

FOR RELEASE: 2/22/67  
Wednesday AM's

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
CIVIC DINNER  
PHOENIX, ARIZONA  
FEBRUARY 21, 1967

As President Johnson said in his State of the Union Message, this is a "time of testing" for Americans.

We have lived under the nuclear gun since World War II. And, almost 22 years later, we are still alive.

There has been no World War III.

But we have no written guarantee that there never will be.

That will depend, in large part, on whether we Americans can keep our wits and our courage. It will depend on whether we meet the test.

I believe that meeting the test requires that we have a firm grasp on our priorities . . . that we know what comes first.

Tonight I would like to offer to this group of responsible citizens four basic priorities which I believe we must pursue if our children and grandchildren are to live in both peace and freedom.

The first priority is to slow down and halt the international arms race.

The second is to bring the fresh air of freedom to closed and isolated societies.

The third is to narrow the gap between the rich and poor nations of the world.

The fourth is to build a framework for peace -- a framework of law and order.

And underpinning these four priorities are two other things: The need to resist aggression before it gets out of hand, and the need to maintain the strength and vigor of our own America.

#### The Arms Race

There is not a person in this room who does not want the fullest possible measure of national and international security.

We have learned -- in the costliest and most painful way -- that there is not substitute for a strong and ready military establishment.

We have learned that there is no substitute for a working system of international alliances.

But we have learned, too, that there is a point where security and power cease to be synonymous.

We could today undertake massive investments in new missile systems and conventional armaments. We could arm ourselves to the teeth -- far beyond any present or future estimates of our needs.

That would add to our power. But would it add to our security?

Far from it.

It would certainly lead to corresponding efforts by the Soviet Union, by Communist China, and by other nations until we all found ourselves living in a world where Mars was king . . . a world dug in . . . a world where each nation waited only for the first false move by its adversaries before launching a so-called "pre-emptive war."

It would be a world in which each major nation felt compelled to build its own nuclear force . . . a world where the odds against humanity would worsen day-by-day.

Such a world would be like a warehouse littered with leaky barrels of gasoline. It would be at the mercy of whoever, deliberately or in error, lit the first match.

Thus, what concerns us today is not whether we can add to our military arsenal. We know we can do that.

What concerns us is whether or not we can maintain our own relative position of strength while at the same time averting a new spiral of arms spending around the world.

Today it is our prime objective to conclude a treaty which would halt nuclear proliferation and lead to the reduction of the number of weapons and delivery systems for such weapons.

It is also our objective to halt another part of the arms race.

As you know, the Soviet Union has deployed an anti-ballistic missile system in the Moscow area. It is a system which would by no means give total protection against incoming offensive missiles. But its very deployment could lead to further expenditures and deployments both here and there which would use up vitally-needed resources and would bring new tensions to the world.

President Johnson has informed the leaders of the Soviet Union, through Ambassador Llewellyn Thompson, that we would regard such a new arms race as both wasteful and dangerous. And we intend to take every step to see that it does not take place -- while at the same time making it crystal clear that we have both the resources and the will to maintain our strength at a level beyond that of any other nation, whatever that level may be.

We will not compromise the security of our people. Nor do we mean to threaten the security of others. We urge others in the world not to choose to do otherwise.

#### Opening Closed Societies

Nothing is so contagious as freedom.

No society is more susceptible to freedom than a closed society.

That is why we must make it our national business to build peaceful beachheads of freedom into these societies.

Today we face a great opportunity with the beachhead of trade.

President Johnson has proposed East-West trade legislation which would not only open new markets to American businessmen, but also would open new markets for ideas in countries where they are most in demand.

We have official diplomats representing our country in these nations.

We also need citizen diplomats -- our businessmen . . . our trade union leaders . . . our professional and cultural leaders . . . our teachers and students -- to represent our country.

Think of the impact which would be created if the cross-section of people in this room were to be placed tomorrow morning in the streets of any Eastern European city. I assure you that it would be considerable.

Already we see that demands from within--caused to a great extent by contact with the outside world--have brought basic changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

I remember when I met and talked with Chairman Khrushchev almost nine years ago in Moscow. I asked him about the commune system then being developed in China.

And Chairman Khrushchev replied: "Don't you know, the communes are based on the principle of from each according to his ability . . . to each according to his need? Everyone knows that won't work!"

Don't be mistaken. The Soviet Union is a Communist state. But today we see a profit or incentive system beginning to emerge in the Soviet Union. We see more attention being paid to the needs of people and less to the slogans of Marxism.

Trade gives us a chance to hasten that process. And that is why I ask your support for the proposed trade legislation now in the Congress. It is to our advantage.

It is our policy, too, to launch peaceful beachheads to other closed societies -- to the Communist societies of Asia.

"The peace we seek in Asia," our President has said, "is a peace of conciliation between Communist states and their non-Communist neighbors, between rich nations and poor, between small nations and large, between men whose skins are brown and black, and yellow and white; between Hindus, and Moslems, and Buddhists and Christians.

"It is a peace that can only be sustained through the durable bonds of peace: through international trade; through the free flow of people and ideas; through full participation by all nations in an international community under law; and through a common dedication to the great task of human progress and economic development."

Our efforts so far have brought us nothing but furious reaction and denunciation by Asian Communist leaders.

But I do not believe that is any reason for giving up.

To do so would only serve the purpose of those who can least afford to let in the outside world.

An arms race is a threat to peace. So is the self-imposed isolation of nations.

There is another threat, and priority.

I refer to the North-South gap -- the gap between the industrial countries, mostly in the Northern half of the world, and the developing countries, mostly in the South.

The developing nations have been making progress -- but it has been painfully slow, and much of it has been mopped up by the growth of their populations. Net per capita income, on the average, has increased less than two per cent per year.

At this rate, they will be mired down in grinding poverty for many years to come.

But an even more dangerous prospect -- the prospect of world-wide famine -- looms ahead.

So far, it is only the fabulous productivity of the American farmer . . . and only the so-called "surpluses" which have resulted from it -- that have saved great areas of the world from mass starvation.

But I have news for you: Those surpluses are gone.

And, even if we put every possible acre of land back into crops, and step up our own productivity, the world deficit will mount in the next two decades beyond our ability to fill it.

That is why we have launched a new War on Hunger. We are assuming our share of the responsibility. But we are insisting that other nations take on their share.

--The more fortunate nations, by joining us in contributing food and fertilizer and technical help to the hungry countries;

--The poor countries, by putting much more stress on self-help.

That is why, also, it is so important that we draw upon the rich resources of the oceans -- by exploiting the sea more effectively as a source of protein and by developing economic processes to desalt water and thus make many of the earth's desert areas flower and bloom.

The stakes are high. For there is no secret about the plans of those who would exploit the poor and hungry.

They have openly declared their intention of mobilizing the bitterness and despair of the impoverished as weapons against us.

If they succeed . . . or rather, if we let them succeed, one Vietnam could be replaced by a dozen more around the world.

In the long run -- and this brings me to my fourth priority -- the future of all nations will be best assured by the building of a world framework of law and order.

This is a task to try man's patience.

Yet when, through the United Nations, we can achieve something so important as a treaty banning nuclear weapons from outer space, all the months and years of effort are more than repaid.

There are those who complain of the loss of sovereignty involved in membership in the United Nations, or in the Organization of American States, or in NATO, or in signing any international treaty.

But without the rule of law, the rule of the jungle prevails.

And "sovereignty" is lost in the fire and dust of brute power and force.

The answer is to build useful institutions . . . and to draft wise laws and treaties -- so that the sovereignty of the modern nation state is strengthened and made meaningful by the freedom and safety gained by the cooperation of many nations.

Halting the arms race . . . building beachheads of freedom . . . closing the gap between the rich and poor nations . . . building institutions and laws . . . these are the priorities we face in the world around us.

And basic to all of this, as I said earlier, are two other things:

That aggression shall not be allowed to feed upon itself; and that the fabric of our nation should be strong.

Today, in Southeast Asia, we are engaged with our allies in an effort to stem aggression.

There are those who say we have no business there ... that we belong in our own hemisphere ...or that we should limit ourselves to concern for the European lands of our ancestors.

There are many things to be said in response to this. I will only say this: In this nuclear and space age, no point in this world is more than a few minutes' distant from any other---as the ballistic missile flies. If there is today a proper American "sphere of influence," it is this fragile sphere called earth upon which all men live and share a common fate...a sphere where our influence must be for peace and justice.

It is precisely in the most remote corner of the earth that the small disorder can grow to the larger conflict which can draw all of us into war against our wills.

Today we are engaged in Southeast Asia so that such a great war may never take place.

And here may I say a few words about the course of that engagement.

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

The non-Communist nations of Asia---roused by the common threat of Communist subversion and pressure---are joining together on a scale never before known in that part of the world. They are joining together in economic and social cooperation. They are joining in political consultation. And---much to the surprise of some of them---it has proved to be far more rewarding than trying to go it alone.

Wherever the eye follows across the arc of Asia---Australia, New Zealand...Indonesia and the Philippines...Malaysia... Burma...Singapore...Ceylon...Thailand...Laos...South Korea... Japan...Nationalist China...India and Pakistan---independent nations are strengthening themselves. Wherever the eye follows, there is new growth and there is a new unity of purpose and action---wherever the eye follows, that is, but in the Communist nations.

Look at the non-Communist nations of Asia one year ago. Look at the Communist nations one year ago.

Then look at them today.

Who has gained, and who has lost?

What of Vietnam itself?

In Vietnam we are resisting Communist military force with force, and succeeding militarily. We are aiding the South Vietnamese in economic development, and succeeding economically.

We are aiding the South Vietnamese in development of political institutions, and I believe we are succeeding politically.

The greatest single threat to the Viet Cong and to North Vietnam today is a freely-elected, representative government in South Vietnam.

It is the ever-growing probability that such a government will soon come into being. And that probability, I believe, is causing Hanoi and the National Liberation Front to have some second thoughts.

The barrage of threats, intimidation, and propaganda launched by our adversaries against the election for a constituent assembly last fall was a miserable failure.

The people of South Vietnam did vote in overwhelming numbers.

A constituent assembly was elected. It is at work.

A constitution is today being written.

Village and district elections will be held this spring.

National elections are scheduled for this fall.

These are solid steps toward peace and victory over Communist intimidation.

And, in combination with our military and economic efforts, these are the steps which can in time inoculate a nation against terror, subversion and political agitation waged by a disciplined minority.

I know that this is a long and difficult course. I know, too, that for the one-half of the American people who have no direct recollection of World War II, and the events leading up to it, it is particularly difficult.

Yet it is for them that we stand in Vietnam today. For we are determined that another generation of young Americans shall not have to march to a terrible---and possible final---World War.

We must last the course. We who have learned the lessons of history must not ignore them.

Aggression is a cancer. If it is not checked at an early stage, it spreads and grows. We mean to check it here and now.

Now is the time when we must keep steady and level heads. Now is the time when we must show no sign of weakness, of impatience, or of petulance.

Now is the time to press on militarily...economically... in pacification of the countryside...in helping to build responsive political institutions.

And if we do, I believe the day will come when those who wage aggression will finally say: "Yes, we accept your offer. We are ready to talk. We are ready to come to the peace table."

When that day does come, they will find that we seek no territory...we seek no infringement of their sovereignty... we seek no imperial empire---only conditions which will allow neighbors to live unmolested and in peace.

President Eisenhower described the other and final imperative we face: "The firm base...leading the world toward the achievement of human aspirations---toward peace with justice in freedom---must be the United States."

We must build an America so strong, so free, so prosperous, so able to lead, that there may be no question about our purpose or our endurance.

If we are to do it, we shall have to undertake something that no major nation has ever undertaken or achieved: To make every citizen in our society a full and productive member of our society.

We shall have to make national investments in our country and in our people---investments in productivity, in economic growth, in opportunity, in enterprise, in greater social justice, in self-help.

But it will---and must---take more than the efforts of the federal government to build our stronger and better America.

What is needed is a partnership in which our public and private institutions work together---partnership that releases the creative and constructive energies of a free people and our free enterprise system.

There are conflicting designs for national growth and strength being pursued in today's world.

For those nations which have lost or forsaken freedom, it is collectivism.

For us---a nation seeking to enhance and nourish freedom---it must be a partnership of free men.

No one can go it alone in meeting these challenges. We need a new working relationship...new confidence and understanding among all parts of our society if we are to meet the priorities of international responsibility.

In closing, may I say a word about the nature of that responsibility.

Leadership today requires more than the ability to go it alone---although we must not be afraid to do so when necessary.

Leadership today requires understanding of the problems we face...of the resources at hand...and of the objectives we seek.

It requires the ability, perhaps even more, to lead and inspire others---to lead and inspire in a sense of common enterprise.

For strong and rich as we may become, our goal of a just and peaceful world will never be achieved by America alone.

This, this, is the test we must set ourselves: Not to march alone, but to march in such a way that others will wish to join us.

I will add one caveat: In none of this should we expect either friendship or gratitude.

I think the most we can expect is this: That those who question us will one day find no reason to question; that in the world there may be no doubt that Americans have the vision, the endurance and the courage to stand for what we believe and to see it through.

#####

Rev. ~~Bill~~ Nelson  
Bishop Harte  
msgr - Donohoe

Jack + Vera  
Gov + Mrs Williams  
Gene + Nina Pulliam  
Stu + Lee Udall  
Sam + Judy Goddard  
Judge Ernest McFarlane

① Mrs Williams said - In Arizona anything can happen -  
this Dinner - (Mind Gene Pulliam)

✓ Gene Pulliam, Harry Luce, Ray Moley + Hubert Humphrey

② (- Murriel Sparks) #

(X) Marshall Humphrey - President of Ariz State Sen  
U.S. Senate

(X) Spokane Turley - Informal Arizona Platform

✓ Dr Durham - Ariz State Univ - Tempe  
Carl Hayden Home

✓ Dr Harrell - U of Ariz - (Stan Udall's School)

# Stu Udall

no fund raising } such sacrifice  
no campaign speeches }

⊗ Stu Udall  
⊗ couldn't be elected  
available on other ticket!

⊗ DAD - Mother - Repub!!

REMARKS  
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY  
CIVIC DINNER  
PHOENIX, ARIZONA  
FEBRUARY 21, 1967

④ Ecumenical -  
Spiritual  
Political  
Economic

As President Johnson said in his State of the Union Message, this is a "time of testing" for Americans. *(Change word)*

↳ We have lived under the nuclear gun since World War II. And, almost 22 years later, we are still alive.

↳ There has been no World War III.

↳ But we have no written guarantee that there never will be.

*Our job - organizing peace - our main business -*

↳ That will depend, in large part, on whether we

Americans can keep our wits and our courage. It will depend on whether we meet the test. *If we are a respected nation didn't get it by sacrificing Iran, Greece, Turkey, Berlin, Korea - Cuba missiles -*

↳ I believe that meeting the test requires that we have a firm grasp on our priorities ... that we know what comes first.

*1/2 am people can't remember World War II  
over 1/2 can't remember events that led to W. War II -*

Tonight I would like to offer to this group of responsible citizens four basic priorities which I believe we must pursue if our children and grandchildren are to live in both peace and freedom. ↗

The first priority is to slow down and halt the international arms race.

↳ The second is to bring the fresh air of freedom to closed and isolated societies.

↳ The third is to narrow the gap between the rich and poor nations of the world.

The fourth is to build a framework for peace -- a framework of law and order.

↳ And underpinning these four priorities are two Requirements: ~~the need to~~ <sup>the need to</sup> resist aggression before it gets out of hand, and ~~the need to~~ <sup>the need to</sup> maintain the strength and vigor of our own American economy.

The Arms Race

There is not a person in this room who does not want the fullest possible measure of national and international security.

*Our first Duty - Provide for the Common (Vandenberg air force base) Defense*

We have learned -- in the costliest and most painful way -- that there is no substitute for a strong and ready military establishment.

↳ We have learned that there is no substitute for a working system of international alliances. *Collective Security.*

↳ But we have learned, too, that there is a point where security and power cease to be synonymous.

↳ We could today undertake massive investments in new missile systems and conventional armaments. We could arm ourselves to the teeth -- far beyond any present or future estimates of our needs.

↳ That would add to our power. But would it add to our security?

~~Far from it.~~ *I doubt it!*

↳ It would certainly lead to corresponding efforts by the Soviet Union, by Communist China, and by other nations until we all found ourselves living in a world where Mars was king ... a world dug in .. a world where each nation waited only for the first false move by its adversaries before launching a so-called "pre-emptive war."

It would be a world in which each major nation felt compelled to build its own nuclear force ... a world where the odds against humanity would worsen day-by-day.

↳ Such a world would be like a warehouse littered with leaky barrels of gasoline. It would be at the mercy of whoever, deliberately or in error, lit the first match. 

↳ Thus, what concerns us today is not whether we can add to our military arsenal. We know we can do that!

What concerns us is whether or not we can maintain  
our own relative position of strength while at the same time  
averting a new spiral of arms spending around the world.

~~Today it is~~ our prime objective<sup>is</sup> to conclude a treaty which would halt nuclear proliferation and lead to the reduction of the number of weapons and delivery systems for such weapons.

and It is also our objective to halt another part of the arms race.

As you know, the Soviet Union has deployed an anti-ballistic missile system in the Moscow area. It is a system which would by no means give total protection against incoming offensive missiles. But its very deployment could lead to further expenditures and deployments both here and there which would use up vitally-needed resources and would bring new tensions to the world.

President Johnson has informed the leaders of the Soviet Union, through Ambassador Llewellyn Thompson, that we would regard such a new arms race as both wasteful and dangerous. And we intend to take every step to see that it does not take place --

while at the same time making it crystal clear that we  
have both the resources and the will to maintain our  
strength at a level beyond that of any other nation,  
whatever that level may be.

↳ We will not compromise the security of our people.  
Nor do we mean to threaten the security of others. <sup>add</sup> We  
urge others in the world not to choose to do otherwise.

Opening Closed Societies

Nothing is so contagious as freedom.

and, No society is more susceptible to freedom than a closed society.

That is why we must make it our national business to build peaceful beachheads of freedom into these societies.

Today we face a great opportunity with the beachhead of trade.

President Johnson has proposed East-West trade legislation which would not only open new markets to American businessmen, but also would open new markets for ideas in countries where they are most in demand.

We have official diplomats representing our country in these nations.

We also need citizen diplomats -- our businessmen... our trade union leaders ... our professional and cultural leaders ... our teachers and students -- to represent our country.

*the Communist Controlled Countries.*

Think of the impact which would be created

*You would  
become  
Socialists  
or  
Communists*

if the cross-section of people in this room were to be

placed tomorrow morning in the streets of any Eastern

European city. I assure you that it would be considerable.

Already we see that demands from within

caused to a great extent by contact with the outside world

have brought basic changes in the Soviet Union and

Eastern Europe.

I remember when I met and talked with Chairman

Khrushchev almost nine years ago in Moscow. I asked

him about the commune system then being developed in

China.

And Chairman Khrushchev replied: "Don't you know, the communes are based on the principle of from each according to his ability .. to each according to his need? Everyone knows that won't work!"

*It takes incentives to get production!*

Don't be mistaken. The Soviet Union is a Communist or incentive state. But today we see a profit/system beginning to emerge in the Soviet Union. We see more attention being paid to the needs of people and less to the slogans of Marxism.

Trade gives us a chance to hasten that process.

And that is why I ask your support for the proposed trade legislation now in the Congress. It is to our advantage.

*Another objection -*

It is our policy, ~~to~~ <sup>to CONSTRUCT</sup> peaceful beachheads <sup>IN</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>in</sup> other closed societies -- ~~to~~ <sup>in</sup> the Communist societies of Asia.



"The peace we seek in Asia," our President has said, "is a peace of conciliation between Communist states and their non-Communist neighbors, between rich nations and poor, between small nations and large, between men whose skins are brown and black, and yellow and white;

between Hindus and Moslems, and Buddhists and Christians.

"It is a peace that can only be sustained through the durable bonds of peace: through international trade; through the free flow of people and ideas; through full participation by all nations in an international community under law; and through a common dedication to the great task of human progress and economic development."

*Oh I know* Our efforts so far have brought us nothing but furious reaction and denunciation by Asian Communist leaders.

↳ But I do not believe that is any reason for giving up.

To do so would only serve the purpose of those who denounce

*us and* can least afford to let in the outside world.

An arms race is a threat to peace. So is the self-imposed isolation of nations.

Ⓟ There is another threat, and priority. to Peace.  
gap between the Rich + Poor  
I refer to the North-South gap -- the gap between the

industrial countries, mostly in the Northern half of the world, and the developing countries, mostly in the South.

→ Rich + Poor

That gap continues to widen

The developing nations have been making progress -- but it has been painfully slow, and much of it has been mopped up by the growth of their populations. Net per capita income, on the average, has increased less than two per cent per year.

At this rate, they will be mired down in grinding poverty for many years to come.

Hunger  
But an even more dangerous prospect -- the prospect of world-wide hunger -- looms ahead. Constant want  
no Peace!

↳ So far, it is only the fabulous productivity of the American farmer ... and only the so-called "surpluses" which have resulted from it -- that have saved great areas of the world from mass starvation.

↳ But ~~I have news for you~~ Those surpluses are gone!  
And, even if we put every possible acre of land back into crops, and step up our own productivity, the world food deficit will mount in the next two decades beyond our ability to fill it.

↳ That is why we have launched a new War on Hunger.

↳ We are assuming our share of the responsibility. But we are insisting that other nations take on their share. *What are they?*

- The more fortunate nations, by joining us in contributing food and fertilizer and technical help to the hungry countries;
- The poor countries, by putting much more stress on self-help.

↳ That is why, also, ~~it is so important that we draw upon the rich resources of the oceans -- by exploiting the sea more effectively as a source of protein and by developing economic processes to desalt water and thus make many of the earth's desert areas flower and bloom.~~

↳ The stakes are high. For there is no secret about the plans of those who would exploit the poor and hungry.

They have openly declared their intention of mobilizing the bitterness and despair of the impoverished as weapons against us.

If they succeed ... or rather, if we let them succeed, one Vietnam could be replaced by a dozen more around the world. ●

In the long run -- and this brings me to my fourth priority -- the future of all nations will be best assured by the building of a world framework of law and order.

← This is a task to try man's patience.

Yet, when, through the United Nations, we can achieve something so important as a treaty banning nuclear weapons from outer space, all the months and years of effort are more than repaid.

← There are those who complain of the loss of sovereignty involved in membership in the United Nations, or in the Organization of American States, or in NATO, or in signing any international treaty.

But without the rule of law, the rule of the jungle prevails.

And "sovereignty" is lost in the fire and dust of brute power and force.

~~The answer is to build useful institutions ... and to draft wise laws and treaties -- so that the sovereignty of the modern nation state is strengthened and made meaningful by the freedom and safety gained by the cooperation of many nations.~~

~~Halting the arms race ... building beachheads of freedom ... closing the gap between the rich and poor nations ... building institutions and laws -- these are the priorities we face in the world around us.~~

~~And basic to all of this, as I said earlier, are two other things: That aggression shall not be allowed to feed International conduct -- and if America, blessed with power + wealth, fails to lead and maintain its strength.~~

Today, in Southeast Asia, we are engaged with our allies in an effort to stem aggression.

*Aggression, violence, brute force become the accepted pattern of*  
*International conduct -- and if America, blessed with*  
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*Today, in Southeast Asia, we are engaged with our*  
*allies in an effort to stem aggression.*  
*Viet*

L There are those who say we have no business there ... that we belong in our own hemisphere ... or that we should limit ourselves to concern for the European lands of our ancestors.

~~But to them I say, 1/2 the pop. was wrong.~~

~~There are many things to be said in response to this. I will only say this: In this nuclear and space age, no point in this world is more than a few minutes' distant from any other -- as the ballistic missile flies. If there is today a proper American "sphere of influence," it is this fragile sphere called earth upon which all men live and share a common fate ... a sphere where our influence must be for peace and justice.~~

~~But~~ It is precisely in the most remote corner of the earth that the small disorder can grow to the larger conflict which can draw all of us into war against our wills.

Today we are engaged in Southeast Asia so that such a great war may never take place.

And here may I say a few words about the course of that engagement.

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

The non-Communist nations of Asia -- roused by the common threat of Communist subversion and pressure -- are joining together on a scale never before known in that

part of the world. They are joining together in economic and social cooperation. They are joining in political consultation.

And -- much to the surprise of some of them -- it has proved to be far more rewarding than trying to go it alone.

Wherever the eye follows across the arc of Asia -- Australia, New Zealand ... Indonesia and the Philippines ... Malaysia... Burma ... Singapore ... Ceylon ... Thailand ... Laos ... South Korea ... Japan ... Nationalist China ...

Regional  
Development  
ASIAN BANK  
Mekong River

India and Pakistan -- independent nations are strengthening themselves. Wherever the eye follows, there is new growth <sup>economic</sup> and there is a new unity of purpose and action -- wherever the eye follows, that is, but in the Communist nations.

Look at the non-Communist nations of Asia <sup>2 yrs ago</sup> year ago. Look at the Communist nations <sup>1 yr ago</sup> year ago.

Then look at them today.

Who has gained, and who has lost?

What of Vietnam itself?

In Vietnam we are resisting Communist military force with force, and succeeding militarily. We are aiding the South Vietnamese in economic development, and succeeding economically.

We are aiding the South Vietnamese in development of political institutions, and I believe we are succeeding politically.

*2 yrs ago  
China - Africa  
Latin America*

now

*2 yrs ago Viet - almost destroyed*

*We wage the struggle on 4 fronts - military Econ - Pol. Dipl.*

*own*

~~The greatest single~~ <sup>a serious</sup> threat to the Viet Cong and to

North Vietnam today is a freely-elected, representative government in South Vietnam.

↳ It is the ever-growing probability that such a government will soon come into being. ~~And that probability,~~ <sup>which</sup> ~~I believe~~ is causing Hanoi and the National Liberation Front to have some second thoughts.

↳ The barrage of threats, intimidation, and propaganda launched by our adversaries against the election for a constituent assembly last fall was a miserable failure!

↳ The people of South Vietnam did vote in overwhelming numbers.

A constituent assembly was elected. It is at work.

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Village and district elections will be held this spring.

National elections are scheduled for this fall.

These are solid steps toward peace and victory.

~~over Communist intimidation.~~

And, in combination with our military and economic efforts, these are the steps which can in time <sup>Protect</sup> inoculate a nation against terror, subversion and political agitation waged by a disciplined minority. <sup>militant, violent,</sup>

↳ I know that this is a long and difficult course.

I know, too, that for the one-half of the American people who have no direct recollection of World War II, and the events leading up to it, it is particularly difficult.

↳ Yet it is for them that we stand in Vietnam today.

↳ For we are determined that another generation of young Americans shall not have to march to a terrible -- and possibly final -- World War.

↳ We must last the course. We who have learned the lessons of history must not ignore them.

*It is the integrity of the American Commitment that is the safeguard of peace! - our word! Berlin Cuba Greece - Turkey*

Aggression is a cancer. If it is not checked at an early stage, it spreads and grows. We mean to check it here and now.

To those who demand our withdrawal we say No. Politically disastrous, militarily indefensible & morally wrong

Now is the time when we must keep steady and level heads. Now is the time when we must show no sign of weakness, of impatience, or of petulance.

We have given our word - We must see it through to an honorable conclusion

Now is the time to press on militarily ... economically... in pacification of the countryside ... in helping to build responsive political institutions.

And if we do, I believe the day will come when those who wage aggression will finally say: 'Yes, we accept your offer. We are ready to talk.' We are ready to come to the peace table.

and When that day does come, they will find that we seek no territory ... we seek no infringement of their sovereignty ... we seek no imperial empire - we seek only conditions which will allow neighbors to live unmolested and in peace and to

↳ President Eisenhower described the other and final imperative we face: "The firm base ... leading the world toward the achievement of human aspirations -- toward peace with justice in freedom -- must be the United States."

↳ We must build an America so strong, so free, so prosperous, so able to lead, that there may be no question about our purpose or our endurance.

↳ If we are to do it, we shall have to undertake something that no major nation has ever undertaken or achieved: To make every citizen in our society a full and productive member ~~of~~ our society.

↳ We shall have to make national investments in our country and in our people -- investments in productivity, in economic growth, in opportunity, in enterprise, in greater social justice, in self-help.

↳ But it will -- and must -- take more than the efforts of the federal government to build our stronger and better America.

↳ What is needed is a partnership in which our public and private institutions work together -- partnership that releases the creative and constructive energies of a free people and our free enterprise system.

There are conflicting designs for national growth and strength being pursued in today's world.

For those nations which have lost or forsaken freedom, it is collectivism.

For us -- a nation seeking to enhance and nourish freedom -- it must be a partnership of free men.

No one can go it alone in meeting these challenges. We need a new working relationship ... new confidence and understanding among all parts of our society if we are to meet the priorities of international responsibility.

~~then~~ In closing, may I say a word about the nature of that responsibility.

Leadership today requires more than the ability to go it alone -- although we must not be afraid to do so when necessary.

Leadership today requires understanding of the problems we face ... of the resources at hand ... and of the objectives we seek.

It requires the ability, perhaps even more, to lead and inspire others -- to lead and inspire in a sense of common enterprise.

For strong and rich as we may become, our goal of a just and peaceful world will never be achieved by America alone.

This, this, is the test we must set ourselves: Not to march alone, but to march in such a way that others will wish to join us.



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