

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN CONFERENCE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

JULY 27, 1966

Whenever I come to a Democratic conference such as this one, I always think of the words of a crusty old farm leader who was in Washington during the early days of the New Deal. His name was George Peek. George Peek said: "The common characteristic of all uplifters is an unquenchable thirst for conversation. They are all chain talkers."

↳ We Democrats do plead guilty to being uplifters. And we plead no defense when it comes to talking. But we also know the value of ideas and action. We are not, as Judge Learned Hand once said of our opposition, "Old Tories . . . intellectually moribund . . . emitting dreary sounds."

When Democrats meet there may be sound, but there is also motion -- motion on behalf of the people.

↳ You are running this fall on the record of leadership we place before the people -- leadership in our country, in your districts, in your towns and cities. And I say our record is a winning record.

↳ The ideas and programs we Democrats have fought for over the course of 30 years are today the law of the land.

↳ There is forward motion today in our country such as there has never been before. In the midst of all our problems, it is easy to overlook it. But the fact is this:

The American people live today in a society of greater abundance, of greater security, of greater opportunity, of greater justice than they have ever known before.

quite a record

and not by accident - but by leadership!

But we cannot be satisfied. And ^{Here} ~~that~~ is the message we must carry to the American people -- that we believe in them . . . that we will work for them . . . that we will settle for nothing less than a society where every single American child can look forward to his equal chance to make the most of himself in a land of brotherhood and goodwill.

∠ Yet as prosperous and free as our America may become, our prosperity and freedom will not last long if we turn our backs on the rest of the world.

∠ The time has long since passed when any nation could live isolated from her neighbors.

~~For, in this nuclear age,~~ ^{We} must face the fact that two-thirds of the world around us is filled with poverty and peril.

↳ There are desperate conditions of injustice and hunger and disease throughout ^{much} ~~most~~ of the human family.

↳ ~~There are, in human society, conditions which not only bring a sense of shame and insufficiency to those of us who live in such a blessed land . . . but~~ conditions which can lead to the eruption of the little disorder, which can grow to the small war, which can build to the cataclysm which could destroy rich and poor, black and white, believer and non-believer -- all of us alike.

↳ And, there is the fact, too, that in the world there are men and regimes dedicated to working their will by force.

↳ If we recognize these facts, I think we have little choice but to commit our strength and influence to policies which will meet these conditions.

↳ I know there are people who would prefer to return to simpler, earlier days. But those of us who bear responsibility can, ^{not} unfortunately, ~~not~~ enjoy that luxury. We cannot retreat from reality. We must face reality and deal with it.

↳ I have heard it said and seen it written that we have set ourselves up as some sort of world policeman . . . that we have committed the United States to the defense and assistance of people in places where we have no business.

| ↳ It is the right of every American to publicly disagree with his government. But I must say that some of the things being said have a very familiar ring to them.

↳ I've been reading back through old newspapers. Some of the same people who say we have no business in Asia today were saying, in 1939, that we had no business in Europe.

Some of the same people who say we have no business in Vietnam today were saying, in 1948, that we had no business in Greece . . . in 1950, that we had no business in Korea.

↳ They were saying then, as they say now, that these places were not in our "sphere of influence" and did not involve our "vital national interest."

↳ And I find their arguments even less convincing now than I did then. I ask this question: What would have been the result, in each time and place, had we heeded their advice?

↳ Let me make it clear: We have not set ourselves up as world policeman. Nor do we presume to tell other nations how to organize and govern themselves.

↳ We ~~seek to~~ ^{are} build ^{ing} upon the bi-partisan foreign policy that has emerged in our country since World War II --

a policy that has helped prevent both the expansion of Communist totalitarianism and the outbreak of nuclear war, while at the same time working toward the time when

political self-determination, economic well-being and social justice might be more widely enjoyed throughout the world. - *This is no short term - easy task*

Our power is the greatest possessed by any single nation in world history.

Yet we seek to follow not the policy of the colonialist or economic imperialist or international giver-of-orders. We seek to follow, President Franklin Roosevelt's words, "the policy of the good neighbor."

Since World War II we have provided some 120 billion dollars in assistance to others. Since World War II we have suffered some 165 thousand casualties on foreign soil.

No instant Policy made

And in those 20 years we have demanded not one piece of anyone else's territory. Nor have we sought to subjugate any other nation. Nor shall we.

∟ In the past months President Johnson has made several important statements directed to the American people -- and to others in the world -- reaffirming our commitment to the policy of the good neighbor. He has, specifically, committed our nation to that policy in Latin America, in Africa, and in Asia.

∟ Most of the world's people -- and most of its problems -- lie in these continents. Yet how little we really know about them. And how tragically little we concerned ourselves with them before the 1960's.

∟ On these continents there are young nations, and billions of people, striving to find their way to modern nationhood and the benefits of modern society --

against terrible obstacles of ignorance, hunger and disease,
and in the face all too often of inside and outside subversion
and agitation.

But / Make no mistake about it: In today's world, these
nations and these people are our neighbors. And to fail to
recognize it would be tragic, for them and for us.

Let us take a clear look at where we are.

On all the continents of this earth, including our own, *there*
is the need for more and better education, more and better
food and nutrition, more and better medical care. *Health*

There is the task, in many places, of helping people,
who want our help, to build ~~and perfect~~ better economic,
social and political institutions. | *In Aid!*

3
Palmer
Johnson
J. Palumbo

There is, too, as in Vietnam, the painful necessity
of helping independent nations *resist aggression*
~~face direct and forceful assaults~~
~~on their integrity~~, lest ~~those assaults~~ spread and threaten
the general peace.

Despite these challenges -- and it is easy to become discouraged by them -- I believe we have reason, ~~and~~ for hope *and confidence*.

Hope

↳ First, and most important, we are perhaps further today from the threat of nuclear war than at any other time in the post-war years -- not least because the Soviet Union has come to the realization that peaceful coexistence can be the only rational course in a nuclear age.

↳ During the past 20 years, over one billion people have won their freedom from foreign rule.

↳ Over 70 new countries have emerged -- but not a single one has turned to communism. I should think it would be clear by now that it is not the stale dogmas of Karl Marx, but the ever-living principles of our own Declaration of Independence, which inspire these nations.

↳ In Europe, the United States and its allies are searching out new and wider horizons for NATO. Free Europe is moving toward economic -- and ultimately, we can hope -- political unity. ^PBridges of trade, travel, and communication are being built to the nations of Eastern Europe, which are increasingly and forcefully asserting their individual national identities.

↳ The peoples of Africa are increasingly buckling down to hard and sustained effort for their economic betterment.

The United States is strongly supporting Britain in its efforts to insure majority rule in Rhodesia.

We continue technical and economic aid to Africa, and a special team of experts, appointed by the President, is working out ways and means to make it even more effective.

Here in our own hemisphere, the Alliance for Progress is gaining momentum and yielding solid dividends to its peoples in food, housing, health, and economic development.

The Inter-American system is growing and maturing. The Dominican Republic, long racked by violence, is today led by a freely elected President and Congress. There, and throughout the hemisphere, we find an increasing determination to initiate and carry through the fundamental economic and social changes which have made Mexico, for example, such a beacon of hope and progress.

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It may be forgotten here -- but not, I assure you, in Latin America -- that the United States has negotiated three long-standing disputes in good neighborly fashion: With Panama over the status of the Canal; with Mexico over the Chamizal area on the border and over Colorado River water.

↳ And to the north, across an open and unfortified border, Canada continues to thrive and work harmoniously with us.

↳ The United Nations lives and grows long after many of the skeptics said it would ~~be moribund~~ *cease to exist*.

↳ And in Asia and the Pacific, despite the pain and tragedy of Vietnam, old quarrels and rivalries are being forgotten and replaced by international cooperation.

↳ Last month the Cabinet Ministers of nine Asian and Pacific countries met in Korea to discuss how they could best work together in the mutual interest of all their people -- some 250 million in all.

↳ They shared -- and forthrightly declared -- the determination "to preserve their integrity in the face of external aggression."

↳ But their real business was peaceful cooperation in the economic, technical, cultural, and social welfare fields.

↳ They agreed to set up an Asian and Pacific Council and to enlist the participation of other nations in the area.

↳ ~~But this meeting, significant as it was, was not unique.~~

↳ Cooperation is going forward at many levels and in many fields.

The Southeast Asia education ministers meet regularly and so do the agricultural experts. The Japanese Government has acted as host for an important gathering of the area's economic ministers.

↳ The Asian Development Bank will open its doors for business in Manila this year. ↳ The development of the Mekong River basin is going forward. Two dams have already been completed in Thailand, and work will begin next year on another in Laos.

↳ This expanding cooperation is powered by economic vigor within the participating countries themselves. For years, Japan has led the world in economic growth.

South Korea registered an 8 per cent expansion last year, and Taiwan, Malaysia, and Thailand are ~~close behind~~ *are establishing new records in economic growth.*

The Communist thrust for power in Indonesia has been decisively repulsed and its warlike "confrontation" with Malaysia ended. Japan and Korea have put old enmities behind them and negotiated a treaty of friendship. India and Pakistan are at peace.

Some record

the nations

It will take time for ~~them~~ the nations to gain strength to maintain and defend their own independence, but the nations of free Asia are on the right road. And we are pledged to help them down that road.

yes We face challenges. But we have assets too.

~~And not the least of these assets are those we possess in our own country~~ -- and I do not mean merely our material assets.

I give you the words of President Harry Truman:

"It is not our nature to shirk our obligations. We have a heritage that constitutes the greatest resource of this nation. I call it the spirit and character of the American people."

There may be some who doubt our capacity to meet these challenges.

But the ^{vast majority of} American people are not doubters. When they are tested, they understand and they respond.

↳ They do not need sugar-coating. They do not need worrisome wringing-of-hands. They need the facts and they will stand up to them. *So give them facts!*

↳ We have the leadership of a brave and compassionate President. We have policies and programs conceived for the peace, safety and freedom of the American people and of the world. Let us take that message to the people. !

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Speech by
Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey
to
DNC Candidates Camp Conference
July 28, 1966

Thank you, Chairman John Bailey, Cliff Carter, Mike Kirwan, and I saw my friend Warren Magnuson, leaving to get back on the payroll of the Senate just a moment ago, and to each and everyone of the candidates that are here, members of the National Committee. I want you to know how happy I am to be included in these deliberations and in on this Conference. I looked over your program and it seems to me that the entire government of the United States is going to transfer temporarily, at least, over here to this particular hotel. This afternoon, the Cabinet will be here in full array.

I'm going to get right down to business. Already, I've been disappointed. I told Bill Connell of my staff to have a cup of coffee and some fresh fruit waiting for me at the table. He said what do you want to eat. But he's forgotten that. Once you get over here in the presence of candidates who will be elected, they start feeling a little prosperous and overly secure, and forget about their old friends. (He's leaving now.)

I am particularly delighted that John Bailey didn't forget me, because he's kind of an old friend that I cherish



and one that has stood us well here during these wonderful years since 1961.

I have been asked to say a few words about foreign policy and the Administration's national security and foreign policy program. I'm going to do so. I'm not going to make you any big, firey oration. I'll give you that a little later out on the stump. We're here to study and to learn. I offer you some proposals and suggestions which I hope will be of some help to you.

First, I must reflect upon an observation that I made on another occasion, about a crusty old farm leader who used to be here in Washington some years back by the name of George Peak. George Peak said the common characteristic of all up-lifters is an unquenchable thirst for conversation. They are all "chain-talkers." So, since I am an up-lifter, just lean back and make yourself comfortable.

Most of us Democrats can plead guilty to being up-lifters. At least we try to give our country a helping hand. And I don't think we ought to plead any defense when it comes to talking, if we've got something to talk about and a number of people to talk to and with. But we also know something about the value of ideas. This is a party that has gained its reputation because it was willing to innovate, willing to create, willing to express new ideas. We'll have an everlasting debt to the late and beloved Adlai Stevenson during those dry years of democratic purpose of 1953 up to January 20, 1961. We had a man like Stevenson who could bring forth in clear articulation and beautiful



rhetoric and artistic composure, new ideas that kept us alive.

I think that we ought to keep in mind that a political party that seeks to appeal to a nation on the go and in motion needs to be a progressive party. It needs to be one that can appeal not only to those of yesterday, but those of tomorrow. To the young, as well as to those who have the positions of responsibility.

Now, when Democrats meet they may sound off, and they do. But they also meet with motion and a purpose of action. You're running this fall on the record of leadership that we place before the people. Leadership in our country, in your districts, in your towns, in your cities. And I happen to think that the record is a good one, that it's a winning record. And I make a practical suggestion to each and every one of you, because there is always a temptation for some of us to show an inordinant degree of independence by examining the record so critically that we find more fault with it than good. Leave that to the opposition. They'll take care of that. They'll not only find fault with the record, they'll find fault with you.

And I make another suggestion. Don't put poison in the Democratic well from whence you are going to have to drink. You better stand by the record of your party, recognizing that it can always be improved and that we seek to improve it, but also recognizing that those who are its critics from the opposition really don't have much of a record to point to.

I guess what I'm saying is that it would be good for you not to hide your light under a bushel. There will be other people who will be willing to put your light out. You better expose the record, talk about the record, show what more you'd like to do, take a look at our beginnings, talk about the ~~xp~~ progress that we can make from these beginnings, and leave it up to the opposition to tell you the inadequacies, if there are inadequacies. And I image there are some.

Now the ideas and the programs that we Democrats have fought for over the course of thirty years are today the law of the land. Every so often somebody comes to me and says "I wonder what's happened to the liberal program," as if somehow or other it's the lost child out in the wilderness. It's not the lost child, it's in the front room, it's in the head office, it's the law of the land. And if this makes people unhappy, then I guess they'll just have to be unhappy.

The fact is that the things that you fought for, dreamed about, the things that I fought for and dreamed about, are today a fact. No longer, just a hope, but a fact. And on these facts and on these accomplishments, we'll build. But the progress that we have made is nothing short of amazing.

So I say that there is forward motion in our country, such as there has never been before. And we ought to at least associate ourselves with it, because we have had something to do about it. In the midst of all of our problems, which people love to recite, it's easy to overlook the achievements and the forward motion. And to those of you who wish to



be called political liberals, don't have to prove that everything is wrong to be a liberal. You can also recite that some things are right without being called right or center. You can be a progressive; you can be a forward-looking man; you can be a candidate for a better America without just reciting that everything that you ever dreamed of has gone to pot. It hasn't.

The American people today live in a society of greater abundance, of greater security, of greater opportunity, of greater social justice, than we've ever known before. Nor is this to say that there is nothing left to do. It is merely to say what is true: that more people are enjoying the benefits of good health, good education, jobs, economic opportunity, social justice, than ever before in the history of this Nation.

While no political party can claim this achievement for itself alone, we have the right to lay some claim to some participation in this great forward motion.

The wrong time for coffee.

But let me, having said this, say to you that this is the message that you and the President and the Vice President, the incumbent senators and congressmen, all of us must carry to the American people. And that message is simply this: that we believe in people; that we'll work with them; and that we'll settle for nothing less than a society where every single American child can look forward to his equal chance to make the most of himself in a land of brotherhood and good

will. Or to put it another way, that we are going to do everything that we can to help people realize their potentialities.

I always carry in my pocket this little verse of secular scripture from Thomas Wolfe. I think every Democrat ought to have it, because this is the kind of people that we are. And it's the creed, as far as I'm concerned, for being in politics, the reason that I want to be in public life.

Thomas Wolfe said:

"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 thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him. This is the promise of America."

That's what it's all about. That's what we're trying to do. That's what the War on Poverty is about. That's what the education program is about. That's what the Demonstration Cities Bill is for. That's what Teachers Corps is about. That's what rent supplements are about. That's what minimum wages is about, and Medicare. You name it.

"Every man the right to live, to be himself, to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can make him." That ought to be our commitment, because it is the promise of America.

I've said some rather optimistic things about our country -- that it is prosperous, it's free, it's stronger than ever

before. But I think I also have to tell you that this prosperity and this freedom will not last long if we turn our backs on the rest of the world. And the sooner that we learn the lesson that we are our brother's keeper, and that it's no longer a question to be asked, but rather one to be answered, "Am I my brother's keeper?" and answered in the affirmative. The sooner that we learn that, the surer we can be of a peaceful world and a prosperous America. You know it and I know it. The time has long passed that you can live in isolation. We have to face up to some rather gruesome facts. Just like at home, we have to face up to the fact that one-fifth of our population lives under what you can a "mantle of poverty" or a "shadow of poverty."

So, two-thirds of the ~~world~~ people in the world live in poverty, illiteracy, disease and hunger. And if you don't think that means something, I call to your attention the words of the late, beloved Pope John XXIII, who said that: "In the world of constant warmth and hunger, there is no peace." Never were truer words ever uttered at any time by any man. And when I see our country vascillate, or when I see a branch of Congress beyond certain as to what we ought to do internationally to combat these conditions of hunger and disease and illiteracy, I say then we toy with the peace of the world.

Because you and I know that in the social conditions of America that are bad, where they are had, the use of force alone is not enough to maintain a good and a just society, or

to correct the evils. Even though we must on occasion have force, use the police, stop the violence, prevent the riots, no one can condone lawlessness abroad or at home, violence abroad or at home.

But, having said that, we also know that we must settle down for the job of trying to create the conditions in which mankind can live in peace and justice. Now, there are desperate conditions of injustice and hunger and disease throughout the world -- conditions that can lead to the eruption of a little disorder which can grow into a small war, which can build in the cataclysm, which can destroy the rich and the poor, the black and the white, the believer and the non-believer, all of us alike.

And there is the fact, too, that in this world there are men and there are regimes dedicated to working their will by force and violence. Now, if we recognize these facts, I think we have little choice in light of our own stake in a better world to commit our strength and our influence to policies which will meet these conditions. I know there are lots of people around who would prefer to have simpler days, like they call them "the good old days." But those of us who bear responsibility cannot, unfortunately, enjoy that luxury. We simply can't retreat from reality, we have to face it. Your President can't indulge himself in illusions and delusions. He has to face the facts of the day. He must face reality and deal with it. Now, I've heard it said and have seen it written, that we have set ourselves up as a sort of world-policeman, and that we've committed the United States to the defense and

the assistance of people and places where we have no business to be. But, we're not a world policeman; we prefer to be known as the teacher, the scholar, the life-giver rather than the life-taker, the builder rather than the destroyer. Your Nation has a good record as a builder and a giver of life and a protector of life, a scholar and a teacher.

Now, I know it's the right of every American, in and out of government to publicly disagree with his government. But I must say that some of the things being said today in some places by some people have a very familiar ring to them. Seems like I've heard them before.

I've been reading back through some of the old newspapers and the old columns, and indeed some of the old Congressional Records. And some of the people who say that we have no business in Asia today, were saying in 1939 that we had no business in Europe. And some of the people who say that we have no business in Vietnam today, were saying in 1948 that we had no business in Greece, or to help Turkey; and in 1950 that we had no business in Korea.

They were saying then as they say now, that these places were not in our "sphere of influence," apparently possessing ~~power~~ some mystical power to be determined. What is our "sphere of influence?" Or they were saying then and they say now that these places did not involve our vital national interests.

Now, I find their arguments even less convincing now

than I did then; and I didn't believe them then.

I ask this question, and I think your people are going to ask you this question when you speak: What would have been the result in each time and place had we heeded the advice of those who said that it's none of our business? We've even had people who say it was none of our business about Berlin. If we'd have retreated every time somebody said "No, don't go," this would have been a far different world, if not a better one.

We are building upon a bi-partisan foreign policy that has emerged since World War II,-- a policy that has had some pretty good results, that prevented both the expansion of communistic totalitarianism and the outbreak of nuclear war which has been a constant threat, while at the same time working toward the time when political self-determination, economic well-being and social justice might be more widely enjoyed throughout the world. And the achievement of those goals is no short-term, easy project. There isn't any instant peace, and there isn't any instant democracy, and there isn't any instant cure for injustice and poverty and illiteracy. What is needed is a commitment by free people, free men and free nations for the long, hard pull. We know that our power is great; in fact, it's the greatest possessed by any single nation in the history of the world. Yet, we haven't used that power arrogantly nor recklessly. We have used it with great moderation and compassionately. We seek not to follow the policy of the colonial or economic imperialists or the international boss, the giver of orders. But we seek,

rather, to follow President Franklin Roosevelt's words: the policy of the "Good Neighbor." And I submit that as fellow Americans, not now as Democrats, it's about time that somebody started speaking up for this country. We haven't built this nation as a result of bad judgments. Your America doesn't stand with the power and the wealth that it has today because it has been in the hands of reckless and arrogant men and women.

We've made some mistakes; we are fallable. We are human, not divine. But I think the time is at hand for people who aspire to high public office to, at least, acknowledge the solid, constructive decisions that have been made and the results that have followed, as well as to indulge ourselves in the recitation of the current events of mistakes or alleged mistakes, according to one point of view. The record speaks pretty well. And I think, as old Al Smith said, "Let's look at the record."

Since World War II, we have provided some \$120 billion in assistance to other nations. Since World War III, we have suffered over 165,000 casualties on foreign battlefields in defense of other people's freedom. In those twenty years, we have not demanded one piece of anybody's territory, nor have we at any time stood in the way of peace. The roadblock to peace has never been in Washington. It hasn't been in Washington since the inception of this republic, and it isn't now. Never has there been a more peaceful nation or a more peace-loving nation than the one of which you are a citizen.

And when I hear people cry out for peace, I hope that their voices are heard in faraway places, where the word "peace" has a far different meaning than it has for us.

I can put it more directly in the current events. The roadblock to peace is not in Washington, it is in Hanoi, in Peking. It is not with President Johnson or Dean Rusk or Robert MacNamara or Hubert Humphrey. It is with Mao, Chou-en-lai and Ho Chi Minh, just to mention a few. And any time that anybody wants peace -- peace without revenge, peace without subjugation, without humiliation, just honorable peace -- they can have it. Your President, your officers of government are ready to go any time, any place, anywhere, under any auspices to meet with anybody to bring peace.

And I think you have an obligation to take that message to the people of this land, and indeed, if you travel abroad, to the people in other lands, because I know of no nation that has done as much in the cause of peace as this one. The United Nations lives today because we help it live. The world bank is a fact today because we are its major contributor. And I could pick it off.

Not that this is something that we should complain about or even be boastful of -- but, it is a fact. Facts you ought to be willing to recite.

In the past few months, President Johnson has made several important statements, directed to the American people and to others in the world, reaffirming our policy and commitment to the policy of the "Good Neighbor". He has specifically

committed our Nation to that policy in Latin America, in Africa and in Asia, and indeed, as we know, in Europe. Most of the world's people and most of its problems lie in the continents of Africa, Latin America and Asia. Yet, I think it's a fact that most of us know very little about these areas of the world. And regrettably, we've been very little concerned with them before the 1960's. It was the Kennedy-Johnson Administration and the Johnson-Humphrey Administration that started to explore in depth the role that this Nation might have in helping these continents and the people of these continents to a better life, to learn more, to bring upon them the searching light of honest inquiry from students of these areas. On these continents there are young nations and billions of people striving to find their way to modern nationhood and to a better life. And they are working against the terrible obstacles of ignorance and hunger and disease. And they face all too often, inside and outside, subversion and agitation.

Make no mistake about it, in today's world, these nations and these people that I speak of are our neighbors. We cannot isolate ourselves from them. And to fail to recognize them as our neighbors would be tragic for them and for us.

So, let's take a clear look, then, for just a few more minutes at where we are. On all the continents of this world, including our own, there is the need for more and better education, more and better food and nutrition, more and better health and medical care. And only last week, I heard your President say in cabinet meeting that the basic fundamentals of his foreign policy were education, health and food, for the peoples of this earth.

I want you to take the message of compassion and justice that your President and this government exemplify to the people of this land.

There is the task in many places of helping people who want our help to build better economic, social and political institutions. That's why we have foreign aid. That's why it ought to be passed and not cut. That foreign aid bill before the Congress of the United States wasn't too big -- if anything, it was too small. It was paired down to a basic minimum, and I don't think we strengthen our country and the cause of justice and freedom in this world by trimming and trimming and cutting and cutting because we are a little unhappy with a little mistake that was made here or there, or because things aren't going as we thought they ought to. You don't stop your program and research in cancer, do you, because it didn't work right away? You're not closing up the National Institutes of Health because we haven't found the cure for mental retardation, have you? In fact, we are going to put in hundreds of millions of dollars more than the President even asked, because we know we must find some answers, and, yet, we've been trying to find an answer for cancer for fifty years

And we've put in billions and we haven't found it. And we're trying to find an answer to poverty at home, too. And we're trying to find an answer to poverty and injustice abroad and you don't find it by giving up. Or becoming frustrated and unhappy over the inadequate results. You find it by carrying on. Trying and trying again.

And then there is as in Viet Nam the painful necessity of helping independent nations resist aggression lest it spread and threaten the general peace. And I want it quite clear to my fellow Democrats that every decision that your government has made throughout the world had within it the possibility of a struggle. The fact that it didn't happen is our good fortune. We were within minutes of nuclear war in 1962 in Cuba. Minutes, I know, I sat in on those meetings.

Where there was the possibility of a major war with the Soviet Union in every time there was trouble in Berlin. But we faced up to that problem. Even mobilizing reserves. I remember one afternoon in the Senate we ~~x~~ voted six billion dollars for defense funds in 1961 because of Communist threat to Berlin. We sent thousands more men. The fact that the war didn't break out we should be prayerfully grateful. But in every decision someone had to make a tough decision, a hard decision, a difficult decision, a soulsearching decision.

In Southeast Asia as in Korea.....on to next disc.

the decision is more painful. And we've had to face up to the fact of ~~what~~ lawlessness, disorder, violence, aggression and just as those developments are no way to have social relations at home in America, just as we cannot condone them here you cannot condone them abroad. This doesn't make you a hawk or a dove. It just makes you sensible.

And responsible.

And we'd do better off to quit calling each other birdlike names. Now despite these challenges, and it's easy to become discouraged by every one of them, I have good reason and so do you for hope and confidence. First, we are perhaps further today from the threat of nuclear war than at any time in the past post-war years. That's encouraging. Not least because the Soviet Union has ~~come~~ come to realize that peaceful co-existence can be the only rational course in the nuclear age

:During the past twenty years, over one billion people have won their freedom from foreign rule. That's good news. Over 72 countries have emerged and not one has turned Communist. That's good news.

Nor has a Communist ever won a free election. That's good news on a nation-wide basis. In Europe, the United States and its allies are searching out for new and wider horizons for NATO.

Free Europe is moving ahead economically and ultimately we can hope, to political unity. Bridges of trade, travel and communication are being built with the Eastern European nations which are increasingly and forcefully asserting their individual, national identities. That's good news.

When you see Rumania stand for her own decisions, for example.

The peoples of Africa are increasingly buckling down to hard and sustained effort for their ~~economic~~ economic betterment and not one has turned Communist. Not one. Here in our own hemisphere, the Alliance for Progress is gaining momentum.

The commitments under that Alliance are twice this year what they were two years ago. Fifty percent more this year than they were last year. And there are real dividends to the people of the Western Hemisphere and in housing and food and health and in economic development. The inter-American system, the OAS is growing and maturing. The Dominican Republic, long racked by violence is today led by a freely elected President and Congress and it would not have been if the President had not had the courage despite severe criticism to be willing to protect life and property and political institutions and to ask for responsible cooperation from the Organization of American States. I think that this is a rather singular achievement for the Johnson Administration. I can't help but think my good friends what would have happened if the free elections had not come off.

The criticism that would have been levelled. If you don't mind sometimes during the day during the months aheads, if you have a free moment you might mention that what did happen was rather encouraging.

I don't know whether this will last or whether political institutions will be strong enough to survive all the tests that they'll be put to, but I do know that the inter-American system did work. And I do know that lives were saved and I do know that our design in the Dominican Republic was nothing ~~is~~ more or less

than freedom for the Dominican people.

To the north, I guess you and I know that our sister nation, Canada, continues to thrive and to work harmoniously with us and is a responsible and helpful member of the international community. And as I said in the United Nations only two years ago, which looked like it might be collapsing, lives and grows and the skeptics have been proven wrong. And in Asia and in the Pacific, despite the pain and the tragedy of Viet Nam there's some good news. And I want you to know it because people are going to ask you ~~ask~~ about it.

Old quarrels and rivalries are being forgotten or least set aside and replaced by international cooperation. For example, last month the Cabinet ministers of nine Asian and Pacific countries met in Seoul, Korea, to discuss how they could best work together for the first time in mutual interest for all of their peoples, some 250 million.



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