

*Sen Moss*

TELEPHONE  
SUGGESTED/REMARKS  
WESTERN STATES DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE  
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

AUGUST 26, 1967

Lucy, I am mighty glad to talk with you. And my greetings to Gene Wyman, the head of your host delegation, to Chairman Charlie Warren of the California Central Committee, to Chairman John Bailey and Vice Chairman Margaret Price, Democratic National Committee, and to all the Democratic delegates from the 13 western states and Guam.

I have been hearing from my associate, Bill Connell, about the fine cross section of the leadership of our party in the west which have gathered there at the Ambassador -- of your enthusiasm and your commitment, the harmony and practical determination that has been demonstrated throughout the conference.

I know that you ~~are shortly going to hear~~ *have heard* from my old friend Governor Pat Brown (and Pat, I surely want to send to you and Mrs. Brown our warm personal greetings from Muriel and myself here at Waverly). You are going to hear from Governor Brown, and I shall take just a few minutes to bring you my greetings.

My message to you can be summarized in four words:

- ✓ Confidence
- ✓ Communication
- ✓ Coordination
- ✓ Commitment

Now the first: confidence.

✓ As we look ahead to the 1968 campaign a year from now, we will be hearing as we now hear a barrage of gloom and doom from our critics. That is their business -- to be pessimistic about the Democratic chances, to try to destroy confidence, to shake our determination. These are the opening guns of the 1968 campaign. It also keeps their spirits up and keeps their mind off their own awful problems -- of how to mix together the oil and water of the Republican left and right wings.

✓ We are in for a tough and challenging year of political contests -- but no tougher than other years we have gone through successfully. I, for one, look forward to the battle. And we are going to win it with your help!

1 ✓ The first step toward winning is confidence, a belief that the American people will make the great decision of 1968 in their own self-interest as a nation.

2 L Secondly, communication.

With the most creative and effective record of accomplishment in our history these past 7 years, we Democrats have been so busy passing the programs which have begun to break the backs of age-old American problems that we have simply not taken the time to point out that Democrats passed these great programs over the bitterest and most profound opposition of the Republicans in the Congress.

L Medicare, aid to elementary, secondary, and higher education, the civil rights and voting rights acts, the war on poverty -- none of these programs came by accident. - *on + water pollution control.*

The Republicans opposed them, most of them 90 per cent -- and the Democrats supported them, 90 per cent. Now that ought to be drummed into the consciousness of the American people. Unfortunately, the record does not speak for itself, not when the mass media are flooded with other matters. L We must do a very much better job of communicating not only the record of accomplishments of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations and of the Democratic Congress, but of the goals and objectives of the Democratic Party as we move toward the 1970's.

FDR  
move  
forward  
with us  
freedom  
with  
continues.

3  
Third, coordination.

That is why you are having this conference.

And that is what is required to bring to bear and to focus all the enormous energies that are inherent in the Democratic Party.

Coordination means subordinating personal differences and personal ambitions to the good of the whole party and the goal of progressive and effective government. Coordination means foregoing the luxury of personal hatreds and revenge. It means working together for the common interest and the common good.

Ben Franklin told ~~the~~ his fellow Americans almost 200 years ago: "We must all hang together, or we shall most assuredly all hang separately."

Wise words.

Truman  
1948  
Next year there will be a national ticket, and President Johnson will be on the top of every Democratic ballot in every precinct in America. The Democratic family is going to win together or not at all. We are going to have a joint victory or we are going to have separate political funerals.

And coordination means intelligent analysis, planning, and operations which are designed to harness the various strengths and abilities that are everywhere waiting to be put to work. Your meeting is a splendid

early step to insure the kind of communication,  
cross-fertilization, and coordination that will mean  
an effective, <sup>winning</sup> ~~orchestrated~~ campaign in 1968.

I am so pleased that you are spending time on  
the nuts and bolts of politics -- the practicalities.  
We are all issue-oriented. We are all deeply concerned  
with the why's, the objectives, and the goals of  
progressive government. But to carry forward  
progressive government, we have to win and that is  
what you are discussing -- the how's of winning.

Finally, my fourth word -- commitment.

This is no time for the "summer soldier or the  
sunshine patriot." This is the time for Democrats  
to rally behind their President and the leader of their  
party. When the going gets tough and the opposition  
senses the possibility of an upset, that is the time  
to stand up and be counted. Now is that time.

Your President is bearing the awful responsibilities  
of the office to which we elected him. He is a strong  
and competent man. He knows how to make decisions,  
and he acts in the national interest. But he must  
not be made to stand alone, to bear those awful burdens  
without the united support of his own party and his own  
supporters.

↳ In Southeast Asia, it is the American commitment which is once again being tested. And my fellow Americans, it is the very keystone of the arch of American security that the American commitment be believed.

↳ The credibility of the American commitment is the shield of the American people.

↳ When the American President says to the enemies of freedom that we will resist and defeat Communist aggression, that statement must be believed. And that is why we must back our commitments and why we have always backed our commitments.

↳ We seek peace and freedom from aggression. We seek a world in which rational men seek rational ends through rational means and not through terror, brutality, and violence.

↳ But we live in a world which does not yet solve its problems rationally, in which force and violence and terror are employed deliberately, in which some leaders believe that "political power grows out of the muzzle of a gun." We are committed to resist that bloody concept -- to resist it with force of arms if necessary -- as it has been resisted and turned back many times in the past quarter of a century -- as it will be once again turned back in Southeast Asia.

Let me close with just these words. I am proud of this party of ours. It has a great record. We have every reason to hold our heads high. We have produced leadership ~~xx~~ and programs that have made-American-power-and-security-and-wealthy made America powerful and secure and wealthy, and yet have worked effectively to see that all Americans -- every American -- can share in the abundance and the opportunity to serve and to grow and to flourish.

Be proud of your party. Be proud of your President. Speak up for your party. Stand up and be counted for your President.

I know that you will continue to do so, and I so look forward to seeing you and working with you in <sup>own</sup> your/states in the coming months.

Thank you.



REMARKS BY VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H.  
HUMPHREY, DELIVERED BY LIVE TELEPHONE  
SATURDAY LUNCHEON, AUGUST 26, 1967  
WESTERN STATES DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE

Lucy, How are you, my dear? (Just delighted, this is the highlight of this Conference, I can assure you.) Well, I am afraid that I may disappoint you. I'm just going to sit here on the telephone and talk a little bit to our friends out there. (It will be no disappointment, I can tell you it is a special privilege, Delegates to this Conference, The Vice President of the United States, Hubert H. Humphrey.)

Thank you Lucy, thank you very much. Well, Well, well, Lucy, Lucy, listen, thank you so much. I could hear the audience there with their welcoming applause and I am sure you know that this makes me very happy and most pleased. I want to congratulate you Lucy on your fine work in leading the Western States Conference. I know that our good friend Gene Wyman is there as the host and, of course, a special word of greeting to Charlie Warren of the California Central Committee. I am looking for Charlie to come back to Washington to pay us a visit and I have been with John Bailey, Margaret Price and John Criswell so much that I'm not even going to spend any time except to say hello once again. We had a splendid meeting with our Legislative leaders not long ago in Washington and some others of our friends across the country so they have heard me too many times. Bill Connell is out there and he picks all the good spots to go to. He send me out to the rough ones any time there is a place that is not too entertaining, well my executive assistant and secretary books me into that. When it is Los Angeles, he says that he has to go. By the way, Senator Moss, Ted, I want to wish you well. I hope that you will bring to the attention of our fellow Democrats out there the message of our Party.

(INDICATES REMARKS OF LUCY REDD.)



Well. my old friend, Pat Brown, has been giving you an inspiring message. I have been waiting to have a chance to talk to Pat and I hope that after I am through here on this electronic device called the telephone that I will have a chance to have a little personal visit with him and I want to wish Pat and his lovely wife our very best, welcome him back on the political hustings . I have been a Pat Brown man a long time and I want to repeat what I said when I was out there in 1966 -- I think he is the greatest Governor that California has ever had. And I think he will be remembered as the greatest Governor. Now I am not the kind of a politician that enjoys talking on the telephone to a large audience. I generally like to be there where I can see you , feel you and be near you and sense just exactly what you are doing and how you are feeling. But today it is impossible for me to have that special joy . I think many of you know that my brother has been critically ill and each weekend when I could get away from Washington I would come out to be with him and he is very seriously ill and I am staying very close to his bedside. So I am here in Minneapolis today and I just left him at the hospital to say a few words to you.

I want to put my message in the terminology of four words-- Confidence -- Communication --- Coordination and Commitment. Now let me say a few words first of all about confidence. You can't win if you don't believe you can win. You can talk yourself into defeat and you can in a sense really lift yourself into victory. It just depends upon what you want to do. Now I have been accused many times in Washington and elsewhere of being a perennial and congenital optimist and I plead guilty. One of the reasons that I try to be an optimist is that there are so many pessimists around, particularly in Washington. They're specialists in that field and most of them are Republicans. And I have never believed that we ought to crowd over into their jurisdiction. I believe in people honoring professional ~~xxxxxx~~ competence. And Republicans are absolutely the most professionally competent pessimists in the world. They can make a young man feel old over night and as Adlai Stevenson

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said, "Democrats can make an old man feel young. So that is the difference.

Now ~~x~~ we ought to know that the attack is on. Republicans do not wait for a campaign to start about a month before the election. They started this campaign of 1968 when they convened in Washington after the election of 1966. They tasted a little of the wine of victory in 1966 and they would like to have a lost weekend with it. So I suggest that we recognize what we are facing and what we are called upon to deal with. The opening guns of the 1968 campaign are on and it is almost like guerilla action. They shoot from behind the bushes, they lay in ambush for you and they wait to see what mistakes we make, if any, but more importantly, they wait for defection. And I repeat, for the defectors.

Now, my fellow Democrats, I want to tell you, ~~xxxx~~ right now, you can really convince the Republicans that they can win if we talk enough about their victories and if we talk enough about what they are saying. I think what we ought to do is to have confidence in our leadership, confidence, above all, in our program, and get on with the job of knowing that we have been doing the right thing. I have an abiding faith in the American people. I think they are going to make the right decision in 1968. The American people know that government is serious business. They know that and they ~~x~~ want people who have the intellectual integrity, the character stamina to take a position and stand by it. They are not nearly as concerned with images as they are with reality. They are not nearly as concerned, may I say, with whether or not you ~~look~~ look like the all-American boy or ~~whether~~ whether or not you really are thinking about all the Americans all the time and working for all of the Americans all of the time. So I, I call upon you to have the confidence in our Party, confidence in our leadership. Now, why, well that brings me to the second part of my message.-- Communication.

Communication is absolutely essential these days and, of course, with modern media you ought to be able to communicate.

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We have the most creative and effective record of political accomplishment in our history these past seven years. Starting out in 1961 with John Kennedy, and continuing on with Lyndon Johnson, we Democrats have been busy passing progressive programs, initiating policies, breaking new grounds in terms of our ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ social and economic betterment. Why, we have been able to, well I think we have been able to achieve the greatest legislative record in the history of this country. And I think it's time we Democrats got out and talked about it. Communicate--people forget. There is a lot of noise these and people forget your message. Medicare, aid to elementary and secondary ~~higher~~ and higher education, civil rights and voting rights, War on Poverty--all of these matters, they are not...they did not come by accident. They came by hard work. Model cities, urban renewal, everything that you can think of in terms of the improvement of our programs of social welfare...we had to fight for these things. Now, I know that people don't want us to just give them a sort of a catalogue of legislation. What are we talking about here? This administration is the administration is committed to the ~~pro~~ proposition that every American is entitled to have a chance in life. President Johnson and Vice President Hubert Humphrey are committed to the proposition that American freedom should carry with it opportunity....the opportunity to be ~~a~~ somebody, the opportunity to make something of your life, the opportunity to make the best of your life, and that's ~~why~~ why we have poured ourselves into the programs of health, education, and resource development. This is why this government of yours has done more in the field of education in the last five years than the government ~~of~~ of the United States has been able to do since the beginning of this republic. Now, that is a program of accomplishment and I think we have to communicate.

Now, the Republicans oppose these programs. You know, a real news flash ~~is~~ today would be for some Democrat just to stand up and say that on most of the programs that have been adopted, 90% of the Republicans in Congress have voted no and 90% of the Democrats have voted yes. So, when you see an old person that has benefitted from Medicare, you might not only ask ~~them~~ them how the Medicare program is working, but you might even ask them, "Who do you think passed it?" "And who do you think

was opposed to it?" They may not know because ~~we~~ we haven't told them. And now's the time to tell them. Now, this record does not, in other words, speak for itself. We have to speak up for it and we have to do a better job of communicating not only the record of accomplishments but, also, the goals and objectives of the Democratic Party as we move into the 1970's. People are not so much interested in what you have done as in what you plan on doing. What's the philosophy of this Party? Well, Frankling Roosevelt, bless ~~h~~ his memory, in those final departing words of his, said, and I've told you of this before, these immortal words for America and American government, he said, "Let us move forward with a strong and an active faith." Now, that ought to be the, that ought to be the message of inspi~~ra~~ration for every Democrat and every good citizen of this country. This whole concept of moving forward has been characteristic of our Party. John Kennedy said, "Let's get this country moving again. Let's begin." And Lyndon Johnson said, "Let's keep this country moving. Let's continue." This is a forward looking, outward reaching party and we are unafraid of the issues of tomorrow. We don't see problems and difficulties, we see opportunities and challenges and that's the faith that motivates us.

Now, the third message that I have for you is, beside confidence and communication, is coordination and that's why you're having this conference. You simply must coordinate the enormous energies of our political structure. Coordination also means subordinating personal differences and personal ambitions to the common cause and good of the country and the goal of progressive and effective government. Coordination means forgoing the luxury of personal hatreds and ~~re~~ revenge. It also means that you work together. It means cooperation for the common interest. Ben Franklin put it right on the line about 200 years ago when he said, "We must all hang together or we'll assuredly all ~~hang~~ hang separately." Any, my fellow Democrats, I have some words for you. Next year there is going to be a national ticket and President Johnson will be at the head of that ticket and every Democratic ballot and every precinct in America. The Democratic ~~a~~ family is going to win together or its not going to win at all. We're going to have a joint victory or we're going to have separate political funeral~~s~~ without too many flowers. In other words, don't

poison the soup that you're going to have to eat, don't put poison in the well from whence you're going to dip your cup. If ~~xxx~~ you, if Democrats can, if Democrats feel they must be critical in order to prove they're independent, I suggest that they be critical of the opposition. There's plenty, plenty to work on. Coordination also means intellectual, or should I say intelligent, analysis, planning <sup>the various</sup> ~~and~~ operations which are designed to harness/strengths and abilities that are everywhere <sup>/ and</sup> waiting to be put to work / Your meeting is a splendid early step to ensure that kind of communication and coordination. Now, I'm pleased, also, that you are spending some time on the nitty-gritty, the nuts and bolts of politics, the practicalities of it. We're all issue oriented and we ought to be. We're deeply concerned with the whys and the objectives and the goals ~~xx~~ of progressive government and we must be. But, my dear friends, to carry forward progressive government you have to be in power. We must win and that's what we're discussing. And if you really want social progress in this country, you better take a <sup>good</sup> ~~xxxxx~~ look at the list of candidates' potentials that offer you that opportunity. I think when you do, you'll find ~~xxxxx~~ you have a good going team right now. This isn't the time just for going separate paths. This is the time ~~xxx~~ to work together.

Now, my fourth and final message to you is commitment. Commitment. National commitment, personal commitment, party commitment, commitment to build a better America, commitment to our cities, commitment to our needy and our deprived, and commitment to the world. This world needs the American commitment as never before and the needy of this country of ours need our national commitment as never before.

I travel up and down this country. I've been in 46 states since I've been Vice President and I will be in all of them in a very few months. And I go not only to the luxury hotels, but I go to the back alleys of the slums as I was only yesterday in Washington, D. C., where I went out with the young boys that were on a special project of



rat extermination and the filth and the garbage and the dirt of the back alleys of our slums. I happen to be one that believes that you must have a strong and active faith. I believe that you must have commitment. This is no time for that summer soldier and sunshine patriot. This is a time for Democrats to stand up and be counted and to rally around the President and the leader of their Party. When the going gets tough and the opposition senses the possibility of an upset, this is the time to stand up and to be counted and to fight back. This is the difference between a great people and a weak people; ~~agze~~ a great Party and a weak Party. ~~7~~ Now your President is bearing ~~an~~ unbelievable burdens these days and responsibilities. You know, I hear a great deal of criticism about our President in many areas of, of life. I hear ~~xxxxxxx~~ criticism - foreign policy, domestic policy. Let me just say a word about foreign policy. <sup>7</sup> We signed more forward looking agreements that ~~xxx~~ blend themselves ~~x~~ to the ultimate cause of peace since Lyndon Johnson has been President than for many, many decades. With our relationships with the Soviet Union alone, only recently we tabled the new Non-Proliferation Treaty on Nuclear Weapons in cooperation with The Soviet Union. The Consular Treaty which stood untouched and no one dared to even move it for years is a fact now. Civil air agreement is a fact. The Cultural Agreement is a fact. The Space Treaty is a fact. So when I hear that we seem to do not too well in foreign relations, I say the record says to the contrary. <sup>7</sup> The Alliance for Progress is working. Your President has just expanded that Alliance by a new commitment made at Punta Del Este. The Dominican Republic is free -- elections were held. Latin America is moving ahead economically and politically. Europe is strong, independent and the United States of America still is the shield of protection. This hasn't been done by accident -- it has taken careful, personal, effective diplomacy. And I do not ~~xxxx~~ think we ought to let our President stand alone to bear these awful burdens without the united support of his own Party. ~~and~~ and of his own people. He deserves that. We elected him. <sup>7</sup> Now let me just say about Southeast Asia. I know this is the most sorrowful part of our national life.

I spoke the other day to the Legislative leaders. I want to say to you what I said to them. I could not support the policy if I thought it were wrong. I could not go out talking to people, mothers and fathers, supporting a national position, doing it openly, actively, a position that required the lives of our sons if I thought it were wrong. Every man has his weaknesses but one of mine, I trust, is not to be a hypocrite. And I am not so politically ambitious that I would want to see my country do something that is wrong and knowingly wrong and yet to speak up for it. To put it in the affirmative, we are in Southeast Asia not just because of South Vietnam, we are there for the cause of world peace and order. We're there for our own purposes as well and I have travelled in that area, much more than many of the critics and I have been to all of the countries of free Asia and I have talked with their leaders. And isn't it interesting that not one of them, not one, suggested that we withdraw. Not one. Some have a different point of view of certain tactics but not one suggests that we withdraw. To the contrary, they tell us that our presence there is their hope for freedom. It is their hope for independence. And there have been some victories. There have been some great victories. Indonesia today stands proud and free and independent. The sixth largest nation in the world. The leaders of that country know full well that our presence in Southeast Asia has given them that chance. They have delivered on their chance. The leader of Singapore, the Prime Minister who surely has been no ~~particular~~ particular outspoken friend of the United States said that "America's presence in Asia buys time for Asians to be free." The Southeast Asian Association of Free Nations is a fact. War between Malaysia and Indonesia is over. Korea is beginning to come into its own and have a tremendous economic breakthrough. Things are happening that are good and it is because this Nation, even though it's been costly and painful, and it's required great sacrifice, this Nation kept its commitment. We have been tested once again, in Asia this time, as we used to be in Europe, and we have met that test. X



I want to say that our commitment is the very keystone of the arch of world peace and world security and the credibility of the American commitment is the shield of protection not only for the American people but for people all over the world. -- In Asia, in Europe, in Latin America.

Now we are trying to build a world of peace. And that's why we have committed ourselves to the United Nations and that's why today we are trying to find a way to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons. This is why today your Government stands committed and ready for disarmament to save the peoples of the world from this terrible costs of weaponry. This is why your government today is ready to go to the conference table immediately to bring peace to Southeast Asia, ~~h~~ Until that day comes, though, Americans owe it ~~to~~ to themselves, owe it to their honor and owe it to the cause of peace and justice in this world to ~~keep~~ keep the faith and to ~~keep~~ keep the commitments. To do less would be to prove us unworthy or trust and confidence.

I have spoken of this many, many times and I ask you to think about it, to remember that leadership gives you no privilege. Leadership is not a luxury, it is a burden. Leadership is not a cloak of comfort, it is a robe of responsibility. And remember that a great nation must prove its greatness by trial and sacrifice. It must prove it at home and abroad.

Fellow Democrats, I want you to be the idealists that you have always been. The ideal of America ~~is~~ one nation, The ideal of an America with one citizenship, opportunity for all. I long for the day when we will never again speak of Ghettos, when we will never again speak of Americans as Negro or White but just speak of them as Americans. I long for the day when every boy and girl of Mexican ancestry can have a chance like everyone else. And believe me, we're ~~now~~ working for it.

This is the liberal program -- this is the progressive program. This is the program of the future. We're thinking about

the tomorrows. The best way to do something about the tomorrows is to be proud of your work, to look at your record. And might I ask you to be proud of your President, speak up for your Party, stand up and be counted for what you believe in, ~~xx~~ to really submerge your little personal and private ambitions and feelings and to remember that this is a great country that has a great destiny.

Well, Lucy, I got wound it. And it is hard to do it on the telephone. I wish to goodness I could be there because let me tell you I am anxious to get <sup>out</sup> on the hustings. We have a message to tell the American~~x~~ people and I am waiting to tell that message from the political platform. I welcome the opportunity of Republican opposition. I long to see them stand up in what I call a free and open debate. We'll take care of them. The American people are not going to turn their backs on responsible leadership. They didn't do it in 1948 when Harry Truman was under much more criticism than Lyndon Johnson. (Applause). So let's spend our efforts out here in the West to give the kind of, well the kind of get up and go that this part of the country is known for. I'll leave you know, I've got some other things to do. I'll be out there on the West Coast this Fall and I only hope and pray that ~~h~~ when I come I'll find Democrats who have been willing to bind up the wounds, who have been willing to work out a program and who are willing to say, let's go, let's move forward with a strong and active faith.

Thank you very much.



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