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

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VICE PRESIDENT  
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1 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you. Thank you  
2 very, much, Judge Alexander.

3 I was going to be seated because this microphone is  
4 the kind that keeps you seated. But after an introduction like  
5 that I just have to stand, because I feel about six feet-ten  
6 right now.

7 (Laughter.)

8 He makes you feel real strong and tall and I re-  
9 member the days that you have recalled, Your Honor. And I  
10 remember you and Sadie worked together and I never knew that  
11 inside secret, though, that you just told us about.

12 (Laughter.)

13 If I did I would never have admitted it, but now  
14 that you have exposed it, why, we will confess our limited  
15 sin.

16 (Laughter.)

17 For a rightful and righteous purpose.

18 That's all right, Reverend Jackson. All right.

19 (Laughter.)

20 I can't think of a place I would rather be today  
21 than here, nor can I think of a group that I would rather be  
22 with, talk with, and share some time with than the group that  
23 I see before me and by my side. I know that you have a wonder-  
24 ful morning. I gather that you have been with the President.  
25 And I would gather, having been with him last night, that he



1 has you pretty well fired up already. There isn't much that  
2 the Vice President can say after that.

3 (Applause.)

4 But I do want you to know that I am a Vice President  
5 that enjoys working with the President. I said to a group of  
6 our friends last evening -- this was a group of editors of  
7 some of the Jewish periodicals and publications. I said there  
8 is always an official relationship between the President and  
9 the Vice President. And that official relationship ought to  
10 be one of cooperation, one of helpfulness, one of trust. And  
11 we have that relationship.

12 But the best part of our relationship is that we  
13 have a personal and friendly relationship. And that makes  
14 our case even better.

15 (Applause.)

16 So we talk over many things. We talked over the  
17 developments of recent days, the conference. And I want to say  
18 the results of this conference, the White House Conference,  
19 to fulfill these rights, the results are even beyond our  
20 hopes and expectations.

21 Oh, I read all the reports prior to the conference,  
22 why this was a mistake on the part of the President. I read  
23 two or three columns like that. And I heard a television  
24 broadcast that said why in the world did President Johnson  
25 do this. He hasn't any program; there is no purpose -- why

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1 did he do this. All those prognosticators that do despair  
 2 defeat. But the interesting part is that the conference did  
 3 have a purpose. It was needed. Conferences like this are  
 4 needed to keep this Nation moving and it was timely, because  
 5 we have entered, as I have said, a new stage of the civil  
 6 rights movement and a new stage of the civil rights fight,  
 7 not only in the matter of passing the law and getting our  
 8 statutes so they are just and equitable and fair, but we are  
 9 now at the point where we have to talk with people and work  
 10 with people where the practice of equality matches the law  
 11 and the theory. And that is our life's work. That is what  
 12 we are all here for and that is why we are in this public life.  
 13 I wouldn't stay in public life one day if I didn't think that  
 14 we were going to be able to do something -- some good for  
 15 this generation and for generations yet unborn. And I am not  
 16 trying to be sentimental, I mean every single word of it.

17 I have granddaughters, three sons, a daughter, a  
 18 son-in-law and a daughter-in-law and I expect to have a new  
 19 daughter-in-law come July 9th. She is as pretty as a picture.

20 (Laughter.)

21 And I hope they get me some grandsons.

22 (Laughter.)

23 And I want them to live in America where there is  
 24 room for everybody. And I want them to live in America that  
 25 where the promise of our constitution -- domestic tranquility



1 -- is a fact where people love their country, not out of just  
2 respect for the flag but they love their country because of  
3 respect for their fellow citizens. And that is what it is all  
4 about, the mutual acceptance, that you accept me and I accept  
5 you, that you respect me and I respect you. And I respect  
6 you and accept you because of you, not because I have been  
7 told to, not because the law says I must, even though that  
8 would be helpful -- as Thurgood Marshall made so clear, the  
9 importance of the law -- but that we respect each other be-  
10 cause we are people and fellow Americans, with common pur-  
11 poses, common objectives, the same needs, the same wants.

12           You know, I have traveled a great deal of this  
13 world and it isn't just the mothers of white America that  
14 cry for their children when they are injured or when they lose  
15 a boy in battle. It is the mother -- it is the American  
16 mother of any race, creed, color, religion, region, that has  
17 a broken heart when something happens to her boy or her girl.  
18 And it isn't just in America that they feel that way, either.  
19 I have seen them feel that way in Pakistan and in India. I  
20 have seen them feel that way in North Africa, in Europe.  
21 People are people and we are going to have to learn that the  
22 greatest single achievement of this country is not to put a  
23 man on the moon, not to even have that Surveyor with its  
24 soft landing, not even Gemini IX or the Apollo project but  
25 the greatest achievement of this country is what is happening

1 to people. That is what is important.

2 (Applause.)

3 I don't claim to try to move over into the prodigious  
4 of the clergy. And I am always a little bit suspicious when  
5 some of us -- people in public life get a little too religious  
6 in our public utterances. It sometimes makes people a little  
7 worried about you. But I do have some convictions and some  
8 ideals. I regret to say that I am not always able to live by  
9 them. But I heard a minister in my home church give a sermon  
10 not long ago that just told me why I am in public life. I  
11 have been asked many questions about why I am here. What  
12 motivated you to get into it? Why do you stay with it? You  
13 have to go through a lot of trouble? The same thing with  
14 you, you go through all kinds of difficulties.

15 And I couldn't help but think, as I listened to this  
16 discussion and this sermon, of what the whole civil rights  
17 movement means. I can remember I was in the church, I wasn't  
18 in a political gathering. This minister got up and said  
19 these words: "The way you treat people is the way you treat  
20 God."

21 Now for anybody who has ever been to church, that  
22 summarizes the whole program of the Great Society. That is  
23 the whole business, the whole purpose of the civil rights  
24 movements. That is what we hear about. That is what we  
25 talk, that is what we mean when we say social justice, equality.

1 The way you treat people, that is the way you will be judged.  
2 And that really is the test of your character, the test of  
3 your purpose. And I am happy to say that America is beginning  
4 to treat people a whole lot better. We are making progress.

5 Now I want to talk a little plain, down-to-earth  
6 public policy and politics to you. First of all, I happen to  
7 think that politics is a honorable pursuit. I happen to be-  
8 lieve that without our political parties and our political  
9 institutions and our politicians we wouldn't be making the  
10 progress that we are making today.

11 Judge Alexander talked to you about 1948. I have  
12 had many people say to me, what did you ever get involved in  
13 that civil rights fight for in the Democratic Party? And  
14 let me tell you it didn't make me popular when I came to  
15 Washington and don't you forget it. I was about as popular  
16 here as one of those cats with the white stripes down its  
17 back at a garden party.

18 (Laughter.)

19 I remember. I remember very well. It wasn't easy.

20 I heard a very distinguished Senator say when I  
21 walked into the Senate in 1949, "What is wrong with the people  
22 of Minnesota to send a fellow like that down here?"

23 (Laughter.)

24 And that first term of my public life was a Senator  
25 was one of the most difficult periods of my life. Remember,



1 there were only about twenty-five so-called liberal votes in  
2 the Senate. I entered the Senate and it was a filibuster the  
3 first month that I was there on the civil rights bill. The  
4 then Senator from Rhode Island, Howard McGrath was leading  
5 the fight for a civil rights bill. We couldn't break the  
6 filibuster. We didn't really have any votes but we were  
7 trying.

8 I can remember sitting down in this city in 1950,  
9 talking about a segregated fire department, mind you. They  
10 weren't even going to have integrated -- were going to put  
11 out fires, integrated-like.

12 (Laughter.)

13 You had to have a different kind of fire department  
14 for different kind of fires.

15 (Laughter.)

16 I can remember carrying a sign in this city in front  
17 of a theater demanding that it be opened to all as a United  
18 States Senator. So when I see young folks carrying a few  
19 signs around it doesn't excite me too much. I carried a few  
20 myself and painted a few, if you want to know the truth.

21 (Laughter.)

22 (Applause.)

23 I can remember meeting with the hotel people and the  
24 restaurant people of this city and asking them to open up  
25 their facilities for all people, that it was a morally wrong,

1 and internationally embarrassing and domestically intolerable  
2 thing to have segregation. Now that is where I came in on  
3 this fight. Not lately. I got there when you were there.  
4 And I didn't come from a community where it meant a lot of  
5 votes. As a matter of fact, my dear old friend, Cecil Newton,  
6 who is the Editor of the Minneapolis Spokesman, came to me  
7 when I was running for Mayor and he said, "You are just going  
8 to lose this election going around talking about civil rights  
9 in this city." He said, "We have had Jerald L. K. Smith  
10 around here. They don't even like Jewish people in Minneapolis,  
11 much less Negroes."

12 (Laughter.)

13 "Now what are you leading a fight about human rela-  
14 tions and civil rights for?"

15 I said, "I will tell you why, because I was brought  
16 up that way. And I feel that the people ought to know what  
17 they are voting for, because if I get to be Mayor we are going  
18 to do something about it. And I don't want to deceive them.  
19 And I am going to tell them exactly what we have in mind,  
20 including the appointment of the first citizens civil rights  
21 commission in the Nation, and the first municipal enforceable  
22 fair employment practices ordinance in the Nation."

23 (Applause.)

24 Now that wasn't 1966, that was 1945. And the  
25 ordinance was adopted in 1946. So I was there early. And

1 have we gone places since. Progress has been made.

2 (Applause.)

3 I just want to refresh your memory because that  
4 battle we put on in '48 for the Democratic Party is the best  
5 thing that ever happened to the Democratic Party since  
6 Thomas Jefferson and Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Harry S.  
7 Truman and Adlai Stevenson and John F. Kennedy and Lyndon  
8 Johnson. I just put those all together.

9 (Laughter.)

10 It was a battle that had to be made, a fight for  
11 principle. And we didn't succeed right away but we did  
12 succeed in getting our party to take a stand. And because we  
13 took a stand, we have been blessed by victory, and because we  
14 took a stand we made the other party come along a little bit,  
15 too.

16 (Laughter.)

17 Now every single year that I served in the Senate  
18 -- you folks all know this -- I introduced civil rights bills,  
19 fought for them, testified for them, and caught the devil.  
20 Every year I had more mean editorials written about me per  
21 year than any man or woman in this room. I have got a trunk  
22 full of them. I don't like to look at them except when I get  
23 a bad one now I say to myself well it isn't as bad as I had  
24 ten years ago. I am improving.

25 (Laughter.)



1 But we kept at it and isn't it one of the ironies  
2 of history -- just think about this -- Abraham Lincoln, the  
3 Great Emancipator, had as his Vice President a man by the  
4 name of Johnson. And when Lincoln was taken, who intended  
5 to carry out his work of emancipation, a man by the name of  
6 Johnson, tried to carry out the Lincoln program of reconstruc-  
7 tion, the Lincoln program of reconciliation. That Johnson  
8 failed temporarily.

9 John F. Kennedy came along as our President and he  
10 started to press once again for the battle of civil rights.  
11 And he was taken after a thousand days and he had a Vice  
12 President by the name of Johnson, a southerner, a man from  
13 the Southwest, Lyndon Johnson; a man from New England, from  
14 the Northeast, a Yankee, President -- a man from the Southwest  
15 who many people had labeled a Confederate, but as President  
16 Johnson said many times, he was no man of any region. He was  
17 an American.

18 And Lyndon Johnson put those famous lines in that  
19 first message that he gave to the Congress after the death  
20 of John Kennedy. He said: "Let us continue." Only he  
21 said it with much more feeling, "Let us continue." And he  
22 advanced the Congress of the United States to that compre-  
23 hensive Civil Rights Act of 1964. And just to show you how  
24 -- well, the miracles of divine justice. Here was the  
25 President of the United States carrying out this battle and

1 I was privileged to be the majority whip of the United States  
2 Senate and was given the fortunate assignment of being the  
3 floor leader for the civil rights bill which was the hope  
4 and dream of my life. And the opposition thought they were  
5 going to outsmart us, outwork us and out-organize us. But  
6 they didn't. They didn't outsmart us, outwork us and they  
7 didn't out-organize us. And what is more important is the  
8 people were ready. And the President was firm.

9 I want to tell you. I am going to let you in on a  
10 little secret. President Johnson called me over to the White  
11 House and said, "Listen here, Hubert, you think you are going  
12 to pass your first bill; you better buckle down." And he  
13 said, "You tell all your liberal friends over there to quit  
14 making those speeches out around the country and be there in  
15 the Senate because they are going to quorum you to death.  
16 They are going to have a quorum call every time it looks like  
17 somebody walked out of the room and if you can't get a quorum,  
18 then the ball game is all over. You have got to start all  
19 over again the day you can't get a quorum under the rules of  
20 the Senate, then the new whole operation starts."

21 I called our people together and said, "Look, batten  
22 down the hatches, we are in for a siege and we are going to  
23 take on the opposition and you have got to be here." And we  
24 missed only once from the 10th day of March to the 20th day  
25 of June -- that is how long it took us -- March 10 to June 20,

1 we battled on civil rights. I was there every single day and  
2 every single night. And only once during all of that time did  
3 we ever fail to have a quorum and then I had to be a little  
4 mean and point out who wasn't there and it got in Time  
5 Magazine and after that I never had trouble getting a quorum.

6 (Applause.)

7 It took us one-hundred days and we passed it and we  
8 have gone on from there.

9 Now, that is just legislation. I hear people say  
10 all the time, "Well, you haven't done enough." Lord, goodness  
11 me, nobody has ever done enough at any time about any thing.  
12 You haven't had enough income, you haven't had enough educa-  
13 tion, we never get enough votes. There is always more that  
14 you can get.

15 I have a little place out in Minnesota. My wife is  
16 out there now. I hope to go out tonight. My boy is graduat-  
17 ing and I am going out there and deliver the commencement  
18 address and I am more frightened than my son is to hear what  
19 his father has got to say.

20 (Laughter.)

21 But when I hear people say we just got to do more,  
22 I agree. I agree we have to do more. Just exactly like I  
23 ought to do more out there at that house we have. And I want  
24 you to know something. We started building that little  
25 house out there in 1955 and it was just going to be a little



1 old lake-side -- you know, just a shack. That is what mother  
2 told me.

3 (Laughter.)

4 She had a better design in mind, I might add. She  
5 wanted to do more and each year we have done a little more  
6 and each year the mortgage has been a little larger. Each  
7 year -- and including this year -- she is President Johnson's  
8 number one ace in the hole "keep the economy moving." I  
9 want you to know that.

10 (Laughter.)

11 (Applause.)

12 I have told her about the dangers of inflation,  
13 that she ought to slow down a little bit here. But what I am  
14 getting at is of course we want to do more. But I want you,  
15 as those of you here that are fellow Democrats, I want you to  
16 listen to this for a while. Let's talk about what we have  
17 done and then what we are going to do.

18 We don't have anything to apologize for. More has  
19 been done in the 89th Congress alone for the people of  
20 America than has been done for a quarter of a century. We  
21 have accomplished things that we have been working for and  
22 dreaming for and fighting for for twenty years, thirty years.  
23 And I ought to know, I have been in most of these battles.

24 The very first bill I ever introduced in Congress  
25 was the bill for hospital and nursing home care under Social

1 Security for persons of age 65 and over. That was in May --  
2 May 9, 1949, that was my first bill that I had my own name on.  
3 It was passed sixteen years later. Every year we fought for  
4 it and I want you to know that when I introduced that bill  
5 it proved to a number of people that I was America's worst  
6 radical.

7 (Laughter.)

8 I want you to know that that brought down upon me  
9 the abuse and torrent of editorial comment that I will never  
10 forget. That was Medicare. Now later on I remember sitting  
11 along side Senator Clinton Anderson of New Mexico. He was on  
12 the Finance Committee. And I said, "Senator, I am not get-  
13 ting any place with this bill. Will you take it? And I will  
14 just join you as a co-sponsor." He said, "Indeed I will."  
15 And he took it and he kept at it for about eight years and we  
16 passed it and Medicare is a fact. And on July 1 of this year  
17 millions of elderly people in America are going to get for  
18 the first time in their life good hospital, nursing home and  
19 medical care. We made progress. It is not perfect. We are  
20 going to have to improve it, and you and I know it. But we  
21 have gone a long way.

22 I introduced the first bill for the Peace Corps.  
23 When I introduced it I remember an editorial that said,  
24 "Humphrey proposes legislation for draft dodgers."

25 (Laughter.)

1           That is what they said, exactly. But we kept at it  
2 and then President Kennedy was elected and he called me at  
3 the White House and he said, "Hubert, you were the man that  
4 pioneered it, I want you to introduce the bill for the admin-  
5 istration. We are going to back it and we are going to pass  
6 it." And I had the privilege of holding the hearings, making  
7 up the bill and managing the bill on the floor of the Senate.  
8 And it is a law.

9           Federal aid to education-- the first bill I ever  
10 voted on in Congress, in March of 1949 was federal aid to  
11 education. We passed it in the Senate and they killed it in  
12 the House. They killed it in the House on the basis of  
13 either religion or race, take your choice. If you ran out of  
14 religion, take race.

15           (Laughter.)

16           It's a fact.

17           (Applause.)

18           And then came along President Johnson and said,  
19 "You know, I am just interested in the children, where they  
20 go to school and secondary, the important thing -- let's do  
21 something for the children. Let's get them some books. Let's  
22 get some help for the children that haven't had a fair chance  
23 in life. And we have the federal aid to education program  
24 today that is moving ahead. It has gone a long ways. Three  
25 years ago maybe President Johnson told you this -- three years



1 ago \$4.5 billion in total to federal aid to education --  
2 higher, elementary, science, everything. This year, \$10.3  
3 billion.

4 (Applause.)

5 Now, my fellow Democrats, that is something to talk  
6 about.

7 Health services -- three years ago when President  
8 Johnson came as President, \$4.3 billion in health, health  
9 grants, health appropriations by this Congress. And I helped  
10 vote for them. This year, \$10.5 billion. We have gone -- we  
11 have done a lot of things.

12 Now, I want to be honest with you. We can use more  
13 for education. We could use more for health. We could use  
14 more of everything. But we have had to learn how to pro-rate  
15 it. We have had to learn how to use our resources and  
16 frankly we have had to learn how to use the tools that are  
17 made available, the tools that are made available. We have  
18 gone a long ways.

19 Our farmers are better off today. Our workers are  
20 better off today. Our businesses are better off today. Our  
21 profits are better today. Unemployment, which you and I  
22 were talking about just a year ago -- two years ago it was  
23 real bad -- three years ago it was up to eight per cent.  
24 Today unemployment -- we are getting now down to the point  
25 where we have to train the people who are temporarily

1 unemployable. And that is why we have manpower training.  
2 That is why we have the poverty program. That is why we have  
3 vocational education. That is why we have a job corps. We  
4 are reclaiming lives and making them employable so that they  
5 can be participating citizens.

6 I come here to tell you that the way to win an elec-  
7 tion is two things, point to your record of achievement and  
8 lay out your program of promise and hope. And I don't think  
9 you win elections by going around pretending that we haven't  
10 done anything. And every once in a while I read where some  
11 Democrat says well, we just haven't done it good enough.  
12 You don't need to say that, the Republicans will -- they will  
13 tell you that. They are good at that.

14 (Laughter.)

15 But you can also remind them that if we haven't  
16 done it good enough I just want to ask you what would you  
17 have done, what would you have done? I am from the midwest.  
18 I was out there last week. I had some farm folks saying to  
19 me, "Now, we are a little bit unsatisfied with the adminis-  
20 tration's farm program."

21 I said, "Are you telling me that you think the  
22 Republicans gave you a better one?"

23 "Oh, no, oh, no." When they hear that they start  
24 getting the chills.

25 (Laughter.)

1 Well, those are the choices. We are a little dis-  
2 satisfied with our program, too, for agriculture. We would  
3 like to have it be a little better. But you know, you have  
4 your work in city councils, legislative bodies. You know  
5 that you can't get it your own way. You know very well that  
6 when you introduce a bill or an ordinance, you have to give  
7 a little here in the hopes that you gain a little there. You  
8 know that.

9 So I am only saying this, that if you are going to  
10 drink out of the well of the Democratic Party, don't poison  
11 it.

12 (Laughter.)

13 (Applause.)

14 Let's try to make it a little bit better. Just  
15 improve the well. And we are a party of change and we are  
16 a party of progress and we are a party of hope and we are  
17 a party of the people. And the main criticism that this  
18 party has received throughout the years is that we have tried  
19 to do too much for the people. We have always had folks  
20 that are worried so much about that we are spending too much  
21 for this or spending too much for that or spending too much  
22 for something else.

23 I am going to conclude on this note to you. I come  
24 from Minnesota and we have in the northern part of our state  
25 what we call the iron mine section. Twenty-five, thirty,



fifty years ago we had iron ore up there that you could just take the scoop shovel in and just scoop it out and just send it to the mills, literally, rich iron ore. Well, of course, two world wars took care of that. We scooped that out and it went into tanks and guns and went into automobiles and trucks and so forth.

So the next period of time we had what we called the low-grade ore or middle low-grade. It was about thirty-five to forty per cent pure ore instead of fifty-five to sixty-five per cent ore. And we used up a lot of that. And then finally we got down to what we call the low ore content, they call it, for simple words, low-grade ore. Now here is what is happening in our country:

People today that have skills and jobs and abilities that are developed, they are pretty well able to get a good job. We have today laws against discrimination in employment. But a law against discrimination in employment is no good at all if the fellow hasn't the skill to have a job. We have said now, look here, we are going to make it illegal for employers to deny a man a job on the basis of race, religion, and so forth. But we haven't done enough to say that we are going to make it a matter of public policy that every human being that God has put on this earth that has got the title "American citizen" is going to have the skills and the talents that he has in his system and mind and heart

1 developed so that he can get a job. Because if you are de-  
2 nied a job because you are not employable, it is not much  
3 different than being denied a job because of discrimination.  
4 The point is you don't have a job.

5 So what we are trying to do is, we are looking now  
6 at our people that haven't been properly educated, that have  
7 been denied, that are the victims of our slums, that are the  
8 victims of world poverty, that have been the victims of  
9 two-hundred years of prejudice and oppression. And we are  
10 saying to them, look here, these are the people that at the  
11 present moment have the low quotient of skills, the low  
12 marks in skills, the low marks in education, the low marks  
13 in employability. And we are going to upgrad it, upgrade  
14 them. They are going to upgrade themselves with the help of  
15 their fellow American in the community. To use my analogy,  
16 we are doing that with the iron ores in our state. We are  
17 upgrading those ores by new processes.

18 We are upgrading people in this country by new  
19 processes. We are upgrading people, number one, by telling  
20 them that the doors of opportunity are open. And you have  
21 got to help that. Listen -- I know, you have been at this  
22 work a lot longer than I have. But there are a lot of  
23 people in this country that have been told, as you have been  
24 told, for a hundred years, look, get to the back of the bus.  
25 And when the law passes and says you can all sit in the front

1 seat, some people won't believe it. That is a fact. You  
2 have literally got to take him by the hand and say, "Look  
3 here, Buddy, come along. We don't have to be back there over  
4 the hind tire. We can sit up in the middle of the bus and  
5 we are going to get there." Because he may not believe it.  
6 We have to lead and, as the President said, it isn't good  
7 enough to just open the gates of opportunity. We must help  
8 people through those gates. We've got to help them.

9 (Applause.)

10 Unless anybody gets to feeling a little self-pit,  
11 this isn't just a problem for Negro Americans. There are  
12 more poor whites, you know. There is a larger percentage of  
13 the total population in terms of population, a larger per-  
14 centage of Negro Americans are the victims of unemployment  
15 and poor education. But there are actually in sum total  
16 many more poor whites. And when you are poor, you are poor.  
17 And when you are illiterate, you are illiterate. And when  
18 you are unemployable, you are unemployable. And when you are  
19 sick, you are sick. And when you live in a slum, you live in  
20 a slum. It doesn't make any difference if you are pink,  
21 black, white, blue or purple-- you are the victim of that  
22 environment.

23 And this administration, the Johnson -- and, by the  
24 way, the Republicans say we are going to have Humphrey, to  
25 which I am delighted, so I --



1 (Applause.)

2 This Johnson-Humphrey administration is not only  
3 going to see to it that the gates of opportunity are kept  
4 open with your help, we are going to also see to it that we  
5 take people, if need be, by the arm in a friendly, brotherly  
6 manner and help him move through those gates. We are going  
7 to do this through education. We are going to do this  
8 through job training. We are going to do this through health  
9 services. We are going to do this through encouragement and  
10 we are going to live what we preach. That is the most im-  
11 portant thing.

12 (Applause.)

13 Or, as we say, let's go out and do battle.

14 I keep reading every so often, well, I am afraid the  
15 Democratic Party is going to take a licking, now, this is an  
16 off-year election. We always have these fellows that like  
17 to come over to fight, that -- there are more fight promoters  
18 in Washington, D. C. per square foot than any other place  
19 that I can think of.

20 (Laughter.)

21 They either have the President mad at somebody or  
22 somebody mad at the President. They have got me in one about  
23 three times a day.

24 (Laughter.)

25 I am a peaceful man, by the way. I prefer not to

1 fight. I prefer the reason to think but if somebody wants a  
2 fight and they insist on it, then you have got to give them  
3 a licking.

4 (Laughter.)

5 (Applause.)

6 So I say let's join hands and let's join arms here  
7 and let's go out and talk about the record, let's go out and  
8 talk about what we want to do. And I ask you to tell now  
9 while you are in town, you just get around here. We have  
10 got a rent supplement bill up here. We have got a demon-  
11 stration city bill up here. We have got a teacher bill.  
12 Just three -- just give you three. You don't have to come  
13 up -- you don't have to work the whole city over. You don't  
14 have to take a hundred bills, a checklist -- I will give you  
15 three.

16 If we can pass rent supplement we can start to  
17 break down the segregated housing and make a better place in  
18 which to live. And it is in your town that is going to be  
19 effective. Remember, if there is any good housing it is  
20 going to be out where you live. If there is any bad housing  
21 it is going to be where you live. And you ought to just  
22 make it your business to see to it that the people you rep-  
23 resent have a decent place in which to live. And this  
24 government, let me tell you -- any country that can spend  
25 the billions that we are to put a man on the moon ought to

1 be able to spend a little something to put a man on his feet.

2 (Applause.)

3 If I had good sense I would quit right now, but I  
4 want to --

5 (Laughter.)

6 I just want to leave this message, I am an  
7 actionist. I want you to talk to your Congressmen and your  
8 Senators. We need this demonstration city program. Listen,  
9 most of our people are going to be living in cities. Now,  
10 what kind of cities are they going to live in? What kind  
11 of cities? Now, we can research everything else in the world.  
12 We can research what kind of a city we are going to live in.  
13 What kind of a city is your kid going to live in? What kind  
14 of a city is that little granddaughter of your going to live  
15 in when she is age fifty? If it continues like it is now  
16 you wouldn't want to be responsible for what she will have  
17 to live in. And it is your people and my people that are  
18 going to live in those cities.

19 I just want you to get around here and get somebody  
20 and shake them up a little. It is time we came to grips with  
21 this city problem before it takes us over. Man, the city  
22 ought to -- cities ought to be the most livable institutions  
23 in the world. They ought to be beautiful. Parks, streets --  
24 and when I go through these cities and see the ungathered  
25 garbage, it is an outrage. And let me tell you, most of the



1 ungathered garbage is in the areas of the city where the  
2 people that you represent live. And you know it. I am not  
3 here just to give you an inflammatory statement. I have  
4 been there. I know a lot about local government. The best  
5 schools are in the area of the city where the people have  
6 the highest income. And they always get the barbage collected  
7 out there.

8 (Laughter.)

9 You bet. And the street lights are on, too. And  
10 the parks are illuminated, too. Where we need the best schools  
11 or at least schools of equal quality is where the people have  
12 the lowest income. That is the way you lift them. And the  
13 garbage ought to be collected there first and the streets  
14 ought to be kept clean. The city ought to set the example.

15 And if you are a city councilman, you get up and  
16 say in so many words, I intend to see that where the people  
17 that I represent live, I intend to see that there are parks  
18 and that the sidewalks are fixed up and the garbage is  
19 collected, and let somebody else wait a little while. I have  
20 been waiting a long time. I have been waiting a long time.

21 In my family, when we -- when daddy brought us up,  
22 we had to take our turns and I know a lot of people have been  
23 waiting for their turn for a good many, many years. So we  
24 are going to do something about demonstration cities, if you  
25 want them. But if you just go around town just thinking,

1 well, isn't Washington beautiful. And it is. And I have  
2 enjoyed the trip, and you have. You are not going to get  
3 demonstration cities. I have been working on it day and night  
4 and right here in this room we savaged just the other day the  
5 possibility of having a bill. You would think everybody  
6 would be for it. Most of our people live in cities. But  
7 they are not. They are fraid. They are timid. They don't  
8 understand it.

9 Get on it. Believe me, don't you leave this town  
10 unless you call up your friend and Congressman, whoever he is,  
11 and if he isn't even your friend. Just call him up and let  
12 him know you are just thinking about him. It is election  
13 year, you know.

14 (Laughter.)

15 (Applause.)

16 And remember that teacher corps program is for the  
17 little ones in the areas that many of you represent. That  
18 teacher corps is to get the best teacher to go into the slum  
19 area to help those kids.

20 (Applause.)

21 We need it. Now we don't need the teacher corps for Lucy  
22 and Linda. And we don't need the teacher corps for Bobby,  
23 Doug and Skip and Nancy -- mine. We really don't. That is,  
24 directly. But none of us are any better than the whole  
25 community. None of us are any better than our neighbors

1 ultimately. And, as I said in my address over here at the  
2 conference, slumism is contagious. Slumism, the major problem  
3 confronting America, within America today, is not communism but  
4 slumism.

5 We have our external enemies. We have our external  
6 problems. We have grave international problems. But, my  
7 dear fellow Americans, unless we take care of this house in  
8 which we live right back here in the United States, we are  
9 not going to be able to help anybody. And the way that we  
10 can best help the rest of the world as we do help them -- and  
11 I don't mean either/or, we must do both -- but in order to  
12 help somebody far away you better be able to have a little  
13 strength and stability and energy right here to do the job.

14 (Applause.)

15 Go forth and do battle. Don't give up. Don't give  
16 the opposition even a chance to get started. We need an  
17 election victory. We need to make sure that America under-  
18 stands that what this 89th Congress did is here for keeps.  
19 And you sort of strengthen the Congress. There are a few  
20 folks that need to be straightened up a little bit. We were  
21 going great guns in the first session of the 89th. Some  
22 people think it is fashionable now to not support the  
23 President. You never had a better friend in your life than  
24 President Johnson.

25 (Applause.)



1           And I might add, you not only have one friend in  
2 the Executive Branch, at the White House, but right across  
3 the street from the White House, you have another friend.  
4 And I am the guy.

5           (Applause.)

6                                 - - -

WARD & PAUL





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