

THE PRESIDENT'S CLUB

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REMARKS OF
HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

- - -

January 19, 1966

[Jan. 18?]

WARD & PAUL

OFFICIAL REPORTERS

917 G STREET, N.W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20001

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917 G St., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.

1 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you. Thank you
2 very much, Chairman Bailey, and Cliff Carter, and members of
3 the President's Club. I am just delighted to be able to be
4 here this morning with you and that you are willing to give us
5 a little time to talk about matters of mutual concern.

6 I know that you are going to have an eventful day.
7 In fact, I was checking my office schedule this morning, and
8 said how come I am not coming over to lunch, to which Bill
9 Cornell said, "You already have two other luncheons." And he
10 apparently decided that this was too high-toned for me, John,
11 so that I will have to stay up on Capitol Hill.

12 For a few moments I thought possibly I was going to
13 do you a favor by restricting and restraining my remarks be-
14 cause I am supposed to go over and open the Senate. But I
15 just told Bill Cornell that he should call Dave Gartner, my
16 assistant on Capitol Hill, to get a stand-in just in case I
17 couldn't make it.

18 One of the great advantages of being President of the
19 Senate is that you can call on the members of the Senate to
20 take over those duties. I seldom call on the same man too
21 often, lest he thinks he would like to be Vice President.

22 (Laughter.)

23 And if I see anybody sitting in that chair over an
24 hour at a time and getting to feel kind of comfortable I im-
25 mediately go in and say, "You have served long enough in that

1 position. You look much better sitting down in the Chamber
2 rather than up here on the rostrum.

3 We have quite a good time over there with our
4 colleagues in the Congress.

5 I am going to talk to you on two matters this morn-
6 ing, with first of all to say "amen" to what John Bailey has
7 just said. The importance of your activities in the months
8 ahead, it goes without saying that we can't do the job that
9 we need to do in 1966 without your help. And we are going to
10 need it and need it badly. The President can't do the job
11 that he needs to do for this country without your help.

12 I have talked to you, each and every one of you,
13 at other meetings. There is no one of you here that hadn't
14 heard me too many times for your own enjoyment and pleasure.
15 But you help elect us. And as I have said to you somewhat in
16 jest, but also in truth, we belong to you in a very real
17 sense. We are a part of your family and you are part of ours.
18 You are stuck with us so you better make the best of what you
19 have.

20 You can't go around telling people that you didn't
21 know what you were doing because that would demonstrate a
22 lack of good judgment. So the best thing for you to do is
23 to go around and indicate what we are trying to do and to
24 make it stand up in its best light. And, very frankly, I
25 don't think that is too difficult insofar as our President is

1 concerned. His record of legislative accomplishment -- or
2 should it put it this way -- the record of legislative ac-
3 complishment by the Johnson administration is phenomenal.

4 Many people said here only a month ago, "What is
5 there new that the President can suggest to this 89th Congress,
6 Second Session?" Then came the State of the Union Message.
7 I think that message is one that should be studied by every
8 single person in the President's Club in particular, and every
9 person interested in the welfare of this country. It is di-
10 vided into three sections: Program, Budget, and National
11 Security. And we ought to know what is in there.

12 We are going to need your advocacy; the opposition
13 is gearing itself now for the regular attack. And, by the way,
14 I watched what the opposition did and had to say and if they
15 don't do better than that than they did last night, why, I
16 think that we can be somewhat assured that we will be able to
17 carry the fight to the opposition and win the battle. But we
18 ought never to take that for granted.

19 Now I want to talk to you on some substantive matters
20 this morning. I don't need to tell you how to organize your
21 communities for fund-raising purposes. There are successful
22 men here, men in professions and business, men in public and
23 private life. You know more about organization than I do.
24 And I think it would be presumptuous on my part to tell you
25 what to do. All I ask you is to do what you know you ought to

1 do and do a good job of it. And to remember that the invest-
2 ment that you are making is an investment in public policy and
3 good government. You haven't had to be ashamed of this ad-
4 ministration. I think you can be proud of it.

5 I want to talk therefore about what this administra-
6 tion is trying to do and maybe to share with you a few obser-
7 vations that I have made in the last month. This morning I
8 went to the White House early. The President had in the White
9 House the Acting Secretary of State, Mr. Ball, and Mr. Lincoln
10 Gordon, United States Ambassador to Brazil. Brazil is the
11 largest country in this hemisphere. It is larger than the
12 United States, larger than Canada. It is the third largest
13 country in the world. It is by far the biggest country in
14 South America in terms of population. It is a giant. And how
15 Brazil goes may well determine what is going to happen in this
16 hemisphere.

17 So we have had one of our very best ambassadors in
18 Brazil. This country is going through agonizing pains of de-
19 velopment and political friction. And yet at the same time
20 political growth. We have given a great deal of attention to
21 it. In the Alliance for Progress there are three countries
22 that get about two-thirds of all the funds. We have over
23 \$600 million of Alliance for Progress funds going into Latin
24 America. Those three countries are Brazil, Chile and Colombia.
25 And then the fourth is the Dominican Republic.

1 This is indeed one of the most troublesome areas of
2 the world, not by any stretch of imagination the largest, but
3 the most troublesome at the present time. But be of good
4 cheer, we have got good people there. Ellsworth Bunker, our
5 Ambassador or our Special Envoy from the President in the
6 Dominican Republic, is one of the finest Ambassadors, finest
7 diplomats this country has ever produced, a selfless man,
8 tremendous personality. And we are trying to help that
9 country get back on its feet. There is a lesson to be learned
10 in that little country. Twenty-five years of corrupt dic-
11 tatorship corrupts a whole society. You can just not have
12 Trujilloism for twenty-five years or thirty years without
13 having to pay a price. It is exactly like abusing one's body
14 or abusing a society. You pay a price.

15 The same thing has happened in other countries,
16 Peronism in the Argentines. It has made those people pay a
17 terrible price. Instability all over Latin America, and yet
18 there are good signs. We are not losing the struggle in Latin
19 America. I want you to know that. I know a little bit about
20 this hemisphere. I am going to know more about it. We are
21 not losing that struggle. We are winning it.

22 When I say "We," I mean the forces of freedom. And
23 we always ought to remember when we say "we" that we are not
24 alone in this struggle. We Americans -- there are other people,
25 they are every bit as interested in what you and I are

1 interested in, people that love their homes and families and
2 their countries and their independence and their freedom just
3 as much as we do and they are our partners.

4 This morning we discussed this hemisphere. And we
5 have a new Assistant Secretary for Latin American Affairs
6 within the last hour. And it is Mr. Lincoln Gordon who is
7 leaving his post in Brazil, coming here to Washington, D. C.
8 This was announced this morning. And we have some plans that
9 we are developing for this hemisphere. They will come, these
10 are not matters to be discussed lightly and they will be an-
11 nounced in due time by the President just as he is going to
12 have special messages on new thrusts, new forces at work in
13 this world that we are going to put to work in the field of
14 education and of health, and of nutrition, and of technical
15 assistance. There are really going to be many developments
16 here in the next months that will thrill you and challenge you
17 and at the same time make heavy demands upon us.

18 Also this morning we witnessed the oath of office
19 being administered to two distinguished Americans who will
20 head up the new Department of Housing and Urban Development.
21 And Walker Sissler just gave me the pamphlet from Detroit
22 outlining the economic development program for Detroit. And
23 there Jerry Cavanaugh, one of the great mayors of the United
24 States, and thank goodness a Democrat, is giving tremendous
25 leadership in Detroit.

1 Walker Sissler is Chairman of the Mayor's Committee,
2 I believe, on Economic Development of that great community.
3 Many of our cities are being literally rebuilt. When you go to
4 Chicago and see what has been done on the lakefront and by a
5 good Democratic mayor, you can be mighty proud. You go to New
6 Haven and see what Mayor Lee has done, just to pick out another
7 one, you can be mighty proud. And you can go to Pittsburgh
8 and see what a succession of the Democratic mayors have been
9 able to do with community leadership, not just Democrats. I
10 don't want to make it just that way. But civic minded leader-
11 ship -- they have built the Golden Triangle in that city so
12 that Pittsburgh today is one of the finest examples of modern
13 urban development.

14 I might add that my own city of Minneapolis has done
15 a good job. The plans that are now underway in that city, that
16 are being completed -- they had their initial stages when I
17 was Mayor of that city in 1945, '46, '47 and '48. The Lower
18 Loop Development, we pioneered, we thought it through.

19 So this morning we are establishing a whole new de-
20 partment of government on cities. And the President gave a
21 magnificent charge to Bob Weaver, the new Secretary of Housing
22 and Urban Development, and to Bob Wood, the Under Secretary,
23 from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, as he said, "A
24 Harvard man and a M.I.T. man." And a whole new force is being
25 put at work in our government.

1 And I want you to know how your President did this.
2 For several months now he has had a task force at work quietly.
3 You haven't heard much about it -- studying what this depart-
4 ment, this new department, should do. The Congress established
5 this new department. I held the hearings on this department
6 when I was a Senator, reported this bill favorably to the
7 Congress of the United States, and it passed one house while I
8 was Senator.

9 I have been interested in urban affairs all of my
10 life. I have served as the President's Liason with local
11 government this past year. We have had the mayors of prac-
12 tically every city in the United States up to 30,000 right here
13 in Washington, D. C., explaining this administration's programs
14 to those local officials. Meeting with the county officials,
15 the city managers, local government people, and we have had
16 the governors in here, as you know.

17 Buford Ellington, the Liason with those governors.
18 Well, this new department is going to help design the kind of
19 America that your children and grandchildren are going to live
20 in. Because 80 per cent of the American people by the year
21 1975 will be living in cities and 85 per cent of the American
22 people by the year 2000 will be living in cities and the year
23 2000 is not far away. So we have got to figure out how these
24 cities are -- how to make these cities livable. Transportation
25 problems, living space, pollution -- water and air pollution

1 problems -- overcome them. Crime on our streets, how are we
2 going to handle that. And above all, how are we going to
3 provide for reasonable decent human relations in these cities.
4 These are the great tasks ahead of us and this is why you need
5 good leadership. This is why you have got to encourage good
6 men to run for Congress. This is why you have to back the
7 President that has a vision of America. And I think this is
8 why you are here. I believe this is why you are here.

9 I don't know a single one of you that have gained
10 anything personally out of being in the President's Club. I
11 would like -- I wish we could get people to understand that.
12 I think some of you have had to give up an awful lot to be a
13 member of the President's Club. But there hasn't been any
14 way that any of you have really been rewarded except to know
15 that you are a part of making history. Now that is why I am
16 in politics. I love public life. I like to be a part of the
17 movement of history. I like to do my part in this.

18 As I have said to the youngsters when I have traveled
19 across this country, "You are all studying history now. You
20 have to pass those courses. It is better to make history, make
21 your own." That is what you're doing, you're helping to make
22 the history of the second half of the 20th Century by your
23 participation in your way. And if all you are doing is just
24 raising the money then it isn't enough. You ought to be in-
25 volved in this administration's programs right down to the last

1 item. Needless to say, you may not agree with every one.
2 That is no reason to walk away because you don't agree with
3 every member of your family, either, or every member of your
4 business. But you don't always walk away.

5 Now I want to share with you a few observations, if
6 you have the time, on my trip to the Far East and this recent
7 one into India. Because there were things that were seen,
8 persons talked to that I think are of some concern and inter-
9 est.

10 The prime purpose of our trip to the Far East was to
11 go to the Philippine Islands for the purpose -- to participate
12 in the inaugural of a President of the Philippine Republic.
13 Now to some people that may not seem very important. But I
14 want to tell you that it is very important. There are very
15 few freely elected governments in Asia. And one of them hap-
16 pens to be the Philippine Republic. They have had six
17 Presidents since 1946, since they gained their complete
18 freedom, as an independent republic. And those Presidents have
19 been selected not by bullets but by ballots. There have been
20 no coup d'etat. There have been elections.

21 Now there have been many criticisms of those elec-
22 tions. Some people have said well, they didn't count the
23 votes honestly. Well, that isn't unique to the Philippines.

24 (Laughter.)

25 Some people have said well, they campaigned too long.

1 Or some -- there have been all kinds of critics. The important
2 thing is that Democratic processes were followed. And whether
3 that country has made all the progress that you and I think it
4 ought to have made in these past twenty years, the simple
5 truth is that it has been able to preserve and to strengthen
6 its Democratic institutions. And I would rather have a country
7 that is a democracy not doing so well in some things rather
8 than a country that is a dictatorship that appears to be doing
9 well in some things.

10 So we went there to pay our respects on behalf of the
11 president of the United States and the United States of America,
12 to a sister republic. And I thought it was wonderful that the
13 President Johnson wanted a delegation from this nation to go
14 to that ceremony, not so we could just have our picture taken,
15 but so that we could say publicly by our presence that the
16 United States of America is proud of a sister republic that
17 preserves democratic traditions and activates the democratic
18 processes.

19 We met a fine man, that new President -- President
20 Ferdinand Markos. He is a brilliant man. He is a courageous
21 man. His record in World War II is beyond belief. He has a
22 host of American friends. He is dynamic. I hope that he can
23 do all that he has promised to do and said he can do. But I
24 think this, that he will do much. And I know that he is a
25 friend of the United States. And I know the Philippines are

1 friends of the United States. And I know we need friends. We
2 had very good talks, long visits. We discussed many things.

3 Much of the press has wanted me to tell all the
4 things that we talked about. Well, that is not the way that
5 you serve the national interest. If a Vice President of the
6 United States can't talk with another public official of another
7 country -- or when I am representing our country and represent-
8 ing the President, if I cannot visit privately with other
9 government officials in other countries, then these visits
10 would be fruitless and worthless. I am not supposed to be
11 traveling around at the taxpayers expense on a sightseeing
12 visit. The purposes of our visits are expressly and explicitly
13 outlined before we take off. We have something to do.

14 So the last thing that I intend to do is to tell you
15 what I said to President Markos or what he said to me. And
16 you can read the paper and you can surmise in the -- and the
17 columnists surmised and they all have got it all figured out
18 except they don't really know what they are talking about. The
19 man that knows what happened is the man that was there and the
20 President of the United States. Because my job is to report
21 back to him.

22 This morning I sent the President a second report on
23 our visit to India. I have given a complete report on our
24 visit to the Far East, to the Philippines, to Taiwan, to Japan,
25 and to Korea. I can only say this: You have noticed that in

1 Japan of recent date that the Japanese are interesting them-
2 selves a great deal more now in economic development in South-
3 east Asia. You may have noticed also that they have taken a
4 keen interest in President Johnson's peace initiative in
5 Southeast Asia. This is not an accident. You can draw your
6 own conclusions.

7 You may have noticed that the Vice President was
8 there and a few days later a Mr. Harriman continued his tour
9 and went there. That was not an accident. It didn't mean
10 that Mr. Harriman's plane got lost and was looking for a place
11 to land.

12 We were in Taiwan and Nationalist China. After all,
13 Nationalist China is mighty close to the Chinese regime,
14 Communist regime on the mainland. Taiwan needs to be re-
15 assured that the United States of America has not forgotten
16 its commitments and not forgotten its friends. Plus the fact,
17 the best example -- there are two great examples of the use of
18 foreign aid exclusive of Western Europe for the Marshall plan
19 was a phenomenal success. And those two examples are two
20 small countries, Nationalist China and Israel. There is no
21 two better examples -- and both of them are, by the way, now
22 extending substantial foreign aid to other countries. And
23 both of them are prepared to do much more.

24 So when you hear about all the failures, why remember
25 some of the successes. In Korea we met a valiant ally. And I

1 had the privilege on New Years Eve to speak to the Korean
2 people over television and radio and to the 50,000 American
3 troops and their families, to visit the front lines and to go
4 to the Korean troops and to talk at length with the President
5 of Korea and the Prime Minister and all the members of his
6 Cabinet. And I am here to tell you that we have a staunch
7 friend.

8 As you know, the Koreans have a full division of
9 troops in South Vietnam now. And in case you don't know it,
10 they are getting a splendid account of themselves in battle,
11 one of the best. Our press, naturally, talks mostly about
12 what we Americans do. But let me assure you that the first
13 time that those Korean troops came into combat with the Viet
14 Cong they literally massacred them. The Koreans were tre-
15 mendous. They were unbelievably good fighters. Korea is our
16 friend. And I believe that we made some very helpful progress
17 in our visit.

18 I got back in a very few days. It took me about three
19 days to get the time clock inside of me adjusted. I don't
20 know, all that switching around. And I had no time for rest.
21 We got back and had to go right to work and get caught up.
22 And then, as you know, the Prime Minister of India passed
23 away suddenly. He was going to be here this first day of
24 February, he here in the United States I believe for three
25 days. He had really been looking, Prime Minister Shastri had

1 been looking forward to this visit. And we had been looking
2 forward to having him visit here.

3 Remember, India represents 500 million people. It
4 is one of the great nations in the world today, and it is a
5 potentially powerful nation and it a democratic nation. It
6 cases 180 million ballots in an election. And people come by
7 foot and by camel and by horseback and by truck and by boat
8 to cast their ballots. They come as far as a hundred miles
9 to cast a vote. And they have democratic political parties,
10 freedom of speech, freedom of religion. They have a parlia-
11 ment, they have an elected parliament and an elected --
12 elected governors. It is a full democratic country. And we
13 are paying attention to it and we have given generous help to
14 India.

15 The Soviet Union has, too. The Soviet Union is con-
16 cerned about India, because India represents a counter force
17 to Red China. And we ought to keep in mind the importance of
18 this country. Prime Minister Shastri, a very little man, was
19 a very dynamic leader. And Mr. Kosegyn, the Soviet Prime
20 Minister, took the lead, as you know, and called to Tasskent
21 in the Southern Soviet Union the President of Pakistan, the
22 Prime Minister of India.

23 Many people thought that wouldn't be a successful
24 conference. I want you to know someting, that this government
25 here encouraged that conference. The President of the United

1 States is willing to have anybody help make peace, an honorable
2 peace. I heard the President of the United States encourage
3 President Ayub of Pakistan to attend that conference. So that
4 we could go around with sour grapes and we didn't go around
5 begrudgingly saying well maybe you ought to go and maybe it
6 will be all right. We had a positive attitude. And it is a
7 fact that the conference of Tasskent in the Soviet Union,
8 called by the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, attended by
9 the Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan, was
10 to some degree a success. At least there was a declaration of
11 non-violence, that disputes between nations should not be
12 settled by force, withdrawal of the armies back to their
13 original positions, a cessation in fighting, a restoration of
14 normal relations and economic relations, return of prisoners,
15 and a number of things were done.

16 Now, I carried President Johnson's expression of
17 appreciation to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of
18 the Soviet Union, who by the way expressed with great senti-
19 ment and feeling his gratitude to the people of the United
20 States for our understanding and our assistance to him. And he
21 is a remarkable young man, remarkable person; with great feeling
22 he asked me to express his thanks to President Johnson and the
23 American people.

24 This funeral ceremony was an unbelievable experience.
25 I have never seen so many people in all of my life and doubt

1 that I ever shall again. Incredible -- there were well over
2 500,000 people at the memorial exercises, to which all of
3 these delegations spoke. The Soviet delegate spoke for thirty
4 minutes. Your delegate, speaking to you now, spoke for
5 approximately three and a half. I think we had a little
6 message for them that was from the heart. And the American
7 flag was respected and cheered, even during a funeral ceremony,
8 as our car passed down through the crowds. We were mobbed.
9 There were times when I wondered whether the crowds would not
10 push the car over. If I ever witnessed the work of the Secret
11 Service in doing a good job it was in that route out to the
12 funeral ceremony where the cremation of the body took place.

13 I just want to quickly say to you that in the years
14 India is making progress and we are helping her make that pro-
15 gress. She faces severe food shortages. We are helping her
16 with her food. She could have famine unless we help her.
17 Your President has insisted that India redirect some of her
18 resources in food production, and this is under way. I met
19 with every minister of the Cabinet, the Acting Prime Minister
20 Mr. Naghda, the President of India, Mr. Radhakrishnan -- a
21 great man, a strong friend of freedom and of the United States,
22 don't let anybody kid you, a strong friend of this country, a
23 former Professor of Philosophy at Oxford University. Wonderful.
24 In England, I should say, a very good friend of this nation.

25 Every person that is talked about in the press, as

1 the new Prime Minister has been talked to by one of us, by the
2 man that is talking to you right now. They know what our
3 views are and we know what theirs are and we have nothing to
4 be afraid of, from them, and they have nothing to be afraid of
5 from us. They need us and frankly we need them. And know when
6 we need each other you would be surprised how well you can get
7 along. It works out very well.

8 So without taking much more of your time -- now I
9 may be taking too much. I thought you might like to know what
10 we have been doing. Politics is just the humdrum of getting
11 people to contribute and just getting them to the polls isn't
12 enough. You need to know that your Nation is in a mighty and
13 a great adventure, an adventure of trying to build a better
14 world. And we are one of the architects of that great program,
15 the building. Presently that building is being severely
16 distorted and interrupted by the tragedy in South Vietnam or
17 in Southeast Asia.

18 We pursue the course of peace. I heard Dean Rusk say
19 to Mr. Kosegyn that we are prepared to be in Geneva tomorrow
20 morning to talk to anybody that wants to talk peace. But I
21 can say to you with equal candor that peace is no sign of
22 witness, because just as we are prepared to talk peace without
23 any preconditions with anybody anywhere at any time, we also
24 have the strength to repel aggression anywhere, at any time.
25 Don't you ever forget that. Don't you ever forget that, because

1 your President and your government or the people of the United
2 States make sure that this Nation has the strength and the power
3 to fulfill its commitments. And the day that we are unwilling
4 to fulfill our commitments, the day that we are unwilling to
5 honor our pledges, on that day this whole world of ours will
6 be torn apart. Because even though many countries are critical
7 at times of our daily actions or of some particular act, they
8 know, those same people know that the power of the United
9 States and the commitment of the United States that is honored
10 is their only hope for future. They know that and all you have
11 to do is have a private conversation with them and you will
12 find that out.

13 But many of them are beset by a powerful force at
14 home. I had one leader of one country -- and I won't mention it
15 because it would be embarrassing -- but a great country, say to
16 me that he was ashamed that he hadn't been able to say more and
17 do more. But he said you know the nature of our opposition.
18 And some of the political leaders of great countries are terri-
19 fied by their -- or should I say harassed and torn daily by
20 their opposition and irresponsible opposition to a point where
21 they no longer are really able to give the leadership that
22 they ought to.

23 But when they see America strong and determined and
24 yet fair and just, they take a new look. The day that we
25 falter, the day that we slacken in our effort, the day that we

1 drop the torch of leadership -- on that day the lights of the
2 world will be extinguished. And that is what the whole struggle
3 is all about. And that is why you are here.

4 I am here to tell you that people all over the world
5 are looking to the President of the United States, the Congress
6 of the United States as their beacon light of hope. And you
7 have got to provide some of the fuel for that light.

8 So if you came here just to visit, that is fine. But
9 I want you to leave here with a sense of mission. And when
10 you go back home and do your job don't do it just on the basis
11 of what the bank account is. Do it on the basis of what your
12 doing gives us a chance to do what you want done for yourself
13 and your family and for your loved ones.

14 I am going to run along to the Senate. Thank you
15 very much.

16 (Applause.)

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