

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

OCTOBER 5, 1966

Gov Branigan
Sen Bayh
Mayor Barton
Cong Jacobs

It's a pleasure to be here tonight with so many

good Democrats.

Things look great in Indiana!

I know there are some respectable people in this state who are not Democrats. I do not hold it against them. There are a number of Republicans I would trust with almost anything -- anything, that is, except public office.

Marion County (X)

To our Republican friends we offer compassion and forgiveness, and the opportunity this November to vote Democratic again -- as so many of them did in 1964.

Not quite two years ago I came to this city with this message: That the American people faced a clear choice in November of 1964. ~~It was~~ a choice between leadership and a

vision of the future, a sportsman of ~~on one hand, and nostalgia and a retreat~~ to the past, ~~on the other.~~

Country
Chr
Jim Baley

Frank McRunney

Gov Branigan

Wansville
Vanderbilt

David Bayh
Keyhook
measures

Oct 29
1966

Tonight -- ~~as the people~~ ^{we} face another choice at the
ballot box -- I ~~think it might be well to take stock of where~~
~~we've been in these past two years and to chart the course~~
~~ahead.~~ So let's take stock

Under President Johnson's leadership, we have
set out toward an American society ^{our nation} "under God", indivisible,
with liberty and justice for all."

We have, with the vision and support of the Congress
and the American people, moved forward to ~~conclude our~~ ^{achieve the}
unfinished ~~national~~ business ^{of our democracy.}

Opportunity ^L All that we have done and sought to do has been based
upon a deep and abiding faith in the abilities, the energies,
the initiative, and the self-discipline of our people -- and
upon the firm conviction that each American should be assured
the opportunity to achieve all of which he is capable.

We have sought to create a working partnership among
all creative elements in our society. We have proceeded in
the confidence that, when conflicts do arise, they can be

no
class
struggle

resolved by reasonable men, with due regard for the particular interests involved and an over-riding regard for the interests of the American people as a whole.

⌞ We have sought to perfect a new concept of Government -- a cooperative relationship between federal, state, and local government designed to give the fullest possible responsibility and initiative to the units of government closest to the people. We have tried to encourage local action and enterprise, not to dominate or supplant it.

⌞ We have worked for creation of an economic environment where the private economy might have maximum freedom of expression.

⌞ Our work has been justified by strong and sustained economic growth -- now in its 67th straight month.

and, It is growth which has not benefited one group at the expense of another, but in which all have shared.

Cooperative

Economy

Economy

all together

More people have jobs, at better pay, than ever before
in our history.

Wages are up, profits are up, investment is up.

And we have restrained inflation more successfully than
any other major industrial nation, ~~and~~ we will continue to
seek the cooperation of all groups in America to maintain
the purchasing power of the dollar.

Throughout our history, our faith in the future has
been placed in education. We have taken far-reaching
measures to extend the scope of American education and
enrich its quality.

Our efforts have been particularly directed toward
two areas of critical importance -- to help children
handicapped by backgrounds of poverty, and to spark a
revolution of creativity and innovation in our schools.

And, through our Youth Opportunity Program, more than
a million young Americans have been able to earn while
learning -- and gain experience in the world of work.

Civil RIS

↳ We have sought to bring full equality to all Americans
in fact as well as in law.

Poverty

↳ We have begun to open up our society and economy
to the forgotten sixth of our people -- those who live too
often without hope in our urban slums or depressed
rural areas.

↳ We have launched the war on poverty over a broad
front and with a wide array of weapons -- knowing that we
have engaged in an undertaking unprecedented in human
history, and that we must look not to any dogma but to
practical experience to determine what will yield results.

Head
Start

VISTA

Job
 Corps.

↳ The struggle for equal rights and the war against
poverty are being waged not only for the good of these
millions of Americans, but for all of us.

As these hitherto wasted Americans become producers,
consumers, and taxpayers, our whole economy will gain
fresh momentum. And the moral benefits will be immeasurable,

~~for none of us can stand fully upright while some of us
are unfairly deprived and rejected.~~

For all Americans, the years of retirement should be years of serenity and dignity. Medicare has lifted from our fathers and mothers one of the cruelest and heaviest crosses they have had to bear. And we have broadly expanded the benefits and coverage of social security.

We have undertaken new programs to make our cities places where people can live in comfort and safety.

We are moving to make our air more fit to breathe and our water more fit to drink.

We are taking action to make our highways ^{our} countryside, ^{our} and wilderness areas more beautiful to the eye and refreshing to the spirit.

And, for the first time in history, we have made it our policy to give continuing government support to the arts and the humanities -- so that Americans can lead a richer and fuller life as well as a more prosperous one.

And all these things have been done without imposing upon citizens and taxpayers the costly burden of a huge new bureaucracy. The most modern management methods are being applied in our public services, so that they can be conducted with the maximum possible economy and responsiveness to the people's needs. Today the deficit in our national budget is a little over 2 billion dollars -- compared to over 12 billion dollars only seven years ago.

In all this time, we have lived in the midst of international turbulence and danger. But we have not repeated the tragedies of the past and turned inward upon ourselves.

and We have accepted the responsibility of leadership and worked toward the kind of world envisaged in the United Nations Charter -- a world in which large and small nations can thrive in their natural diversity, but in ever-broadening cooperation for peace and progress.

Until that world comes into being, we must look
to the security of our nation and ~~of those to whom we~~ *the protection of those nations*
to whom we have pledged our help.

We have done this through the maintenance of a
military establishment capable of effective action against
any ~~kind~~ kind of aggression, from guerrilla
insurgencies to nuclear war. *Military*

We have created armed forces, well-trained and
amply equipped, able to perform superbly in battle, but
also able to apply their competence and compassion in
civic action -- building schools, dispensaries, and bridges,
healing the sick and teaching the illiterate.

Our strength, of course, is not military alone.
It is in the vigor of our economy *and the spirit of our people*

soundness
It is in the soundness of the dollar, which we have
maintained by unremitting attention to our international
balance of payments.

It is in the unequalled productivity of our agriculture, which we are helping more effectively to meet needs both at home and abroad -- while at the same time moving to put our farmers ^{on} an equal footing with the rest of our economy.

It is in the spirit and courage of the American people.

It is in our ability to lead others in common effort.

Despite all the difficulties in this world,
Taking the world as a whole, the forces of

moderation and reason have gained ground in these last two years.

They have found a particularly hopeful expression in the growing tendency of independent nations to work fruitfully together within their countries and across national boundaries.

The Alliance for Progress has begun to yield real dividends in agriculture, industry, housing, education and health for the people of this hemisphere.

Asian peoples, settling or setting aside once bitter controversies, are working together to strengthen their nations and their regions.

The Asian Development Bank will soon open its doors, and the development of the Mekong River Basin is already well underway. Nine nations have joined in forming the new Asia and Pacific Council and are seeking to enlist others.

In Africa, the new nations are buckling down to work. In Western Europe the movement toward economic and, ultimately, political unity persists and gains strength.

In the Eastern European nations, and even in the Soviet Union, ordinary people are demanding a fuller life and freer access to the outside world.

Responding to this movement, and seeking to encourage it, we have built -- and proposed to build -- new bridges of trade, travel, culture and science across the gulf of ideology.

Only in Asia does communism still maintain its primitive and irrational militancy. And there, in Vietnam, we shall resist aggression while at the same time seeking a just peace. We look ahead to the time when even Asian communism may turn away from the path of force.

In particular, we recognize that there cannot be a peaceful Asia without a peaceful mainland China. And that is why, even in the face of threat and aggression, we have extended our hands to the people of Communist China -- people with historic reason for friendship with us.

And that is why, in our strength and power, we are not afraid to take the extra step which may bring the world closer to a future without war.

I doubt that there have been two years in our nation's history in which more has been done to build a stronger, freer and better America able to meet its responsibilities at home and in the world.

I say that the American people chose well in 1964.

They ~~chose~~ ^{electd} men of responsibility. They chose men of compassion. They chose men of leadership.

They chose President Lyndon Johnson. They returned Vance Hartke to the United States Senate.

They elected Andy Jacobs to a seat in the United States Congress. The Elected Roger Branigan Governor of Arkansas

Now we are challenged, as ~~Democrats~~, to hold the gains we've made...to build upon the firm foundation that has been set down...to keep America moving forward with the ~~same momentum that exists today~~. FDR Quote

We are challenged, as Americans, to make clear in this world that America does not stand alone for the paycheck, the dividend, and the long weekend...that we do not intend to close ourselves within our rich boundaries while the world outside lives in trouble and poverty...

that the fresh, shining principles of our Declaration of Independence guide us today as they have before.

We are challenged to make America, of all nations, a nation unafraid of the future...a nation filled with hope and faith...a nation where each child, whomever he is, inherits the full measure of our freedom. —

~~##~~
This is the challenge before us. ~~We~~ask your help.

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ADDRESS BY

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

and

REMARKS BY DEMOCRATIC COUNTY CHAIRMAN JAMES BEATTY

at

DEMOCRAT RALLY
(Murat Temple)

and

RECEPTION
(Indianapolis Athletic Club)

Indianapolis, Indiana

October 5, 1966

Reported by
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ADDRESS BY
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
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REMARKS BY DEMOCRATIC COUNTY CHAIRMAN JAMES BEATTY
at
DEMOCRAT RALLY
(Murat Temple)

MR. JAMES BEATTY (Democratic County Chairman,
Marion County, Indianapolis, Indiana): Thank you, Frank.

Mr. Vice President, Mayor Barton, Senator Bayh,
distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen: First this
evening I would like to introduce to you some of the people
who have not as of this moment been introduced. I will move
through them quickly because I know you want to get to the
high light of the evening as soon as possible.

(County Chairman Beatty introduced several
distinguished guests.)

MR. BEATTY: Mr. Vice President, we consider
your presence in Indiana a good omen. You were here in 1960
to speak to the Young Democrats, you will recall, and that
year we went on to elect a great Governor in the State of
Indiana. In 1964 you were our guest at our Victory Dinner,
and we went on to elect another great Governor and a United

States Senator, and we gave you a little help too! So, Mr. Vice President, you are welcome any time in Indianapolis, especially in election years! (Applause)

You know, most successful candidates for public office do not have the satisfaction of convincing more than a small majority of the voters that their position should prevail, but it is my pleasure to introduce to you tonight a candidate who may not have convinced all of the voters of Marion County that the highways should be on the west side of the river, but he has convinced his opponent! (Laughter and applause)

You see, the Republicans have provided no choice -- just an echo!

In the Eleventh District this year, ladies and gentlemen, it is a great honor to introduce our Congressman and our friend, Andy Jacobs! (Applause)

(Remarks by Congressman Andrew Jacobs, Jr., who introduced United States Senator Birch Bayh.)

(Remarks by Senator Birch Bayh, who introduced the Vice President of the United States Hubert Humphrey.)

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY: Thank you very much, my dear friend Senator Birch Bayh! Every time I feel a little weary because of my campaign travels or my work, I always know that, if I can just go some place where you will introduce me, I know then that the trip was well worth while! You make me feel so good!

You remember what Adlai Stevenson said; he said it's all right to be flattered, and it's all right to listen to flattery, but you ought not to inhale it. I think I ought to tell you the truth -- I inhaled every bit of it!

(Laughter and applause) And on occasion vice presidents need a little of that flattery, you know; it sort of keeps the spirits up.

Congressman Andy Jacobs, what a wonderful Congressman! My goodness, what a wonderful Congressman! (Applause)

Mayor Barton, thanks for your warm greeting. And a very special word of commendation and of open support from each and every one of you for John Mitchell, who heads your State ticket this year as your candidate for Secretary of State, and all those with him! (Applause)

Jim Beatty, I agree with everything that has

been said about you. You are, without a doubt, the all-time champion county chairman organizer of the century! (Applause)

I am so pleased to be surrounded and supported by so many fine, good people! I have never had quite so many people back of me as I have had tonight -- and they are all good folks! (Applause)

I look to my left and your right, and I see an old friend Frank McKinney, who served with such distinction with President Truman as our Chairman. (Applause)

As much as I love your Governor, -- and I admire and respect him a great deal -- I do think he really did me a favor tonight by having Mrs. Branigin come here -- the best member of the family! (Applause)

And, Mrs. St. Angelo, I heard what Jim Beatty had to say up here. Jim Beatty was trying to put in a little "plug" for his name, even though you pronounce it a little bit differently.

It is such a pleasure to be with so many friends! Just a little while ago, -- less than an hour ago, in fact -- we left Evansville, Indiana. We had a splendid meeting out at the airport. The temperature was a little cool, -- it was a sort of Republican temperature -- but the spirit was

Democratic! It was warm, it was friendly, and the folks were there, and we were visiting in the home town of Senator Vance Hartke, and we had a splendid reception.

By the way, I want to bring you the greetings of your other Senator, Senator Vance Hartke! (Applause)

Birch, you always make me feel good!

Birch Bayh is what he was described as by Andy Jacobs; he is one of the truly bright lights not only of the century but of this government! Such a fine, distinguished man who has given so much of himself. And we are friends!

The best thing about Democratic politics is that -- at least with most of us -- we like each other! (Applause)

Now, I did say once when we came to Indiana that things sure had changed out here, but I want to tell you that I have something else to tell you tonight: Things are great in Indiana! There is no doubt about it! (Applause) And they are particularly great here in Marion County! Not only because of your fine municipal officials, not only because of this splendid local ticket, not only because of your great County Chairman, but, -- as has been said here from this platform -- you folks really did a favor for

yourselves, for the State of Indiana, and for the United States of America when in 1964 you had the good judgment to send Andy Jacobs to the Congress of the United States! (Applause)

I understand there has been a little redistricting since then, and now we have an extra job to do, but it ought not to be too difficult -- Jim Nicholson and Bob Staton, two good friends in the Sixth and the Tenth Districts, with Jim in the Sixth and Bob in the Tenth! At least that's close, for an outsider to remember those numbers! (Applause) Whatever the numbers are, just get them elected, will you? And I'm going to show you why tonight.

Birch, I recall that the theme song of your campaign was "Hey, Look Me Over!" -- isn't that right? Well, I'll tell you they did, and they sure found something!

Tonight I'm going to ask you to take a little while with me to look over the record our party. I want to talk to you as a fellow American, as a fellow Democrat, and as your Vice President. I want to talk to you about the party that has given us the leadership in this century

that makes every American proud! And in these more contemporary days, the party of Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman, and the party, even in defeat, of one of the most noble men of all times -- Adlai Stevenson, a great, wonderful human being! (Applause) The party that gave to the United States of America a vital, vigorous, idealistic, effective young man as President of the United States, John Kennedy! (Applause) And the party that had talent to spare, and a political party that reached down into the heart of Texas and brought out of there a great and big man, and gave him to us first as a Vice President and then as the President of the United States -- the man who is your President now -- Lyndon Johnson! (Applause)

I came to this very hall in this very city almost two years -- I believe it was October 29th -- just in the concluding days of the election of 1964, and I said from that banquet table that the American people faced a clear choice in November of 1964: They had to make the choice whether they wanted leadership with a vision of tomorrow that would move ahead, or whether they wanted a spokesman for retreat and the yesterdays! And this State and the overwhelming majority of the people of the United

States made that decision. They made the decision to keep America moving! They made the decision to keep America in a forward position!

Tonight we face another decision and another choice: whether or not you are going to support candidates for public office who will maintain the momentum of economic and social progress; whether or not you are going to support candidates for public office that are committed to the platform of the Democratic Party, and to its fulfillment. And you have that opportunity here tonight in the candidates that I have mentioned for Congress!

In 1964 we made this great beginning; in fact, we made it in 1960. Don't you remember those words, those words that will ever live in our memory, when John Kennedy said to us, "Let's get this country moving again!" And then he said, "Let us begin! Let us begin!" (Applause) And we did begin!

And then he was taken from us, and a man alongside of him took over the mantle of President, and that man said to you, "Let us continue!" -- not to drop the mantle of leadership, not to forsake our responsibilities, but to fulfill them! And a pledge was made by President

Johnson to carry out every dream and every hope of John Kennedy; and a pledge was made to carry out every part and every platform of the Democratic Platform. And, ladies and gentlemen, I come to you tonight as your Vice President to say that we have been true to the faith; we have carried out our commitments; we have accomplished practically every single purpose outlined in our platform; and we have been true to the memory of John Fitzgerald Kennedy! (Applause)

So, as old Al Smith used to say, let's look at the record! That is something the Republicans never really like to do! They like to play games with it, but they don't like to look at it! Let's campaign on, "Hey, Looks us over!" And we are going to look us over.

Under President Johnson's leadership, we set out January, 1965, after that inaugural message, toward an American society to fulfill the sacred pledge of every citizen of this land: -- I have repeated it a thousand times, and so have you -- One Nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. It is that simple, and yet it is that profound. It is that historical, and yet it is contemporary. And we have, with the vision and the support of the 89th Congress, -- the most incredibly successful Congress of our history of the American people -- moved

forward to achieve the unfinished business of this democracy! And there will always be some unfinished business, but the point is: We move forward; we tackle it; we meet it; we undertake it! And all that we have done or sought to do, my fellow Americans, has been based upon a deep and abiding faith in the abilities, in the energies, in the initiative, in the character, in the creativeness, and the self-discipline of our people, and upon the firm conviction that each and every American -- without regard to his nationality, his ethnic group, his race, his religion, or how he spells his last name -- that each and every American shall be assured a full opportunity, a full opportunity, to achieve all of which he is capable!

This is the Opportunity Administration, my fellow Americans! It's more than a Democratic Administration; it's the administration of an era of new opportunities. And literally hundreds of thousands of your fellow citizens have, for the first time, been able to be full participants in the life of this Nation. We have banished second-class citizenship! This is a first-class country, and, in a first-class country, everybody is a first-class citizen!

We sought to create a working partnership between all of the elements in our society, and we proceeded

in the confidence that, when conflicts do arise -- and they are inevitable -- that they can be resolved by reasonable men, with due regard for the particular interests involved, and with an overriding regard for the best interests of the American people.

We repudiated the doctrine of class struggle. The Democratic Party is not the party of labor, or of business, or of the farmer, or of the academic community, or of the professions. The Democratic Party is a national party, and it is a party of all people with vision and dedication to democratic ideals. It is big enough for a big country, and it is great enough for great people.

Now we have sought to perfect it, and we have been experimenting with this to perfect a new concept of government: a cooperative relationship between federal, state, and local government, designed to give the fullest possible responsibility and initiative to the units of government closest to the people. And we have tried to encourage local action, local enterprise -- not to dominate, but to cooperate; not to supplant, but to supplement. And we have worked for the creation of an economic environment where the private economy -- this fabulous system of

private enterprise, this dynamic economic system of ours -- might have the freedom, the maximum freedom, of expression where capital and labor can work together, not as enemies, not as antagonists, but as partners.

And, ladies and gentlemen, we have had an amazing record of success! Our work has been justified and our faith has been justified by strong and sustained economic growth. We are now in the 67th month of continuous economic growth and expansion!

The young men that sit here in this front row have never known a time in their adolescence that this Nation hasn't been on the move upward. They didn't have to remember three Republican recessions in eight years. They didn't have to remember a nationwide depression.

We have taken old-fashioned Republican economics and replaced it with modern economics. We have taken the old economics out of the doghouse and put new economics into the White House, and the American people are prospering today as never before in all of their history! (Applause)

Now, this growth has not been achieved at the benefit or at the sacrifice of one group or at the expense of another, but all people have shared in it. More people

today have jobs and better jobs than they ever had, at better pay, than ever before in our history! Wages are up. Take-home pay is up. Real wages are up. Profits are up. Investment is up. And at the same time, we have restrained the dangerous forces of inflation more successfully than any other industrial nation on the face of the earth. Now, I don't want to get combative about it, but I want to say very strongly and quietly that no Republican, now or in the days to come, can refute that statement, because it is a fact!

The United States of America, with the growth rate of its economy unprecedented in human history, -- there has never been anything like it! -- has had a lower rate of price increase, of what they call "inflation", than any industrialized nation on the face of the earth in all recorded history! And it didn't happen by accident!

We are through with that old Republican cha-cha economics -- one step forward, two steps back, stand and whirl, and fall on your face! That's all over! (Applause) And we are going to continue to maintain the cooperation of all groups in America in order to maintain the purchasing power of our dollar.

This is not to say that there are not forces at work that would like to destroy this purchasing power. But your President, your Council of Economic Advisers, your Congress, are watching out for your interests. We know that inflation is the mortal enemy of the pensioner. We know that inflation can diminish the value of profit and investment, and we are not about ready to let that happen! We have worked too hard and too long to get America moving again in the right direction, to permit selfishness or greed to permit excesses in our economy to consume us!

Rest assured that the man from Texas is in the White House who knows how to watch those dollars, and who knows how to balance a budget, and he will be watching to see that this economy is sound and steady! (Applause)

We have taken far-reaching measures to extend the scope of American education and to enrich its quality.

I said the key phrase to explain this administration is nothing else but the simple word "opportunity", and I want to tell you a little story about opportunity.

I was in the Soviet Union, as you may recall, in 1958. Mr. Khrushchev and I had a long visit. And I am happy to report to you that I have lasted a little longer

in public office than he has! (Laughter) There were some people at that time who wondered who did the most talking in that conversation! But it was an exciting conversation. A little bit later, I had the privilege of being the first man from any free nation to ever appear on Soviet television. I asked for the privilege, and it was given to me. And when I was speaking over the Soviet radio and television network about our country, about what this country stands for, I used the word "opportunity", and, strangely enough, the Russian interpreter could not find a word in the Russian language that expressed the same meaning as our American word "opportunity"!

Opportunity exists only in a **free** society. And the more freedom you have, the greater your opportunity! The more people that participate in this wonderful blessing of freedom, the greater the opportunity!

And what is the key to opportunity? What is the key that unlocks that door, that gate of opportunity? Education! Education! If I seem a little "hepped up" on education, then you have discovered what's wrong with me, or how I think -- because I am!

I have never known a city, a state or a nation

that ever became insolvent because of its investment in education. The better your people are educated, the richer the country.

The new power today in the world is brain power, intellectual power! The new power is intellectual wealth. The combination of government, university, private enterprise, finance, and labor -- this is the way we put our space program together! This is the way modern industry works! This is the way you will make progress in the great State of Indiana! And we are making sure that every boy and girl in America will have all the education that he or she can take!

The President of the United States is a schoolteacher. He taught in a one-room country schoolhouse in Texas. He gave his first check to the little Mexican-American boys and girls to get books and playground equipment.

The Vice President of the United States is a former schoolteacher -- I say, a refugee from the classroom, a professor of political science.

The majority leader of the United States Senate is a former professor. The majority leader of the House of Representatives is a former teacher.

This administration is an administration of

teachers who have learned some of the hard facts of life in and out of school! And this administration is committed to the enrichment of the human spirit and mind, to the enlightenment of people, to the affording of opportunity to every boy and girl and mother and father!

You know that there is no greater gift you can give your child, your son or daughter, than the chance to be enlightened, to know, to develop the mind, to broaden the spectrum of understanding. And that education program not only goes out to your sons and daughters but, even more important, it goes out to the poor.

One-sixth of this land is in the areas of poverty, and the sons and daughters of the poor are entitled to every benefit that the rest of us have when it comes to opportunity.

We are not seeking to build a welfare state here in America; let me make that perfectly clear -- even though we are filled with compassion -- and one ought to be willing to have charity and compassion. What we are really seeking to do is to build a state of opportunity so that everybody can make something out of his or her life. And that's a good goal; that's a noble goal. That is the promise of America!

Through our great opportunity program this last summer, more than 1,250,000 young men and women from poverty-stricken families obtained jobs. They earned while they were learning, and they gained experience in the world of work.

We have sought to bring full equality in law and in fact, in theory and in practice, to all Americans. And why not? Every American is entitled to all the privileges and all the opportunities that this country can offer. And every American has an equal responsibility for the duties of citizenship as well as the privileges of citizenship. Yes, freedom and responsibility go hand in hand.

I say to you tonight, my good friends, that when I visited Vietnam, I saw our troops in Vietnam, and I want you to know that they are brave and good troops! And I saw them of every race, creed and color. I saw Japanese-Americans, Mexican-Americans, Catholic, Protestant, and Jew. I saw Negro Americans, I saw the native Indians; I saw them all. And every one of them brave, and every one of them uncomplaining, and every one of them doing their job! And any country that can send men to the field of battle without regard to race, color, or religion, can also see to it that they have opportunity at home

without regard to race, color or creed! (Applause)

As we began to open up our society and our economy to that long forgotten one-sixth of our people, -- those who have often lived without hope in our urban slums and our depressed rural areas -- we have launched this War on Poverty over a broad front, and we are using a wide variety of weapons, knowing that we have engaged in an undertaking unprecedented in human history, and that we must not look to any ritual or dogma, but to practical experience to determine what will yield results, and I ask for your understanding, my friends.

We have been waging war on cancer for fifty years and haven't found the answer yet. Just as one-sixth of the American people are afflicted with poverty, so one out of every five of this audience will have cancer. And, my dear friends, we don't banish the medical profession and we do not condemn our doctors, nor do we chastise our scientists or our pharmacists because they haven't been able to produce the kind of treatment or drug that will cure cancer. What do we say? We say, "Continue! Continue, dear Doctor! Pursue your research! Experiment! Try! We must find the answer to the killer!"

Ladies and gentlemen, poverty kills too! It can kill the spirit; it can kill the soul; it can kill your sense of justice; it can fill you with bitterness and hatred and resentments! And we are trying to find answers for that killer! And we are going to make some mistakes, we are going to fumble, but we are going to try! And I would rather be guilty of the sin of commission than the sin of omission! Any mistake we make will not be a mistake of the heart; it will only be because we did not know at this time and this moment what was best to do.

But let us be a party that does care! And let us be a nation that puts a high price and a high premium upon human life and human dignity! And that's what we seek to do when we seek to rescue people from their slums, from slumism, from the breakdown of buildings and institutions as well as the deterioration of character and people!

We are in a mighty crusade, my friends, and I am proud to be a part of it. Frankly, what keeps me in politics is the feeling that somehow, some way, I can touch the life of a person and help him help himself!

(Applause)

Let our critics face up to Project Head Start! This already has touched the lives of over a million little ones -- touched their lives for good!

Let them be the critics of VISTA -- Volunteers in Service to America -- where young men and women from our colleges are going into the slums to help people find a new life -- our Domestic Peace Corps.

Let them be critics of the Job Corps. Oh, I know we have them! But let me tell you that every boy and girl in a Job Corps Center is somebody that was left behind -- a school drop-out, a child or a young man or woman from a broken family, a broken neighborhood! Who are you to stand in judgment, those of you who have had such wonderful opportunities!

Let me tell you that 70 out of every 100 that enter a Job Corps Center complete their work. 22 out of every one of those 70 of the young men have joined the Armed Forces to serve their country, because, for the first time, they have learned how to read and write; they have had their teeth fixed; their health is improved; their diet is better. Over 35 of the 70 get jobs in private enterprise, on payrolls.

Now who are the critics that are going to tell me that this is too costly? Nothing is more costly than delinquency. What is more costly than teen-aged unemployed standing on street corners, getting themselves involved in riots? That's what is costly!

This administration is interested in the youth of America -- its most precious resource! The finest thing that ever happened to me in my life was when the President of the United States said that I could be the Chairman of the Youth Opportunity Program! My only regret is, we have not been able to do more. But for the critics, I say, "Give me your alternatives! I don't need destruction criticism, nor does America need it. What we need is your constructive help!" (Applause)

While I am at it, let me ask this community to redouble its efforts to find jobs, opportunity, for teen-aged unemployed, particularly the Negro teen-age boys and girls. This is a national necessity and a moral responsibility for all America!

The years of retirement should be years of serenity and dignity. "Honor they father and thy mother"! Well, if it is good religion, it is good politics. If it

is good personal ethics, it is good political ethics.

And we have been honoring our father and our mother -- and we have been doing it without much Republican help, I might add! (Applause)

Of what do I speak? I speak, for example, of housing for the elderly. I speak of community centers that help the elderly to enjoy life. But, above all, I speak of Medicare -- hospital, nursing-home and medical care under Social Security for persons aged 65 and over. What a blessing! And why shouldn't a nation as rich as this, as prosperous as this, with the greatest medical profession in the world, with the finest of the healing arts -- why shouldn't the elderly, the senior citizens, our fathers and mothers, our grandfathers and grandmothers -- why shouldn't they be entitled to prepaid Social Security Health Insurance? They have it today -- because of a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress! (Applause) And, by the way, it works! And it works well! And we will improve it!

We have undertaken new programs, Mr. Mayor, to make our cities better places where people can live and work in comfort and safety. This is the great new challenge to any political party, because most Americans are going

to be living in metropolitan areas.

The Democratic Administration is moving forward to help make our cities the finest example of man's creativity and his ability. We are moving to make our air more fit to breathe and our water more fit to drink. You know, I'm sure the Good Lord intended us to have clean water and fresh air, and, with a little work on our part, we can have it!

We are taking action to make our highways and countryside a little more beautiful, and our goal in this area is to protect them and make them more beautiful to the eye and refreshing to the spirit, because man does not live by bread alone. And when you sing that song "America the Beautiful", it ought to be meaningful and it ought to mean something more than rubbish, and it ought to mean something more than ugliness. It ought to mean not only the beauty of the landscape, the flowers and the shrubs and the plants and the well-kept buildings; it ought to mean the beauty of human personality, the beauty of our lives!

I have been to a dozen universities in the last two weeks, and a dozen high schools. If you want to

see something beautiful, just go see those youngsters -- they are the greatest! As for the handful that cause the headlines, let me go on record right here to say there has never been a finer generation of Americans than the ones that are in the colleges and high schools and the schools of America! They are the best! (Applause) And by the way, there are more on the way, you know! And we have seen fit to see that there are student loans and aid to higher education and aid to elementary and secondary education so that young people can have their chance.

Lincoln described this government as "of the people, by the people, and for the people" -- and that's what it is, even though our critics sometimes forget it. They get a little upset when you say it is for the people; that is what disturbs them! They do recognize it is by the people -- they prefer it by their people! And for some people; that's their idea! But we think it is for all the people.

This government is continuing to give support to the arts and the humanities so that America can lead a richer and fuller life. And I have a feeling that in

the years ahead, we will look back at these times and say America was interested in her soul as well as her purse. And I only hope that we will always put those things of the intangible and of the ideals ahead of those things that are tangible.

Above all, my fellow Americans, we have accepted the role of leadership in world affairs. We didn't ask for it, nor do we claim that we are fully capable of it. We only know that, if we fail in it, somebody else will take it up.

The free nations and the free people of the world have to make up their minds whether they are willing to pay the price for leadership in the world, or whether they are willing to turn it over to communism, because -- make no mistake about it -- any time we want to drop the mantle of leadership for a world -- as John Kennedy put it -- safe for diversity, a world safe for democracy, a world safe for the big and small, for all people -- any time we are willing to forfeit that mantle of leadership, there is an enemy, there is communism, there is a totalitarianism that will gladly accept it!

But we have made up our minds that we will

not forfeit that leadership. We know that leadership is not a luxury. We know that it is not a privilege. We know that it is a burden; it is a duty; it is a heavy responsibility.

We do feel that we have a moral obligation, since much has been given to us, since we are blessed with untold wealth and power, -- and you ought to be reverently grateful for that -- reverently grateful! -- we have an obligation to try to see a world envisaged in the United Nations Charter, a world in which large and small nations can thrive in their natural diversity, but in ever-broadening cooperation for peace and progress. Until that kind of world comes into being, -- which is our hope and our prayer and our commitment -- we must of course look to the security of our nation and indeed to the protection of those nations to whom we have pledged our help.

Remember that every pledge that we have given is in our own national interest, because a great free nation like this cannot live as an island in a sea of despair; it cannot be an island of plenty in a world of poverty; it cannot be a bastion of freedom in a world of

totalitarian giants. We have to remember that this great system of ours, this free democratic system of ours, needs partners; it needs a friendly environment in which to exist.

So we have proceeded to build our security through the maintenance of a military establishment second to none, capable of effective action against any kind of aggression, from guerilla insurgencies in Southeast Asia to nuclear war -- which we pray God never happens!

We have created the Armed Forces at great cost, well trained and amply equipped, able to perform superbly in battle -- and do they ever perform superbly! But also, my fellow Americans, able to apply their competency and their compassion and their training as citizens in civic action, in building schools and dispensaries and bridges, and in healing the sick and teaching the illiterate.

Oh how I wish the American people could know what their men in battle are doing! I have seen the villages rebuilt. I have seen the schools and the public health centers. And I have watched Marines that fight all day, teach boys and girls how to read and write at night! The American soldier, the American military man today is not only a great soldier; he is a great citizen! And sometimes I wonder why the people at home complain as much as

they do when they really should know of the wonders that their men perform in the name of peace and security.

Remember, as a member of the Charter of the United Nations or as a signatory to that Charter, we do owe some obligations. Oh, I know some people are going to say, "Well, why don't the other nations do it?" And they say in the community, "Why doesn't somebody else do it?" You know why -- because sometimes they don't! And if you are a leader in your union, in your business, in a political party, in your church, in your fraternity, in your lodge, if you are a leader, you have to do it, even if the other fellow doesn't! Now, that's just a simple fact of life.

What are the obligations of the Charter of the United Nations? Two things: to suppress aggression, and to promote self-determination. We signed that treaty. The treaty is the highest law of the land.

When the going gets rough, some people say, "Oh, forget it!" Just like I have seen in politics, when the going gets rough, they will say, "Well, we can't win; let's retreat. I'm not sure I'm for him."

My dear friends, I had a dad who was a Democrat in 1928 when there were only five votes for the Democrat

candidate in our whole town! But he didn't quit! And he lived to see Franklin Roosevelt elected four times and Harry S. Truman elected once. Now, that's the kind of stick-to-itiveness and fighting spirit that you need!

Anybody can be brave when times are easy. Anyone can be a stalwart man and a brave man when there is no contest. But it's when the wintry winds of adversity hit you that you separate the men from the boys, as they say -- the brave men from those who have less faith.

Yes, we have created a powerful nation, but a nation that knows, above all, that military strength alone is not enough, because the highest hope of this Nation is not victory on the battlefield, but peace -- just, enduring peace.

Our strength is in the vigor of our economy. It is in the soundness of our dollar. It is in the unequalled productivity of our agriculture. It is in the quality of our education. It is in the productivity of our factories. But it is, above all, in the spirit and the courage of our people -- that's the basic strength of this land! And it is in our ability to lead others, because leadership is not doing everything alone; it is being able to rally others to the common cause.

Despite all the difficulties that we read about, -- and we hear many -- despite all of the troubles in this pained world, communism is not winning! There have been over 70 new nations come into being in the last 20 years, -- 71, in fact -- and not one has gone communist! Not one! Over one billion people have gained their freedom, and communism hasn't taken over.

So, when I read all the terrifying language and all the terrifying stories and hear all the pessimists, I say, "What does history prove?" History proves that Karl Marx and Joseph Stalin have no ready followers except by brute force.

The real, authentic revolution of our times is the Declaration of Independence, and the author of it is Thomas Jefferson, and Abraham Lincoln, and contemporary statesmen. People want freedom, not despotism. People want opportunity, not collectivism.

This Nation stands for what Abraham Lincoln said. You remember those immortal words: "We shall either meanly lose or nobly save the last best hope on earth." And it depends on how we do it!

Now, I happen to believe that our foreign

policy will be no better than what we do here at home. I don't think you can wage war on poverty throughout the world as one of the partners in that effort, unless you can do it here at home. If we can't succeed right here at home, with all of our resources and our wealth and our power, what makes you think we can succeed abroad? So, as we build at home, so we project ourselves abroad.

We have been gaining victories. The Alliance Program has begun to yield real benefits all through Latin America. The Asian people are setting aside their once bitter controversies and are working together. The Asian Development Bank will soon open its doors, and a great "Tennessee Valley Authority", so to speak, the Mekong River Development, is well under way in Southeast Asia; I have seen it with my own eyes. Nine nations recently joined in the new Asia and Pacific Council, and they are seeking to enlist others.

In Africa the communists are in retreat, and new nations are now buckling down to work. In six nations in Africa this year the communists have been booted out! That doesn't make much news, does it? But it's a fact! It's a fact!

You see, I am one that believes the American people ought to have all of the news! I don't think you ought to be frightened every night of your life! I think there comes a time when you can hear some good news too, and take it!

In Western Europe the movement toward economic and ultimately political unity persists and it gains strength. And in Eastern Europe, the Communistic-Socialistic countries are restive; they are demanding a fuller life and freer access to the outside world, and we are trying to help move that along.

Only in Asia does communism still maintain its militancy. And there in Vietnam we shall resist aggression while at the same time seeking relentlessly a just peace.

May I say to the people of Indiana that the roadblock to peace is not in Washington. The roadblock to peace is in Hanoi and Peking. Your President is ready to go any place, any time, anywhere, to meet with anybody, to seek a just and honorable peace. But he is not ready to sell out the freedom and the lives of fifteen million people in South Vietnam to a communistic totalitarian regime, and you wouldn't want him to do it! It

would be morally, politically wrong, and, from a security standpoint, it would be dangerous! (Applause)

Of course we look ahead to the time when Asian Communism may turn away from this mad path of force. We recognize, as do others, that there can be no peaceful Asia in the long run without a peaceful Mainland China. And that's why, even in the threat of insults and in the threat of aggression, we have extended our hand to the people of China -- people with historical reasons for friendship to the United States. We are big enough to do it! And in our strength and our power, we are not afraid to take that extra step which may bring the world closer to a future without war.

The real achievement of statesmanship is not to get a war, but to settle one! (Applause)

Now I leave you with these thoughts: I doubt that there has ever been two years in our Nation's history in which more has been done to build a stronger and a freer and a better America, able to meet its responsibilities at home and abroad, than in these past two years! I think the American people chose well in 1964 when they elected a President of responsibility. They chose men of compassion,

they chose men of leadership. They chose President Lyndon Johnson. They returned Senator Vance Hartke to the Senate. They elected Congressman Andy Jacobs to a seat in the Congress of the United States. They elected Roger Branigin --a great Governor -- and democrats to help him! They chose well.

But now we are challenged, as I said, once again to hold onto these gains, to build on this firm foundation that I have described to you tonight, and to keep America moving forward.

Franklin Roosevelt gave us our message for 1966, and I reached back twenty-one years to find it. There he was at Warm Springs, Georgia, in April, 1945, the victim of war and depression. Yes, a man in a wheelchair, but stronger in a wheelchair than many a man that stood -- a physical giant. This man was a great man of compassion and intellect, and a political genius. Franklin Roosevelt, knowing that life was leaving him, was there in the sunshine in Georgia, and he wrote these words at Warm Springs: -- listen to them, because they tell you what we need to do -- "The only limit to our realizations of tomorrow will be our doubts of today."

These words from a cripple, from a man who was tired, from a man who was a casualty of war, and who was burdened with the fatigue of depression. He said, "Let us move forward with a strong and an active faith!"

My fellow Americans, if President Franklin Roosevelt in those last moments of his life, as the pen fell from his hand, could write those words in 1945, -- with the world that had been torn apart by war and almost broken by depression -- what makes you think that we shouldn't accept that challenge in 1966, at the pinnacle of our power, at the zenith of our success, with unbelievable wealth at our command, and tools of science and technology modern man has never known?

I would like this audience to join with me tonight in saying to that beloved Late President that we know that the only limits to the realizations of tomorrow are the doubts of today, and we have no doubts! And we know that we are going to keep this Nation moving forward because this is a Nation of strong and active faith -- and I thank god for the privilege -- along with you -- of being a citizen of it!

Thank you very much! (The audience arose and applauded.)

RECEPTION

(Indianapolis Athletic Club)

MR. JAMES BEATTY (Marion County Democratic Chairman): Ladies and gentlemen: The Vice President of the United States! (Applause)

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY: Ladies and gentlemen: There are two rules that every man in public life ought to follow -- one is to never make a speech at a football game, and the other is to never make a speech at a cocktail party! This is the first time I have ever violated either of those rules, and I'm not going to make any speech -- I made far too much of one tonight already!

Jim has told me the purpose of your gathering. I understand there is a two-fold purpose. The first purpose is just getting good folks together so we can all talk to each other -- and I think it is mighty nice to enjoy these moments of sociability. Secondly, I gather that there is another purpose, a rather material one. I have been told that in this room tonight are people that bear the honored title of "Sub-Treasurer". What that means you know better than I do! But when Jim mentioned

it to me, the tears came down his face! And he asked me, "Are you in charge of the War on Poverty? If you are, I would like to surrender!"

My good friends, we have in this room tonight, as you know, many of you very distinguished fellow citizens of the State of Indiana. And there are people here of not only the Democratic Party, because I have met some wonderful folks who are of a different political persuasion. I always like to have them with us. I used to say back home in Minnesota that some of the nicest people I know are those Republicans that voted for Humphrey! And they were wonderful people and still are -- and I want the message to go back to Minnesota that they still are!

But you have a very special responsibility in these coming days and weeks. You know as well as I do that we can't carry on the activities of political life without your help. Every one of us has a role to play. Some of us are out on the stump, others are doing research work and organizational work, some other people are running for office, and then there are those who have to provide the ammunition, so to speak.

Now, I have resolved that I wouldn't do any

fund-raising as such -- and of course I'm not. I just thought I would mention to you that you are the ones who are supposed to do it!

This is the script that was given to me by James Beatty, I want you to know! I have forgotten several of the punch lines! But he said, "The general idea, Mr. Vice President, is this: Will you please tell these dear folks to get busy! And you let them know that the election is on November 8th. Would you let them know that a dollar in between now and then is worth more than two afterward?" And I didn't want to tell him that we would accept two afterward too!

You shouldn't be so selective, Jim! You are a victim of affluence, I can see that!

Very candidly, I have had a wonderful evening in Indianapolis. I wish that I could have been here a little earlier to have enjoyed your friendship and hospitality to the fullest.

I have been here on other occasions, and I can only tell you that when I can travel with Birch Bayh and Andy Jacobs and come to your city with these two men, I consider it a real honor and a rare privilege. What a

delight it is to share in their friendship! And how pleased and honored you must be to know that they are your representatives!

Now, there are others here of your State Ticket, and I'm sure you are going to do a big job for them!

I just can't tell you how impressed I am to go around this room and have people introduced to me -- judges, county commissioners, legislators and lady legislators, just one after the other, and all Democrats! I believe what you have done to Indiana is what ought to happen to the whole country! I recommend it!

Thank you very much! (Applause)

Jim, is that what you wanted?

MR. BEATTY: You've got the word!



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