

Physical fitness

Elections tomorrow

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REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

UNITED STATES JAYCEES

DETROIT, MICHIGAN

JUNE 29, 1966

Use of younger generation
Know you
Changed your name.

Exhausted Rosta

Gov Romney
Richard Nixon
Gov Phil Hoff
of Vermont.

Eighteen years ago, a brilliant English author
named Eric Blair unleashed a nightmare vision of life
in the future.

Blair foresaw endless wars among three great
super-powers. Every aspect of life would be totally
controlled and man would be reduced to a robot-like
existence -- directed in his behavior and thought-
processes by an all-seeing, tyrannical government.

X
Sargent Berry Sadler

Blair's book was a warning to mankind: Unless the course of history changed, man would be doomed by what he had created.

And unless man himself changed, he was destined to lose every trace of personal freedom and every trace of his individuality.

If this book sounds familiar, it should.

Eric Blair wrote under the pen name of George Orwell. And his book was 1984.

We are now halfway to the year 1984 -- halfway to Orwell's perpetual bad dream where apathy, cruelty, and ignorance were not only dominant characteristics of life, but the aims of the state itself.

In 1948, when Orwell wrote his novel, the reign of Josef Stalin had sealed off all of the Soviet Union and

Eastern Europe in a bleak and brutal police state, where all movements were controlled, all individuality suppressed, all thoughts suspected. Stalin himself personified Orwell's fictional dictator, Big Brother.

The world knew, in Churchill's words, "that it is only America's possession of the atomic bomb that has kept bombs from falling on London again."

Today, 18 years later, no responsible government in the world believes that war between East and West is either imminent or inevitable.

During the past 10 years alone more than 60 new countries have been born -- nations which previously had not existed, except as colonial enclaves, or as tribes or protectorates.

Today 18 yrs later - some new nations
But none has turned to communism.

2 Nor have the voters of any nation yet freely elected a Communist regime to power. ~~Even in Eastern Europe,~~ monolithic control has gradually eased in favor of a system of national regimes -- each increasingly following its own course.

3K Indeed, self-determination and national independence ~~- Nationalism~~ have dominated the postwar period.

up here 1 The last 18 years have brought us many troubles, ~~But Orwell was wrong~~ but they should nevertheless give us hope that totalitarian regimentation is not the wave of the future. 60 new nations but none have turned to Communism

Our time is not ruled by political dogma. The great moving force in the world today is humanity's restless craving for freedom . . . for opportunity . . . for a fuller share of the blessings of life . . . above all, for a chance for individual expression and fulfillment -- in short, for the very things which lie at the heart of our own American Revolution.

It is, in fact, the precepts of the American
Revolution -- not those of Marxism -- to which the
by-passed people of the world are today stirring.

↳ The marching feet in the world today are those of
people seeking freedom. yes. Freedom now!

~~Millions of people in the world -- yes, in our own
country -- are restlessly seeking the same freedom and
well-being that you and I enjoy.~~

It has been said that foreign policy is really domestic
policy with its hat on. In a sense, this is true.

↳ We know that rich nations cannot be secure amid
the overwhelming misery of the poor nations.

↳ We have learned, too, that no prosperous American
neighborhood can really be secure amid other neighborhoods
filled with poverty and pent-up anger.

⌞ We have learned that no ^{economy} ~~business~~ can operate at maximum efficiency until those who are unemployed find work . . . that no city can provide the best in life until the worst of its slums come open to the light . . . and that our own children cannot achieve the fullness of the future until the children of others can share in it.

⌞ Some say we seek to create in America a welfare state. I think this reflects a deep misunderstanding on the part of those who say it. What we seek to create is a state of opportunity.

We seek to increase the opportunity of the individual to achieve his full potential, unhampered by ignorance, poverty and discrimination. ⌞ We seek to make it possible for the individual to identify and satisfy his own aspirations.

⌞ We seek not to paralyze initiative, but to revive it; not to build up the opportunity of those below at the expense of those above -- but to broaden the horizons of both; not to dictate the terms of help, but to allow each community to find its own answers in its own way.

⌞ That is what our national investments in education, in health, in the war against poverty are all about. They are investments in self-help, in personal initiative, in opportunity.

All the new laws which go under the Great Society label were written to encourage and insure the full participation and partnership of state and local governments, private organizations and individual citizens.

And I hope that many of you will read those laws, examine them, understand them and use them to help your own communities.

~~John F. Kennedy~~

All of us know that the most effective action is action at the grassroots level -- and that is where we all want it to come.

No, we are not avoiding Orwellian misery by constructing a welfare utopia that would diminish human choice and incentive. Instead, we seek a course that provides growth, purpose and direction to all who are willing to grasp the chance to use their talent and energy.

↳ Thomas Wolfe expressed our goal more than a generation ago:

"To every man his chance, to every man, regardless of his birth, his shining, golden opportunity. To every man the right to live, to work, to be himself, and to become whatever things his manhood and his vision can combine to make him. This . . . is the promise of America."

↳ It would be inaccurate to say that there are no challenges -- in the Orwellian sense -- to our freedom or to our individuality in America today. *of course*
there are dangers & pitfalls,

And, ~~as young men who are also businessmen,~~ ^{your} responsibility in meeting these challenges is great.

For you are leaders. You are successful. And your stake in our American success is great.

The ~~great~~ ^{great} challenge which faces us is to assure that, in our society of bigness, we do not strangle the voice of creativity . ^{or the individual} ~~or~~ that the rules of the game do not come to overshadow its purpose . ~~or~~ that the grand orchestration of society leaves ample room for the man who marches to the music of another drummer.

It is the businessman who, of all citizens, most clearly knows what many others but dimly see: That much of our American progress has been the product of the individual who had an idea; pursued it; fashioned it; tenaciously clung to it against all odds; and then produced it, sold it, and profited from it.

It is the businessman who knows that a society which turns away from the man who has the courage to speak the unpopular, the unfashionable, the new and the untried -- that society is dissipating one of its greatest potential sources of strength.

Competition of Ideas is at the very heart of Freedom - Freedom in the market place of economic freedom in the market place of politics
It is an unpleasant fact that many of our most talented young people are not choosing business careers because they feel business leaves no room for individual expression or higher goals.

↳ The word must reach our young people that business is a place both for individual accomplishment and for public service.

↳ Our national growth . . . our ability to carry our responsibilities at home and in the world -- these things depend on the creative and dynamic force of private initiative in our economic system.

It is part of your responsibility, as businessmen,
~~to get this story across~~ *to publicize this story,*

Young Americans must know that individuality and initiative are a part of the daily environment of business . . . that new ideas are greeted with enthusiasm . . . and that business is not just profit and loss, but also the business of the community and of responsible citizenship.

↳ Our young people must know that business is a place "where the action is" and that it is action which benefits people and which has a place for idealism.

↳ The story of American business is the greatest story never told.

↳ I work each day with Plans for Progress, an organization of private businessmen which has helped tear down the barriers of discrimination in America, which is helping provide new opportunity to hundreds of thousands of our citizens.

↳ I work each day with businessmen who seek to keep young Americans in school, and on the path to responsible citizenship, through summer jobs. Last ~~year~~^{summer} they helped provide one million jobs to young people who otherwise would have been without them.

↳ American businessmen are leaders in our efforts today to make our cities liveable . . . ~~to preserve the natural beauty and resources of our country~~ . . . to bring education of quality to every American child . . . to make the arts, culture and recreation an everyday part of American life.

↳ American businessmen are at work on behalf of clean and honest government. They are at work on behalf of charity and philanthropy.

↳ And the wages and benefits ~~they extend voluntarily~~^{fringe provided} to those in their employ are better than those extended by many governments known for their welfare programs.

L American business has been the advance guard, too, in many countries, of enlightened social, economic and political policy.

L The present change in Western policy toward Eastern Europe -- a change which is helping to hasten the movement toward independent policies there -- has been aided in no small part by the economic bridge-building of American and Western European businessmen. Businessmen, with confidence in ~~their~~ ^{our} economic system, have moved ahead on their own initiative to open Eastern Europe to ideas, to trade, to the winds of change. ~~And all of us are the better for it.~~

and in ~~It is a fact, too, that American private investment in~~
the developing countries ~~has~~ ^{have}, in many cases, triggered
changes which have ~~not only~~ brought economic development,
~~but political stability and social development as well.~~

of industry - yet the
In many places, American private investment is making possible, for the first time, large-scale development *of the* housing . . . the building of rural schools, roads and hospitals . . . *the* construction of fertilizer plants -- the ~~establishment~~ things which not only develop an economy, but also give immediate and concrete evidence that democratic government can meet the needs and aspirations of ~~simple, ordinary~~ *people* people.

Adela
The so-called Adela group -- a consortium of American and European businessmen -- is today taking equity shares in much-needed Latin American enterprises which could not otherwise find the capital to get off the ground.

In Latin America and in other parts of the world hundreds of private American investors are today providing capital -- to places starved for capital -- for economic and social projects. (And I might add that your government backs them up with guarantees.)

I need not recite to you the
Latin America

adels

Tunisia

Int Executive Service Corps

← And there is the personal commitment, too, of American businessmen who know that the labors of one man can make a difference.

← There are the efforts of American small businessmen in Tunisia, teaching their counterparts there how to sell a better product, provide a better service, ^{and} make a profit.

← There are the efforts of the men and women of the International Executive Service Corps -- retired American business executives -- who are giving several months out of their lives to help enterprises get started in Latin America and in Southeast Asia.

← All these things not only strengthen nations desperately in need of help . . . they strengthen the fabric of freedom.

← They show that there doesn't have to be a Big Brother to get things done. They show that free men, working together, can do far more than any totalitarian system giving orders.

with a blueprint stamped Made in Moscow or Peking.

✓ Your own Project Act train and the Jaycees International
Movement exemplify the spirit with which business has met
the opportunities of international service.

✓ And all of us are in debt to men who have, at personal
sacrifice, left the world of business to enter the public
service at local, state and national level.

✓ American businessmen are indeed where the action is.
And, for the good of men everywhere, I hope they will
remain there. needed!

✓ It is part of the good news of the day that our free
economic system -- and the people who make it work --
is not only providing profits, it is providing life and hope
to the family of man.

* * *

✓ Now, finally, it is my responsibility as your Vice
President to give you a report, as of today, about where
we stand in Aisa and in Vietnam.

(Mr Nixon - Thanks.
I was with Harold Holt. Prime Minister of Australia

I say Asia and Vietnam, because we cannot see Vietnam *as an isolated area,* ~~as a vacuum~~, unconnected to its neighbors or the rest of the world.

↳ When I returned from Asia and the Pacific earlier this year I reported to the American people that I believed we had reason for measured optimism. I believe that this is more true today than it was then.

↳ Last week nine nations of Asia formed a new organization to be known as the Asian and Pacific Council. This organization was formed to strengthen ~~these nations~~ cooperation and peaceful development, but also -- as the final communique put it -- "to preserve their integrity and sovereignty in the face of external aggression."

↳ This is but one of the things that can give us reason for encouragement.

↳ Faced with Communist pressure, ^{+ subversion} the independent non-Communist states in Asia are working together to strengthen themselves and to ^{protect} ~~innoculate~~ themselves against aggression.

↳ Old quarrels and disagreements are being pushed aside and the nations of Asia and the Pacific are banding together -- and among those banding together are nations which have traditionally taken go-it-alone positions.

↳ Communist China still looms as a powerful ^{+ dangerous} force in Asia. But today Communist China is being torn by power struggle -- a struggle with other Communist nations, a struggle, too, from within. At the same time her neighbors are achieving a unity of purpose and action ~~that was missing before.~~

↳ For, as the President of Singapore made clear a few days ago to the people of Europe: All the independent nations of Asia feel the pressure from the North; all of them feel they have a stake in what is happening in Vietnam.

↳ On my Asian mission I talked with no national leader who felt otherwise.

↳ What of the immediate struggle in Vietnam?

That struggle is being waged on four fronts -- the economic front . . . the political front . . . the diplomatic front . . . and the military front.

↳ On each of these fronts we are gaining. ~~And our efforts on these fronts are increasingly being coordinated, in proper balance.~~

↳ On the economic front, the Vietnamese government, with our help, is taking the hard steps and decisions necessary not only to carry forward a program of economic development, but to defeat inflation -- which can destroy economic progress.

↳ The devaluation announced June 19 has not resulted in any sharp increase in prices. The price of retail items, including the critical price of rice, has steadied off.

The prices of fish, chicken, charcoal and firewood -- all critical to the economy -- have fallen. Import prices are steady.

↳ In the meantime, the hard day-to-day work of building a strong economy -- the hard work that never makes the daily headlines -- goes on in the Vietnamese cities and countryside.

↳ Land is being redistributed. Wells are being dug. Schools are being built. Agricultural production steadily increases.

Hospitals and roads are being completed.

↳ These things are not dramatic, But every day the Vietnamese economy -- and the life of the Vietnamese citizen -- becomes a little better than it was the day before, despite calculated Communist disruption and terror.

↳ On the political front, work goes forward toward election this September for a constituent assembly. Representatives of all South Vietnamese political groups have been meeting to prepare the way for democratic government.

↳ This is a nation which has undergone centuries of foreign rule and oppression. ~~This is a nation with~~ ^{It has} no comfortable, built-in Republican and Democratic parties. This is a nation trying to create stable, representative government in the midst of war and disorder. This is a nation with dozens of political, ethnic and religious groups -- all seeking their own place in the future.

↳ If this process should bring conflict and confusion, it should not surprise us.

↳ The important fact is that the Vietnamese people are finding their way toward nationhood, and that they are doing it their own way and not under the direction of any Communist commissar.

Better the confusion and disorder of South Vietnam, than the silence and of the Police State of North Viet

~~I think~~ there is another thing to remember: In all the political ferment in South Vietnam there has been no call for a Communist government. — *Not a single leader has defected to the North.*

The people of South Vietnam know the Communists for what they are. And they know the so-called National Liberation Front for what it is -- a front, for Ho Chi Minh and a Communist takeover.

As on the economic front, the ^{political} progress is slow and sometimes unnoticeable. But it is there, day-by-day. The time is near when the people of South Vietnam will show their commitment to ~~democracy~~ *freedom* with their ballots. Many of them will be threatened with violence and even death, but they will vote. And I predict that the percentage of South Vietnamese who will vote -- in face of these threats -- will exceed the percentages in many of our American towns and cities.

Provincial elections a year ago May.

✓ On the diplomatic front, we continue our search for a just and peaceful solution to the conflict.

✓ In these past weeks we have repeated our message again and again -- through diplomatic channels, through third parties, through public statement, through private and official sources -- our willingness to come to the conference table to bring the violence to an end.

✓ Although we have met with nothing but rebuff, we shall continue these efforts. And we shall maintain our offer to aid in the peaceful development of North as well as South Vietnam if only Hanoi will leave her neighbors alone.

✓ At the same time we have reaffirmed throughout Asia and the Pacific, our commitment to the security and economic growth of that part of the world. And we have reaffirmed our commitment to stand and see it through in Vietnam.

- ⑧ Australia & New Zealand are working with their neighbor of S.E. Asia - our allies -
- ⑨ Burma Shows Signs of emerging from her isolation - Premier Ne Win has accepted invitation ^{to visit Washington}
- ⑩ 3 yrs ago, Japan and South Korea were unable to agree on anything. Now they have worked out their differences, and signed a treaty of friendship & commerce
- ⑪ The Communists in Indonesia have suffered a severe defeat
- ⑫ ~~Indonesia~~ a yr ago, a State of Undeclared War existed between Indonesia & Malaysia. Today the confrontation is coming to an end.
- ⑬ Less than a yr ago, India & Pakistan at War, today Peace and growing cooperation
- ⑭ 2 yrs ago, Ceylon, leaning to ~~the~~ Peking - Strong anti American attitude, today a friendly Ceylon working with us
- ⑮ The Philippines and Malaysia have restored Diplomatic Relations - Courageous new Leadership in Manila. President Ferdinand Marcos
 12 yrs for visit

- ① Korea on the move - Ec. growth rate ~~8%~~ 8% 1965
+ our ally in S. Vietnam
- ② Taiwan - Ec. growth - 7% - and giving Aid ~~10%~~

I believe that the depth of our commitment has been one of the major factors in the development of the regional cooperation and spirit of common cause we now see in Asia and the Pacific. ~~ASIA~~

The purpose of our diplomacy has been, and will remain, the end of the fighting . . . the establishment of conditions under which the people of South Vietnam can freely choose their own future . . . and the gathering together of the resources of all nations to make life better for the by-passed millions who have waited for centuries in Asian village streets.

On the military front, we are gaining, too, each day.

The American troops in Vietnam are the finest men who have ever worn this nation's uniform. They are superbly led. They are superbly trained. They are superbly equipped. And their performance has been superb.

- ③ Thailand - Stronger - Economic growth 6%
+ a firm ally & friend
- ④ Laos resisting the Communists + moving ahead

With our allies, they have inflicted in these past weeks a series of defeats on both guerrilla and regular North Vietnamese units.

They have done nothing less than this: They have caused our adversary to re-examine all his old assumptions about "wars of national liberation."

The jungle or cave is no longer his sure refuge. His movement can no longer remain undetected. His supply can be cut off. The attack he begins at great numerical advantage can become, in a matter of minutes, a disastrous defeat as he faces unexpected reinforcements and firepower. He can no longer choose his own time and place to fight.

And, perhaps most important, he can no longer count on the discipline of his own troops.

In the last six months of 1965 more than 8,000 Communist defectors left his ranks. In the first five months of this year he has lost more than 11,000 defectors -- and more and more of them have been squad and platoon leaders and officers.

Today there must be some hard thinking taking place in Hanoi.

Today Ho Chi Minh is in Peking. Other officials of his government are in Moscow.

I think it must be clear to Hanoi that what President Johnson said more than a year ago remains true today:

"We will not be defeated.

"We will not grow tired.

"We will not withdraw, either openly or under the cloak of a meaningless agreement. . . "

Our adversary must know that time is not on his side.

He must know that we will not sacrifice small nations for the sake of our own comfort.

He must know that we -- and those who stand with us -- count freedom no less sacred elsewhere than we do at home.

He must know, above all, that the American people have the resources, the vision, the courage, and the endurance to see it through for what we believe in.

Finally, may I say this.

The alien fields of Vietnam will not be our final testing place between now and the year 1984.

There will be other tests . . . there will be other challenges on man's path toward a future of his own making.

Let us recognize, today, that the future lies in large part on our own American doorstep.

For our American wealth and power -- our power to shape the course of events for good -- is unparalleled in the history of the world.

More than any other people on earth, the American people have the means today to determine what kind of world it will be in 1984.

It is our opportunity -- and our responsibility -- to do whatever is within our power to see that 1984 does not bring stifling conformity and slavery. It must be our mission to see that 1984 will be a time when human freedom and human dignity may come to shining reality.

#

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY BEFORE THE UNITED STATES
JUNIOR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, DETROIT, MICHIGAN, JUNE 29, 1966

Eighteen years ago, a brilliant English author named Eric Blair unleashed a nightmare vision of life in the future.

Blair foresaw endless wars among three great super-powers. Every aspect of life would be totally controlled and man would be reduced to a robot-like existence -- directed in his behavior and thought-processes by an all seeing, tyrannical government.

Blair's book was a warning to mankind: Unless the course of history changed, man would be doomed by what he had created.

And unless man himself changed, he was destined to lose every trace of personal freedom and every trace of his individuality.

If this book sounds familiar, it should.

Eric Blair wrote under the pen name of George Orwell. And his book was 1984.

We are now halfway to the year 1984 -- halfway to Orwell's perpetual bad dream where apathy, cruelty, and ignorance were not only dominant characteristics of life, but the aims of the state itself.

In 1948, when Orwell wrote his novel, the reign of Josef Stalin had sealed off all of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in a bleak and brutal police state, where all movements were controlled, all individuality suppressed, all thoughts suspected. Stalin himself personified Orwell's fictional dictator, Big Brother.

The world knew, in Churchill's words, "that it is only America's possession of the atomic bomb that has kept bombs from falling on London again."

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During the past 10 years alone more than 60 new countries have been born -- nations which previously had not existed, except as colonial enclaves, or as tribes or protectorates.

But none has turned to communism.

Nor have the voters of any nation yet freely elected a Communist regime to power.

Even in Eastern Europe, monolithic control has gradually eased in favor of a system of national regimes -- each increasingly following its own course.

Indeed, self-determination and national independence have dominated the postwar period.

The last 18 years have brought us many troubles, but they should nevertheless give us hope that totalitarian regimentation is not the wave of the future.

Our time is not ruled by political dogma. The great moving force in the world today is humanity's restless craving for freedom . . . for opportunity . . . for a fuller share of the blessings of life . . . above all, for a chance for individual expression and fulfillment -- in short, for the very things which lie at the heart of our own American Revolution.

It is, in fact, the precepts of the American Revolution -- not those of Marxism -- to which the by-passed people of the world are today stirring.

The marching feet in the world today are those of people seeking freedom.

Millions of people in the world -- yes, in our own country -- are restlessly seeking the same freedom and well-being that you and I enjoy.

It has been said that foreign policy is really domestic policy with its hat on. In a sense, this is true.

We know that rich nations cannot be secure amid the overwhelming misery of the poor nations.

We have learned, too, that no prosperous American neighborhood can really be secure amid other neighborhoods filled with poverty and pent-up anger.

We have learned that no business can operate at maximum efficiency until those who are unemployed find work . . . that no city can provide the best in life until the worst of its slums come open to the light . . . and that our children cannot achieve the fullness of the future until the children of others can share in it.

Some say we seek to create in America a welfare state. I think this reflects a deep misunderstanding on the part of those who say it. What we seek to create is a state of opportunity.

We seek to increase the opportunity of the individual to achieve his full potential, unhampered by ignorance, poverty and discrimination. We seek to make it possible for the individual to identify and satisfy his own aspirations.

We seek not to paralyze initiative, but to revive it; not to build up the opportunity of those below at the expense of those above -- but to broaden the horizons of both; not to dictate the terms of help, but to allow each community to find its own answers in its own way.

That is what our national investments in education, in health, in the war against poverty are all about. They are investments in self-help, in personal initiative, in opportunity.

All the new laws which go under the Great Society label were written to encourage and insure the full participation and partnership of state and local governments, private organizations and individual citizens.

And I hope that many of you will read those laws, examine them, understand them and use them to help your own communities.

All of us know that the most effective action is action at the grassroots level -- and that is where we all want it to come.

No, we are not avoiding Orwellian misery by constructing a welfare utopia that would diminish human choice and incentive. Instead, we seek a course that provides growth, purpose and direction to all who are willing to grasp the chance to use their talents and energy.

Our system does not guarantee individual success. But it can -- and does -- provide the climate and opportunity for the individual to be himself and to go as far as his abilities allow.

Yet, I think it would be inaccurate to say that there are no challenges -- in the Orwellian sense -- to our freedom or to our individuality in America today.

And, as young men who are also businessmen, your responsibility in meeting these challenges is great.

For you are leaders. You are successful. And your stake in our American success is great.

The great challenge which faces us is to assure that, in our society of bigness, we do not strangle the voice of creativity . . . that the rules of the game do not come to overshadow its purpose . . . that the grand orchestration of society leaves ample room for the man who marches to the music of another drummer.

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And the wages and benefits they extend voluntarily to those in their employ are better than those extended by many governments known for their welfare programs.

American business has been the advance guard, too, in many countries, of enlightened social, economic and political policy.

The present change in Western policy toward Eastern Europe -- a change which is helping to hasten the movement toward independent policies there -- has been aided in no small part by the economic bridge-building of American and Western European businessmen. Businessmen, with confidence in their economic system, have moved ahead on their own initiative to open Eastern Europe to ideas, to trade, to the winds of change. And all of us are the better for it.

It is a fact, too, that American private investment in the developing countries has, in many cases, triggered changes which have not only brought economic development, but political stability and social development as well.

In many places, American private investment is making possible, for the first time, large-scale development of housing . . . the building of rural schools, roads and

hospitals . . . construction of fertilizer plants -- the things which not only develop an economy, but also give immediate and concrete evidence that democratic government can meet the needs and aspirations of simple, ordinary people.

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All these things not only strengthen nations desperately in need of help . . . they strengthen the fabric of freedom. They show that there doesn't have to be a Big Brother to get things done. They show that free men, working together, can do far more than any totalitarian system giving orders.

Your own Project Act train and the Jaycees International Movement exemplify the spirit with which business has met the opportunities of international service.

And all of us are in debt to men who have, at personal sacrifice, left the world of business to enter the public service at local, state and national level.

American businessmen are indeed where the action is. And, for the good of men everywhere, I hope they will remain there.

It is part of the good news of the day that our free economic system -- and the people who make it work -- is not only providing profits, it is providing life and hope to the family of man.

* * *

Now, finally, it is my responsibility as your Vice President to give you a report, as of today, about where we stand in Asia and in Vietnam.

I say Asia and Vietnam, because we cannot see Vietnam as a vacuum, unconnected to its neighbors or the rest of the world.

When I returned from Asia and the Pacific earlier this year I reported to the American people that I believed we had reason for measured optimism. I believe that this is more true today than it was then.

Last week nine nations of Asia formed a new organization to be known as the Asian and Pacific Council. This organization was formed to strengthen these nations' cooperation and peaceful development, but also -- as the final communique put it -- "to preserve their integrity and sovereignty in the face of external aggression."

This is but one of the things that can give us reason for encouragement.

Faced with Communist pressure, the independent non-Communist states in Asia are working together to strengthen themselves and to inoculate themselves against aggression. Old quarrels and disagreements are being pushed aside and the nations of Asia and the Pacific are banding together -- and among those banding together are nations which have traditionally taken go-it-alone positions.

Communist China still looms as a powerful force in Asia. But today Communist China is being torn by power struggle -- a struggle with other Communist nations, a struggle, too, from within. At the same time her neighbors are achieving a unity of purpose and action that was missing before.

For, as the President of Singapore made clear a few days ago to the people of Europe: All the independent nations of Asia feel the pressure from the North; all of them feel they have a stake in what is happening in Vietnam.

What of the immediate struggle in Vietnam?

That struggle is being waged on four fronts -- the economic front . . . the political front . . . the diplomatic front . . . and the military front.

On each of these fronts we are gaining. And our efforts on these fronts are increasingly being coordinated, in proper balance.

On the economic front, the Vietnamese government, with our help, is taking the hard steps and decisions necessary not only to carry forward a program of economic development, but to defeat inflation -- which can destroy economic progress.

The devaluation announced June 19 has not resulted in any sharp increase in prices. The price of retail items, including the critical price of rice, has steadied off. The prices of fish, chicken, charcoal and firewood -- all critical to the economy -- have fallen. Import prices are steady.

In the meantime, the hard day-to-day work of building a strong economy -- the hard work that never makes the daily headlines -- goes on in the Vietnamese cities and countryside.

Land is being redistributed. Wells are being dug. Schools are being built. Agricultural production steadily increases. Hospitals and roads are being completed.

These things are not dramatic. But every day the Vietnamese economy -- and the life of the Vietnamese citizen -- becomes a little better than it was the day before, despite calculated Communist disruption and terror.

On the political front, work goes forward toward election this September for a constituent assembly. Representatives of all South Vietnamese political groups have been meeting to prepare the way for democratic government.

This is a nation which has undergone centuries of foreign rule and oppression. This is a nation with no comfortable, built-in Republican and Democratic parties. This is a nation trying to create stable, representative government in the midst of war and disorder. This is a nation with dozens of political, ethnic and religious groups -- all seeking their own place in the future.

If this process should bring conflict and confusion, it should not surprise us.

The important fact is that the Vietnamese people are finding their way toward nationhood, and that they are doing it their own way and not under the direction of any Communist commissar.

I think there is another thing to remember: In all the political ferment in South Vietnam there has been no call for a Communist government.

The people of South Vietnam know the Communists for what they are. And they know the so-called National Liberation Front for what it is -- a front, for Ho Chi Minh and a Communist takeover.

As on the economic front, the progress is slow and sometimes unnoticeable. But it is there, day-by-day. The time is near when the people of South Vietnam will show their commitment to democracy with their ballots. Many of them will be threatened with violence and even death, but they will vote. And I predict that the percentage of South

Vietnamese who will vote -- in face of these threats -- will exceed the percentages in many of our American towns and cities.

On the diplomatic front, we continue our search for a just and peaceful solution to the conflict.

In these past weeks we have repeated our message again and again -- through diplomatic channels, through third parties, through public statement, through private and official sources -- our willingness to come to the conference table to bring the violence to an end.

Although we have met with nothing but rebuff, we shall continue these efforts. And we shall maintain our offer to aid in the peaceful development of North as well as South Vietnam if only Hanoi will leave her neighbors alone.

At the same time we have reaffirmed throughout Asia and the Pacific, our commitment to the security and economic growth of that part of the world. And we have reaffirmed our commitment to stand and see it through in Vietnam.

I believe that the depth of our commitment has been one of the major factors in the development of the regional cooperation and spirit of common cause we now see in Asia and the Pacific.

The purpose of our diplomacy has been, and will remain, the end of the fighting . . . the establishment of conditions under which the people of South Vietnam can freely choose their own future . . . and the gathering together of the resources of all nations to make life better for the by-passed millions who have waited for centuries in Asian village streets.

On the military front, we are gaining, too, each day.

The American troops in Vietnam are the finest men who have ever worn the nation's uniform. They are superbly led. They are superbly trained. They are superbly equipped. And their performance has been superb.

With our allies, they have inflicted in these past weeks a series of defeats on both guerrilla and regular North Vietnamese units.

They have done nothing less than this: They have caused our adversary to re-examine all his old assumptions about "wars of national liberation."

The jungle or cave is no longer his sure refuge. His movement can no longer remain undetected. His supply can be cut off. The attack he begins at great numerical advantage can become, in a matter of minutes, a disastrous defeat as he faces unexpected reinforcements and firepower. He can no longer choose his own time and place to fight.

And, perhaps most important, he can no longer count on the discipline of his own troops.

In the last six months of 1965 more than 8,000 Communist defectors left his ranks. In the first five months of this year he has lost more than 11,000 defectors -- and more and more of them have been squad and platoon leaders and officers.

Today there must be some hard thinking taking place in Hanoi.

Today Ho Chi Minh is in Peking. Other officials of his government are in Moscow.

I think it must be clear to Hanoi that what President Johnson said more than a year ago remains true today:

"We will not be defeated.

"We will not grow tired.

"We will not withdraw, either openly or under the cloak of a meaningless agreement . . ."

Our adversary must know that time is not on his side.

He must know that we will not sacrifice small nations for the sake of our own comfort.

He must know that we -- and those who stand with us -- count freedom no less sacred elsewhere than we do at home.

He must know, above all, that the American people have the resources, the vision, the courage, and the endurance to see it through for what we believe in.

Finally, may I say this.

The alien fields of Vietnam will not be our final testing place between now and the year 1984.

There will be other tests . . . there will be other challenges on man's path toward a future of his own making.

Let us recognize, today, that the future lies in large part on our own American doorstep.

For our American wealth and power -- our power to shape the course of events for good -- is unparalleled in the history of the world.

More than any other people on earth, the American people have the means today to determine what kind of world it will be in 1984.

It is our opportunity -- and our responsibility -- to do whatever is within our power to see that 1984 does not bring stifling conformity and slavery. It must be our mission to see that 1984 will be a time when human freedom and human dignity may come to shining reality.



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