

Address by:
Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey
Vice President of the United States
to the
71st Annual National Convention
of the Jewish War Veterans
of the U.S.A.
August, 1966





It is my honor to meet today with men who have not only served their country in the past, but who also are concerned with responsible service to their country in the present and in the future.

You have made it your business to speak out and act on the issues facing us at home and in the world. And you have not been afraid to do so forthrightly and with honesty.

I was impressed by your sober statement of a few weeks ago, addressed to the debate in our country over Viet Nam.

You strongly upheld the right of dissent—and rightly so. But you also asked that those who exercise that right “Should debate the issue on its merits, and should not cry ‘Foul’ when the debate becomes heated on both sides, so long as there are no acts of repression or retaliation.”

We Americans are advocates. We speak our minds. Therefore, I think we should not be surprised that some of the debate concerning Viet Nam policy has, from time to time, become heated.

What I believe to be most important is that those engaged in that debate should not impugn the motives of those with whom they disagree; and that they should get down to the hard realities of the situation and the available policy options.

What you rightly pointed out in your statement on Viet Nam was that, in these perilous times, we cannot afford the luxury of irresponsibility—either in word, in policy, or in act.

We cannot afford irresponsibility at home, or in the world.

Foreign and Domestic Policy Inter-Twined

It was only a few years ago that we talked about foreign policy and domestic policy as if they were neatly compartmentalized and had nothing to do with each other.

“Foreign Policy” was something carried on by the State Department at diplomatic receptions and in the drawing rooms of Europe. “Domestic Policy” was something involving wages, the rate of unemployment, politicians and voters. Unless we were involved in war overseas—or contagious depression at home—the two seldom got mixed up together.

The time has long since passed when any nation could live isolated from its neighbors. The time has passed too, when any nation could believe what happened inside its own borders was its own business, and nobody else’s business.

The violence in our city streets and the unfinished business of civil rights are just as much a part of our “Foreign Policy” as the plight of the developing countries, and wars of National Liberation, are a part of our “Domestic policy.”

Deep at the heart of it all we must face these facts: there are conditions of poverty, hunger, ignorance and injustice in all parts of the world, including our own blessed land.

These conditions produce discontent. They produce disorder. They produce war.

We, of course, must have an order of priorities. Yet, within these priorities, we can no more ignore these conditions elsewhere than we can ignore them in our very own American communities.

Not ignoring the work at hand . . . not seeking refuge in nostalgia . . . not seizing on formula answers or simple solutions . . . not engaging in carping criticism without offering constructive alternatives—these are the hard and real necessities for us today as responsible world citizens.

I think there is a good case to be made that, in the years since World War II, our nation has been a responsible nation.

Achievements on the Home Front

At home, we have extended well-being, security and opportunity among our own citizens to a degree never matched before in any nation. In just the months since Lyndon B. Johnson became President, we have more than doubled, for instance, our National investments in health and education. We have undertaken a broad-scale National War on poverty. We have, through law, and action, torn down barriers of discrimination and injustice that had existed in our society for more than a century.

Responsible Action Abroad

And in the world, we have steadfastly followed the policy of the good neighbor. In the past 20 years, we have provided some 120 billion dollars of assistance to others. This has included billions of dollars in food—without which millions of our fellow men would have starved. In the past 20 years our armed forces have suffered more than 165 thousand casualties on foreign soil.

And, during this time, we have not demanded one piece of anyone's territory. Nor have we sought to subjugate any other nation.

I believe our Policies of responsibility have been proved right. First of all, we are still alive in the Nuclear Year 21—and this alone is something for which all men may be thank-

ful. But what is more we are, perhaps, further today from the threat of nuclear war than at any time in the Postwar years—not least because the Soviet Union has come to the realization that peaceful coexistence can be the only rational course in the Nuclear Age.

In a more positive sense, we have far more hope today than we did at the end of World War II that workable International organizations could develop and that, some day, far ahead, there might lie a world under the peaceful rule of just law.

Nations today are working together for peaceful development on a scale unimagined only a few years ago—including dozens of new nations just emerging from their early days of self concern.

And, in our own society, people who used to think themselves as natural antagonists are likewise working together for a larger prosperity, for better cities, for more rapid transportation, for cleaner air and water, and for more equal opportunity.

These things have not happened by accident. They are not only the product of the times. They are the result of constructive and responsible leadership—a great deal of it provided by American Presidents of both Political Parties.

Yet, despite the lessons of two World Wars . . . despite the successes of the Post War period, I sense today a dangerous tendency in our own country toward not only the compartmentalization once more of "Foreign" and "Domestic" policies, but also toward retreat from responsibility.

Need For Continued Foreign Aid

Take Foreign Aid.

The expenditure for the first year of the Marshall Plan was about 2 per cent of our gross national product, and 11½ cents out of every tax dollar. This year—thanks to the growth of our American Economy—our foreign aid request was for only .29 per cent of our GNP and about 1.9 per cent of the Federal budget—that is, about 2 cents out of every tax dollar.

Yet, among those who would be the first to question a new military commitment overseas, there were voices raised—and they are still being raised—against our foreign aid request.

Why were they raised? What alternatives were proposed?

If there is a substitute for Foreign Aid, I would like to hear about it. The investment we make in Foreign Aid—in preventative medicine, if you will—is certainly less than that necessary to treat the symptoms of a massive economic crisis and, yes, of war.

The Marshall Plan saved Western Europe and the peace. It created a great new economic market for us. But there is more: The revived nations of Western Europe have not only repaid their Marshall Plan debts, they have already provided more aid to developing countries than they ever received from the United States of America.

The rewards can be just as great tomorrow from the other continents.

Yet, at a time when the gap between Rich and Poor in the world continues to widen . . . when nations critical to our National security are striving desperately to create modern societies in face of communist pressure and subversion, we hear once more the old complaints about foreign aid. But what is more disturbing, they are being made by people who should know better.

Take our economy.

We have, over the past several years, experienced a creative burst of expression which has made the "American Economic Miracle" the envy of the world. Last year alone, we increased our GNP by 47 billion dollars, increased our total personal income by 39 billion dollars, and increased our federal cash receipts by 8½ billion dollars.

And, at the same time, we have been reducing the Federal deficit. Today, even with the costs of Viet Nam, Federal expenditures are at the lowest percentage of GNP—except for 1965—than at any other time since 1948.

Combatting Inflationary Pressures

Now, due in part to our rapid growth and reduction in unemployment, we face inflationary pressure.

I think all of us have reason for disappointment that, in this difficult period, a few of the people who rejoiced at yesterday's economic opportunity are rejecting today's necessity for self-discipline and restraint.

On the administration's part, may I say that the President will use all the appropriate economic tools at hand to hold inflation in check. Using each tool to the degree necessary. For we have far too great a stake in our economic achievement to see it diluted and destroyed by inflation.

I have faith that American industry and labor will exert self-discipline and look ahead to the larger public interest. But it disturbs me that a few would have missed the lesson we should know so well by now: That we are all in the same economic boat.

A New Type of Isolationism

I have been concerned too, with a new kind of isolationism.

Traditionally, many of the people who opposed our involvement in the world also opposed a greater involvement in our own society. An unconcern for poverty and oppression in the rest of the world was more often than not accompanied by a general insulation against the same things here at home.

But today, I sense—and I am sure you do too—that a number of our citizens feel a deep and personal concern about what is wrong in our own country, but they do not feel an equal concern for the plight of others abroad.

There are many explanations for it.

Almost half our people were born during or after World War II, and they have no firsthand memory of the old isolationism.

Also, there have been many things happening at home to draw our attention here—the efforts of Negro Americans to lift themselves . . . our war on poverty . . . our national commitment to education . . . the new laws which have captured our imagination . . . yes, and the riots and disorders which have caused us to look at our cities and what is happening there.

The American people are aware today, as never before, of what is happening here at home. And they are willing to undertake positive measures to change what is wrong . . . to make even better what is right.

But I feel that some of them—under the influence of the new isolationism, or whatever you wish to call it—are falling back into the old thought patterns about "Foreign Policy" and "Domestic Policy" and handy little compartments for each.

Now let us get right down to specifics.

We are engaged today in an unparalleled effort to erase poverty, hunger, ignorance and injustice in America. We are equally engaged, in Southeast Asia, in a struggle against the same enemies—but against overt terror and aggression at the same time.

As veterans, none of you needs to be told that we have some stake in the independence and security of nations living on the borders of expansionist totalitarian powers, and in the hope and social betterment of people who have lived too long without democratic government.

Yet, at least a half-dozen times in the past few days, I have heard otherwise responsible Americans publicly declare that we ought to take the money and resources being spent in Viet

Nam and Southeast Asia and transfer them to "Domestic" programs.

I say that to do so would require, a few months or years hence, the investment of far more money, men and resources to Southeast Asia—and possibly to other parts of the world—than we have committed today, and at far greater danger to all of us.

Significance of Viet Nam's Election

In a few days an election will be held in South Viet Nam.

It may be dangerous to say this in a congressional campaign year, but I believe that election should be of almost as much concern to American citizens as our own elections this fall.

The election early next month in South Viet Nam—an election for a Constituent Assembly—will signal to the world whether or not democracy may have its chance to grow in the stormy soil accumulated over centuries . . . I mean the stony soil of Mandarin rule, of colonial domination, of years of constant terror and violence.

The Viet Cong are trying—and will try—to disrupt those elections.

But I believe the people will win. I believe they will vote. And I believe their votes—votes for democratic government—should give us as much gratification as a victory for the democratic system here at home.

I say our investment in Southeast Asia is well worth its cost, just as our investments in a better and freer America are well worth their cost.

Leadership In One World

The burdens we carry today—in America and in the world—are the burdens of responsibility.

Today "One World" is here.

Instant images of the good life flash just as quickly, by radio and television, to the impoverished peasant as they do to the comfortable businessman.

New ideas penetrate and move the brown and yellow people just as they do the white.

And we must recognize that there are, in the furthest corner of 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.

This is the age of "One World," and therefore it must be the age of stewardship for fellow man—in all places.

It must be the age of compassion—for all people.

It must be, equally, the Age of Responsibility.

This, then will be the test of the American people: whether or not we have the sense of perspective, the courage, the steadfastness to act responsibly—in our own city streets . . . in the streets of villages halfway across the world—despite the frustrations, the disappointments, the disillusionments that will come our way.

Will we be able to act, free of the passions of the moment?

Will we be able to limit the use of our almost limitless power, when the use of that power might offer a seemingly quick solution?

Will we be able to keep alive the flame and the spirit of our free American Revolution as our own needs at home are increasingly met?

Adlai Stevenson's Message

Twelve years ago, at Harvard University, Adlai Stevenson gave a series of remarkable lectures. One was entitled "America's Burden." I will quote from the lecture.

"To act coolly, intelligently and prudently in perilous circumstances is the test of a man or nation. The ordeal of our times is a challenge to American maturity and American responsibility . . . America's life story is the record of a marvelous growth of body, mind and character. Now, at maturity, we shoulder the heaviest burdens of greatness, for in the last analysis the epic struggle for our civilization, for government by consent of the governed, will be determined by what we Americans are capable of. In bearing burdens, in ennobling new duties of citizenship, is the greatness of men and nations measured, not in pomp and circumstance."

We must bear our burdens, we must ennoble the duties of citizenship.

We must meet the measure of greatness.

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Nat Commander Milton Waldor

REMARKS

Gov Hughes

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

JEWISH WAR VETERANS

Congressman Tom McGrath

ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY

100% Record

Mayor Altman

71st annual National Convention

AUGUST 25, 1966

Bernard Berg Abramson

↳ a privilege

convention thru

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Bea Kaufman
Cong. Hefner
Hon. Hefner
Chairman

Milton Waldor - Nat Commander

Malcolm Tarlov - new Nat. Commander

Dan Heller - Past Nat. Commander

TARLOV

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↳ We Americans are advocates. We speak our minds.¹ Therefore, I think we should not be surprised that some of the debate concerning Vietnam policy has, from time to time, become heated.

↳ What I believe to be most important is that those engaged in that debate should not impugn the motives of those with whom they disagree, and that they should get down to the hard realities of the situation and the available policy options.

What you rightly pointed out in your statement on Vietnam was that, in these perilous times, we cannot afford the luxury of irresponsibility -- either in word, in policy, or in act.

We cannot afford irresponsibility at home, or in the world. *a nation with our power, our wealth, our influence, must speak and act responsibly!*

It was only a few years ago that we talked about foreign policy and domestic policy as if they were neatly compartmentalized and had nothing to do with each other.

"Foreign policy" was something carried on by the State Department at diplomatic receptions and in European drawing rooms. "Domestic policy" was something involving wages, *business*, the rate of unemployment, politicians and voters. Unless we were involved in war overseas -- or contagious depression at home -- the two seldom *were joined* got mixed up together.

But we know,

The time has long since passed when any nation ^{can} live isolated from its neighbors. The time has passed, too, when any nation could believe what happened inside its own borders was its own business, and nobody else's.

The violence in our city streets and the unfinished business of civil rights are just as much a part of our "foreign policy" as the plight of the developing countries and wars of national liberation are a part of our "domestic policy."

Deep at the heart of it all we must face these facts: There are conditions of poverty, hunger, ignorance and injustice in all parts of the world, including our own blessed land.

These conditions produce discontent. They produce disorder. They produce war.

We, of course, must have an order of priorities. Yet, within these priorities, we can no more ignore these conditions elsewhere than we can ignore them in our own American communities.

Foreign Policy and Domestic Policy are one and inseparable.

- 5 -

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↳ We have undertaken a broad-scale national war on poverty.

We have, through law and action, torn down barriers of discrimination and injustice that had existed in our society for more than a century.

And in the world, we have steadfastly followed the policy of the good neighbor. In the past 20 years we have provided some 120 billion dollars of assistance to others.

This has included billions of dollars in food -- without which millions of our fellow men would have starved.

In the past 20 years our armed forces have suffered more than

165 thousand casualties on foreign soil. *fighting for the freedom and independence of other people.*

And, during this time, we have not demanded one piece of anyone else's territory. Nor have we sought to subjugate any other nation.

and I believe our policies of responsibility have been proved right. First of all, we are still alive in the Nuclear Year 21 -- and this alone is something for which all men may be thankful.

But what is more, we are perhaps further today from the threat of nuclear war than at any time in the postwar years --

~~Partly~~ not least because the Soviet Union has come to the realization that peaceful coexistence can be the only rational course in the nuclear age.

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↳ Nations today are working together for peaceful development on a scale unimagined only a few years ago -- including dozens of new nations just emerging from their early days of self-concern.

↳ And, in our own society, people who used to think of themselves as natural antagonists are likewise working together for a larger prosperity, for better cities, for more rapid transportation, for cleaner air and water, for more equal opportunity.

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Yet, despite the lessons of two World Wars . . . despite the successes of the postwar period, I sense today a dangerous tendency in our own country toward not only the compartmentalization once more of "foreign" and "domestic" policies, but also toward retreat from responsibility.

Take foreign aid, *for example.*

The expenditure for the first year of the Marshall Plan was about 2 per cent of our Gross National Product, and 11-1/2 cents out of every tax dollar. This year -- thanks to the growth of our American economy -- our foreign aid request was for only .29 per cent of our GNP and about 1.9 per cent of the federal budget -- that is, about two cents out of every tax dollar.

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↳ Why were they raised? What alternatives were proposed?

If there is a substitute for foreign aid, I would like to hear about it. The investment we make in foreign aid -- in preventive medicine, if you will -- is certainly less than that necessary to treat the symptoms of massive economic crisis and, yes, of war.

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↳ The rewards can be just as great tomorrow on other continents.

↳ Yet, at a time when the gap between rich and poor in the world continues to widen . . . when nations ~~critical~~ *vital* to our national security are striving desperately to create modern societies in face of Communist pressure and subversion, we hear once more the old complaints about foreign aid. But what is more disturbing, they are being made by people who should know better.

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And at the same time we have been reducing the federal deficit. Today, even with the costs of Vietnam, federal expenditures are at the lowest percentage of GNP -- except for 1965 -- than at any other time since 1948.

But Now, due in part to our rapid growth and reduction in unemployment, we face inflationary pressures.

~~I think~~ all of us have reason for disappointment that, in this difficult period, a few of the people who rejoiced at yesterday's economic opportunity are rejecting today's necessity for self-discipline and restraint.

On the Administration's part, may I say that the President will use all the appropriate economic tools at hand to hold inflation in check, using each tool to the degree necessary. ^{alloy us,} ~~For we~~ have far too great a stake in our economic achievement to see it diluted and destroyed by inflation.

↳ I have faith that American industry and labor will exert self-discipline and look ahead to the larger public interest.

But it disturbs me that a few would have missed the lesson we should know so well by now: That we are all in the same economic boat.

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Traditionally, many of the people who opposed our involvement in the world also opposed a greater involvement in our own society.

↳ An unconcern for poverty and oppression in the rest of the world was more often than not accompanied by a general insulation against the same things here at home.

↳ But today I sense -- and I am sure you do too -- that a number of our citizens feel a deep and personal concern about what is wrong in our own country, but they do not feel an equal concern for the plight of others abroad.

There are many explanations for it.

Almost half our people were born during or after World War II, and they have no firsthand memory of the old isolationism *and the rise of Hitler, Nazism & Fascism*

↳ Also, there have been many things happening at home to draw our attention here -- the efforts of Negro Americans to lift themselves . . . our war on poverty . . . our national commitment to education . . . the new laws which have captured our imagination . . . yes, and the riots and disorders which have caused us to look at our cities and what is happening there.

↳ The American people are aware today, as never before, of what is happening here at home. And they are willing to undertake positive measures to change what is wrong . . . to make even better what is right. *and*

To this gigantic task we are pledged. There shall be no retreat.

our fellow citizens

But I feel that some of ~~them~~ -- under the influence of the new isolationism, or whatever you wish to call it -- are falling back into the old thought patterns about "foreign policy" and "domestic policy" and handy little compartments for each.

↳ Now let us get right down to specifics.

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↳ As veterans, ~~none of you needs to be told that~~ *you know that* we have some stake in the independence and security of nations living on the borders of expansionist totalitarian powers, and in the hope and social betterment of people who have lived too long ~~in poverty and~~ without democratic government.

Yet, at least a half-dozen times in the past few days, I have heard otherwise responsible Americans publicly declare that we ought to take the money and resources being spent in Vietnam and Southeast Asia and transfer them to "domestic" programs.

*later* I say that to do so would require, a few months or years hence, the investment of far more money, men and resources to Southeast Asia -- and possibly to other parts of the world -- than we have committed today, and at far greater danger to us all.

In a few days an election will be held in South Vietnam.

~~It may be dangerous to say this in a Congressional campaign year, but I believe that election should be of almost as much concern to American citizens as our own elections this fall.~~ *It is a vital and fundamental step in the building of a free and democratic nation.*

The election early next month in South Vietnam -- an election for a constituent assembly -- will signal to the world whether or not democracy may have its chance to grow in the stony soil accumulated over centuries . . . I mean the stony soil of mandarin rule, of colonial domination, of years of constant terror and violence.

The Viet Cong are trying -- and will try -- to disrupt those elections. *The Communists sense the importance of these elections and are determined to destroy + disrupt them.*  
But I believe the people will win. I believe they will vote. And I believe their votes -- votes for democratic government -- should give us as much gratification as <sup>a</sup>victory for the democratic system here at home.

I say our investment in Southeast Asia is well worth its cost, just as our investments in a better and freer America are well worth their cost.

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We must meet the measure of greatness.

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY, JEWISH WAR  
VETERANS, 71st ANNUAL CONVENTION, ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.

*Aug. 25, 1966*

Commander Waldor, and the past commanders that are here; Dan Heller; your commander soon to be, Malcolm Tarlov, and our great Congressional Medal of Honor winner, Ben Kaufmann; Rabbi Gordon - after all, the Rabbi is from Minneapolis, I have to take special note. There are so many others here, our men in uniform today and your Judge Advocate and my old friend, Abe Kraditor, and oh, so many here.

Can I first express a very sincere and heartfelt thanks for the high honor which has been bestowed upon me. I must say that I am very much moved by it, I only hope that I am worthy of it. And to you, Commander Waldor, my friend Milton, I wish to express my sincere appreciation, my gratitude to you and the Jewish War Veterans for this singular honor that you have given to me. I will try to be worthy of it all the days of my public life and all the days of my private life. Of course, I'd like to have public and private just kind of stick together all the time, but---- I see many friends in the audience, and I see some of my friends from Minnesota and I am glad that they are here. We are very proud of our members of the Jewish War Veterans out in the midwest and in the home state of Minnesota. I wish that I, today, could stay the whole day with you, but I have some very important duties back in

Washington. There will be a meeting today of the President's Cabinet and I must be there. The I have another duty, privilege and joy coming to me shortly of brining into our family a lovely young lady, a new daughter, a daughter-in-law, and I have to - Mazoltov, that's right - and I must be home for that happy occasion, so everything has had to be changed around, and I want to thank alloof you here who have been so kind as to re-arrange your schedules for this day.

I come to you today with a serious message. We have been together in good times and bad times. Of course, I must say to you that it was just about two years ago to this very day in Atlantic City, and a very important event took place in my life. I received a nomination for the office of Vice President. I haven't forgotten that and Atlantic City will always have a close, will always have a warm place in my heart and there are people right here in this audience who had a great deal to do with that, isn't that right, Abe? You betcha. So I want to thank you. Since I have had the privilege to serve as your Vice President, I think I have grown to know more about our country and more about its responsibilities, and the message that I speak to you on today is the message of our responsibility. Because, you see, leadership is not a luxury or a privilege, it is a duty and it imposes responsibility. It is my honor to meet today with men and women who have served their country gloriously in the past, and who are concerned with responsible service to their country in

the present and in the future. This is what the Jewish War Veterans mean - Service, to God and Country and Fellow Man, and you have made it your business to speak out and act on the issues facing us at home and abroad. This is responsible citizenship.

I was much impressed by your sober statement of a few weeks ago, addressed to the debate in our country over Viet Nam. You strongly upheld the right of dissent and, I add -- rightly so. But you also asked that those who exercise that right "Should debate the issue on its merits, and should not cry 'Foul' when the debate becomes heated on both sides, so long as there are no acts of repression or retaliation." I have quoted from your own statement.

You see, we Americans are advocates. We speak; up and we speak our minds. and therefore, I think we should be not at all surprised that some of the debate concerning the Viet Nam policy, or any other policy, has, from Time to Time, become heated.

What I believe to be most important is, not that there has been a debate, but that those engaged in that debate should never impugn the motives of those with whom they disagree; and that they should get down to the hard realities of the situation and the available policy options. Debate should be an exercise in the search for truth, not an exercise in the accumulation of points by which you judge whether you have won or lost.

Now you have rightly pointed out in your statement on Viet Nam that, in these perilous times, that we cannot afford the luxury of irresponsibility -- Either in word, in policy, or in act. We cannot afford irresponsibility at home or in the world.

May I add, that a nation with our power, with our wealth, with our prestige and influence in the world, must speak and act responsibly every day. We cannot ever afford the luxury of being a dilettante or of irresponsibility. And it was only a few year ago, you know, that we talked of foreign police and of domestic policy as if they were neatly compartmentalized, separated, packaged and had nothing to do with each other. Why, foreign policy was something carried on by the State Department, by the boys in striped pants at diplomatic receptions and in the European drawing rooms--and Domestic Policy, why that was something involving wages and business, farm prices and the rate of unemployment, politicians and voters. Unless we were involved in a war overseas, or a contagious depression here at home, we seldom ever joined together foreign policy and domestic policy. They were separated and discussed as if they were completely immune from one another.

But we know differently now, we know that the time is long past when any nation could live isolated from its neighbors. The time has passed, too, when any nation could believe that what happened inside its own borders was only

its own business, and nobody else's. And that is true in America. What happens in our borders does affect what happens elsewhere.

The violence in our city streets and the unfinished business of civil rights are just as much a part of our "Foreign Policy" or our "Foreign Image" as the plight of the developing countries and wars of National Liberation as they are called are a part of our "Domestic Policy".

I have said, and I will repeat it here, that the most singularly important foreign policy act of this government in recent years, was the passage of the Civil Right Act of 1964. That was essentially "Foreign Policy" as much as "Domestic Necessity", but it basically affected our policy everywhere in the world and the acceptance of the United States -- and, Ladies and Gentlemen, we cannot preach law and order to people throughout the world and tolerate lawlessness and disorder and violence and rioting and burning in our own country. We have to have a common standard.

You see, deep at the heart of all of this we must face these facts; that there are conditions of poverty, hunger, ignorance and injustice in all parts of the world, including regrettably, our own blessed land, and these conditions produce discontent. They produce disorder and they produce war, and this is why we must wage a relentless struggle against these conditions at home and abroad, just as we seek to help build a world order that contributes or makes possible conditions

for an enduring peace - so we must attempt to build a Domestic Order here in America that promotes Domestic Tranquility and justice and equal opportunity, one nation, under God, indivisible, with Liberty and Justice for all.

This is the way we will ultimately put out the fires of violence. But, just as abroad, we know that we cannot condone aggression without danger to the whole fabric of world order, so we know at home we cannot condone or tolerate lawlessness, or violence, without tearing at the fabric of domestic structure or the internal structure of our country.

Now, we must have our options and our priorities. Yet, within these priorities, we can no more ignore these conditions elsewhere -- these conditions of poverty and ignorance, and illiteracy -- than we can ignore them in our own American communities. Therefore, I summarize it by saying that Foreign Policy and Domestic Policy are one and inseparable.

Not ignoring the work at hand, not seeking refuge in nostalgia, not seizing on formula answers or simple solutions, not engaging in carping criticism without offering constructive alternatives--these are the hard and real necessities for us today as responsible world citizens.

You see, we just don't have that privilege of just having a "lost weekend" as a nation. We have to be on the job 24 hours a day, 365 days a year as leaders, with all of the burdens that come with leadership. I think there is a good

case can be made that in these years since World War II, our nation has been a responsible nation. I take a moment to speak; up now for our country, because so many say so many things unkind about it. This great America of yours and mine did not come into being what it is because of weakness or ineptness or irresponsibility. We are what we are, and we are what we have become because we have leadership; because we have a sense of self-discipline; because we have purpose. At home we have extended the well being, the security and the opportunity among our citizens to a degree never matched by nation. In just the months since President Johnson has been your Chief Executive, we have more than doubled, for instance, or national investments in health, and in education, and in our cities. We have undertaken a broad-scale national war on poverty. We have through law and action torn down barriers of discrimination and injustice that had existed in our society for more than a century.

Of course there is work yet to do. There will be when you and I are gone from this Earth. The important thing, my fellow Americans, is that we have come to grips with the problems. We have recognized their dimension, their depth, and we are mobilizing our resources for the attack on the problems that confront us at home and abroad.

And in this world, a smaller world every day, we have steadfastly followed the policy of a good neighbor. In the past twenty years we have provided some one hundred and twenty billion dollars of foreign assistance from the pockets of the American

people. This has included billions of dollars in food, without which millions of our fellow men would have starved. In the past twenty years our armed forces have suffered more than one hundred and sixty five thousand casualties on foreign soil for the freedom and independence of other people. I submit that this is a noble record for our Americans.

And during this time, we have not sought nor demanded one piece of anyone else's territory, nor have we sought conquest nor dominion, nor have we sought to subjugate any other nation.

You see, I believe our policies of responsibility have proved right. First of all, we are still alive in the nuclear age -- Nuclear Year 21 -- and this, alone, is something for which we may be eternally thankful. But what is more, we are perhaps further today from the threat of nuclear war than any time in the post war years, partly because the Soviet Union has come to realize that peaceful co-existence can be the only rational course in the nuclear age. In a more positive sense, we have far more hope today than we did at the end of World War II, that workable international organizations could develop, and that some day...Yes, some distant day, maybe... there might lie a world under which peaceful rule of just law; a world of international law and order. Nations today are working together for peaceful development on a scale unimagined only a few years ago, including dozens of new nations just emerging from their early days of self concern.

This is some of the good news. You read all of the bad news all the time. There is good news. A billion people have gained their freedom in the last twenty years. Seventy new nations have come into being in the last twenty years and, my fellow Americans, not one of them has become a Communist nation.. Not One!!!

And then there is some good news at home. In our own society people who used to think of themselves as national antagonists are now working together for a larger prosperity, for better cities, for more rapid transportation, for cleaner air and water, and, above all, for a better life, for more equal opportunity.

Now these things haven't happened just by accident. They are not only the product of the times. They are the result of constructive and responsible leadership and much of that leadership, a good deal of it, is right here in this room. You have contributed immeasurably to it. And a great deal of that leadership has been provided by American Presidents of both political parties. Yet, despite the lessons of two world wars, despite the successes of two post-war periods, I sense today a dangerous tendency in our own country towards not only the compartmentalization once more of foreign and domestic policies, but also towards retreat from responsibility.

I am concerned, may I say, by the manifestations of extremism which we see all too evident. The violence in our streets--once again the Nazi swastika to be on display--those

who would ask our men not to honorably serve their country... and I want to commend you, Milton, for your...Commander Waldor...for your statement the other day in reference to those who would ask young Americans not to serve their country. Democracy offers the only hope for the redress of grievances. Our democracy offers the opportunity for people to adjust and readjust the inequities of life. These forces of extremism must be watched carefully and we must make it very, very clear and sure that they do not become the pattern of the day.

Let me talk to you now for just a little while about this retreat from responsibility in some of our governmental areas. Take Foreign Aid, for example:

I know this is not a particularly popular topic, but it is an essential one. The expenditure for the first year of the Marshall Plan that we hailed as such a great success, was about 2% of our gross national product and 11½¢ out of every tax dollar went to Marshall Plan aid. This year, thanks to the growth of our American economy, our Foreign Aid request was only one third of 1%, it was .29 of 1% of our GNP and only 1.9% of the Federal Budget, or about 2¢ out of every tax dollar as compared to the 11½¢ out of the tax dollar for the Marshall Plan aid. Yet among those who are the first to question our new -- any new military commitment overseas, there were voices raised, and they are still being raised, against a foreign aid request.

And one of the reasons for foreign aid is to minimize the need for any military commitment. Now, why were these voices raised, and what alternatives were proposed. If there is a substitute for foreign economic assistance I'd like to hear about it. We can't ignore the world in which we live, because it will explode and we are in it. The investment that we make in foreign aid is like preventive medicine. It is certainly less costly to use this than to treat the symptoms of massive economic crisis and even war. The Marshall Plan saved Western Europe and the peace. It created a great new economic market for us. But there is more to it than that. The revived Western European nations have not only repaid their Marshall Plan debts, they have also provided more aid to the developing countries than they ever received in aid from the United States. The rewards can be just as great tomorrow on other continents. The peace of the world is not going to be decided in Europe. It may very well be decided in Asia where half of the children of God live, and it is in Asia that our eyes are presently cast. Because it is there where the storm clouds of trouble rise on the horizon.

Yet, at a time when the gap between rich and poor in the world continues to widen..when nations vital to our national security are striving desperately to create modern societies in the face of Communist pressure and subversion, we hear once more the old complaints about American involvement and about foreign aid. But what is more disturbing, they are being made by people who should know better.

Now let's take a look at our economy for a moment. We have, over the past several years, experienced a creative burst of expression which has made the American economic miracle the envy of the world. Last year alone we increased our gross national product by 47 billion dollars. That was equal to the total production of Latin America. We increased our total personal income by 39 billion dollars. We increased our Federal cash receipts by 8½ billion dollars with lower tax rates, and at the same time we have been reducing our Federal deficit. Even with the heavy commitments in Viet Nam, the Federal deficit last year was the lowest it had been since the middle fifties. It was two billion, three hundred million. It had been projected at over six billion. Today, even with the costs in Viet Nam, Federal expenditures are the lowest percentage of the gross national product except for 1965, than at any time since 1948.

So the economy is strong. But now, due in part to our rapid growth and our reduction in unemployment and the pressures on our productive facilities, we face inflationary pressures. All of us have reason for disappointment that in this difficult period a few of the people who rejoiced at yesterday's economic opportunity are rejecting today's necessity for self discipline and restraint.

On the Administration's part, may I say that the President will use all of the appropriate economic tools at hand to hold inflation in check, using each tool to the degree necessary, because inflation is the cruel enemy of the person on fixed income. Inflation is the cruel and bitter enemy of the person on retirement benefits. Inflation creates havoc amongst working people,

and those who often have too little to be able to sustain themselves over the long periods.

So all of us, all of us business financier, labor, pensioners, veterans, everyone of us, have a great stake in our economic achievement. We have too great a stake in it to see us deluded or destroyed by selfishness or by self interest which brings on inflation. I have faith that American industry and labor, and I really express it---I have that faith---that American industry and labor will exert self discipline and not try to just grab the short run at the long run expense, that they will look ahead to the larger public interest. But it disturbs me to see that a few would have missed the lesson that we should have known so well by now.

And what is that lesson? We are all in the same economic boat, and when you start to rock it in turbulent waters it can collapse, and we all go down together. I have been concerned, too, with a new kind of isolationism, and I do not need to tell the Jewish War Veterans of the dangers of isolationism. We paid a horrible price for that sin. Traditionally, many of the people who opposed our involvement in the world also opposed our greater involvement in our own society. This was the old pattern. If you were an Isolationist you were generally , rather a super-conservative at home and unconcern for poverty and oppression in the rest of the world was more often than not accompanied by a general insulation against the same things here at home. Just sort of "holing up" and ignoring the facts of life.

But today I sense, and I am sure that you do too, that a number of our citizens feel a deep and personal concern about what is wrong in our own country, but they do not feel an equal concern about the plight of others abroad. I know, I'm talking to the wrong audience about that, because this audience is concerned about the plights of other abroad.

Now, there are many explanations for this new phenomena... this articulate concern about our problems at home, but less concern about the problems abroad. Almost half of our people were born during or after World War II. It is hard for some of us to realize, but it is a fact, and they have no first-hand memory of the old isolationism or the depression or nazi-ism, or fascism, or Hitler. Those are words. They are printed pages in a book. They are not a real experience of life for better than half of our population. Also there have been many things happening at home to draw our attention here. The efforts of our Negro Americans to lift themselves...or our War on Poverty...our national committment to education...the new laws which have captured our imagination. Yes, and the riots and the disorders which have caused us to look at our cities and what is happening there. It is no wonder that people are vitally concerned about matters at home. And this is all to the good. The American people are aware today, as never before, of what is happening at home and they are willing to undertake positive measures to change what is wrong and to make even better what is right. To this gigantic task, your President

and Vice President, your Congressman here, Tom McGrath, in this district, and many others, are pledged. We have made up our mind that we can win this struggle and we will mobilize the resources to do it. There shall be no retreat.

But I feel that some of our fellow citizens, under the influence of this new isolationism, or whatever you wish to call it, are falling back into the old thought patterns about Foreign Policy and Domestic Policy being different, separated, compartmentalized. So now, let me get you right down to some specifics.

We are today engaged in an unparalleled effort to erase poverty, hunger, ignorance, and injustice in America, and, Ladies and Gentlemen, we are making progress in that effort.

No one is more restless about the slowness of the pace than the gentleman who is speaking to you. I think I have been somewhat known in private and public life as a somewhat restless, energetic person, but I know that it takes a long time to build a business. It take time, mothers and fathers, to rear a family. It takes time to get an education. It takes time to build a nation. And if a person's health is impaired, it takes time to rehabilitate that health.

The important thing is that we recongize our objectives and our goals; that we state them and we start to move. That first step is the longest journey, and we have made the first step. We are on the move and we have committed the resources of our people and our country to this objective of a better

America and a just America for all people.

I would remind you what the late and beloved Pope John said about the world in which we live. He said, "In a world of constant war, there is no peace. In a world in which poverty is the condition of the day, violence is ever prevalent".

I think that it is about time that we Americans understood that there can be no safe America in an unsafe world. There can be no America the Beautiful in an ugly world. There can be no America that is comfortable and just in and uncomfortable and an unjust world.

So, just as we are engaged in a great effort against the old enemies of mankind that the prophets spoke of in ages gone by, poverty and hunger and ignorance and injustice here at home, we are equally engaged, for example, in Southeast Asia. Yes, in Latin America. In Africa.

But, for the moment, direct your attention to Southeast Asia. In a struggle against the same enemies, but also in a struggle over terror and aggression. That merely compounds the difficulties. Now, as veterans, you know that we have some stake in the independence and the security of nations living on the borders of expansionist totalitarian powers, and in the hope and social betterment of people who have lived too long without democratic government.

You men of this great organization know these lessons. Yet, at least a half a dozen times in the last few days I have heard otherwise responsible Americans publicly declare that we all

should take the money and resources being spent in Viet Nam, Southeast Asia, yes - in Latin America - and transfer them to Domestic programs, as if it was an either/or choice. As if you had only one option, either to put it all overseas or to put it all here. Those are not our choices. I say that to do that, to transfer what we are spending overseas and to put it here at home, alone, would require a few months or years later, the investment of far more money, far more men, far more resources to Southeast Asia, and possibly to other parts of the world than we have committed to date, and it is a far greater danger to all of us. We tried that once, you know. We ignored the aggressors once. We waged a war on a depression here in America once, and while we didn't close our eyes to Mr. Hitler and to Tojo and to Mussolini, we did little or nothing to stop them in their madness.

My fellow Americans, a day came, on the 7th day of December, 1941, when this nation was plunged into a holocaust, when the tides of totalitarianism were sweeping across the world, when there was no place to hide, there was no safety, and that force of evil that might well have been stopped on the banks of the Rhine long before, that force that might have been stopped and Munich long before, was sweeping across Europe, and its partner sweeping across Asia, and we were swept up in it. And all that we thought we had done at home was on the verge of being lost and destroyed and we had to spend almost five hundred billion dollars for World War II, and hundreds of thousands of lives and millions of men mobilized because we

hadn't sensed early enough that you needed to quarantine the aggressor.

Do you remember Franklin Roosevelt's famous speech in Chicago when he called upon this nation to quarantine the aggressor? And the nation turned its back upon that speech and upon that plea, and we had to give our life's blood.

I think we have learned those lessons. I hope so. And one of the reasons we are in Southeast Asia today is because we have paid a terrible price for the lessons of history. We are not there just for Viet Nam. We are not there only because of the safety and independence of 15 million South Vietnamese. Even though, may I say, that I think it would be cruel and immoral to have those people turned over to the ruthless Communism, I don't think we have any moral right to let that happen. We are there essentially because we have learned the lesson of history in our time, that aggression unchecked is aggression unleashed, and that the aggressor's victories feed an appetite that is insatiable. And better to take a stand early than to have to face a total war later.

My friends, I am not unaware that this is the most difficult of all struggles. I know how it tears at the heart of the American people.

Since I have digressed a bit, from my prepared text, let me just give the mothers in this room, and the fathers, one word of assurance, that just as we are determined as a nation with world-wide responsibility to be responsible and to try to check

lawlessness, violence and aggression before it becomes international in its scope and spreads throughout the earth, so we are determined to pursue relentlessly, courageously, every hour of the day, every hope of peace. This nation wants peace. Your President wants it. We are prepared, as President Johnson said yesterday, to go anywhere, at any time, under any reasonable legitimate forum - Geneva Conference, direct negotiations, Asian initiatives - to go any place to negotiate an honorable settlement of the terrible struggle that takes place in Southeast Asia. The roadblock to peace, my fellow Americans, is not in Washington. The roadblock to peace, I regret to say, is in Hanoi and Peking.

In a very few days an election will be held in South Viet Nam. But remember, this election isn't going to be like you can hold in your town, but this election should be of almost as much concern to American citizens as our own elections this Fall. It is a vital and fundamental step in the building of a free and Democratic nation and your America is engaged in nation building, just like others helped us build this nation. We didn't do it alone. The Pilgrim fathers did not build America alone. Your fathers helped build it, too. The people from overseas came and helped us in our hours of difficulty, so we are helping people build a nation. The election day next month in South Viet Nam, an election for a constituent assembly to write a constitution, will signal to the world whether or not Democracy may have a chance to grow in the stony soil.

accumulated over the centuries, and it is a stony soil of mandarin rule of a thousand years, of colonial domination of a hundred years, and of twenty six years of constant terror and violence. And yet, in that environment, and in that stony soil an election will take place, and hopefully, a constituent assembly can be selected from over seven hundred candidates for about one hundred positions. But the Viet Cong and the Communists are trying, and will try, to destroy and disrupt those elections. The Communists know the importance of these elections. They know that if a free election can be conducted in Viet Nam now, that this is the major victory, a major victory in the struggle. So, just as they seek to destroy our men in the field of battle, they are today systematically stepping up their program of terror and violence to prevent the success of this election, and every voter is under the threat of assassination when he walks to that ballot box.

My dear friends, the Vietnamese citizen who votes in this election is a hero. He will be a patriot of unbelievable courage, and I predict that there will be a very good turnout in this election, a very good one. It will be one that will make Americans proud of their efforts in nation building. I believe the people will win. I believe that they will vote, and I believe their votes - and it will be votes for constitutional Democratic government should give us as much gratification as a victory for our own Democratic system here at home. So I

say our investment in Southeast Asia is well worth its cost, just as our investments in a better and freer America are well worth their cost. The burdens that we carry today in America and in our world are the burdens of responsibility. Today One World is here. Wendell Willkie was right, ahead of his time. Instant images of the good life flash just as quickly by radio and television to the impoverished peasants as they do to the comfortable business men. New ideas penetrate and move the black, the brown and the yellow people just as they do the white. This is the age of One World and therefore it must be the age of stewardship for fellow man in all places, not just in our place. It must be the age of compassion for all people and it must be equally the age of responsibility for all people.

This, then, will be the test of the American people. Whether or not we have the sense of perspective, the courage, the will, the steadfastness to act responsibly in our own city streets, in the streets of villages halfway across the world, despite the frustrations, the disappointments, the disillusionments, that will come our way.

Will we, I ask, free of the passions of the moment, will we be able to limit the use of our almost limitless power when we are tested so much. When the use of that power seemingly might offer a quick solution, will we be able to keep alive the flame and the spirit of our free American Revolution as our own needs at home are increasingly met. Twelve years ago

at Harvard University, my dear friend and that great American, Adlai Stevenson gave a series of remarkable lectures. They are good reading for these troublesome days. One was entitled "America's Burden" and I pose my message to you this morning with a quotation from that message and that lecture. Adlai Stevenson said "to act coolly, intelligently and prudently, in perilous circumstances is the test of a man and a nation." The ordeal of our times is a challenge to American maturity and American responsibility. America's life story is a record of a marvelous growth of body, mind and character. Now at maturity we shoulder the heaviest burdens of greatness, for in the last analysis the epic struggle for our civilization, for government by consent of the governed, will be determined by what we Americans are capable of. In bearing burdens, in ennobling new duties of citizenship, is the greatness of men and nations measured, not in pomp and circumstance."

My fellow Americans, then, with an inspiration from a great man like Adlai Stevenson and remembering the words of Lincoln who said this was the last best hope on earth, I submit that we must bear our burdens, and bear those burdens manfully, bear them courageously. We must ennoble the duties of citizenship, responsible citizenship, and above all we must measure up to the standards of greatness, worthy of a great people and a great nation.

Good morning.



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