



ROTTER news release

FROM THE **DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE** PUBLICITY DIVISION 1730 K STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON 6, D.C. FEDERAL 3-8750
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TUESDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1965 B-4071

REMARKS BY VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
TO DEMOCRATIC STATE AND COUNTY CHAIRMEN
MAYFLOWER HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C.
OCTOBER 19, 1965

One year ago today I was campaigning in Tulsa and Ardmore, Oklahoma. It was a campaign for responsibility and for common sense.

During a six-week period, two good Democrats -- one from Texas and the other from Minnesota -- crisscrossed our country to rekindle Adlai Stevenson's phrase and "talk sense to the American people."

The result shows the value of talking sense. But it also shows the value of massive support by hundreds of thousands of loyal Democrats who volunteered their time and energy for our local, state and national tickets.

Today I want to express to you, as leaders of our party, my appreciation for your help and support last fall. I want you to know that the President and I are truly grateful for your superlative performance in the national campaign. You knew last fall -- as you know now -- that there is no substitute for hard work and personal commitment. (The Republicans learned that lesson earlier in 1964, I might add)

This gathering of state and county chairmen represents the heart of our party. Through your leadership the party becomes not merely a confederation of local and sectional interests, but a unifying political force, building upon a philosophy of government that has evolved from Thomas Jefferson to Lyndon Johnson.

We Democrats believe in the politics of hope. We believe that every American should have the opportunity to know the joys of life.

We are optimists.

We offer hope because we believe it is possible to better the human condition. We believe in discarding what doesn't work and finding what does. We are not afraid of idealism. . . or of change. We choose the future, not the past.

We Democrats are practical politicians too. We realize that national programs -- no matter how worthy -- can be effective only when the people support them. We must have dreams and ideas. We must also have votes
(more)

and leadership.

Last fall we made pledges to the American people.

Have we kept those pledges?

During its first session, the 89th Congress has enacted more important, far-reaching legislation than any Congress in American history. It has led and it has responded to leadership.

This is the education Congress. Our children are our future. And the American people are ready for bold and creative efforts in education. Congress is making those efforts.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Vocational Education Amendments, the Manpower Training and Development Act, the Higher Education Act, the Teaching Professions Act -- this is legislation which has done more for education than any in our history.

This is the housing Congress. In the next fifteen years, 30 million people will be added to our already overcrowded cities. In the next 35 years, more than 80 per cent of our population will be living in metropolitan areas.

We must make our cities liveable. We have passed the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965, establishing at the Cabinet level a voice for the city and a focus for federal urban programs. We have passed an Important Omnibus Housing Bill. We are pledged to provide decent living conditions for all Americans. We will keep that pledge.

This is the Medical Care Congress. Our Senior citizens must share in our forward-moving society. We cannot consign our parents to years of emptiness, loneliness and neglect.

We have passed Medicare as we pledged we would. And we have extended Social Security benefits to provide a seven per cent increase, averaging four dollars a month, in old age and survivors benefits.

We have also passed the Heart Disease, Cancer and Stroke Amendment creating a five-year program of grants to medical centers for research against these dread diseases.

This is the Voting Rights Congress. President Johnson has said that "all Americans must have the privileges of citizenship regardless of race." The Voting Rights Act passed during this session keeps promises made one hundred years ago.

The voting booth must be, and will be, open to every qualified American voter.

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This is the economic opportunity Congress. America can fully realize its economic potential only when all people and places in our country are brought into the mainstream of our economy.

We have made a bold beginning in meeting this problem.

Early in the session, Congress authorized \$1.1 billion for the development of the 11-state Appalachia region to bring new roads, new schools, new hospitals and new industries to communities long suffering and long neglected.

Congress also extended for three years the Manpower Development and Training program to ease the impact of changing technology by teaching new skills to those who need them.

And early last month President Johnson signed into law the Public Works and Economic Development Act to provide economic and technical assistance to 27 million Americans who live in depressed areas and regions.

Congress also approved a doubling of the Economic Opportunity program that will help hundreds of communities to organize their own wars on poverty and encourage the poor to mobilize for their own help.

And the State Technical Services Act will provide technical assistance to help the states use all the tools of science and technology to meet their growing needs.

This Congress will also be remembered for a new and more just immigration law. . . a major farm bill. . . an excise tax cut. . . legislation to protect our natural resources and to preserve our nation's natural beauty. . . and -- not last -- legislation to meet our defense and military security commitments.

We Democrats are grateful to the 68 Democratic Senators and the 293 Democratic Representatives for compiling the greatest legislative record in our history. But, my friends, we owe them more than gratitude. We owe them our support.

Next year, all our Representatives and 20 of our Senators will be up for re-election. Fourteen Democrats will be trying to unseat Republican Senators. All told, 71 freshmen Democratic Congressmen -- the largest number in 75 years -- will be campaigning in 1966. We need these Congressmen to realize our goals for this country.

You know what we face. Off-year elections have historically gone against the party in power. We must start to work now.

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We must find the strongest possible candidates to run in our statewide races. Thirty-five Gubernatorial contests will be held, and a strong man on top of the ticket, offers a better chance for everyone running with him. We must find the best man, unite behind him, and support him fully and completely.

Our candidates will be running for Governor in New York, Michigan, California, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, among others. I might add that my good friend, Dick Hughes, will soon be re-elected Governor of New Jersey, getting us off on the right foot in 1966.

I repeat: The time to begin is now. And we must begin by getting to our story across the voters. In our publications, in our speeches, at our meetings, at informal gatherings -- wherever and whenever voters gather -- we must make sure people know about the splendid achievements of their President and their Congress. There's an old axiom in politics: "Let the people know what you've done for them and they'll treat you right."

So I call upon each of you to spread the word from the biggest city to the smallest town and tell the people what we've done for them.

There's another old axiom that goes -- "A friend who can't vote is not much better than an enemy who can."

I've been told that 70 per cent of the unregistered voters in the United States consider themselves Democrats. That's a lot of people -- and a lot of potential votes.

I can't help thinking of how desperately we needed some of these votes in 1962. In my own state of Minnesota, Governor Karl Rolvaag won by 91 votes. And up in South Dakota, George McGovern won his Senate seat by 597 votes. We lost the Gubernatorial elections in Maine and Rhode Island by less than 500 votes each. But Hugh Carey, one of our Democratic Congressmen from New York, won out by one 383 votes.

In 1962, fewer than half of the eligible voters went to the polls. The meaning is clear -- we must do better in registering Democrats and getting them to the polls on election day.

I urge you to begin now to review the registration situation in your own communities. Check your voter lists. Begin canvassing heavily Democratic neighborhoods. Organize telephone campaigns. Now is also the time to begin organizing massive get-out-the-vote drives. The Democratic National Committee has established enormously successful techniques in these areas, and I know they would be delighted to provide advice and assistance.

(more)

If we do the things that have to be done, I'm certain we can do better than merely holding our own in 1966. We have a great record to run on.

As President Johnson has said, The Great Society is not to be realized, it is to be sought. We will continue to seek, as we Democrats always have, the full promise of our country. We will look to the future. We will keep our pledges to the people.

The challenges which lie ahead of us are best expressed, I think, in a speech President Franklin D. Roosevelt was to have delivered on April 13, 1945. They were the last words he ever wrote.

He wrote:

"The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith."

President Johnson has made his commitment to our American tomorrow. I join him in that commitment. We ask your help.

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REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

DEMOCRATIC STATE AND COUNTY CHAIRMEN

WASHINGTON, D.C.

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ADDRESS OF
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VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
TO THE
DEMOCRATIC STATE AND COUNTY CHAIRMAN'S CONFERENCE

October 19, 1965

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1 (Applause.)

2 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for
3 giving me this unenviable spot on this program -- to follow
4 Mike Kerwin.

5 (Laughter.)

6 It is sort of like being privileged to give the bene-
7 diction after a main event --

8 (Laughter.)

9 -- but, Mike, I want you to know that I enjoyed your
10 remarks as much as any member of the audience and maybe even
11 a little more so.

12 There is one thing about Mike, he gets better each year.
13 He is sort of like domestic wine -- I mention domestic -- he
14 improves with age.

15 (Laughter.)

16 I have a speech all prepared and which I will be glad to
17 mail to you.

18 (Laughter.)

19 It is a first-class job, I want you to know.

20 (Laughter.)

21 I expect that Chairman Bailey and Cliff Carter and
22 McGuire and others will see that it is properly distributed to
23 the ranks of the faithful, because it is a splendid documenta-
24 tion of the many achievements of the 89th Congress and of the
25 Johnson administration.

1 But having prepared that speech and after having lis-
2 tened to the unbelievable and incredibly entertaining and en-
3 lightening remarks of Mike Kerwin, I just decided the best
4 thing to do with that speech is just to offer it.

5 (Laughter.)

6 When I was in the Senate I was able to just get up and
7 place it in the Record.

8 (Laughter.)

9 I think by now John Bailey has got the idea and that
10 you will read it all in print somewhere along the line.

11 Well, I am here under some rather difficult circumstances.
12 First of all, this is the first day that I haven't worn my
13 black suit and black tie -- I felt that about six days of
14 mourning for the twins was enough.

15 (Laughter.)

16 There is one thing I ought to say, however. Whatever
17 your persuasion may be about baseball, is that Sam
18 is a Democrat, so is Koufax.

19 (Laughter, Applause.)

20 So you couldn't be from Quincy without being a Democrat
21 and Sandy Koufax is a rip-roaring, card-carrying Democrat and
22 that is what really brought him through.

23 (Laughter.)

24 Not long ago it was my privilege -- in fact last week,
25 Wednesday -- to be in New York at the Al Smith Memorial

1 Testimonial Dinner. This is one of the great events of New
2 York forensic life, philanthropic and charitable life. As
3 you know, it is the dinner that is under the auspices of
4 Francis Cardinal Spellman. And our President has addressed
5 it, the late President Kennedy was a speaker, and we have had
6 Republicans there as well -- the names for the moment have
7 slipped my mind --

8 (Laughter.)

9 -- but some of them have been there. And I had the
10 good privilege of being there this Wednesday and it was a
11 gala occasion. I was surrounded on all sides by the forces
12 of the enemy and a few neutrals and a few Democrats. The
13 Cardinal was most gracious and most kind and I was reciting
14 some of the record of Al Smith and how happy he would have
15 been on that occasion and on this year. And I couldn't help
16 but think of how many changes are taking place in our country.
17 And I said, for example, how this happy warrior would have
18 been so honored and happy and pleased to know that a man of
19 Catholic faith had been elected President, that a man that
20 was a Southerner and a Texan had been elected President, that
21 his Holiness Pope Paul VI had been able to visit the United
22 States and had been received with open arms from people of
23 every walk of life and every faith. And that took me into
24 this whole matter of the changes that have been taking place.
25 Because, after all, it was a moment when I needed to sort of

1 bind up my wounds, being an avid sportsfan, and I mentioned
2 that some of the changes that had taken place, like the
3 Brooklyn Dodgers had gone to Los Angeles, the Washington
4 Senators have been able to meander their way, worry boned that
5 they were, out to Minneapolis and St. Paul and become the
6 Twins, and the Pope had gone to Yankee Stadium --

7 (Laughter.)

8 The Yankees always get the best of it, you know.

9 (Laughter.)

10 The other night I was down at the Business Council in
11 Hot Springs and met four or five Democrats amongst the fine
12 audience that was there, and I was mentioning this same series
13 of changes -- about the Brooklyn Dodgers going to Los Angeles,
14 the Washington Senators to Minnesota, the Pope in Yankee
15 Stadium and Humphrey before the Business Council.

16 (Laughter.)

17 So it does show the changes that are taking place in
18 this country. And every one of them is for the good --

19 (Laughter.)

20 -- every one of them for the good, I might add.

21 I was, however, under some restraint in my sports en-
22 thusiasm because despite the fact that the President is under-
23 going surgery and considerable distress at the moment, at that
24 time, I should say; he had a little talk with me and said, "I
25 don't want you to become too avid a Minnesota fan, Hubert.

1 Don't forget there are four times as many of actual votes in
2 California --

3 (Laughter.)

4 -- and four times as many in New York --

5 (Laughter.)

6 -- as there are in Minnesota.

7 (Laughter.)

8 So out of loyalty to this party, Mr. Chairman, I curbed
9 my enthusiasm in the ninth inning of the seventh game.

10 (Laughter.)

11 Well, I want to just say a few things to you today about
12 these meetings you have been having. I like to go to Democratic
13 organization meetings because all my life I have been an organ-
14 ization Democrat. I repeated many times in the recent campaign
15 statements of the late speaker, Sam Rayburn -- "I am a
16 Democrat without prefix or suffix -- not a northerner, not a
17 southerner, not an easterner, not a westerner -- just a
18 Democrat." And my father before me -- and I have been a
19 Democrat that has helped organize a party. I have been a
20 county chairman, I have been a Young Democrat's county chair-
21 man. I have been chairman of a Democratic Convention -- state
22 convention. I have been in all the infights so that I can come
23 to you with reasonably good credentials and a few wounds and
24 bruises. That is what makes a good Democrat, particularly
25 the latter.

1 And I am happy to talk to the men and the women that
2 have to do the hard job of organizing and be our daily spokes-
3 men out at the local level, the state level, for the party,
4 for the administration. And I hope that you're just that. I
5 hope you feel compelled in a sense, or at least motivated, to
6 be a spokesman day in and day out for your party. Remember
7 this, that this is the majority party. As I have said to my
8 Republican friends, I have always believed in minority rights.
9 This is why I believe in the two-party system. They should
10 be the minority, we should be the majority.

11 (Laughter.)

12 But we are the majority party and we have been entrusted
13 with the responsibility and we have had great presidents and
14 we have a great President; we have a great Congress -- and
15 while we cannot claim perfection, I think that we can claim a
16 mighty good record in comparison, in relationship to any
17 other political instrument in this country.

18 (Applause.)

19 You had a program today that has brought you the State
20 Department, the poverty program, your housing program, every
21 aspect of our government. I know this has been a very reward-
22 ing program for you. And you who are the county chairmen and
23 state chairmen have the first and priority obligation to be
24 informed about this administration. I don't think it is good
25 enough any longer just to go out and tell people that you are

1 a Democrat. I think you have to be an informed Democrat. I
2 think you have to be able to answer the arguments of the
3 critics. And what is more, I think you have to be able to
4 mount an offensive for what we are trying to do. And you have
5 to believe in what we are trying to do.

6 Now there are great changes that are taking place in our
7 country and we have to be abreast of those changes, too. It
8 was just a year ago today that I was in Tulsa and Ardmore,
9 Oklahoma. And I knew just as surely as my name was Hubert
10 Humphrey and that the candidate for President was Lyndon
11 Johnson that we were going to win that election. The recep-
12 tion was tremendous.

13 Oh, I was told every place I went, with few exceptions,
14 well, you had better be careful here. I had all the people
15 that knew where all the danger spots were. Well, if you are
16 going to go through life always being careful here and care-
17 ful there, and afraid here and afraid there, you will never
18 get in an airplane, never get in a car, you will never leave
19 the house, you will never even be born, that is a hazardous
20 occupation of pursuit, too.

21 (Laughter.)

22 Truly, though, I did hear time after time, you must be
23 careful what you say here, be careful what you say there.
24 The fact of the matter is that the American people are American
25 people. They are not just people from one little locality.

1 Their interests are just the same as yours. They are inter-
2 ested in the economic well-being of this country. They are
3 interested in the basic strength of this Nation. They are
4 interested in the defensive strength of this Nation. They are
5 interested in peace. They are interested in health. They are
6 interested in education. They are interested in the fair
7 chance; they want a break in life. I don't care whether they
8 are from Florida or Washington, Seattle or whether they are
9 from Maine to California. I don't care whether they are
10 southerners or the northerners, every one of them are inter-
11 ested primarily in the same thing.

12 Every one of us have some prejudices and you can play on
13 those prejudices. And many people have won some elections
14 playing on prejudices. And the only way I know to defeat the
15 man that plays on prejudices is to be a strong enough advo-
16 cate of that in which you believe and to find the common de-
17 nominators of belief amongst the great majority of the people
18 and go on out and be an advocate. You cannot win elections by
19 keeping the truth to yourself. And you can't win, I might
20 add, by just pretending that everybody knows what you have
21 done or what you are trying to do.

22 Not long ago I was at this same hotel addressing an
23 educational conference. And I said to this group of educators
24 that education is essentially saturation. Most people are
25 educated through osmosis.

1 Adlai Stevenson, bless his memory, said that he wanted to
2 talk sense to the American people. I think that is what
3 President Lyndon Johnson did last time in the campaign. I think
4 that is what he has been doing. And I have been trying to talk
5 sense to them, too.

6 (Applause.)

7 Many people have commented upon this spectacular record
8 of the 89th Congress. I have been around this town since 1949.
9 I am a newcomer compared to Mike Kerwin, here, but -- and he has
10 been here in the thick of this battle for many, many years.
11 But what has happened in this 89th Congress didn't just happen
12 today and it didn't happen last month. It happened because
13 some of us and the leadership of this party has been willing to
14 fight for years to get some things done.

15 I have a very simple political formula for myself. I
16 maintain my power base in Minnesota so that I could afford to
17 take some chances in Washington. And when I used to be criti-
18 cized as I was frequently -- and I am not complaining about it,
19 in fact I am glad they did, I got known -- sometimes not favor-
20 ably, but at least I was known.

21 (Laughter.)

22 But when I was criticized here in Washington by some of
23 the political pundits and commentators, I always could console
24 myself in the knowledge that I could whip any of their opposition
25 back home. And as long as you have your power base back home,

1 you are in business, make no mistake about it. And you are
2 back home fellows. You are the ones that keep that power base
3 alive and keep it strong.

4 Well, I said this great program of the 89th Congress
5 which our President has molded together into a tremendous
6 orchestration, you might say, of legislative achievement. It
7 didn't happen just this year. I can think, for example, of my
8 own experience, the very first bill I ever introduced in
9 Congress was in May of 1949, it was called Medicare, Hospital
10 and Nursing Home Care for Persons Age 65 and Over Under Social
11 Security. And, boy, did I catch it -- Communist, Socialist,
12 Collectivist -- every mean and ugly name. We didn't have any
13 support, we couldn't hardly get a hearing in Congress. We
14 were unable to report it out of committee. But every two years
15 that bill was reintroduced. And I remember one time moving my
16 seat in the Senate from the back row up into the front row,
17 sitting along side Clinton Anderson of New Mexico. And I said,
18 "Clint, you are on the Finance Committee, would you be willing
19 to introduce this bill, and I would like to be the cosponsor,
20 because it is not going any place with Hubert Humphrey as the
21 main sponsor." You are in the committee."

22 By that time, Mike, I learned that if you want to get
23 something done you need to be on the committee where the bill
24 is going to go.

25 (Laughter.)

1 He said, "I will take it." Let me tell you, from 1949
2 to 1965 -- Harry Truman, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson --
3 from the 81st Congress to the 89th Congress -- that period
4 time and finally you got a better bill than any of us ever
5 dreamed of. And it is known as Medicare, Care for the Elderly.

6 I spoke to the druggists here, just recently, at the
7 Washington Hilton Hotel. I am an old pharmacist by original
8 profession and I just decided to level with my buddies. I
9 said now look here, you just as well get used to it. Here it
10 is. It is passed, it is the law of the land. You have been
11 listening to the propaganda for years, now read the legislation
12 and quit listening to people that would divert your attention
13 and take you down the road to defeat.

14 And I am happy to tell you that in group after group
15 were able to go over this legislation and where there used to
16 be opposition, there is support. Now if you read some of the
17 columns they are going to tell you, oh, all the doctors are
18 against it or all the hospitals are against it. That is a lot
19 of malarkey. The people are for it and we happen to get
20 elected by the people. And we ought never to forget that in
21 elections the votes are in quantity. There is no quality
22 measurement, just quantity, and don't forget it.

23 (Laughter, Applause.)

24 But I could down each and every one of these particular
25 measures and think of the days that we tried and tried and

1 failed and tried and tried again. I believe it is the duty of
2 political leadership to think ahead. I think it is the duty
3 of people who have a solid political base to take some chances.
4 I don't think you get any place in American government, in
5 business, in labor, any place else, by just holding on. And a
6 secret of the Democratic Party's success is it has always had
7 an advance guard of people who would think ahead. Every gen-
8 eration, every election you have had presidential candidates,
9 you have congressmen, Senators, governors that thought ahead.
10 Sometimes they were sacrificed because people did not know.
11 Woodrow Wilson was one of those that paid the sacrifice. And
12 I was so pleased to hear Mike speak of him as one of the greats
13 -- and in his mind maybe the greatest -- I happen to concur.
14 I think this is one of the truly great men of all time.

15 But we did have people who were the dreamers. We did
16 have people who had the vision. We did have people who were
17 the idealists and interestingly enough, every one of the so-
18 called idealists and ideals of ten years ago are the law of
19 the land today, every one of them passed by this Congress.

20 The whole galaxy of civil rights legislation -- on the
21 books. I was just about as popular in this town in 1949 as a
22 skunk at a garden party, I know, after the Philadelphia Con-
23 vention.

24 (Laughter.)

25 But I am here to tell you that despite the lack of

1 popularity, Harry Truman won the election and Hubert Humphrey
2 came to the United States Senate. I wasn't so concerned about
3 being popular on the banks of the Potomac as I was along the
4 banks of the Mississippi and Upper Minnesota.

5 (Laughter, Applause.)

6 And more importantly, it was right, and we did the job.
7 The other day the President of the United States signed a bill
8 up here at the Statute of Liberty, the immigration bill. I
9 remember the immigration legislation being processed in this
10 Congress. I speak only of the Senate side, now. I am not
11 that familiar with all the House side. But I remember the late
12 ~~Herbert~~ Lehman who came to the Senate after an enviable record,
13 a great record as a governor of the Empire State. And I re-
14 member that man being determined to do something in the field
15 of immigration. And I remember that there were two young
16 Senators that joined with him -- one of them was John Kennedy
17 and one of them was Hubert Humphrey. And when Herbert Lehman
18 left the Senate John Kennedy became the sponsor of the immigra-
19 tion bill and I was his cosponsor. In the next two years I
20 was the sponsor and John Kennedy was the cosponsor. We never
21 passed it, we had hearings. We never even got it on the
22 calendar because we couldn't get it out of the Judiciary Com-
23 mittee. But each year there was a little change. Each year,
24 just a little better.

25 And then John Kennedy became President of the United

1 States and he offered his bill as an administration proposal.
2 Now we didn't get it then. But the man that stood by him in
3 that election of 1960, who succeeded John Kennedy as President,
4 remembered his commitments. And when, in his own right, he
5 became President he offered the bill. And, my fellow Americans
6 and fellow Democrats, fifteen years after its original intro-
7 duction, it was signed at the base of the Statue of Liberty
8 as public law by President Lyndon Johnson.

9 Many a man had sacrificed his political life for this.
10 Many a man had spoken up when it was unpopular. But it became
11 the law of the land. And let me tell you, that is the way
12 that you build a country. What I am trying to say to you is
13 that the record of the 89th Congress recognizes and represents
14 the judgment of the American people. We haven't passed a
15 single bill here that you can't take out to the American people
16 and gain support and have overwhelming public support for it,
17 all across the land.

18 Why, people were shocked to wake up one day and find that
19 the President of the United States could tell them that there
20 were people unable to vote in this country. And the voting
21 rights bill -- I think President Johnson's, one of his -- if
22 not his greatest effort, his greatest speech was that speech
23 in the Special Session of the special meeting of the House
24 and the Senate when he delivered that memorable address on
25 voting rights. This was a tremendous, moving speech and

1 address. And it rallied the nation. And voting rights legis-
2 lation, which some people in the Congress had fought for for
3 a quarter of a century, found its time. And an idea whose
4 time has come cannot be defeated. It is invincible. And the
5 time had come. And, fortunately, we had leadership and
6 responsible positions that knew when that time had come and
7 knew what the issues were. I could just check them off --
8 the voting rights bill.

9 Let me remind you that seventy per cent of all the un-
10 registered voters, according to every public opinion poll, say
11 that if they were registered they would be Democrats. As I
12 told the Young Democrats up in New York, you don't have to buy
13 yourself a bus ticket down south, just buy yourself a ticket
14 across town. There are a lot of people around here that aren't
15 registered yet.

16 We have a job of registration in Minnesota, we have a
17 job in New York, we have a job in Massachusetts, Ohio, Texas
18 -- you name it. Seventy per cent of the people that haven't
19 been registered would if they had a chance to vote, or if they
20 could be convinced to exercise their citizenship right, would
21 most likely support the things that you work for and the things
22 that you believe in, and that this administration stands for.
23 The voting rights bill is not only morally right, it is not
24 only constitutionally right, it is politically right for every
25 one of us.

1 Well, we passed a bill to aid the underdeveloped areas
2 of this country. And I just mention it quickly -- Appalachia.
3 I had a good time over at that Hot Springs meeting. When I
4 landed at the airport down there I saw five jet stars, nine
5 Gulfstreams, four or seven of these sabrejets and I can't
6 remember all of them -- and I said to this group when I came
7 in, I said my goodness, President Johnson is going to be happy
8 to know the success of the Appalachia program.

9 (Laughter.)

10 But the Appalachia program is working. And this program
11 was designed for regional economic development. Now we
12 passed the Economic Development Act -- remember it because the
13 purpose of it is not merely to sop up unemployment but economic
14 progress, to build better, to build bigger. We passed agri-
15 culture, Medicare, immigration. We have this war on poverty
16 program, and I want to say just a word about it.

17 Many people are critical of the effort known as the war
18 on poverty. And I think this is one you have to brace yourself
19 for, talking to you quite candidly. The war on poverty is an
20 effort to get at the -- what causes poverty. We are not deal-
21 ing with the easy cases. We are not talking about the kind of
22 depression that they had in the 30's where a man that was an
23 accomplished machinist was without a job and couldn't get a
24 job or where there was a carpenter, a skilled carpenter without
25 a job and couldn't get a job or where there was an automobile

1 plant closed down and where skilled and semi-skilled workers
2 were out of a job. We are talking today about a group of
3 people in America that are not only impoverished economically
4 but they are impoverished in education. They have lost their
5 feeling of hope. They are the victims of despair, many of
6 them the victim of disease, the victims of ignorance. They
7 are like refugees from another land transplanted into the great
8 metropolitan centers. And I want you to note that, that when
9 a man comes from the deep South, the soil, from the plantation,
10 the sharecropper and he is moved into the suburbs of Chicago or
11 New York or Cleveland, it is as if he went to the moon. He
12 has never had any experience in industrial life, urban living.
13 He has lost his roots, his family has disintegrated. He is a
14 different man.

15 Now this poverty program is designed to literally save
16 minds and bodies. It is working on families that have been
17 four and five generations on the relief line. It is directed
18 towards the children of thousands, yea, hundreds of thousands
19 of homes, not only broken, but homes that are nonexistent. It
20 is directed at children that can't even know the name of
21 their last name. It is directed to elderly people or middle-
22 age people that have never had an education, that are tech-
23 nically, technologically and educationally illiterate in our
24 country.

25 Now I mention this because I can just hear all the

1 sharpies. They are going to say, well, look at the money
2 being spent. It didn't work. My dear friends, we spent a lot
3 of money last year on cancer and it didn't work. One out of
4 every three men and women in this room will either die from
5 cancer or be afflicted with it. One out of every five in
6 America will have stroke or cancer and we have spent fortunes,
7 billions on it and yet we haven't found the answer. But we
8 are going to spend more but you don't go out and hang the
9 doctors, burn down the hospitals, condemn the AMA, destroy the
10 United States Public Health Service because we haven't found
11 the answer to cancer.

12 We found the answer to some other diseases but we haven't
13 found it yet even for the common cold or cancer but we keep
14 working at it. Now I give you this analogy because we are
15 dealing with this difficult social problem in the poverty pro-
16 gram as you are dealing with a medical problem in your efforts
17 to find answers to heart disease, cancer and stroke. And yet
18 people applaud the efforts in these great medical problems.
19 They are going to have to do something to protect our efforts
20 in the poverty program. But we are doing great things.

21 I had somebody the other day come up and was griping
22 about it. And, by the way, I am one of the critics. I make
23 no -- I don't want to travel under false colors. I have been
24 asked by the President to kind of monitor this and I speak to
25 the office staff, Mr. Shriver on down, about what I hear and

1 the concern that people have, the concern of governors and
2 mayors and local agencies. We are trying to do a better job.
3 It is a big job.

4 I heard somebody say the other day look at that Job Corps
5 Center, they had 200 of them and of the 200, 40 have already
6 gone, didn't stay. You know what my answer was? The 200 that
7 were in there were already literally lost. The 40 that left
8 left 160 that for all practical purposes are being rehabili-
9 tated. And I want to tell you, the Dodgers won and they
10 weren't even batting 225. Don't kid yourself.

11 (Laughter.)

12 I think you need to be able to defend your administra-
13 tion. And you don't do it by saying that everything is per-
14 fect. You do it by analyzing the problem and trying to show
15 what we are trying to do about the treatment of it. I am
16 proud of this administration. I am proud of a President that
17 is both progressive and liberal in his approach and his
18 intentions -- but is practical, I should say, in his approach.
19 I am proud of the fact that this is an administration that has
20 done more to bring the American people together than any other
21 administration in all of recorded history. I think that
22 President Lyndon Johnson's record will be known primarily, not
23 for the individual bills but because he was the great healer
24 because he united a country, because he brought people to-
25 gather -- labor and capital -- because he talked about the

1 nation, he gave us a sense of national purpose. He appealed
2 to our patriotism. He lifted us out of our parochialisms.
3 And he spoke about people that worked for people. Look at
4 elementary education, secondary education.

5 For years this bill was destroyed on the rocks of
6 religious prejudice. And one day the President of the United
7 States found a way to bring aid to education, to the child,
8 books for the kids, research for children, libraries for
9 children, classrooms for children. And we are giving the
10 biggest thrust that this nation has ever known in education
11 this year. An Administration for Economic Development, an
12 Administration for Health, an Administration for Education,
13 an Administration for Equal Opportunity -- what is the keynote,
14 what is the hallmark of the Johnson-Humphrey Democratic ad-
15 ministration? Opportunity, opportunity. We are not advocat-
16 ing any welfare state. We are advocating a state of oppor-
17 tunity for everybody in this country. We are interested in
18 the well-being of people. But we are primarily interested in
19 having people equipped and skilled so they can take care of
20 themselves. And we have a better relationship today between
21 the business community and the government, between business
22 and labor and government than any time in your memory. And
23 maybe this is one of the reasons you have such phenomenal
24 prosperity. And let me just mention that to you. Don't take
25 it for granted. It just didn't happen by accident. There was

1 a lot of pioneering. There was a good deal of hard work.
2 There was a good deal of in-fighting in two administrations,
3 from John Kennedy to Lyndon Johnson, of how we would approach
4 getting this country out of the doldrums, when we were pro-
5 ceeding at about two per cent economic growth rate and we have
6 been going between four and five per cent ever since 1961 --
7 fifty-six years of unlimited, fifty-six years of uninterrupted
8 economic growth; fifty-six months, I should say -- fifty-six
9 months of the longest continuous economic progress of any
10 country in the history of the world.

11 The industrial price index, the wholesale price index,
12 more stable than any ~~country in the world~~. The profits of cor-
13 porations -- unbelievably great, \$20 billion higher now after
14 taxes than 1961 with a relatively stable price base.

15 How much increase gross national product -- \$173 billion
16 in four and a half years. Unemployment, down the lowest it has
17 been since 1957 and going down. Wages, higher than they have
18 ever been. Fringe benefits better than they have ever been.
19 And what is the outlook for 1966? As good or better than it is
20 in 1965. And we have been able to do this despite tremendous
21 overseas commitments, despite the fact that we are rebuilding
22 many areas of our country, despite the fact that we have to
23 face aggression and war in Vietnam. I think this is nothing
24 short of miraculous.

25 And I want every Democratic chairman to know the story

1 and I want you to talk about it. I don't want you to do it in
2 a sense of a braggadocio but in a sense of confidence.

3 Finally let me say this, and it is all for one purpose:
4 I, for one, am excited and enthusiastic about what we are try-
5 ing to do because I know that if we don't do what we are trying
6 to do and don't succeed, that this country is doomed. We face
7 the toughest fight of our lives in the days ahead. And I find
8 that the American people like to be told the truth. They don't
9 want to be kidded. They don't want to be told that things are
10 going to be easy, because they are not going to be. We are
11 going to face for the foreseeable future every bit as tough a
12 time internationally as we face today, maybe more difficult.

13 We are facing fantastic changes in science and technology.
14 And yet we have been able to adjust ourselves to them. So
15 what we are really talking about is building the strength of
16 this country in debth. And every time you hear somebody say,
17 20 per cent of the children in a community are behind educa-
18 tionally or are illiterate or that one-fifth of this population
19 suffers under the terms of what we call poverty, every time
20 you hear that and can verify it, mark it down as a victory for
21 the enemy. Because the enemy is not going to defeat us in
22 the foreseeable future on the field of battle. They are hop-
23 ing and praying that we will defeat ourselves by division, by
24 self-sufficiency, by self-indulgence, by just self-pity. The
25 enemy hopes that some of these voices in America will be heard

1 and listened to, namely that we are over-extended, that we
2 ought to get out of the world, that we ought to just take care
3 of ourselves.

4 And this is why President Lyndon Johnson and Vice
5 President Hubert Humphrey say to you that we have got to do
6 everything we can to make everybody in this country a maximum
7 participant in the affairs of this country, economically,
8 politically, socially, everyone. This is serious business. I
9 wouldn't take the time to come over here just to tell you to
10 get out and just work, that life is too short at age 54. I
11 have been up this ladder a hundred and one times and down
12 this road. If I didn't believe that what we are trying to do
13 in education, in economic development, in civil rights, in
14 foreign policy was a matter of life and death for me and for
15 you and your families, I would say to hell with it, that it
16 would be just too much hard work. But it is a matter of life
17 and death. And we have to convince people of this. And when
18 the opposition begins to understand of our sincerity and of
19 our dedication, their arguments become meaningless because
20 mothers and fathers and sons and daughters are concerned about
21 their lives.

22 People know today that we have to rebuild our cities.
23 You can't keep people locked up in asphalt and concrete. You
24 can't pass civil rights laws and then deny people the chance
25 to live in decent life. You can't expect to have a peaceful

1 America with these conditions. So it is not to be a dreamer
2 or an idealist to say that we have to make changes. It is
3 the only way to save ourselves, and we are going to do it, and
4 your President is going to lead it, and his Vice President is
5 going to back him, and you are going to go out and help elect
6 the Congressmen and the Senators and the governors and the
7 legislators that will get this job done because it can't be
8 done just in Washington. We have got to do it all over the
9 country; way down deep I want to remind you of the opposition,
10 they always starts to gnaw at the foundation of the citadel
11 of progress by getting right down to the lowest beam, the
12 lowest timber. And that is where they start working on legis-
13 latures, governors, mayors, councilmen, commissioners. I
14 have watched them for years. Every time you elect a
15 Democratic mayor, whether it is in New York or Cleveland or
16 Chicago or San Francisco or Minneapolis, you help strengthen
17 the very program that we are trying to do something about here
18 in Washington. When you elect a Democratic governor you are
19 doing exactly the same thing. And if my figures show me
20 correctly, there are thirty-five gubernatorial races on the
21 line in 1966 and Democrats better win them, at least most of
22 them.

23 We have one up in New Jersey coming up here in just a
24 few days. And that one is going to be watched. And all you
25 need to do is lose a couple of these elections and you watch

1 what happens. Victory is contagious and so is defeat, par-
2 ticularly when there are so many that would like to convey
3 the message of defeat. We have sixty-eight Democratic
4 Senators now in the Congress and two-hundred-ninety-three
5 Congressmen. All of the Congressmen are up for election and
6 twenty of our Democratic Senators are up. And there will be
7 fourteen other Senators of the opposition that will be
8 challenged by Democrats. And there are seventy-one Freshmen
9 Congressmen. And mark it down in your mental notebook that if
10 we lose many of those freshmen Congressmen or if we lose a
11 substantial number or any number of our present majority in
12 the House, many a columnist and commentator will say that
13 the Lyndon Johnson victory train is beginning to become un-
14 coupled. It is beginning to fall off the tracks. And there
15 are ways that you can talk yourself right into losing elections
16 and losing your hope.

17 So I just leave you with the thought that it is not only
18 in our hands to get these jobs done, but it is yours. I for
19 one have had the time of my life working down here this year
20 with the President. Vice Presidents are supposed to not have
21 very much to do, but I think somebody wrote a new book. That
22 was according to the old rule book.

23 My position, my job has been one of working with the
24 party, working with the Congress, of course working with the
25 President, and doing some of the little chores that need to be

1 done around this nation and around this Nation's Capital.

2 I want to work with you and I intend to be in many of
3 your states. I was in Rutland, Vermont last night. We had
4 the biggest Democratic dinner they ever had in Vermont in the
5 history of Vermont. It was a pip. Isn't that right, Dan?

6 And Dan O'Brien was the masters of ceremonies and did
7 a magnificent job. The other night we were up at Teaneck,
8 New Jersey. We had that armory most filled and it was just
9 a rip-roaring Democratic pow-wow. Tonight I go to Providence,
10 Rhode Island, with Johnny Pastore. The introduction that he
11 gives me will be better than the speech, because Johnny is
12 great.

13 (Laughter.)

14 Tomorrow night I remain -- will remain in Washington.
15 And then on Thursday we go to New Haven and to Syracuse, New
16 York. And on Friday, out to Detroit. I am trying to put in
17 a full day's work here to take care of the duties that are
18 here left by the President because of his recuperation. And
19 to get on a fast plane and get out to these meetings at night,
20 the Lord has blessed me with reasonably good health. I have
21 an abundance of enthusiasm and optimism. I am working for a
22 good cause. I believe that you have to take your message to
23 the people. I don't believe anybody else is going to take it
24 unless you do it. And I call upon the leaders of this party
25 to bestir themselves, put yourself, stand up erect, put yourself

1 shoulders back, look to the horizon. You have got a great
2 President, you have had a tremendous record in this Congress,
3 you have got unlimited possibilities in 1966. And if we
4 drop the ball just before we are ready to cross the goal line,
5 it will be nobody else's fault but ours. But I have a
6 sneaking suspicion that once you have tasted the wine of
7 victory that you would like to continue to drink out of the
8 same cup.

9 Thank you.

10 (Applause.)

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