

Bob Straub

Ed Fale - ele

REMARKS

Wayne Morse  
maureen Neuhagen  
al Ullman  
Edith Green  
Bob Duncan

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

Charles Potter

DUNCAN-FOR-SENATE COMMITTEE DINNER

Maledun Cross

PORTLAND, OREGON

May 27

SEPTEMBER 27, 1966

Ferry Shunk

Ⓟ Atty Genl Robert Thornton

The best tonic I know is a trip to Oregon and  
the Northwest

Ⓟ Norman Nelson

This is the place where everything seems larger  
and bolder.

Nothing compares to flying into view of Mount

mt Hood

Hood . . . seeing the Columbia River flowing toward a

broad ocean and other continents . . . and looking down

on this rich, green land. Even the people seem bigger

and healthier -- and, according to the statistics, they are.

My grandfather, John Humphrey, was a pioneer

my mother Norwegian - Father Oregon

Mr Bailey  
100 yrs

Politics with the  
dark off!

of Full moon

in Oregon and my father was born not far away from  
here in Albany. So I feel I have a special tie to you.

↳ If the Humphrey clan had stayed in Oregon,  
there's no doubt who they would be not just supporting,  
but campaigning for, <sup>Bob Duncan & Bob Straub</sup> ~~in the present contest for a seat~~  
~~in the United States Senate.~~

↳ They would be one hundred per cent for  
Bob Duncan, just as I am today. <sup>and 100% for Bob Straub</sup>

↳ Jefferson once said that <sup>the care of Human life</sup> ~~democracy rests on the~~  
<sup>and Happiness, is the first and only legitimate</sup> ~~proposition of human happiness.~~ <sup>Object of Good Govt.</sup>

↳ Human happiness is a little hard to define. But,  
in our democracy, I think we may have some idea of  
what it may be.

↳ In my travels around our country I see several  
basic things we as a people seek and strive for.

↳ We want, first of all, freedom -- the freedom to  
be ourselves, fully and completely, by our own lights

~~and by our own standards.~~ We want to be treated as individuals and judged accordingly.

↳ We want opportunity -- the chance to grow and develop our talents. We want access to schools and jobs and decent housing. We want to be able to go as far as our abilities can take us. — Thomas Wolfe

↳ We want to provide for our children the advantages that we may not have had.

↳ We want our parents to be able to live in dignity and respect.

↳ We want to live in a world at peace.

↳ I don't know if these things, separately or together, add up to the full measure of human happiness.

↳ But I believe we are right to seek them.

And I believe that -- although other nations and ~~cultures~~ have failed in their search for these things -- we have some reason to believe they are within our reach.

*New Deal*  
*Some*  
~~Most~~ of us can remember the spirit of commitment  
and urgency with which we went about building a  
stronger and better America during the days of the New  
Deal.

In those days we set to work because we had little  
choice to do otherwise. Our country was desperately  
threatened by depression.

Today we are proceeding with no less commitment  
and urgency. But we are doing so at a time when our  
economy is at its highest point in history.

We are not self-satisfied. We are not self-content.

We know we are breaking through old barriers. ~~And~~  
~~we can feel almost an exhilaration as we see the future~~  
~~opening ahead.~~

*Getting there - Science & Technology*

Today we are building the framework -- a framework  
of growth, of prosperity, of economic and social justice --  
upon which we can build the society of happiness we

have always sought.

President Johnson has described it this way:  
"I do not doubt history's verdict. I believe that 30 years from now we will look back upon these 1960's as the time of the great breakthrough -- toward victory of peace over war; toward the victory of prosperity over poverty; toward the victory of human rights over human wrongs; toward the victory of enlightened minds over darkness."

Of all these things, we seek most "the victory of peace over war."

Without peace there is simply no future.

No war can be popular in a sane society.

Yet we know from bitter experience that to turn our backs on ~~war~~ <sup>Aggression</sup> -- war by the strong against the

weak; war by totalitarians against people who seek only *freedom*

+ self-determination -- can only invite larger and far more

dangerous conflict later on.

⌞ Today, with other <sup>free</sup> nations, we stand against aggression in Vietnam. We are not there as part of some great colonial adventure. We are not there to destroy another nation or to subjugate her people.

⌞ We are not there to prove our national manhood or the depth of our power.

⌞ We are there to halt aggression before it can spread to further ground.

*- Charter of U.N.  
Suppression Aggression  
Protect  
Self  
Determination*

⌞ I am not surprised that Vietnam should be an issue in this campaign.

⌞ What happens in Vietnam has a great deal to do with the peace, the safety, and the well-being of the people of this state and the future of their children.

⌞ In Vietnam we have determined that the mistakes of the past shall not be repeated.

∠ We have pledged not to desert the fifteen million people who live there.

∠ We have pledged that we shall resist aggression until aggression halts and the people of South Vietnam may have the chance to decide their own futures.

∠ What is at stake is far more, however, than the fate of South Vietnam -- important as that is.

∠ In this nuclear age, we can leave no doubt to those who preach aggression and militancy and violent revolution that their doctrines cannot succeed. !

∠ And in this regard, I am reminded of the words of Winston Churchill when he was asked why, after all, Britain should choose to fight in World War II: "If we left off fighting, we should soon find out."

2 If we left off fighting -- in Vietnam -- to leave the field to aggression, I am afraid we should soon

find out the result. And it could be tragic.

△ We shall continue our efforts in Vietnam. We shall continue to meet aggression. We shall continue to work -- as we continue to work throughout the world -- for economic progress, for social justice, for humane and representative government -- for all the things which can help build strong, cohesive societies able to meet subversion from within and aggression from without.

△ In Vietnam and Southeast Asia, we have chosen the painful, necessary course of responsibility. And we shall see it through.

△ We shall see it through until those who would live by the rule of force recognize that force will fail.

△ At the same time, we shall continue to seek negotiation. You know of the new proposals we have made -- announced last week at the United Nations by Ambassador Goldberg -- toward de-escalation of the conflict.



And we shall continue in our efforts to build peaceful bridges  
to societies which today remain closed.

We shall continue to seek the victory of peace over war.

There is no question but what there will be difficult  
days ahead.

But, as the strongest and most powerful nation in the  
world, we cannot evade the burdens of responsibility or of  
leadership. Nor shall we.

These, above all, are times for responsibility and for  
leadership. These are times when your state and our country  
need Bob Duncan in the United States Senate.

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S P E E C H

by

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Vice President of the United States

9:30 P.M.

September 27, 1966

Sheraton Motor Inn

Portland, Oregon

1 MR. ROBERT DUNCAN: I present to you the Vice President  
2 of the United States.

3 (Applause)

4 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you very much, Senator.  
5 I appreciate very much your generous comments. Ed Bailey and  
6 Senator Robert Duncan -- get used to that. Governor Bob  
7 Straub -- get used to that. Mayor Terry Shrunk -- you are  
8 used to that. Attorney General Robert Thornton, you're used  
9 to it and we like it.

10 (Applause)

11 My good old Scandinavian friend, Norm Nielson. It's good to  
12 see you again tonight, Norm. The lovely wives of these two  
13 very hard working candidates for high office. Melvin Foss,  
14 who is doing a fine job carrying out this battle for congres-  
15 sional seats that rightly belong to the good Democrats of the  
16 State of Oregon.

17 (Applause)

18 My old friend, Charley Porter, down here who knows his way  
19 around Washington and is anxious to come back. I suggest you  
20 send him there. (Applause)

21 Say, wasn't that a great telegram from Edith Green? I never  
22 knew she was a poet. Isurely want to thank Edith for what  
23 she had to say. She added a little extra touch to this wonder-  
24 ful dinner this evening.

25 I saw Bob Duncan just feeling better all the time.

1 (Applause)

2

3 As a matter of fact, he said I move to make about  
4 an hour's speech for introduction, right after he heard it.  
5 And I said well, there'll be two hours, then, yours and mine.

6 (Applause)

7 So he shortened it up.

8 I'm so pleased that Mr. Bailey is here tonight,  
9 shared this evening with us. My goodness, it's a wonderful,  
10 wonderful thing to have a stately gentleman who is alert, ac-  
11 tive and still possesses that remarkable good judgment which  
12 he had in his youth.

13 (Applause)

14 MR. BAILEY: Mr. Vice President, I thank you for  
15 that.

16 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you, Mr. Bailey.

17 (Applause)

18 Mr. Bailey is a man that knows when you start right and you  
19 stay right, you will be right. That's why he's voting for  
20 Duncan.

21 (Laughter)

22 Well, I've just had a wonderful time here listening to the  
23 proceedings. I must say that, as an old pharmacist, I'm  
24 familiar with a number of formulae, compounds, elixers, tinc-  
25 tures, fluid extracts, and what have you. But the political



1 formula that I heard tonight for longevity -- of longevity --  
2 and population explosion.

3 (Laughter)

4 (Applause)

5 I always did say, Bob, that if we couldn't convince them we  
6 surely would outnumber them.

7 (Laughter)

8 And you're going good.

9 (Laughter)

10 Coming to this beautiful state and this fine city of Portland  
11 is for me just like coming home. I can truthfully say that  
12 Mrs. Humphrey and I have been welcomed here in your midst  
13 year after year with more generosity, more warmth and friend-  
14 ship than almost anyplace in the United States. We feel that  
15 we are home when we're here in this beautiful state of Oregon.

16 (Applause)

17 I'm very sorry that my lady is not with me this evening. She  
18 would have loved to have been here, but she's carrying out a  
19 little international good will this week, going up to Canada,  
20 to deliver a speech. I told her there weren't many votes up  
21 there but ----

22 (Applause)

23 she insisted on it, anyway. Since of course I run the house,  
24 I gave her my blessing, you know.

25 (Laughter)

(Applause)

We had a beautiful afternoon and wonderful day, lovely evening here. Early this morning down to your sister state of California, San Diego and up at the University of California campus at La Jolla, out to Scripps Institute for its program of Oceanography, visiting with some of your friends in Congress, Bob. Congressman Van Bierland and Congressman Ken Diles the other day. Congressman Jim Porman and others all of the true stock of good, solid people, just like this man that you honor here tonight.

I've had a delightful trip experience on this journey because I get to know a great deal about our wonderful country. But the best tonic I know whenever you're just a little weary or if in any time of your day you feel like you need to have something to pick you up, is a trip to this marvelous Northwest, this great state of Oregon.

To see these old friends and to be here and just to breath deep, get that extra energy that comes from the ozone and the oxygen that is here. I don't know whether you generate it or not, Bob, but there's a lot of it here.

(Laughter)

(Applause)

They tell me that this is the place where everything seems a little larger, a little bolder, and according to what I've been hearing tonight, a little better.

1 I -- there was some casual reference made to a part  
2 of this land called Texas. I always stand for a moment ----

3 (Laughter)

4 And if no one will say a word about it, I just want to say  
5 that I don't think Texas has got anything over on you folks  
6 at all.

7 (Applause)

8 Don't you let that out of this room.

9 (Laughter)

10 (Applause)

11 I have enough trouble already.

12 (Laughter)

13 You know, every time I mention that, why, I always  
14 remember a couple of experiences I had back in Washington,  
15 which Bob is familiar with. A couple of banquets where, you  
16 know, they were of the opinion that the President may come,  
17 might come -- maybe he will come, maybe he wouldn't come --  
18 you always have the Vice President sort of sitting around, you  
19 know in case he doesn't.

20 (Laughter)

21 And I have several good speeches that I haven't delivered, and  
22 I may just let loose tonight and give them to you.

23 (Laughter)

24 I carry those around in my pocket just to sort of -- as sort  
25 of auxiliaries, you know, sort of supplementary power packs



1 in case the main power goes out.

2 (Laughter)

3 I used to say at some of those banquets in Washington, if he  
4 isn't here by ten, I'm on, you know.

5 (Laughter)

6 Well, it's not quite ten, so I guess I'll just have to stall  
7 for a while to find out, because he may come. You never know.

8 (Laughter)

9 And I'll tell you why I said that, because I know of no person  
10 in the United States that the President of the United States  
11 would rather have elected to the United States Senate than  
12 Bob Duncan of the State of Oregon.

13 (Applause)

14 And if anything means anything to you at all, Bob, just as an  
15 old friend, I'd like to have you down there too because I  
16 preside over the Senate.

17 (Laughter)

18 (Applause)

19 Well, your friends and neighbors feel the same way; this is  
20 a remarkable dinner. It's just politics with the bark off,  
21 I can see that. Everybody here is rarin' to go and when we  
22 finish tonight I hope that you go right out and -- on the  
23 street and start campaigning. The first person that you see,  
24 why, if they look like they have any doubt or hesitation,  
25 have a little private meditation with them, a few convincing



1 words because you really have an opportunity here to do some-  
2 thing for your country and your state. We had such a delight-  
3 ful flight into your city. We came in and as we landed, your  
4 Senator and -- to be, fine Congressman and your candidate for  
5 Governor, Bob Straub, said to me, "Take a look at that sight  
6 over there, Hubert. Mr. Vice President, just take a look.  
7 There's Mount Hood and there's the full moon." And I want to  
8 tell you I couldn't help but say that any man that didn't have  
9 romance in his heart after he looked up at that, was dead and  
10 just didn't know it.

11 (Laughter)

12 It was simply beautiful, flying into this great area, seeing  
13 the Columbia River flowing towards a broad ocean and other  
14 continents and you see all of it on a clear day, such as we  
15 had today. And looking down on this rich and fertile green  
16 land, beautiful. Even the people seem bigger and healthier.  
17 And according to the statistics, they are.

18 (Laughter)

19 And according to Bob they're more of them.

20 (Applause)

21 (Laughter)

22 I have a very special interest in this state. My mother was  
23 born in Norway and my father was born in Oregon.

24 (Applause)

25 I might add that I just don't know of a better combination

1 that you could have for Oregon and Minnesota than to have your  
2 mother born in Norway and your father born in Oregon. I just  
3 said to my friend, Bob Duncan, that the Vikings did civilize  
4 the Scotch.

5 (Laughter)

6 First they brought Christendom to the Irish and they brought  
7 Christendom to the Scotch -- the Scots were ungrateful, I  
8 might add, they kicked them out after a couple hundred years.

9 (Laughter)

10 And then they went on over to Iceland and at least the Icelanders  
11 were considerate, they're still there. But, Bob, anything that  
12 we can do for you, even those little cultural things, we're  
13 very delighted ----

14 (Laughter)

15 My grandfather, John Humphrey, was a pioneer here in this  
16 state, as I told you on other occasions. My father was born  
17 not very far from here, Albany. Now the editor out there  
18 disputed that. I had quite a contest with him for some time.  
19 He was writing editorials saying that Humphrey's out here and  
20 he's trying to pretend that his daddy was born in Oregon. Now  
21 either the editor is wrong or my father was telling me a lie and  
22 I believe my father.

23 (Laughter)

24 (Applause)

25 But the records are there and it's sort of a cultural exchange,

1 you know. Dad was born here and went to Minnesota and Minnes-  
2 ota came here.

3 (Laughter)

4 I'd say that in a way we've grown to know each other. So I  
5 have a very special pride -- but what I wanted to say to you  
6 is -- if the Humphrey clan -- and I use that word advisedly,  
7 Bob ----

8 (Laughter)

9 had stayed in Oregon there's no doubt in my mind that every  
10 last one of them, because they were wise and intelligent  
11 people, at least of that generation, would be supporting and  
12 campaigning for, right now, Bob Duncan and Bob Straub.

13 (Applause)

14 Yes, sir, Bob, they'd be 100 per cent for you. Since I'm  
15 carrying on for the family, I thought I'd come on out and let  
16 you know where we stood.

17 Thomas Jefferson, the patron saint of the Democratic  
18 Party, of course he's more than a Democrat, he's truly the  
19 philosopher of our democracy and he's one of the great states-  
20 men of all time. Jefferson once said that the care of human  
21 life and happiness is the first and the only legitimate object  
22 of good government. I mention this because this has been the  
23 creed of the progressive and liberal forces of democracy  
24 throughout the history of our country. The happiness of people  
25 and the care of human life, the legitimate objective of good



1 government --

2 And there are men and women in this room that have  
3 contributed a lifetime of service to the fulfillment of those  
4 objectives. Human life, the care of it, the enrichment of  
5 it and human happiness. I know that human happiness is a  
6 little hard to define because all of us find our own defi-  
7 nition of happiness. For example, Bob Duncan, if you were  
8 to ask him tonight what is happiness, he'd say a majority  
9 vote for Bob Duncan on November 8th. And that is happiness.

10 (Laughter)

11 And the same, I'm sure my friend Bob Straub would say and  
12 Charley Porter would be saying the same thing and Malcolm  
13 Cross, they all say the same. Because I remember when I was  
14 asked -- November -- early November of 1964, what is your defi-  
15 nition of happiness, and I said an overwhelming Johnson-  
16 Humphrey ticket and I've been happy ever since.

17 (Laughter)

18 They came through. But I do know that some of us have an idea,  
19 at least a personal idea, of what our concept of happiness is.  
20 And in my travels around this great America of ours I witnessed  
21 and observed several basic things that we as a people continue  
22 to seek and strive for. The American people are a restless  
23 people; they're people dedicated to advancement, they do not  
24 like to stand still. They are explorers, they are adventurers,  
25 they are risk takers, but above all what they want is a

1 better tomorrow. They are not too concerned about the yester-  
2 days which is a sign of their mental and physical health.  
3 They're concerned about, not where we've been, but where we're  
4 going and one thing that I find about our people and particu-  
5 larly amongst our young people is a growing understanding of  
6 the value, the priceless value, of what we call freedom.  
7 Freedom to be ourselves ----

8 VOICE: It's my unpleasant duty to arrest you in  
9 the name of humanity for crimes ----

10 (Jeers)

11 -- duplicity in the deaths of 170,000 people in Viet Nam.

12 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Would you mind letting  
13 the young man stay here ---- he needs to hear my message.

14 (Laughter)

15 (Applause)

16 My dear friends, let's not let a little matter like that upset  
17 our evening. Everybody's entitled to be different and every-  
18 body is entitled to be difficultly different -- occasionally  
19 difficultly different.

20 (Laughter)

21 My heart is never filled with anger for these young  
22 folks; is truly filled with pity and with concern. I am  
23 confident that many of these young men and women that speak as  
24 they do feel very deeply and I for one don't want to have a  
25 heart filled with any anger, any bitterness.

1 I was speaking of freedom and I happened to believe  
2 that freedom includes free speech, each in his own time and  
3 his own place.

4 (Laughter)

5 (Applause)

6 And I was hoping he might wait for me. But I thought you would  
7 be interested to know that we have known that this was going  
8 to happen. This is nothing unusual. All across this country  
9 there are those who are well organized these days that do  
10 these things. And, as I said at the campus at California,  
11 one of the great privileges of education is to teach us to  
12 have respect for the other person, and a minimum requirement  
13 of the educated man is good manners, just plain good manners.

14 (Applause)

15 But I will say, Duncan, you sure do makes these  
16 dinners interesting.

17 (Laughter)

18 The most unpredictable man; he's a true Oregonian.

19 (Laughter)

20 I think it is fair to say that in this age of mass technology,  
21 great cities, mass movements, freedom has taken on a new mean-  
22 ing for many people. People -- meaning of self-identity want-  
23 ing to be treated more and more than ever as individuals and  
24 judged accordingly. This is what I find our people feel.

25 And I also find that our people want a full measure of opportunity,



1 the chance to grow, a chance to develop, and the chance to  
2 enrich their lives and develop their talents. We want access  
3 to good schools, to meaningful jobs, decent housing and above  
4 all we want to be able to go as far as our abilities cantake  
5 us. I found a quotation which has been used many times but  
6 it seems almost like text to me for what we are trying to do  
7 in this, the 1960's. Thomase Wolfe, an author of the 1930's,  
8 a well known American prose writer and poet, had these words  
9 which I think stand out today as a challenge to every American,  
10 and indeed, may I say, to every person. Listen to his words  
11 and their practical meaning of the hour:

12 "To every man his chance; to every man,  
13 regardless of his birth, is shining golden  
14 opportunity; to every man the right to live  
15 and to work and to be himself and to become  
16 whatever thing his manhood and vision can  
17 combine to make him."

18 This is the promise of America. If I were to give a definition  
19 of what we are seeking to do, of the meaning of what has been  
20 called the New Frontiers or the new hope or the Great Society,  
21 or of all the programs of government and private life, I would  
22 quote Thomas Wolfe. Because what we are seeking in America  
23 more than everything else is to give every man his chance.  
24 Not to give him gratuities; not to give to him only compassion  
25 and charity, but above all his chance, his chance to make

1 a meaningful life, his chance to be himself. His chance, as  
2 Wolfe said, to become whatever thing his manhood and his  
3 vision can combine to make him. That's why we want to provide  
4 for our children advantages that some of us never had. And  
5 we want our parents to be able to live in dignity and respect.  
6 And it's because of this great American belief and this pro-  
7 mise of America that we have made fantastic progress in the  
8 field of education, extending federal aid to education, doub-  
9 ling our investments in federal aid in the last three years,  
10 to a sum that is almost unbelievable -- to almost ten and  
11 half billions of dollars. And it's because we want every man  
12 to have his chance and to be something and to have self-  
13 respect and dignity, and because we want our parents to be able  
14 to live in that dignity, that the Congress of the United States,  
15 this 89th Congress, in which Edith Green served, in which Al  
16 Ullman served, in which Bob Duncan served, that this 89th  
17 Congress passed the medicare legislation, and if the 89th  
18 had done nothing else, but to have provided hospitals and  
19 nursing home and medical care for the elderly citizens of  
20 America under terms of social security, it is my view that  
21 this Congress and those who were in it will occupy a noble  
22 page in the history of this republic.

23 (Applause)

24 But above all we want all of us to live in a world of peace.  
25 Now I don't know if these things separately or together in



1 your mind add up to your definition of a full measure of  
2 happiness, but I do know that we have the right to seek them.  
3 And I believe that more than any other country on the face of  
4 the earth we have some reason to believe that in this country  
5 all this is within our reach.

6 Now some of us in this room can remember the commit-  
7 ment, the spirit of commitment and urgency which went into the  
8 building of what we call the New Deal. A stronger and better  
9 America during those dark days of the depression. That's  
10 history. Today we are proceeding with no less commitment and  
11 no less urgency but we are doing so at a time when our economy  
12 is at its highest point in history. I think the finest  
13 testimonial to American today is that in the hour of its  
14 greatest power and in the period of its most unbelievable  
15 wealth that this country still has a conscience, it still  
16 cares, it still concerns. Because it's in this moment of our  
17 wealth and power that we seek to help those who have been  
18 deprived; we seek to wage war on poverty at home and abroad.  
19 It's at this very hour when we could by this statistical  
20 evidence say that it's never been so good and we ought to  
21 rest in contentment. that we are restless, that we probe for  
22 new areas to conquer in terms of human betterment. We are  
23 not a self-satisfied people. We are not self-content and we  
24 know that we are breaking through and breaking down old  
25 barriers. Barriers of prejudice and discrimination, barriers

1 of fear and disease and hunger. And we know that this is the  
2 most exciting time to live that any generation has ever experi-  
3 enced. What a wonderful period in which to live. With all of  
4 its tensions, with all of its problems, with all of its heart-  
5 aches, what a fantastic period of human history, as we reach  
6 out to the stars to explore the universe, as we seek to discover  
7 the secret of life, itself, as modern medicine provides new  
8 ways of healing, as we probe the depths of the ocean, as we  
9 explore the recesses of the mind, there has never been a period  
10 in all of human existence that was so exciting, so demanding  
11 and so challenging. Today we're building the framework --  
12 the framework of growth, of prosperity, of economic and social  
13 justice. And we're building it painstakingly and we're build-  
14 ing it block by block, day by day, year by year, and building  
15 so that we can have that society of happiness and the care of  
16 human life that we have all sought.

17 President Johnson describes it this way and I think  
18 this is one of the most perceptive and philosophical utter-  
19 ances. He said, "I do not doubt history's verdict. I believe  
20 that 30 years from now we will look back upon these 1960's as  
21 the time of the great breakthrough toward victory of peace  
22 over war, towards the victory of prosperity over poverty,  
23 towards the victory of human rights over human wrongs, towards  
24 the victory of enlightened minds over darkness." That capsules  
25 what we seek to do. It offers us the challenge and it offers



1 the premise for which we work. Because we can conquer dis-  
2 ease, we can conquer ignorance. We can banish not only by  
3 law but by practice discrimination and prejudice. We can  
4 open up the gates of opportunity for more and more people  
5 because we now have the key -- the key of education, of  
6 training, the key of motivation and incentive and we're dev-  
7 eloping the use of this key so that today in America more  
8 and more of our fellow citizens are first-class citizens  
9 with first-class opportunities in a first-class country.

10 I tell you that the joy of public life today is  
11 almost unlimited, even with its burdens, because there isn't  
12 a day that goes by but what I see some life has been touched  
13 for the good. People that have been literally emancipated  
14 from poverty, people that have been emancipated from their  
15 old fears, people for the first time in their lives that can  
16 look up and see the sun shine and the bright ray of hope.  
17 This is happening in our time with all of its bitterness,  
18 with all of its struggle and all of its ferment. I remind  
19 you that as a nation passes from one social order to another,  
20 from the pattern of the past to the new day that is very much  
21 like two great weather systems in the atmosphere and those  
22 of us who travel by plane a great deal know what I mean.  
23 You come through what we call a front where the two weather  
24 systems meet headon and there is a moment of turbulence but  
25 with a good navigator and a sturdy craft and with guidance

1 and direction and with all that science and technology can  
2 offer, we break out into the sunshine and to the sunlight of  
3 safe cruising and of a pleasant journey. This is what is  
4 happening in this country now. Thousands of young men and  
5 women that never knew what it was to have a day of their own  
6 in which there was hope, now seeking for the first time down  
7 that dark tunnel, light, and a prospect of a better day.  
8 But of all of these things, what we seek most is the victory  
9 of peace over war.

10 I am grateful to Bob Duncan tonight that he told you  
11 that much of my life has been spent in public service and  
12 the quest for ways and means, procedures to a just and enduring  
13 peace. I believe deeply in that great international institu-  
14 tion called the United Nations. I look upon its charter as  
15 one of the great hopes of mankind. It is at least man's best  
16 instrument in terms of a legal institution for the pursuit of  
17 peace. And we know that in the nuclear age and in the space  
18 age that peace is no longer a subject of academic discussion.  
19 The search for it, the pursuit of it is mandatory. It is  
20 essential. There can be no other way. Without peace there  
21 simply is no future and may I say no war can be popular in  
22 a sane society. And I know of no one in your government that  
23 thinks that any war should be popular or seeks to popularize  
24 it. Yet we do know from bitter experience that to turn our  
25 backs upon aggression, war by the strong against the weak, war



1 by the totalitarians against people who seek only self deter-  
2 mination and their right to live their life, their chance,  
3 that this can only invite larger, far more dangerous conflict  
4 later on. We surely should have learned some lesson from  
5 history in our lifetime and I need not spend the time to  
6 remind you of those chapters, those hideous, painful chapters  
7 of the days of Hitler, and the days of Japanese imperialism,  
8 of the days of Fascism, and of the brutality of communism.  
9 Today with other free nations we stand against aggression  
10 in what some people think is a far away place called Viet  
11 Nam.

12 Nothing is far away any longer, my friends. In  
13 the age of the satellite and space travel, in the age soon  
14 of the supersonic transport, in the age of the subsonic plane  
15 that travels at Mach 2 or 3, there is no distance. Everyone  
16 is your neighbor.

17 We're there in Viet Nam, but we are not there as a  
18 part of some great colonial adventure. This nation has no  
19 colonial ambitions. We are not there to destroy another na-  
20 tion or to subjugate her people, and we are not there to prove  
21 our national manhood or the depth of our power. We are there  
22 to halt aggression before it becomes contagious, before it  
23 spreads to further ground. We are there in our obligation as  
24 a signatory to the Charter of the United Nations which calls  
25 upon the member states to suppress aggression and to protect

1 and to promote self determination.

2 (Applause)

3 Now, the fact that other nations do not fulfill their obliga-  
4 tions does not remove responsibility from us. I remind my  
5 fellow Americans that we are world leaders. We did not as-  
6 pire to it, we did not conspire to achieve it, but we are.  
7 And leadership imposes responsibility. It offers no privi-  
8 leges. It affords no luxury. It only imposes duty. I'm  
9 not at all surprised that this issue called Viet Nam should  
10 be an issue in this campaign. What happens in Viet Nam has  
11 a great deal to do with the peace, the safety and the well be-  
12 ing of the people of this state, this nation and this world.  
13 And if any one man was ever right in his definition of this  
14 world, it was the late Wendell Wilkie who reminded us that  
15 it was one world and just as freedom is inseparable and indi-  
16 visible, so is this world. In Viet Nam we are determined that  
17 the mistakes that we made in the past -- and sad mistakes  
18 were made -- shall not be repeated. That aggression unchecked  
19 we know is aggression unleashed and we have pledged not to  
20 desert 50 million people who live there. May I say to those  
21 who look upon the moral imparities of this struggle what is  
22 it -- what is moral about permitting 15 million people who  
23 want to live in freedom to be dominated by, oppressed by,  
24 controlled by a foreign force that will offer them no freedom.  
25 I, for the life of me, cannot see it. How one can claim to be



1 moral and liberal and permit 15 million people who aspire to  
2 but one thing, the right to live their own lives to become  
3 hostage to a brutal power that seeks to dominate them and  
4 control them. That is not freedom to me.

5 (Applause)

6 You see, what is at stake is far more, however, than the fate  
7 of south Viet Nam, important as that is. In this nuclear age  
8 we can leave no doubt to those who preach force, aggression,  
9 militancy and violent revolution that their doctrines cannot  
10 succeed. If they ever get the idea that aggression becomes  
11 an acceptable pattern of international conduct for the attain-  
12 ment of political objectives, there is no peace. There is  
13 no hope. And in this regard I am reminded of the words of the  
14 late beloved Winston Churchill when he was asked why, after  
15 all, Britain should choose to fight in World War II and you  
16 remember what he said? "If we left off fighting, we should  
17 soon find out." Soon find out what would happen to Britain.  
18 If we left off fighting in Viet Nam, to leave the field to  
19 an aggressor, to permit the wars of national liberation to  
20 become a pattern of international conduct by those who seek to  
21 use force to achieve their objective, I'm afraid we'd soon  
22 find out the result. Where do you stop it?

23 Where is that convenient point, my fellow Americans,  
24 where aggression is to be checked? On what frontier? At the  
25 gates of Portland? At the gates of Honolulu? At the gates of

1 Seattle or where? Because -- make no mistake about it --  
2 history proves one thing, the aggressor has an insatiable  
3 appetite. No man that is a student of history can deny that  
4 fact. And because that is a fact, a sad fact, a painful  
5 grievous fact, it has been determined in the interests of this  
6 republic of we these people of the United States of America,  
7 that it's our well being and our own national security that  
8 aggression shall be halted and that its success shall be pre-  
9 vented.

10 (Applause)

11 Now, my friends, our objective is not merely to halt aggres-  
12 sion, even though we shall stay until that is done. We shall  
13 continue to work as we continue to work throughout the world  
14 for economic progress and for social justice, for humane and  
15 representative government, for all the things which can help  
16 build strong, cohesive societies, to meet subversion from  
17 within and aggression from without.

18 I can't help but mention tonight all the doubts that  
19 were spread through this land only a few weeks ago about the  
20 election that was to take place in South Viet Nam. My fellow  
21 Americans, why is it we always doubt, we always seem to cast  
22 a negative spell over what the possibilities of freedom may  
23 be and yet I think it is fair to say that most of us were led  
24 to believe that the election would be a fraud or that it would  
25 be poorly attended, a low participation, or as some said, that



1 the South Viet Nameese would pay no attention to it. Yet,  
2 with the Viet Cong and Hanoi, North Viet Nam threatening death  
3 to those who participated, with over 500 lives taken, local  
4 officers trying to administer those elections, over 80 per  
5 cent of the eligible adult electorate of South Viet Nam went  
6 to a ballot box on one day and cast their vote for candidates  
7 in an election of free choice, where there were five candidates  
8 for every job.

9 My fellow Americans, if we are able to get 50 per  
10 cent of the eligible electorate out in this Congressional  
11 election throughout the United States, where we spend millions  
12 to encourage people to vote, where we haul them to the polls  
13 in Cadillacs, where we spend hundreds of thousands of dollars  
14 to register them, where we cajole and persuade and entice, if  
15 we are able to get 50 percent of the American people to the  
16 polls on election day, November 8, in the United States in  
17 an off-year election, it will be a banner year, it will be  
18 the greatest number of voters we have ever had in an off-year  
19 election

20 Yet in Viet Nam where the communists drew the issue,  
21 where they said the world that the South Viet Nameese would not  
22 follow through on that election, and where they threaten death  
23 and assassination if they voted, 83 per cent -- over 80 per  
24 cent of the eligible electorate went to the polls and cast  
25 their vote for their self-determination, for their freedom,

1 for step number one in their democratic society, to elect  
2 a constituent assembly, to write a constitution for a free  
3 nation.

4 My fellow Americans, that was a victory for freedom.

5 (Applause)

6 Just the other day they had their first meeting of this con-  
7 stituent assembly. Building a nation takes time, my fellow  
8 Americans. This America of ours was not built easily. And  
9 this great nation of ours had its troubles. The capital of  
10 this nation was moved ten times before it became a reality  
11 as one nation. One-third of our people left this country  
12 in the battle for our own revolution and became Tories. And  
13 we've had Benedict Arnolds, too. Building a nation takes  
14 patience, time and dedication. And what America is doing,  
15 your America is doing in Viet Nam is trying to help those  
16 people in the process of nation building, and the first step  
17 is to provide some degree of security. Because as the mayor  
18 of this city knows, you cannot have a better city if there  
19 is violence on the streets, if there is no law and order.  
20 And what we seek first is to suppress the aggression in order  
21 to promote the self-determination to build the schools, to  
22 expand the agriculture, to help build the hospitals, to print  
23 the textbooks. And how little of this is known by the American  
24 people, how few of us know that the university enrollment in  
25 Viet Nam has tripled in the last four years. How few of us



1 know that for the first time the school children in South  
2 Viet Nam have free textbooks for the first time in their lives.  
3 How few of us remember this little country was under mandarin  
4 rule for a thousand years, under French colonialism for a  
5 hundred years and under attack for twenty-six years. Is it  
6 any wonder that it's fragile? Is it any wonder that nation  
7 building takes time and patience? My fellow Americans, we  
8 are being tested. We are being tested as to whether or not  
9 this great republic that represents, as Lincoln put it, the  
10 last, best hope on earth, that we either meanly lose or nobly  
11 safe. Whether it has the capacity, the ability, the will,  
12 the perseverance, the determination to stick it out and to help  
13 build freedom, because freedom does not come for the wish.  
14 Freedom is not free. Freedom is the most expensive value that  
15 man has ever known and we have to be prepared to pay a heavy  
16 price.

17 So in Viet Nam, as in Southeast Asia, as we did in  
18 Europe, as we have in Berlin, as we did in Greece, as we  
19 have in the Carribean, we have chosen the painful, necessary  
20 course of responsibility and we shall see it through.

21 Oh, I remember only a little over a year and a half  
22 ago, the criticism of President Johnson in the Dominican Repub-  
23 lic. Have you forgotten? And your President took a decision  
24 which was severely criticized by many, but he knew that we  
25 could not have another Castro in this hemisphere.

1 That to do so would be to betray ourselves.

2 (Applause)

3 And the President of the United States did not intervene to  
4 destroy the freedom of the Dominicans because the record of  
5 contemporary history proved to the contrary. A free election  
6 was held, a president was elected and a congress was elected,  
7 a president was inaugurated and the Inter-American Force is  
8 coming home and prevails in its way in the Dominican Republic  
9 tonight. I think that is a very good record.

10 (Applause)

11 We shall see it through, whatever it is and we shall see it  
12 through in Southeast Asia, until those who live by the rule  
13 of force recognize that force will fail; until they come to  
14 understand that co-existence, peaceful co-existence is pos-  
15 sible but that attack, subversion and aggression is impossible.

16 At the same time we shall continue relentlessly to  
17 seek negotiation. You know the new proposals that we just  
18 made, announced last week at the United Nations by the distin-  
19 guished/<sup>American</sup>ambassador, Arthur Goldberg. New proposals for de-  
20 escalation of this conflict. New proposals for a cease fire.  
21 New proposals for negotiation. New proposals for peace.

22 My fellow Americans, everyplace I go I see somebody  
23 that says peace in Viet Nam but may I say in all reverence,  
24 Dear Lord, that is our hope. And the roadblock to peace is  
25 not in America; the roadblock to peace is not in your nation's



1 capital; the roadblock to peace is not in the officialdom of  
2 this government, your President or your Secretary of State or  
3 your Vice President. Whatever our limitations -- and I'm  
4 sure we have many -- the roadblock to peace and a rebuff to  
5 peace the rebuke of peace comes from Peking and comes from  
6 Hanoi.

7 (Applause)

8 But even as we are told that there will be no peace,  
9 we will pursue. We will pursue it. We will persevere. We  
10 will try every honorable way and every honorable means to find  
11 a way to get to the table to talk, rather than to shoot. To  
12 find a way to exercise the power of the ballot, rather than  
13 the might of the bullet.

14 The United States of America, my fellow Americans,  
15 has done more in the cause of world peace since World War II  
16 than all the nations of this earth put together, and sometimes  
17 I'm a bit heartsick when I see those who condemn our nation  
18 blindly as if somehow or another we were fiends bent upon the  
19 death and the destruction of mankind. This is the nation, if  
20 you please, that has given 170,000 casualties since World War  
21 II in the defense of other peoples' freedom. This is the na-  
22 tion that helped the Greeks and the Turks; this is the nation  
23 that on three occasions came to the aid of Berlin and any time  
24 it could have been a nuclear confrontation. This is the  
25 nation that has spent hundreds of billions of dollars of its

1 resources to help others. This is the nation that has poured  
2 out the substance of its farms to feed the hungry; sent its  
3 teachers to teach the illiterate; sent its doctors to heal  
4 the sick. I know we have not done enough. I know that there  
5 is more to be done, but somehow, some way, my fellow Americans,  
6 it seems it's about time that somebody stood up and said, at  
7 least we have tried. We have tried.

8 (Applause)

9 And we are continuing to try until we succeed because the fin-  
10 est attribute of statesmanship is the achievement of peace.

11 We are going to try to build peaceful bridges for  
12 societies which today remain closed and we shall continue to  
13 seek the victory over war, the victory of peace over war,  
14 because there is no other way, no other alternative to peace.  
15 There isn't any question at all of what it will be difficult  
16 and sometimes when the road is tough and rocky and barren  
17 and when the assignment is difficult and heavy to bear, there  
18 are those of faint heart who seek to escape from the realities  
19 of responsibility. But we cannot. As the strongest and most  
20 powerful nation on earth we cannot and we should not evade the  
21 burdens of responsibility of leadership. And I can say to you,  
22 nor shall we.

23 These above all are the times for responsibility.  
24 And these are above all the days for real leadership and I  
25 think these are the times when your state and our country

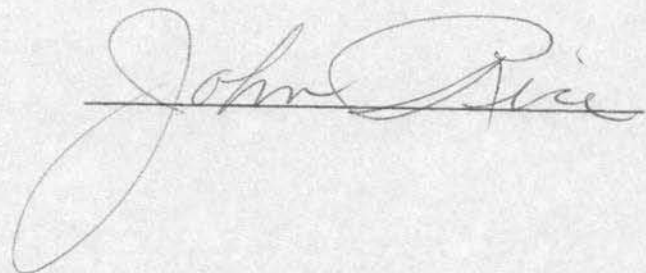
1 needs a man of character and the courage and the experience  
2 of Bob Duncan in the United States Senate.

3 (Applause)



STATE OF OREGON )  
County of Multnomah ) ss.

I, John Rice, an Official Court Reporter Pro Tem  
to the Circuit Court of the State of Oregon for the County  
of Multnomah, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true  
and complete transcript of the speech of Vice President  
Hubert H. Humphrey, given at Portland, Oregon on Tuesday,  
September 27, 1966, beginning at the hour of 9:30 o'clock,  
P.M.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "John Rice", is written over a horizontal line.





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