonight. Sometime earlier this
2 week, I was told by someone in my office that this would be a
3 rather formal seminar.--

4 (Laughter)

5 --in which Jim Webb and Hubert Humphrey would have just
6 a few words.

7 (Laughter and applause)

8 I should have known when I heard that what kind of a
9 party this was going to be. But the truth is I understand you
10 haven't had anybody to explain the space program--

11 (Laughter)

12 --so Jim Webb called me and said, "Come down , Mr.
13 Chairman, come down from the Space Council.". And I want you
14 to know he said "come down" from the Space Council.

15 (Laughter)

16 I don't suppose there is any group of people who have
17 seen as much space over as long a period of time as the men in
18 this group that have had this six-day tour, unless it would have
19 been Astronauts Borman and Lovell. They're the only ones that
20 have been in orbit as long as you have.

21 (Laughter)

22 And I must say that you look better than they did
23 when they came back to earth.

24 (Laughter)

25 At least you're shaved.

1 Now I have a speech here and I'm glad to have it mimeo-
2 graphed. Life magazine may reprint it,--

3 (Laughter)

4 --as a matter of fact. I'll take this up with Mr. Hardy
5 and Mr. Heiskill and Mr. Thompson and others that are here. You
6 have some of your editorial staff. This really doesn't need much
7 editing.

8 (Laughter)

9 As a matter of fact, if I really were as considerate of
10 you as I ought to be, I'd give this speech because it's shorter
11 than the one I'm about to give.

12 (Laughter)

13 Quite frankly it's well-documented and I believe that
14 it's even been one that's been cleared, hasn't it, Jim, through
15 NASA?

16 (Laughter)

17 But it dawned on me somewhere around 7:30 or 8 o'clock
18 tonight that possibly you had heard a great deal about space and
19 since Colonel Petrone has decided to let you in on a few of the
20 intimate details--he, of course hasn't told you all; I'll tell you
21 the balance of it--

22 (Laughter)

23 --and Dr. Giebis has told you a bit, and General Houston
24 has told you a little and Jim Webb has had a word or two to say
25 about this--

1 (Laughter)

2 I just felt that maybe I shouldn't spend all my evening
3 talking about space.

4 But now having said that, I think I'll say a few words
5 about it.

6 (Laughter)

7 First I want to make a comment or two about this wonder-
8 ful program of ours, because it is our program. I know that all
9 of you have had a very valuable experience, and I wouldn't be a
10 bit surprised but what each and everyone of you about ready to
11 get your speech kit and start going out on the hustings to tell
12 of the wonders and the miracles and the promises of this program.

13 One of the most interesting assignments that I've had
14 as Vice President is to be Chairman of the Space Council, and I
15 can agree with you that the man that you applauded so heartily
16 and genuinely tonight, Jim Webb, is not only a tremendous man,
17 a truly dedicated public servant, an administrator and manager
18 second to none, but he's a great teacher. If you can't learn from
19 Jim Webb, you're a slow learner, that's all I can say.

20 (Laughter and applause)

21 And Jim has insisted that the Vice President as Chairman
22 of the Space Council take a little time to learn, and not only to
23 skim over the surface, and for this I'm extremely grateful because
24 the temptation is to just sort of touch it and run along and then
25 to feel that you have some sort of a book-review knowledge of what

1 is in the main body of the text. But Jim Webb, our spaceman in
2 the truest sense of the word, has insisted in performance from
3 everybody. And while I am the Chairman of the Council under the
4 Act of Congress as Vice President, I am eternally indebted as a
5 fellow American and citizen, to Jim Webb and to the Department of
6 Defense for their tremendous program of cooperation and scientific
7 endeavor and management of our space endeavors.

8 And I salute you, Jim, for all your good work.

9 (Applause)

10 Mr. Heiskill really stole the line which I wanted to
11 start off with, but I guess that's the way it is. You know--I
12 am--I learned about being Vice President, being No. 2, you just
13 have to--

14 (Laughter)

15 --you just have to try harder all the time.

16 (Laughter)

17 I want you men in the advertising business to know I
18 read all that stuff you prepare.

19 (Laughter)

20 And I believe a good deal of it in the light of which
21 you've been able to sell sometimes, why don't you try me.

22 (Laughter and applause)

23 But the line that has--was uttered here tonight about
24 this program, I would like to paraphrase in my own words. It's
25 not the miracles of our machines that astounds us, but truly it's

1 the quality of our people that really marks us as a great nation.
2 And this is true in so many endeavors and this is what's impres-
3 sed you. I know that. We're fascinated. Yes, we're almost in-
4 toxicated with the fabulous technology and the engineering that
5 we see, the products that we see in a tour such as this. But when
6 you get right down to it, these are but the by-products of the
7 man's mind, or the minds of men--the minds that generate skills
8 and technology and engineering that make the great discoveries
9 and the breakthroughs of science and technology.

10 And all day long I've been talking to people about this
11 new wealth and new power that is in the world and of which we're
12 richly endowed in it, is the new wealth of intellect, of education,
13 of developed minds, of enlightenment, brainpower and it's the new
14 power too of the mind and of the spirit--of the mind and the
15 spirit that's developed and trained and enriched, and this is
16 of course, the true strength of a country.

17 Woodrow Wilson once said that a nation is not as rich
18 as its factories or its mines or its industries or its banks or
19 its land. It is as rich as its people. And I think the space
20 program has demonstrated beyond a shadow of a doubt that you can
21 do great things with people, tremendous things. Everyone has a
22 line of scripture or a line of poetry or a line of verse that
23 tells him a great deal and that sort of reminds him of what the
24 possibilities are, and there is one line of scripture, and I
25 didn't mean to get very serious about it, but let me just tell you

1 what it is. "Greater things than I have done you shall do also."
2 I always feel that the miracles that have been performed, a man
3 can perform again, and we're performing those miracles, and we're
4 performing these miracles because that the mind of man has really
5 no limit. It can be developed far beyond what we know now, and
6 the space program has given it that incentive, has given us that
7 incentive for this development.

8 We've come a long ways in a short time. We celebrated
9 the 40th anniversary here the other night of Robert Goddard's first
10 launching of a rocket, the liquid fuel rocket. And that was the
11 night of the Gemini 8 rendezvous in docking with Agena and then
12 that hour of uncertainty and what some people thought might be
13 tragedy, and what an experience that was. A perfect launch, really
14 a perfect rendezvous and docking; the first nation on earth to do
15 it, a remarkable achievement, and a remarkable feat, and then all
16 at once, a difficulty. But again the human spirit and mind and
17 the training and the discipline that comes in this program overcame
18 the failure of a machine or the momentary limitation of a machine,
19 and I don't know what the proper word is but there was a disengage-
20 ment of the Agena from the capsule, from the Gemini capsule, and
21 then man took over from the machine. And the reentry and then
22 this incredible, almost-unbelievable recovery. There you saw
23 in just a few hours man's mastery over machines, and yet you also
24 saw the capability of the machine.

25 I think you saw the partnership between the mind of man

1 and the product of that man, the machine. And you then also wit-
2 nessed, or we did see or hear, of the unbelievable courage and
3 bravery of those who rescued or went to the help of the astronauts,
4 Armstrong and Scott, in the Gemini capsule as it splashed around
5 near the waters and the waters near Japan and Okinawa.

6 All of this tells us a great story about this program,
7 it's a story that Jim Webb has emphasized to me time after time,
8 the story of teamwork of management, of the coordination of a
9 host of facilities which requires the skills and the techniques
10 of management, and one thing that we Americans can be very proud
11 of, and those that are working with us in this program, is the
12 development of this great competence, this ability of managing the
13 most complex systems--the coordination and the integration of a
14 vast amount of material and men and it was all there in that
15 one night of Gemini 8 and the Agena.

16 It wasn't theory, it wasn't practice, it was the stark
17 reality of tragedy on our national doorstep, and we recovered.
18 When I say we, those who represented us, our astronauts and all
19 of the ground services, because it wasn't just the two men in
20 the capsule, even though they surely deserve the great credit;
21 it was everybody, here and in Houston and all around the world,
22 in the tracking stations, the Navy, the Air Force--whatever men
23 were involved in this program.

24 So I think of the space program in terms of our national
25 power, our national prestige, our national honor, our national

1 promise, and as a great force in a better world in international
2 cooperation.

3 One of the areas that I have been very interested in in
4 reference to our space program, is the international aspect, be-
5 cause we couldn't do what we're doing without international
6 cooperation. We need the stations in many parts of the world;
7 we couldn't do what we're doing without the fact that many people
8 have come to us from other lands to lend us and give us in this
9 nation of their talents, their brilliance, their intellect, their
10 scientific competence. The United States is the most fortunate
11 nation in the world when it keeps its gates open and its mind
12 open and its heart open, and when we open our doors and our hearts
13 and our minds we are enriched beyond even the word of man to
14 describe it, and there are men here in this room tonight that
15 have made possible America as it is.

16 And you've heard from others on this six-day journey,
17 men that came to us because America was free, because freedom
18 of inquiry, of research, of probing, of seeking, was available
19 here in this country. Let's never forget that. And let's never
20 forget too that as in science you need men who disagree on a
21 theory, who have different assumptions and battle it out, so to
22 speak, in the conflict of ideas so we need men in the social
23 sciences who do exactly the same thing. Who knows who has the
24 truth.

25 And this is why we protect jealously this great right of

1 dissent, even when it's very disagreeable, even when it causes
2 us great distress, because you never know but what those who dis-
3 agree may be right, and even if you knew they were not right,
4 you still should, as a free man, protect the right of those to be
5 different, to have their point of view.

6 There are many by-products of our space program, and,
7 by the way, for the members of the press, I like the--have a sense
8 of integrity with you, I stand fully-committed to everything that
9 I've written here and most everything that I have in this text
10 I'm saying now that I paraphrase it to you. I think it's better
11 this way.

12 (Applause and laughter)

13 This great space program of ours is, in a sense, the
14 product of great challenge. I wish it wasn't necessarily true,
15 and maybe it isn't necessarily true, it's just been historically
16 true, that free people generally learn from shock. I used to say
17 in politics there are two kinds of politics. There is, or at
18 least one kind, physiological politics--empty stomach, full head.
19 And I didn't want to say, well, you can have empty head and not
20 full stomach, you can't reverse it. But there certainly is a
21 physiological kind of politics. When people get in dire distress,
22 they do a good deal of thinking; they find ways of escape or they
23 find answers, and we've had to learn ourselves this way. We've
24 become a great international nation, a nation with international
25 responsibility with the understanding of international interdepen-

1 dence out of the tragedy of two world wars. We really didn't
2 learn it out of the books. Let's face it. We learned it out of
3 suffering, out of blood and sweat and tears. We really became in-
4 volved in the space program after the challenge of Sputnik and
5 really the shame of it, to our national honor, the nation that
6 prided itself upon inventive genius, the nation that prided itself
7 on its wealth and its power, upon its creativity and all at once
8 Sputnik through the space of the universe. And the Americans
9 were caught up, recognizing that they were second-rate in the new
10 era of discovery, because just as surely as in the 15th Century
11 and the 16th Century there were great explorers and men of dis-
12 covery in the oceans and on the earth, in the 20th Century and
13 in the 21st Century to come and others yet there will be those
14 who will make their discoveries in the cosmos of the universe,
15 space, and it took the Sputnik and its shock treatment to cause
16 us to reexamine our whole national endeavor in science and par-
17 ticularly in space technology, to look at our school system and
18 our universities and our schools of engineering and life sciences,
19 physical sciences, and the government of the people started to
20 respond in 1958. There was the Space Act under the Administration
21 of President Eisenhower, forwarded and advanced under the Adminis-
22 tration of President Kennedy, and given new impetus under the
23 Administration of President Johnson. There's no partisanship to
24 this.

25 As a matter of fact, the present President of the United

1 States is the author of the Space Act, and he's had a deep and
2 abiding interest in this space program and the purpose, as you
3 well know, was to explore space for peaceful purposes. And we
4 started to channel our resources and the balanced endeavors of a
5 free economy into the achievement of State and national goals.

6 Now what did we get out of this space program that costs
7 us a great deal? But like most everything else that costs a good
8 deal it's worth it. It's an investment, not an expenditure. Our
9 space program has done more to develop our universities than al-
10 most any other single endeavor that we've had. It has put a
11 premium upon excellence. And I'm sure that this premium upon
12 excellence is not only in the academic profession. It's in manage-
13 ment, it's in industry, it is in the military, it is in science
14 and technology, all across the board. You can't be half-good.
15 When a thruster or whatever you call it went wrong in Gemini 8
16 people understood for once and for all the importance of reliability
17 and perfection. The space program compels man to be as close to
18 perfection as man has been able to achieve, and those who are in
19 it become the better for it. It has upgraded our whole national
20 life.

21 Why I've been in these laboratories where they have
22 these perfectly clean places, you know, where everybody's dressed
23 in white and where they take all the dust out and every--they make
24 it absolutely immaculate. This, within itself, as an experiment,
25 just as from visual observation, makes you know that you have

1 to do better. The quality of the people of this program has been
2 emphasized. That quality is the best, because less than the best
3 is failure, and the program is far too costly in endeavor to
4 tolerate failure, or to endure mediocrity. So we get many things
5 from it. We get new--we get something else that I want to empha-
6 size here tonight just a moment. We have obtained from this pro-
7 gram a better understanding between Government and industry and
8 the academic institutions, the scientists and the engineer, the
9 doctor and the mathematician and the military than ever before.

10 We have been--we have really had the experience of
11 partnership. This program cannot be a government program, and be
12 successful. This program cannot be an industrial program and be
13 successful. This program that is designed for the exploration of
14 space for peaceful purposes cannot be just a military program,
15 and achieve that national objective. This program cannot be just
16 academic or merely scientific, nor can it be simply technology.
17 It has to be all of these things. And through this synthesis of
18 the many disciplines to what we call the systems approach, a
19 whole new concept in management we are learning partnership, and
20 there is less friction between Government and business in this
21 program than in almost any program that we have, and there is
22 less misunderstanding or less friction between a civilian agency
23 and a military agency than in any combination of programs we've
24 ever had, and when I see men here as I do General Houston, and
25 Dr. Diebis and Jim Webb, I think this is the living proof of what

1 I am saying. These men work together for a common objective, and
2 a common purpose, with national objectives and goals clearly
3 stated, and this is what it takes in this country.

4 (Applause)

5 I emphasize this because ours is a mixed system. If I
6 were to be asked to write a description of the American economic
7 system, I doubt that I could really do it. I remember when I had
8 that long eight-hour discussion with Mr. Khrushchev, and my
9 friends of Life magazine were kind enough to let me have a little
10 article in there for which you paid me handsomely--

11 (Laughter)

12 I liked both, by the way, I want you to know--

13 (Laughter)

14 But that was a most interesting discussion and Mr.
15 Khrushchev a very argumentative and skillful man put me on the
16 spot several times, and he said, "All right, let's--you believe
17 in your capitalism, I believe in our socialism. You tell me
18 about your capitalism. I give you 20 minutes."

19 I took my 20 minutes and then he told me about his
20 socialism for 20 minutes. And interestingly enough, on careful
21 reflection, his socialism wasn't all socialism, as he calls it,
22 and our capitalism wasn't all Adam Smith either.

23 (Laughter)

24 It was a mixture. But our system is one that has great
25 motivation from private initiative, but it requires in the periods

1 at least of exploration and development, a cooperative relation-
2 ship with the Government or withoutside forces that can give it
3 that extra drive, that extra something that may be needed to take
4 off. And then the system itself, the private system, may well be
5 able to handle the burden.

6 So we've learned so much these days, and I repeat to
7 you that this has great meaning in all that we seek to do, because
8 the Government, when you speak of what government does in this
9 country, it's like the cap from an iceberg, it's only that little
10 that appears. The real base of this economy of this country is
11 below the surface of the water. And when we speak of what we do
12 with foreign aid, it isn't just what the Government spends, it's
13 all the great private investment that grows too.

14 And when I read the figures that we spend \$3 billion
15 in foreign aid, I said, well now, that's for the secondary or the
16 elementary children, elementary schools, because anybody that
17 is beyond high school should surely know what we do in foreign
18 aid is far beyond anything that the Government ever thought of
19 doing. It's the billions of dollars of private investment; it's
20 the thousands of private individuals, it's even the missionaries
21 and the 4-H clubs, and the--all sorts of voluntary organizations.
22 Because this is an economy in which Government only supplements
23 and does not supplant, in which government is an addition and
24 not the totality. And the space program surely tells us that.

25 But it's an important element, and I think everyone

1 here senses that.

2 Now what are some of the spin-offs of this? You know,
3 the products. I shan't burden you with them. But there are some
4 other spin-offs besides batteries and medical spin-offs and all
5 new metals and fabrics and all the new coverings, and the paints
6 and all that comes from it, like on through these laboratories
7 as you have. Those are the tangible spin-offs. But the real
8 spin-off, I think, is the upgrading as I said of our whole national
9 existence, and the new power and the new wealth that comes because
10 of what we're doing. Now that new power and new wealth is real-
11 ized in such figures as 20,000 companies engaged in this program,
12 400,000 some people directly employed in it, 150 universities,
13 the beneficiaries of grants or aids or involvement in one way
14 or another. But the real spin-off is the new power and the new
15 strength of this nation. And it's on that, for a moment, before
16 I quit here that I want to say a word.

17 As you know, I have some responsibilities as a member of
18 the National Security Council. As a member of the President's
19 cabinet. 16 years in the Senate and 12 years in which I served
20 in the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Whatever we do here
21 in the United States and what we do here is very important, but
22 all of it is related ultimately to what happens in the world.

23 As I've said to my friends out in the Midwest where Ray
24 Mathune and I live, what happens in the Middle East is maybe more
25 important than anything that's going to happen in the Middle West
as far as my family is concerned. I have less control over what

1 happens in the Middle East and therefore it's much more danger-
2 ous. But the Middle East as the crossroads of civilization, is
3 very explosive. The Middle West, where we live, while it has its
4 troubles, at least is an area where we fully understand and we
5 think manageable. And what happens in the Far East is more im-
6 portant than what happens on our Eastern seaboard. Or should I
7 say it's as equally important, because, of course, we know that
8 the strength that we have in our own country, the strength of our
9 economy, the improvement of our educational structure, the health
10 of our people, the spirit of our people, the determination of
11 our people, the stability of our government, the integrity of
12 our institutions--all of these things relate to our national
13 purpose and our national strength, which, in the short run and
14 in the long run is the best guarantee of peace in this world.

15 I came back from a rather long journey here recently.
16 If fact I've made three trips to the Far East since December 27th,
17 and if you don't think that's a tiresome experience, why you try
18 it--and some of you have. But it's also an invigorating experience.
19 It isn't that you learn so much new; it is that what you have
20 already learned comes into real sharp focus. I would hate to have
21 anyone believe that a tour of 3 or 4 days in Saigon taught me
22 about Vietnam. To do that would be an affront to the intelligence
23 of the people and would be sheer mockery, of man's purpose in life
24 and his responsibilities. But after having read for years about
25 Southeast Asia and surely in recent months the voluminous details

1 in cables and reports about Vietnam when I came there and when I
2 saw it, and when I came in contact with the people, all at once
3 it came alive. I'm sure it's very much the same as the astronauts
4 feel after they've read all about the wonders of outer space and
5 then they are there. What is that they constantly exclaim--"It's
6 so beautiful! It's so beautiful!" Why surely they knew it was
7 beautiful before they went there; they had all the theoretical
8 understanding that anyone could have, but all at once it hit them
9 and it was unbelievable, beyond their fondest dreams or imagination.

10 My experience was very much the same. I'd read about
11 it, I'd studied about it, I argued about it, I'd read so much that
12 I was weary of it, with all the confusion, the complexity and the
13 uncertainty about it too, running through my mind, and then I came
14 there and saw it and met the people and it suddenly took form.
15 It wasn't beautiful, but let me tell you it was visible and
16 very meaningful and I went from country to country--14 countries--
17 Mrs. Humphrey joining me in most all of this with the exception
18 of Thailand, Laos and Saigon, areas that are under serious attack
19 these days, but we were in Japan and Pakistan and India and Korea
20 and Taiwan the Philippines, Saigon, and Thailand and Laos and New
21 Zealand and Australia and I guess 1 or 2 other places, and every
22 place I went I found one common dominator, and this is something
23 that ought to be manifestly clear to everyone and it ought not
24 to be even a point of argument, the fact of Asian-Chinese-Communist
25 militancy, aggressiveness. Some people openly admit it; others are

1 much more subtle in their discussion, but it is a fact. The Prime
2 Minister of India was here just this past week, and if you want to
3 find out about Chinese Communist militancy ask her. And may I say
4 that it didn't do much good to try to placate the Chinese either,
5 because if any government ever tried to arrange its policies to
6 be pleasing to Communist China it was India. India not only tried
7 to rearrange its policies to direct its energies and its publicity
8 and its information to please India; it even went so far as to
9 sponsor China in the United Nations even when China didn't want
10 to be a member, and twice in three years, the Indians have been
11 the victim of Chinese Communist aggression.

12 In the Far East Communist activity is not a subject for
13 academic discussion; it's a matter of life and death and I'm not
14 one given to being a sort of a--dragging the red herring across
15 people's doorsteps. I've been accused of other things, but not
16 that.

17 (Laughter)

18 But I can say without any doubt at all, that there is
19 a virus loose and at work in the Asian areas and we see its most
20 vivid manifestation and its greatest degree of evidence of its
21 diriment nature in South Vietnam. I'm not going to give you a
22 discourse on all of our programs and policies in South Vietnam,
23 I can frankly tell you that this is certainly no civil war, and
24 anybody that thinks it's a civil war has flunked his course in
25 history and the elements of political science. It's a war that's

1 fed from the North, the Vietcong controlled from Hanoi. To be
2 sure, most of the members of the Vietcong are from the South.
3 Many of them came from the North ten years ago and were left
4 there for the very purpose that they now perform. The National
5 Liberation Front is neither national nor a liberation movement.
6 It is internationally controlled and it is a movement of oppression.
7 The only honest word in that phrase "National Liberation Front"
8 --the only honest word is "Front", and we ought to know what that
9 means.

10 Mr. Kosygin whom I met in India, really had a better
11 understanding of what was going on there than some of our fellow
12 Americans. When we talked with Mr. Kosygin--and when I say "we",
13 the Secretary of State, Mr. Rusk, and myself--I've spent now ap-
14 proximately four hours in discussion with the Chairman of the
15 Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, and I talked with Mr.
16 Kosygin--he didn't talk about peace with the Vietcong. He never
17 even mentioned them. He said if you want peace you'll have to get
18 it in Hanoi. He knew where the power was. One thing about the
19 Communists, they do understand the centers of power. And they're
20 not dancing around the bon fire. They go right to the heart of
21 the problem.

22 I came back from this journey insofar as Vietnam was
23 concerned, expressing restrained optimism on the military front.
24 I said there was reason for encouragement, and there is, despite
25 the unbelievable perplexities the fragility of the government,

1 the uncertainty of the situation; the present situation is so
2 much better than it was a year ago that any man of reason and
3 judgment would have to say that we have a right to be encouraged.
4 This doesn't mean that we may not suffer some temporary defeats,
5 or doesn't mean that a madman cannot take a truck and drive it
6 into a hotel and destroy himself and the hotel. You can do that
7 in Miami or Orlando or Cocoa Beach, and we'll have to face this
8 kind of a war in which the Vietcong leaves no real front line in
9 which the people are a part of their attack, and their people are
10 like the ocean and they swim within it, leaving themselves and
11 the people almost as if one using terror as a method of control
12 and new war, entirely new, just as new as the exploration of
13 space, and any nation that can find its way to the Moon and any
14 people that can rendezvous and dock in outer space, and any
15 people that can develop an environment so that two men can live
16 14 days in outer space and come back healthy, ought to be able to
17 find the answer how to defeat wars of national liberation, how
18 to defeat wars of guerilla-like activities.

19 It'll take time, it'll be costly, but we have to do it.
20 If we don't do it, the new forms of aggression will have to--will
21 become the patterns of international conduct. And every small
22 nation on the face of the earth will face the possibility of
23 being destroyed, devoured or absorbed by the giants who have
24 uncontrollable appetites of aggression.

25 Now we're not in South Vietnam, my friends, merely to

1 defend a piece of geography. I want to make it quite clear.
2 There's good enough reason to do that. We're there, of course,
3 because of treaty; we're there, of course, because of a resolution
4 of Congress; we're there because of commitment; we're there, as
5 people say, because of honor. All of that has a certain degree
6 of credibility, but we're basically there because we are trying
7 to demonstrate that the price of aggression comes too high for
8 the aggressor to pay it. We're there to defeat aggression; we're
9 there to make sure that aggression does not become a rule of con-
10 duct in international relations. We're there, just as we went
11 to Europe, and just as we went after Pearl Harbor, to make it
12 crystal clear that aggression shall not be a means or force
13 shall not be a means of establishing or gaining national objectives
14 or political power.

15 That's what it's all about.

16 (Applause)

17 And this--and this space power that we're developing
18 today has a great deal to do with it too. As a matter of fact,
19 we're able to communicate today in South Vietnam because of
20 space. And we're able to do many things today for the welfare,
21 the well being of our troops because of the achievements in
22 space. And we're able to be in Vietnam because of the many
23 factors that make up American power and let me just leave this
24 thought with you. We have unlimited power. We have power enough
25 to frighten any civilization, any nation, any society, and our-
selves.

1 The amount of power we have is in fact so incredibly
2 great that it imposes a tremendous world responsibility upon us
3 of self-discipline. We have the power to literally destroy all
4 of God's creation. And I think we ought to keep that very care-
5 fully in mind. So what America is doing today with this un-
6 believeable source of power and this incredible amount of wealth
7 that is ours, is limiting the use of that power for a very limited
8 and selected objectives. There is no problem in this country to
9 get America into a war frenzy. The task of statesmanship toda
10 and the task of your President is how to use this power with
11 measured restraint; how to keep this nation from becoming inflamed
12 into a war spirit, and what a task it is for our men overseas.
13 They don't have any brass bands; they don't have any parades;
14 there isn't anybody singing songs for them as they leave these
15 shores. These young men, these 235-40 thousand men are there
16 because of duty. They're there in a sense because they're pro-
17 fessionals; they're there because they know what it's all about.
18 This is the wisest, the most intelligent, the most informed
19 generation of Americans that ever lived, and it's to the eternal
20 credit of those better than 200,000 Americans that are there that
21 they know why they're there and what they're doing and what
22 their purpose is. They're disciplined; they're trained, they're
23 effective, they're courageous, they're brave, they're everything
24 that you would want. They give an account of themselves in the
25 battlefield that's second to none and the same men that can fight

1 to the death for three days at battle will come home and spend
2 the next four days in a village, to rebuild it, to care for the
3 children, to teach the adults, to build a school, to hold classes,
4 to help the little children, to heal the sick. It's a great
5 tribute to this society that we can produce men, who, on the one
6 hand, understand the responsibilities of citizenship and of
7 world leadership, and who can fulfill their duties at command
8 and know why they're doing it, and then the same man that has
9 that uniform and the gun, who is capable of using force with
10 unbelievable effectiveness, that same man becomes a citizen at
11 the same time and he carries out programs of civic action, of
12 compassion, of humanitarian concern. The same Marine, the same
13 Infantryman, the same Paratrooper, the same pilot, the same Navy
14 officer, the same Coast Guard man does the same thing that I'm
15 speaking of.

16 There's never been a finer group of men in the field
17 I have visited, and there is less complaint, less misunderstanding
18 amongst these men as to why they're there than any Army we've ever
19 had and may I say, less than there is in the civilian population
20 that is supposed to be supporting them in their endeavors.

21 So I came back encouraged; I came back because of the
22 quality of our men, once again. Not of our machines, because
23 of the quality of our leadership, because of the strength of our
24 people and because we have a plan of action, and because that
25 plan of action is not merely military; it is integrated with what

1 we call economic and political progress.

2 Now we're going to win on the battlefields of Vietnam.
3 The question is can we win in the rice fields, and in the vill-
4 ages, and here's going to be the test of our patience, because
5 just as surely as we're gathered in this dinner tonight, My Fellow
6 Americans, there is no power on the face of this earth that can
7 drive us out of Vietnam and there is no combination of power that
8 can defeat us. The enemy knows it if you don't. And one thing
9 I think Americans ought to understand is, that you don't win by
10 selling yourself short, and you don't win by going into a struggle
11 saying "I wonder why we're here?". I'm a man that's been in
12 politics a long time and I can tell you that if you really want
13 to win in a campaign you don't start out by saying "Well, I think
14 they're going to defeat us and I wonder if I should have run?".
15 I tried that once and I know what happened to me.

16 (Laughter)

17 You have to start out, my good friends, believing in
18 your cause, knowing that your cause is right and having indom-
19 itable will and unbelievable faith. We have reason for it.
20 This is not braggadocio. This is not being bellicose or bellig-
21 erent. This is not false modesty. The fact is, we do have these
22 qualities that I speak of, but the test will be, can we help build
23 a nation, and tonight, as I speak to you, that little country
24 over there, has a very weak government. I don't even know whether
25 it will survive, and I know that there will be people who will say,

1 "Well, how can you win, if you can't even have a government?".
2 Let me give you some words of reassurance, not that I'm recom-
3 mending it, but let me give you a little history. In Greece, in
4 the Greek civil war, which was no civil war either, when the
5 flow of supplies stopped from Moscow to Belgrade over the Yugo-
6 slav border, the Greeks were able to handle what was called the
7 civil war.

8 But in the Greek civil war, as General van Fleet told
9 me who came to visit me here just three days ago on a matter,
10 there were 11 changes of government in 18 months. There's only
11 been four in Vietnam, and Vietnam has been under foreign rule for
12 a thousand years by the Manderins, for several generations under
13 the French, and in constant war for 25 years, since 1940.

14 South Vietnam lost 61,000 of its local officials through
15 assassination since 1959. It's a wonder they have any leadership
16 left. These are a strong people, believe me. The human resources
17 there are good and even though this government is weak and even
18 though there may be changes and there may well be, the people
19 are there. The Army is there, the will to fight is there, and
20 I wonder what other people could say that after 25 years of
21 constant war you could still put an army in the field, and give
22 as good account as these people are.

23 So may I suggest that we not lose our willingness to
24 persevere.

25 I'm not much of a warrior myself. I am a man of peace.

1 And I believe that the other war that we're fighting there is
2 the one that we really have to win. We really have to win the
3 war against disease and pestilence and ignorance and instability
4 and hopelessness. We have to help these people modernize their
5 country, improve their agriculture, and we are--and we're not
6 alone--39 other countries are helping. Not as much as many of
7 them should, but more each day, and I'm happy to tell you that
8 we have allies, and brave allies--the Koreans, the Australians.
9 I went to Australia. I visited there with the cabinet and the
10 people--and, by the way, I had a wonderful reception. When we
11 arrived, Mrs. Humphrey and I, it was an evening, there was a Texas
12 sunset; it was simply beautiful.

13 (Laughter and applause)

14 AND in the morning as we awakened, there was a--we
15 opened the window at Ambassador Clark's residence--I opened a
16 window and--swish--in came a nice cool breeze just like a Minn-
17 esota breeze in November--

18 (Laughter)

19 --maybe December.

20 (Laughter)

21 But surely not January.

22 (Laughter)

23 So we felt very much at home. And when I went up to
24 the parliament they had a demonstration outside--just like back
25 home.

(Laughter)

1 And I spoke that Noon at the luncheon, and I mentioned
2 to the Parliament, to the Parliamentarians, and to the citizenry
3 that was gathered there for this luncheon how hospitable the new
4 Prime Minister, Prime Minister Holt had been. I said it was just
5 wonderful. As I recited to you, a Texas sunset. A morning breeze
6 that was like the balmy breezes of Minnesota and as I came to
7 the Parliament there were the people with the placards marching
8 up and down. They spent a week trying to get 39 of them.

9 (Laughter)

10 But they had them. But I said, "Mr. Prime Minister,
11 I never realized that you'd go so far to make me feel at home."

12 (Laughter)

13 Texas, Minnesota, and demonstrators, and mind you, the
14 organizer of the demonstration was a young lady from New York
15 that was a graduate of the University of California, in Australia
16 on a Federal Government scholarship.

17 (Laughter)

18 It was unbelievable, what courtesy.

19 (Laughter)

20 Now this is what I call really advancing. I don't know
21 who made those arrangements, but I do know that after we left
22 the Australians decided to send 4500 instead of 1500. And I do
23 know that this last week the Ambassador from New Zealand came to
24 me and said they were strengthening their artillery battery and
25 they were sending five medical teams and two teams for the refugees

1 and the orphans. And I do know that Korea has two divisions
2 in a brigade, and I do know that President Marcos of the Philippi-
3 nines who a year ago fought and opposed sending troops to
4 South Vietnam walked out of a conference where we were together
5 and I didn't ask him and he came on out and I asked him only if
6 he would walk out with me since I had to meet the press and I
7 thought it would be well, since I was his guest, if he would be
8 along side of me. He said I'd be pleased. And I said if you
9 have anything to say, surely it's in your country, I would like
10 to accede to your wishes and I shall follow whatever you may have
11 to say.

12 He took the microphone, and he said, "I have sent to
13 my Congress a request to send a construction battalion and sup-
14 porting troops and if I have my way, I want to send combat troops."
15 And why? Because he said this battle in Vietnam is not one for
16 the United States; it's one for the Philippines. If the Communists
17 lose (sic) there then the Huks are activated in the Philippines
18 and they're activated now, just exactly as the Thias found the
19 subversives are working their area too, and all of these govern-
20 ments understand clearly that it is not military force alone that
21 can save them. That they must have a better day, and there's a
22 new spirit in Asia, and I ask my fellow Americans who are now
23 so busily engaged in exploring outer space to also explore the
24 earth.

25 I happen to believe that a nation that can do what

1 we're doing to explore the mysteries of space, to put a man on
2 the Moon, and we must, we will, we shall, we have the resources,
3 we ought to do it, its imperative that we do it, but any nation
4 that can put a man on the moon can help put a man on his feet
5 right here on earth.

6 And any nation that can discover the mysteries of Mars
7 and Venus and talk about Jupiter and can send great machines that
8 will travel around the Moon and take pictures and land on the
9 Moon and return can learn about Asia. And just as Sputnik shook
10 us out of our lethargy so that we were determined to move and
11 explore the stars, so Vietnam--the tragedy of Vietnam, the pain
12 the sorrow, the cost, the misery, and it's every bit of that--
13 is going to compel us at long last to learn about the other part
14 of the world.

15 You cannot be a world leader with a half world knowledge.
16 And my fellow Americans we know very little about this world; we
17 know about Europe, we know a little about Latin America, something
18 about the Western Hemisphere, period. Yes, a little about Japan,
19 not even too much. Because this is the same America that thought
20 it could defeat Japan in 90 days. We know so little of Southeast
21 Asia, so little if you please, about India and Pakistan, so little
22 about China, and at long last we are having an awakening and just
23 as we were shocked into action and performance by the demonstration
24 of a foreign power that was not our friend, we are now shocked
25 into action and I think can do a better understanding of the

1 world in which we live by tragic circumstances in a far-away
2 place. So we're going to have our universities and our great
3 institutes of learning not only teach of the wonders of science,
4 but about Asia, the cultures and the people, the religions, the
5 economic and social forces that are at work. Yes, sir, and we
6 need to learn about friend and foe alike. And we need to under-
7 stand clearly that the same principles that are applied in thwart-
8 ing aggression in Europe, must be applied in Asia. The same
9 principles of containment without isolation that were applied on
10 the Soviet Union, must be applied in Asia. The same determination
11 to rehabilitate a continent that were applied in the Marshall Plan
12 in Europe must be applied in Asia. The 500 million people of
13 India, my fellow Americans, is a greater population than Africa,
14 Latin America, Canada and Mexico put together and if you add
15 Pakistan with its 100 million and the subcontinent of India and
16 Pakistan it's a greater total population than Africa, South America,
17 Central America, Canada, New Zealand, Australia and Korea. That's
18 a lot of people.

19 And those people are going to determine a great deal
20 what happens to us.

21 So I don't find that there's any conflict of interest
22 in being interested or trying to probe the mysteries of the stars
23 and the uncertainties of the earth. The same minds must do it.
24 This general right here (indicating), General Houston, that has
25 a responsibility for the defense of this country, is a man that

1 gives of his talents to this great endeavor in the field of
2 science and research in space, but he also must know of the
3 geography, of the ethics, of the ethnic origin, of the social-
4 economic forces on this earth. And the same is true of my
5 friend, Dr. Kurt ^{Debus} ~~Giebis~~ and Jim Webb and everyone of us. So
6 you see, it's quite an advantage to be Vice President. You can
7 skip over all of these things and talk to you about many.

8 And my job tonight is not to give you the answers.
9 My job this evening is to pose the problem, because if we had a
10 job to do all the answers, I don't think we'd have a very healthy
11 people. The task of leadership is not only to lead to solutions,
12 but to have the courage to lead to face the realities, and I
13 believe that one in public life today has to be both a leader
14 and an educator. He has to educate to the best of his ability,
15 and he has to lead. He has to ask the people to face up to what
16 is real, and not the myths. And to find the solutions to the
17 real problems rather than to avoid difficulties.

18 Thank you very much.

19 (Applause)

20 CHAIRMAN: Mr. Vice President, I think that applause is a
21 demonstration of our feelings about what you had to say, and although
22 you may possibly come in second best to Jim on words per minute--

23 (Laughter)

24 --you certainly are his equal in enthusiasm and in elo-
25 quence and in staying power.

1 I have one bit of business here--oh, but first, although
2 you haven't gotten up at 6:30 every morning for a week--

3 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Oh, I wouldn't be so sure
4 about that.

5 (Laughter)

6 --and you haven't had 12 briefings a day--

7 (Laughter)

8 --and you haven't tramped around all those hard pads,
9 with the permission of this fraternity, I would like to declare
10 you a full-fledged member of the Life Space Tour and present you
11 with your own hard hat.

12 (Laughter and applause)

13 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: No conflict of interest here.

14 (Laughter)

15 CHAIRMAN: We'll discuss it later when I find out
16 what we paid you for that article.

17 (Laughter)

18 Mrs. Humphrey, Mrs. Houston, Mrs. Diebis, I do have
19 one other bit of business I would like to do with your kind
20 permission. General Houston, * * *

21
22 (At this point the transcription concluded)

23
24 #####
25



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