REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H, HUMPHREY BEFORE THE 15th BIENNIAL CONVENTION YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF AMERICA, NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK, OCTOBER 16, 1965

My fellow young Democrats...tonight we meet to talk about tomorrow.

We meet to measure where we stand and to chart the path to where we're going.

We meet to face tomorrow's realities, not yesterday's delusions.

We meet to talk about the future of our party, of our country, of the cause of mankind in the world.

We meet to talk about the capacity for greatness and goodness in man, and not his meanness.

We meet to talk.

There was a crusty old farm leader in Washington during the early days of the New Deal. His name was George Peek. George Peek said: "The common characteristic of all uplifters is an unquenchable thirst for conversation. They are all chain talkers."

So be it. Let us talk. Let us think. Let us agree and disagree. Then, my fellow young Democrats, let us act.

We Democrats are uplifters. We do talk. But we also know the value of ideas and of action. We are not, as Judge Learned Hand once said of our opposition, "Old Tories...intellectually moribund...emiting dreary sounds."

Tonight, speaking to this young audience in this young nation, I want to talk about maturity.

Earlier this week I addressed in this city the annual Al Smith Memorial Dinner.

At that time I remarked on the pride Al Smith would feel today in seeing us accomplish what he worked for -- and was often vilified for -- two generations ago.

In these two generations we Americans have grown...matured a great deal.

For in Al Smith's time our country passed through one of its periodic and unfortunate recurrences of smugness, of self-indulgence of Me First.

You cannot remember, but I can, Al Smith's campaign for the Presidency.

I can remember the abuse and ridicule heaped on my father because he had the temerity to actually work for AI Smith's candidacy in a rural, Republican part of our country. I can remember the crosses burning and the men hiding behind hoods in our small South Dakota town. I can remember the story, widely believed, that AI Smith, if elected to the Presidency, planned to build an underground, underwater tunnel directly from the White House to the Vatican. I can remember some uglier stories than that.

I can remember, too, what followed our period of national smugness and self-indulgence. We closed our eyes, we closed our hearts.

It was: No more immigration, no more foreign trade, no more involvement with our fellow man.

And then we found ourselves closing not only our eyes, but our banks and businesses as well. We found ourselves in worldwide depression. And we discovered oursleves to be part of a world where hate was having a field day.

What a price we paid,

Today, thank God, we are reaching a greater maturity.

If nothing else, this nuclear age has taught us that man cannot be separated from his fellow man. It has taught us that one more adventure in national irresponsibility --- by any nation --- could well be our last.

What is the reality of our time?

It is is this: For the first time in human history, man possesses the power to totally destroy himself.

It is equally this: For the first time in human history, man possesses the wealth and knowledge to extend mankind's benefits to all mankind.

What a crossroads we face. Which route shall we take? The answer lies within ourselves.

Today our nation is led by a great American President who is determined that our answer to the future shall be "yes." Today our nation is united in a peacetime consensus unknown in our previous history. Today our nation stirs to tasks undone, to wrongs unrighted, to dreams too long postponed.

In nine short months an American Congress has made into law the hopes and ideas of 40 years. And we have only begun.

What have we done in these nine months?

We have built a base from which America can move forward.

The Bill says Voting Rights, but it means "You shall be given full citizenship, no matter what the color of your skin, after promises broken for a hundred years."

The Bill says Immigration, but it means "You shall be judged by your skill and talent, not by your last name or national origin."

The Bill says Education, but it means "You shall receive the tools with which to make the most of your future."

The Bill says Poverty, but it means "You shall have hope where there has been no hope, you shall have a chance to break the cycle of ignorance and unemployment ... to be a full and productive member of our society."

The Bill says Medicare, but it means "You shall have adequate care in your older years, you are not forgotten by your children."

The Bill says Housing and Urban Development, but it means "You can live in something more than concrete and carbon monoxide, you can walk the streets in safety and health."

The Bill says Arts and Humanities, but it means "You can find more in life than material satisfaction, you can touch new fountains of creativity and expression."

Yes, Mr. Peek, we are doing quite a bit of uplifting these days and there is more coming.

We are creating in America not a welfare state, but a state of opportunity -- a society in which each child will have an equal chance to make something better for himself, for his children after him, and for all mankind.

For the fact is that as rich as we can become, as powerful as we can become, that richness and power will count for nothing if we fail in our responsibility to our

fellow man. We cannot live secure within the walls of our glittering city while two-thirds of the world festers in poverty, injustice and ignorance outside.

I return to the quality of maturity.

It is this quality we must possess if we are to maintain our national momentum, if we are to survive and master the future. Today we are filled with a faith in ourselves. It is exhilarating. But that self-faith, without constant vigilance, can easily become self-satisfaction. And that exhilaration, without a sense of balance, can easily become irresponsibility.

There is only one way to insure the survival and progress we seek: It is through the personal involvement and commitment of each citizen.

And that, my fellow young Democrats, is where you come in.

Today there are clear and obvious outlets for the energies of young Americans -the Peace Corps; the civil rights movement; VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America);
the poverty program; private volunteer service organizations; government service,
civilian and military.

But there is another, and perhaps even more important, role to be played toward our long-term good.

I mean the role of young Americans in the exercise of self-government.

We need only look back one year to be reminded of what can happen if that role is abdicated.

We saw a great American political party, because of the indolence and division of its majority, seized by an unrepresentative minority. We saw that partly

deeply defeated in a national election. We see it today still unrecovered from internecine stress. We see major figures of that party who disassociate themselves from its leadership and, indeed, their party affiliation itself.

I do not mean this in any way as an attack on or a mocking of that party.

The two-party system is too precious to our scheme of government. All of us lose when one of those two parties is not in good health.

I wish only to emphasize the importance of each American citizen's caring deeply about where the policies and institutions of his country are going, and of his becoming directly involved in the processes in our society which affect those policies and institutions.

This can mean becoming a candidate for Vice President of the United States.

It can mean working door-to-door to encourage voter registration. It can mean writing a letter-to-the-editor. It can mean reading a book.

It cannot mean complacency .

In an America coming-of-age in a dangerous time, you bear special responsibilities.

Yours is the responsibility to continue our nation on its path toward creation of a society of true justice and full opportunity.

Yours is the responsibility to, increasingly, extend to our fellow men the helping hand which will lift them, too, toward a life of choice and of abundance.

Yours is the responsibility, above all, to pursue the peace.

For, today and tomorrow, peace is synonomous with life. The pursuit of peace is a task for generations.

The pursuit of peace means magnanimity in thought and action, even in face of provocation and ingratitude,

The pursuit of peace means practicing democracy as well as preaching it.

Tonight these are the things we young Democrats, we uplifters have to talk about.

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

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

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

We must meet the measure of greatness.

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It is fitting that this annual national convention as

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of the Young Democrats should be held in the midst of a major political campaign here in the great city

of a major political campaign here in the great city of New York. And I am pleased, indeed, to be

honored tonight by the presence here on the dais of the three distinguished Democrats who are leading the Democratic ticket in this campaign.

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The first thing that should be noted about Abe

Beame and Frank O'Connor and Mario Proccacino is that they are experienced, they are honest, and they are dedicated to the welfare of the people of New York.

The second thing that should be noted is that they are <u>Democrats</u> -- unafraid and unashamed. They are

proud of our party. They have come through a hard and

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tough Democratic Party primary, and they are the chosen leaders of our party here in New York.

That is quite a contrast to the opposition ticket,

by the way, which is neither fish nor fowl, neither

Democratic nor Republican nor Independent. In fact,

a vast and uncomfortable aura of discomfort and

embarassment pervades the whole Index y campaign,

whenever that any y word "Republican" is mentioned

in the same

When I joined the United States Senate in 1949, the first thing I learned was that you could only vote "aye" or "no." You couldn't vote "maybe."

And I am convinced that the voters of New York City will find there is no use in voting for a "maybe" candidate.

So as we Democrats sit here together tonight -
Democrats young and older from all over the nation -
I know that we all join in wishing these standard-bearers

of our Party -- these three men who have paused in their

hard-fought campaign for the leadership of this tremendous

city -- our warm wishes for a great victory at the polls

on November second.

Aux Muse Remarks

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