VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY NOON LUNCHEON WOMEN'S DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY OCTOBER 23, 1965 I'm sure whoever said "It's a man's world" never ran for public office. It doesn't take a candidate long to discover that there are more women than men in the United States. that women are highly effective campaign workers . . . and that women are deeply concerned with the issues facing our country and the world.

Harto believe - My mather Harding

The election last fall was the first time in twenty years that American women gave the majority of their vote to our Democratic candidate for President.

Some 62 per cent of American women voted for the Johnson-Humphrey ticket -- and 60 per cent of the men.

Here in Louisville and Kentucky, as elsewhere,

Democratic women led the get-out-the-vote and registration

drives in behalf of our party.

And the result, I'm sure you'll agree, was worth the effort.

The people of Kentucky gave President Johnson a 300,000-vote margin. You also gave him new help in Washington by sending Charles Farnsley to the Congress.

62%

Congressman Farnsley is drawing on experience as an outstanding mayor of Louisville in helping find solutions to national problems as crime and public safety. Today six of Kentucky's seven House seats are filled by

I particularly wish to pay tribute today to your distinguished governor, and friend, Ned Breathitt, and to ask your help again on behalf of our party.

You have the chance November 2nd to keep Democrats in control of both houses of the Legislature so that Kentucky can move ahead with strong, progressive programs.

And you have a chance to end four years of

Republican control and give Democrats a clean sweep of

Louisville and Jefferson County offices.

Louisville & Jefferson Counties

Ned

Marlin Volz, a man with imagination and sound administrative experience, will be a great mayor, Standbury will be an outstanding county judge.

These candidates deserve your support. They deserve a heavy turnout of Democratic voters on November 2nd. They deserve the same kind of help you gave the Johnson-Humphrey ticket last fall.

Kentucky needs Democrats, both in the Legislature and here in Jefferson County, to help meet the future, to seek for Kentucky what President Johnson seeks for all Ame rica: a fuller, more prosperous, happier life for each citizen, for each community.

This 89th Congress, tollowing President Johnson's leadership, has given the American people the most productive legislative session of modern times.

This Congress has laid a sound base on which to build our American future. This Congress has responded to the mandate of the American people a mandate for forward-looking, imaginative, creative programs designed for the years ahead -- not the ones behind.

Today, the American people are united as never before in the determination that our young people shall have education second-to-none. This Congress has responded by doing more than any other in meeting our nation so long-term, undeniable educational necessities.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Vocational Education Amendments, the Higher Education Bill, and the Teaching Professions Bill... this is legislation responding to the need for bold and creative change. This is legislation which says: "Our children

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are our future. Each American child deserves the best we have to offer."

employment and educational opportunity to the 30 million people in our "other America" so they can be brought into the mainstream of our economic life. That is why the war on poverty was launched. And that is why Congress recently doubled the size of this anti-poverty effort and created new programs for economic development.

We are united in the conviction that every citizen shall be able to vote. We agree that the war on poverty and civil rights are interrelated. And we know that the granting of legal rights must be matched with economic and educational opportunity.

leath- Revenuet Heart Cancer, Strop

We are united in our concern for obtaining adequate medical care for our parents and grandparents. And we have just witnessed the most sweeping expansion of health care benefits in thirty years.

We are united in our desire for a cleaner, safer, more beautiful America -- and we are doing things to bring it about.

We are united in our wish for a life of more than material satisfaction. And so we devote our nation to the arts and humanities.

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

Sauras

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.

Today there are those who take for granted our role as leader of the free world -- and fail to realize that it imposes great responsibility and affords few privileges.

We hear many voices these days saying that America is overextended in the world . . . that other people's problems needn't be our problems.

But I ask: Who in the world will work for democracy,

if we do not?

Who in the world has the power and perseverance to preserve the peace, if we do not?

We live at a time in history when everything is complex, when there are no easy answers. We live in a time when we must exert both our will and our patience.

We must recognize that there are times when American power must be used, when aggression must be resisted, lest if grow to greater danger.

We must also recognize that in resisting aggression, military power alone is of little use without political and social reform to change conditions that brought on unrest and conflict in the first place. We must have that ability and willingness to try to provide the peoples involved with a better life.

I'm sure you will agree that it is better that we should be remembered — as Toynbee put it — not for crimes or even astonishing inventions, but as the first generation to dare to make the benefits of civilization available to the whole human race.

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That is what the Great Society is all about. This is the result of leadership by a President who knows the challenges of our time -- and is meeting them. This is the result of American recognition of the realities of 1965:

The recognition that a seond car and power mowers and dry martinis are not enough.

The recognition that we can right old wrongs and create in America full and equal educational and employment opportunity.

The recognition that we can offer each person and each community the chance to be better tomorrow than today.

The recognition that we Americans, with our wealth and power, can lead all mankind toward days of peace and promise.

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

THE

KENTUCKY DEMOCRATIC WOMEN'S CLUB CONVENTION

NOON LUNCHEON

Louisville, Kentucky October 23, 1965

WARD & PAUL

OFFICIAL REPORTERS 917 G STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON, D. C. 20001

AREA CODE 202-628-4266

THE

KENTUCKY DEMOCRATIC WOMEN'S CLUB

CONVENTION

NOON LUNCHEON

October 23, 1965

Flag Room, Kentucky Hotel,
Louisville, Kentucky

MR. VOLZ:

It is very hard for me to live up to

that introduction.

(Music.)

(Laughter.)

Mrs. Vice President, Mrs. Humphrey, Governor Breathitt,
Mrs. Breathitt, Governor Wyatt and Mrs. Wyatt, distinguished
guests, all fellow candidates, and all of you good people who
are going to vote for us on November 2nd and make our victory
possible.

(Applause.)

MRS. NORTON: This is Ann Norton at the Kentucky

Democratic Women's Club Convention in Louisville. The scene
is the beautifully decorated Flag Room of the Kentucky Hotel.

The event is a visit by the Vice President of the United States

Hubert H. Humphrey.

Vice President Humphrey has visited Kentucky many times before, and he has often been heard to say that Kentucky is one of his favorite places. His visit comes at the close of an election year. This time it is the mayor's race in Louisville, one of the most heated and active contests in the city's history.

The Democratic candidate for mayor is Marlin Volz, former
Dean of the University of Louisville Law School. Dean Volz
has a long and distinguished record of public service behind
him, including his history-making chairmanship of Louisville's

WARD & PAUL

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Human Relations Commission.

Also on the Democratic ticket is Bill Stansbury, candidate for County Judge. He is one of our community's most outstanding and able young attorneys.

Also seated at the speaker's table is Congressman Charles
Farnsley, former mayor of Louisville, whose regime attracted
national attention. There are well over one thousand enthusiastic supporters, including Governor Edward Breathitt here at
this noon luncheon to hear Marlin Volz introduce Vice President
Humphrey.

MR. VOLZ: No Democrat -- and especially no Democrat who aspires to be the mayor of the City of Louisville, -- can stand on this spot without mingled feelings of awe and gratitude.

Awe for the great American whom I have the honor to introduce, and gratitude to him for having made America and this world a better place in which to live.

(Applause.)

His is a spirit of strength and courage and of progress.

He speaks for the future. His is a spirit of compassion, His is a spirit that breathes into our national government, that he breathes into our Democratic Party, a spirit which all Americans and all Louisvillians respect and admire.

When President Johnson signed the historic Civil Rights

Act, the 1964 Civil Rights Act, he gave Vice President Humphrey

a copy of the speech he delivered upon signing the bill.

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Inscribed on the speech were these words:

"To the man who was the Senate Floor Manager of the bill, to Hubert Humphrey, without whom it couldn't have happened."

(Applause.)

For our quest this moment, when the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed, was a great climax of a struggle that he had engaged his energies in from the time he entered public life more than twenty years ago, as the Mayor of Minneapolis. You may recall that at the 1948 Democratic Convention in Philadelphia, he first won national attention when he led the successful fight for a strong civil rights plank in the platform.

(Applause.)

Vice President Humphrey is the champion of all of the people of America. He is the champion of the young, he is the champion of the little man, the champion of the aged. He understands the needs of the worker, the needs of the big city, the needs of the businessmen and the needs of the farmer. He feels compassion for the handicapped, for the poor, and for the sick, and for those who for one reason or another start behind in the race for life.

Among the many tasks that he performs as Vice President are his positions as Chairman of the President's Council on Equal Opportunity, Chairman of the President's Committee on

Equal Employment Opportunity, Chairman of the National
Aeronautics & Space Council, Chairman of the Peace Corps
Advisory Council.

And you may recall, as I suggested earlier, that he began his political career as the Mayor of the great City of Minneapolis. Ever since then he has been interested in the affairs of cities and in their problems and opportunities. He attends the mayors conferences. He attends the various meetings of the National Municipal League, and he presently is the representative from the federal government to the cities.

After serving as Mayor, he was elected to the United States Senate in 1948, at the age of thirty-seven. And he was reelected in 1954 and 1960. And last year, in the greatest landslide victory in history, he and Lyndon Johnson formed the great team which is leading America to the greatest and highest level of prosperity for all of the people in the history of this country.

(Applause.)

And now, ladies and gentlemen, it is my greatest pleasure and honor that I never expected to have, to present to you the Vice President of the United States, the Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey.

(Applause.)

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you very much. Thank you, thank you.

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Well, thank you very much, Mayor Volz. You may as well get used to it, folks.

(Applause.)

I will let you ladies in on a secret. Muriel just whispered to me, she says, "You know, I sort of think these ladies might like you."

(Laughter, Applause.)

Flattery will get you every place, dear.

(Laughter.)

Muriel, I will let you in on a secret. I like them.

(Laughter, Applause.)

And I love you, so --

(Applause.)

Well, this is a very exciting time for Muriel and Hubert Humphrey. We are just so delighted that we can be in Louis-ville. Muriel has told me about her visit last year at Cumberland Falls. And Wyatt and I thought we had a date out there ourselves, but when Muriel heard that I was going to spend the evening with Ann, she insisted on going herself.

(Laughter.)

So, Wilson, I don't know why Muriel would feel that way.

(Laughter.)

Governor Breathitt, your lovely wife, Frances, and to my dear friend, Wilson Wyatt and his Ann, to Charlie and Nancy Farnsley -- Charlie, it is good to see you again. You did a

great job down there in Congress. We are mighty proud of you.

(Applause.)

And to this fine gentleman that will soon be selected by you, and elected by you as the Mayor of this great City of Louisville, and his wife -- I believer her name is Esther -- and to Bill Stansbury and Dorothy, and to Mrs. Tom Garrett of Paducah, and all you wonderful people -- all I can say is that this is a very, very happy occasion for all of us. I hope you feel as good as I do right now.

(Applause.)

Lest I forget, I want to thank the Cellar Singers for being so generous with their talent and time. They are really nice to do this, and they go out of their way to be of help to all of us.

I will tell -- I believe it was Lynda Bird that they played for -- is that right -- I will tell her, tell Lynda that you said "hello." So --

(Applause.)

I hope that Mrs. Humphrey might have told you somewhere along the line about our President and Mrs. Johnson. If she hasn't or even if she has, just let me say once again that you can all be very, very happy this afternoon that your President, who has gone through a serious operation, is so well on the road to recovery now that he is back in the White House and he is resting and he is working and he is giving orders and he

is telephoning --

(Laugher.)

-- he is in fact very close to being back to high-speed normal.

(Laugher, Applause.)

Somebody said of our beloved President, that he leaves no stone unturned to do everything he can for you.

(Laughter, Applause.)

But we do bring you the greetings of President Johnson and Lady Bird Johnson. Muriel was visiting with Mrs. Johnson yesterday afternoon. Just two days ago I spent some time at the hospital with the President, just before he was ready to leave to come back to the White House. He looks good and trim. But I am sure you feel as I do, that we want him to take awfully good care of himself and get some good sunshine wherever he wishes to get it, and to relax a little bit, because the country is in good and steady and firm hands when he is feeling tip-top.

(Applause.)

Well, I have so much I want to say I don't quite know where to start and some people tell me I don't know where to stop, so it is going to be quite an interesting afternoon.

(Laughter.)

I noticed when we came into the hotel there is a sign outside that said, "Welcome Veep." Can I just tell you that

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that touched my heart very, very much. In my office is a photograph of the beloved Vice President of the United States, Alben Barkley. I asked for that photograph.

(Applause.)

And as much as I love to be called the "Veep," the truth is there was only one and there only will be one "Veep," and he was from Paducah, Kentucky -- Alben Barkley.

(Applause.)

Make no mistake about it, this is one of the great Americans, a truly great man. And one of these days more is going to be written about his great life, his busy life, his full life, his rich life, so that young Americans in days ahead can really see what it means to be in American politics and to be a gentleman at all times, and to be a patriot every hour of your life, and to utter your last words in words of reverence and prayer. I must say that that is a great, great honor.

(Applause,)

I had many wonderful visits in Kentucky in 1964, in the campaign. And I hesitate to select any one that I liked more than the other. But I literally asked to be invited to Paducah because I wanted to get out there and just breathe that air and feel that ground and see if I couldn't get a little of that Alben Barkley spirit.

(Laughter.)

And I gave them a speech that night as long as any that

Alben ever gave, I want you to know.

(Laughter, Applause.)

And he had the folks trained well. They sat there and listened and applauded to the last word. They were great.

(Laughter.)

Democrats right down the line.

Well, we are here together in a great party conclave or gathering. And I must say that when I see what is happening in the Democratic Party, the new leadership, the young people, people of every walk of life, every race, creed and nationality -- when I see all of this I feel a little bit better about our country and its future. Because, make no mistake about it, the Democratic Party is the majority party. Not only in Kentucky -- it is the majority party across this nation. And as the majority party, we are very apt to have the burden of leadership, the responsibility for leadership in this nation on our respective shoulders.

Therefore, the party must be ofggood health, morally, politically, socially -- every way. And that is one of the reasons I like to come and visit with our party gatherings, and our party leaders, so that I can go back with the feeling that not only do we have good leadership in our President and in our Congress, but that we have it right out here in the cities and the towns and the counties and the states. Because the government of the United States, my dear friends, is not

in Washington. The government of the United States is in Louisville. It is in every capital, it is in every city, it is in every court house, it is in every one of the governmental jurisdictions throughout this great land of ours. And what we need today more than every before is a partnership between Washington, state capital, city hall, and court house, and that is one of the reasons that you need Marlin Volz.

(Applause.)

I am going to let you in on a little secret, one of the reasons we were slightly delayed getting here is because Mr. Volz -- Marlin Volz and Mr. Stansbury -- Bill Stansbury and myself stopped off at 34th and Virginia. We saw a crowd, and whenever you see a crowd of people and you are running for office, if you don't stop -- it is sort of like a fisherman that refuses to put the line in the water. You know -- well, we stopped off there and had a wonderful experience. There were hundreds of young people. And I talked to these young people.

I had just been saying to Mr. Volz earlier that I hoped that in his campaign, he take his message to the children.

I asked him to go to the children with a message asking these children to be volunteers in his campaign to get their parents to register and to vote. You would be surprised what a wonderful effect this has in terms of icitizenship. It puts the whole family into the political — in political participation.

And I will tell you that, as a candidate, if you can get that sweet little girl or boy that is in somebody's family to go home and ask momma and daddy to vote for you, you have got it made.

(Laughter.)

You really have.

(Applause.)

The youngster learns citizenship duties and the parentst start to fulfill citizenship responsibilities. Well, there they were, and we had a great time. So we stayed a little longer than we should have, I suppose, but I don't think you minded. You were having a good time here, and I hope it was of some help.

Mr. Volz, Marlin Volz -- can be, should be, and will be the Mayor of Louisville, Kentucky if everybody gets out and works for him.

(Applause.)

Now I have examined this man's background and record and I must say to you that there is a limitation or two that I must cite.

(Laughter.)

First of all, this man did have a free choice of universities and he went to Wisconsin instead of Minnesota.

(Laughter.)

This is almost unforgivable.

(Laughter.)

But a man is entitled to a number of mistakes in the younger period of his life.

(Laughter.)

The fact that he came to Louisville later on, at this great university here, that exonerates any blame that he might have had for that original decision.

Then he was saying to me that -- he said, "Well, Mr. Vice President, you know I suppose I do have some liabilities. Some people may think that if you are a school teacher that you shouldn't be mayor."

"Well," I said, "Marlin, I will tell you what you do. You just tell them that teachers seem to be doing all right these days. There was a teacher from Texas that got elected President" --

(Laughter, Applause.)

-- "and there was a teacher from Minnesota that was elected Vice President" --

(Laughter, Applause.)

-- "there is a teacher from Montana who is the Majority
Leader of the United States Senate" --

(Laughter, Applause.)

-- "and there is a teacher from Oklahoma and a Rhodes
Scholar, to boot, who is the Majority Leader of the House of
Representatives" --

(Laughter, Applause.)

-- "so if anybody accuses you of being a refugee from the classroom, tell them that the refugee camp is filled."

This opportunity that you have to select strong leadership at your county and at your municipal level, at Louisville and Jefferson County -- this Democratic ticket that I have examined with some detail in this very fine folder -- it is one of the most intelligent, may I say, one of the most informative political folders that has ever come to my attention. It isn't just a log of sloganizing. It talks program and it gives a full background of every Democratic candidate. I venture to say that the opposition party doesn't dare tell all about their candidates.

(Laughter, Applause.)

(Laughter.)

And the theme of this campaign -- let's build the great community. You know, that is what President Johnson is trying to do in this country, and is getting done. Building the great community of America, and even striving to build the great community of the world, because it takes more than just a small community, such as Louisville or even a little larger and yet a small one called America, to give us the kind of a life that we want for today and tomorrow.

President Lyndon Johnson is a builder. President Lyndon

Johnson is a healer. He is a unifier. He seeks to do away

with the divisions and bring people together. He seeks to build

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a community of America, America the beautiful, America -- one nation, one people. And your candidate for mayor of the City of Louisville walks in that same philosophy, works and walks and talks it. He is asking you to help him build the great community of Louisville.

(Applause.)

I have been mayor of a great city -- Wilson Wyatt and
Hubert Humphrey were mayors about the same time. I used to
come down -- well, I was in communication with him and once
came to see him. I remember when I stopped at the home of Ann
and Wilson and I was trying to find out a little bit about how
to be a better mayor up in Minneapolis. And I can tell you
this, that all over America people knew that you had a fine
mayor. They knew that in Wilson Wyatt.

(Applause.)

I was so pleased that tribute was paid here to others that have served in this responsible position. But I noticed your program, Marlin, Mr. Volz, first to build a great metropolitan community within the great society through the development of neighborhoods, neighborhood consuls and joint city, county office of urban agents, to open the government to the people and to the press. These are the very things that we have stood for, all of us that feel that we try to give enlightened government and responsible government to the people of any community or any city or state.

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In my City of Minneapolis we organized thirteen community concils, fourteen sort of separate neighborhoods, and then brought them together into what we thought was the great community. We had the very first Mayor's Council on Human Relations in that part of America. We passed the first municipal fair employment practices ordinance that was enforceable. We had many problems in our city, problems of bigotry and prejudice and discrimination, problems of crime, organized crime. But with an organized political movement and with some young people that wanted to get out and do the job, we were able to change the course of that history of that city. And I am convinced right now here in the city of Louisville that you can accomplish what you say you want to do, not only to build a greater community but to get this town going, and to make it --

(Applause.)

-- and to make it an integral part of a prospering, growing ever-more just and free America. That is what your mayor wants to do here, Mayor Volz.

(Applause.)

Well, I could surely enjoy just talking on the municipal issues. I lived with these mayors and local officials. I told Marlin Volz that I was in New Haven, Connecticut just two days ago. We met with about four hundred local officials from New England. I have been appointed, as said here, by President

Johnson to be the liaison between the White House and the local governments. I have been at every conference -- Wilson knows, I have attended the city, the League of Cities Conference, the U.S. Conference of Mayors, the City Managers Association, the National Association of County Officials -- anything that doesn't -- that has to do with local government. And why?

Because it has finally dawned upon people in Washington that all of the programs of the Great Society will be only as effective as the partnership and the cooperation of local government with the federal government in implementing those programs.

(Applause.)

So may I say to your entire Democratic ticket -- and I do not speak only now for this gentleman that is your candidate for mayor in Louisville, but all across the state, for your legislature, for your local offices -- I hope the Democratic workers will get out and campaign for them on the basis of a team, a team effort, because that is the way it is going to take to realize the most out of what your Congressmen and others have been doing for you in Washington.

Some day, Charlie, I want to come back here and tell these good folks all about your splendid record, and the things that you have done for the American people as a member of the Congress of the United States. You have done a great job.

(Applause.)

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Well, you know there used to be some people that went around and said this is a man's world. I don't know who that fellow was.

(Laughter.)

But I can tell you, he never ran for public office.

(Laughter.)

I must say that as much as I like to praise the men, that you give me ten good, devoted, dedicated, hard-working women, and I will give you a hundred men.

(Applause.)

It is wonderful to have them for you and -- oh, bless you, if they are against you, I will tell you.

(Laughter.)

At home or any place else.

(Laughter.)

And it doesn't take a candidate very long, any man that has had elementary arithmetic, to know that there are really more women in America than there are men. And it goes without saying, once again, that they are hard workers, and they know what is going on in their communities. They may not have the last word on NATO or SEATO, but that woman knows what's going on in her neighborhood, in her city, and in her county and her state. And she knows a great deal about what we are doing and not doing down in Washington.

So, gentlemen, rally around the flag, gentlemen, and get

the ladies to help you, or you are going to have trouble.

Now, the election last fall was the first time in twenty years that the American women gave the majority of their vote to a Democratic candidate for President. It is hard to believe, but that is a fact. And I couldn't help but know that by having written that — I jotted down a little note about my mother. My father used to occasionally take the boys, the two sons, his two sons aside when we would get a little saucy with with mom, as boys are apt to do, and he would say, "Now, I just want to tell you fellows something. You are talking to my wife. She happens to be your mother, but she's my wife and my sweetheart. And any time you don't like it around here I will show you the door."

(Laughter.)

"You're going to treat your mother with respect. Your mother's a wonderful woman. There is just one little weakness she has. She's politically unreliable."

(Laughter.)

And I often used to wonder about that and I finally grilled my father and I said, "Now, dad, why do you say that about mom?" "Well," he said, "I will tell you, son." He said, "I have never quite understood it, but," he says, "I do think she voted for Harding."

(Laughter.)

And I would hate to say that in Ohio because Governor Cox

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was a wonderful man over there, and if mother ever did that, why -- she refuses to testify either under oath or out of oath. (Laughter.)

But the women did right by us last year, so we forgive any other previous transgressions.

(Laughter.)

Some sixty-two per cent of the American women voted for the Johnson-Humphrey ticket in that national election. And some sixty per cent of the men.

(Applause.)

And I think they knew what they were doing. I think they voted for that ticket because they thought it offered the greatest promise to their children and to their homes and their communities.

Now here in Louisville and Jefferson County and throughout Kentucky, Democratic women led the effort in getting out the vote and in registration drives on behalf of the party.

Now, my dear friends, everybody likes to give speeches about the right to vote, we even passed a law in Congress on it. But where you have the right to vote, where there are no impediments -- let's make sure that those voters are registered and let's make sure that they get out to vote and let's make doubly sure that they know for whom they are voting, and the record of the candidates for whom they are voting.

The people of Kentucky, as Governor Breathitt has said,

and he surely was in the forefront of this battle for our victory out here -- and, Governor, we are ever indebted to you, not only for what you have done in 1964 but more importantly for your leadership in this great State of Kentucky every day of your life as governor of this State.

(Applause.)

That three-hundred-thousand vote margin was a very comfortable one. It made us feel very close to Kentucky. And, as
I said, the election of your Congressmen -- you have six out of
seven -- am I not right, Charlie -- six out of seven of the
Congressmen of Kentucky are Democrats. There is only a little
left to redeem, my friends, just a little left.

(Applause.)

Now, on November 2nd of this year you can -- well, you can solve some of your problems and clean up some of these weak spots. You have a chance to keep the Democrats in control of both houses of the legislature so that Kentucky can move ahead with a strong and progressive program, so that your Governor can have the support that he justly deserves. And you have a chance to end four years of political drought and give the Democrats a clean sweep of Louisville and Jefferson County.

(Applause.)

Now, let me talk to you just a little bit about the work of the 89th Congress. We just tydied up the business last night. I believe they closed shop in the Senate at about ten

minutes to one in the morning. This Congress, to me, has been the most spectacular, the most singularly important Congress in the history of this Republic. Now, I have been in Congress or been in Washington since 1949, started in the 81st Congress. This is the 89th. I am the Presiding Officer of the Senate now; the President asked me to work with both houses of Congress very closely. I serve with the very able Presidential Assistant Larry O'Brien in trying to make sure that the bills of the administration move through that Congress or that when there are adjustments made that we have a chance to work together in making those refinements and adjustments.

I spent at least fifty per cent of my time on Capitol

Hill. And I can tell you I feel as much at home there as I do

any place in America or in the world, even more so. I know

the men and I can say to you, and I hope it will not be mis
interpreted by my fellow Democrats, there isn't a single person

in either house -- Republican or Democrat -- for whom I do not

have very sincere respect.

I hhave learned to like these men. We disagree sometimes on party principles, we disagree on some programs and details, but most of the men are hard-working men and women, are hard-working men and women, members of the Congress. This Congress has an amazing record.

Forty years of hopes have been realized in nine and a half months. Some of the programs that we passed in this

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congress people have been fighting for since the thirties and even before. And I can name you a number that I had personally been involved in since the first month, the first few months that I was in the Nation's Capital. What a record. My work earlier in life was that of a political science teacher, a teacher in American government. And I can tell you that after having studied the history of this country and I sort of specialized in American government, there has never been a congress that has ever produced a record of legislative achievement and accomplishment that this first session of the 89th has produced for you, the American people.

(Applause.)

This Congress has laid a sound base on which to build our American future. And this Congress has laid a sound base that will stand us well for decades to come. And, my fellow Americans, and we are Americans before we are partisans, and never forget it -- my fellow Americans --

(Applause.)

-- we have to contemplate an America that will be strong for decades to come. We have to think about not only today but the tomorrows, way into the distant future, because the problems that face us in this world, a turbulant and changing world, are going to be with us for a long time. So we not only need the strength that can take us as the trackman would say, through the hundred yard dash, but for the long race and

to be able to have the stamina and the vitality that will stand us well for years and years to come.

And we have laid now, we believe, some of the basic foundation stones for that kind of a long ordeal. The Congress has responded to the mandate of the American people.

You know, people used to talk about a rubber stamp Congress.

And I heard a Congressman say the other day, he said, "You know, we are passing so much legislation the President keeps signing it," he said, "it is nice to have a rubber stamp President."

(Laughter.)

We tried to switch it around. The fact of the matter is that there have been no rubber stamp in the White House or on Capital Hill. The fact of the matter is that every single program has been worked out in cooperation with the leadership of the two houses of Congress and the White House and the Cabinet. The fact is that every single program has been given minute, careful, detailed consideration. And while many a proposal was sent down from the President, I think many of them were actually improved through modification, by the wisdom and the legislative experience of the members of the Congress themselves. And I salute them for it. This is my first opportunity to congratulate this Congress, having concluded its session.

And I take the opportunity in Louisville, Kentucky to salute the magnificent 89th.

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(Applause.)

Now, let's just stop a moment and take a little look at our country, where are we, where have we been, and where are we going. Well, I remember -- and you remember -- that in 1960 that we were in the throes of a recession. Have you forgotten? I want you to take a look at conditions in Kentucky in 1960, 1961. And then take a look at what has been done since.

Let's take a look at our America in 1960. Its income was dropping, its gross national product had fallen, its unemployment was up over Seven per cent — in some communities there was unemployment as high as twenty-five and thirty per cent. Our schools were over-crowded. Our elderly had little or no attention. Our agricultural income had fallen to the lowest it had been for years. Corporate profits were low. Dividends were down. Wage income, down.

And a young man went out on a stump, nominated by his party, and he talked to the American people about the kind of an America that he would like to build. He asked to get this country going again. He said, "Give me a chance to give you leadership. Give me a chance to lead America." And the American people gave him that chance. And I think it can be said here to the eternal credit and living memory of John F. Kennedy, that he started America on the road to progress.

(Applause.)

And then after one thousand eventful days he was taken

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from us. And thank God, I say in all reverence, that he had the wisdom and the maturity to select as his Vice President Lyndon Johnson.

(Applause.)

And do you remember those first words of President Johnson as he assumed the duties of Chief Executive. He said let us continue, and he made it his goal in the 88th Congress to complete the programs, to complete the enactment of the programs that John Kennedy had before that Congress. And we stayed there 'til December to get the job done. I was the Majority Whip of the United States Senate, and I remember. And we got the job done.

And America has been moving ever since 1961. This economy of ours has blossomed. The creativeness of the American people has come into its own. The whole incentive system of our private enterprise economy has gone to work. And today, this afternoon you are citizens of the most powerful and the richest nation that this world has ever known throughout recorded history.

(Applause.)

Fifty-six years, fifty-six months of uninterrupted economic growth. Now, mothers and fathers and dear friends, this is not an accident. There has never been anything like this. Don't just take it as a sort of, something that you read in the paper. This is a miracle. Never before has any nation or any

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group of nations ever known fifty-six and now we are almost in the fifty-seventh month of consecutive economic growth and progress. But we have had it in America, without inflation. The price index has been reasonably stable. The wholesale price index has only risen from about 100 to about 101.2. Productivity of American workers has increased. Corporate profits in the third quarter of this year were running at a rate of \$22 billion higher after taxes than they were four and a half years ago. So let me tell you, my dear friends -- (Applause.)

-- if anybody ever tells you that the Democratic Party is not good for business, let them look at the balance sheet.

(Applause.)

Unemployment is down the lowest it has been since 1957.

In the meantime we added six and a half million more workers to the labor force. Wages are at an all-time high. Dividends, at an all-time high. Savings, at an all-time high.

(Applause.)

And, despite this, ladies and gentlemen, with all of this we have had the investment tax credit, personal income tax reduction, corporate income tax reduction, the repeal of the excise taxes, tax savings to you and your neighbors in the sum of \$19 billion.

(Applause.)

With these reduced rates of taxes it permits you to have

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more for your choice as to what you wish to do. It permits local and state government to be able to do a better job with their revenues and their revenue sources. Ladies and gentlemen, this has not been accomplished just because somebody said it or dreamed of it, it came from work. It came out of legislation, it came out of thinking, it came out of cooperative planning, it came because of a partnership that now exists in this America between your government, business, labor, farmer, and the people.

I watched President Johnson bring this partnership into being. I said just the other night, I believe it was in Detroit last night, at the Economic Club, we addressed an audience there of fifteen or sixteen hundred people. Many of the large businessmen -- business leaders of the large corporations of our country -- sitting next to me was the President of General Motors. Sitting on the other side was the President of Detroit Edison -- huge corporations, distinguished citizens, fine men. And I couldn't help but say to them, as I looked over that audience, "I have watched President Lyndon Johnson bring into the White House the captains of industry, the leaders of finance, in the front door and through the same door, within the same hour, in walks George Meany or Walter Reuther or a leader of American labor, and they sit down and work together.

(Applause.)

We don't go around calling businessmen names and we haven't
gone around calling labor leaders "labor bosses" and "labor
crooks" like they used to do in far too many places. There is
a new respect in America in high places for the ability of
management, the competence of our industry, the skill of our
workers, a respect for a trade union as an important part of
the economic progress, a respect for a businessman and his
corporation. And that is what is building this prosperity.

People feel confident, people feel that somebody cares. People
feel that their government is not their enemy. People feel
that their government is their partner and that we are working
together.

And, my fellow Democrats, this has been done under the administration of Lyndon Baines Johnson, our President.

(Applause.)

The American people are today united as never before. And we are going to be even more united, because we are striking down these false barriers of prejudice and segregation and discrimination and bigotry. We are doing it in act after act.

Yes, I am very proud that it was my privilege to be the floor leader for the Civil Rights Act. That was --

(Applause.)

That act wasn't designed to help the American Negro alone.

It was to help America. This country needs everybody. We

must have everybody as a participant. Everybody must be called

upon to give his best. Everybody must be brought into the arena of opportunity that America represents. The gates must be opened, the highways must be cleared. We cannot afford to have in America any group of people that are not given an equal chance. And once given an equal chance we have a right to expect from every group in America that they will do their best for America, every single group.

(Applause.)

And I am happy to tell you that these expectations are being realized. But we know, for example, that you can't expect a person to do his best unless he has training and preparation.

Now, the fact is that education is as essential to the good life as air and water and food. A mother and father today -- (Applause.)

A mother and father today is more concerned about the quality of education than every before. For the first time, the public opinion polls show that American adults consider education the top priority domestic issue, the first time. And your government is taking steps in this. At long last we are beginning to think of ourselves as one nation, not North and South, not Catholic and Protestant and Jew, not white and black — but as one nation. We have passed the Federal Aid to Secondary and Elementary Education Act. This is going to pour into the schools of America \$1.3 billion this first year of federal assistance.

(Applause.)

Much of that money is going to go into areas that have been denied, for people that have been given inadequate training. Let's face it, let's talk frank with one another, separate but equal is only separate. It wasn't equal. And if you want every American to do his job, if you want them to be responsible citizens, if you want skilled workers, if you want private initiative and private enterprise, if you want law and order -- then every American must not only have a chance, he must have an equal chance to make something out of his life.

(Applause.)

So we are going to build libraries and buy books, and we are going to bring in visual aids and educational aids and train new teachers and we are going to upgrade education. We are thinking about children now. And, belive it or not, our interest in children is uniting this country. Many of our people today are the victims, as I said, of inadequate training. So we need an operation to catch up as well as Operation Head Start. And in the poverty program we have learned a lot about youngsters in operation Head Start.

And, you know, isn't it interesting that when you have a little child and you are concerned about them, you can sit around the table with almost anybody to talk about it, but you just don't think about what their last name is and how they spell it, the color of their eyes or the complexion of their

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skin. You just look at them and you think about the child. We are learning.

We have an Aid to Higher Education Act, Manpower Training and Development -- let me give you one example about Manpower Training and Development. I was in South Carolina not long ago. The Governor down there, the former Governor -- is now a Senator, Don Russell -- an excellent man, by the way. I want to just remind you that no part of this country has a monopoly on either wisdom or virtue. There are many fine leaders in other parts of America.

And the new Governor is Bob McNair, another fine gentleman. The Manpower Training and Development program took seven thousand unemployed workers. These were unemployed workers of three or four more year — over three to four years of unemployment, chronically unemployed. These were workers that their industries had moved away from them. They used up their unemployment compensation. They were on relief. They felt hopeless and helpless. They were angry. They were discouraged. They went into manpower training and development, and the United States Employment Service, the state government, the federal government, the chamber of commerce, the labor movement, all got busy to see what they could do.

And after they had finished their training, the seven thousand of them, within ninety days five thousand were back gainfully employed. This is what I mean when I talk about

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training and giving people an opportunity.

(Applause.)

You will have to excuse me, I picked up a little cold yesterday.

Think of Appalachia, you're a part of that program. Why, people were talking for years about the unemployment in the hills of Kentucky and there still is unemployment. But we got busy and we passed Appalachia, which is becoming a ptototype, it's becoming a regional plan that other parts of America are now thinking about. And there are new industries. There are new jobs. There is new hope. We are building better communities and it is only beginning.

The Economic Development Act has been added so that any part of America that lags behind will now have the helping hand of the government, to work with business and local governments, to work with the mayor and to work with the governor, to work with the union, to work with the corporation. And it works. We are demonstrating that it works through loans and grants and technical assistance and special consideration. So we are now well on the road to realizing what I said to you was our goal -- equal opportunity.

Now, we are united in something else. We are united in our determination to provide employment and educational opportunities to the thirty million people in this land that are in the "other America." It is an America that many of you

don't know or I don't know. It is an America, may I say, of
the ghetto, of the slum. It is an America of poverty, not
only of the purse but of the spirit and the mind and of the
soul. Thirty million of pour fellow citizens in this great
land of 195 million that are not really in the mainstream of
American life. And we are working on it, and we call it the
"war on poverty." We call it "economic opportunity." It is
even more than that. It is really reclaiming lives. Some of
these people, my dear friends, have been the victims of
poverty like a chronic disease for four, five generations. And
we have been helpless in finding an answer. It is like trying
to find the answer to cancer. We have been trying to find that
answer, and we will some day. But we keep trying even though
we occasionally wonder if it will ever succeed.

But, my dear friends, you do not scold your doctor or your scientist or your research specialist because he didn't find the answer to cancer, even though you gave him half a billion dollars to do it. And we have poured in billions to find the answer to heart disease and cancer. And we are putting in another half billion this year for heart disease, cancer, and stroke. We may not find the answer but we are going to try and try. We are going to recruit people all over the world to find the answer.

We have another problem -- poverty. It is a cancer, too.

And it infects whole families and communities. And we haven't

been able to break that vicious chain that holds these people in the kind of bondage. Now, why do I emphasize this as I do? Because we are going to try many things and we are going to fail in some of them. We are going to make some mistakes just as exactly like the scientists fail, just like many of the experiments fail in the laboratory. But, I repeat to you, be as tolerant, will you, with your people who are trying to find the answer to the poverty and its causes as you are to the scientists. You don't burn down the laboratory and fire the scientist and the doctor because he couldn't give you the cure now. You get on your knees and pray that next time it may be successful.

We are going to try to find the real causes of poverty.

Why is it that some families, some groups are locked into this vicious cycle of poverty for a hundred years? I don't know, but we are going to try to find out. And maybe we are going to have to start as we are doing with just the children. But we surely know that if you start with project Head Start with the children you can't leave the old neighborhood just as it was. You can't take them out into the pure air of Head Start and put them back into the corrupt and the polluted air of a dirty, old environment. So we are going to have to rebuild many of our cities. We are going to have to provide open spaces. We are going to have to see to it that there is education, not only for the little ones age four or five, but

also for the older ones, age 18, 19, 20 and so on up the line. Counselling, advice, psychiatric treatment, group therapy —

I don't know what all the answers are. All I say to you, that it is worth our doing.

We have to break open the doors of this prison that keeps millions of our fellow citizens locked into the dungeons of their despair. And I think we can and we have the courage to try it. And I can see now some of the critics who are going to say, "Look at the money they wasted, boondoggling. Look at those up-lifters, those do-gooders." Well, I would rather be an up-lifter than a pusher-downer.

(Applause.)

Finally, we are not launching this war on poverty to make poverty more respectable or tolerable. We are launching it to kill it. We are launching it to win the war.

(Applause.)

And we are united, as I said a little earlier, on the right of everyone to vote, and wasn't it something to make up to find out that in America that has been preaching democracy to the whole world, at least since World War I when we wanted to make the world safe for democracy — that we found out that literally millions of our fellow citizens who were paying taxes, whose sons were being drafted for the military service, who were being called upon to do much of our hard and dirty work, were denied the right to vote. We fought a revolution

over that. That is why we didn't like George III. We said
"no taxation without representation." And yet in many areas
of America people were being taxed, people were being constricted, people were being called upon to perform all the
duties of citizenship without ever being given any of its
privileges.

And Lyndon Johnson's address before the Congress in February of this year, that magnificent address on the right to vote, when he said "we shall overcome," that address will live in history.

(Applause.)

Let me reassure you America will be the better for this right to vote, much better. And we are united as a people today and care for our elderly, in obtaining not only medical care but better housing. Not only better housing, but better environment, a better atmosphere for our senior citizens. The first bill I ever introduced in Congress was in May 1949, and the title of the bill was "An Act to provide hospital and nursing home care for persons aged 65 and over, under Social Security." I introduced that bill in May 1949.

(Applause.)

And I can still read some of the articles about "that radical."

(Laughter.)

Some people went so far as to say "socialist" and

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"communist." And we kept introducing that legislation. A little later one I went to the distinguished Senator from New Mexico, Clinton Anderson who was on the Finance Committee, and I said, "Clinton, would you be the main sponsor, and I would like to be your cosponsor."

And then when we had a President like President Kennedy. and then again President Johnson in the White House, in support of it, we drove that legislation through the Congress of the United States.

And today, my fellow Americans, young people and old alike can feel a little prouder about America because we have seen fit to respect our elders and we passed Medicare, which will relieve suffering and pain.

(Applause.)

Well, I could go down the list -- time forbids. We are trying to clean up our lakes and our streams. You would think we would have thought of that a long time ago, too. No one has the right to pollute these waters. We know that we do not have to breathe carbon monoxide. Science doesn't tell us that we have to do that. Sciences says that it can be prevented. We know that man doesn't have to live in jungles of asphalt and concrete. He was intended to live much closer to nature.

We are going to try to get in tune with nature. We are going to try with -- through government and private initiative and private business and voluntary groups, we are going to try

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to make America what we sing about -- America the Beautiful. And thank goodness for Lyndon Johnson's lovely lady, Lady Bird Johnson, who leads the fight in America for the beautification of this beautiful land of ours.

(Applause.)

(Applause.)

(Laughter.)

And, Dean Volz, when you get to be Mayor of Louisville, I want to come back here six months after you're mayor and see how much you have done to beautify this great city of Kentucky.

Yes, sir, Mayor Volz, the weeds will be cut.

And the flowers will be planted. And together I can assure you, together we will work out the municipal programs in this community that will help make your city a more beautiful state. After all, Kentucky is one of the most beautiful states in all of the land.

(Applause.)

Now let me leave you on a very somber and serious note. Everything we have talked about here is for naught unless we can keep the peace. You can have great gross national product -- and we have, our national -- our gross national product today is over fifty per cent of the total production of the world; did you know that?

This 195 million Americans, we 195 million Americans produce and consume fifty per cent of everything in the world.

The other 3.4 billion of God's children get the balance of it. Is there any wonder that there is trouble in the world. The gap between the rich and the poor grows. And every great spiritual and political leader, regardless of religious or political faith, has reminded us that unless that gap can be closed, there will be turmoil, trouble, revolution, and war.

So we seek to try to build not only a greater community in America, the great society, in which the quality of life is emphasized even more than the quantity of it, but we are trying to build a world community. This is U.N. Week, United Nations Weed.

The United Nations has come alive again. The United Nations has brought about the cease-fire between India and Pakistan. The United Nations, mothers, has saved your sons a dozen times since 1945. Somebody has to help keep the peace in the world.

(Applause.)

It is an imperfect instrument, but it is the best that we have been able to perfect, thus far. And thank goodness that our company is committed to the United Nations. It is a hope for peace. But man has the tools now to destroy himself. We have invented terrible machines and horrible bombs. But this same man also has the tools and the machines to save himself. It depends upon his will, his purpose, his sense of moral judgment.

I want you to understand that everything that God created or man created with God can be obliterated from the face of the earth in only hours. We have that power now in our hands and in the hands of others that are not friendly to us. But we also have that great know-how and that technological and scientific know-how, the resources, the brain power, the knowledge to build the city beautiful, American the beautiful, a world of peace. We can banish hunger.

Prayers of ancient prophets can be fulfilled. No longer need any of the children starve if we but put ourselves to the task. We can cure sickness. We can, in other words, feed the hungry. We can teach the illiterate. We can heal the sick and the blind may see. It is within our means to do it. Any miracle that you ever read about, miracle, may I even say, from death itself is within our power. Doctors save lives, massage hearts, bring people back from death itself today.

Transport of organs of the body, so that organs that are dead may once again live. What a wonderful world we live in.

We not only do things in this world on this earth, but we do them in outer space. And in a very short time two Americans will go into outer space and they will join together two capsules, space capsules, just as a brakeman would join together two boxcars. It will not be long before we will build buildings in outer orbit. And, as I have said to my friends in the labor movement, you had better get ready to organize it up

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there.

(Laughter, Applause.)

I notice the head of the AFL-CIO is over here giving me the nod. He is getting the cards out right now.

(Laughter.)

But the fact is that we will be sending men into orbit that can repair, for example, the communications satellites, put on new batteries rather than bring down the whole satellite. It will be done. Mothers, your sons and daughters will be talking about this like you now talk about the county fair. Ten years from now this is not only a possibility, it is an inevitable reality. We will land on the moon and we will come back. And I must say to you that any nation that can spend billions of dollars to put a man on the moon -- and I think we ought to, because we learn a great deal in science and industry and technology -- any nation that can spend billions to put a man on the moon ought to be willing to invest billions to help put a man on his feet on this earth.

(Applause.)

So we hear many people say these days that America is over-extended in the world. We are doing too much, that we ought to come home. But other peoples problems aren't ours and that we ought not to stick our nose into their business. Let's just come home and live off the fat of the land. Well, we had people that said that some years back and it brought us

Hitler and Tojo and war and destruction.

But I put it right to you directly, as rich as we are and with all that we are blessed with, who in the world will work for democracy if we do not? Who in the world do you expect to stand up and work for justice and freedom if we do not? Who do you think is going to help those that need help, the underprivileged, those that can tear this world apart in their anger and their frustration, if we do not? We, with half of the wealth of the world, we blessed as we are. So I believe that we ought to know the answers pretty well.

We live at a time in history when everything is exceedingly complex. There are no easy answers any more and beware of people that give you those. This is an interrelated world and interdependent world. What happens in one part of the world may be more — may be more directly affects you than what happens in your next county. That is the kind of a world that we live in. We recognize that there are times when American power must be used, when aggression must be resisted, lest it grow to be even more dangerous. And we are in that period now.

I must pause for a moment to say this to you, because many of you are concerned about it. Your country has no desire of conquest. There are no militarists in your government.

There isn't anyone here that wants to show the might of American power just for the joy of it or for his own self satisfaction.

Our country has given 167,000 casualties since World War II in

the cause of other peoples freedom. We have spent from our Treasury hundreds of billions of dollars to help other people help themselves. But I say to you that had we not done it, this would have been a different world and it would have been one that could bring tears to your eyes and grief to your soul.

This world would today have the black tide of communism on its back were it not for the fact that your America stood firm in Europe, that your America stood firm in Berlin, that your America stood firm and helped the Greeks, your America had the Greek-Turkish Aid Program, that your America, if you please, fought the aggressor in Korea, sought no major victory, sought merely to show that aggression would not succeed, and that your America this very hour was fighting on the same principle in Vietnam, to teach the aggressor that the rule of brute force shall not be the rule of the world.

(Applause.)

And I am happy to tell you that we are teaching some people that lesson. And stay with it, listen not to the counsel of those that tell you that all we need to do is to leave. Oh, I know it would be so much easier if we could. No President wants to send a son into battle. No President wants to commit the Treasury of this nation and its resources to resisting aggression just for the fact that we would like to show our power. But any man worthy of being President of the United States would do eactly what Franklin Roosevelt had to do and

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did do, what Harry Truman did, what Dwight Eisenhower did, what John Kennedy did in Cuba, and what Lyndon Johnson is now doing in Vietnam.

(Applause.)

But we must also recognize that in resisting aggression military power alone is not enough. It is of little use actually in the long run without political and social reform, to change the conditions that brought on unrest and conflict in the first place. And that is the hard task. We will win this military victory, make no mistake about it. But our task is to have a political genius, the know-how, to help people help themselves to build an economy and a society of justice and of freedom. And, my dear fellow Americans, that is what your children are going to have to do. That is what we are going to have to do. That is what we are going

It was Mr. Tournby, the great British historian, who told us what we could be. He is a contemporary, as you know.

Tournby put it this way: that we in America, and we of this period in the free world, could be remembered — and I say "Could be remembered" — not for crimes or even astonishing inventions, but as the first generation to dare make the benefits of modern civilization available to the whole human race.

We can do it. And I ask my fellow Americans to lift their eyes to the skies and to the new horizons. Do not be downcast. Be sure of one thing: the power of tyranny and dictatorship is

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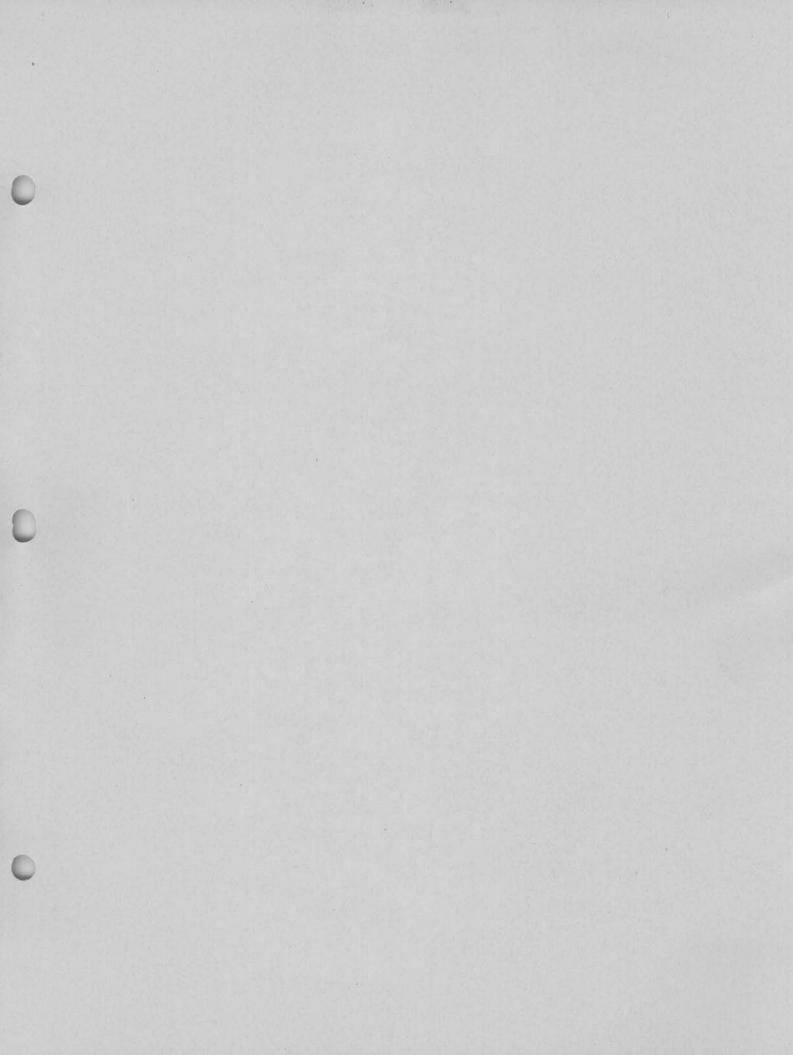
fading. It is even changing in order to survive at all, to even accept some of our own principles. And the force of freedom has ever been restless and it has an immortality.

The power of the Roman legions could not crush it. The power of Hitler's armies could not crush it. This spark of freedom has never been extinguished and it won't be extinguished in our time, if we have the will, if we have the courage to protect it, to keep it, to keep that torch of liberty and freedom alive. And I ask you to remember your pledge to your country, not just your children's pledge, but yours, as you salute our flag day in and day out, the flag of this Republic. And what are we saying? "I pledge allegiance to the flag of the Republic, and to the country and the nation for which it stands, "one nation" -- not North, not South -- "one nation, under God" -- recognizing our proper place in the scheme of things -- "indivisable" -- not torn by religious or racial strife -- "with liberty and justice for all" -- everybody. Thank you.

(Applause.)

MISS NORTON: The Vice President has just given us a stirring speech and a real boost to the candidacy of Marlin Volz as the next Mayor of Louisville.

This is Ann Norton saying good-by to you from the Flag
Room of the Kentucky Hotel where Vice President Humphrey has
just spoken on behalf of Dean Marlin Volz.



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