

SPEECH

BY

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

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precinct markers



ALLIED REPORTERS

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1 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank
2 you very much, Mr. Chairman, Will Davis.

3 So many distinguished guests
4 are here tonight, I hardly know where to start.
5 And I seldom know where to stop, anyway, so I
6 don't know whether I ought to start, but I
7 will.

8 I just can't tell you how
9 very, very pleased I was to be greeted as I
10 came inside the door here by Musicians' Local
11 65 playing some of my favorite music. That
12 Dixie Land music. That was awfully good.
13 And I'd like to have them keep that spirit;
14 we're going to need it every day between now
15 and that fateful day in November, 1968. And
16 the Republicans don't like Dixie Land music,
17 and don't forget it.

18 I'm delighted Mrs. Humphrey
19 and I have this chance to be with our fellow
20 Democrats in Houston and Harris County in
21 Texas in this great metropolitan area. I've
22 had a splendid day. We've been so busy -- I
23 gather there are times you stop and eat and
24 relax, but that hasn't been included on my
25 schedule today. But nevertheless, every

1 moment has been a worthwhile, fine experience
2 for us.

3 I want to thank Bill Blanton
4 for his courtesy, and I want to particularly
5 thank the Governor of the State, Governor
6 Connally, and his wonderful wife, whom we
7 want to call in the most friendly way because
8 we like her so much, "Nellie". I want to thank
9 your Legislature, who met in joint session,
10 for the fine welcome they gave me. And Mrs.
11 Humphrey and I want to especially extend our
12 appreciation to our fine escort committee.
13 When you can be escorted by Mrs. Benson, so
14 lovely, and Bill Blanton and Don Horn and
15 Pewee Greene, you are in grand company. I'm
16 glad I'm on the "in" in this crowd. Each and
17 every one of them is a very successful and
18 important person.

19 I regret that tonight your
20 senior Senator from this State cannot be with
21 us. I have had a long and friendly relation-
22 ship with Ralph Yarborough. Ralph is in
23 Washington all day, working on the very im-
24 portant matter relating to a dispute in our
25 railroads. He is holding hearings, and we

1 want him to stay there, and hope he solves
2 all these problems. That's one of the reasons
3 I left. I thought I would just leave Ralph in
4 charge. We're accustomed to having Texans in
5 charge in Washington. I saw no reason to pre-
6 tend I was, so I just left Ralph there.

7 I'm happy to have our three
8 fine Texas Congressmen here, and each has a
9 cheering section. But I want to say for Bob
10 Eckhardt, "You really are well organized".
11 My friend, Jack Brooks, said, "Well, Mr. Vice
12 President, I couldn't bring as many over here
13 from Beaumont as I wanted to", but it was good
14 to see so many here from the Ninth District
15 for Jack Brooks. And our friend, Bob Casey,
16 too, of the Twenty-Second. But we'll just
17 have to admit tonight, gentlemen, that Bob
18 Eckhardt has this meeting stacked. And how
19 wonderful he has such splendid help and
20 competent assistance as he has in your State
21 Senator, Barbara Jordan. And Barbara, I'm so
22 happy to see you.

23 To Mrs. Eastland and Mrs.
24 Benson and all the officers of the Party and
25 to you, Bill, and to you, Will, may I just

1 start out by saying one thing: I have had a
2 very fortunate life. There are many things
3 which have been of good fortune to me -- my
4 parents, how and where I grew up, and the
5 town to which I moved so I could get Muriel.
6 I'm so pleased that that all worked out fine.
7 It took a little doing, but we finally worked
8 that out.

9 I also had another privilege
10 that so many people haven't had. I was brought
11 up right in terms of politics. My father was
12 a Democrat. And I think I should just let you
13 in on a secret: He was just a good, solid
14 Democrat; he had lots of room in his Democratic
15 philosophy for all kinds of Democrats. Now, I
16 know that bothers some kinds of folks. But let
17 me tell you this: The Democratic Party is big
18 enough so that I can be in it and you can be in
19 it and we can bring in some more. We have a lot
20 of room in the Democratic Party, so get busy.

21 Our friends of the opposition,
22 they'd like to have us divide up. They like
23 to have us be little "hyphenated" Democrats --
24 all kinds of Democrats, conservative Democrats,
25 liberal Democrats, progressive Democrats, northern

1 Democrats, southern Democrats -- if they
2 can just keep us talking that way long
3 enough, they'll win. I have a suggestion
4 for you: No matter how difficult you may
5 think things are in the Democratic Party, no
6 matter how you feel about what the other
7 fellow in the Party is doing, if you think
8 that's bad, just think about how it would be,
9 really, if the opposition took over. We'll
10 start with that.

11 I told a few folks here in
12 another room a story which I'll repeat at the
13 expense of the group that was there, but, you
14 know, I grew up in South Dakota and lived
15 there as a young boy and then moved to Minne-
16 sota. I think I should tell you that in South
17 Dakota it was not only almost illegal to be a
18 Democrat, but it was considered immoral. That
19 was in the earlier days. And my father was a
20 Democrat. He was a Democratic mayor, he was
21 a Democratic central committeeman, he was a
22 Democratic State legislator, and he was a
23 Democrat. Now, with Mother, it wasn't always
24 so sure. Mother wasn't as politically moti-
25 vated as Father. But as he said -- and he was

1 so right -- she was a wonderful woman. And
2 I was like most young boys, and I would get
3 a little sassy when I was a young boy -- and
4 I guess I haven't gotten over that yet -- but
5 on this occasion when I was about ten years
6 old or so, my father had been reminded by my
7 mother that I had been not only sassy, but I
8 had been downright mean and nasty. So he
9 came home to apply some old-fashioned technique
10 -- it wasn't modern psychology, but the other
11 worked quite well at that time, I might add.
12 And after he had applied some of that, he
13 stood me up for a moment and said, "I want
14 to tell you a thing or two, young man, about
15 your mother. Your mother is a wonderful woman.
16 She is my wife. She is my sweetheart. And I
17 want you to treat her like that. She just
18 happens to be your mother". He said, "I want
19 you to treat that lovely lady with all the
20 respect she is due. I don't want you to give
21 her any more of this sass". He said, "There's
22 just one little limitation or weakness that
23 your mother has: She's politically unreliable".

24 So I know all about these
25 people that are politically unreliable, and

1 it gives me a great sense of tolerance.

2 Another lady said the other night, "You know,
3 Mr. Vice President, I'm a Republican". And I
4 just looked at her and I said, "You know,
5 it's because you're so pretty that it makes
6 it difficult for us Democrats. But we're
7 going to just hope for you and pray for you
8 and talk to you and maybe we can make a
9 Democrat out of you".

10 Now, I'm here to talk about
11 Democratic Party politics tonight, and I'm
12 here to talk about a political party that has
13 had a mission to perform in this country and
14 has done it fairly well. I'm not so foolish
15 as to believe we have never made a mistake,
16 nor am I so foolish as to believe we have
17 always been able to satisfy every wish of
18 every person; nor am I so foolish to believe
19 we can have it all our own way, either. I
20 have fought many a battle in and out of Con-
21 gress for the principles in which I believe;
22 but I also believe other people have the
23 right to their beliefs, too. And because
24 other people have felt that way, we have
25 made some progress. Franklin Delano Roosevelt,

1 who was a pretty good Democrat and a mighty
2 good liberal -- and far too good for some
3 and frightening to others, but just the way
4 I like it -- Franklin Roosevelt was being set
5 upon one time in the White House by a group
6 of men and women who had never had to bear
7 the burden of political office and who never
8 had, in a sense, mixed their hands with what
9 they called "politics" -- and they called it
10 "dirty politics". But they had pure ideas and
11 they knew exactly how it should be done, even
12 though they had never done it. But they had
13 the right to have those ideas. And they
14 were chastising Mr. Roosevelt for several
15 things which they thought exemplified weakness
16 in his political performance and his political
17 principles. Franklin Roosevelt said -- and
18 it has been recorded as fact -- "Sometimes
19 you have to make little compromises to be in
20 position to make great decisions". I know
21 that you can say something like that and
22 excuse yourself from almost everything that
23 you do. But I think, in the long run, what
24 you really determine -- how you really judge
25 a man is by his record. And how you judge a

1 political party is by its record; and how
2 you judge an administration is by its record;
3 and how you judge a country is by its per-
4 formance. And tonight I'm going to have you
5 join with me in an hour of judgment. I'll
6 make it less than an hour because I have to
7 go and you have to go, too. But in a period
8 of judgment about the Democratic Party.

9 Let me just start out by
10 trying to tell you what we're attempting to
11 do in this country.

12 Mrs. Humphrey and I have
13 spent two weeks in Europe recently, and
14 during those two weeks I had a chance to
15 talk to many of our fellow Americans in our
16 embassies overseas. And you'd be surprised
17 how little some of these wonderful Americans
18 knew about what was going on in their America.
19 I think one can understand why they were not
20 too well informed because they were essentially
21 reading the European press and Europeans, like
22 Texans and Minnesotans, primarily are interested
23 in what's happening in their own area. The
24 English are interested primarily in what's
25 going on in England and the things in the

1 world that relate directly to England.
2 The Germans the same way -- the French, the
3 Italians -- and we ought not to be critical
4 of them if they seem to have some self-
5 interest -- most of us do. Why, when Mrs.
6 Humphrey is out in Minnesota in the summer
7 she will call me and say, "Well, how is your
8 world down in Washington? Out here it's
9 wonderful", because we don't really worry
10 about everything in Minnesota like we do in
11 Washington. I pick up the morning paper in
12 Washington and I have a traumatic experience
13 every morning. There's a crisis in every
14 column; there's a major disaster on every
15 page. Because it's a city of government.
16 It's political. It's all about the great
17 political problems. Back in my home state
18 we're interested in, well, what's going on
19 in our county fair. Who won the 4-H contest.
20 The new business that's just been put up in
21 Park Rapids, and how we're doing between
22 Minneapolis and St. Paul. And if you think
23 you have trouble between the East and the
24 West, trying to promote harmony and tran-
25 quility, try being mayor of Minneapolis and

1 meet with the mayor of St. Paul sometime in
2 the Twin Cities. So it is understandable
3 that people on occasion would sometimes be
4 somewhat concerned about themselves -- what
5 they are trying to do. And that was the case
6 in Europe.

7 Our friends, therefore, and
8 our people at our embassies overseas knew very
9 little about what we were doing. Oh, they
10 knew in general, but not very much. And you
11 know what? I think it's almost true of us
12 here at home. We're so busy. We are so
13 prosperous. We are so involved with our
14 families and with our local communities and
15 with our respective individual activities.
16 We are so involved with our son or daughter's
17 going off to this and that or their taking
18 these college entrance exams -- which is a
19 plague to most young families -- or there's
20 sickness in the family or something else,
21 so that you really never settle down to find
22 out what's going on in our America. What's
23 going on?

24 Oh, yes, we know when things
25 are bad. We know if there's trouble. We know

1 when there's a riot; we know when there's
2 a cyclone or hurricane or a terrible disaster
3 in the air or on the ground. We know about
4 it. We know about the particulars of trouble,
5 but do we really know what's going on in
6 America, what's happening here? I wonder.
7 And I have come here tonight to tell you what
8 I think is going on and not to gloss over our
9 difficulties. Not at all.

10 The month of April has been
11 termed by the poet as the cruelest of months
12 because, as I told your Legislature today, then
13 nature plays some of its ugliest and cruelest
14 tricks on mankind. It is the month of spring
15 and new life, but it is a month of unbelievable
16 change, as witnessed just last week in
17 Illinois and Missouri with cyclones and un-
18 believable destruction. What's this all
19 about? In nature we say these are weather
20 systems -- it's the cold mass coming in from
21 the north and the warm mass coming in from the
22 south and it's the humid mass coming in from
23 the east. And it hits and there's a terrible
24 disturbance. And it's true -- I fly a great
25 deal, and I ask my pilot every time we take

1 off, "What's the weather like?", and he'll
2 say, "Well, we're going to run into a front.
3 I think we can go around it or I think we can
4 go above it, or maybe we'll have to go through
5 it. But it ought not to last more than twenty-
6 five or thirty minutes, and I think we can
7 make it". And I trust that pilot and I trust
8 that machine. But I know when there's a
9 change taking place in Mother Nature, that
10 there's going to be some turbulence. I know
11 that there's going to be some moments of
12 uncertainty. And that's what we call the
13 weather map when you see the "low" and the
14 "high" as you look at television every
15 morning or in your newspaper. And when we
16 talk about this cold air coming in from the
17 west and warm, humid air from the southeast,
18 there's a change. And this is what's happen-
19 ing in American social life -- there's a
20 change. What is this change? Well, it is
21 the change, first of all, at long last -- and
22 we have waited so long -- that there is a
23 recognition in America that every American --
24 whoever he may be -- that every American with-
25 out regard to race or color or origin or

1 region or how you spell your last name --
2 that every American is entitled to and is
3 going to have every right that every other
4 citizen has. Equal rights for all. That is
5 the change.

6 That is a momentous change,
7 my fellow Americans, because it wasn't always
8 thus. And without standing in judgment as
9 some do about who was wrong yesterday and
10 how bad it was here or there, and some in
11 the North pointing a finger at the South and,
12 now, some in the South saying, "See, look
13 how they're doing in the North" -- without
14 going through all that, let's just face it
15 -- we're going through a very important change
16 in America, and the most important part of
17 it is, like in a weather system, change is
18 for good, because once that storm has passed,
19 there will be clear skies. Once that storm
20 has passed, there is a clear atmosphere and
21 smooth sailing. And my fellow Americans,
22 once this storm has passed of the fundamental
23 changes that are taking place in our socio-
24 economic structure -- changes all for freedom,
25 changes embraced in equality, changes that

1 all add up to a better America -- once that
2 change has taken place, America will be a
3 better country than we ever dreamed it to be.

4 A great nation has to make
5 difficult decisions, and great men become
6 great because of the decisions that they
7 make. We have had to make some great de-
8 cisions. I know Franklin Roosevelt had to
9 make a great decision in the thirties as to
10 whether or not the Government of the United
11 States had any responsibility for the socio-
12 economic well being of the people. And he
13 said yes -- he said, "There will be a new
14 deal". He said, "We have a rendezvous with
15 destiny". He gave us a tremendous lift and
16 inspiration. And there was a great change
17 and, my goodness, was there trouble! There
18 was a change in the time of Franklin Roosevelt.
19 He said, "Labor shall have the right to
20 organize and bargain. Free collective bar-
21 gain". And I think people in this audience
22 have forgotten that for years there was labor-
23 management strikes; for years, sit-down strikes;
24 for years, all kinds of management tactics used to
25 destroy free trade Unions, and labor fighting

1 back, sometimes with violence. And if you
2 go back, as a student of American History,
3 and read, you will say, "I wonder how we ever
4 got through it". But there was a great
5 change taking place. And there's a great
6 change taking place today in America. There
7 was great change that took place in 1940 when
8 this country had to finally determine whether
9 or not it could remain isolated from the
10 world, supposedly protected by two oceans,
11 or whether or not those oceans -- instead of
12 being barriers -- were bridges, "one world",
13 as Wendell Willkie put it.

14 This nation was torn. In
15 fact, it was so torn, my fellow Americans,
16 that only a few months before Pearl Harbor,
17 in August, 1941, before the United States
18 entered the war, the Congress extended the
19 draft by a vote of one. A vote of one! And
20 had it been a vote of one any differently,
21 we would have disbanded our armies and we
22 would have been helpless before the onslaught
23 of Japanese aggression and Hitler aggression
24 in Europe. One vote! So when you think of
25 division in America today, my friends,

1 remember that. One vote four months before
2 Pearl Harbor! And yet there were men in the
3 United States Congress who voted their con-
4 victions. They were not less patriotic than
5 anybody in this audience; but they did not
6 understand there was a great change taking
7 place.

8 And there was a great change
9 after World War II when we had omnipotent
10 power and yet we didn't use that power for
11 conquest. This had never happened before in
12 the history of the world. No other nation has
13 ever been a victor such as we without demand-
14 ing a price -- without demanding reward,
15 retribution. Instead of that -- here we
16 stood, the victor; here we stood with un-
17 questioned superiority, with the nuclear
18 power -- and what did we do? We went to
19 our enemies and we said, "Let us bind up
20 our wounds". We went to Germany, Japan,
21 Italy, and other places, and said, "Let us
22 be free and work together". It was quite a
23 change, and it didn't come easily. It didn't
24 come easily in America.

25 There are changes taking

1 place now -- tremendous changes. I spoke
2 to my friends in Europe about the new epoch
3 in American life -- a new era, a new period
4 in the last one-third of the Twentieth
5 Century. That puts it in perspective -- the
6 last one-third of the Twentieth Century. I
7 said, "Whatever we do now in 1967, whatever
8 we do in the year 1968, relates to the year
9 two thousand -- the Twenty-First Century.
10 And what we do now will determine whether or
11 not this great experiment that we call
12 "Freedom" can survive. This is our last
13 best hope -- whether we meekly lose it or
14 nobly save it.

15 I met with a group of my
16 friends in the Senate not long ago, and I
17 said, "Listen, a United States Senator is
18 given a six-year term under the Constitution
19 so that he can have some opportunity for
20 vision, for daring, for courage. I doubt
21 if any of you know as much about the situa-
22 tion and struggle in Vietnam as General
23 Westmoreland or the President. But I do
24 think you know about your country; I do
25 think you know about your District; I do

1 think you know about your State. I knew,
2 as a Senator from Minnesota, more about my
3 State -- at least, I thought I did -- than
4 any president or any general or any outside
5 interviewer or columnist or commentator. So
6 why don't we concentrate our attention for a
7 while on what kind of America we want -- not
8 for 1967 alone, because that's pretty well
9 decided, but on what kind of America do you
10 want for 1976, when we celebrate our Two
11 Hundredth birthday, what kind of America do
12 you want for the year two thousand". I think
13 those are the decisions senators ought to be
14 making, and I think those are the decisions
15 Party leaders ought to be making, too, and
16 I think whatever we do domestically or inter-
17 nationally has to be judged in that perspec-
18 tive.

19 Well, what are we doing
20 about it? I'll tell you what's happening.
21 Something wonderful has happened in America.
22 Something wonderful. We have discovered a
23 whole new America. We have discovered in
24 America millions of people who have never
25 had a chance to be really Americans in the

1 fullest sense of that phrase, because they
2 have never had the opportunity to know life,
3 liberty, and the pursuit of happiness as
4 you and I have known it. We discovered
5 there was a fifth of this population that
6 lived in poverty even as we were rich. We
7 discovered there was a percentage of our
8 fellow Americans who, because of color, have
9 been denied all too long their chance to be
10 Americans in the fullest sense of the word.
11 We have discovered minorities that could be
12 brought to this land from other lands to
13 enrich our culture. Oh, what we have dis-
14 covered. We have not only made fabulous
15 discoveries in science and technology; we
16 not only discovered and explored the miracles
17 and the knowledge of outer space, but we are
18 discovering something about man and the inner
19 qualities of man, himself. And as St. Augustine
20 once said, "The most miraculous thing in the
21 world is man, himself". We have discovered
22 those men. And what are we doing about this
23 discovery once we have found it? Well, we
24 have set to work to develop it, to explore
25 it, to make it meaningful. And I want my

1 fellow Democrats to give me just a few more
2 minutes of their time to think about what
3 we're doing.

4 I know we would like to do
5 better all the time. Who doesn't? There
6 isn't a person in this audience who wouldn't
7 like to do a little better -- maybe to have
8 a little better job -- I have to be careful
9 about that -- there isn't a person in this
10 audience that doesn't have some great dreams
11 for their family or their loved ones and wish
12 they could do more. But the important thing
13 is to have that dream; and the important thing
14 is to believe that you can realize it and to
15 marshal and to organize yourself and your
16 resources so that you see the possibility.
17 Because all of us, in a very real sense,
18 live on hope and promise as well as reality.

19 Well, we begin to realize
20 this dream. What have we been doing? Well,
21 we found out, for example, what every American
22 wanted besides this word "freedom" was oppor-
23 tunity. Because freedom without opportunity
24 doesn't mean much, and opportunity without
25 freedom is impossible.

1 So we have entered a whole
2 new period of our history. And I call it
3 "The Adventure in Opportunity". The gates
4 are being opened. Some of those gates are
5 pretty rusty. Some of them have been very
6 difficult to open. Some of them almost slammed
7 shut on us, but we have the key, and even if
8 they momentarily close on us, that lock has
9 not come down.

10 And what is that key? That
11 key is education. That key is training. That
12 key is motivation -- motivation and education.
13 And that's what we're doing -- let me give
14 you an example of what we are doing: At
15 long last we have federal aid to education.
16 For years, federal aid to education was
17 destroyed first on the rocks of race or
18 religion. They forgot about children. And
19 finally we got a President -- and he came
20 from Texas -- who said, "As a former school
21 teacher, I am interested in the Federal
22 Government helping children, not school
23 boards, not school districts, not state
24 boards, but children. I want a better
25 educational opportunity for children.

1 Little children of pre-school age, children
2 of school age, and young men and women of
3 high school age and college age and graduate
4 age".

5 My fellow Americans, we may
6 not have done all we should have done, but
7 no country on the face of the earth has ever
8 done so much, nor has America ever done so
9 much in such a short time.

10 Today we have a massive and
11 great program of elementary and secondary
12 education assistance, of higher education,
13 of job training, that affects the lives of
14 millions of our young people. Eight million
15 youngsters, who were deprived, are the bene-
16 ficiaries today of last year's elementary
17 and secondary education act. Eight million
18 that never would have known what it was.
19 Never known what it was to have an education.
20 And how did it happen? Do you think it hap-
21 pened because of the critics? Do you think
22 it happened because of the opposition? Not
23 on your life. I'll tell you how eight million
24 youngsters -- eight million young people in
25 the first grade through high school had that

1 chance: They got that chance because it
2 was your Party, Mr. Democrat and Mrs. Demo-
3 crat. It was your Party, your Administration,
4 and your Congress, and your President that
5 made possible elementary and secondary educa-
6 tion for the millions of young people in
7 America today that had never enjoyed it
8 before. A pretty good record! Six million
9 young men and women all in higher education
10 today, and one million more of them are there
11 -- one million more this year -- and for what
12 reason? Because your party, Mr. Democrat,
13 and your Administration, and your Congress,
14 and your President got busy and passed an
15 act known as Aid to Higher Education.
16 Scholarships, fellowships, and every possible
17 kind of aid so that young men and women in
18 all walks of life could go on to colleges
19 and universities. Pretty good work, I'd say.
20 A pretty good record.

21 Six million people walked
22 out of the depths of poverty last year.
23 They walked out of the back alleys and out
24 of the swamps and sloughs of economic de-
25 pression. Six million of them. Why? Because

1 your President and your Party and your
2 Congress and your Administration had the
3 courage to do something about it in the war
4 on poverty, Mr. Democrat, and I'm proud of
5 that record.

6 For twenty years we have
7 sought to do something about health care for
8 our elderly. For twenty years we have battled
9 it. I introduced the first bill in the
10 Congress in May, 1949, for hospital care
11 and nursing home care under the terms of
12 Social Security for the elderly. And what
13 they called me -- and some of you down here
14 did it, and you know it -- I was called every
15 name in the book and some that nobody dared
16 put in the book. And they called Truman the
17 names before they got to me -- I was second
18 class. And we started that fight with Mr.
19 Truman in 1947. The bill was introduced in
20 May, 1949, and it was passed in 1965, and it
21 became operative in July of 1966, and Lyndon
22 Johnson signed the Medicare bill in the
23 presence of Harry S. Truman in Independence,
24 Missouri. And it was passed by your Party
25 and your Congress and your Administration.

1 It was signed by your President, Mr. Democrat.
2 Why don't you take credit for it? And five
3 million people have had better hospital
4 care than they had ever known before. Three
5 and a half million people have had medical
6 service from their doctor -- the doctor of
7 their choice, going to the hospital of their
8 choice in their town. And the bills have been
9 paid by your Government through your Social
10 Security system. And hospitals have received
11 over two billion dollars in benefits. Doctors
12 have received over two million dollars in fees.
13 And five million of the elderly of America
14 have had better medical care in America than
15 they ever dreamed possible in all their lives.

16 Thirty-five thousand young
17 men and women last year were taken out of
18 the bowels of our cities and out of the
19 pockets of rural poverty, tested and found
20 to be brilliant and able but deprived and
21 denied because of their poverty or because
22 of their race. Thirty-five thousand of them
23 were literally lifted out in the project
24 Upward Bound, and they are today in the
25 great universities of America. Why? Because

1 your Party and your Administration and your
2 Democratic Congress and your President cared.
3 Cared enough to give them a break. And I'm
4 here to tell you your country is a better
5 country because of it. I'm proud of it.
6 You see, this is what I mean by organizing
7 opportunity.

8 We're not trying to effect
9 in this country a welfare state where every-
10 body gets a handout. We're trying to extend
11 a hand of fellowship and cooperation and
12 opportunity so that everybody gets an oppor-
13 tunity to stand up. So everyone has an
14 opportunity. A state of opportunity for
15 everyone. A fair chance. An honest deal.
16 That's what this program is all about. And
17 I'm proud to be a part of it.

18 Oh, I've had some of my
19 friends say to me not long ago, "Well, Mr.
20 Vice President, what's happened to the
21 liberal program?". That's the first ques-
22 tion you get from some quarters, particularly
23 if you're an old-time liberal in politics.
24 And some people like to bear right up to
25 you and say, "I'm going to put that fellow

1 on the spot and back him right up to the
2 wall" -- and I can just feel them coming --
3 sometimes I can even smell them coming --
4 and they will say to me almost in the voice
5 of defiance, "Mr. Vice President, I remember
6 when you were a liberal. What happened to
7 the liberal program?", and I look right back
8 at them and I say, much more calmly than I
9 feel, "We passed it; does that bother you?".

10 You see, I don't think it
11 proves that you are a great intellectual or
12 a great liberal just to be unhappy. I don't
13 think it proves you're a great intellectual
14 or a great liberal or a great conservative
15 just to gripe. I think what counts is what
16 you do. And I have been in these battle
17 lines for a long time and I have seen things
18 happen that I never would have believed
19 would have been possible. I managed the
20 Civil Rights Bill in the United States
21 Senate after waiting sixteen years. The
22 Civil Rights Act of 1964. I saw us pass
23 the Voting Rights Act in 1965. Federal Aid
24 to Education, Medicare, Water Pollution Con-
25 trol, Air Pollution Control, conservation

1 measures, higher education, Head Start, the
2 war on poverty. Some of the things that
3 some of my best friends didn't even dream
4 they might dare think of, much less write
5 or proclaim. And it's all been good. Oh,
6 I know somebody is going to say, "Now, wait
7 just a minute. There's some mistakes being
8 made". That's true. Even General Motors had
9 to call back a few cars recently, and even
10 your telephone doesn't always work as you
11 would like it. But I want to let you in on
12 a secret -- it's a sound investment -- either
13 General Motors or AT&T. Don't worry. It
14 isn't going to fold up; it's here to stay.

15 Of course, there are some
16 mistakes; we're human beings. And what is
17 more, we are continually experimenting.
18 And this is a great big country, and most
19 of these programs have to work in a thousand
20 and one localities with all the differences
21 and the shades of differences, with all the
22 city administrations, and the fifty state
23 administrations. And this is the way it
24 ought to be.

25 We need to work these

1 things out. And you have never seen the
2 television that didn't need some adjusting
3 and you have never bought a car that you
4 didn't have to take back for checkups, and
5 if you are fortunate, you will go see your
6 doctor at least once a year and preferably
7 twice. I have never seen a program passed
8 in Congress that didn't need to be worked
9 over, that didn't need some refinements, but
10 I know who the ones are that just love to
11 point out, "Well, I'll tell you there's a
12 lot gone wrong with this program" -- that's
13 the man who didn't want to vote for it in
14 the first place and never would have given it
15 a chance. Well, I would rather have a program
16 that's only working three-fourths well than
17 to have a man who wouldn't even start it,
18 every time.

19 Now, with all these great
20 endeavors, something else has been happening:
21 For the first time in a long time, our country
22 has been working together as a team. Labor,
23 management, and government. You have never
24 heard your President speak unkindly of men
25 in organized labor. Not once. You have

1 never heard him talk, as some have, of
2 "those labor bosses", "those labor crooks".
3 And that's what you used to get. That was a
4 daily diet -- just early-morning vitamins for
5 some people. They started their day like
6 that. Nor have you ever heard your President
7 speak about those "profiteering capitalists".
8 Not on your life. But what you have heard
9 your President say is, "Listen, this is a big
10 country. We've got some things to do and we
11 can't do it alone. The Government can't do
12 it alone -- the Federal Government and the
13 State Government can't do it alone, nor can
14 your City Government. What is more, this is
15 a government that represents the people, and
16 this government and the people must work to-
17 gether in harmony, they must work together
18 in partnership". And this Administration --
19 the Johnson-Humphrey Administration -- and
20 by the way, I bring in Humphrey on that
21 because my old friend, Everett Dirksen, said
22 one day in the Senate, "Let's not blame
23 President Johnson for everything. Let's cut
24 in Hubert, too". And I like melodious Ev.
25 He's one of the dearest men around there.

1 When things are dull, he brings a note of
2 harmony, even if it's not logical.

3 And since he included me
4 in, I want to be kept in -- by the way, for
5 quite a while, may I add.

6 So the Johnson-Humphrey
7 Administration has tried to create an atmos-
8 phere in this country of cooperation, team-
9 work and partnership. And by the way, it's
10 worked pretty well. There's been more labor-
11 management peace during the Administration
12 of President Johnson than in any other com-
13 parable period of history. Pretty good
14 record. And yet we've had stresses and
15 strains.

16 Oh, I know people have
17 said, "Well, you've had some inflation",
18 and there may be some truth in that. We
19 had about four percent. The last Republican
20 Administration, without the strains, supposedly
21 in a period of normalcy, had about six and
22 a half percent without even trying.

23 But my dear friends, never
24 has a nation known such continuing economic
25 growth and prosperity. Over seventy-three

1 months. More than that -- we're going into
2 our seventy-fifth month. I remember when
3 John Kennedy said, "Let's get this nation
4 moving again", and we got it moving. I re-
5 member when he was taken away from us that
6 Lyndon Johnson said, "Let us continue", and
7 we've been continuing. We haven't faltered,
8 we haven't turned back; we are determined
9 to move on. We are determined to work to-
10 gether as a great nation, and we do not preach
11 the doctrine of division and dissention. And
12 let me say right now, my fellow Democrats,
13 don't you preach it, either. This country is
14 not North and South, East and West. It's one
15 country. This country is not white and black.
16 It's one citizenship. This country needs to
17 make American citizenship the most prized
18 and priceless possession that anyone could
19 ever have. And we are, and we can. If you
20 want to trade our troubles for other people's,
21 believe me, you will be giving somebody an
22 awfully good deal. I know that we have
23 troubles, and I also know that we have
24 greater prospects and greater hopes and
25 greater blessings than anybody ever dreamed.

1 Now, let me just conclude
2 on this note: With all of this we're doing,
3 of course, all of it can be for naught unless
4 man learns how to live together. I don't
5 want to make my talk that I made to the
6 Legislature today, I can only capsule it
7 for you. We're living in the nuclear age,
8 we're living in the space age, we're living
9 in the age of science and technology. And
10 the same man that created this unbelievable
11 destructive power or released that unbelievable
12 power of the atom for destructive purpose,
13 that same man can release that power from
14 the atom for peaceful purposes. It all
15 depends on his morality.

16 And I think you can pretty
17 well tell about a nation's basic foreign
18 policy by its domestic policy. If we can
19 demonstrate here at home, my fellow Americans,
20 that we are concerned about the hungry, that
21 we are concerned about the victims of in-
22 justice -- if we can demonstrate here at
23 home that we believe in people and their
24 destiny and their rights -- then I think
25 people overseas will believe that we believe

1 in what we're trying to tell them. But I
2 think if we ignore all our responsibility,
3 if we fail to fulfill the responsibility
4 of social justice here at home, no one is
5 going to believe us abroad -- and they
6 shouldn't.

7 And let me also say, my
8 dear friends, that the freedom which we
9 cherish and the self-determination which is
10 the very history of this country -- for which
11 we fought in the revolution -- our revolution
12 -- this whole spirit of brotherhood which is
13 a part of the great ethic of a free people
14 -- all of this is meaningless unless we can
15 apply it on a much broader and greater
16 magnitude than just here at home. Freedom
17 belongs to all God's people, not just here
18 at home. And where there are people struggling
19 for it, they are entitled to not only our
20 moral support but -- because of our unbelievably
21 powerful and fortunate position in this world
22 -- they are entitled to our help. I know
23 there are some who feel we are making some
24 decisions today that are unfortunate. In
25 fact, there are some who feel even more

1 strongly than that -- decisions that are
2 wrong. And some of my good friends feel we
3 should not be involved in these far away
4 places. But, my fellow Americans, may I just
5 say to you that in 1961 John Kennedy called
6 up two hundred and fifty thousand reservists
7 and sent fifty thousand of them to Europe to
8 reinforce the American forces in Berlin.
9 And for what reason? Because Berlin was
10 threatened. West Berlin -- a hundred miles
11 inside the Communist desert. And those
12 troops came in on a road that had to be kept
13 open. And the then Vice President and now
14 President of the United States was sent to
15 Berlin as an emissary of President Kennedy
16 to tell the people of Berlin that we would
17 fight if need be for their freedom. Well,
18 Americans almost to a man said, "We stand
19 with you". And why did we do that? Because
20 we made a commitment; because we were signed
21 up under a treaty; because we said we would.
22 And, my fellow Americans, the day that the
23 American Nation doesn't keep its word in
24 this world and the day that we fail to keep
25 our commitments in this world, it's on that

1 day that the whole fabric of peace and the
2 possibility of peace is torn apart and
3 destroyed.

4 This very hour, as I speak
5 to you, our men are in battle thousands of
6 miles away. But those thousands of miles
7 are not nearly so far as they seem on a map.
8 I've traveled to that far area, and it didn't
9 take long. This is an ugly war. It's a diffi-
10 cult war. All wars are dirty. The only man
11 who ever gave an honest definition of war was
12 General Sherman when he said, "War is hell".
13 And it is a painful war and a costly war.
14 But let me tell you what we believe and have
15 learned is even more painful than war: The
16 placing upon the brows and the hearts and
17 the minds of men, totalitarian doctrine and
18 policy.

19 This is not new. It's been
20 going on for centuries. It's just a new
21 place -- a different part of the world. I
22 would never want the world to believe that
23 Americans were willing to fight for white
24 Europeans, but unwilling to take a stand for
25 people of a different color or different

1 ethnic origin in Asia. I wouldn't want them
2 ever to believe that, nor would I ever want
3 the forces that oppose freedom to ever get
4 that propaganda loose in this world. Because
5 make it crystal clear -- let it be clear that
6 our commitments are not to color or race or
7 to geography or region. Our commitments are
8 to basic principles. We happen to believe --
9 and I think we're right -- that we cannot
10 permit aggression to become an acceptable
11 method of settling international disputes.
12 We happen to believe that people -- no matter
13 how small, how significant -- they are entitled
14 to the right of self-determination. We happen
15 to believe that once brute force is unleashed,
16 once aggression is unleashed and goes un-
17 checked, it knows no terminal point. We
18 happen to believe that because we have lived
19 through it in this century. And that is why
20 we have taken this stand.

21 Whether you agree with
22 everything that has been done or not is not
23 really so important as whether we understand
24 what we are doing. We are not in Vietnam
25 just for Vietnam. We are there because the

1 entire fabric of the organization of a peace-
2 ful world is at stake. Imagine the kind of
3 world you would have, my fellow Americans,
4 if Harry Truman hadn't had the courage to
5 say to Joe Stalin in 1945, late, "You cannot
6 have the northern provinces of Iran", when
7 Mr. Stalin had hundreds of thousands of troops
8 there, and in violation of a commitment he was
9 going to stay there. And Harry Truman told
10 him, "You cannot stay there". Harry Truman
11 was a direct and blunt man, and I will not
12 tell you the exact framework of what he told
13 him to do, but the general idea was, "Get out".
14 And Mr. Stalin had met Mr. Truman before, and
15 he took him seriously, and he got out. A
16 little bit later, it was Turkey and the
17 northeastern provinces of Turkey. And Mr.
18 Stalin said, "I want them and my forces are
19 poised to take them", and lest you forget,
20 Mr. Truman said, "You try it and all the
21 power of the American Nation will repel
22 you. You try it. Get out". And a little
23 later, it was Greece; and a little later,
24 it was Berlin; and a little later, my friends,
25 it was Korea. And there were people then who

1 said -- when we were hanging on at the little
2 perimeter of Pusan, when we had literally been
3 driven out of the mainland of Korea -- there
4 were people who said in the Congress in the
5 United States, by the dozens, "Get out, it
6 isn't worth it. What are we here for?". And
7 it was Mr. Truman who said, "I will stay.
8 Aggression will not be rewarded by weakness
9 on the part of the United States. I'll stay".
10 And, my fellow Americans, we stayed, and fifty
11 thousand lives were taken and a hundred and
12 sixty thousand casualties. But I don't hear
13 an American today say that it wasn't worth
14 the price. Because imagine what the map of
15 Asia would look like today if the dagger of
16 Korea pointed at Japan was a Communist-con-
17 trolled dagger. Imagine what the map of Europe
18 would look like today if we had not stood our
19 ground in Berlin three times. If we had not
20 stood our ground in southern Europe three
21 times.

22 Imagine what it would be
23 like in the Caribbean today if you knew at
24 this very hour there were nuclear missiles
25 pointed at ourselves and our neighbors in the

1 Western Hemisphere, had Mr. Kennedy not had
2 the courage to run the risk of nuclear war
3 when he said to Mr. Krushchev, "Get out".

4 Militant Asian Communism
5 doesn't believe that we mean it. They think
6 we meant it in Europe because we are European
7 people, most of us. They think we meant it in
8 Latin America because this is considered to be
9 a part of our neighborhood, as we have said so
10 many times, and as they have said of our Hemi-
11 sphere. But they don't think we mean it there.

12 And I remind this audience
13 that over one-half of the children of this
14 earth live in Asia. And I remind you that
15 freedom is precious there, too. I have been
16 there three times, and I have seen what's going
17 on; and I can say to this audience tonight had
18 it not been for our presence in Asia now,
19 there would be no free Indonesia that has rid
20 itself and cleansed itself of Communist con-
21 trol. The war between Indonesia and Malaysia
22 which was on only a year and a half ago would
23 still be raging, instead of peace. A war that
24 was taking lives every day. There wouldn't
25 be the kind of an Asia and Southeast Asia that

1 is hoped for -- an Asia that will have its own
2 opportunity -- in the Mekong River Delta, in
3 Thailand, in Burma, and in India, and Pakistan,
4 and in Australia and New Zealand and Malaysia
5 and Singapore and in other places in Korea and
6 in the Philippines.

7 So keep things in perspective,
8 my friends: Easy decisions are for little
9 people; great decisions are for big people
10 and great people. The difference between a
11 great nation and an ordinary one is the one
12 that does the impossible or at least dares to
13 dream the impossible, and then to do it. I
14 think that the United States has much to be
15 proud of. I know of no people that have given
16 so much to help so many. And yet I know of no
17 nation that has been so self-critical of its
18 own efforts.

19 I call upon you, my friends
20 in the Democratic Party, to take our case to
21 the American people. In the field of foreign
22 policy it ought not to be partisan, and in the
23 main it is not; but you have nothing to apolo-
24 gize for when you keep a commitment -- when
25 you keep a commitment. Maybe the commitment

1 shouldn't have been made, but we made it. I
2 think we're doing what's right.

3 We are in the process of
4 building a better nation even as we fight to
5 protect it. There's a better Europe today
6 because Hitler was defeated -- not because
7 he was permitted to run wild over it. I have
8 visited that Europe, and it's a modern Europe,
9 a free Europe, and an independent and progres-
10 sive Europe because Communism was stopped and
11 Hitlerism eradicated. Thank God. And it will
12 be a better Asia and it will be a better world
13 because those who believe in conquest and brute
14 force and power have been stopped.

15 While the process of stopping
16 them goes on, there is untold misery; there is
17 pain, death, and destruction. Something that
18 we pray every night can be halted, stopped.
19 But I submit to you that if we persevere -- if
20 we persevere not only on the military front,
21 but in the political front, building a nation,
22 and the economic and social fronts, helping
23 people, and in the diplomatic front, searching
24 relentlessly for a peaceful solution -- if we
25 are successful on these four fronts, our efforts

1 will be crowned with success. If we fail on
2 any of them, we will be unworthy of being
3 called a great nation; and we need to be
4 judged.

5 I want you to take this matter
6 to your people and your neighbors. Talk of
7 this venture in opportunity; reach to the
8 skies, dream of a better day, and know that
9 we are building a better day, every day. And
10 know that we are putting more into it -- into
11 the building -- than any administration in the
12 history of this country. That we have had to
13 make great decisions, just as Mr. Roosevelt
14 and Mr. Truman had to make them, and suffer
15 the pangs of unpopularity. But, my fellow
16 Americans, if the price is to sacrifice
17 political principle in the name of popularity,
18 it is too high a price to pay, and we have no
19 intention of paying it.

20 I happen to believe, however,
21 if you do what you believe to be right and if
22 you stay with it and if you persevere and if
23 you have the will, the dogged determination
24 and faith and will and the perseverance, that
25 the American people will respect you and the

1 world will respect you. And when the day
2 comes that the people make their decision
3 as to where America is to go and to whom it
4 is to turn, I think the American people will
5 do what they have done before -- they will
6 put their faith and trust in leaders who
7 have character, leaders who have principle,
8 leaders who are willing to make the tough
9 decisions even when they are unpopular.
10 And I think that means they will put their
11 faith in President Lyndon Johnson and in
12 the Democratic Party in 1968.

13
14 Thank you very much.
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STATE OF TEXAS §
COUNTY OF HARRIS §

I, the undersigned notary public in and for the County of Harris, State of Texas, do hereby certify that the facts as stated by me in the caption hereto are true, that the above and foregoing proceedings as indicated herein were reported by me and that same were thereafter reduced to typewriting under my direction; that the above and foregoing as set forth in typewriting is a full, true and correct transcript of the proceedings had and/or testimony adduced.

GIVEN under my hand and seal of office on this the 3rd day of May, 1967.

Kay Schwartz
Notary Public, Harris County,
Texas

(Austin)
 ✓ Gov Connelly
 ✓ Barbara Jordan
 ✓ Mrs Eastland
 ✓ Mrs Bentz
 ✓ Legislators

✓ Your Party
 ✓ Your Administ
 ✓ Your Congress
 ✓ Your President

✓ Farbrough
 ✓ + others of your
Democratization

✓ Educ ^{5 million}
 ✓ Health ^{3 million}
 ✓ Medicare
 ✓ People ^{young} ^{old} ^{need}
 ✓ Job. Training

✓ Opportunities

✓ Our Country Economy

✓ Our Purpose —
 ✓ Organizing the Peace
national building

✓ young
 ✓ people
 ✓ in
 ✓ the

✓ Mrs Bentz
 ✓ State
 ✓ Will Davis
 ✓ Bill Blanton
 (Harris County Ch)
 ✓ Paul Gray ^{GWA} ^{Harris County}
 ✓ Don Horn ^{ALCO}
 ✓ Mr Pee We Graham
Blk Trade

✓ Bob Eckhart 8th
 ✓ Jack Brooks 9th
 ✓ Bob Casey 22nd

MEMORANDUM

THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

TO: The Vice President

FROM: Martin J. McNamara

RE: Scenario April 23 - 24, 1967
Minnesota and Texas

The following events are scheduled:

April 23, 1967

1. Minnesota President's Club Minneapolis

April 24, 1967

2. Texas State Legislature Austin, Texas

3. Houston Area Mayors - Youth Opp. Council Houston, Texas

4. Oceanograph briefings Houston, Texas

5. Texas President Club Houston, Texas

6. Harris County and S. E. Texas Dem. Workers Houston, Texas

Sunday, April 23, 1967

EST

10:00 am You will depart for Minneapolis on Sunday morning by Lockheed (or later) Jet Star (chartered). Nothing is scheduled for you until the evening. The President's Club Reception and dinner are at the Leamington Hotel.

Monday, April 24, 1967

You should arrive in Austin, Texas not earlier than 11:20 am. Therefore your departure is at 9:00 am from Minneapolis by Air Force Jet Star. (Flying time 2:20 hrs.)

11:20 am On arrival at Austin you will be greeted by a delegation of Texans including Governor John Connally, Will Davis, State Executive Committee Chairman and others. (See list in speech file).

Accompanied by the Governor you will motor directly to the State Capitol for a short visit with him before you address a joint SPEECH session of the legislature. (Introduction by Governor Connally.)



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