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**Record Group/Collection:** George H.W. Bush Presidential Records  
**Collection/Office of Origin:** Speechwriting, White House Office of  
**Series:** Speech File Backup Files  
**Subseries:** Chron File, 1989-1993

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**OA/ID Number:** 13788  
**Folder ID Number:** 13788-009

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**Folder Title:**  
Australian Parliament 1/2/92 [OA 8332] [3]

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Snow/Nix  
PTOAST  
DRAFT TWO  
DECEMBER 28, 1991

PRESIDENTIAL TOAST: PARLIAMENT HOUSE  
CANBERRA, AUSTRALIA  
THURSDAY, JANUARY 2, 1991  
7:30 P.M.

*Advance*

*Torkel  
NSC & Advance*

Prime Minister Keating, thank you very much for that kind introduction. Let me also thank you for your hospitality during these past few days. Barbara and I have enjoyed ourselves immensely, and we appreciate the opportunity to know you better.

Americans enjoy strong ties of friendship with their Australian friends. We share common heritages. We share common interests. The world knows us for our exuberance, optimism, our steadfastness and our refusal to buckle before hardship.

During this Century, Australians and Americans have fought side by side for freedom. From the trenches of France to the battle of the Coral Sea; from the hills of Korea to the jungles of Vietnam -- and last year, to the Persian Gulf, our men and women have fought for liberty. Their courage and sacrifice have opened the way to a new commonwealth of freedom -- symbolized powerfully just last week, when the Hammer and Sickle slid into history, and a new tricolor flag of freedom rose over the Kremlin.

*Meet  
Dworken  
U.S. Embassy  
in  
Canberra*

Together, in practical ways, we continue building a world of freedom. Americans appreciate your devotion to the cause of free trade -- in our trade relations with you, and in your leadership of the Cairns Group in international trade talks.

*Torkel  
&  
Doug  
Paal*

*Brian Woo  
State Dept  
Asia - Australia  
Desk*

You have led the way toward peace and freedom in this region, and around the world, by striving to destroy chemical and biological weapons, weapons with the power to inflict horrifying damage on innocent people. You help defend freedom everywhere, you help provide security. Your deeds demonstrate eloquently your devotion to global freedom, prosperity and peace.

Brian  
Woo  
State  
Dept.

We have joined forces to meet the challenges of fostering a world blessed by economic growth and cooperation. We work closely on matters of conservation and environmental protection. We share talent and expertise through cultural and academic exchanges. And perhaps most importantly, we offer each other the hospitality of friends.

Although we live half a world apart, Americans and Australians enjoy true and joyous kinship. Everytime I come here, I feel at home -- in your magnificent cities and in your sprawling countryside. Australia, like America, seeks its destiny in the larger world, driven toward the future by its values and by the vigor of its people.

So let me toast the people of this diverse and bustling land;

The leaders who move them toward greater prominence and prosperity;

And to our hosts: the Prime Minister, his family, and the leaders of this great nation.

# # # #

## LBT in Australia

[541] Oct. 20

*Public Papers of the Presidents*

### 541 Remarks Upon Arrival at the RAAF Fairbairn Airport, Canberra, Australia. October 20, 1966

*Your Excellency the Governor General and Lady Casey, Mr. Prime Minister and Mrs. Holt, Mr. Deputy Prime Minister and Mrs. McEwen, Sir Alister and Lady McMullin, Sir John and Lady McLeay, Mr. Chief Justice and Lady Barwick, Your Excellencies, Members of the Cabinet and the Parliament, ladies and gentlemen:*

The Vice President told me about how the good people of this land took him into their hearts when he recently visited you. My mouth has been watering ever since because I wanted to be where he was. Now, tonight, I feel that I have returned to my second home. When I first came here a quarter of a century ago, I thought that I had not left home at all, so much did your plains, your hills, and your bush country, your cattlemen, your cattle, and your sheep remind me of my native land of Texas.

I soon learned that the real similarities between us are far deeper and far more meaningful than those landscapes and livestock. The real equation was human. Here in Australia was the same openness, the same virility, the same self-confidence, the same generosity of spirit that I had treasured in my own country.

I am honored beyond measure tonight, upon my arrival, to see the cream and flower of your young manhood, who have rendered such gallant and distinguished service in Vietnam, come here to meet me. Because as I look upon that uniform with that hat turned to the side, it represents to me the highest degree of patriotism, the greatest amount of courage, and the kind of a neighbor that America always wants to have.

Mr. Prime Minister, I don't know what you are claiming credit for these days, but

if you and the leader of the opposition will join, I want to thank both of you for that beautiful Texas sunset and for that wonderful American rainbow that I saw as I came in.

When I came here a quarter of a century ago, the people of Australia were engaged in a struggle to preserve freedom, a struggle to protect their homes, a struggle to advance the cause of peace for all men.

The Japanese were just 35 miles across the Owen-Stanley Range and they were coming in your direction. Then as tonight, Australian sons were fighting side by side with ours. Their gallantry then in Egypt, in Italy, in the South Pacific, inspired us to believe that our cause of right would one day prevail. Their gallantry tonight in Vietnam is one reason for the faith that we all have that aggression there will not succeed.

I came to Australia in 1942 on a mission of war. Now, more than 24 years later, I return tonight on a mission of hope. I cannot say that miracles will occur at Manila. I carry no magic wand. The hard work of securing the peace is never done by miracles.

I cannot say that the hunger and injustice of the past will be ended by a declaration of seven nations in Manila. Years must pass, years of dedication and patient effort, before men can make the kind of just society of which they dream.

Yet there is new hope, a new vision, in this vast area of the world. Nations are joining together not only to resist aggression and to prove that might does not make right, but to make a decent life possible for all of their people. Their vision is of freedom—freedom from foreign domination, freedom from tyranny, from the despair that

rides with hunger, disease. It is the only vision that man's destiny.

We shall be guided by meet and chart our course.

I am very grateful that Australian and American hands and their shoulders are to the same task. I am understanding that you, Prime Minister and others, have shown for America's confidence that comes from the support of a united people. We must know that we reciprocate in the fullest possible measure.

Together, as we have always done, that we shall succeed. I look forward to meeting with you again.

I am particularly glad to be with me. In 1942 she was in England—when I put on the uniform of my congressional office in the United States. I have been proud of the authority that it never wavered in efficiency before or since. I have even suggested that

### 542 Remarks at the RAAF Fairbairn Airport, Canberra, Australia. October 21, 1966

*Mr. Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister, Members of the Opposition, Mr. Calwell, Sir John and Lady Barwick, Your Excellencies, Premiers of the Parliament, ladies and gentlemen:*

As I sat here and watched the Right Honorable Deputy Prime Minister

rides with hunger, disease, and ignorance. It is the only vision that is really worthy of man's destiny.

We shall be guided by that vision as we meet and chart our course at Manila.

I am very grateful that once again the Australian and American people have put their hands and their shoulders side by side to the same task. I am grateful for the understanding that your distinguished Prime Minister and other Australian leaders have shown for America's role in the Pacific. I feel tonight—as I did in 1942—the confidence that comes from the steadfast support of a united people in Australia. You must know that we reciprocate that support in the fullest possible measure.

Together, as we have always been, I know that we shall succeed. Now I look forward to meeting with your great people once again.

I am particularly glad that Mrs. Johnson is with me. In 1942 she remained in Washington—when I put on the uniform—to run my congressional office in the House of Representatives. I have been told on very high authority that it never ran with greater efficiency before or since. Several people have even suggested that we might try the

same arrangements now—that it might prove equally beneficial to my constituents in America and to our allies in the world.

But Mrs. Johnson insisted on finding out for herself whether all that I have been talking about for 24 years is really true in Australia.

So, Mr. Prime Minister, and to those loyal guests who came here in this chilly atmosphere, we are happy and excited to be with you. I have never looked forward to any 2 days in my life with more pleasurable anticipation. As I come to this new area of the world, this Pacific area that is now in a goldfish bowl, in the spotlight, where people who look to the future are looking across the Pacific, I know that my faith and my confidence in the leadership that Australia is going to give to the world of tomorrow is going to be rewarded.

Thank you and good night.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:25 p.m. at the RAAF Fairbairn Airport, Canberra, Australia. In his opening words he referred to the following officials and their wives: Richard G. Baron Casey, Governor General of Australia, Harold E. Holt, Prime Minister of Australia, John McEwen, Deputy Prime Minister, Sir Alistair M. McMullin, President of the Senate, Sir John McLeay, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Sir Garfield E. J. Barwick, Chief Justice of the High Court.

## 542 Remarks at the Parliamentary Luncheon, Canberra, Australia.

October 21, 1966

*Mr. Prime Minister and Mrs. Holt, Mr. Deputy Prime Minister, the Leader of Her Majesty's Opposition, Mr. Calwell and Mrs. Calwell, Sir John and Lady McLeay, Mr. Chief Justice and Lady Barwick, Your Excellencies, Premiers of States, Members of Parliament, ladies and gentlemen:*

As I sat here and was privileged to hear the Right Honorable Prime Minister, the Deputy Prime Minister, and the leader of

Her Majesty's opposition, I deeply wished that my parents were alive to hear what they had said about me. First, my father would have enjoyed hearing it, and my mother would have believed it.

Mr. Prime Minister, I would like to say to you and the parliamentarians who honor us here today that this is a most unique occasion. But the truth of the business is, our Congress has me for lunch every day.

I have so many memories of Australia. There was a sign I remember over a tavern yonder in Melbourne which read: "U.S. Colonels Under 21 Will Not Be Served Unless Accompanied By Parents."

And there are other memories of this great country that I recall so well.

Like every other man who is separated from his homeland in time of war, I was in need of friends. Here in your Australia I was treated as if I were in the house of my own family. Australia became my second home.

As a Texan, I feel that this land of vast spaces, of farms, ranches, of sheep and cattle, of booming cities and of dynamic industrial growth, is my own.

As an American, I am struck by how much we have in common. I see that wherever I turn—from your lively democratic politics, to your devotion to education, to your interest in the exploration of space, to the robust expansion of your society, and to your intelligent interest in relations with other nations.

The foundations of the friendship between our two nations are deep, and they are increasing.

In the 3 years as President that I shall finish on November 23d, former Prime Minister Menzies visited me in Washington three times. Prime Minister Holt also came three times. Yes, we live at a time when foreign affairs go beyond their traditional scope. There are now strong new ties in the domestic life of our countries.

These new ties come:

- From modern communications, which bring instantly to the homes of citizens of every country the news of events from around the world;
- From modern weapons, which make the threat of war anywhere a life-and-death issue for every nation;

—From the way that we are all involved in historic changes, which are reshaping the political life of the planet.

I am speaking of the change from the colonial era to an era when scores of new nations claim rights, claim recognition, and claim identity; the change from old to modern societies, which can bring to their peoples the advantages of modern science and modern technology; the change throughout the world from dependence upon large powers to partnership in the affairs of the planet; and change, still tentative but stubbornly tenacious, from a dangerous cold war to a more stable and peaceful world.

Since 1945 the United States has been found wherever freedom was under attack, or wherever peace was threatened. The stage has shifted from time to time. The stakes have grown as man's capacity for destruction increased.

But America's role has not changed.

With constancy, we have pursued the defense of freedom and we have prevented nuclear destruction. We have patiently labored to build a world order in which both peace and freedom can flourish.

My countrymen have lived so long with crises and danger that we accept, almost as if it were inevitable, the assumption of American concern—concern for the disorders that threaten the peace in all other parts of the world.

We accepted this responsibility, first, because at one time there was no other nation who could do it. For the last 20 years, only under the shadow of our strength could our good friends keep their freedom.

Second, we have learned, at very painful costs, that aggression and upheaval in any part of the world carry the seeds of destruction to free men in all parts of the world.

Finally, since the end of World War II, we have assumed this responsibility for a rea-

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son that is often difficult for others to understand. We have accepted responsibility because we have believed it to be right; that we should do so.

Of course, our policies are shaped with a proper regard for our security and our welfare. But much of the energy of our efforts has come because we believe it is right—we believe that it is right that the strong should help the weak defend their freedom. We believe that it is right that the wealthy should help the poor overcome their hunger; that nations, no matter how small or fragile, or young, should be free from the coercion of others.

We have steadily resisted Communist efforts to bring about by force and intrigue a world dominated by a single ideology. Our convictions, our interests, our life as a nation demand that we oppose, with all the strength that we can muster, any effort to put this world in anyone's straitjacket.

On continent after continent, in dozens of countries, hundreds of millions of people struggle today to exist on incomes of scarcely more than a dollar a week. Many people have less to spend each day on their food and shelter, on their clothing and on their medicine, on all of their needs, than the average Australian spends for a package of cigarettes. They live in shacks hardly worth the name. They live without heat, water, sanitation, and promise.

Their children know no schools, few doctors, no hospitals. They can rarely expect to live to be 40 years of age. And they mark those years with the weary and ancient cycle of both misery and monotony.

The per capita product of the developed countries today is in excess of \$2,000 per year. In the underdeveloped countries, many of which are in the area of which we speak, it is less than one-tenth of that. And the gap continues to widen.

These are no new conditions. Poverty, hunger, and disease are all as old as man himself. But in our time and in this age there has been a change. And there is more in the offing.

The change is not so much in the realities of life as in the expectations of the future. An association of the hopeful has emerged, and it will be heard.

The shrinking of distances and the spreading of knowledge has made us more aware of other human beings. And it has made them aware of what, too, is within their reach.

They know that the conditions their fathers accepted with resignation are no longer inevitable.

They know that depression and despair are not what their Creator ordained.

And because they know, they yearn. They yearn for their families to live decent lives. They yearn for jobs to give them survival, and, beyond survival, to give them dignity. They yearn for their children to learn to read and to write. They yearn for their hungry to be fed, and their sick to be healed.

They yearn to arrive.

So we must deal today with these urgent drives, the drive for security, the drive for the defense of freedom, for the preservation of independence; the drive for satisfaction, for self-respect, and for equality of justice and opportunity.

I use "we" deliberately. In the early post-war years, the indispensable strength was America's. Now other nations have also gathered strength, and it has now become possible to share the burdens of defense more evenly.

That is what is happening today in Vietnam, where the demands of security and the urge for satisfaction mingle in a single crucible.

There our men stand together—as they have stood before—to check aggression. And there they serve together—as they have served before—to help build and preserve and protect freedom. The raw conflict of one, and the elusive attainments of the other, make their duty more difficult—and make it more essential.

I would like for every Aussie who stands there in the rice paddies on this warm summer day to know that every American and LBJ is with Australia all the way.

I can speak for all Americans, more than a quarter of a million of them who are there, when I say that they know that every Australian standing by their side and back here at home will stand with courage and will stand with honor.

I believe there is a light at the end of what has been a long and lonely tunnel. I say this not just because our men are proving successful on yonder battlefield. I believe it for this reason: There is a widening community of people who are beginning to feel responsible for what is happening in Vietnam.

Of all the signs, this is the brightest. For the unilateral use of power is out of date in an age where there can be no losers in peace and where there can be no victors in war. And the unilateral reach of compassion is limited. What is required—and what we are seeing emerging in Vietnam and throughout all of Asia—is a concert of effort on the part of diverse nations that know that they must work together.

This is the Asia to which I journey.

From multiple creeds and cultures, from many races and tongues, is coming an increased momentum of partnership.

This is an Asia that is ancient in its philosophies, its learning and its cultures. Ancient, yes, but it is new in its leadership, new in its achievements, and, most impor-

tant, new in its aspirations. For free Asia is in the hands of a generation of leaders unfettered by the past and unafraid of the future. They are men who would agree with Thomas Paine, the American patriot, who said in the time of our own country's great Revolution, to which the opposition leader so eloquently referred, "If there must be trouble, let it be in my day, that my child may have peace."

Yes, I think these men are conscious that he serves his nation who understands his times. They know that a national spirit comes first, but they know, too, that nationalism is not enough. And they are challenged by the task of leading their people beyond the first steps of political independence. They are caught up in the work of winning their freedom now from the oppression of hunger, illiteracy, and disease, and stifling poverty.

The role of these new leaders is that of the statesmen who follow the revolutionary and of the settler who comes after the pioneer.

There is in history a time for each. And to each, posterity will owe an equal debt. They believe in the wisdom of the Chinese philosopher who more than 2,000 years ago had this to say:

"Of a great leader, who talks little,  
When his work is done, his aim fulfilled,  
They will all say  
'We did this ourselves!'"

And so free Asia has. And the great story of the past year is their story. While the people of South Vietnam and their allies have now begun to turn the tide of battle against aggression, we have seen Japan and we have seen Korea establish normal relations, with the promise of closer cooperation.

We have seen most recently Indonesia pull back from economic collapse and from a

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We have seen nine Pacific nations, including Australia, come together on their own initiative to form the Asian and Pacific Council.

We have seen Asians gathering to map a regional future in economic development, in education, and in agriculture.

We have seen three nations of Southeast Asia—Thailand, the Philippines, and Malaysia—take the initiative in seeking and searching for peace in their own region.

We have seen 31 nations participating in the creation most recently of the Asian Development Bank, while the development of the Lower Mekong River Basin goes steadily forward in the face of conflict.

This sense of common destiny is growing all along the arc of free Asia. Initiatives have come from Tokyo, from Seoul, from Manila, from Bangkok, from Kuala Lumpur, from Singapore—as well as from here in Canberra.

We in the United States have long been the friends of those who have worked toward unity in Western Europe, toward economic integration in Latin America, and toward stronger regional ties among the young nations of Africa.

We shall also be the friends and partners of those in Asia who want, and are willing now, to work together to fashion their own destiny. From you must come initiative and leadership. From us will come cooperation.

There of course will be growing pains of diversity, but from them will emerge mutual progress that does not ask of any of us the surrender of any of our most vital principles.

The challenge of the new Asia comes to Australia at a conspicuous time in your history. You have already shown that your commitment is a matter of policy and action—not rhetoric.

When your Prime Minister symbolically said in Washington, in speaking of the crisis that faced our men on a faraway battlefield at the moment, that he would go all the way with LBJ, there wasn't a single American that felt that was new information.

There is not a boy who wears the uniform yonder today who hasn't always known that when freedom is at stake, and when honorable men stand in battle shoulder to shoulder, that Australians will go all the way, as Americans will go all the way, not a third of the way, not part of the way, not three-fourths of the way—but all the way, until liberty and freedom have won.

Your nation and its leaders can take great pride in playing a leading role in the Colombo plan.

You have brought tens of thousands of Asian students here to your homes, as I came once—and I shall never forget it—and to your universities.

You have contributed beyond compare, most generously and patiently, to the planning of the future of the Mekong Valley.

You have been among the early leaders in creating the Asian Development Bank.

You have joined eight other nations who, on their own initiative, have formed the Asian and Pacific Council.

It is only right—right, as I said earlier in my remarks—that Australia become a strong partner in providing the new leadership in the new Asia. Nature gave you good land and it gave you rich natural resources. Your vigorous people have made a good life for themselves and for their children. Your industry has expanded rapidly in the last two decades.

Your insight into Asia, your geographic position, the great integrity of all of your people, have brought you to the edge of the Pacific era—the era of infinite possibilities. And those of us in America who look west—

and those in Asia who look east—will find here in Australia the ideal crossroads.

A quarter of a century ago, the end of colonialism was the dream that beckoned Asia onward. With foreign rule ended, it seemed that all the blessings of a better life would surely come—and come quickly.

I know, I think, something of how they must feel today.

Long ago, as a young man in my native State of Texas, in the years of the great depression, I found my mission: to use the time allotted to me and the full measure of all the energy I could muster, to help man make the most of life; to try to do the greatest good for the greatest number.

As a teacher, as a Congressman, as a Senator, as a Vice President, and now as President of my country—I have had the chance to follow that mission and to try to do those things of which I once, as a boy back in that hill ranch country, could only dream.

But my work is not done. I have come to Australia to warn you: nor is yours. We cannot tire of sacrifice until peace comes to Vietnam. We cannot talk of satisfaction until all the people of Vietnam have a chance to share in the promise that is unfolding here in the Pacific and throughout Asia.

I genuinely and I earnestly believe that that day is on the way, and that day will soon come.

### 543 Remarks at a Reception at Government House, Melbourne, Australia. October 21, 1966

*Mr. Prime Minister and Mrs. Holt, Mr. Premier and Lady Bolte, Sir Edmund and Dame Mary, Mr. Chief Justice and Lady Winneke, Lord Mayor and Mrs. Beaurepaire, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen:*

Then, and now, I pledge that we are ready and willing to serve as your partners in Asia—until what we *can* achieve in our time is what we *have* achieved in our time.

The man who, a quarter of a century ago, sent me here to Australia—Franklin Delano Roosevelt—once prophesied that “one day a generation may possess this land, blessed beyond anything we now know, blessed with those things—material and spiritual—that make man’s life abundant. If that is the fashion of your dreaming, then I say: Hold fast to your dream. America needs it.”

Well, this afternoon I would amend his vision somewhat. For Franklin Roosevelt did not belong to America; he belonged to the world. And so does his faith in what lies ahead.

I would say, therefore, to the people of the Pacific and to the people of Asia: “If that is the fashion of your dreaming, then I say: Hold fast to your dream. The world needs it.”

And the world needs Australia at this critical hour, all the way.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:01 p.m. at Parliament House in Canberra, Australia. In his opening words he referred to Harold E. Holt, Prime Minister of Australia, and his wife, John McEwen, Deputy Prime Minister, Arthur A. Calwell, Leader of the Australian Labour Party, and his wife, Sir John McLeay, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and his wife, and Sir Garfield E. J. Barwick, Chief Justice of the High Court, and his wife. Later he referred to, among others, Sir Robert G. Menzies, former Prime Minister of Australia.

I have so much in my heart that I would like to tell you that I don’t trust myself. I need not convey to you the admiration and affection that I have for the Australian people born in the grim days of World War II and increased and strengthened with each pass-

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ing year for a quarter of a century.

Our two countries have so much in common. Our two peoples are so much alike that I feel—except for your reception here in Melbourne today—as though I have never left home.

But you gave me something in the reception here that they could never give me at home. Texans have the biggest of nearly everything—except receptions.

I appreciate very much the Prime Minister's generous reference and kind attentions to my wife. I am heartily in agreement with everything he said about her. I would like to add one thing that he didn't say—and I know that all of you who are here on the ground will agree with me: we both outmarried ourselves.

Our nations are, geographically, a world apart. But our roots and our goals, our faith in the future, are one and the same.

Australia, like America, is a nation of newcomers. We have both thrown open our borders to new talent, to enterprise, to ambition. We have applied the dynamics of a free economy and a progressive social policy to the building of a better life for human beings.

The results in Australia are quite plain. Your living standards are among the highest to be found anywhere in the world. Your riches are widely shared and divided among your people.

In America we still fight a war against poverty. Here, poverty and slums are almost unknown.

In America we call ourselves, with great pride, a nation of homeowners. But the percentage of Australians who own their own homes is much higher than ours and makes the blush of shame come to my cheeks.

In America we congratulate ourselves on approaching full employment. But Aus-

tralia has had full employment since 3 years before I came here in 1942—at least 28 years.

My country still has much to learn from Australia, and about Australians. But we have learned this much:

—We know your agricultural technology deserves its worldwide acclaim. By progressive soil enrichment and pest control, you are achieving remarkable productivity and you really serve as a model for the rest of the world.

—We know that your achievements on the land have been matched in your thriving factories. While your exports are still primarily agricultural, more Australians work in industry than work in agriculture.

—We know that the future of your industrial development is bright beyond compare. You are looking forward to doubling your mineral exports in 5 years. I think if I don't get Ed Clark out of here, you may double them in 3 years. Every time I try to increase our own production and I send for the head man, I'm told, "He is visiting Ambassador Clark in Australia." So, you are looking forward to doubling your mineral exports in 5 years and you will triple them in 10 years.

—We know that what you are doing to fulfill Australia's promise requires a great deal of private initiative, wise public policy, a rapid growth of domestic saving, and continued attraction of capital from abroad.

I am proud that more and more Americans are joining Australians in a creative economic partnership that is building the even better Australia of tomorrow.

You are in a goldfish bowl. You are the envy of many nations of the world. You have just begun to move. You have just begun to grow.

This common task challenges us both. The future of your nation offers unlimited opportunity. Vast Australia is still largely untapped, its enormous wealth is waiting to be converted to enrich the lives of its people—the only just use that can ever be made of the resources of our earth.

So this is the challenge that my country knows well, a challenge that we, like you, are still trying to meet. It is a challenge that we today are ready and eager to join you in meeting.

Let us dedicate ourselves tonight not only to building a better Australia, but in building with you a better world.

As we meet here in such a spirit of happiness, there are so many things to be thankful for.

We love peace. We hate war. No one wants to die. Everybody wants to live. We are doing everything that we know to have peace in the world. But it is not a one-way street, you can't make a contract by yourself.

You can't go to a conference and sign a treaty that is unilateral if you are the only one present. Unless and until those ambitious, selfish men recognize and realize this, we must constantly bear this in mind: that aggression doesn't pay, that might doesn't make right, that power cannot go unchecked in the 20th century.

Until they realize that they cannot win, all this talk about peace will be unilateral. When they do recognize that they can't win, that there is nothing to be gained by destroying their own sons and their own land—and a good many of ours—when they do recognize that, then they may be willing, in terms of the Prophet Isaiah, to come and let us reason together.

America knows its responsibility. It goes where it has responsibility. We have answered many rollcalls across many oceans.

I am reminded of the time when I went to a neighbor's house to ask a lady if her little boy could go home and spend the weekend with me. He had a brother who was a rather fat little boy. He weighed about 200 and he was about 14 years old. We called him "Bones." He was very properly nicknamed "Bones."

When I insisted to the mother that she let my friend go home with me—he talked about his little brother. Finally the mother said no, he couldn't. He thought that was unjust. He looked up to his mother and said, "Mama, why can't I go home and spend the night with Lyndon?" He said, "Bones has done been two wheres and I haven't been anywheres!"

Well, we have been two wheres several times. In the places we have been, the Australians have been by our side. So I have spent 2 very delightful days, a part of yesterday, last evening, and today, with your honored and distinguished Prime Minister. I have been President 3 years. During that 3 years' time I have received Prime Minister Menzies in the Capital in Washington 3 times. I have received Prime Minister Holt in the Capital 3 times. We have exchanged viewpoints and we continue to give each other very best judgments.

But we need the counsel of each other in these critical times. We need each of you to think about your future and what kind of a world you want to live in. You can't have that kind of a world just by wishing for it. America didn't come into existence just because somebody wished it would. It came into existence because men, good and true, faithful, loyal and fearless, were willing to stand up and fight for freedom and fight for liberty and put that at the highest priority.

As the aggressor marched in the low countries in the late 1930's, and ultimately wound up in World War II, there are ag-

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gressors prowling tonight, on the march again.

Their aggression shall not succeed. But I would remind you it is much closer to Melbourne than it is to San Francisco. It is time for you to stop, look, and listen, and decide how much your liberty and your freedom mean to you and what you are willing to pay for it.

If you want to sit back in a rocking chair with a fan and say, "Let the rest of the world go by," you won't have that liberty and that freedom long. Because when a dictator or an aggressor recognizes that you don't cherish it, that you are not willing to fight and die for it, that you are a pushover, then you are the number one objective.

So tonight the American boys, almost half a million of them, have left their families and their homes. They have taken our treasure to the extent of about \$2 billion a month to go to the rice paddies of Vietnam to help that little nation of 13 or 14 million try to have the right of self-determination without having a form of government they do not want imposed upon them.

Tonight those brave Aussie lads are there by their side, not half way, not a third of the way, but all the way, to the last drop of their blood, because they are never going to tuck their tails and run. They are never going to surrender.

They are going to stay there until this aggression is checked before it blooms into world war III.

We wish it were not so. But wishing it were not so doesn't make it so. We wish we could transfer it from the battlefield this moment to the conference table, but we can't do it by ourselves. And until we can convince these people that we have the resolution and we have the determination, we have the will and we have the support of our own

people, they are not going to come to their senses.

But so far as my country is concerned, don't be misled as the Kaiser was or as Hitler was, by a few irrelevant speeches. We don't fight with bayonets or swords. We don't even throw Molotov cocktails at each other in America. They may chew off an ear and they may knock out a tooth, they may take your necktie or your pocketbooks, but when they call the roll on the defense appropriation bill to support our men at the front, it will be carried 87 to nothing in the Senate.

So don't misjudge our speeches in the Senate. And I would warn all would-be aggressors who think they can march and get away with it, they must not misjudge them either.

Finally, I would say this: In 3 years in office I have seen your previous Prime Minister 3 times and your present Prime Minister 3 times. And I have just asked your indulgence once.

But I have wanted to come back to Australia since I left here 25 years ago and here I am. And I am happy and I am enjoying it. I liked it then and I like it better now.

I must admit I am traveling in a little different manner and in a little different company. That does make it nice.

But your Prime Minister said on the steps of the White House as if he were speaking to the American boys, with more than 100 of them dying every week, that while Australia did not equal our population or our resources that there is no nation in the world that exceeded the Australians in courage, patriotism, and loyalty. When they took their stance by your side you didn't get a crick in your neck looking around to see if they were coming. I found that out 25 years ago in New Guinea.

They may be ahead of you, but they will

[543] Oct. 21

*Public Papers of the Presidents*

never be behind you—and they will always be by the side of you.

So the Prime Minister made the observation that they would be with us all the way. He didn't need to say that. I knew that. The boys that had served with them knew that. But some of the newcomers that were fresh may not have known it.

But he said, "LBJ, our men are in Vietnam and we are there and we are with you all the way to check this aggression before it flops over and moves on down."

We are going to Manila to try to find the formula for peace, to try to review our military operations, to try to bring that country closer to representative government, to try to exchange views with the leaders of seven countries who love liberty and who love freedom.

We don't expect any magic wonders; we don't expect any miracles. But we do think that each nation who has men committed to

die—their leaders ought to get around the table and get the best thinking of the best men those nations can send.

So I want to thank you for your great welcome, for your delightful 2 days. I have benefited tremendously from meeting with your Cabinet and with your leaders. I would be too sentimental if I told you just exactly how I feel about the Australian people, but I think most of you had rather just judge that for yourselves and let me quit talking.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:10 p.m. at Government House, Melbourne, Australia. In his opening words he referred to the following officials and their wives: Harold E. Holt, Prime Minister of Australia, Sir Henry E. Bolte, Premier and Treasurer of the State of Victoria, Sir Edmund F. Herring, Lt. Governor of Victoria, Sir Henry Winneke, Chief Justice of Victoria, and Councillor I. F. Beaurepaire, Lord Mayor of Melbourne. Later he referred to Edward Clark, U.S. Ambassador to Australia, and Sir Robert G. Menzies, former Prime Minister of Australia.

544 Remarks Upon Arrival at Mascot Airport, Sydney, Australia.

October 22, 1966

*Mr. Prime Minister and Mrs. Holt, Your Excellency the Governor of New South Wales and Lady Cutler, Mr. Premier and Mrs. Askin, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, boys and girls:*

There is an old song in the United States which says "there's no place like home." Well, I want to change that. There's no place like home unless it is Australia.

You have treated us as if we belong here. And I think we really do.

We will have to leave tomorrow, but our hearts will remain here—here with the people of Australia.

I want to tell you what a beautiful sight the Sydney airport is from my plane: your

nice welcome sign, your large group of enthusiastic friends who have come here to extend their hospitality, the beautiful signs and flags.

I just want to say this: If Ambassador Clark ever resigns as our Ambassador to Australia—and he is so happy here I don't think he ever will—I believe now that the first applicant for the job is going to be Lyndon Baines Johnson!

On behalf of Mrs. Johnson and myself, and my fellow countrymen, we thank you for your graciousness and for your generous attitude that brought you here to make us feel at home this morning.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at the Mascot Airport, Sydney, Australia. In his opening words he referred to the following officials and their wives: Harold E. Holt, Prime Minister of Australia, Sir Henry E. Bolte, Premier and Treasurer of the State of Victoria, Sir Edmund F. Herring, Lt. Governor of Victoria, Sir Henry Winneke, Chief Justice of Victoria, and Councillor I. F. Beaurepaire, Lord Mayor of Melbourne. Later he referred to Edward Clark, U.S. Ambassador to Australia, and Sir Robert G. Menzies, former Prime Minister of Australia.

545 Remarks Upon Arrival at Mascot Airport, Sydney, Australia.

*Mr. Prime Minister and Mrs. Holt, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, boys and girls:*

I did not expect to be here when the President arrived. I spoke to you

First, I want to thank you for your warm welcome. I was concerned that you would not be here. I agreed, I

And I am sure that the President's commission will have an effect before long. I realize that it is completely obligatory on the part of the Prime Minister to the point of an election are in fact normally

In America we have heard "America"

I can describe here

I believe we are talking about nations.

notion that the markets are that you

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:14 a.m. at Mascot Airport, Sydney, Australia. In his opening words he referred to the following officials and their wives: Harold E. Holt, Prime Minister of Australia, Sir

Arthur R. Cutler, Governor of New South Wales, and Robin W. Askin, Premier and Treasurer of New South Wales. Later he referred to Edward Clark, U.S. Ambassador to Australia.

## 545 Remarks at the Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia. October 22, 1966

*Mr. Prime Minister and Mrs. Holt, Mr. Premier and Mrs. Askin, Mr. Chief Justice, and Mrs. Herron, Ministers of State, Your Eminence Cardinal Gilroy, Your Grace Archbishop Loane, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen:*

I did come to listen, and I heard a lot when the Prime Minister and the Premier spoke to you.

First, I was deeply concerned that they were not in complete agreement on the co-sponsorship of this meeting. The reason I was concerned was for fear when they disagreed, I might be called upon, too.

And I also observed from the Prime Minister's comments about women that you do have an election coming up here in Australia before long. I trust that the ladies recognize that the Prime Minister is not completely oblivious to your influence. When Prime Ministers and Presidents ever come to the point where they overlook the ladies in an election year, or in an off year, they are in for more difficulties than they normally have.

In America, during the past few years, I have heard Australia described as a very "American" place.

I can only assume that America is described here as a very "Australian" place.

I believe that both are true—providing we are talking about the real meaning of our nations. I am not willing to accept the notion that America stands only for supermarkets and superhighways—just as I know that you will not accept the idea that Aus-

tralia stands only for kangaroos and "Waltzing Matilda."

If America and Australia are alike—in what way are we alike?

Our lands are vast. Our people are drawn from many countries. Our histories are young. Our governments are free. Our people bubble with energy, occasionally to a fault. We have reached a level of plenty, for most of our people, that men could scarcely envision or ever dream of just a century ago.

But, for all of this, there is more that really binds us together. In a political campaign in Texas some years ago, I was asked about my allegiances. I replied in this way: "I am a free man first, an American second, a public servant third, and a Democrat fourth, in that order."

I think that ranking of priorities is something that we can all understand. I think that kind of ranking holds true in Australia as well. We are free men first—and our strength flows like a mighty river from that premise.

The hallmark of our societies is that we encourage every man to stretch as far as he can, and to look any man straight in the eye.

I believe that trait, more than any other, has built America and built Australia and, indeed, has forever changed the human equation upon this planet.

So we have prospered. We already have most of the material trappings that so much of the developing world today strives for.

Our people for the most part are well-clothed, well-fed, well-educated, and well-housed. Automobiles are commonplace; washing machines far outnumber washboards; private housing is spacious and available to ever larger segments of the population of our two countries.

But if the American experience—and the Australian experience—is to have any real meaning on the canvas of history, it must show a good deal more than just mere quantity. "More" is not enough. We must now learn the social truths that can convert "more" into "better."

Human progress, we know, does not end with a two-car family, or central air conditioning, or even a long vacation.

We are concerned in my country with the quality and the human grandeur of our existence.

I have set that proposition to the people of my land under a simple banner: the Great Society.

We are seeking better and much more extensive education. We are seeking better medical treatment for all of our people. We are seeking cleaner cities—purer water and purer air. We are seeking equality for all of our minority groups—and the land preserved in as near the state as possible as God gave it to us.

I have some help on that conservation and beautification program in person here today. Mrs. Johnson has been pointing out to me several good examples that we must emulate that we have observed here in your country.

These programs have a common root: to let men push on to the furthestmost boundaries of their being in an environment that is fit for the human species.

We know that a great society demands great individuals—that as Emerson said:

"The true test of civilization is not the census, nor the size of the cities, nor the

crops—but the kind of man the country turns out."

Increasingly, the thrust of Emerson's words will be at the heart of my program when I return home. I intend to pursue what I consider the ultimate moral goal that a politician can seek. It is this: the creation of the conditions that allow people to pursue excellence.

In the session of the Congress that is about to end, we fought poverty and discrimination and slums—and all the accumulated ailments of a society that grew boundlessly for almost two centuries and sometimes passed over its less fortunate members. That battle is not yet won, and we do not intend to falter in its execution.

But we now also intend to concentrate on the quest for quality. Needless to say, such a goal cannot be achieved just by legislative fiat. But if an enlightened program cannot automatically grant excellence, it can open the doors for those who seek to enter. That is what I seek, and that is what I have asked task forces made up of our great scholars throughout the land, who are now at work in our Capital, to seek: to seek *an open-door policy for excellence*.

I have had an old lesson reinforced in my mind during the past few days that I have been away from my country. A great society cannot end at the water's edge in New York or in Los Angeles—nor can it end at the water's edge in Sydney or in Perth. A truly great society can exist only in a great and unifying world that is dedicated to bringing out the best in people from all over the world.

I know that the magnanimous offer announced yesterday by your own University of Sydney—to bring 10 young American science students here in January—was made in that spirit. It will touch a most responsive chord in my country, and I must say to you

that it has to

Our young Nuclear Research of our commensurate limits of our man intellect these young "Lyndon B. Johnson" that, as a former times I have these days—I description.<sup>1</sup>

For the liberal at the heart of our own country—ing to help other

If we are to and of the consequences shall have to face our own problems

The struggle America has throughout the superhighways.

I have said so know what our

<sup>1</sup> On November 1961, I announced the names of Australian Science Foundation school students chosen for a seminar in Australia. Nuclear Research Institute Sydney. The release of six boys from seven Science Foundation Scholarship Corporation, and authorities in space

The scholarships, proposed by Dr. H. J. of Physics and Director of the Science Foundation, University of Sydney, dated October 1961, replied on October 1961, touched by your wisdom with me. . . . To note the importance of education of the two countries. The (2 Weekly Comp. Pro

that it has touched me deeply.

Our young people, who will study at your Nuclear Research Foundation, are symbols of our common quest to probe the deepest limits of our world—and to stretch the human intellect as far as it seeks to go. That these young students will be designated "Lyndon B. Johnson Scholars" is an honor that, as a former schoolteacher—and sometimes I have some practice teaching to do these days—I cherish beyond expression and description.<sup>1</sup>

For the liberation of the best in man lies at the heart of all we are trying to do in our own country—and all that we are really trying to help others do.

If we are to ever be worthy of the trust and of the confidence of other peoples, we shall have to face up to our own lives and our own problems.

The struggle for minority civil rights in America has more ultimate meaning throughout the world than a hundred superhighways.

I have said so often that if you want to know what our foreign policy is, look at our

<sup>1</sup>On November 21, 1966, the White House announced the names of the 10 "Lyndon B. Johnson Australian Science Scholars," outstanding high school students chosen to attend a 2-week science seminar in Australia on scholarships provided by the Nuclear Research Foundation of the University of Sydney. The release stated that the four girls and six boys from seven States, selected by the National Science Foundation and the National Merit Scholarship Corporation, would attend lectures by world authorities in space and aeronautics.

The scholarships, the release pointed out, were proposed by Dr. Harry Messel, head of the School of Physics and director of the Nuclear Research Foundation, University of Sydney, in a letter to the President dated October 10, 1966. The President replied on October 17, as follows: "I am personally touched by your wish to associate these scholarships with me. . . . To me, these scholarships symbolize the importance of educational exchange between our two countries. They confirm ties of friendship." (2 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 1717)

domestic policy. I described that domestic policy of some 200 measures—I believe the State of the Union Message had 171 recommended, and we will perhaps get in the neighborhood of 150 enacted—I summarized it in six letters:

—Food, producing food for hungry people, ourselves and the entire world. We call that *F*.

—Recreation, beautification, and conservation, so our children will have a place to play, so that we can see the beauty of the land as God made it. We call that *R*.

—Jobs and good wages, full employment that you have had for 30 years, income—77 million of our people are working, more than ever in the history—we call that *J*.

—Education—18 educational measures enacted from picking the youngster at 4 years of age and carrying him through a Ph.D. in college, giving him all the education he can take. We will call that *E*.

—Then medical care for all of our senior citizens, modern hospitalization, increased nursing training, and nursing homes for all of our elderly people; the health program—23 bills. We will call that *N* for nursing homes.

—*D*, the security of our Nation rests on the strength of our defense, and our ability to execute our policies with dispatch and with strength. We will call that *D*.

That is really our domestic program. We have divided it into 150 detailed bills to clean up the dirty water, the dirty air, and those things. But it spells "Friend," *F-r-i-e-n-d*.

So the best way to judge how you look at other people is to look and see how you treat your own people. We have many religions, many colors, many races, and many geogra-

phies. But we are all human beings.

The war on poverty in America has more ultimate meaning, I think, throughout the world than a thousand supermarkets.

The protection of freedom where freedom is threatened has more ultimate meaning throughout the world than all the products or technology that we may ever export.

The great majority of our people have come to embrace and accept these values. I believe that you share them as well—and that satisfied this visiting American as deeply as the exuberant warmth of your hospitality. It is one more bond in a friendship that shall last as long, as the Prime Minister said, as our nations endure.

For as I read only this morning in the Sydney Morning World, my visit to Aus-

tralia represents a growing awareness of the interdependence of all of us, and a growing desire to strengthen it and to make it increasingly fruitful, not simply for "white" Australians and Americans, but for all people of every race, of every creed, of every nationality.

And that is exactly why I am here, and that is exactly how I feel and how I believe most Australians feel.

Thank you so much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:06 p.m. at the Art Gallery of New South Wales in Sydney, Australia. In his opening words he referred to Harold E. Holt, Prime Minister of Australia, and his wife, Robin W. Askin, Premier and Treasurer of New South Wales, and his wife, Leslie J. Herron, Chief Justice of New South Wales, and his wife, His Eminence Norman Cardinal Gilroy, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Sydney, and the Right Reverend Marcus Loane, Anglican Archbishop of Sydney.

## 546 Remarks Upon Arrival at the Airport, Brisbane, Australia.

October 22, 1966

*My good friends, Prime Minister and Mrs. Holt, Your Excellencies, Ministers of State, Members of Parliament, ladies and gentlemen:*

First of all, Mrs. Johnson and I want to express our deep appreciation for the opportunity to come here and to meet with you, and our deep regret that you have been delayed by our tardiness.

We have been meeting so many wonderful people in Australia whom we hadn't anticipated we would see that our schedule has had to be stretched a little from time to time.

Tonight we come to you near the close of the most wonderful visit that I have ever made to any land.

This has been a sentimental journey for me.

My bond with Australia goes back 24 long and eventful years. It goes back to 1942,

when General MacArthur established his headquarters in Australia and planned the mighty campaign that would free the Pacific of aggression.

It goes back to those dark days when it was hard to see any light at the end of the tunnel—and the Japanese were on the other side of the Owen-Stanley Range coming in your direction, in our direction—until at last, through bravery, through determination, and through sacrifice of Australians, Americans, and others, some light appeared.

I am told that it was something like a million Americans who passed through Brisbane during World War II. So a great part of the enthusiasm my people feel for your wonderful land of Australia must have started with that original million right here. I hope and I trust, and I want to believe—and I do believe—that that feeling is mutual.

Comradeship in war unites men as few experiences can unite them. But that union is always purchased at a terrible price. Free men just must learn to find comradeship in peace as well as find it in war. They must learn to find it in trade, in scholarship, in fighting disease, relieving hunger, and in exploring the earth and the heavens.

Americans and Australians are finding that peaceful comradeship today.

I have enjoyed my 2 days in Australia. I have appeared in cities and areas that contain considerably more than half the population of this entire country. Although I have appeared in 30 of the 50 States in America this year, I still haven't reached 50 percent of the population. So I have some homework to do when I get back from Manila.

Only this afternoon at Cooby Creek—not far from where I stand—a new space tracking station was dedicated. It is a joint effort of our space scientists, who are already working together at Carnarvon, Woomera, and Canberra.

These stations are very vital to the success of our lunar program—and vital to all that we are seeking to understand about the universe around us.

We could never have come so far, so fast, in this great adventure without the dedication and competence of Australian scientists and Australian technicians, and without the cooperation of the modern 20th century statesmen who guide the destinies of this land.

But we are not depending only on the cooperation of mature professionals to build a peaceful comradeship in science. Yesterday, an announcement of very keen significance to me was made at the University of Sydney. It was revealed that 10 young students from my country will be invited to study, during January, at the Nuclear Re-

search Foundation—along with your own brightest boys and girls here in Australia. That they will be called the Lyndon B. Johnson Scholars is a great tribute to Australian generosity—but it is a source of deep gratitude to me.

Our two young nations are blessed with tremendous natural and human resources. We have so much to offer to those who need the skills and the technology that we already possess in abundance.

In agriculture, in satellite communications, in the control of rivers, in public health, in population planning, we already have a range of understanding and experience that can make the vital difference for millions of our fellow men.

We cannot—we must not—hold on selfishly to these skills and these technologies. We must not fear to share them with those who long for a better life. We shall find—as wise men have always known—that the lives of those who give of themselves are enriched far beyond the treasure and the talent that they share with others.

I know that yours is a giving nation. You gave tens of thousands of your best young men to the cause of freedom—your freedom and the world's freedom—in the Second World War. Thousands more stood shoulder to shoulder with us in Korea—and tonight they stand shoulder to shoulder in the rice paddies in Vietnam. You have given millions of dollars to aid your neighbors in the Pacific and in Asia.

I just cannot end without saying that you have given me—the representative of a people who admire you, and who cherish the affection of all the citizenry of Australia—3 days that have filled my heart and strengthened my body and my spirit.

So in the morning I will go to Manila. I will go there with your most distinguished Prime Minister. I will go refreshed by the

encouragement that you have given me, and with my faith renewed in our common task.

We will do the best we can to give the maximum protection to the men whom we must guide.

We long and look for the day when all men on this earth will enjoy prosperity—and war will be no more.

We ask for your hopes, your confidence, and your prayers.

And we will give you all that is within us.

Thank you so much for coming out here and doing us this great honor. We shall never forget it.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:36 p.m. at Eagle Farm Airport, Brisbane, Australia, following an introduction by George F. R. Nicklin, Premier and Minister for State Development, Queensland. In his opening words the President referred to Harold E. Holt, Prime Minister of Australia, and his wife.

### 547 Remarks at Townsville Upon Departing From Australia. October 23, 1966

*Prime Minister and Mrs. Holt, Deputy Premier Chalk, Your Excellencies, Mr. Mayor, ladies and gentlemen:*

It is right that my second visit to Australia should conclude in a place that holds such vivid memories for me—from my first visit here, in Townsville, in 1942.

Things are much calmer and much more peaceful here in Townsville today at the Buchanan Hotel than they were when I was here 24 years ago.

A few weeks ago your distinguished Prime Minister visited me in Washington. I had, at that luncheon in his honor, a young man who had not seen his father. He is now a teacher at West Point. The night that I spent in Australia on June 8, 1942, I slept in a double bed with a Colonel Francis Stevens.

We left here about midnight for the Three-Mile Field in Port Moresby, New Guinea. Colonel Stevens never came back and never saw his boy—but the Prime Minister came to America and did greet him.

And if Colonel Stevens could have followed us through Australia the last 3 days, could have seen the happiness on the faces of the people, could have seen them enjoying their freedom and preserving and protecting

it, Colonel Stevens would have felt that he did not die in vain.

I do not know how many Australian faces I have looked into or how many Australian hands I have shaken during the last 3½ days. The number does not really matter. What matters is what your faces and your hands have said to me—and what I hope that mine have said to Australia. The message is that the vast majority of the American and Australian people are together—all the way—in the battlefield and in the search for peace.

Obviously, that view is not held by everyone. There are those who feel very deeply, and certainly those who feel very vocally, that our common engagement in Vietnam is morally wrong. They have made their feelings known with equal vigor in my country, and certainly in yours.

Theirs is, I believe, the view of a minority. That does not make it mistaken; but it does require us to see it in a larger context.

Because we have put our trust in democracy, we are bound to preserve and to protect the minority's right to express its opinion, and we cannot and we must never insist that it speak its opinion in a whisper that is pleasing to us. We are bound, too, to behave towards the minority with a tolerance,

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courtesy, a gentleness, with ordinary respect—an obligation that falls, I think, with equal weight on the minority, too.

But it is exactly because we are democracies and because our governments are responsible to the whole people that we cannot be turned aside from policies and commitments that the great majority of our public support and for which they have made profound sacrifices—as Colonel Stevens did in this town, 24 years ago.

This is especially so where what is at stake is liberty and is freedom itself. We are in Vietnam now precisely because the great majority of our people believe in free choice for the people of the little country of Vietnam. We believe in that right of free choice; in self-determination. We believe in it so strongly that we are willing to go there and fight for it and die for it until that right is achieved and until that right is preserved and protected.

Most of our people have learned the lesson of this century that nations must not turn their backs on those whose freedom is imperiled by aggression. When they have done so—and the melancholy history of our times tells us that they have—it was not long before their own freedom faced the same mortal danger.

Thus, at home, we defend the right of the minority to dissent—and the right of the majority to insist that it be heard as well. In Vietnam, we defend the right of the minority to be heard—peacefully, at the ballot box. We defend the right of the majority to be free of persuasion by terror.

Now I leave this great people, this wonderful land, to go to Manila with your Prime Minister and other heads of state. We will meet with others who have committed their sons to the struggle to the end in Vietnam. We will, of course, review that progress. We will, of course, review

the prospects for bringing it to an end. We will, of course, consider what may be done to heal the wounds of a long and a tragic war.

We know, of course, that there is so much good to be done with the resources that are now being wasted that we want very much to get ahead and transfer this conflict from the battlefield to the conference room.

I am conscious of the human tragedy and the lost opportunities every day—as the battle reports come to me every morning before I get out of bed.

Again and again and again I have said: we are ready to stop the bombing of North Vietnam; we are ready to produce a schedule for the withdrawal of our troops—whenever the other side tells us what it is prepared to do to move toward peace in Vietnam and to reciprocate the actions and the decisions that we take.

We must remember this: It takes only one side to make a war and to begin a war. It takes two sides to end a war—short of unconditional surrender. And we do not seek the unconditional surrender of those who oppose us in Vietnam, nor to destroy or change any system of government, nor to deprive any people of what is rightfully theirs. When a decision is made by the other side to seek its goals through peaceful means—not through terror, not through violence—we shall be the first to meet at the conference table.

We prefer reason to force. But until that time comes, we shall not let our men go unprotected and undefended. We shall fight for freedom in Vietnam—knowing that as we do, we fight not just for freedom and liberty in Vietnam, but we fight for freedom and liberty in Australia, in New Zealand, in Hawaii, in the United States of America, and freedom and liberty wherever men cherish it.

We believe the day will come when our neighbors in Asia and the Pacific will enjoy the liberty and the freedom that is now a part of the heritage of the people of America and the people of Australia. And behind the shield of our determination, the free expressions of mankind may continue to be heard. That is reward enough for the effort we are making.

I have come here to retrace some of the tracks that I made a quarter of a century ago. This has been a sentimental journey. The last few hours I have had many sad memories. But never in my life have I gone among a people in any land where I have been received with such open arms and with such unflinching courtesy. Never have I seen a nation where its military leaders, where its diplomatic leaders, where its industrial leaders, where its political leaders are more in line with what I think is good for the whole

world as I see here in this great land of Australia.

So to Your Right Honorable Prime Minister and his gracious First Lady, Mrs. Holt, to the members of his Ministry and the Governors, the Premiers, the distinguished hosts that we have had as we have traveled across this land, to the leaders of the Opposition Party, to the boys and the girls, to one and all, Mrs. Johnson and I not only salute what we consider to be one of the great people in this universe, but we leave this land with great regret. Yet we also leave it with the hope that we may come again.

Thank you and goodbye.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:03 a.m. at Garbutt Royal Air Force Base, Townsville, Australia. In his opening words he referred to Harold E. Holt, Prime Minister of Australia, and his wife, Gordon W. W. Chalk, Treasurer of Queensland, and A. J. Smith, Mayor of Townsville.

## 548 Summary of the President's Remarks at the Manila Summit Conference. *October 24, 1966*

MR. MOYERS. The President spoke this evening, beginning at 4:37, extemporaneously with a few notes in front of him. Because there has not been time to prepare a text, I, at Secretary Aspiras' invitation, will read from my notes of what the President said. This is in an effort to give all of you an equal crack at the President's remarks.

Of course, it is not mine to speak for the conference. I will not take any questions at this session on what the President said or did today. I will be available in the Sunburst Room, not for a general briefing, but to take any questions individually from you, or to clean up any questions you may have after I finish this. That is for those who are accredited American or White House correspondents with whom I meet regularly.

As I said, the President began speaking at 4:37. Where there are direct quotes, I will give you direct quotes.

He thanked President Marcos for the pains which he and the people of Manila and the Philippines have taken to make all of the delegates welcome.

He said that he had come as an "equal among equals" to share with friends and allies our problems, our plans, and our hopes.

He said he thought the most important conviction of the conference would be for the world to know "that the nations directly assisting the people of South Vietnam are resolute."

He said he had had a chance to talk with each of the chiefs of state and government gathered around the table. From these ex-

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REMARKS OF GEORGE BUSH  
VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
BEFORE THE  
NATIONAL PRESS CLUB  
CANBERRA, AUSTRALIA  
THURSDAY, APRIL 29, 1982

I'M DELIGHTED TO BE HERE WITH YOU TODAY. THIS IS THE FIRST TIME IN MONTHS THAT THE AUDIENCE HAS OUTNUMBERED MY SECRET SERVICE DETAIL.

I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT I'M ALWAYS DAUNTED AT GOING BEFORE PRESS CLUBS. THIS ISN'T A REFLECTION OF MY FEELING ABOUT THE PRESS--IT'S JUST A POLITICIAN'S NATURAL INSTINCT ABOUT STANDING IN FRONT OF SO MANY OF YOU AT ONE TIME. I WAS TOLD BEFORE I CAME HERE THAT THE AUSTRALIAN PRESS EATS PUBLIC FIGURES FOR BREAKFAST. PAUSE YOU CERTAINLY TOLD FRANK SINATRA WHO WAS BOSS A FEW YEARS AGO. PAUSE WELL, I HOPE I'LL AT LEAST PROVIDE YOU WITH A GOOD LUNCH.

I'VE COME TO AUSTRALIA, AS YOU KNOW, IN THE INTERESTS OF GOOD NEWS, NOT BAD. IN JAPAN I SPOKE BEFORE THE FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT'S CLUB. I SAID THERE THAT I'D COME TO CONSULT WITH THE JAPANESE ON MATTERS OF TRADE AND DEFENSE--NOT TO DICTATE TO THEM. I SAID THAT WE NEEDED TO WORK TOGETHER TO WORK OUT AGREEMENTS, THAT THE ATMOSPHERE HAD IMPROVED, BUT THAT ABOVE ALL WE SHOULDN'T LET SUCH MATTERS CLOUD THE ESSENTIAL AND OVER-RIDING ISSUE OF JAPANESE-U.S. FRIENDSHIP. SO DURING THE Q AND A THAT FOLLOWED A FELLOW STOOD UP AND SAID, WELL, THIS BEATS ALL. A WHILE AGO MITTERAND CAME ALL THE WAY HERE TO SAY THERE IS HARMONY BETWEEN FRANCE AND JAPAN. AND NOW YOU'VE COME ALL THE WAY HERE JUST TO TELL US THERE IS HARMONY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN.

I TOLD HIM THAT WASN'T EXACTLY THE CASE, OR WHAT I'D SAID, THOUGH I DID SYMPATHIZE WITH HIM. I KNOW LACK OF HARMONY MAKES BETTER COPY THAN HARMONY. BUT ALAS, I'M AFRAID I STAND BEFORE YOU FULL OF HARMONIOUS THOUGHTS, AND A FEW OTHER POINTS THAT NEED BRINGING UP BECAUSE THEY MATTER, AND BECAUSE THEY'RE IMPORTANT.

I'VE BEEN TELLING AUDIENCES IN THE COUNTRIES I'VE BEEN VISITING THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS NO DESIRE TO DOMINATE THIS OR ANY OTHER PART OF THE WORLD; BUT THAT IT WANTS TO CONTINUE BEING A GOOD PARTNER IN THE FREE WORLD; THAT IT WANTS TO KEEP THE LINES OF COMMUNICATION WIDE OPEN; THAT ITS DAYS OF LECTURING ITS FRIENDS AND APOLOGIZING TO ITS ENEMIES ARE OVER; THAT IT WANTS TO BE A GOOD FRIEND.

AUSTRALIA IS ONE OF OUR BEST FRIENDS. WHEN PRIME MINISTER FRASER VISITED WASHINGTON LAST YEAR, PRESIDENT REAGAN SAID AT THE TIME THAT, "AUSTRALIA IS A FRIEND FOR THE LONG PULL, WHERE PEOPLE SEE THINGS BASICALLY AS WE DO, BUT WHO WILL ALWAYS HAVE THE COURAGE AND THE FRIENDSHIP TO TELL US WHEN THEY THINK WE'RE WRONG."

THE PRESIDENT QUOTED ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON'S LINE, "THE BEST THAT WE HAVE IN OUR TRAVELS IS AN HONEST FRIEND--THEY KEEP US WORTHY OF OURSELVES." ON THIS TRIP I'VE COME TO VISIT WITH HONEST FRIENDS.

I'VE BEEN CELEBRATING

I'VE BEEN CELEBRATING A FEW ANNIVERSARIES ALONG THE WAY--QUITE A FEW, IN FACT: THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SAN FRANCISCO TREATY IN JAPAN; 100 YEARS OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS IN KOREA. HERE I'LL BE MARKING TWO EVENTS IN AUSTRALIAN-U.S. RELATIONS: THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF ANZUS, AND THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BATTLE OF THE CORAL SEA.

WE'VE FOUGHT WARS TOGETHER AND TOGETHER KEPT THE PEACE. THAT MAKES FOR TIES THAT BIND.

THE ANCIENT CHINESE HAD A CURSE: "MAY YOU LIVE IN INTERESTING TIMES." WE'VE LIVED THROUGH SOME INTERESTING TIMES TOGETHER. MANY OF THOSE WHO FOUGHT IN THE BATTLE OF THE CORAL SEA DIED, AND MANY OF THOSE WHOM IT SAVED HAVE SINCE GONE.

THE ANZUS TREATY WAS CRAFTED BY STATESMEN SINCE DEPARTED, FOR A WORLD THAT HAS ALTERED ALMOST COMPLETELY. IT'S NOT JUST SHARED MEMORIES AND SIGNED PAPERS THAT HAVE KEPT US ALLIES.

THERE IS WHAT SIR NICHOLAS PARKINSON, MY GOOD FRIEND AND YOUR FORMER AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES HAS CALLED A "NATURAL ALLIANCE" BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES: ". . . A NATURAL ALLIANCE THAT EMERGES FROM THE MANY STRANDS, HISTORICAL AND CURRENT, TYING THE TWO PEOPLE. IT IS THIS, RATHER THAN THE FORMAL EXPRESSION OF THE SECURITY RELATIONSHIP EMBODIED IN THE ANZUS TREATY, WHICH IS THE LIVING CORE OR THE ALLIANCE, AND WE WOULD DO WELL TO REMEMBER THIS AND FOSTER IT WHERE WE CAN."

THIS NATURAL ALLIANCE

THIS NATURAL ALLIANCE OF OURS HAS PULLED US THROUGH, AND WILL CONTINUE TO PULL US THROUGH, THE CHALLENGES OF THE POST-MODERN WORLD. THE SOVIET UNION'S APPETITE FOR THE FREEDOM OF OTHERS IS AS RABELAISIAN AS EVER. SOVIET TROOPS ARE WAGING THE THIRD YEAR OF A BRUTAL WAR AGAINST THE AFGHAN PEOPLE--KILLING INNOCENT MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN WITH CHEMICALS OUTLAWED BY ALL DECENT SOCIETIES. LECH WALESA LINGERS UNDER HOUSE ARREST. THE SOVIETS HAVE ALL SORTS OF JUSTIFICATIONS FOR THESE OUTRAGES. THEY ARE OBVIOUSLY WARY OF THEIR NEIGHBORS IN <sup>EASTERN</sup> EUROPE. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT DOESN'T MUCH SURPRISE ME. THEY SEEM TO BE THE ONLY COUNTRY IN THE WORLD SURROUNDED BY HOSTILE COMMUNIST POWERS.

THEIR FOREIGN ADVENTURES HAVE NOT, OF COURSE, HAD ANY EFFECT ON THEIR RHETORICAL OUTPUT, WHICH IS AS DISINGENUOUS AS EVER. SOVIET LEADERS HAVE MADE SPEECHES ABOUT THEIR DESIRE FOR A FREEZE ON NUCLEAR WEAPONRY, DESPITE THE FACT THAT SS-20'S HAVE SPROUTED LIKE FIELDS OF ASPARAGUS. I MIGHT ADD THAT'S ABOUT THE ONLY SOVIET HARVEST THAT HASN'T FALLEN SHORT OF QUOTA. IT OCCURS TO ME THAT EITHER COLLECTIVE SOVIET FARMING ISN'T WORKING, OR THE SOVIET UNION HAS GOT SOME KIND OF CHRONIC WEATHER PROBLEM.

BUT I HAVEN'T COME

BUT I HAVEN'T COME HERE TO DISCUSS SOVIET METEOROLOGY, OR AGRONOMY, OR OTHER DREARY SUBJECTS. I'VE COME TO EMPHASIZE THAT WE'VE STOOD UP AGAINST THEIR RECKLESS INTERNATIONAL BEHAVIOR TOGETHER. WE STAND TOGETHER ON AFGHANISTAN, ON POLAND. WE'RE WORKING FOR PEACE TOGETHER IN THE MIDDLE EAST THROUGH THE SINAI MULTINATIONAL FORCE AND OBSERVERS. ISRAEL'S HISTORICAL WITHDRAWAL FROM THE SINAI WAS COMPLETED ONLY LAST WEEK. THE PEACE PROCESS HAS GONE FORWARD, CAUSE FOR CELEBRATION IN A WORLD IN WHICH TOO FEW PROCESSES ARE PEACEFUL.

I THINK IT IS IMPORTANT TO NOTE THAT THE UNITED STATES--INDEED ALL THE FREE NATIONS OF THE PACIFIC DEEPLY APPRECIATE THE INCREASED DEFENSE OUTLAYS AND CAPABILITIES OF AUSTRALIA. THIS SACRIFICE IS A TRIBUTE TO THIS GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE. IT IS A SACRIFICE ON BEHALF OF PEACE.

LET ME TAKE A FEW MOMENTS TO PUT IN PERSPECTIVE ANOTHER PROCESS FOR PEACE: PRESIDENT REAGAN'S INITIATIVES ON BEHALF OF NUCLEAR ARMS REDUCTION. THE ISSUE HAS BEEN CLOUDED A BIT, TO SAY THE LEAST. NO ONE IS MORE INTERESTED IN A REAL AND VERIFIABLE REDUCTION IN THE WORLD'S STOCKPILE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS THAN PRESIDENT REAGAN. HE'S MADE A NUMBER OF OVERTURES TO THE SOVIETS, PROBABLY THE MOST SIGNIFICANT OF WHICH WAS HIS ZERO-OPTION PROPOSAL OF LAST NOVEMBER. IT WAS IN THAT PROPOSAL THAT HE ANNOUNCED HIS PLAN FOR THE DRAMATIC REDUCTION OF INTERMEDIATE RANGE SYSTEMS IN EUROPE. INTERMEDIATE

NUCLEAR FORCES TALKS

NUCLEAR FORCES TALKS ARE ALREADY UNDER WAY. HE'S MADE IT CLEAR, BY HIS ACTIONS, NOT JUST BY WORDS, THAT HE'S WILLING TO EXPLORE ALL AVENUES TOWARD ARMS REDUCTION. IF HE CAN SUCCEED IN CONVINCING THE SOVIET UNION TO CHECK ITS RELENTLESS QUEST FOR NUCLEAR SUPERIORITY, IT WILL BE QUITE AN ACCOMPLISHMENT. IT'S NOT AN EASY JOB.

THE BEST WAY, MEANWHILE, TO BRING THE SOVIETS TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE--PERHAPS THE ONLY WAY--IS TO REMAIN STRONG, AND TO MAINTAIN A CREDIBLE DETERRENT. AN ADVERSARY IS MUCH MORE LIKELY TO NEGOTIATE IF IT IS TO HIS ADVANTAGE TO NEGOTIATE. WE STAND A MUCH BETTER CHANCE OF GETTING THE SOVIETS TO AGREE TO SOME REAL AND VERIFIABLE REDUCTIONS IF THEY UNDERSTAND WE'RE DETERMINED TO MAINTAIN A STRONG DETERRENT. PRESIDENT REAGAN IS COMMITTED TO RESTORING STRENGTH. WHERE THERE IS STRENGTH, OR BALANCE, THERE IS SAFETY. BUT UNFORTUNATELY THAT STRENGTH, AND BALANCE, ARE BEING ERODED BY THE SOVIET'S MASSIVE BUILD-UP.

DURING THE 1970'S

Chris  
from VP

DURING THE 1970'S, THE UNITED STATES GREATLY REDUCED THE NUMBER OF ITS NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN WESTERN EUROPE. IN FACT, THE TOTAL U.S. NUCLEAR STOCKPILE IS AT ITS LOWEST LEVEL IN 20 YEARS. BUT THE SOVIETS ARE NOT ALTOGETHER UNSKILLED IN THE ART OF PROPAGANDA, AND THEY GO ON TRYING TO CONVINCING THE WORLD THAT THE UNITED STATES, AND NOT THE SOVIET UNION, IS THE REAL SOURCE OF THE NUCLEAR MADNESS. THEIR PROTESTATIONS IN THIS REGARD REMIND ME OF SOMETHING ONCE SAID BY THE MARQUIS DE CUSTINE, THE 19TH-CENTURY FRENCH NOBLEMAN WHO STUDIED RUSSIA AS DE TOCQUEVILLE STUDIED AMERICA. "WE MUST NEVER BLAME THE RUSSIANS FOR BEING WHAT THEY ARE," HE WROTE, "ONLY FOR PRETENDING TO BE WHAT WE ARE."

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THE UNITED STATES, AS I MENTIONED NEAR THE BEGINNING, HAS NO DESIRE TO DOMINATE AFFAIRS IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC OR ELSEWHERE. WE ARE A PACIFIC POWER AND WE'LL REMAIN A PACIFIC POWER. BUT OUR GREATEST STRENGTH LIES NOT IN AIRCRAFT CARRIERS AND SUBMARINES, BUT IN OUR FRIENDSHIPS, ENDURING FRIENDSHIPS WITH COUNTRIES SUCH AS AUSTRALIA. WE'LL CONTINUE TO LOOK TOWARD AUSTRALIA FOR COUNSEL AND COMPANIONSHIP, AS WE HAVE IN THE PAST. IF THAT DOESN'T MAKE FOR BANNER HEADLINES, IT'S STILL A BIG STORY. AND A GOOD ONE.

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