NOTES

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY DEMOCRATIC RALLY PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA OCTOBER 11, 1966

A distinguished citizen of this state once observed about politics: 'The people are sensible and willing; they ask only that their leaders be the same. To succeed with them, talk sense to them.''

We Democrats are following Ben Franklin's advice. We followed it in 1964. And we are following it in 1966. Talking sense is what this Democratic campaign in Pennsylvania is all about. And the response to this campaign will take Milton Shapp and Leonard Staisey to Harrisburg.

I also predict that the people will return Bill Moorhead and Elmer Holland to the United States Congress, and will send Mother and Stephen Arnold to join them. Now, before we go further, I would like to have just a few moments of silent meditation for the opposition party.

Our opposition party has many troubles. Time does not permit me to list them all. One of its troubles is that it doesn't understand us.

The Democratic Party is just too modern, too lively, and too active for our opposition to understand. For the old Republican Party, our Democratic Party is a mysterious contraption that usually seems to them to be moving in a thousand directions at once.

Imagine how confusing that must be for a party that knows only three positions: standing still, spinning counterclockwise, and moving backward.

In this instance, it is what they don't know that hurts them. For the movement in our Democratic Party is caused by the internal combustion of creative ferment, of new ideas, of vigorous people committed to the proposition that change and social progress are not only to be desired -- they are necessities of the 20th century.

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Your State of Pennsylvania is richly blessed -- more so than many nations.

It is endowed with abundant material resources. It is also endowed with invaluable human resources.

The way is open for Pennsylvania to become a principal factor in the Great Society -- an initiator, an innovator, a trail blazer for the rest of the nation.

Pennsylvania can become a showcase in our country of what the political scientists call "creative federalism."

Creative federalism means dynamic, responsive, responsible government based on effective, timely cooperation between all levels of government.

It means better state and local government.

It means generous federal aid where it is needed and effective local administration where it is required.

It means programs, policies, and projects -- locally inspired, locally developed, locally administered -- but with a broader design that includes state and regional development, backed and supported by generous federal assistance and resources.

We must meet 20th century realities with 20th century government.

Revolutions in science and technology have been joined a by/ revolution of rising expectations among our own people.

Every public office holder and anyone who seeks public office needs to know there is a human revolution under way.

People want to have their own way of life.

People want self-identity. People want a sense of selfrespect and human dignity.

And it is the responsibility of a political party such as ours to give them help.

The tensions and pressures in our urban centers that we all know so well are symptoms of what I speak of. Poverty that was hidden in the hills and the rural areas of a half-a-century ago has now accumulated and concentrated in our cities.

Racial prejudice long endured in shame and pain now stands exposed in its ugliness before us.

Poverty is not just the problem of the poor. It is the malignancy of America.

The slum is not merely the problem of the cities. It is the rot of a nation.

Traffic congestion is no longer just the worry of the mayor or the police department. It is a costly clot in the arteries of our national economy.

Pollution of water and air -- only a few years ago a subject of academic discussion -- is now a threat to the health and welfare of our entire people.

These and many other problems are the tragic inheritance of failure and delay by public authority and private enterprise. The truth is that our entire system of democratic government and free enterprise are challenged as never before.

The times call for boldness. The times call for experimentation -- yes, for daring at every level of government and in the private economy.

Let me be manifestly clear that the answer to all of our ills is not just more help from Washington. It includes self-help.

We need a renaissance of state government, just as you are working to build a Pittsburgh Renaissance.

Federal funds totalling more than 20 million dollars were invested in new housing, urban renewal and college construction programs here in Pittsburgh last year.

More than 10 million federal dollars were invested to to aid/education, medical research and other health programs in Pittsburgh last year.

Nearly 16 million federal dollars were invested by the Office of Economic Opportunity to establish community action programs,

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remedial studies and job retraining programs to bring new opportunity to Pittsburgh last year.

Those dollars were invested in response to your leadership and the leadership of those you elected to represent you.

Now there is the need to put a man of such leadership into the Governor's office in Harrisburg

Here in Pennsylvania, education is a vital issue.

It is a vital issue because Pennsylvania Republicans -from the statehouse down -- have failed to respond to the needs of the young people of this state.

Last year only 36 per cent of your high school graduates on went/to college. The national average is 54 per cent.

College tuition cost in Pennsylvania averages 992 dollars per student. The national average is only 507 dollars.

Your overall aid to higher education averages only 6 dollars
95 cents per student. The national average is 15 dollars 88 cents.

In aid to higher education, Pennsylvania ranks 49th among the 50 states.

Milton Shapp and the Democratic Party have called for a renaissance of education in Pennsylvania. Milton Shapp and the Democratic Party have called for 20th century government, for 20th century ideas -- for putting creative federalism to work here as it has been in other states.

They have offered leadership in this state as President has given leadership to our country.

"Let us begin," was the challenge of President John F. Kennedy.

"Let us continue," was the charge to a grief-stricken nation of President Lyndon Johnson.

My fellow Americans, we did begin. We did get this country moving forward out of the doldrums of Republican recession.

We have continued. We have not failed in our responsibilities. We have broken through with new ideas.

We have broken through with new laws and programs.

We have broken through with a depth of commitment that could not have been imagined a few short years ago.

We have passed more liberal legislation in the past five years than in the preceding fifty.

We have made an all-out national commitment to the education of our children. In the past three years we have more than doubled our federal investments in education.

We have broken down old barriers of racial discrimination and injustice and land-mark legislation has been adopted: The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

We have set to work to solve the enormous problems of our growing and sprawling metropolitan areas. We have created a new federal Department of Housing and Urban Development.

We have mobilized our resources, our best minds, the most advanced techniques to the task of finding integrated,

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systematic solutions to the encrusted problems of metropolis.

We have worked toward eradication of a disease as old as mankind -- poverty-- that takes so high a toll on those afflicted by it and of those who must carry its burden.

We have transformed a cold and heartless immigration policy into one that is just, humane and progressive.

We are providing hospital and nursing home and medical care under Social Security for our fathers and our mothers. In the past three years this Administration has more than doubled its investments in health care, in health protection.

We have helped create an economy of growth and justice and opportunity -- an economy of more jobs, higher salaries and wages, greater investment and profit ... an economy able to sustain our responsibilities at home and in the world.

It adds up to this: You asked for action and you have action -- five years of action, of growth, of change and social progress.

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We have done well. But we are a people, we are a party never satisfied with yesterday's goals.

Now, we must march on. We have the means. There is no doubt about it.

Ours is the richest and most powerful nation on the face of this earth. There is only one question that needs to be answered: The question of our will.. of our determination to wage our peaceful revolution for the many, even though the few may be satisfied today.

The way lies open to cities alive with industry and economic progress, filled with green and open space ... to transportation that is safe, comfortable, rapid ... to neighborhoods once more filled with neighbors ... to schools and universities that truly care about the future of our children ... to rural areas, towns, cities, suburbs where people can live together in harmony and cooperation, no matter what their age, the color of their skin, their religion, or their last name. This is the America we have the chance to build. This is the Pennsylvania we have the chance to build.

Four weeks from today the people of Pennsylvania and of Pittsburgh will cast their votes for the future -- or for the past.

Milton Shapp ... Leonard Staisey ... Bill Moorhead ... Elmer Holland ... John Wohlfarth .. Stephen Arnold ... the men who stand with them on the Democratic ticket -- these are the men of the future. These are the men who need your help between now and November 8th. I ask you to give that help.

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SPEECH PRESENTED BY

VICE-PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

on

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1966

Democratic Rally held at the

Penn Theatre Building in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

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THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Thank you very much, Jim Knox, and

thank You, Milt Shapp, for a wonderful address, a remarkable statement of purpose and of determination and of the real call to victory. Didn't you like that speech? (Applause.)

I was having the good fortune to be

here on the sidelines while Milt Shapp was addressing this wonderful audience, and I have heard Milton Shapp on many an occasion, but tonight I listened to a man that has not only the stature and the qualities and the ability of a great governor, but I heard a man that gave the clarion call of progressive government to the people of Pennsylvania, and I want you to respond to that call. (Applause.)

Milt Shapp stood here tonight, in the remarkable tradition and great achievements of two former governors that come to my mind immediately; one that you remember well, George Leader, and another one who is with us tonight, Dave Lawrence.

How good it is to be with my friend David Lawrence, this distinguished statesman, and with the Mayor of this great city, a mayor that has given the City of

Pittsburgh leadership that has marked this city as one of the best cities in the United States of America.

I am going to have some words to say about a friend in Congress, Bill Moorhead, and another, Elmer Holland. Only one could be with us tonight, Bill Moorhead. Elmer is in Washington, but we want to keep him there. That is the idea, to keep him there in Washington.

How pleased I am to see my friend Genevieve Blatt and Grace Sloan, and can I say once again what a joy it is to be on the campaign trail today with this fine and good man who will be your next lieutenant governor, Len Staisey. (Applause.)

May I commend Sam Begler and I. W. Abel, all of our friends of the labor movement, who have done such a fine bit of work and seen to it that we have a good meeting as we have tonight.

You know, we have had fun on this great day in Erie, Pennsylvania, York, Pennsylvania, and I can tell you that if what I sensed in those two communities is what is going on in Pennsylvania, that old song the Democrats love to sing, "Happy Days Are Here Again," they will be here, make no mistake about it. (Applause.)

You know, Woodrow Wilson was possibly

one of the great intellects of the twentieth century, and undoubtedly one of the greatest Presidents that this nation has ever known, and Woodrow Wilson, former Governor of New Jersey, President of Princeton University, President of the United States, scholar, statesman and politician, once said in the Democratic Party even the old seem young and in the Republican Party even the young seem old. I don't know any better way to characterize these two parties that Milt Shapp was talking about tonight.

He said he believed in the two party system, and I thoroughly agree with him, and I believe that both parties should have the opportunity to do that which they are the most qualified to do, and the Democratic Party has proven itself qualified to win in government. The Republican Party has proven itself qualified to lose and have defeat, and I think that is the way we ought to leave it, and we may just as well start here tonight.

That same wonderful Woodrow Wilson, who oftentimes has been referred to as a stern man and not a man of great humor, had a keen insight into matters political. He said the Republican Party has not had a new idea in thirty years. Now, remember, of course, he said that many, many years ago, and they haven't had one since, and then he added, "I am not speaking as a politician," and I quote him, "I'm speaking as a historian," and no one can doubt the fact that Woodrow Wilson was one of the nation's great historians.

That same Woodrow Wilson said to the American people, and it lives today as a standard for all of us to adhere to, those of us in this party, he said, "I love the Democratic Party, but I love America a great deal more," and if ever there was a standard for public service for a partisan, Woodrow Wilson gave it to us, because no matter how much we may love our party, and how much we may want to support it, our first obligation is to this country.

President Lyndon Johnson has a way of putting it in his own language, and I think he puts it the way that you and I feel, those of us that are in public office in particular. President Johnson says his political philosophy reads as follows: I'm a free man first, an American second, a public servant third and a Democrat fourth, in that order. That is an example to follow.

So I come to you tonight first as a free man. I come to you tonight proud of my American citizenship. What greater honor is there that can be bestowed upon any man on the face of the earth than to be a citizen of this great country? (Applause.)

I come to you tonight as an elected

public official for twenty-one years, proud of those years of public service, hoping that they have been some years of some good, and I come to you tonight as a Democrat, and rightly proud of my party, proud of the political party, my friends, that has given this nation leadership in every hour of its need, proud of this party that in the twentieth century has given to this land first Woodrow Wilson, a President that will always be remembered for his courageous leadership in peace and war, proud of a political party that gave to this land, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, that great champion, and proud of a political party that gave to America that man of indomitable courage, that man of independence and integrity, Harry S. Truman, and even in our defeat, in our defeat in the eight years from 1952 through 1960, proud of one of the truly great spirits of this nation, a notable man, if there ever was one, our late and beloved Adlai Stevenson. (Applause.)

Yes, my friends, do I need to say more?

How rightfully proud we can be, gratefully proud, humbly proud, that this nation had the courage in 1960, in that memorable election when we really decided the future course of this land, to elect as our President a vital, vigorous, imaginative

giant of intellect, that great man you know, John F. Kennedy, our President. (Applause.) And that man who had the insight to select as his partner to protect this republic, a statesman and a political leader second to none, as his running mate and his Vice-President, Lyndon B. Johnson. (Applause.)

took the life of President Kennedy, when the assassin's bullets struck him down, that this nation had in the Vice-Presidency, someone who would take the reins of government, who could assume the heavy burdens of the Presidency, and do you remember those words from Lyndon Johnson?

And how fortunate when cruel fate

John Kennedy said, "Let us begin," and what a beginning, what an amazing, what an exciting beginning this America had under his leadership, and then taken from us, and those words that were given in grief and pain and in dedication by President Lyndon Johnson, "Let us continue," and we have, my friends. The Johnson Administration, first, as the President to succeed Johnson-Kennedy, and then elected in his own right, that Administration has kept the faith. We have kept every commitment that John -Kennedy made, and we have kept every platform promise to the best of our ability that the Democratic Party has made.

We have had a record in the eighty-

eighth and the eighty-ninth Congress that stands as a record of achievement second to none in the history of this republic. (Applause.)

So in the words of Al Smith, let's take a good look at the record. First, let's take a look at the Republicans, not all, because this ought to be a pleasant evening but let's take a look at them just a little bit.

that our Republican friends get a little confused. There is something about this season. Every two years they seem to go into sort of a tailspin. Somebody once said that their philosophy was like a cha cha dance --- one step forward, two steps backwards, stop, whirl, spin and fall flat.

Now, I am not sure that that is true, but that is what somebody said, but I do know what Adlai Stevenson used to say about them. Adlai Stevenson said that they do get very confused and they march under a straining banner. The banner reads, "Throw the rascals in."

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have heard of throw them out, but I have never known a political party that had as its slogan "Throw the rascals in," and we don't intend to let them in.

I want to talk to you tonight a little

You know, this is the time of the year

bit about some of the moaning and groaning, bemoaning that is going on in certain circles in America, because this is the season for prophets and for pollsters and for commentators and for people that think they know what is going to happen, and our Republican friends, you would think somehow or another that after so many mistakes they would give it up, but they don't.

Abraham Lincoln said you cannot fool

all of the people all the time, but the Republicans continue to try, and they have been going around and they have been making suggestions and they have been on the radio and the television.

In fact, a former Vice-President has been making some suggestions about a lot of things, and he has been talking about what was going to happen in 1966, and he talked about what would happen in 1962 and 1964.

All I can say is if you want to have your fortune told, go to somebody that reads tea leaves. Don't go to him.

I thought you might be interested in some of those predictions. In 1962, this gentleman from ' California who practices law in New York and is around visiting with delegates in any number of states, predicted that John F. Kennedy would be repudiated. Those are his words. He would be repudiated. The American people were fed up. That was 1962. He predicted that the Republicans would gain forty-four seats in the House of Representatives. These Republicans are very accurate in their predictions. Never let them be a weatherman. It is too dangerous. It is bad enough to have them just predicting things political. Forty-four seats.

Well, now, I must say that if this fellow was out hunting, there would be no worry at all about ducks, unlimited, because he has sat against the market. He predicted forty-four seats, and when the votes were counted, they finally gained two, questionable, but they gained two on their count.

In 1964, you may recall they predicted a gain of forty seats, forty seats in the House of Representatives, and, of course, they predicted that somebody else besides Lyndon Johnson would be elected President. They lost thirty-eight seats. They were seventy-eight seats wrong in their prediction, and then in 1966 the Republican Senator from this state who has been long associated with the Republican Party, that is, sort of, predicts fifty seats to be gained by the Republicans in 1966, but he got his comeuppance. As my old friend Edward Dirksen said, that fellow is

far too conservative for me. He said, "I predict that they will get seventy-five seats."

One thing about Ed, he does make it interesting. It may not be factual, but it is dramatic, because Senator Dirksen really enjoys politics. He isn't bothered by some of the facts. He wants to make it enjoyable for you, too, and if you are going to make a prediction, make it ridiculous. So they predicted seventy-five seats, and, of course, they are predicting a few other things like governorships that they plan on winning --- poor fellows --- but I don't think we ought to be too hard on them. They are entitled to a little, oh, a little good time in October. Just think of what a miserable week they are going to have in November, starting on November the 8th. (Applause.)

Our Republican friends like to pre-

tend that they are for all the good things that happen to them, and I have been around the country a good bit, and I find that they are saying that they are for medicare; they are for voting rights; they are for aid to education; they are for minimum wage, Mr. Worker; they are for housing. Oh, they are for the poor; they are for expanded economy. They are just for everything that works.

Of course, they never started anything,

but they get around to it sometime. They sort of are like the folks that just wait for the victory train, and just about the time that they are sure that everything is in and it is all locked up and the victories have been won and the battle has been won and the honors are to be passed out, they say, "Don't forget me."

Let's take a look. The President was over in New Jersey the other day and he talked to the folks there in one of those friendly little meetings, fine folks, about a word that is used in the Congress of the United States called "recommit."

Nos, recommit is a very, very high sounding word, and it is one that the Republicans have embraced It has become part of their dogma and doctrine and ritual. Whenever you see a Republican, you can rest assured that if anyplace in his name he can put it, he will have "recommit." Absolutely. Richard Recommit, or whatever else it may be, and, by the way, that has happened on a couple of occasions.

Recommit is a nice parliamentary phrase for good, ordinary language called "kill it, bury it, cut it, maim it, wound it, knock it off." That is what it really means, and our Republican friends are experts in recommittal. They practice it on every single piece of legislation

that has ever benefited the American people. They never miss. They try it first thing, first time the bill hits the floor. Of all the legislation that has ever

been passed that was of benefit to the American people or to a large segment, I think I can tonight put my finger on that piece of legislation to your satisfaction. For twenty years this nation fought for and hoped to get, this party of ours, fought for and hoped to get hospital, nursing home and medical care for our senior citizens under terms of Social Security. This started with Harry S. Truman. The first bill that I ever introduced in Congress was for that particular measure. We called it "Medicare." It is a blessing. It is a blessing for the elderly. It is a godsend for the families of America. It is a blessing for the health of this nation. It is what a human, decent people ought to have and do, and finally the Congress of the United States passed it. (Applause.)

And President Lyndon Johnson signed it, and he went out to Independence, Missouri, to sign it in the presence of Harry S. Truman.

What do you think our Republican friends did for that one? Nine out of ten voted to recommit it. They voted to give it an early burial and, of course, after they found out they couldn't recommit it, then they tried

to cut it. Then they tried to alter it. Then they tried to stall it, and when they couldn't do that, some of them came around and voted for it.

Watch out for those sunshine patriots that come on out on these sunshiny days, when everything has been done.

Voting rights to make sure that every American had that precious right to vote and could exercise it. Republicans like to talk about that. Eighty-five percent of them, almost over eight out of every ten Republicans in the Congress voted to recommit it --- pardon me --- voted to kill it. You didn't need to recommit the idea to vote. It didn't need any fancy trimmings. They voted to kill it. When they didn't succeed, some of them came around a little bit later, as the final roll call was being made, and said, "Me, too. Count me in."

Aid to elementary education, secondary education, which means so much to this state, which means so much to Pittsburgh, which means so much to every one of the children of America. I saw children today in Erie and York and here in Pittsburgh, every one of whom are being benefited by aid to education.

We used to kill every bill in Congress

on aid to education on the issue of race or religion, forgetting the child, ignoring the needs of the child, and at long last we directed a bill, a Federal aid to education for the child, so that the children of America can have all of the education that they can possibly absorb and the highest quality of education. That is what you want and what & you think the Republican friends did about that? Sixty-eight percent of them came out against education.

Well, I suppose we ought not to be too concerned about that. After all, if they had had enough education, they wouldn't have been voting Republican.

In all seriousness, my friends, when a political party has seven out of ten members, seven out of ten members that say no to a great national need like better education, I say that party has disqualified itself for service in the second half of the twentieth century, service to the American people. (Applause.) And our Republican friends have a new idea that is called "cities." They are all for cities now. They found people live there. It took them a long time, but I want the Mayor, Mayor Joseph Barr, to know that our Republican friends do know that there are cities and that people live in them and they are finding out that most of them are Democrats, too.

Well, what happened? What happened when we brought up our housing and urban renewal legislation which means help to the cities, which is, in fact, one of the things that helped this great City of Pittsburgh become a city of new birth and new life, this magnificent downtown area of this city that has been rebuilt, most of it with private capital, some of it, thankfully, with the aid of federal and local government, but what happened when the Republicans had their chance to do something for cities? Ninety-seven percent of the Republicans voted to kill it, to recommit it. Ninety-seven percent voted to kill it, and that kind of a record, I say, disqualifies a Republican Party from offering the kind of leadership that this nation needs, when its cities are growing rapidly, when America is being urbanized and a Republican Party, if you please, that offers no leadership to help meet the problems of our urban centers.

Minimum wage. Minimum wage. In this period of American wealth and prosperity, sixty-nine percent, two out of every three Republicans in the House of Representatives voted to recommit the Minimum Wage Bill.

If there is a worker that votes the Republican ticket, it is just because he just doesn't love himself. He is angry with the world. Two out of every three.

(Applause.)

Food for freedom, sharing our abundance, this blessing of food and fiber which has been ours. Eighty-six percent of the Republicans in the House of Representatives, that body which comes up for election every two years, eighty-six percent voted no, voted to recommit it, voted to put it down in the bottom of the well, voted to say no to the hungry of the world, voted to say no to the war on hunger at home and abroad.

I don't think that kind of a political party is in step with the humanitarian impulses of the American people, and I don't think the American people, when they learn this record, are going to entrust it with responsibility.

ninth Congress? What is the record of Bill Moorhead? What is the record of those like Elmer Holland? What is the record of your Democratic delegation?

What is the record of the eighty-

Aid to education. We more than doubled our investments in education in the last three years.

Aid to health, more than doubled those investments in the last three years.

Housing, conservation, cleaning up our immigration laws and taking out of those immigration laws the ugliness of prejudice and discrimination and making those laws once again humane and democratic, a great record of achievement. The war on poverty, all of the great efforts that are being made today to help rebuild and modernize our cities.

I submit, as the President of the United States has said, that this eighty-ninth Congress is without equal in terms of its productive programs for the good of the American people. What a Congress.

Let me have a word with you about our economy, because it is this place where our Republican friends seem to think that they really have the inside information. I would like to talk about the economy, so I think we will give them a chance, and I think maybe we ought to start right now to issue the challenge to talk about it.

First of all, when John Kennedy became President of the United States, he found a nation with almost eight percent on a national average unemployed. He found a country in which many of our industrial plants were working at about three-fourths of capacity, and he said, "Let us begin. Let's get this country moving again," and he instilled in America a new spirit of progress.

Tax laws were amended. The free

enterprise system was given the chance to work, and Lyndon Johnson carried on in that same spirit, and enacted tax legislation that gave relief to individual taxpayers as well as corporations, partnerships and private enterprises.

What has been the result? Sixty-seven months of constant economic growth. Sixty-seven months, my fellow Americans, unequalled in any country on the face of this earth. Sixty-seven months without recessions. Sixty-seven months without depressions, and then our Republican friends say how about inflation? Yes, no doubt that there are inflationary forces that threaten us. That is why your President and your Congress tend to the business of this economy. That is why you have a council of economic advisors. That is why your President advises and consults with labor and management all over this nation, to make sure that inflation, which can literally rob the worker's purse, which can diminish the value of investments, which literally steals from the pensioner, that that ugly thing called inflation does not get hold of this economy, and we are pledged to see that it doesn't.

Now, what about our Republican friends? They say, "But we have it." What is the record? Let's take the final sixty-seven months of the Republican Administration, from 1956 to 1961, and let's take the sixty-seven months from

1961 up to 1966, up to this month, and see what has happened. Well, prices went up in those Republican sixty-seven months eleven percent. That is the cost of living index was up eleven percent. Wages went up, Mr. Worker, twenty-nine percent, and, Mr. Businessman, your profits went up less than forty percent, and your factories, many of them were down, unemployment, two recessions that caused this country billions of dollars of lost income.

What happened under the Kennedy-Johnson, Johnson-Humphrey Administrations' sixty-seven months? Let's take it from January the 20th, 1961, to September the 30th, 1966. Our five years and seven months as compared to their five years and seven months. Prices are up nine percent, not eleven. Nine. Wages and salaries are up forty-seven percent, not twenty-nine, forty-seven percent. Profits are up eighty percent, double what they were for the business enterprises of America under Republican leadership. Gross national product, seven hundred fifty billion.

Unemployment, the figures today are the lowest they have been in twenty years, and our Republican friends say, "But it is inflation."

If you think prices are too high, if you think wages are too high, if you, Mr. Businessman, think

your profits are too much, if you think your dividends have gone up too much, if you think, Mr. Farmer, that your prices have gone up too much, if, Mr. Businessman, you think your factory is working too much, I will tell you how you can cure it. Elect a Republican Congress. They know what to do about it. (Applause.)

It would be funny if it wasn't so sad, but it is true. They know how to turn back the clock. They're experts at it, and they know how to resist progressive programs. They have spent a lifetime at it, and that is why in this state, my friends, you need a governor and you need a legislature and you need a state administration that is going to be able to march side by side, step by step, with the national administration that is pledged to the same goals, the same goals of what---of more opportunity for our people, a better education for our children, a better health care for our elderly, of modernized cities for the people that live there, of America, if you please, with justice for all of America with ever expanding social justice, for every group without regard to race, color or creed.

That is the policy of the Johnson Administration, and it is the established commitment of the Shapp Administration, when you elect him your governor on

November the 8th, and he takes office next January.

I see the time very shortly when Pennsylvania will be the showcase of progressive government. It will be what people have always dreamed about, as the kind of effective state and local government that makes America's local and private initiative mean all that we have heralded it to mean. This City of Pittsburgh tells you what can happen. You have had Democratic mayors here. You have had Democratic administrations. You have a good Democrat as your Chairman of your County Board, Doc McClelland. You have had Joe Barr. You have had Dave Lawrence. You have had people here that have known how to work with the federal government and how to put together programs that energize, revitalize the whole economic and social fabric of the City of Pittsburgh and of Allegheny County.

We want to see this pattern spread. We want to see not the federal government dominating but the federal government assisting. We want to see plans locally developed, local initiative. We want to see local leadership. We want to see state governments modernized and strengthened. We want to see the State of Pennsylvania have what Milt Shapp has outlined for you, the finest educational system in the United States of America. (Applause.) It is not easy for a man to say when he runs for governor, to tell you, tell the people of this state that they are lagging, not the people, but the government. The people of this state deserve the best. The people of this state deserve in these smaller communities better roads. They deserve in this great state of yours the finest of education and yet I found out that the State of Pennsylvania in aid to higher education, your state government in aid to higher education ranks forty-ninth out of fifty. That is not right, my friends. It shouldn't be that way. The aid to education is so little, around \$7 a year, as compared to \$15 on the national average per student. This is not the kind of Pennsylvania that you deserve or you want.

This great state of history, this great state that has given so much, that is known as the Keystone State. You know, a distinguished citizen of this state once observed about politics the following: He said the people are sensible and willing. They ask only that their leaders be the same. To succeed with them, he said, talk sense to them, and we Democrats have been following Benjamin Franklin's advice ever since. It was Benjamin Franklin who said that, talk sense. It was Adlai Stevenson who said to the American people let's talk sense to the American people. If Milton Shapp who says in the State of Pennsylvania let's talk sense to the people of Pennsylvania, he makes sense for the people of Pennsylvania, and I submit to my friends in this audience tonight that you have a golden opportunity to harness the energies of this great Commonwealth, to harness them for progressive government, for social betterment, for an advance in education, in health, in industry, in jobs, and to become a part of a great team in America, the team between what some are doing in Washington, to be of help, and what you can do here to make these dreams and these hopes become reality. You are going to need state legislators to get it done. You are going to need the full ticket, just as Milt Shapp has said from this platform tonight.

I want to leave you with this thought: Our late and beloved President Franklin Roosevelt was a man of tremendous spirit. Even though crippled by the dread disease of polio, even though forced to the wheelchair, he was a strong man, and he was a man of vitality and of great faith. He, above all others, I suppose, could be called the casualty of both peace and war, fatigued by depression, tired and worn by the ravages of war. Franklin Roosevelt was at Warm Springs, Georgia, in April of 1945, and he was writing there his message to his fellow Democrats for their Jefferson Day dinners of that year. This is a very dramatic moment in the life of our nation, because there he was out in the sunshine, in the Georgia sunshine, trying once again to regain the strength that he needed to give leadership to this America that was on the verge of its greatest victory, victory in World War Two, and a man who understood that the victory in war was not the real victory to be won, but the victory in peace to be won, and Franklin Roosevelt said the only limits to the realization of tomorrow are our doubts of today, and then he added this phrase, and I can't help but think of how meaningful it is, because it came from a cripple: He said let us move forward with a strong and active faith.

If ever there was a man that generated faith in America and in the purposes of this country, it was Franklin Roosevelt, and here he was tied to that chair by a dread disease, when he said move forward, always asking the American people to reach out, to be restless, to seek self improvement, to set their own standards, and to reach for the stars, even as they kept their feet on the ground.

My fellow Democrats, if that man could ask us to remove our doubts and to remind us that the only limitation upon the tomorrows was the doubts that we had of today, and could remind us that we needed a strong and active faith, if he could do that, how much more we should be able to do, because we live now at a time when America has the resources and the tools to do almost anything, if we but have the will, and we have great things to do.

We still live in a troubled world, and our goal in this world is not to be known as the warriors, but rather as the peacemakers. Our goal is not to be known as the policemen of the world but rather as the teachers, the provider of food and fiber, the healers.

Our goal is a just and an enduring peace, and that great goal will not be achieved by a people of little faith, and it cannot be achieved by people who are timid or hesitant or filled with doubt.

If the trumpet is uncertain, who shall hear it? We need to make sure that the trumpet of liberal democracy is clear and unmistakable, because a world here waits to hear it, a whole world waits to know what we are going to do, and watches our every move, and that is why I have spoken tonight of our economy, because our economy is the source of much of the strength that we need for world leadership.

I have spoken tonight of opportunity and social justice because this is what the wholeworld craves for and they are watching to see whether we can do it here, because, my fellow Americans, if we cannot win the war on poverty in America, what makes you think anybody else can win it anyplace else in the world?

I remind you that the greatest danger to contemporary civilization is the ever growing want amongst the masses of the people. The late and beloved Pope John the 23rd said where there is constant want, there is no peace, and, surely, we found that out even in the ghettos of our cities, where people are in want and despair, where they live in filth and degredation. There is no peace. There is violence and lawlessness, and we are learning it in this world, that where there is want and poverty, where there is an ever growing gap between the rich and the poor, there is no peace, so our America has a mission to perform --- the mission of leadership, responsible leadership, not miracle cures, because there are no miracle cures, but the mission of steady forward moving responsible leadership, strengthening the United Nations when it needs help, searching relentlessly for every opportunity for conciliation and reconciliation amongst peoples on this earth, as your President has announced and enunciated time and again, and only this past week, seeking to bind up wounds between ancient peoples and old rivalries, seeking to feed the

hungry and to heal the sick and to teach the illiterate, because this is what we are doing.

Even as I hear my fellow Americans condemn our country, I remind them that no nation has ever done so much for the cause of humanity or the cause of peace as this republic. (Applause.)

Peace is not a promise. Peace is not a placard. Peace is not a parade. Peace is hard work, building block by block, and stone by stone, a better world, a world in which there is tolerance and understanding, a world in which there is communication between people that have never known each other.

Peace is economic development. Peace is political maturity, and, above all, peace is action. It is action and faith, building, building, creating, constructing day by day, year by year, decade after decade and generation after generation.

I think that we have given a full measure of service to the cause of peace. Abraham Lincoln was right, and he will be right, because he is one of the great immortals, and I leave you on the most nonpartisan of note when I remind you of those immortal words that he uttered -we shall either meanly lose or nobly save the last best hope on earth --- and this is the last best hope on earth, and whether we lose it or save it will depend on this generation, just as much as it depended on any other generation, in fact, more so on this one, because much more has been given unto us and much more rightly can be expected of us.

I want to know that in my time, in our time, that we did not meanly lose but rather that we nobly saved the last best hope on earth. That is what America is all about. That is its promise. That is what public service is all about. That is what we are all about, working together, building our communities, building our state, building our nation, doing it competitively, but doing it cooperatively.

My fellow citizens and fellow Americans, whatever may be the choice of the people in this election, let that choice at least be one that represents the overwhelming majority of those who are eligible to vote. Let it not be written in our time that in Vietnam eighty-three percent of the people went to the polls to vote for a constituent assembly under threat of death from an enemy, but in America, where there is peace, where there is wealth, where there is all, where there are election boxes that are safe and secure, that only a few took time to support the government of the people, by the people and for the people.

So my plea to the people of Pennsylvania is, whether you are Republican or Democrat, be a registered voter and on that election day, whatever your politics may be, let the people's voice be heard. Let it roll out like a mighty, mighty thunderous voice of a people that want self government, that want progressive government, and I submit, my fellow Americans, if the American people will take their citizenship responsibilities seriously, I will have no doubt as to the outcome of an election, and, more importantly, we can be sure of the future of America. It will be in safe, secure and forward looking hands. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

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