

# Edited Transcript

## REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

DEMOCRATIC PARTY WORKERS

DENVER, COLORADO

September 9, 1967

I am talking today to the kind of people I like to visit with. I'm talking to the people who make victory possible for our Democratic Party -- and who could, if they should fail in their responsibilities, contribute to our defeat.

We are a forward-looking party, an affirmative party -- that's why we are Democrats. I have never been the kind of Democrat who expected everyone to agree with me on everything 100 per cent of the time. If you want a party like that, I suggest the kind of headquarters you would need -- a telephone booth. That would be big enough to house all the supporters of the kind of a party that demanded unanimity on every issue.

The Democratic Party is a national political organization. This nation of ours has different cultural patterns, different levels of economic development, and different needs. A political party that has a national base must, on the one hand, have national commitments, national purposes, and national goals. But, on the other hand, it

must give its supporters the opportunity to express their own individualities and to hold their own points of view.

Therefore, I don't scold my fellow-Democrats because I may occasionally disagree with them or they with me. I am not always certain myself what is right -- rather, I try to find out what is right. I've heard the President of the United States say a number of times that to do what is right is not difficult -- what is difficult is to find out what is right. And that's what we seek to do in our party.

This morning, I want to talk to you about the record of the Administration and to tell you why I believe it merits your active, affirmative, and continued support.

I think I know what our problems are. I have been in politics a long time. I started out way back in the '30's as Chairman of the Young Democrats in my county. I'll never forget my first opportunity of meeting our late and beloved President, Franklin D. Roosevelt. I was the only young man in my town of 12,000 people who had the chance to shake his hand. It was the best thing that ever happened to Humphrey's Drug Store. I stood behind the soda fountain, and to get a handshake you had to buy a coke. It really did help business.

My father was a Democrat in a Republican community. Yet he was elected a councilman and a state legislator, and he was elected

mayor time after time. I was brought up in the philosophy of Woodrow Wilson, which is one great reason why, throughout my public life, I have felt very deeply about our international commitments. I think that, if this nation had heeded Wilson, mankind might have been spared the tragedy of World War II.

I was brought up as a young man working for Franklin D. Roosevelt. I was a New Dealer, and I still am, because I consider the movement that Franklin D. Roosevelt launched in 1933 part of the unfinished American Revolution.

The Democratic Party has a record of sustained social progress. It has had leaders who have prevailed against the insults and acrimony of a powerful opposition. It has had leaders -- and it has a leader -- who merits the admiration, the confidence, and the support of the American people.

I have no doubt whatever that, when the choice has to be made, when it's a choice between two candidates, or three or four -- when it's a choice between two political parties -- the people of this nation are not going to cast aside the leadership that has brought this country to its highest pinnacle of prosperity, that has recognized the social problems of this country and launched an effective assault on them, that has done so much to build international understanding and peace

in the world community. I don't think that the American people are going to reject that kind of leadership, and that's why I'm confident about the months ahead and the election next year.

We Democrats like to take each other to task -- that's a Democratic trait. This is in accord with our independence, with our liberal and progressive spirit -- in fact, it's to be expected. For most of the time, it's not only to be expected, it's to be desired.

Self-analysis and self-criticism are healthy things. But, after the debate and after the dissent, there comes ultimately a time for decision. And when that time comes, you have to make a choice -- not between the perfect and the totally imperfect, but between the available alternatives. I'm sure the American people would rather have a man who knows how to be President than a man who knows how to be an actor. They'd rather have a man who knows how to be President than one who's trying to describe a new kind of intellectual detergent.

In the words of Al Smith, let's look at the record. Let's take a look at what's happened in the past six years, because that's the record of the Kennedy-Johnson and the Johnson-Humphrey Administrations.

There is an over-riding theme in Democratic leadership. When Franklin D. Roosevelt became President, he found this nation in the



depths of depression and despair, and he said that we had to get America on the move once again. His parting words to the American people, written for a speech that he did not live to deliver, were these: "Let us move forward with a strong and an active faith." That is the theme of the Democratic Party.

John F. Kennedy came to the White House as this nation was in its third recession in eight years. He had said all during the campaign: "Let's get this country moving again," and he said on Inaugural Day, "Let us begin." He moved this nation forward, he moved it in spirit and in fact -- and then he was taken from us by the assassin's bullet.

I sat in the home of the new President, President Johnson, as he was preparing his first speech to the joint session of the Congress. I was there all night as he was working on it. Remember those three words, "Let us continue," and the pledge he made to the American people at that joint session. He said that the platform of John Kennedy would be carried out -- it was a battle order, and we would fulfill it.

I sat there as deputy majority leader with the other Senate and the House leaders when President Johnson said: "We have a moral as well as a political commitment to see to it that the unfinished work of John Kennedy is completed."

So we set out to do it in the second session of the 88th Congress, and we did it -- a remarkable performance. Then came the elections

of 1964, with a fresh mandate from the people. We set to work in the 89th Congress, and it produced the most memorable and historic record of liberal and progressive legislation in American history. If you think all this came easily, let me assure you that it didn't.

We Democrats have faced difficulties before, and overcame them. In 1948 President Truman won the election, despite all the predictions to the contrary. I'll tell you why he won that victory -- because he had courage, conviction, and confidence. He had the courage to say what he believed. He had the conviction to do what he thought was right. He had confidence in himself and in the judgment of the American people. He went out and won a great victory.

We Democrats face very much the same situation now as in 1948. I hear that this group or that group that may put a candidate in the field. That's their right and privilege -- this is a free country.

But I believe, my fellow-Democrats, that you do want to win. Every Democrats who holds public office ought to remember this -- you're seldom much stronger than the head of your ticket. You don't make progress when you break ranks. As Benjamin Franklin once said, we must hang together or we will hang separately.

I'll put it quite frankly. I know that there is a temptation sometimes to point out the limitations of those who serve you. I know that many of us -- and I myself, on occasion -- have found fault with

leaders and programs and policies. But I want to make this suggestion to you. It is just 14 months before the course of this nation will be decided. The American people are going to decide who is going to be President, and it isn't going to be a third party or a fourth party candidate. It's going to be a Democratic or a Republican candidate -- that is what the choice is ultimately going to be.

I think every Democrat ought to remember this -- that is isn't going to improve his political health to put poison in the Democratic well from which he is going to have to drink between now and next November.

Having stated the negative, let me state the positive. I have spent some eighteen years in Washington. I came there with a record of civil rights, at a time when our party had been split on that issue. I handled the comprehensive Civil Rights Act of 1964 from February 10th to June 27th, in debate and in filibuster, dealing with the 292 amendments that were offered. I was on the floor of the Senate every day but Sunday, since we met six days a week.

The President of the United States -- this President, the man from Texas -- sent to the Congress the boldest, the most far-reaching, the most comprehensive civil rights program that any President ever dreamed of, much less dared to send to the Congress. After months of debate, during which the President's purpose remained firm and

he brought every effort that he could to bear on it, we passed it.

Today the promise held forth by Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation has become a legal reality, because President Lyndon Johnson proposed the program and a Democratic Congress enacted it.

There has been poverty in this country for a long time. But the Democratic Party believes, and the President of the United States believes, that every American is entitled to an equal opportunity in our society -- whether he is poor or not, whether he is white or black, whatever his name may be, whether he has a Scandinavian or a Spanish surname, whether he comes from the North or the South.

The war on poverty, and every piece of legislation that we've advanced in Congress during these years, have been designed for one single purpose -- to open up the gates of opportunity to every American.

We are not trying to make poverty more tolerable -- we're trying to get at its root causes. We're not trying merely to ease the pain of poverty. That could be done just by writing out a check -- and there are some people who believe that's the way to do it. They have what I call a checkbook mentality.

We think there's another way, a better way. It costs money -- yes, but it costs more than that. It requires commitment, public service, community action, personal dedication. It's the hard way, it may be the slow way, but it's the sure way.

The President has recommended the expenditure of \$25.6 billion this year on the over-all attack on poverty. Yet there are people in our own ranks who ask: "What are you doing? What has happened to our liberal program?" I'll tell you what happened to it. I helped design it. I fought for it during 16 years in the Senate. I think I know something about it. I am one of its godfathers. I'm going to let you in on the secret of what happened to our liberal program -- we enacted it!

I don't think you prove yourself a liberal by your failures. I think that liberals do have to be willing to suffer reverses for a good cause. But I don't think you're any less a liberal when the programs you fought for, the programs that year after year were defeated, are finally enacted.

I introduced the Medicare bill on May 17, 1949. I couldn't even get a hearing on it. I introduced it every two years thereafter. I went to my good friend from New Mexico, Senator Clinton Anderson, a member of the Finance Committee, the Committee which had jurisdiction over the bill. I said: "Would you take this bill, and let me be its co-sponsor? If you take it, we can pass it." He took it, and so did Congressman King of California, a member of the House Ways and Means Committee. We kept at it. It was enacted in late 1965 and signed by the President at Independence, Missouri.

Medicare now assures hospital care to 19 million of our senior citizens. In its first full year of operation, four million persons received hospital care and 15 million bills for physicians' and other medical services were paid under Medicare.

I for one don't think this shows that the Johnson-Humphrey Administration has lost its zeal for liberal legislation. I think that it shows we know how to get liberal legislation enacted, and I'm proud of our record.

Let's look at the whole galaxy of liberal programs. First, there is Federal Aid to Education. It had been before the Congress for many years. It would pass one branch of Congress and die in the other. It was like a tennis match in which every ball hit the net.

President Johnson, a former school teacher himself, said: "We're going to try to get it through," and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act was passed. Believe me, it wasn't easy.

This year the government of the United States will spend 12 billion dollars in all on education. Seven years ago it was only three billion. I think we've really done something in this field.

Eight million children from poverty-stricken homes are receiving assistance under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. It was your President, your Administration, and your Democratic majority in Congress that made it possible for these eight million children to

have, for the first time in their lives, an equal chance in school.

It was your party, your Democratic majority in Congress, and your President that initiated Head Start for two million pre-school children, giving them for the first time in their lives the opportunity for educational experience in a wholesome environment.

It was your Congress, your party, and your President that saw to it that Medicare became an actual fact rather than just a mere promise.

It was your party, your Democratic majority in Congress, and your President that saw to it that, during this past academic year, almost a million college students received federal assistance in grants, loans, or scholarships so that they could continue their education.

It was your party, your Democratic majority in Congress, and your President that waged war upon the pollution of our air and water.

It is your party, your Democratic majority in Congress, and your President that has launched many of the programs that we hope to put to work to help our cities.

Let me just say a word about that. I have been a mayor myself. And I serve as the President's liaison with city officials. There is a coalition of conservatives at work in Congress. We lost 47 Democratic seats in last year's election, and that has cost us precious time and important programs. We still have a Democratic majority, but there

are all kinds of Democrats -- and some of them don't go along with the programs of the President and of the Democratic Party.

I think I've been in more American cities than anyone else. Everywhere I've gone, I've done what I've been doing here. I've been working with our people, meeting with mayors and governors, with federal and local officials, with labor leaders and teachers, with business and professional people, seeking to get them to work together in partnership to deal with the social and economic problems of this country.

Yet I hear people say we've done far too little for our cities. I know that we need to do more -- but may I remind you that the President has recommended \$10.3 billion in aid to our cities this year. Some \$6.8 billion of this has yet to be appropriated. Why is this? It is because there were those who, after the 1966 election, said: "It's time to slow down, time to reassess, time to take another look -- we ought not to move too fast." It was they, not the White House, who started putting on the brakes, in Congress and throughout the country.

I predict that we are going to enact those bills and get those funds appropriated, but it isn't going to be easy. We need help from our Democratic precinct workers. We need help from the people who helped elect us. Here is help that America needs, help for the slum kid. We need the appropriation for the Elementary and Secondary



Education Act. We need the funds for the rat extermination program. We enacted the Model Cities program, but we need the funds for it. We need funds for urban renewal, urban research, mass transit, the school lunch program.

We have put forward a program that adds up to social progress for America. There isn't any instant solution for our long-standing social and economic problems. There isn't any instant solution for our international problems. We have to do what we think best.

No one is more concerned about the value of life and the loss of life, about peace and war, than the President and the Vice President. My only argument with those who seem to feel differently about things is that they claim for themselves a sense of righteousness which they do not grant to others. Does anyone really believe that any President of the United States -- any President of any party -- actually wants a war? I don't really think so.

Yet there were people who made Abraham Lincoln's life miserable, because he sought to hold the Union together at the cost of the bloodiest war America ever fought. There were people who assailed Franklin D. Roosevelt because, in his 1937 speech at Chicago, he urged that we must quarantine the aggressors. There were good people who called him a warmonger.

I'll just make one statement to this audience. No man desires peace more, no man seeks it more diligently, no man seeks it with greater commitment and conviction than the man who has as his responsibility promoting the general welfare and providing for the common defense -- the President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson.

President Johnson said in his State of the Union Message this year:

"This nation is mighty enough, its society is healthy enough, its people are strong enough, to pursue our goals in the world while building a great society here at home."

It is this philosophy which is being tested today. The easiest thing for any President to do is to walk away from his responsibilities.

The goals this nation pursues are well known.

There is the goal of ever-advancing economic, social, and political opportunity for every American -- and any American who doesn't know that doesn't understand the responsibilities of his citizenship.

This nation is also committed to the support of the United Nations, whose purposes, as set forth in its charter, are to resist aggression, to promote self-determination, and to help provide for the economic and social development of peoples who are in the process of nation-building.

John Kennedy, in his great Inaugural Address in 1961, said these words we all ought to remember:

"Let every nation know, whether it wish us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, to assure the survival and the success of liberty."

These were the words of our late and beloved President. One month before his assassination, the well-known TV commentator David Brinkley asked him this question:

"Mr. President, have you had any reason to doubt the so-called domino theory, that if South Vietnam falls the rest of Southeast Asia will go?"

President Kennedy answered:

"No, sir, I believe it, I believe it. I think that the struggle is close enough, China is so large, looms so high, just beyond the frontiers, that if South Vietnam went, it would not only give them an improved geographic position for guerrilla assault on Malaya, but would also give the impression that the wave of the future in Southeast Asia was China and the Communists. So I believe it. I don't agree with those who say that we should withdraw. This would be a great mistake. We took all of this, made this same effort to defend Europe, now Europe is quite secure. We also have to participate, we also have to defend,

we may not like it, in the defense of Asia. We can't make the world over, we can influence the world. The fact of the matter is that with the assistance of the United States, with SEATO, Southeast Asia, and indeed all of Asia, has been maintained independent against a powerful force, the Chinese Communists. What I am concerned about is that Americans will get impatient and say because they don't like events in Southeast Asia, or they don't like the government in Saigon, that we should withdraw. That only makes it easy for the Communists. I think that we should stay, we should use our power, our influence, in as effective a way as we can, but we should not withdraw."

Three Presidents have spoken to the same effect -- President Eisenhower, President Kennedy, and now President Johnson.

When President Johnson took office, there were over 16,000 Americans in uniform in Vietnam. We had suffered several hundred casualties -- nothing like we have by now, but we were there. And the late President Kennedy had made it crystal clear that we would stay there.

We're not there just because of South Vietnam alone. For, as the late and beloved Adlai Stevenson (then our Ambassador to the United Nations) reminded critics of our presence in Vietnam, the most aggressive force in the world today is militant Asian Communism, and it must be checked if there would be no peace.

Half of the world's people live in Asia. It is far away, its cultures are foreign to us, and most Americans cannot even pronounce the names of its leaders or spell the names of its cities and towns and villages. Nevertheless, it is a part of this world, and an important part. The United States has had an involvement with this part of the world ever since the early years of our Republic.

Have you forgotten Korea? It was because President Truman wanted to fight a limited war there, because he did not want to run the risk of enlarging it to a nuclear conflict, that he dismissed General MacArthur -- and his public opinion poll rating on that day dropped to 26 per cent. Yet, as our civilian commander-in-chief, he stood his ground.

The war in Korea was unpopular, very unpopular. The same charges were made then that are being made now, and by some of the same voices. Indeed, some of the same voices that were heard then and now were heard as long ago as 1940, saying: "Hitler has won. We must make our peace with him. Why try to resist the inevitable?"

Today Korea, with all its difficulties and limitations, is a success story. It has succeeded in making the greatest economic breakthrough of any country in Asia, save Japan. Ten years ago, many people wouldn't have given it one chance in a thousand. It was called an insoluble mess, a tragedy, an American mistake. Yet

today the people of South Korea are building a free society and a great economy, and making their full contribution to a free Asia.

Yes, we are in South Vietnam not just for the sake of South Vietnam alone. We are there because we believe that nations should have a chance to build in freedom, in Asia as well as in Europe and Latin America and Africa. We're there because we have made a solemn commitment.

It wasn't made by this President. The only treaties that Lyndon Johnson has signed are treaties of peace. I hear people say that our foreign relations are in desperate disarray, yet there have been more agreements signed with the Soviet Union in the past three years than in any comparable period in our history.

Let me tick them off for you. The President signed a treaty with the Soviet Union to prevent the orbiting of weapons of mass destruction in space -- highly significant. He signed the Civil Air Agreement -- significant. He signed the Consular Treaty -- significant. His Administration has drafted and presented to the Disarmament Conference at Geneva a nuclear nonproliferation treaty -- highly significant.

Those are the treaties and agreements that your President has signed. He hasn't signed a single treaty involving an additional military commitment. But, as President of the United States, he is

responsible for honoring our existing commitments. And the credibility of American commitments is the only shield for peace and freedom and independence that many nations have.

Only two years ago, the Prime Minister of Singapore was highly critical of America. Yet he is coming to see the President of the United States, at his invitation. And the Prime Minister has said that the American presence in Vietnam is essential if Asia is to have any hope for freedom.

I have been in 14 countries of Asia and the South Pacific, on three trips. I might say to those who feel that they are the self-appointed apostles of peace that I am one of the co-authors of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. I stood beside Adlai Stevenson on this issue in the 1956 campaign. I held hearings before the Senate Disarmament Committee. I advanced the cause of general and universal disarmament. I am the author of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the Food for Peace program, the Peace Corps. Indeed, I was accused of being the "peacenik" of the Senate.

But I want to say for the record that, long before I became Vice President of the United States, I felt that our commitment in Southeast Asia was absolutely essential if there was to be any hope of a free and independent Asia in the years ahead.

Yes, we're in South Vietnam not just because of South Vietnam alone. We're there in our own national interest. We're there because of Indonesia, we're there because of Thailand, we're there because of India, we're there because of Ceylon, we're there because of the Philippines, we're there because of Burma and every other free country in Asia. If you think it is easy to live in peace with the Asian Communists, ask India. She was the victim of unprovoked aggression by China, even though Prime Minister Nehru had built his foreign policy upon peace and understanding with China.

Only two years ago Indonesia, the fifth most populous nation of the world, was in imminent danger of control by its Peking-oriented Communist Party. They launched a coup whose purpose was to complete their control, leaving President Sukarno as a figurehead. Yet today the leaders of Indonesia tell us that the success of their counter-coup, the freeing of their nation from Communist domination, was dependent upon the American commitment to Asia. The Communist-sponsored confrontation of Malaya by Indonesia -- and it wasn't all bluff, it cost several hundred lives -- is over, and peace reigns there.

Harmony among the nations of the area, once shattered, has been restored, in the form of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. Regional cooperation is increasing. Japan is beginning to take her place as a great economic force in Asia -- and a force for



good. The victories in this struggle are many -- and they are not military victories alone, even though military victories have been won. I list them for you -- the victory in Indonesia, the fact that Malaysia is no longer confronted by massive hostile forces, the emergence of regional cooperation in Southeast Asia.

Asian leaders may disagree with us about tactics, but they don't disagree about strategy or about ultimate objectives. Not a single leader of any free country in Asia thinks that we are wrong to be in Vietnam. All of them say our presence there is essential to their freedom and independence.

What are we there for? What John Kennedy said we should be there for, what Eisenhower said we should be there for, what Lyndon Johnson says we should be there for. We are there in accordance with the purposes of the United Nations as set forth in its Charter. I defy anyone to find that we have violated that Charter, because it sets forth as one of the major purposes of the United Nations resistance against aggression.

Is there anyone who has the unmitigated gall to stand up and say that there has been no aggression against South Vietnam by the forces of North Vietnam? He knows better, and he knows that they were there before we were there. Of course he knows it, because it is a fact.

As truly as the sun rises in the East and sets in the West, we're there to resist aggression, we're there to promote self-determination. Have we? Well, with all the limitations, and there are plenty, a constituent assembly was elected to write a constitution.

It is a fact, as you may know, that we in America did not actually elect a constituent assembly to write a constitution. The delegates were chosen by their state legislatures. They were invited to come to Philadelphia on May 14. But it was not until May 25 that enough delegates had arrived to start the meeting -- 29 in all. Finally, several weeks later, 55 delegates had arrived, representing 12 states (Rhode Island never did send anybody). Only 42 stayed to the end; only 39 actually signed the Constitution.

That's our record. The capital of the United States was moved ten times between 1776 and 1790. There was talk of secession in New England during the War of 1812. President James Madison was accused of leading this nation into an unprovoked war. They called for his impeachment. They even burned him in effigy.

So nation-building, even here, was not all that easy. And we had the assistance of a friendly nation, as well. There were more French troops at Yorktown than American, and it was a French fleet that bottled up General Cornwallis. We had help in gaining our

independence, just as the Vietnamese did. I think it's good to look at history now and then.

The constitutional process is under way in Vietnam. Some people have doubted it. They said the election would never be held last year, but it was -- and a higher proportion of the people voted than in our own elections that year.

Then the critics said that the constituent assembly would be nothing but a rubber stamp. They said it wouldn't last, that the Vietnamese government would send it home. But it did last and it did write a constitution. It debated -- and the debates were heated at times -- and it wrote a constitution.

Then the critics said: "The military directorate will never accept it -- they'll file it away and forget it." But the directorate did accept it.

Then they said, "The military directorate will draw up the election laws." But they didn't; the elected constituent assembly drew up the election laws.

Then they said: "The constituent assembly will never be able to set the election date." But they did.

Then they said: "They'll never have hamlet and village elections," but elections were in fact held, and 77 per cent of the registered

voters in these villages participated in them -- more than in any municipal election in America. (The average vote in a municipal election in America is 35 per cent.)

Then they said the Presidential elections would be a fraud, a farce, and a hoax. Archbishop Lucy was one of the official American observers there, and the President asked him:

"Archbishop, what was the main disappointment that you encountered in your visit to Vietnam?"

He said: "The one disappointment I encountered was that of the newspapermen who couldn't find anything really to complain about in the election."

And Mayor McKeldin of Baltimore, a Republican, stood up and said:

"Mr. President, I want you to know that I wasn't brainwashed."

The electoral process is taking place. I won't predict what the future may hold. It is difficult to build democracy in a country that's had a thousand years of mandarin rule, almost a century of colonial domination, and 26 years of war.

But I do know that we must be firm in our resolve. We must not let people drive us into a massive acceleration of this struggle. We must hew to the middle course -- and by that I mean the course between withdrawal and using all of our power.

We have a civilian commander-in-chief -- the President. He has as his prime objectives in this struggle the prevention both of aggression and of a military holocaust.

That is why your government has acted as it has. That is why we don't bring to bear all of the massive power of this nation. That is why we consult with Mr. Kosygin and Mr. Gromyko, that is why we have gone to everyone in the United Nations -- to seek ways and means of securing a just peace.

I want to say to our critics, speaking this morning in my capacity as a member of the President's Cabinet, that any time anybody can bring Ho Chi Minh or any of his appointed and responsible agents to the conference table, we are ready to sit down and talk peace.

We are ready to talk and to negotiate. We'll talk if the fighting stops, we'll talk even while it goes on. But I think our critics should know that Ho Chi Minh has written the President and said there would be no talks and no conference -- even with the good offices of Chairman Kosygin himself.

We've walked the extra mile. We're prepared to walk two miles or more. We're prepared to do anything that can be done, not only through the United Nations but through intermediaries.

We are anxious for peace, but we are not prepared to withdraw, to give up, to retreat.

Address of

VICE-PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

to the

Democratic National Committeemen And Committeewomen  
And Democratic Party Workers  
Of The State of Colorado

At The Grand Ballroom

DENVER HILTON HOTEL  
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P R O C E E D I N G S

1  
2 MR. WILLIAM GRANT: Fellow Democrats, the Vice-President  
3 of the United States. (Applause.)

4 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I'm hardly awake. I'm  
5 afraid that somebody sounded my title, so I think that it's  
6 going to do for this occasion. I do appreciate, Mr. Chairman,  
7 this splendid early morning reception, and I'm happy to see a  
8 gathering around us here now, the leaders of the community.  
9 Mr. Mayor, it's nice to see you, Tom. I think he deserves a  
10 good loud hand. (Applause.)

11 Mayor, I wasn't sure if you were any more awake than I  
12 happened to be at this moment. I just wanted to be sure we were  
13 both on the same wave length here. And, of course, from your  
14 own District here in the great City of Denver, I'm sure everyone  
15 here knows -- and if he hasn't been introduced, I want to do it,  
16 I imagine he has, and if you've made a speech, you can make  
17 another if you wish, none other than Byron Rogers, Congressman  
18 Byron Rogers. (Applause.)

19 And then that sterling character of a man, that fine  
20 Congressman that I worked with down in Pueblo, and yesterday at  
21 Colorado Springs, that has suffered beyond the call of human  
22 endurance, being with me yesterday, and listened to me speak five  
23 times, none other than Frank Evans. (Applause.)

24 And you may have noticed that as we came into the room  
25 this morning, I was accompanied by a very distinguished gentleman,



1 not only distinguished in his looks and appearance, but in his  
2 performance as a public official, I tried to get ahead of him a  
3 little bit, because when he walks alongside of me they always  
4 say, "Look at that good looking man," and I know it's not me,  
5 and it bothers me, and if I'm out alone, why, I get by fairly well.

6 But I want to introduce to you the man who is presently  
7 number two in Colorado, but any day, and I think it will be about,  
8 oh, a couple or three years from now, he'll be number one, Mark  
9 Hogan. (Applause.)

10 A wonderful Lieutenant Governor. Now, I don't know if  
11 any more have gathered but as they come in, why, we'll stop the  
12 proceedings. I've often said as I've come to a morning gathering  
13 like this, if the spirit moves any of you to do anything, make a  
14 speech or make a contribution, don't for a moment hesitate to  
15 get up and do it, particularly if it's a contribution.

16 (Laughter.)

17 Because I received a little note just as I came down  
18 here -- by the way, I have a hand full of papers here, none of  
19 which I have prepared, different leaders of the Democratic party  
20 in Colorado said, "Would you mind mentioning this," and if it's  
21 a little disjointed this morning, just remember they didn't  
22 have a chance to get their material together, either. But I  
23 have a note here that reminds me that the Chairman, Dale Tooley,  
24 has told me about, it says something to the effect, "We surely  
25 would appreciate emphasis on door to door solicitation, both votes

GILBERT BOND

1 and money." I added that part, I knew that's what he meant.

2 And in fact, I do think it's very important for us to  
3 remember it, and I didn't want to forget it, Dale, and that's  
4 why I mention it now, for the Denver County Democratic Central  
5 Committee, precinct workers and all, to keep in mind, the drive  
6 that you're going to have here in this county for the 1967  
7 Democratic Fund Drive. And I hope that you will get at it. It  
8 starts September 15 to 25, and it's Support Your Party Week, and  
9 it's party time in Denver and Colorado. And I know what it means  
10 to have to try to carry on a political program without the re-  
11 sources that are necessary. I helped build a political party  
12 in my state. We built it literally from the ashes of ruin to  
13 the controlling party in the State of Minnesota. And we had  
14 to do it the hard way, with just people, faith, energy, dedi-  
15 cation and competence. And we went out and molded a political  
16 structure, fielded political candidates, carried out our political  
17 assignments, went door to door for political solicitation, started  
18 a sustaining fund, Dollars for Democrats, parties, dances,  
19 meetings, we even had a barbeque before they had one in Texas.  
20 (Laughter and applause.)

21 So I'm not unmindful of the tremendous job that it is  
22 to keep a party organization alive, to keep it operating, to  
23 maintain a central headquarters, a county organization, and I  
24 know that I'm talking to the people this morning that are fully  
25 aware of these responsibilities and these duties and burdens.

1 I am talking to the people that I like to visit with. I'm talking  
2 to the people that make possible our victory, and could, if they  
3 failed in their responsibilities, contribute to defeat. But we  
4 are a forward-looking party, and we're an affirmative-looking  
5 people, that's why we're Democrats. And I want to clear the  
6 decks of certain things early. I've never been the kind of a  
7 Democrat that expected that every person that I met or that every  
8 one of my friends would always agree with me on everything one  
9 hundred percent of the time. If you are going to have a party  
10 like that, I suggest the kind of a headquarters you ought to  
11 have, a telephone booth. Because that'll be big enough to house  
12 all the supporters of that kind of a party that demands unanimity  
13 on every issue. The Democratic party represents a national  
14 political organization and structure, it represents an entire  
15 nation, and this nation of ours has different cultural patterns,  
16 this nation of ours has different levels of economic development,  
17 this nation of ours has different needs. And people in a political  
18 party that has a national base must on the one hand have some  
19 national commitments, national purposes, national goals. But on  
20 the other hand you must leave them an opportunity to be individ-  
21 ualists, to have their point of view.

22 So I do not come to scold my fellow Democrats because I  
23 may disagree with them or they may disagree with me. I'm not  
24 sure, I am not positive, what is right. What I try to do is to  
25 find out what is right. I've heard the President of the United

1 States say a number of times that to do what is right is not  
2 difficult, what is difficult is to find out what is right. And  
3 that's what we seek to do in the political party.

4 Now, this morning I want to talk to you about the record  
5 of the administration and I want to tell you why I believe that  
6 it merits your active, affirmative, continued support. I think  
7 I know what our problems are, I've been in politics a long time.  
8 I started out way back in the 1930's as Chairman of the Young  
9 Democrats in my county. I'll never forget my first opportunity  
10 of meeting the late and beloved President, Franklin Roosevelt.  
11 I was the only young fellow in the town of 12,000 that had the  
12 chance to shake his hand, and I was one of those that really  
13 didn't wash that hand for at least a week. It was the best  
14 thing that ever happened to Humphrey's Drug Store, because I  
15 stood behind the soda fountain, and in order to get a handshake  
16 you had to buy a coke. It helped business.

17 My father was a Democrat in a Republican community. He  
18 was the mayor of his city time after time, a councilman, and  
19 then a state legislator, he was a businessman. I was brought  
20 up in the philosophy of Woodrow Wilson, which is one of the  
21 reasons that all of my public and private life I have felt very  
22 deeply about our international commitments. I think had the  
23 nation listened to the call of Wilson we might have been spared  
24 the tragedy of World War II. I was brought up as a young man  
25 working for Franklin Delano Roosevelt. I was in Denver, Colorado,

1 on March 4th, 1933, when Roosevelt was inaugurated for his first  
2 term. I was a New Dealer, and am, because I consider the move-  
3 ment that Franklin Delano Roosevelt launched in 1933 part of the  
4 unfinished American Revolution. (Applause.)

5 You're doing mighty good back there, you should take up  
6 sign painting. (Laughter and applause.)

7 You know, one of the joys of public life is to see the  
8 unbelievable undeveloped talent for artistry that's in the  
9 Democratic ranks. (Applause.)

10 This party has a record of sustained social progress, and  
11 I repeat, sustained social progress. It has had leadership that  
12 has endured the insults and the acrimony of a powerful opposition,  
13 and it has had leaders, and has a leader, that merits the support  
14 and the admiration and the confidence of the majority of the  
15 American people. (Applause.)

16 And I haven't any doubt that when the choices have to be  
17 made, when it's a choice between two candidates, three or four,  
18 or when it's a choice between two political parties, the people  
19 of this nation are not going to cast aside leadership that has  
20 brought this country to the highest pinnacle of its prosperity,  
21 that has done more to recognize the social problems of this  
22 nation, and to launch a program, an effective program, of assault  
23 upon those social problems, that has done more to build a world  
24 community of international peace and understanding. I don't  
25 think the American people are going to reject that kind of



1 leadership, and that's why I'm confident (applause) -- that's why  
2 I am confident about the months ahead and the election in November.

3 But my fellow Democrats, let's get down to business. We  
4 like to take each other apart, that's one of the traits of being  
5 a Democrat, this is what we call our independence, this is what  
6 we call our liberal progressive spirit, and it is to be expected,  
7 and in fact it is most of the time and for most of the months  
8 of the year not only to be expected but to be desired.

9 Self-analysis, self-criticism, is a healthy thing. But there  
10 comes a time after the debate, after the dissent, there comes a  
11 time after the debate and dissent when you ultimately have to make  
12 a decision. And when that time of decision comes, you have to  
13 make choices, not between what you think is perfect and what you  
14 know to be totally imperfect, but between the available alter-  
15 natives. And that's why when I read the polls, when I see what the  
16 American people seem to be sensing and thinking, I find that the  
17 administration, while it has many who wish we would do better, while  
18 it has many critics, that when they take the poll they'd rather  
19 have a man who knows how to be President than a man who knows how  
20 to be an actor, they'd rather have a man who knows how to be  
21 President -- (applause) they'd rather have a man who knows how to be  
22 President rather than one that's trying to describe a new intellectual  
23 detergent, and I think you know what I mean. (Laughter and applause.)

24 And I don't want anybody here to say that I said any-  
25 thing about brainwashing. Well, now, let's just go in the words

1 of Al Smith, let's just take a look at the record. Let's take a  
2 look at what's happened the last six years, because that's the  
3 record of this administration, the record of the Kennedy-Johnson  
4 administration, and the record of the Johnson-Humphrey adminis-  
5 tration. And I put myself in that, because I'll tell you why,  
6 one day in the Senate I was presiding up there, and there were  
7 folks up there giving the President all sorts of trouble, and  
8 they were condemning the President for this and condemning him  
9 for that, and lo and behold, up rose Everett Dirksen, and Everett  
10 Dirksen said in his melodious voice, he said, "Mr. President,  
11 I don't think we ought to put upon the weary shoulders of the  
12 President all of the responsibility for the mistakes of this  
13 administration, I want to include in our beloved friend, Hubert."  
14 (Laughter and applause.)

15 And he started then to denounce the Johnson-Humphrey  
16 administration. Well, I'll tell you, when you're Vice-President  
17 you're glad to have your name mentioned anywhere. (Applause.)

18 So it is the Johnson-Humphrey administration, and I am  
19 proud to be associated with it. There is a rhythm about Democratic  
20 leadership which I want to give you this morning. When Franklin  
21 Roosevelt became President of this country he found the nation  
22 in the depths of despair and depression, and he said that we had  
23 to get America on the move once again. And Franklin Roosevelt's  
24 departing words to the American people, as he was taken from us,  
25 and you remember the occasion, as he was writing the remarks for

1 his Jefferson Day speech, the last words in that speech, a speech  
2 that was never finished, never delivered, were these, "Let us  
3 move forward with a strong and an active faith." That is the  
4 theme of this party, let us move forward, but with a strong and  
5 active faith.

6 It's sort of like what Abraham Lincoln said, "With malice  
7 towards none," and there's folks that want to have that spirit  
8 only, "With charity for all," and someone has stopped there, but  
9 that isn't what Lincoln said, he said, "With malice toward none,  
10 with charity for all, but with firmness in the right as God  
11 gives us to see the right."

12 And Franklin Roosevelt said, "Let us move forward," and  
13 then he told you how, "with a strong and an active faith." A  
14 strong conviction and an active faith in what you're doing and  
15 what you hope to do, what the promise is. John Kennedy found a  
16 nation that was in its third recession, and I can remember on  
17 that inaugural day because I was sitting on that platform as the  
18 majority whip of the United States Senate, and John Kennedy said,  
19 "Let's get this country moving again, let us begin" -- the three  
20 words, "Let us begin" -- and he did get the nation moving. He  
21 moved the nation forward, he moved it in spirit, he moved it in  
22 fact. And then he was taken by the assassin's bullet. And I  
23 sat in the home of the then Vice-President and just President by  
24 the tragedy of John Kennedy's death, I sat there as Lyndon Johnson  
25 was preparing his speech to the joint session of the Congress, I



1 was there all night as the President was working on that speech.  
2 And I remember three words, "Let us continue," and the promise  
3 that he made to the American people in that joint session, when  
4 President Johnson said, "The platform of John Kennedy will be  
5 carried out, it is a battle order, we will fulfill it."

6 I was called in as one of the two lieutenants of the  
7 United States Senate, with Senator Mansfield as majority leader  
8 and Hubert Humphrey as the deputy majority leader and the majority  
9 whip. And I sat there with the leaders of the House and of the  
10 Senate when President Johnson said, "We have a moral as well as  
11 a political commitment to see that the unfinished work of John  
12 Kennedy is completed." And we set out to do it in the second  
13 session of the 88th Congress, and we did it, a remarkable per-  
14 formance. And then came the elections of 1964, with a mandate  
15 from the people, and we set to work in the 89th Congress -- and  
16 I'm talking now about the real facts of political life -- and  
17 the 89th Congress produced the most memorable and historic  
18 record of liberal and progressive legislation in the annals of  
19 American history, there's never been anything like it. (Applause.)

20 But unless you think it came easily, let me assure you  
21 that it didn't. We passed a comprehensive Civil Rights Act,  
22 and my, you think we did nothing, to hear some people talk.  
23 Listen, I went to the Democratic convention in 1948, and I'm  
24 used to people walking out on meetings, you know, and I saw then  
25 the bigots -- and there are all kinds of bigots -- I saw then

1 the people who said they were right and they knew how right they  
2 were, and they were far right. (Laughter.)

3 You know, you get on either side of the road too far and  
4 you're in the ditch. I saw then people who were not going to  
5 tolerate any, any change whatsoever. And they got up and walked  
6 out, the Dixiecrats. And Harry Truman was faced in that election  
7 of 1948 with a Progressive Party candidate, who was the late and  
8 beloved Henry Wallace, he was faced with the Dixiecrat Party  
9 candidate, Strom Thurmond --

10 A VOICE: What about your friend, Lester Maddox?

11 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I'll come to him a little bit  
12 later. If he's one of your relatives we don't want to miss an  
13 opportunity to speak kindly of him. (Laughter and applause.)  
14 You never know how I worry about these meetings, I pay these  
15 people to interrupt me at certain times, and they're always a  
16 little late. (Laughter and applause.)

17 Wait a minute, wait a minute, we don't want to throw  
18 people out of meetings, the purpose of the meeting is to keep  
19 people in. Just leave everybody alone, he's got a right to have  
20 his opinion, I've been wrong, why can't he be wrong. (Laughter  
21 and applause.)

22 Now, I'll give him the platform when I'm through, I think  
23 we ought to have equal time here -- but it'll be some time, I'm  
24 afraid, however. You did interrupt my train of thought. I said  
25 that I'd been in places where we'd had difficulties before. And

1 Mr. Truman went on in that election, despite all the predictions  
2 to the contrary, to win a tremendous victory. And I'll tell you  
3 why he won the victory, because he had courage, conviction and  
4 confidence. He had courage to state what he believed and to do  
5 what he thought was right, he had conviction, even though he  
6 had a Congress that opposed him, and he had confidence in himself  
7 and he had confidence in the judgment of the American people, and  
8 he went out and won a great victory.

9 We face very much the same situation in 1967 and '68. I  
10 hear that there may be this group or that group that fields a  
11 candidate, and all I can say is that's their right and that's  
12 their privilege, this is a free country, and the Democratic  
13 processes are to work.

14 But I know this, my fellow Democrats, that if you want to  
15 win, and I think you have a stake in it, and every man and every  
16 person that holds public office, every man and woman that's a  
17 Democrat that holds public office, ought to remember this, that  
18 you're seldom much stronger than the head of your ticket. You  
19 don't make progress when you break ranks and break away from the  
20 family.

21 Benjamin Franklin, a man who I've used in this state, his  
22 famous statement of the Constitutional Convention, was right,  
23 "You either hang together or you hang separately." (Applause.)

24 I'll put it quite frankly. I know that it is a joy on  
25 occasion to point out the limitations of those that serve you.

1 I know that it seems to tickle the fancy of many of us, and it  
2 has me, on occasion, to find fault with leaders and programs  
3 and policies. But I want to make this suggestion to you just  
4 a few months before the decision will be made in 1968 -- and  
5 this is September 1967 -- 14 months from now the American people  
6 are going to decide the course of this nation, they are going  
7 to decide who is going to be President, and it isn't going to  
8 be a third party candidate and it isn't going to be a fourth  
9 party candidate, it's going to be a Democratic candidate or a  
10 Republican candidate, that's what the choice is ultimately going  
11 to be.

12 Now, that choice can be affected by many factors, but  
13 that is the ultimate choice. And I think Democrats ought to  
14 remember this, that it isn't going to improve your political  
15 health to put poison in the Democratic well from whence you're  
16 going to have to drink between now and next November. (Applause.)

17 Now, having stated the negative, let me state the positive.  
18 What has been going on? Well, I've spent some 20 years in the  
19 City of Washington, I came there with a record of civil rights,  
20 a party that had been split, I believed in what I was standing  
21 for, and I handled the legislation of 1964, which I was referring  
22 to, from the 10th day of February to the 27th day of June, in  
23 debate and filibuster, the comprehensive Civil Rights Act of 1964.  
24 292 amendments. I never had a chance to leave the floor of the  
25 Senate, save on Sunday, because we met six days a week.

1 And the President of the United States, this President,  
2 the man from Texas, sent to the Congress of the United States  
3 the most bold, far-reaching comprehensive Civil Rights program  
4 that any President ever dreamed of, much less dared to send to  
5 the Congress. And after months of debate, with never a lack  
6 of purpose on the part of the President, with every effort that  
7 he could bring to bear, we passed it.

8 And today, the promise of Abraham Lincoln in the Emancipation  
9 Proclamation became a legislative, legal, statutory reality, be-  
10 cause Lyndon Johnson, President of the United States, advanced  
11 the program and a Democratic Congress passed the program.

12 (Applause.)

13 Now, there's been poverty in this country for a long time.  
14 The Scriptures say the poor shall always be with us. That may  
15 be true. The Democratic party happens to believe, and the  
16 President of the United States happens to believe, however,  
17 that whether a person is poor or not, whether he is white or  
18 black, whether he is red, brown or yellow, whatever his name  
19 may be, whether he has a Scandinavian surname or a Spanish sur-  
20 name, whether he comes from the North or the South, that every  
21 American is entitled to an equal opportunity in the American  
22 society. And the war on poverty and every piece of legislation  
23 that we've advanced in Congress during these years has been  
24 designed for one purpose, to open the gates of opportunity to  
25 every American simply because he is an American, and we fought



1 the good fight. (Applause.)

2 Now, we're not trying to make poverty more tolerable,  
3 we're trying to get at its root causes. We're not trying to  
4 ease just the pain of poverty, that could be done by writing  
5 out a check, and there are some people that think that's the  
6 way to do it, they have a checkbook mentality. We think that  
7 there is some other way, that there's a better way, that costs  
8 money, yes, but more than that it costs commitment, it costs  
9 public service, it means community action, personal dedication,  
10 it's the hard way, it may be the slow way, but it is the sure  
11 way. And we have today a galaxy of programs across the American  
12 scene that's taking from the Federal budget this year \$25,800,000,000  
13 in total expenditures in the war on poverty. 25,800,000,000.

14 Now, my friends, some people think that's far too much,  
15 and I've been cautioned not to say that figure, because it arouses  
16 the concern of many of a conservative citizen, and indeed of  
17 the taxpayers who never like to see too big expenditures. But  
18 I mention it because there are people in our own ranks that say,  
19 "Well, what are you doing?" And they say, "What happened to the  
20 liberal program." I'll tell you what happened to it, I helped  
21 design it, I fought for it for 16 years in the United States  
22 Senate, I think I know something about it, I'm part of its daddy,  
23 I was there. (Applause.) And I'm going to let you in on a  
24 secret of what happened to the liberal program. We passed it,  
25 yes, we passed it. (Applause.)

1 Now, I don't think it makes you a liberal, I don't think  
2 you prove yourself a liberal by having failures, I think liberals  
3 have to be willing to stand failure, I think they have to be  
4 willing to suffer defeat, I think they have to be willing to  
5 suffer reverses for a cause. But I don't think you're any less  
6 a liberal when the program that you fought for, that year after  
7 year was defeated, is finally passed.

8 I introduced on May 17, 1949, Medicare. Hubert H. Humphrey.  
9 And the title of the bill was an act to amend the Social Security  
10 Act, to provide hospital and nursing home care for persons aged  
11 65 and over. We couldn't even get a hearing. I introduced it  
12 every two years.

13 I finally went to my good friend from New Mexico, Clinton  
14 Anderson, who was on the Finance Committee, knowing that this  
15 bill had to go through the Finance Committee, and having learned  
16 in Congress that if you want a bill really passed you try to get  
17 hold of somebody on the committee that's going to handle the  
18 bill. And I said, "Clint, would you take this bill and let me  
19 be co-sponsor. I believe in this bill. If you take it and  
20 you believe it, you've stated that you're for it, we can pass it."  
21 Dennis King of the State of California, on the House Ways and  
22 Means Committee, did the same. And we kept at it from 1949 to  
23 1965.

24 And we went to Independence, Missouri, to sign Medicare.  
25 Medicare, that provides medical, hospital and nursing home care

1 for 19 million of our senior citizens. Last year 4 1/2 million  
2 people received hospital services and 20 million hospital medical  
3 bills were paid under Medicare. Now, I don't think this proves  
4 that the Johnson-Humphrey administration has lost its love of  
5 liberal legislation. I think it only proves that we know how to  
6 get liberal legislation passed, and I'm proud of the record.

7 (Applause.)

8 Let's take a look at the galaxy of programs. The first  
9 big item was the Federal Aid to Education. Federal Aid to  
10 Education passed the Senate in one session, was defeated in  
11 the House, it was sort of like a tennis match, there was always  
12 a net ball. It never got in the opposite court.

13 The Government of the United States, under a new President,  
14 the man who is now President of the United States, a former  
15 schoolteacher, said, "We're going to try to get those things  
16 through," and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act passed.  
17 It wasn't easy.

18 This year the Government of the United States for higher  
19 education, for research, for the National Science Foundation,  
20 in the field of medical research, elementary and secondary  
21 education, this year the Government of the United States will  
22 spend 12 billion dollars on aid to education. Six years ago  
23 we were spending 3 billion. Four years ago we were spending 4  
24 billion. I think we've done something. (Applause.)

25 Eight million children, from needy homes or poverty homes,



1 8 million deprived children, are receiving assistance under the  
2 Elementary and Secondary Education Act. It was your President,  
3 and your administration, and your Democratic majority, that made  
4 possible the fact that 8 million children deprived of the equal  
5 opportunities for education are today for the first time in  
6 their lives getting a chance. It was your Congress, your party,  
7 and your President, that initiated Project Head Start for 2 million  
8 little children, for the first time in their lives it is a chance  
9 for a wholesome environment and educational experience. (Applause.)  
10 It was your party, your Democratic majority, and your Democratic  
11 President, that saw to it that Medicare became not a promise but  
12 a fact. (Applause.) It was your party, your Democratic majority,  
13 and your President, that saw to it that last year one million  
14 students in higher education were the recipients of federal  
15 assistance in grants, loans or scholarships, so they can continue  
16 their education. That's quite an achievement. (Applause.)

17 And it was your party, and your Democratic majority, and  
18 your President, that waged war upon the pollution of the air and  
19 the pollution of the water. And it is your party and your  
20 Democratic majority that launched many of the programs today  
21 that we hope to see put to work to help our cities.

22 And let me just say a word about that. I have been a  
23 mayor of a city, and I worked as the President's liaison with  
24 the President of the United States. There is an old coalition  
25 at work in the Congress, and my friends here know what I'm

1 speaking of, the old coalition of conservatives. We lost 47  
2 seats in the last election, and those 47 seats have cost us  
3 precious time and important programs. Oh, we have had a good  
4 working majority. We had many Democrats, but as I said, there  
5 are all kinds of Democrats. And some of them couldn't go along  
6 with your Presidential program and with your Democratic party  
7 program. Nobody knows it more than the Mayor of Denver, Mayor  
8 Currigan, and the former mayor of Minneapolis.

9 I think I've been in more American cities than anyone.  
10 I've traveled 568 separate missions. I've been in 26 countries,  
11 four continents, 49 states, and traveled over 500,000 miles,  
12 doing what I'm doing here now, working with our people, meeting  
13 with mayors and governors, meeting with federal and local officials,  
14 meeting with labor and teachers, meeting with business and meeting  
15 with professional people, to get them to work together in a  
16 partnership to advance this cause of this great country and the  
17 social and economic programs of this country. And I hear people  
18 say that we have done far too little for our cities. We'll never  
19 have done enough, I'm aware of that, I know that we need to do  
20 more.

21 But ladies and gentlemen, President Lyndon Johnson has  
22 placed before the Congress bills that relate to the economic  
23 and social development of our cities that add up to the sum  
24 total of 10 billion, 300 million dollars. Here's a listing of  
25 6 billion 800 million right here. 6 billion 800 million that

1 have yet to be funded, that have yet to be appropriated for.

2 And why? Because there were those that said at the end of the  
3 89th Congress and after the election in November 1966, "It's  
4 time to slow down, and it's time to reassess, it's time to take  
5 another look, we ought not to move too fast," and they started  
6 putting on the brakes, not out of the White House, but in many  
7 areas across the country, and some people in the Congress, some  
8 people.

9 Now, we're going to pass these bills, and I predict we'll  
10 pass every one of them, but it isn't going to be easy. And what  
11 we need from our Democratic precinct workers and what we need  
12 from the people that helped elect us is help. Here is the help  
13 that America needs, here is the help for the kid that's in the  
14 slum, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act has yet to be  
15 appropriated for, we need that money. Rat extermination funds  
16 and program, we need that money. That's not a laughable subject.  
17 Model cities, we passed the legislation, but we need the funds.  
18 Urban renewal, urban research, mass transit, the child nutrition  
19 act, the school lunch act, we need these funds.

20 A VOICE: What's the use of educating them if we send  
21 them to Viet Nam to be killed. We're killing kids right out of  
22 high school. Stop the war.

23 VOICES: Boo.

24 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Just a minute, just a minute.  
25 We have people that are entitled to express their point of view.

1 I respect that point of view, and I'm going to comment and  
2 answer the lady's question. I think the worst thing that can  
3 happen in the ranks of the Democratic party is when somebody  
4 is deeply moved on an issue and we try to shout them down. We're  
5 not going to do that, we're going to let people be heard.

6 (Applause.)

7 We have advanced a program for your people -- and for our  
8 people -- and that program adds up to social progress in America.  
9 There isn't any instant solution to any problem, there isn't  
10 any instant solution to the economic and social problems, and  
11 there isn't any instant solution that we have for international  
12 problems. We have to do what we think is best.

13 Now, the President of the United States, and the former  
14 President of the United States, made some statements that I think  
15 are very much to the point of what the lady just said. And no  
16 one is more concerned about life, loss of life, violence, war,  
17 than the President of the United States or the Vice-President of  
18 the United States.

19 My only argument with those who seem to feel differently  
20 about things is that they claim for themselves a sense of  
21 righteousness which they do not attach to others. Does anybody  
22 really believe that any President of the United States, any  
23 president of any party, wants a war? I don't think so, I don't  
24 think so. There were people that made Abraham Lincoln's life  
25 miserable, because he sought to hold a union together in the

1 bloodiest war that America has ever fought. There were people  
2 that assailed Franklin Roosevelt, and there were good people who  
3 went after him when he spoke at the great meeting at the Chicago  
4 Bridge in 1937 and said, "We must quarantine the aggressors,"  
5 and they said, "This is a warmonger." And there were people that  
6 were opposed to every action that this nation has ever taken  
7 throughout its history, when it came in action that ended in  
8 hostilities.

9 I just make one statement to this audience. No man is  
10 more desirous of peace, no man seeks it more diligently, no  
11 person seeks it with greater commitment and conviction, at least  
12 he seeks it with as much as anyone else, as the man who has on his  
13 conscience and has as his burden the responsibilities for  
14 promoting the general welfare and providing for the common  
15 defense, and that man is the President of the United States,  
16 Lyndon Johnson. (Standing applause.)

17 Let me just remind you of what I think are two rather  
18 pertinent and relevant statements this morning. I've been  
19 talking about what we've been trying to do on the domestic  
20 front. Obviously, we can't cover every issue, but we have a  
21 broad program, and we think it will lend itself to the public  
22 good.

23 Lyndon Johnson said in his State of the Union message,  
24 "This nation is mighty enough, its society is healthy enough,  
25 its people are strong enough to pursue our goals in the rest of



1 the world while building a great society here at home."

2 And it is this statement of philosophy, it is this state-  
3 ment of philosophy, which is being tested today. The easiest  
4 thing for any President to do is to walk away from his responsi-  
5 bilities. The goals that this nation pursues are well known,  
6 the goal of an ever-extending advancing economic social political  
7 opportunity to every American, and an American that doesn't know  
8 that doesn't understand the responsibilities of his citizenship.  
9 (Applause.)

10 And the commitment of this nation under the Charter of  
11 the United Nations is quite obvious and quite well understood  
12 by treaty, to resist aggression, to promote self-determination,  
13 and to help provide for the economic and social development of  
14 nations that are in the process of nation building. That's from  
15 the Charter of the United Nations.

16 And that's why John Kennedy, when he spoke in his great  
17 message to the American people in the inaugural of 1961 said  
18 these words that you ought to remember:

19 "Let every nation know, whether it wish us well or ill,  
20 that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship,  
21 support any friend, oppose any foe, to assure the survival and  
22 the success of liberty."

23 Those were the words of the late and beloved former  
24 President. Mr. Brinkley of the Huntley-Brinkley show, just a  
25 month before President Kennedy's assassination, asked the then

1 President of the United States this question: "Mr. President,  
2 have you had any reason to doubt the so-called domino theory, that  
3 if South Viet Nam falls the rest of Southeast Asia will go behind  
4 it?" President Kennedy: "No, sir, I believe it, I believe it. I  
5 think that the struggle is close enough, China is so large, looms  
6 so high, just beyond the frontiers, that if South Viet Nam went,  
7 it would not only give them an improved geographic position for  
8 guerilla assault on Malaya, but would also give the impression that  
9 the wave of the future in Southeast Asia was China and the Communists.  
10 So I believe it. I don't agree with those who say that we should  
11 withdraw. This would be a great mistake. We took all of this,  
12 made this same effort to defend Europe, now Europe is quite secure.  
13 We also have to participate, we also have to defend, we may not  
14 like it, in the defense of Asia. We can't make the world over, we  
15 can influence the world. The fact of the matter is that with the  
16 assistance of the United States, with SEATO, Southeast Asia, and  
17 indeed all of Asia, has been maintained independent against a  
18 powerful force, the Chinese Communists. What I am concerned about  
19 is that Americans will get impatient and say because they don't  
20 like events in Southeast Asia, or they don't like the government  
21 in Saigon, that we should withdraw. That only makes it easy for  
22 the Communists. I think that we should stay, we should use our  
23 power, our influence, in as effective a way as we can, but we  
24 should not withdraw." (Applause.)  
25

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1 Now, ladies and gentlemen, three Presidents have said the  
2 same. One was President Eisenhower, one was President Kennedy,  
3 and now President Johnson.

4 When President Johnson became President of the United  
5 States, we had over 25,000 American forces in Viet Nam, we had  
6 suffered several hundred dead, and many casualties, nothing like  
7 we have now. But we were there. And the President of the United  
8 States, the former President, the late President, had made it  
9 crystal clear that we would be there.

10 Now, we're not there just because of South Viet Nam. If  
11 that were the case, then indeed, people might very well ask  
12 with great validity, at least in their own sense of judgment  
13 and values, is it worth it? No one likes war. It was Franklin  
14 Roosevelt who said, "I hate war." Yet he was President at a  
15 time that America fought the great war. It was President Franklin  
16 Roosevelt who said, "We must quarantine the aggressor." And yet  
17 he had to listen to a Congress and a public that said, "Keep away,"  
18 and Hitler went on to his conquests.

19 The late and beloved Adlai Stevenson, as our Ambassador  
20 to the United Nations, reminded President Lyndon Johnson that the  
21 most militant aggressive threat in the whole world today was  
22 militant Asian Communism and it had to be checked or there could  
23 be no peace.

24 Half of the population of the world lives in Asia, it's  
25 far away, it's foreign to our culture, most people cannot pronounce



1 the names of the men who lead, most people don't even know how  
2 to spell the names of the cities and the towns and the villages.  
3 Nevertheless, it is a part of this world, a very important part  
4 of this world. And America has had an involvement in this part  
5 of the world since the beginning of this Republic. The wars in  
6 which this nation has been engaged since 1920 have started in  
7 that part of the world.

8 Harry Truman and Korea -- have you forgotten? -- his  
9 public opinion rating on the day that he dismissed General  
10 MacArthur was 26 percent in the poll. 26 percent. Because he  
11 wanted to fight a limited war, because he did not want to be  
12 guilty of extending a war to the possibilities of a nuclear  
13 conflict, and because he was civilian commander in chief. And  
14 he stood his ground. The war in Korea was unpopular, desperately  
15 unpopular. I served in the Senate in those days. The same  
16 charges were made that are being made now, and some of the same  
17 voices. Indeed, some of the same voices, may I say, were heard  
18 then and now that were heard back to 1940, when polit columns  
19 were written, when spokesmen in America said that, "Hitler has  
20 won, we must make our peace." The written word in the leading  
21 journals of America, from leading public opinion commentators,  
22 "Why try to resist the inevitable."

23 Today Korea, with all of its difficulties and limitations,  
24 represents a success story, the greatest economic breakthrough  
25 of any country in Asia today, save Japan itself.

1           Ten years ago, there isn't a person in this audience that  
2 would have given it one chance in a thousand. It was called the  
3 insoluble mess, the American mistake, the American tragedy, and  
4 yet today, the peoples of South Korea are building a free society  
5 with all of its problems, are building a great economy with all  
6 of the difficulties, and are making their contribution to free  
7 Asia.

8           We're in South Viet Nam not just because of South Viet  
9 Nam, we are there because we happen to believe that nations  
10 should have a chance to build in freedom, in Asia as well as  
11 in Europe and Latin America and other parts of the world. We're  
12 there because we made a commitment, whether we should have or we  
13 should not have, the fact is it was made, and it wasn't made by  
14 this President. This President has signed some treaties, and  
15 the only treaties that Lyndon Johnson has signed are treaties of  
16 peace. He signed a treaty with the Soviet Union to prevent  
17 orbiting of weapons of mass destruction in space, and I hear  
18 people say today that our foreign relations are in a desperate  
19 disarray, and yet there have been more agreements signed with  
20 the Soviet Union, the second largest power in the world, in the  
21 last three years than in the preceding 30. (Applause.)

22           Just let me tick them off for you. The Spence Treaty,  
23 a significant one. The Civil Air Treaty, significant. The  
24 Consular Agreement, significant. The Culture Exchange Agreement  
25 double what it was, highly significant. The exchange of scientists

1 and technologists, highly significant. The drafting of and the  
2 laying on the table of at Geneva, the disarmament conference,  
3 of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

4 Those are the treaties that your President has signed.  
5 He hasn't signed a treaty to commit the United States to one  
6 single more defense contract. He frankly didn't even vote for  
7 SEATO. That is not his record. But he is President of the United  
8 States. And don't forget it that the credibility of the American  
9 commitment is the only shield of the peace and freedom and  
10 independence that nations have.

11 The Prime Minister of Singapore, who only two years ago  
12 was highly critical of your America, very critical, to the point  
13 of even saying that he'd have been tempted to be bribed, today  
14 is coming to see the President of the United States at his  
15 invitation, at his request. And Prime Minister Li of Singapore  
16 said that American presence and stand in Viet Nam is essential  
17 if Asia is to have any hope for freedom.

18 I have been in 14 countries of Southeast Asia and the  
19 sub-continent, three times, and might I say to those who feel  
20 that they are the self-appointed apostles of peace that I am  
21 one of the co-authors of the nuclear test ban treaty. I fought  
22 for that when some of you ran for cover. I have stood alongside  
23 of Adlai Stevenson in the campaign of 1956 and started the hearings  
24 in the Congress of the United States for a disarmament committee.  
25 I advanced the cause of universal and general disarmament. I am

1 the author of the disarmament agency established in the govern-  
2 ment of the United States, the Food for Peace program, the Peace  
3 Corps. I was accused of being the "peacenik" of the United States  
4 Senate.

5 But I want to say for the record right here that long  
6 before I became Vice-President of the United States, and not be-  
7 cause of loyalty to Lyndon Johnson, I felt that our commitment  
8 in Southeast Asia was absolutely essential if there was to be  
9 any hope of a free and independent Asia in the days ahead.

10 (Applause.)

11 We're in South Viet Nam not just because of South Viet  
12 Nam, we're there because of ourselves, we're there, if you please,  
13 because of Indonesia, we're there because of Thailand, we're there  
14 because of India, we're there because of Ceylon, we're there be-  
15 cause of the Phillipines, we're there because of every country  
16 in the area, Burma included. And if making understandings with  
17 the Communists, if that's the way that some people think that  
18 you get peace, go talk to the President of India. Two times  
19 India was the victim of unprovoked aggression by China. Two times  
20 even though India fashioned its foreign policy as if it was the  
21 twin brother of Communist China, it made no difference, none  
22 whatsoever.

23 Two years ago, Indonesia, the fifth largest nation on the  
24 face of the earth, was a captive of the PKI, the Chinese Communist  
25 controlled party in Indonesia. The coup was to complete it.

1 Sukarno was to be nothing more or less than the titular head of  
2 a country that was completely controlled and operated under the  
3 Chinese Communist party influence.

4 Every student of government that's worthy of being called  
5 a teacher knows that that's the truth. And I've been a teacher,  
6 too. And a full professor, too. And yet today, the leaders of  
7 Indonesia openly say that the success of their counter-attack,  
8 of their revolution to free themselves from the grips of Chinese  
9 Communist control, and they've expended a half a million lives in  
10 doing it, -- a half a million -- that their success has been  
11 dependent upon our presence, upon our stand, upon our commitment  
12 in South Viet Nam.

13 The war between Malaya and Indonesia, which has taken  
14 thousands of lives, you know -- and if you're really interested  
15 as a God-fearing, God-loving person in saving life, a life is a  
16 life, whether it's an American life or somebody else's -- the  
17 war between Indonesia and Malasia, sponsored, supported, fashioned  
18 and spawned as a part of the Communist attack in Southeast Asia  
19 is over, that war has been settled, and peace reigns.

20 The Southeast Asia association, including Malasia and  
21 Indonesia, and the Phillipines, which was once broken and shattered,  
22 is today a fact. Regional cooperation is beginning to take place.  
23 Japan is beginning to take her place as a great economic force  
24 for good in Asia. The victories that have been won in this  
25 struggle are many. Not the military victories alone, even though



1 they have been won. But I list them to you, the victory of an  
2 Indonesia today, that by her own testimony is able to do what  
3 she's been able to do because we were there, the victory of a  
4 Malasia that was under attack two years ago, and confronted by  
5 massive forces of the enemy, the peace has been signed, the  
6 nations are at peace. The victory, if you please, of regional  
7 cooperation in Southeast Asia, the likes of which the world has  
8 never known, the victory of Burma, who only a few months ago --  
9 yes, a year ago -- was in the grips of Chinese Communist influence,  
10 and Mai Win himself came to see the President of the United States,  
11 and Burma today stands as a proud, free and independent nation.  
12 And what did General Mai Win say to the President of the United  
13 States? Did he say that we should get out? He said, "If you  
14 do, we're lost." Does the President of India say we should get  
15 out? To the contrary. Oh, they disagree about tactics, we've  
16 got all kinds of tacticians, but they don't agree as to ultimate  
17 objectives or strategy. Not one single leader of any free country  
18 in Asia thinks that what we're doing in Viet Nam by our presence  
19 is wrong. All of them say it is essential to their freedom and  
20 independence, and I think they may know more about Asia than  
21 some self-appointed artists that carry signs. (Applause.)

22 I'll conclude. What are we there for? What John Kennedy  
23 said we should be there for, what Eisenhower said we should be  
24 there for, what Lyndon Johnson says we should be there for, what  
25 the Charter of the United Nations says we should be there for.

1 And I defy the students of international law and international  
2 relations, because I, too, have been to college and taught the  
3 courses. I defy them to find that we have violated the Charter,  
4 to the contrary, we are supporting it, because that Charter says,  
5 first, the duty of every nation state is to resist aggression.  
6 And is there any man that has the unmitigated gall to stand and  
7 say that there is no aggression in South Viet Nam by the forces  
8 of North Viet Nam? He knows better, and he knew that they were  
9 there before we were there, and he knows that two divisions are  
10 in Laos, and he knows that there are thousands of them in North  
11 Thailand. Of course, he knows it, because it's a fact.

12 As the sun rises in the East and sets in the West, we're  
13 there to resist aggression, we're there to promote self-deter-  
14 mination. Have we? Well, with all of the limitations, and there  
15 are plenty, a constituent assembly was elected to write a consti-  
16 tution. Your country never elected a constituent assembly to  
17 write a constitution. You're familiar with our history.

18 One hundred people were invited by special invitation  
19 by certain selected appointed leaders to come to Philadelphia  
20 to take a look at the Articles of Confederation and hopefully  
21 to discuss them and make modest revisions. They were appointed  
22 by the Legislatures, and there was not universal manhood suffrage,  
23 and they didn't vote at age 18, and the war was over, Cornwallis  
24 had been defeated, and a hundred were invited, 55 ultimately came,  
25 a quorum was present two and a half weeks after the date assigned

1 for their presence, 39 stayed, 38 signed, and little Rhode Island  
2 never signed.

3 That's our record. The capitol of the United States was  
4 moved 11 times from 1776 to 1790. There was secession in the  
5 War of 1812, so if you think we've got troubles now, why, up  
6 in the New England States, where Harvard and Yale and other places  
7 are, they had people there that got up and said, "Let's secede."

8 And James Madison was called a mad dog, and he was accused  
9 of leading this nation into unprovoked war. He was called upon  
10 to be impeached. He was burned in effigy. Just a few little  
11 things you might want to remember. (Laughter and applause.)

12 Well, we committed ourselves in Southeast Asia and in  
13 Viet Nam to try to promote nation-building, and nation-building  
14 is difficult, it is not an easy way to do it.

15 A VOICE: There's bombs.

16 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: America's nation-building came  
17 with bombs, too. And might I say that it came with more French  
18 troops at your town than Americans, and there were more French  
19 dead buried at your town than Americans, and a French fleet that  
20 bottled up Cornwallis at your town, not an American fleet. We  
21 gained our independence because somebody else helped, we didn't  
22 even like them, but they helped. (Applause.)

23 I'm not asking you to live by history, but I think it's  
24 good to remember a bit of it. The power of constitutional process  
25 is under way, and everybody has doubted it, if not everybody,



1 certain loud voices have doubted it. They said they'd never have  
2 the election. More people voted in the election of '66 percentage-  
3 wise in Viet Nam than voted here. And I think the election results  
4 were better. (Applause.)

5 And then those that were the observers and the critics  
6 said, well, the constituent assembly will be a rubber stamp.  
7 First of all, it won't last, they'll send it home. But it did  
8 last, it had an assignment for six months, it wrote a constitution,  
9 and it debated, an angry debate, it divided, and it wrote a  
10 constitution. And then the critics said, "But the military  
11 directorate will never accept it, they'll file it away and they'll  
12 throw them out." But the military directorate did accept it, and  
13 the ten man -- the 20 man directorate, ten civilians and ten  
14 military leaders, did accept it. And then they said, "But the  
15 military directorate will draw up the election laws," but they  
16 didn't, the constituent assembly elected drew up the election  
17 laws. And then they said, "The constituent assembly will never  
18 be able to set the election date. Ky and his boys will set it."  
19 But they didn't, the constituent assembly set it. And then they  
20 said, "They'll never have hamlet and village elections." But  
21 they have had, and 77 percent of the registered vote in Viet Nam  
22 participated in village and hamlet elections. Now, Tom, I'll bet  
23 you never got 77 percent of the registered vote. (Laughter.)  
24 You don't get 77 percent of the registered vote in any municipal  
25 election in America, and let me say to my political science friends,

1 my intellectual friends, that if you really want to do something  
2 for good government, get people to take an interest in local  
3 elections. The average vote in a municipality in America is 35  
4 percent. (Applause.)

5 And then they said the presidential elections would be a  
6 fraud, a farce, a hoax. Well, I admit that it wasn't an election  
7 like in Davenport, maybe it wasn't even like one in Denver. But  
8 if you really want to see some election irregularities go back  
9 to the time of John Adams -- or you can even go to Minneapolis.  
10 (Laughter.)

11 You know, I was almost mayor of Minneapolis the first  
12 time I tried. I'm not complaining, I think the people -- despite  
13 everything, it worked out right, maybe they knew exactly what  
14 they were doing, in fact I know they did -- but I was leading  
15 up until 3:00 a.m. in the morning, and then the river precincts  
16 came in. Now, there was a wonderful thing that happened. That  
17 precinct, that ward, had never voted at any time over 35 percent  
18 of its registered vote -- or its available vote, I should say,  
19 that was its high figure. But for some reason or other, on that  
20 election, when I was leading, and that ward was not yet in, the  
21 votes had been kept out, they had a 92 percent voter participation.  
22 I tell you, this civic spirit moved every one of them, some of  
23 them several times. (Applause.)

24 Archbishop Lucy of San Antonio was asked in the cabinet  
25 room here last week by the President of the United States, he

1 said, "Archbishop, what was the main disappointment that you  
2 encountered in your visit to Viet Nam." And the Archbishop, by  
3 the way, was not exactly what you would call a friend of the  
4 policy of this government in South Viet Nam. And do you know  
5 what his reply was? He said, "The one disappointment that I saw  
6 was the newspapermen that couldn't find anything really to complain  
7 about." That's what he said, I didn't say that. I don't want that  
8 put to me, that's what he said. (Laughter.)

9 And Theodore Francis McKeldin -- Theodore Roosevelt, I  
10 guess it is, Theodore Roosevelt McKeldin of Baltimore, a Republican  
11 mayor, got up and said, "Mr. President, I want you to know I was  
12 not brainwashed." (Applause.)

13 The election process is taking place. What the future  
14 will offer, I can't predict. I know that a country that's had  
15 a thousand years of Mandarin rule, a hundred years of French  
16 Colonialism, and 26 years of war is not exactly what you'd call  
17 a healthy patient. I know that. But I know something else, my  
18 friends.

19 I know that if we have firm resolve, if we stand pat, and  
20 if we'll not let people drive us into massive acceleration of  
21 this struggle, if we'll hew to the middle course -- and I mean  
22 the middle course, the one between withdrawal and the one between  
23 using all of our power -- and that's the courses that are being  
24 advocated by many -- some say get out, at least that's an honest  
25 position, I think it would be unfortunate, it might be a catastrophe,

1 but I have respect for those that say, "Let's get out." I don't  
2 know whether I can agree with too many who think they know more  
3 about military tactics when they weren't even a Boy Scout leader.  
4 (Laughter.) And some of the people who are in charge of our  
5 military -- and let me tell you, if our military don't know any-  
6 thing at all, we've wasted one heck of a lot of money on West  
7 Point, that's all I can say. (Applause.)

8 But our military are not in full charge, because we have  
9 a civilian commander in chief. And the President of the United  
10 States has as his prime objectives in this struggle on the  
11 military front to stop the aggression, and to prevent a nuclear  
12 holocaust. This is why your government has acted as it has, this  
13 is why we seek to use not all of the massive power of this nation,  
14 this is why we consult with Mr. Kosygin, and Mr. Gromyko, that  
15 is why your government has gone to everyone in the United Nations  
16 to seek ways and means of securing a just peace, and I want to  
17 say to our critics that as of this morning, speaking in my position  
18 as a member of the President's cabinet, that any time that any-  
19 body can bring Ho Chi Minh or any of his appointed responsible  
20 agents to a conference table to sit down and talk, we are ready  
21 to talk and to negotiate, we'll talk even as the fighting goes  
22 on, we'll talk if the fighting stops. We're prepared to walk the  
23 extra mile. But I think the critics of this policy ought to know  
24 that Mr. Ho Chi Minh wrote to the President of the United States  
25 and said there would be no talks or no conference. And this was

1 with the good offices of Chairman Kosygin himself. We've walked  
2 the extra mile. We're prepared to walk the two miles. We're  
3 prepared to do everything that can be done in not only the United  
4 Nations, with third party intermediaries. We are anxious for  
5 peace, but we are not prepared to withdraw, to give up, and to  
6 retreat. Let that be the record. (Applause.)

7 Thank you. Thank you very, very much.

8 MR. WILLIAM GRANT: Mr. Vice-President, we're grateful  
9 to you for what you have said, you have heard the applause, which  
10 states better than I can how proud we are to have you with us.  
11 (Applause.) We hope you will return very soon.

12 . . . Whereupon, at 10:15 a.m., the proceedings were  
13 concluded. . .

1. In introduction, special attention to Lt. Governor Mark Hogan -- who also has to try harder, 'cause he's only No. 2, also ...

Easy on Steve McNichols. While he looks like the best for Senate race, a lot of active seekers of the Democratic nomination.

Some special attention to the three splendid Congressmen -- Byron Rogers, Wayne Aspinall, and Frank Evans ...

2. Message: courage and confidence.

*Promises Performance*  
3. There is one reason to review the magnificent record of the Democratic party these past seven years: we delivered on what we promised.

And those are our credentials for asking the people of the United States for a vote of confidence in our ability to deliver on what we say that we want to do for our country in the coming decades.

*Liberal Prog.*  
4. People sometimes ask me whatever happened to the liberal program of Roosevelt, Truman, and Stevenson?

We passed it. Medicare, aid to education, etc.

Now we must come to grips with the problems and challenges of a new day of incredible technological, economic, and sociological change.

*Look ahead*  
The task of the party of the Democrats is to perceive those emerging problems, and to seek solutions.

We look back only to gain courage and confidence for the task ahead.



*Suburbs*  
5. Increasingly we are a suburban people -- the growth in our suburbs is five times the rate of that in the city or in the countryside.

*Central city*  
Yet our worst problems, our worst poverty and lack of opportunity lie in the central cities and in our farming areas -- where the golden promise of America is yet to be fulfilled.

*Spanish Surnames*  
Here in the Southwest the promise of America is not yet fulfilled for hundreds of thousands of our fellow Americans with Spanish surnames, who for generations have been patient and tireless and uncomplaining. We must make a special effort to see that educational economic opportunity of every kind is made equally available to them as it is to other Americans in the cities of the north and the west.

*L*  
The massive immigration of millions of our fellow-Americans from the rural areas of the south to the great cities of the north and west has challenged our institutions and our capabilities as we have seldom been challenged in our history.

*Urban*  
We have taken up the gauntlet that is represented by the bleak poverty of a fifth of our people, and we are making massive investments of dollars and manpower to enable our poor to move into the mainstream of American life and opportunity. But we are only beginning.

6. We have succeeded in holding the rise in prices to a minimum, and our living standards, for most Americans, have continued to rise much faster than the prices we pay.

The American economy is the envy of the world, and the average American of today is living better than ever in our history.

The economy is so strong and thrusting that we have been able to undertake fundamental programs of improvement of our nation never before dreamed of -- and yet been able to maintain the security of our nation in an age of fantastic weapons costs.



7. Yet we are, as a party, deeply conscious of costs, and of the obligation of fairness to the consumer. And we have tried, therefore, not only through fiscal policy, but also through legislative efforts such as truth in lending and truth in packaging to see to it that those who live on modest incomes can get a square deal and a fair shake. So consumer protection is a new area of effort in which we can make great progress. (THIS IS ONE OF HOGAN'S BIG PITCHES.)

8. Now I am ~~talk~~ing to the shock troops and the leaders of the Democratic Party of Colorado this morning, and I want to say this directly to you here and to those who may be watching on television: the next campaign year is going to be one of our typical hard struggles -- the kind we usually have. Fair weather friends have already begun to write the obituary notices they were writing before the campaign of 1948, ~~and~~ and the cries of doom and gloom are as thick as they were in the summer of 1962, when all the pundits were writing that John Kennedy had lost the young people, lost the intellectuals, and was surely headed for a great defeat at his next election.

Those are premature obituary notices.

We are going to win -- with your help and your dedication -- but principally because the American people can ultimately be trusted to weigh up the pros and the cons and make the basic decisions that are required to ~~xxxx~~ ensure the safety and security and well-being of the nation -- and our record commends itself to the people.

Our task as a party is to make sure that the record and the platform of our party is put forward, with confidence and spirit.

As Ben Franklin said, "Gentlemen, we must all hang together, or we shall most assuredly all hang separately."

9. Now let me turn to the great question of peace and war.

Peace & war

Not Vietnam. Not Vietnam alone. For the commitment and the struggle in Vietnam is only ~~for~~ the focus point of the struggle for our own ultimate national security.

*Muslin* This President is continuing the great tradition of three American presidents -- to keep this nation from suffering a nuclear holocaust.

And all the turns and twists of American foreign policy are designed to construct a world in which peace is built, in which small aggressions are not permitted to succeed and thereby set the world on the downward slide toward an ultimate nuclear confrontation.

10. In Vietnam we are seeking once again to turn back a strategic thrust of Asian communism.

And in that mighty effort, which has cost us so much in treasure and blood, we are succeeding.

Two years ago, the Republic of South Vietnam was teetering on the edge of collapse, and Asian Communism was the wave of the future. The wars of liberation concept was riding high, and its disciples were preaching that violent and bloody doctrine throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Our stand in Vietnam has turned back that tide. Asian communism is no longer the wave of the future. Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Burma, India, the Philippines -- once trembling under the threat of the massive threat from the north are no longer fearful of their independence.

And we are seeking, your president is seeking, to find a way to end the fighting now, to convince those who are conducting the aggression against South Vietnam that they cannot possibly win, and to negotiate a settlement.

We are once again seeking a solution through the United Nations.

We are seeking the assistance of every country.

We will persevere to the ends of the world to find a way to bring peace and stability to Southeast Asia, and to thereby ensure the safety and security of the American people.

The question is not whether we can be defeated in battle. We cannot.

The question is whether we shall have the courage and the perseverance and the vision to see how our own security and the peace of the world ~~is~~ is involved in the successful defense of Southeast Asia. Do we have the staying power, do we have the patience, not to tire, not ~~g~~ to give up, not to turn our back from leadership, not to pass on to the next generation the terrible problems which are our responsibility to face and to solve.

Finally, let us remember that -- after the terrible events in our cities this year, especially, that we are one people. And that the unity of our people is the strength of the American nation.

The pledge of allegiance.



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