

Address by
Vice-President of the United States
Hubert H. Humphrey
to the
1968 Democratic Campaign Conference
January 13, 1968
Fresno, California

Thank you very much, Pat Brown. I won't stumble over your last name. The name is Humphrey, Pat. Our good friend Charlie Warren, Tom Lynch, this great vote-getter and this star of California, and Bob Coate and Al Song, and your National Committeeman Gene Wyman and your National Committeewoman Ann Alan-son, and a special word of thanks and I think a commodation is due Joyce Fadem for doing a wonderful job here as Conference Chairman.

I thank my friend Congressman Berney Sisk for always being on hand to welcome me to Fresno and his Congressional District. I don't know of a man that serves with greater distinction and more diligence than and greater effectiveness for his constituency than this good fellow, Congressman Sisk, and I want to salute you Berney for your wonderful work.

This morning we had the opportunity to meet with some of your party leaders and legislative representatives, city councilmen and others. I want to especially express my greetings to Hugh Burns, and to George Zenovich, to the members of the Senate and the State Legislature. I can't help but feel a little sorry for them. They have that slim majority in the Legislature, and

then they have that trouble in the State House. But they seem to be conducting themselves very very well.

I want to tell you how grateful I am for the invitation to come here. I was somewhat doubtful as to whether this would ever happen. I can remember other days when I've been in California, sunny California, victorious California, Pat Brown California. It's still sunny.

I want to go on record once again as far as I'm concerned; I still stand by the government in exile, Governor Pat Brown. In all seriousness, Pat Brown, long-time dedicated public servant, has a record as the Governor of this great State that is unsurpassed. And he will live in the history of the State of California as its most distinguished Governor, its most effective Governor, the man that did more for education, more for the people, than any man in our time. And I salute you, Pat. Win or lose, you're my man.

I said that I was sort of pleased that I got an invitation. I wasn't sure in light of everything people are saying and doing this day - these days - whether we'd get invited any place. I had read the polls, I like some and don't like the others. I like the ones I take the best. And I've read what people have said about me, some of my old friends, some of my new ones, particularly those I've lost, and I just wasn't sure that I'd get invited. But you did and were kind enough and I finally got the information as to how it all happened.

It's sort of like that fellow that ran a factory out here. He became critically ill and they sent him off to the hospital. He laid there in the hospital for weeks and he didn't get a card,

a telephone call, or a visitor. He was there the second week and the same situation prevailed. No cards, no letters, no telephone calls, no visitors. And finally the local union that had representation rights at the plant had a meeting of the executive board. And they discussed the physical condition of the manager of the plant, the boss, and they had a vote. And low and behold a bouquet of flowers came to this sick As he reached out and picked out the card, so pleased at long last that someone thought of him, it read as follows: "Local 292 Executive Board has met and has passed the following resolution. By a vote of 8 to 7 we wish you a speedy and full recovery."

Pat, and Tom, I want to thank you for the invitation. I gather that the vote was close, but believe me it stood us in the And having mentioned labor-management relations, I am out here to talk to you about formulating our bargaining committee for the renewal of contract. I thought I'd make it quite clear for those that may be on this bargaining committee that as far as I'm concerned the working conditions of my job are tolerable, the pay is tolerable, the position is tolerable, and I am available. Thank you very much. I think the same goes for the President, but I'll let him speak for himself.

Well, I come here today to talk to you about our party, to talk to you about our country, and talk to you as citizens that are responsible for the governing of this country. I think we as Democrats need to remember one thing above all: we are the majority party. We have the responsibility for the governing of this nation. And to be in a position of responsibility all too often denies you the luxury of the ease of debate, and discussion and defense because

you are constantly required to make decisions. We cannot indulge in cheap demagoguery as our opposition could and can and will. We cannot afford to have the work and the dead be in conflict. We are the majority party. We have been the majority party in the majority of the years since 1932, and we have the responsibility of leadership at home and the responsibility of leadership abroad. And it is within that context that I want to talk to you.

I do not come here to out-promise anyone. Nor do I come here with a spirit of animosity or the purpose of vilification. I want to make it crystal clear now that the Democratic Party is a large household in which there are many rooms, in which there is a large family, and each with his own personality. We seek not unanimity, we seek no monolith, we seek as best we can a unity in which there is a respect for the other man's point of view. If we disagree, I hope we can do it without being too disagreeable. And above all, I hope we will keep in mind that in a nation such as ours where there is freedom of discussion, freedom of debate, freedom for defense, that we have the right to exercise it. I am not here to drive anybody away. I am here to ask the family of Democrats to stand together against the common foe, to remember the lesson you have learned here in California, to remember the lesson we've learned in other years when we've lost elections not because of the opposition's strength, but because of our weakness. Because of our disarray. So today, let's speak to each other as members of a family. And families have some good fights; I don't want to deny you that privilege. Families have some good arguments; I wouldn't want to deny us that either. But ultimately the family generally unites to protect

itself, and particularly when it has a record of achievement and accomplishment it stands proud and resolute in support of it.

This morning I talked to a few of your friends most informally about a recent visit of mine that I think I should share with you and the thought that it was only a few hours ago that I touched down at Andrews Field in Washington, D.C. after having travelled some 25,000 miles in two weeks, in nine countries in the continent of Africa. That's hard work. A little over a month and a half ago I had travelled to the Far East, to Vietnam, to Malaysia and to Indonesia and back again to our nation's capitol. My physical being feels like the clockwork is all mixed up. I'm not sure just what time of the day it is but I do know what year it is. I do want you to know that. And I do know an important month in this year; I do want you to know that.

But what I also know is that science and technology have brought this world of ours so close together that the human family is indeed what we have said it is. The human family, the family of mankind. When I think that you can leave as I did yesterday, just two days ago, Tunis, Tunisia, at 11:30 A.M. and arrive in Washington at 6:30 P.M., I know that it is a small world. And I know that what happens any place in this world affects those of us here in the United States of America. And I also know that Abraham Lincoln was so right when he characterized our nation so beautifully and set for it its destiny. And you recall his words: "We will either meanly lose or nobly save the last best hope on earth." And that country is ours.

And the decision is ours. He said it a hundred years ago when we've been in the process year after year of making the decision and we have to make it every year. Because any time we could meanly lose it. But fortunately, because of the commitment of the American people, their general enlightenment, their good nature, I think that we can say thus far we have nobly saved it.

Why then in this vast continent, diverse continent of Africa. I've already been forwarned by all my advisors that you don't want to hear about Africa. And I can't spend too much time about it except to make one or two broad observations. The first is that it is a big continent. The second is that it aspires to freedom just as we do. And the third is that it has a variety of cultures, of climate, of topography and geography, of social systems. And the fourth is that everyone of the poeple there think but one thing, as they do in Latin America, as they do in Asia and as we do in America. Every human being on this earth seeks to determine his own destiny in his own way, and they want to do it free from coercion and tyranny and free from want. And want haunts the earth. The late and beloved Pope John XXIII said where there is constant want there is no peace. And the one fact that stares you in the face today as you travel elsewhere in the developing areas of the world is the spectre of want.

And yet the pride, the fierce pride of the people that want their independence, want their freedom, want their development. I've seen three common denominators that bind this human family together in the cause of freedom. The first is the consuming

desire of national independence. The second is the absolute necessity of national security. And the third is the imperative of national development. This is what we seek at home, this is what the lowliest, the poorest, the most illiterate seek in other parts of the world. National independence within a framework of interdependence, because no longer can anyone stand alone. National development within the framework of regional and international institutions. And national security within the framework of international cooperation.

That this is the fabric, these I should say are the underpinnings of the earth that is ours today, of the world that is a one world that is a very small community. And the search for that right and that freedom, freedom from coercion, freedom from tyranny and want, is the great story of the last third of the twentieth century. And ponder that for a moment, my fellow Americans; it is the last third of the twentieth century. With no guarantee that we can finish it. But a hope that we have the good judgment and morality to accomplish it.

Now this search for that right and freedom is being written in the new nations I spoke of and it is being written in the cities and towns of America. Rising expectations is not a phrase that is peculiarly adapted to Asia and Africa and Latin America. Rising expectations are here. Self-determination doesn't belong to other peoples alone; it belongs to our own people here at home who have been denied; far too many of them have been denied their right to be full participants in this country. Economic development isn't something that belongs and is a phrase that is applied to those far away. The poor in America, the disadvantaged, the

impoverished - far too many of them, likewise want to be included in economic development. And all that we seek to do will be, and is being, and will be written in the Congress of the United States and in the polling places of our country in the months ahead. That is why we are here today.

And today, I want to address myself to my fellow Democrats. Now, tribalism is not unique to Africa. We have a little of it amongst us, you know. I want to address myself to my fellow Democrats and whatever your prefix or affix is relatively unimportant. Whether you're a regular Democrat or irregular or liberal or conservative or a green or defending or concerned. We've got more labels on Democrats today than we've got Democrats. And I hope we'll start getting truth in labelling.

But I am not too disturbed by the fact that we seem to split and re-split and fracture and re-fracture. I always remember what Wil Rogers - boy do we need a man like that now, the kind that will lift our spirits and ease the tension - what Wil Rogers once said when he was quizzed as to his political affiliation. He stood up proudly before a huge audience and said: "I belong to no organized political party. I'm a Democrat." But I think Wil Rogers would today say that his prophecy came true. There are many breeds of us; many kinds. It has always been so; [it's the reason we're Democrats, because we are independent, because we are restless, because the times we do have a different point of view, because we want a free society. We don't want to march to the cadence of somebody else's call and drum. We seek our own.]

Now let me say a word about this being concerned, because I think that is what most of us are. Most Americans are very concerned, not just Democrats. They're concerned about their jobs, our economy, their health, their community, the education of their children, their farms, their country, and above all they're concerned about the direction in which we may be headed at home and abroad. Concern is the common denominator of the American people today. And they're concerned about their future, and they are concerned about what lies in store in the future for their children. And if there is any one word that I think aptly describes the Johnston-Humphrey Administration, it is the world of concern about America and the world in which we live, and we've worked on that concern.

Now I have to tell you a little story. I didn't expect at the moment to say Johnston and Humphrey; I don't want to pre-empt any position, even though I intend to. I was sitting in the Senate one day as the presiding officer of the Senate, and the Minority Leader who has that melodious voice that is now on record, both in the Congressional Record and on the disk, was listening to a debate that was going on, and there were a few Democrats involved and a large number of Republicans, literally lambasting the President. And at this moment the Minority Leader got up and he addressed the Chair and he said: "Mr. President." And I acknowledged the Senator from Illinois, the Minority Leader, and he said: "Mr. President, I do not think it is proper and fitting that all the blame for the mis-management for this country should be placed on the over-burdened shoulders of the President of the United States. Let us include in our friend Hubert, too." I would like to note for your pur-

poses, for historical purposes, that's the first time that a leader of the Senate has ever attributed any authority or responsibility to any Vice-President.

But this is the Administration of President Johnston and I take my share of the responsibility. But we've been more than concerned, because anybody can wring their hands, have a bowed brow, look disappointed and discouraged. That concern has been translated into action. We've acted on concern. And we've been concerned about many things: we've been concerned about the education of America's children, and we have acted. For years we heard about the plight of American education, and for years federal aid to education was destroyed either on the issue of religion or race. But a President who was once a school teacher and a Vice-President who was once a college teacher, and a Majority Leader who was a professor in a great university, and a Rhodes Scholar who was a teacher also as a Majority Leader of the House said concern will be translated into action. And we have adopted a broad range of federal aid to education proposals that have strengthened the cause of education, that provided this last year better education for nine million dis-advantaged children. That have provided loans and scholarships for one and a quarter million college students and it helped build universities and university facilities from one end of this land to another. We have doubled the outlay for education in the federal government since nineteen hundred and sixty-three, and we've invested more in these past five years in education than in the previous one hundred. I say we've translated concern into action.

By the way, it was done by a Democratic Congress. And it was done if you please on a Democratic platform, and the program was offered by a Democratic President. It was your program. Take credit for it. Show the American people that something was done, ~~it was done~~

And we've been concerned about the health of our people, too. The very first bill I introduced as a United States Senator in May of 1949 was a bill to provide hospital and nursing home care under the terms of social security for persons aged 65 and over. That was 1949. Sixteen years later that bill was before the Congress of the United States for action, and we acted. The President of the United States did not merely speechify; now he delivered, and in the past five years we have tripled our investments in health. Health care and health research. Over nineteen million people are covered by Medicare. Twelve million Americans last year received the finest that modern American medicine and hospitalization could offer under the terms of Medicare. Pre-paid medical insurance. If we've done nothing else, if our record was only this, I submit that it is a record that would command your respect and attention, at least for the

And we've had other concerns - about the physical environment in which we live. The polluted atmosphere and the water of our lakes and our rivers and streams. And we translated that concern my friends into action by ... legislation, and we've been concerned, too, about our economy. We found the economy when John Kennedy came into office sluggish, dead, working at about three fourths capacity. And that economy has been on the move

ever since a Democratic administration was restored to public office in 1961. We have restored economic growth and we've been concerned about the stability of the dollar and we have acted. And in the meantime we have cut inflation down at a rate of only one half the average inflation of the other twenty major industrial nations in the world. With all of our responsibilities, with all of our investments and expenditures. My fellow Americans and my fellow Democrats, this is your record. Your party's record.

And we've been concerned too about the safety and security of our citizens. We know that a free nation cannot long survive if the law of the jungle, if violence and disrespect for law is the pattern of the day. And we've been concerned about the violence that has gripped our cities. And we have sent to the Congress the President's safe streets and crime control act to help our cities upgrade their law enforcement capability and maintain law and order. But of equal significance we've presented a broad program of urban legislation and we've had to fight it through the Congress inch by inch, article by article, line by line. Model cities, urban renewal, open spaces, community planning - ladies and gentlemen, in the year 1964 this nation was expending but three billion dollars on its total urban program. In this year of 1968 your government at the federal level is investing in your cities at nine billion dollars on urban programs. Not enough, as some say, to be sure. I too am restless. I want more. But three times more than other administration in the history of this nation. I think that shows that concern was backed up by action.

And what about our dis-advantaged and our poor. We've had them with us a long time. The prophets say that the poor shall always be with you. We don't think so. We think that we can do something about it. We think that modern science and technology plus our know-how can come to grips with this age-old problem. We do not seek to design a program that merely eases the pain and makes anguish of poverty. But we seek to get at its root causes and we're experimenting to be sure. And from time to time we fail, but we come back and try again as the doctor does as he seeks the cure for cancer. You don't run the doctor out of the profession because he failed. Even the doctor that fails in the heart transplant is not looked upon as an enemy of medicine but as a ... of experimentation for human life. We seek my dear friends and fellow Americans to try to get at the root cause of this age-old, centuries old affliction called poverty. We're not seeking to build an American welfare state in which the only thing that we seek to do is to provide handouts, in which we seek what I call the check book solutions to temporary pain. We do not seek to have America become a welfare state, but rather a state of opportunity for every American no matter what his station in life.

If there is any one issue that describes what I conceive to be the moral commitment of this nation, it is the war on poverty. Now the poor have been with us a long time. They were with us in the 1950's, and they were with us in the 1940's, all the time. But it was President Lyndon Johnston and his administration that said we are going to do something

about it. The least of these shall have our attention. Not only to ease their hunger for food, not only to ease their longing for clothes, but more important to ease their thirst for knowledge, to give them a place, to permit them to become first class citizens in a first class country. I think that this is the morality of our time.

For years past, the preceding years of the 50's we sought to brush under the rug so-to-speak, the tragedy of personal poverty. Not merely the poverty of the purse, but the poverty of disallusionment and despair and bitterness, the poverty of not being wanted, the poverty that there was no place for you. And your President, and this party and your government has declared war on that ancient enemy of mankind. And we are pouring into this struggle today not a pittance, but in this year of 1968 over twenty billion dollars of federal investments is committed to help the poor, the dis-advantaged and the needy in the war on poverty, a figure that you well ought to remember.

It's not easy to speak of these things in an affluent society. In which most of us have more than we need. But the real test of a government of the people, as Franklin Roosevelt once put it, is not that you make available to those who already have too much more, but that you help provide for those who have too little enough. That's what we're trying to do. To help people gain their self-respect, their dignity, their pride and to become a part of this great nation. And we've been succeeding. There are no instant solutions to centuries old problems. But my dear friends, only four years ago

the percentage of American families living below the poverty line was 21%, one fifth of this population. Today it's down to one seventh. Over ten million people have been rescued from the dungeon and prison of poverty since 1964, and even with the increase in social security benefits in this last Congress, at the insistence of your President and our administration, another million have been included. I submit to you that this represents a significant gain. We've been concerned. And we've acted. And we've been able to make these heavy investments, and I don't call them expenditures because they are investments - they return a rich dividend, make no mistake about it, if you get a man who is unemployed or unemployable person, your government has a way of getting back every dollar that's been invested. It's called withholding. It comes back. Your economy has every opportunity to gain back the monies that have been invested in new purchasing power, in new consumption. We've been able to make these investments because we've had an unprecedented period of economic prosperity. There have been no major recessions since 1961. A record unequalled in any other part of the world and in any time in human history.

And it wasn't by accident. We worked at it. We planned it. We conceived it. We gained the support of labor and business with government. And you've had, my fellow Americans, seven years of continuous solid economic growth. And it's resulted in a tremendous improvement in the standard of life, Our planet's down to what we could call only the hard core,

which is our next task upon which we enter this year of 1968. National income rose three times as fast between '61 and '67 as it grew in the preceding five years. Let your Republican friends think of that for awhile. Who is the friend of this economy? The administration that gave you three recessions in eight years? Or the Democratic Party administration that gave you continuous prosperity and economic growth for seven years?

What are the simple solid facts that measure up in real income, not inflated dollars, real income. And farm income is up, in real dollars, and profits are up in real dollars, and taxes are down in real dollars. And even with the proposed tax increase that the President has asked for, modest indeed it is with no burden upon those least able to pay it, federal taxes would be far below the 1961 rates. Yes, I submit to you that our concern was translated into action; when John Kennedy said let's get this country moving again, we did, that when Lyndon Johnson said let's continue we did. And you the people have helped make it possible. Don't throw away what you have already done. Build on it my fellow Americans and my fellow Democrats. Keep the show on the road, keep the house in order. Keep the leadership at the helm, unless you want to see this country turn back and turn its back upon many of its people and its responsibilities.

I know we have a continuing challenge. I have been in public life a long time. I've been here in California time after time pleading with you to elect members to Congress to help with these great social programs. Pleading with you

that government and private industry and labor could be a partnership. Telling you that together we could build a better America, which is our dream and our hope. We know that we still have the curse of ..., that we have rural poverty, that we have haphazard urbanization, that we still waste our resources, that's there hard core unemployment and discrimination. We know that those problems and more are still with us. But that's what keeps us at the job. That's the challenge before us. That's the driving force of our motivation. The important thing is my fellow Democrats, is that we not only list these problems, we not only bemoan these problems, but we're attacking them. And the story of the Democratic Party is that it dared to attack and to do what some people said would be impossible. That is the record of our party.

For many years California, the different ethnic groups, economic groups. I could only think of the recent conference at El Paso, where at long last your federal government with cabinet officers, President and Vice-President spoke to our Americans with Spanish surnames, the Spanish speaking Americans, about the program that would at long last bring them into the full stream of American life. And we are committed unqualifiedly by special act of Congress, by appointment of the President of the United States to seeing to it that every Mexican-American child, every Spanish speaking American child or adult will have his full measure of opportunity as an American citizen. Everywhere in this land.

(2) I know there is more to do, and some people say that we have not done enough. My answer is, we've done more than

anyone else. Much more than many of you dared dream. There have been limitations, there have been set-backs. The big set-back took place about a year and a half ago in the elections of 1966. Some argue that what's keeping Congress from doing its job in appropriating the funds that are necessary to keep these programs moving is the struggle in Southeast Asia, in Vietnam. Well I can tell you this: that as one who sits in the Congress and has been there many a year, that's what's keeping this Congress, that what happened to this Congress in 1967 was that we lost 47 Democratic seats in 1966. We lost our working majority and if we don't settle down to business my friends we'll lose the entire majority. That's why we're here today - to see that it doesn't happen. That old coalition of retreat that led us when I came to Congress in 1949, the old Republican-Dixiecrat coalition, it's not moribund, it's alive. It got a shot or two in the arm. It was able to go into action fifty times this past year, and on thirty-seven times it registered success. Still we were able to do much, but not enough. Still we were able to fund some of the programs, but not enough.

Now we have to do more. As we continue to invest our tremendous resources in health, in education, in housing needs and jobs and national security. We will do more. I can tell you now that your President will outline to you in the State of the Union Message this coming week a program of action for America that will challenge every fiber of your being. And we'll see whether or not concerned Democrats and concerned Americans and unhappy Republicans can stand up and help make this the kind of America that we've dreamed of it being. The

action program will be there and we can go to work.

So let's quit kidding ourselves that we can't afford it. I know people say all the time, well it just costs too much. In 1967 alone our GNP grew by 43 billion dollars. Forty-three billion dollars that we had to divide up amongst ourselves extra. This year it will be over fifty billion dollars more. We've grown and increased income between 1961 and '67 an amount equal to the gross national product of France and the United Kingdom together. It isn't the lack of money, my friends. We can afford to honor our commitments at home and abroad. We can afford to do what needs to be done.

And some day my dear friends, when this world is peaceful, and it will be, and when the shooting stops in Vietnam and elsewhere, the question will be, what are we going to do with the resources that are released. What are we going to do with this income? Well, I know what happened after Korea, when we were spending billions. And when the war was over in Korea, what did a Republican administration do? There were the poor, there were the uneducated, there were the sick, there were the needy, there was air pollution, water pollution, all of the problems were here. I'll tell you what they did. Nothing. The monies were not invested. The taxes were reduced. The country slowed down. Three recessions took place. But there wasn't an automatic transfer of dollars from war to domestic programs.

So the issue today and that's why you're here is the issue of progress, continuing progress versus retreat. And it will be decided, as it has always been decided, not

so much by our economic possibilities as by the political realities. Not so much by what we can do, or what we ought to do, but what we have the political strength and the will to do. And you're going to decide that this November. The Democratic Party over its history, with all its limitations, at least in our century, has been the voice of hope and progress in American society. It's the voice of a Woodrow Wilson; it's been the voice of an Al Smith; it's been the voice of a Franklin Roosevelt; it's been the voice of a Harry Truman; it's been the voice and the spirit of a John Kennedy; and it's been the voice and action of a Lyndon Johnston. I submit that we have a record and what we need to do is build on it. And if you want to move ahead and if you want to keep this forward movement, you have but one task. Bind up the wounds, unite our forces, pull together and give the President of the United States a working majority in the Congress of the United States and re-elected President Lyndon Johnston in 1968 to keep this country moving.

Now, before I complete my message to you, I know that every one of you are deeply concerned about one of the major issues that confronts not only this land but the entire world. The issue of national security, of our involvement abroad, the issue of Vietnam itself as a feature of American foreign policy. Let me just say this, as I said at the beginning: this is a small world. And this world has some common denominators for people who aspire to freedom. The common denominator of self-determination and national independence, of national security and national development. We can no longer escape whatever happens in this world. And at a time

that the world is a smaller neighborhood than ever before, more closely knit, we have forces in America that tell us to withdraw from it. To limit our commitments. To stay away at the very time that we need to be more involved. And those forces in America, like elsewhere, are strange bedfellows.

We have people today who say raise the tariff barriers. They say that's the way to protect America, when we know that trade wars lead to dangerous wars. There are those today that say we can't afford our commitments in foreign aid; they're disallusioned, they're dis-enchanted. We have people today that say that America cannot stand guard to help its neighbors and its allies, that it cannot meet its commitments, that we cannot afford to, it's too dangerous.

My friends, I've seen this in many parts of the world. But I'll say this to you that if this country can't keep its commitments, if we can't afford to help the needy, if we can't afford to defend the weak, if we can't stand by our trade agreements, if we can't support the United Nations, if we can't keep our word, with our wealth, our power, our history, then who can? We went through a period in America in which we turned down the League of Nations. We went through a period in America of what we called Isolation. We saw a President, Franklin Roosevelt, stand in Chicago and call for the quarantine of the aggressor. We saw an American public say no. We saw six million Jews exterminated. We saw the path of Hitlerism and Naziism. We saw the aggressive pattern of Japanese militarism. We saw it all, and rather

than to have met it before it became a world-wide movement, we withdrew. We said it won't touch us. And then that fateful day, when this country was attacked, when people said it never could happen, when they believed the oceans were a barrier, rather than a bridge.

Ladies and gentlemen, there is only one kind of peace in this the nuclear age, in this the space age of this modern world. And that is the peace in which all of humanity is involved, in which the leaders and the super-powers understand that their position of leadership is not a privilege or a luxury, but rather a burden and a duty, and a heavy responsibility. So many people are saying today, "Oh stop the world, I want to get off." So many people are saying today, "What more shall we be called upon to do?" And they said it before, and they lived to rue the day.

I visited three days ago the cemetery of the American soldiers in North Africa outside Tunis. Two thousand eight hundred and seventy-four dead, three thousand nine hundred and sixty missing in action unfound in North Africa. I've visited these all around the world. And ladies and gentlemen, they stand as a sad monument to the fact that we did not understand that this was one world, that we were unwilling to take on the responsibilities early enough to at least give mankind a chance for peace.

Now let me make it crystal clear that the debate on foreign policy is as right and proper as can be. People have every right to express their views. And each of us that are in the majority must constantly be cognizant of the rights of the minority. But the right to express your

view does not give you the right to abuse that right of others, or to ... or in any way to conduct yourself in such a manner as free speech and freedom of association becomes hooliganism, rowdyism, or just plain discourtesy and bad manners. People do not have the right because they want it to break the law. They have the right to change the law, but not to break it. They have every right to criticize and oppose policy, but not to demean and to denigrate the precious right to dissent and difference. Just as I respect the right of those to disagree, I also feel under no obligation to remain silent in deference to those who disagree with me. The right to disagree also includes the comparable right to advocate.

(3)

*

Now my views on foreign policy are not new. They haven't changed. My views on Southeast Asia are today what they were in 1956. In 1960, in 1964, they've been spelled out precisely and sometimes at length in the Senate of the United States. And that view is simply that we have a responsibility as a member of the United Nations, as a leader of the free nations, to try to preserve world order. The Charter of the United Nations which is the high law of this land just as is the Constitution, being a treaty, calls upon its members, calls upon its members to resist aggression and to promote self-determination. Two of the mandates, just as the Constitution of the United States, calls upon us to provide for the common defense and to promote the general welfare. The two absolute requirements of our Constitution.

Some people don't live by that. Some leaders don't live by it. In the United Nations some nations don't live by it. But that does not excuse us. A leader must set his own standards.

Now I think that the main interest of the United States in this the last third of the twentieth century is to avoid nuclear confrontation and a nuclear catastrophe. And if history tells us anything, those catastrophes come about not so much by accident as they do by the failure of those who know better to act before it's too late. The national interest of the United States in avoiding a third world war demands that we seek to establish a role of conduct in this world in which aggression is unacceptable, in which it cannot succeed, in which aggression unchecked is not unleashed, in which the political disputes of people and nations are not settled by the law of the jungle.

I happen to believe that it is better to fight even a bitter and costly limited war, as we did in Korea and as has been threatened upon us time after time in Berlin, as we were almost compelled to do with Khrushchev and his missiles in Cuba, than to be backed off into a future major war that could become a nuclear holocaust. I do not accept the thesis of Armageddon on the installment plan. We lived through that in this century. What kind of a world do you think it would be today, my fellow Americans, if Harry Truman had not had the undaunted courage to tell Joseph Stalin that unless he removed his troops from Iran in two weeks that the United States would be there to shove them out. What kind of a world do you

think it would have been had it not been for the Truman Doctrine that prevented the incursion and intrusion of Soviet power into Turkey, Greece, and Italy and the Mediterranean? What kind of a world do you think that this would be today if Harry Truman had not had the courage to say to the Soviets in Berlin in 1948 that Berlin will live, even at the risk of war it will not die. And it has happened three times since. What kind of a world do you think that this would be if Harry Truman had not been willing to commit American power in Korea to prevent the advance of communist forces in Korea and point a dagger of aggression at the heart of Japan?

What kind of a world do you think this would be if John F. Kennedy had not literally taken this nation to the brink of nuclear confrontation when he told Khrushchev, "Get your missiles out or you will be destroyed.?" That's what I mean by leadership. Sometimes we were fortunate it did not break out in war. But this America has given almost 200,000 lives manning the ramparts of freedom since World War II. This America of ours hasn't sought one inch of territory. It has not sought to run the lives of people or nations. But I ask every thoughtful American, what kind of a world do you think it would have been had we had men of lesser stature than a Truman, or a Kennedy, or a Johnston, yes, and of a Eisenhower, that had the willingness to take a chance, indeed to stand up as a leader and keep our commitments.

You know the answer, everyone of you. And you know the tragedy of the '20's, when a great President, Woodrow Wilson, was forsaken, that his hope for peace was demolished and was destroyed, destroyed on the anvil of isolationism and petty politics. You know, my dear friends, of the march of Hitlerism in the '30's, when it was not resisted, when appeasement was the pattern of the day, when Chamberlain spoke of Czechoslovakians as a strange people in a distant place. If we've learned anything, if there's anything that should be manifestly clear to the American people, it is that we cannot afford in this nuclear age to have people think that by sheer brute force and terror and subversion that they can take over people after people, nation after nation, and not have the day come when a holocaust and a catastrophe will be upon us. That's why we're in Vietnam. Not to conquer, but to save.

And I hear it said that we are indulging in an immoral war. That our purpose is immoral. Well, ladies and gentlemen, let me say how immoral would it be, how immoral would it have been, had Mr. Truman said in 1948, "Well, it isn't worth the risk. Let the communists have Berlin." And isn't it interesting, my friends, that the very people today who say that it's immoral that we're in South Vietnam don't think that it's immoral at all that we had to go back to Australia and New Zealand.

What makes it immoral to fight on one beach rather than another? What makes it more moral, please, to stand

guard in Berlin and commit this nation with every one of its men and all its resources to its defense in case it's attacked, and we have made that commitment and we've stood by it. Two, three presidents have called up forces to protect it. What's more moral about being in Berlin from ^{which} two wars against us have emanated?

And standing guard, if you please, in the Pacific, and in Asia. What's moral about turning over ten nations and 250,000,000 people in Southeast Asia to the threat of communist aggression? What's moral, what's immoral about keeping our commitments? War is always dirty business. Sherman gave the only honest definition of it: "It is hell."

But ladies and gentlemen, as John Kennedy once said, "Peace is not for the weak." And peace is not neutral. Peace is for the strong, and peace requires strength and daring and commitment and courage. I think that we stood for peace in World War II. I think we stood for peace in Korea. I think we stood for peace in many areas of this world, and I'm so pleased that when the President of the United States, Lyndon Johnston, can keep the peace in the Mediterranean as he did recently in the Cyprus dispute, where two of our NATO allies were ready to go to war, when the ships were loaded, the troops were aboard, the planes were on the runway, and when war was expected by the moment, and yet Lyndon Johnston, President of the United States, with his personal emissary Mr. Vance prevented that holocaust. I'm amazed that the

other side of the placards were not used in the demonstrators to say, "Thank you, Mr. President, for keeping the peace."

(4)

Peace is like a mighty cathedral. It sometimes takes decades in its construction. And the master plan of an architect, and the constant work of generations. I think that we build peace block by block, as we build a mighty structure. We build it with the United Nations, with food for peace, with the Peace Corps, with foreign aid, with the World Bank, with the Alliance for Progress. We build it with our voluntary agencies. We build it tediously. There is no instant peace to a world that has long been in trouble. And peace will come only to those that have the commitment, the perseverance and the will to make the sacrifices that are necessary, and that's what great men have believed.

That's what Adlai Stevenson believed. That's what John Kennedy believed. That's what Lyndon Johnston believes. And that's what Hubert Humphrey believes. And I'll take a back seat to no one in the cause of peace. I stood with Adlai Stevenson for a nuclear test ban treaty when recent voices for peace were silent. I stood in the Senate of the United States purposing a disarmament agency for universal disarmament when I could barely get a vote. I was a co-author to the Food for Peace and am the author of the Peace Corps. My life has been devoted for peace. But I don't think peace comes to those who are weak. I don't think that it comes to those who are just talking about it.

Scriptures say, "Blessed are the peace-makers," not the talkers, the walkers or the paraders, but the peace-makers. And you don't have

Well ladies and gentlemen, I've kept you too long. I want to say only this, I stand my ground vigorously, as I expect others to do. I'm never sure that what we do is right. I wish I could be so sure as those who think that what we do is wrong. We seek to do what is right. I've heard President Johnston say many times, that it's not difficult for a President to do what is right; what's difficult is to know what's right. And we seek to know what's right. That's why the dialogue, if it's a dialogue, that's why ... debate, if it's a debate. It's useful, it's purposeful, has purpose.

I'm not one of those Americans that thinks this hurts our country. What I think hurts is not what hurts our country as much as what hurts the legitimate cause of discussion and debate, when those who engage in it do it with such ugliness. Do it with such disdain for the rights of others. And I'm hopeful that in the discussion that will ensue in our party that we will change that pattern into a respectable, responsible discussion. And I think we will, because there are those now and indeed there is a voice now that wants an honest discussion of the issue. I respect that voice because it comes from my state.

Healthy discussion. Wholesome, vigorous discussion. Not ugly, emotional, disrespectful, derogatory discussion. No one has a monopoly on virtue. And no one has a

monopoly on the love of humanity or peace.

I've taken my stand and the President has taken his. And we think that in the long run, if we persevere, that it will yield the results to prevent the success of aggression, to help build institutions of responsible government, to preserve the independence and security of peoples and nations. We believe that.

3rd Party (8) But now then the facts of political life in California and America are these: either President Johnston or a Republican will be elected next November. No third party candidate or fourth party candidate will be elected. But a third or fourth party candidate could tip the scales against one of the major party candidates. And a Republican candidate could possibly be elected if by our own dis-unity and disarray we help them. Being accomplices. My suggestion is, don't put poison in the well from which you are going to have to drink, my fellow Democrats.

The programs that we fought for in seventeen successive elections since Franklin Roosevelt's sweep of 1932 could fall before this coalition of retreat. And you Californians better than anybody in America should know what happens when a conservative executive takes over. You know what happens to programs of mental health and you see what happens when a lead story in one of your own newspapers tells you of what's happening to education and job opportunity. You can get a lot of that. You have it here. It can be contagious.

I suggest that we start taking some political vitamins to resist the infection. We don't want it to spread. Worst of all, the unfinished business ahead, the business of our party, the business of America, could be postponed for years. We could once again go into that old Republican dance, the cha-cha. One step forward, two steps back, and trip and fall on a part of your anatomy. Yes, we could have that old story come again: Not now, slow down, take it easy, turn back. And you could let it happen. But I think I know you.

I know that in this great state, with its vitality, its verve, with its restlessness, with its growth, right here is the makings of the victory of 1968. I know that you are not going to let it happen. That's why we're here today. To talk it out. Yes, it may be to kind of fight it out. And to reaffirm the thrust and direction of the Democratic Party, not only in California, but throughout the United States because America is watching us today. And if you reaffirm that thrust and that direction, if you pick up the pieces, if you unite your forces for the battle and confront the common foe, we're going to have the best victory you ever dreamed of in November 1968.

I leave you with these words of a war-time President, my hero, and of a post-war President, my everlasting hero. First of that post-war President - oh

how we remember Harry Truman, how he was abused, how he was attacked. The vilification; the unbelievable attack on him. But Harry Truman today is a national hero and an international statesman and I'll tell you why: because when the going was tough, he was tougher. When the challenge was great, he was greater. When the decision was difficult he was tremendous. And Harry Truman today goes down in history as one of the truly great, a man of simplicity but profundity. A man of judgment and of courage, of wisdom. Boy, I'm proud to be a Democrat when I mention his name.

And Franklin Roosevelt left us the message for 1968. The last words of his testament. A man that was truly a casualty of the battle. ..., tired and war-weary, this man had that indomitable thing called spirit and faith. Even as he stand there in Palm Springs with literally the breath of life torn out of his body, he was writing these, his final words, to the American people: "The only doubt, the only ... to our realization of ^{tomorrow} / ..., are our doubts of today." Just think of what that sentence means. The only limits to our realizations of tomorrow, are our doubts of today. Let us begin. And then he said, as a prophet and as a leader immortal, he said to you and he said to me, and he said to America: "Let us move forward with a strong and an active faith."

Those are the words of a great people and a great man. That's the commitment of a great nation and a great party. My fellow Democrats, never settle for anything less than greatness. Don't settle for mediocrity. Don't even settle

for ... compromise. Stand now and stand strong, and you show America and show this world, that when we were entrusted with the responsibilities of government, we were up to it. That we did not shirk from the battle. That we stood, that we were dared, that we were tested and not found wanting. That's the kind of a party I respect, and I think that the American people will respect it too. And respect the man who heads this party.

I'm proud to come to California, as the partner of and the representative of a man who has had the courage, who has had the courage to strike down the walls of segregation, who had the courage to launch a war on poverty, who has had the courage to lead this nation in a crusade for education, and who had the courage to stand firm against tyranny and aggression abroad. And you know who I mean, the next President of the United States, Lyndon Johnston. Thank you.

REMARKS
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
CALIFORNIA DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE
FRESNO, CALIFORNIA
JANUARY 13, 1968

I join you today after two weeks in a vast and diverse continent -- the continent of Africa.

And I return with one message in my mind and heart: This human family of ours -- whether it dwells in America, in Asia, in Latin America, or in the striving new nations of Africa -- seeks but one thing.

Every human being on this earth seeks to determine his own destiny in his own way -- free of coercion and tyranny and want.

The search for that right and that freedom is
the great story of this last third of the 20th century.

It is being written in the new nations. It is being
written in the cities and towns of America.

It is being, and will be, written in the Congress
and in the polling places of our country in the months ahead.

~~INSERT →~~

Today the final outcome of that story depends
heavily on us.

For we, as the richest, the strongest, the most
powerful nation on this planet, can give leadership ...
can reach out to bring self-determination and the right to
choose to a greater part of that human family.

Or, we can turn selfishly inward ... try to forget
others ... and leave this country and the world divided
between rich and poor ... healthy and sick ... hopeful
and despairing ... peaceful and seething ... threatening and
threatened.

Which way shall we turn?

That is the question that faces us today. That is the question that each of us in this room can help answer in this year of decision.

Just what does America stand for and against, at home and in the world?

Social injustice: We oppose it.

Discrimination: We oppose it.

Exploitation: We oppose it.

Full opportunity for every man, woman and child: We support it.

Self-determination: We support it.

National development: We support it.

National Security: We support it.

Peace: We seek it.

What does that manifesto mean?

What, for instance, do we mean by national development, at home and abroad?

- We mean economic growth.
- Education to free the vital human power in every child.
- Training, so that men may support their families in dignity.
- Cities that are clean and safe.
- Towns and rural communities where all the advantages and opportunities of modern society are at hand.
- Creative use of natural resources ... rescuing our rivers, preserving our forests.
- Exploiting science and technology for the benefit of man.
- A war on poverty -- world wide. And that means assistance by the developed to the less developed

in amounts which promise substantial and visible progress. For America especially it means treating our unprecedented agricultural abundance not as an embarrassment but as an instrument for growth around the world -- for the growth of nations, and for the growth of children who will otherwise be permanently broken by the ravages of malnutrition.

And what about self-determination, those "certain inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness...?" Again, it means at home and abroad

-- Independence from foreign domination. The shots fired at Concord and Lexington, at Bunker Hill and Yorktown still reverberate through Asia and Africa today.

-- Governments freely elected -- one man, one vote.

- The birth pangs and the growing pains of democracy that we in America knew so well.
- It means civil rights and civil liberties for all men, regardless of color or creed.
- It means responsible dissent ... and leaders with the courage to act when all the opinions are in.
- It means a willingness to stand up for other nations when their freedom is threatened.

In the words of President Johnson:

"The foreign policy of the United States is rooted in its life here at home. We will not permit human rights to be restricted in our own country, and we will not support policies abroad which are based on the rule of minorities or the discredited notion that men are unequal before the law."

And what about national security?

For America and for every nation, it means the quest for peace.

It means maintaining credibility as a nation whose word is inviolable.

It means fiscal and financial integrity.

It means peaceful coexistence with all nations who will live in peace, and firm but patient resistance with those who would actively challenge its value.

It means unremitting defense against crime and intimidation, at home and in the wider world, so that the fundamental right of all to live free of fear and intimidation is preserved.

Yes, foreign and domestic policy are one and inseparable in this shrinking world. There is no longer any room for "we" and "they" when it comes to hunger, poverty, illiteracy, tension among peoples and nations.

One can no longer succeed at home and fail abroad,
or vice versa.

Because the nuclear age has made each disorder ...
each conflict ... each building frustration in this world a
threat to others.

But there are those who deny that this is so ...
who counsel an inward policy -- a New Isolationism.

They would turn their backs on the challenges
which still face us at home and elsewhere.

This year the people must choose which course
they will take.

Responsibility has a price, and a high one -- in
dollars, in determination, in painful setbacks.

Is this nation ready to pay the price? -- not just
in dollars, but, more important, in personal commitment?

Is it willing to invest as much on behalf of the uneducated White or Negro or Spanish-American or American Indian slum dweller as it does for country club dues?

Is it willing to invest as much in schools ... in hospitals ... in safer neighborhoods as it does for the Newest Thing for the Woman Who Has Everything?

I believe so.

Does it prefer a second car for those who have enough to a second chance for those who lack a job or self-respect?

Does it consider massive consumption more important than massive hunger?

I believe not.

But there are some who say that is what our citizens want: "Time for a pause ..., too far too fast ..., let's just take care of ourselves."

There are some who think we can afford the luxury of just a little irresponsibility abroad while we press ahead at home. There are some who believe the reverse.

But we can afford neither of those luxuries.

In 1968 -- in the next ten months -- this country must decide whether to retreat from the constructive policies of the past 20 years in favor of temporary escapism ... or to continue to bear its burdens even in the face of adversity.

Our party has always been the voice of hope and progress -- and of responsibility -- in America. It has not failed to sustain America's commitments to national security ... to national development ... to self-determination, no matter what the nature of the opposition or of the obstacles. And I do not expect it to turn away from those commitments now.

We can finish America's unfinished revolution.

We can persevere and play an active role in the world.

We shall keep our promises to those who put their faith in our strength and purpose.

The Johnson-Humphrey Administration, and our Democratic Party, have kept their pledges.

Our platform promises are today laws and programs benefitting real people.

We know the dimensions of the work that lies ahead. But we are undismayed.

The American author Thomas Wolfe wrote it:

"To every man his chance, to every man,
regardless of his birth, his shining, golden opportunity.
To every man the right to live, to work, to be himself,
and to become whatever things his manhood and his vision
can combine to make him. This ... is the promise of
America."

That is the promise which shines forth before
millions of people in our country, and abroad.

Is it to be fulfilled?

With your commitment ... with our work, it
can and shall.

#

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C.

1) Ted

2) Doug B.

Return to Marsha

Bill Connell marked this as the
VP spoke to the California Democrats
Saturday -- he thought you might
be interested.

Start 1059

open remarks end 1105

105

✓ Decision - we seek not unanimity, but unity
✓ here to ask the family
of Democrats to start against
the common foe

For PM RELEASE Saturday, January 13

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

CALIFORNIA DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

FRESNO, CALIFORNIA

JANUARY 13, 1968

1108

1110

I join you today after two weeks in a vast and
diverse continent -- the continent of Africa.

And I return with one message in my mind and heart:

This human family of ours -- whether it dwells in America,
in Asia, in Latin America, or in the striving new nations
of Africa -- seeks but one thing.

Every human being on this earth seeks to determine his
destiny in his own way -- free of coercion and tyranny and
want.

The search for that right and that freedom is the great
story of this last third of the 20th century.

APPLAUSE

It is being written in the new nations. It is being
written in the cities and towns of America.

It is being, and will be, written in the Congress and
in the polling places of our country in the months ahead.

That is why we are here today.

Today, I want to address myself to my fellow Democratx--
regular, irregular, liberal, conservative, agreeing, dissenting--
and "concerned."

need faith in liberty (more) **APPLAUSE**

3 11/12
Nat. independence
" security
" development

1113

1115

Trouble not uniquely
Africa

1116

will Rogers quote (LAUGHTER)
belong to no organized party - I'm a Democrat.

Most Americans are "concerned"-- about their jobs---
their health... their community... their farm... their country..
about the directions in which we may be headed at home and
in the world. *Concern - the common denominator -*

Most of all they are concerned about the future, and
what lies in store for their children in the years ahead.

I believe "concerned" is also an accurate description of
the leadership which the Johnson-Humphrey Administration has
given our country. (APPLAUSE)

But we have been more than concerned. We have acted
on that concern.

We have been concerned about the education of America's
children. And we have acted.

Nine million disadvantaged children received help last
year under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. *1120'*

A million and a quarter low-income students are in college *(APPLAUSE)*
this year because of our Democratically-passed program of
grants and loans.

We have doubled federal outlays for education since 1963
more has been invested in these past 5 years in education
than all the previous 100 years. (APPLAUSE)

A Demo program - Demo Pres, etc
We have been concerned about the health of our citizens, .
young and old. And we have acted.

In the past 5 years, we have tripled our investments
in health.

(more)

1123 - 2 under medicine in
1944 -

Nineteen million older Americans are now covered by Medicare. Twelve million men and women received medical care under the Medicare program in the first six months of 1967.

1123

We have been concerned about the poisonous and dangerous pollution of our water and air. And we have acted.

We have been concerned about economic growth and the stability of the dollar. And we have acted.

We have kept inflation down to a rate only half the average inflation of the other 20 major industrial nations.

There is your threat - your party's real
We have been concerned about the plight of rural Americans. And we have acted.

We have been concerned for the safety and security of our citizens, concerned about the violence that has gripped our cities.

And we have sent to Congress the President's Safe Streets and Crime Control Act to help our cities upgrade their law enforcement capability and maintain law and order.

We have been concerned about the poor, the handicapped, those left behind in the slums despite our great surge of prosperity.

→ And we have acted.

This country was spending 9 billion dollars to help the poor back in 1960.

This year over 20 billion dollars has been committed to help the poor and needy. In the past 4 years, the percentage

(more)

*democrats are
to see Congress lead
them still*

1126

most \$9 billion in urban / 3 years for

LIGHT APPLAUSE

1128 - *not seeking a measure
5% - not
a state of emergency*

APPLAUSE

*moralistic
sentiments*

1130 of American families living below the poverty line has dropped from 21 to 15 percent. Yes, 10 million people rescued from poverty just since 1964... a million of them just a few weeks ago, by the increase in Social Security benefits.

1131 We have been able to make heavy investments of this kind because we had prosperity. And we had prosperity not because we were lucky, but because we planned for it.

Unemployment in 1961 was just about double what it is today.

National income grew three times as fast between 1961 and 1967 as it grew in the preceding five years.

Who is from - Rep or Dem?
Paychecks are up -- in real dollars.

APPLAUSE

Farm income is up -- in real dollars.

Profits are up -- in real dollars.

And taxes are down. Even with the tax increase President Johnson requested last fall, federal taxes would still be below the 1961 rates.

We planned for prosperity and progress -- because you can't have one without the other.

1134 *Keep the leadership going - keep show - road.*
Slums... rural poverty... haphazard urbanization... waste of natural resources... hard-core unemployment... discrimination those problems and more are still with us. But we are attacking them -- not ignoring them! *We dared to attack them* That is what is important. (APPLAUSE) 1135

Here in California, and elsewhere, the Spanish-speaking Americans among us are asking for equality of opportunity.

(more)

None have been more patriotic, hard-working, or dedicated to their country. And we are committed to secure for every Mexican-American child and adult a full measure of opportunity. (APPLAUSE)

1137 Yes, what we have done in the last seven years is a strong beginning. Some argue that we should have done more. I say that we have done more than anyone dreamed could have been accomplished back in 1960.

Some argue that Vietnam is keeping Congress from appropriating the even greater investments we now need here at home.

I can tell you what happened to Congress in 1967 -- and it wasn't the costs of Vietnam. We lost 47 seats in 1966. We lost our great working majority of the 89th Congress.

1137 The old Coalition of Retreat -- the old Republican-Dixiecrat Coalition -- was able to go into action 50 times. And they were successful 37 times.

Still we were able to fund much of the program authorized by the 89th Congress and even to forge ahead and secure expanded Social Security and extend educational aid to more children.

1138 We continue to invest tremendous resources -- for our health and education and housing needs, and for our national security.

1138 *President State of Union address*
And let's quit kidding ourselves that we cannot afford those investments.

In 1967 alone our GNP grew about 43 billion dollars.

(more)

This year we will gain another 50 billion dollars or more.

Why, we had grown, between 1961 and 1967, an amount equal to the combined gross national products of France and the United Kingdom together!

The necessary costs of national security need not distract us from our urgent requirements here at home.

1139 We can afford to honor our commitments here at home and our commitments abroad.

And some day the shooting will stop in Vietnam. How will we use the additional resources that are released? Remember *What did a Republica Adm - did really -* what happened after the Korean War -- the economy was sluggish. *was it* There were desperate needs. ~~But was~~ there an automatic transfer of dollars to domestic programs? I should say not. And why? Because the Republicans were in charge.

My fellow Democrats, the issue of progress versus retreat will be decided again as it has always been decided:

1140 ... not so much by the economic possibilities as by the political realities.

... not so much by what we can do or what we ought to do,
... but by what we have the political strength and will to do.

The Democratic party is today -- as it has always been -- the voice of hope and progress in American society.

If you want to continue our progress, re-elect Lyndon Johnson.

(more)

If you want to move ahead, give him a workable majority
in Congress. *select for Jv 1968 (applause)*

1142 Now I want to talk with you about one of the major issues
of 1968 -- Vietnam itself, as a feature of American foreign
policy.

Let me make it clear, to begin with, that those who
disagree with our government's policy have a right to express
their views. They have no right to break the law, *(applause)* but they have
every right to criticize and oppose policy.

Secondly, I feel under no obligation to remain silent in
deference to those who disagree with me.

1148 My views on Southeast Asian policy have been publicly and
consistently expressed in and out of the Senate for well over
a decade;

presume would order (applause)
The national interest of the United States in avoiding a
third world war demands that we oppose aggression.

It is better to fight even a bitter and costly limited
war than to be backed off into a future major war that could
become a nuclear holocaust. *(VIGOROUS APPLAUSE)*

1157 *no Amagolden in the
us / Turen-han-Buln
Kora-Cuba*
-- It would be hazardous, foolhardy and indecent to turn
our backs on 10 free countries and 250 million free people
in Southeast Asia.

John Kennedy believed that. Adlai Stevenson believed that.
Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey believe it.

And I believe that the American commitment -- once given--

"That's why we're in Vietnam--

not to conquer

but to save!" (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

*forces in
government tell
with withdrawal
limit our
commitments
new trade barriers
cut foreign aid
can't keep on
commitments
for decades!*

*over 100
3 years - one
in which all
commitments
involved.*

*Visited
2400 / didn't
3060 / miss
Birmingham
North Africa*

*in least
peace-keeping
(Prolonged
APPLAUSE)*

1155

Memo

Berlin - Vietnam

Kenedy:
peace games
strategy
danger &
game

Humphrey remarks
Page 8

must be honored. I believe that the national security of the United States and the peace of the world are at stake when there is talk of that commitment being broken -- especially when the reasons for it are as strong as ever.

Finally, I believe that we have turned the tide in Asia by the courage and determination and sacrifice of our armed forces, and by the leadership and assistance which we have given to the nations of free Asia.

As for Vietnam itself, I believe that we are accomplishing our objectives. We are winning the struggle to assist the people of South Vietnam to preserve their independence at the same time we are bolstering the independence of all free Asian countries.

Let me conclude with this comment: There are California Democrats today who do not agree with the Administration's fundamental policy in Vietnam. There are more who seriously disagree on the tactics of our effort in Southeast Asia.

There is room for disagreement, discussion and debate in this party.

All that I ask of my friends who have various degrees of disagreement on Vietnam is to remember that the issue of Vietnam is not the only issue that we must face as a nation. Nor can it be allowed to obscure the other critical challenges before us today.

12) "Blamed are the
peace makers
(prolonged airplane
+ standing aviation)

(more)

a vote wants
an honest decision
comes for us
I respect that voice

1203 *factan*
Either President Johnson or a Republican will be elected next November. There are not going to be any third-party candidates elected. A third party, or a fourth party candidate could tip the scales against one of the major party candidates -- not for anything... but against.

1 | A Republican candidate could possibly be elected, if by our ^{ann} disunity and disarray we help him. *Don't put faith in law will -- (APPLAUSE)*

And the programs for which we have fought in 17 successive national elections since Franklin Roosevelt's sweep of 1932 could fall before the Coalition of Retreat.

You Californians should know what happens when a conservative executive takes over. You know what happens to programs for mental health. You know what happens to educational and job opportunity.

Worst of all, the unfinished business ahead -- the historic business of our party, the business of America -- could be postponed for years. It would be, again, the old story of "not now," "slow down," "take it easy," and "turn back."

*add Rpt down
Cha-cha
(LAUGHTER)*
But we are not going to allow that to happen. That is why you and I are here today to reaffirm the thrust and the direction of the Democratic Party in California and to herald a great election victory in November. *(APPLAUSE)*

1207
John Kennedy said, "Let's get this country moving again."

And we did.

Lyndon Johnson said, "Let us continue."

(more)

And we have.

1288
Now recall the words written at Warm Springs, Georgia in 1945 -- at a time when this country was engaged in a fearful war, with combat deaths running in the hundreds of thousands. These are the last words -- and the testament -- of a magnificent wartime leader, Franklin Roosevelt,

"Let us move forward, with a strong and active faith."

Invitation -

Local - votes
by 8+7 -
a full & speedy
recovery.

① Renewal of Contract -

- ✓ working conditions - Tolerable
- ✓ Pay - Tolerable

② Trying to get our Bargaining /
Comm. there in Shape

✓ Tom Lynch } Bot Coast N.C.
 ✓ Pat Brown } Al Song S.C.
 ✓ Charles Warren }

Gene Wyman ✓
 Sam Alanson ✓

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

CALIFORNIA DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

Joyce Fayden
 Conch

✓ Cong Sisk - Hugh Burns - Pres. State
~~S. Smith~~
George Zenovich - Maj. Leader

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

JANUARY 13, 1968

L I join you today after two weeks in a vast and diverse
 continent -- the continent of Africa.

(X) Imitation
 8-7-
 wash your
 speedy
 Recovery

And I return with one message in my mind and heart:—

L This human family of ours -- whether it dwells in America,
 in Asia, in Latin America, or in the striving new nations of
 Africa -- seeks but one thing.

Human Family

Small world!

L Every human being on this earth seeks to determine
 his own destiny in his own way -- free of coercion and tyranny
and want.

{ Seek
 his
 own
 Destiny

L The search for that right and that freedom is the great
story of this last third of the 20th century.

X L It is being written in the new nations. It is being written
in the cities and towns of America.

✓

I'm often reminded of what Will Rogers had to say about our Party -- "I don't belong to any organized Party -- I'm a Democrat."

So a little argument, debate, and dissent isn't either unusual or unexpected.

It is being, and will be, written in the Congress and
in the polling places of our country in the months ahead.

That is why we are here today. !

Today, I want to address myself to my fellow Democrats --

regular, irregular; liberal, conservative; agreeing, dissenting...

and "concerned."

(Will Rogers - no organized Party - I'm a Democrat.)

Most Americans are "concerned" -- about their jobs ...

their health ... their community ... their farm ... their country ...

about the directions in which we may be headed at home and

in the world.

Most of all they are concerned about the future, and

what lies in store for their children in the years ahead.

I believe "concerned" is also an accurate description of
the leadership which the Johnson-Humphrey Administration has
given our country.

Democratic
Tribalism
To keep
people
in our
Party!

Concern

Concern
Future

Concern
B5-
H/H/H

morality!

- 3 -

Concern

But we have been more than concerned. We have acted
on that concern.

Act

We have been concerned about the education of America's
children. And we have acted.

Educ

Nine million disadvantaged children received help last year
under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

A million and a quarter low-income students are in college
this year because of our Democratically-passed program of grants
and loans.

We have doubled federal outlays for education since 1963 --
more has been invested in these past 5 years in education than
all the previous 100 years.

We have been concerned about the health of our citizens,
young and old. And we have acted.

ⓧ
HEALTH

In the past 5 years, we have tripled our investments in health.

W

19 million
Nineteen million older Americans are now covered by

12 million
Medicare. Twelve million men and women received medical care
under the Medicare program in the first six months of 1967.

L We have been concerned about the poisonous and dangerous
pollution of our water and air. And we have acted.

Physical
Environment

L We have been concerned about economic growth and the
stability of the dollar. And we have acted.

Economy

L We have kept inflation down to a rate only half the average
inflation of the other 20 major industrial nations.

Inflation

We have been concerned about the plight of rural Americans.

And we have acted.

Rural Americans

L We have been concerned for the safety and security of our
citizens, concerned about the violence that has gripped our cities.

Law
&
Order

And we have sent to Congress the President's Safe Streets
and Crime Control Act to help our cities upgrade their law enforcement

capability and maintain law and order.

Mental Health Rehabilitation *Poor Handicapped*
We have been concerned about the poor, the handicapped, those left behind in the slums despite our great surge of prosperity.

And we have acted.

9 Billion
This country was spending 9 billion dollars to help the poor

back in 1960.

20 Billion
This year over 20 billion dollars has been committed to help the poor and needy. In the past 4 years, the percentage of American

1/5 to 1/7
families living below the poverty line has dropped from 21 to 15 percent.

10 Million Rescued
Yes, 10 million people rescued from poverty just since 1964 ...

a million of them just a few weeks ago, by the increase in Social

Security benefits.

Prosperity *Investments*
We have been able to make heavy investments of this kind because we had prosperity. And we had prosperity not because we were lucky, but because we planned for it.

Unemployment in 1961 was just about double what it is today.

National income grew three times as fast between 1961 and

1967 as it grew in the preceding five years.

Paychecks are up -- in real dollars.

Farm income is up -- in real dollars.

Profits are up -- in real dollars.

And taxes are down. Even with the tax increase President

Johnson requested last fall, federal taxes would still be below

the 1961 rates.

We planned for prosperity and progress -- because you

can't have one without the other.

Our Continuing Challenge!

Slums ... rural poverty ... haphazard urbanization ...

waste of natural resources ... hard-core unemployment ...

discrimination -- those problems and more are still with us.

But we are attacking them -- not ignoring them! That is what is important.

we are attacking

Here in California, and elsewhere, the Spanish-speaking

Americans among us are asking for equality of opportunity.

None have been more patriotic, hard-working, or dedicated to

their country. And we are committed to secure for every Mexican-

American child and adult a full measure of opportunity.

Yes, what we have done in the last seven years is a strong

beginning. Some argue that we should have done more. I say that

we have done more than anyone dreamed could have been accomplished

back in 1960.

Some say we should do more - I say we've done more than anyone else

7 years of progress

what happened in congress - not due to Viet

- 8 -

Some argue that Vietnam is keeping Congress from
appropriating the even greater investments we now need
here at home.

Last
47
seats

L I can tell you what happened to Congress in 1967 -- and
it wasn't the costs of Vietnam. We lost 47 seats in 1966. We
lost our great working majority of the 89th Congress.

Coalition
of
Retreat

L The old Coalition of Retreat -- the old Republican-Dixiecrat
Coalition -- was able to go into action 50 times. And they were
successful 37 times.

L Still we were able to fund much of the program authorized
by the 89th Congress and even to forge ahead and secure expanded
Social Security and extend educational aid to more children.

L We continue to invest tremendous resources -- for
our health and education and housing needs, and for our national
security. + we will do more!

L And let's quit kidding ourselves that we cannot afford those investments.

- We can afford it

L In 1967 alone our GNP grew about 43 billion dollars.

This year we will gain another 50 billion dollars or more.

L Why, we had grown, between 1961 and 1967, an amount

equal to the combined gross national products of France and the

United Kingdom together!

L The necessary costs of national security need not

distract us from our urgent requirements here at home.

Costs of
Security
&
Progress

L We can afford to honor our commitments here at home

and our commitments abroad.

~~~~~ # then when shooting stops? And some day the shooting will stop in Vietnam. How

will we use the additional resources that are released?

Remember what happened after the Korean War -- the economy

Korean War!

was sluggish. There were desperate needs. But was there an  
automatic transfer of dollars to domestic programs? I should

say not. And why? Because the Republicans were in charge.

My fellow Democrats, the issue of progress versus retreat  
will be decided again as it has always been decided:

... not so much by the economic possibilities as by the  
political realities.

... not so much by what we can do or what we ought to do,

... but by what we have the political strength and will to do.

The Democratic party is today -- as it has always been --  
the voice of hope and progress in American society.

And If you want to continue our progress, re-elect Lyndon Johnson.

If you want to move ahead, give him a workable <sup>Democ</sup> majority

in Congress.



Vietnam

- 11 -

Now I want to talk with you ~~briefly~~ about one of the  
major issues of 1968 -- Vietnam itself, as a feature of American  
foreign policy.

Let me make it clear, to begin with, that those who  
disagree with our government's policy have a right to express  
their views. They have no right to break the law, but they  
have every right to criticize and oppose policy.

L Secondly, I feel under no obligation to remain silent  
in deference to those who disagree with me.

L My views on Southeast Asian policy have been publicly  
and consistently expressed in and out of the Senate for well over  
a decade. —

L — The national interest of the United States in avoiding  
a third world war demands that we oppose aggression. —

S.E. ASIA

#

↳ It is better to fight even a bitter and costly limited war than to be backed off into a future major war that could become a nuclear holocaust. (Armageddon on the Installment Plan)

↳ It would be hazardous, foolhardy and ~~indecent~~ <sup>immoral</sup> to turn our backs on 10 free countries and 250 million free people in Southeast Asia.

↳ John Kennedy believed that. ↳ Adlai Stevenson believed that. ↳ Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey believe it.

↳ And I believe that the American commitment -- once given -- must be honored. I believe that the national security of the United States and the peace of the world are at stake when there is talk of that commitment being broken -- especially when the reasons for it are as strong as ever.

The Integrity of the American Commitment. ↳  
Our objectives now as before Peace - Even when  
we are compelled to fight for it! -

L Finally, I believe that we have turned the tide in Asia  
by the courage and determination and sacrifice of our armed  
forces, and by the leadership and assistance which we have given  
to the nations of free Asia.

L As for Vietnam itself, ~~It is here that we~~ we are accomplishing  
our objectives! We are winning the struggle to assist the people  
of South Vietnam to preserve their independence at the same time  
we are bolstering the independence of all free Asian countries.

h Let me conclude with this comment: There are California  
Democrats today who do not agree with the Administration's  
fundamental policy in Vietnam. There are more who seriously  
disagree on the tactics of our effort in Southeast Asia.

h There is room for disagreement, discussion and debate in  
this party.

- But ultimately somebody  
must make decision

elections  
!  
Leaders  
of  
all  
Free  
Asian  
Nations.

Disent.

*Vietnam is not  
only issue!*

All that I ask of my friends who have various degrees

of disagreement on Vietnam is to remember that the issue of

*L* Vietnam is not the only issue that we must face as a nation. *d* Nor

can it be allowed to obscure the other critical challenges before us

today.

*The Political Facts of Life!*

*L* Either President Johnson or a Republican will be elected

next November. *no* ~~There are not going to be any third-party candidates~~ *will*

*be* ~~be~~ *But* ! But ! A third party, or a fourth party candidate could tip the scales

against one of the major party candidates ~~as not for anything...~~

but against.

*Don't put poison in the  
well from which you  
will have to drink*

*and* A Republican candidate could possibly be elected, if by our

disunity and disarray we help him.

*our Program in  
Jeopardy!*

*L* And the programs for which we have fought in 17 successive

national elections since Franklin Roosevelt's sweep of 1932 could

fall before the Coalition of Retreat.

*Don't put  
poison  
in the  
well!*

You should know!

- 15 -

Reagan

L

You Californians should know what happens when

a conservative executive takes over. You know what happens to

programs for mental health. You know what happens to educational

and job opportunity. O

L

Worst of all, the unfinished business ahead -- the historic

business of our party, the business of America -- could be

postponed for years! It would be, again, the old story of "not now,"

"slow down," "take it easy," and "turn back."

L

But we are not going to allow that to happen. That is why

you and I are here today to reaffirm the thrust and the direction

of the Democratic Party in California, and to herald a great

election victory in November.

L

John Kennedy said, "Let's get this country moving again."

And we did.

7K

Lyndon Johnson said, "Let us continue."

LBJ

And we have.

Truman

Now recall the words written at Warm Springs, Georgia

in 1945 -- at a time when this country was engaged in a fearful

war, with combat deaths running in the hundreds of thousands.

These are the last words -- and the testament -- of a magnificent

wartime leader, Franklin Roosevelt,

FDR

"Let us move forward, with a strong and active faith."

# # #

not used

- 3 -

old

But we have been more than concerned. We have acted  
on that concern.

We have been concerned about the education of America's  
children. And we have acted.

Nine million <sup>disadvantaged</sup> ~~poor school~~ <sup>received</sup> children ~~got~~ help last year under  
the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

A million and a quarter <sup>low income</sup> ~~youngsters~~ <sup>Students</sup> are in college this year  
because of our ~~democratically~~ passed program of grants and loans.

We have doubled federal outlays for education since 1963 ,  
~~along~~ <sup>has been</sup> -- more <sup>^</sup> invested in these past 5 years in education than  
all the previous 100 years.

We have been concerned about the health of our citizens,  
young and old. And we have acted.

In the past 5 years, we have tripled <sup>our investments in health</sup> ~~health expenditures~~.



*not used*

Nineteen million older Americans are now covered by Medicare. Twelve million men and women received medical care under the Medicare program in the first six months of 1967.

We have been concerned about the poisonous and dangerous pollution of our water and air. And we have acted.

We have been concerned about economic growth and the stability of the dollar. And we have acted.

We have kept inflation down to a rate only half the average <sup>*industrial*</sup> inflation of the other 20 major nations.

We have been concerned about the plight of rural Americans.  
And we have acted.

We have been concerned for the safety and security of our citizens, concerned <sup>*about the that*</sup> ~~that~~ violence has gripped our cities.

And we have sent to Congress the President's Safe Streets and Crime Control Act to ~~help~~ our cities upgrade their law enforcement capability. *and Maintain law and order.*

*not used*

We have been concerned about the poor, the handicapped,  
those left behind in the slums <sup>*despite*</sup> ~~by~~ our great surge of prosperity.

And we have acted.

This country was spending 9 billion dollars to help the  
poor back in 1960.

This year <sup>*over*</sup> ~~nearly~~ 20 billion dollars <sup>*has been Committed to*</sup> ~~went to help the poor~~  
*help the poor + needy. In the past 4 years the*  
~~And the~~ percentage of American families living below the poverty

line has dropped from 21 to 15 per cent . <sup>*yes,*</sup> 10 million people  
rescued from poverty just since 1964 ... a million of them  
just a few weeks ago, by the increase in Social Security benefits.

We have been able to make heavy investments of this kind  
because we had prosperity. And we had prosperity not because  
we were lucky, but because we planned for it.

Unemployment in 1961 was just about double what it  
is today.

*not used*

National income grew three times as fast between 1961 and 1967 as it grew in the preceeding five years.

Paychecks are up -- in real dollars.

Farm income is up -- in real dollars.

Profits are up -- in real dollars.

And taxes are down. Even with the tax increase President Johnson requested last fall, federal taxes would still be below the 1961 rates.

We planned for prosperity and progress -- because you can't have one without the other.

You and I know that America has not done nearly as much as it should do or can do to guarantee every American the equal opportunity that is his birthright -- and we are all concerned about it.

not used

Slums ... rural poverty ... haphazard urbanization ...  
waste of natural resources ... hard-core unemployment ...  
discrimination -- those problems and more are still with us.  
But we are attacking them -- not ignoring them! That is what  
is important.

Here in California, and elsewhere, the Spanish-speaking  
Americans among us are asking for equality of opportunity.  
None have been more patriotic, ~~more~~ hard-working, ~~more~~ <sup>or</sup>

dedicated to their country. And we are committed to secure

for every Mexican American child and  
that opportunity that should be the birthright of every Mexican  
Adult a full measure of opportunity.  
American child

Yes, what we have done in the last seven years is a strong  
beginning. Some argue that we should have done more. I say  
that we have done more than anyone dreamed could have been  
accomplished back in 1960.

not used

was sluggish. There were desperate needs. But was there

an automatic transfer of dollars to domestic programs? I should

say not.

And why? Because the Republicans were in charge!

My fellow Democrats, the issue of progress versus

retreat will be decided again as it has always been decided.

... not so much by the economic possibilities as by the

political realities.

... not so much by what we can do or what we ought to do,

... but by what we have the political strength and will to do.

The Democratic party is today -- as it has always been --

the voice of hope and progress in American society.

If you want to continue our progress, re-elect Lyndon Johnson.

If you want to move ahead, give him a workable majority

in Congress.

\* \* \*

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Not

used

at Fresno / released  
version

#1

REMARKS

CONDELL  
DRAFT

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY  
CALIFORNIA DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE  
FRESNO, CALIFORNIA  
JANUARY 13, 1968

I understand there is a new group of Democrats with a prefix -- the "concerned" Democrats. The implication is clearly that we ordinary Democrats are unconcerned.

Those Prefixed Democrats are a little like the fellow that decides to go into business, and call himself the "Sanitary" Dairy ... or the "Purity" Ice Company. The competition automatically becomes unsanitary, impure -- possibly even immoral.

It is certainly true that we ordinary Democrats have been charged with some substantial sinning.



I understand, for example, that one candidate has been out here in California making just that charge. Yes, an ex-governor of Alabama says we are wrecking the moral fiber of our fellow-Americans -- doing too much for the poor, the deprived, the Mexican-Americans, the Negroes.

No doubt those charges will multiply as we move toward next November.

One day this summer we will find out who the Republican candidate for president will be. And Mr. Republican -- I predict -- will be right out here in California saying we are soft on people.

Now that is a hard accusation to deal with. It was easier in the old days when they said we were "soft on Communism." I seem to remember that a famous New York lawyer was given to using that proposition when he was a California resident.

John F. Kennedy's firmness in Cuba and Berlin and Lyndon Johnson's firmness in Southeast Asia seem to have eased his mind.

Yes, it's true. We are soft on people.

③ ~~We are soft on the 19 million older Americans who are now covered by Medicare. We are coddling the~~  
*twelve million men and women*  
12 million ~~who~~ received medical care under the Medicare program in the first six months of 1967.

Our Republican opponents can claim to be good and hard on old people -- 93 per cent of them voted to recommit Medicare in the House.

① ~~We are soft on school children, too. Nine million~~  
*SCHOOL CHILDREN*  
poor ~~ones~~ got help last year under ~~an~~ *THE* Elementary and Secondary Education Act ~~passed in~~ *OF* 1965. ~~Eighty-six per cent~~  
of the Republicans in Congress voted against that one.

*Continued  
next page*

~~Federal grants and loans made under the Higher~~

~~Education Act of 1965 have put a million and a quarter~~

~~youngsters in college~~ <sup>ARE THIS YEAR BECAUSE OF</sup> ~~young Americans who need and~~  
~~deserve a college education, but who would not otherwise~~  
~~have it.~~ <sup>OUR DEMOCRATICALLY-PASSED PROGRAM OF GRANTS AND LOANS</sup>

~~And we are spenders when it comes to people~~

~~programs.~~ <sup>have</sup> We doubled federal outlays for education

~~between 1963 and 1968.~~ <sup>SURE ALONE.</sup> The Office of Education spent

~~more during those years than all the previous 96 years~~  
~~of its existence.~~ <sup>invested in these past 5 years in education than all the previous 100 years.</sup>

<sup>In the past 5 years we have</sup>  
~~We tripled health expenditures in that same~~  
~~period.~~

And I am proud to admit that we spenders have  
been putting a lot of money into the War on Poverty, too.

This country was spending 9 billion dollars to  
help the poor back in 1960.

(5)

*continued* -5-

This year the ~~figure is~~ nearly 20 billion dollars *went to help the poor. And*

The result is that the percentage of American families living below the poverty line has dropped from 21 ~~percent~~ to 15 percent... *19* million people rescued from poverty just since 1964 ... *and another million of them* rescued just a few weeks ago by the increase in Social Security benefits.

~~Those figures should give some of our prefixed Democrat friends a little more pride in their War on Poverty -- if they would bother to look at them.~~

~~Now let me make just one more point about the cost of progress. We were able to afford it because we investments of the kind because we had had prosperity. And we had prosperity not because we were lucky, but because we planned for it.~~

Unemployment in 1961 was just about double what it is today.

National income grew three times as fast between 1961 and 1967 as it grew in the preceeding five years.

Real personal incomes grew over 400 dollars between 1961 and 1966. They increased more in any one of those years than in the five years from 1956 to 1961 together.

Paychecks are up -- in real dollars.

Farm income is up -- in real dollars.

Profits are up -- in real dollars.

And taxes are down. Even with the tax increase

President Johnson requested last fall ~~and the one we~~  
~~must pass this spring~~ -- federal taxes <sup>would</sup> still be below  
<sup>The</sup> what they would have been at 1961 rates.

~~The pie has simply grown faster than we~~ have  
~~it to meet our needs.~~ / sliced

What about inflation? Even with the war in Vietnam and an unprecedented expansion in domestic services, the rise in consumer prices since 1960 has been less than half the <sup>average</sup> rate in the 20 other major nations of the OECD.

We planned for prosperity and progress -- because you can't have one without the other. We have had an ~~unprecedented~~ amount of both.

You and I know that America has not done nearly as much as it should do or can do to guarantee every American the equal opportunity that is his birthright -- and we are all concerned about it.

Slums ... rural poverty ... haphazard urbanization ... waste of natural resources ... hard-core unemployment ... discrimination -- those problems and more are still with us.

*but we are attacking them. — not ignoring them! That is what is important.*

*The great Spanish speaking community of our country, so strongly represented here in California,*

Here in California, and elsewhere, <sup>we</sup> are

<sup>the</sup> Spanish-speaking American community is all ~~asking for equality & opportunity.~~ ~~Last fall I had a chance to discuss them with~~ ~~committed to~~

Mexican-American leaders in El Paso. The President ~~came~~ <sup>that opportunity.</sup> was there, and so were Secretaries Gardner, Freeman, ~~none have been more patriotic, more hard~~ and Weaver. So was Sargent Shriver.

~~working, more dedicated to their country.~~ And

That conference produced results -- federal help ~~we are committed to secure that opportunity~~ for schools where Spanish-speaking children confront ~~that that should be the responsibility of every~~ teachers who speak only English ... <sup>outright</sup> appointment of ~~Mexican-American children.~~ some outstanding people like Richard Romero to the

Civil Service Commission ... Dr. Julian Samora to the Advisory Commission on Public Welfare ... and Dennis Fargas, whom many of you know, to a key civil rights position in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

~~strong~~ Yes, What we have done in the last seven years is a ~~Some argue that we~~ good beginning. But it is progress that must be nourished ~~should have done more.~~ and expanded.

I say that we have done more than anyone dreamed could have been accomplished back in 1960.



~~Now some of our Prefixed Democrats -- and many~~  
~~whose concern for social progress in America is less well~~

~~documented -- argue that Vietnam is keeping Congress from~~  
~~appropriating money we need here at home.~~

~~They point to a modest 40 million dollar Rent Supplement~~  
~~Bill, for example, that was shaved to 10 million dollars...~~

~~or a Model Cities appropriation that was cut in half.~~

~~I can tell you what is troubling Congress~~ <sup>happened to in 1967</sup> ~~and it~~

~~isn't Vietnam. It is the fact that we lost 47 seats in 1966.~~

~~That is what happened to Congress.~~

~~That is what happened to the poverty program and~~  
~~foreign aid.~~

~~That is why we could not pass the President's Safe~~  
~~Streets and Crime Control Bill or a Firearms Control Bill~~  
~~last session.~~

~~The~~ <sup>The new Republican-Dixiecrat</sup>  
~~That old Coalition of Retreat~~ <sup>coalition --</sup> ~~was able to go into~~  
~~action 50 times~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~and they were successful 37 times.~~

If we don't win back a lot of those seats in  
1968... if we don't put Lyndon Johnson back in the  
White House -- the progress-as-usual that this country  
has enjoyed for the last seven years is going to come to a

grinding halt.

*Still we are <sup>never</sup> able to fund much  
of the program authorized by the 85th Congress and  
even to force ahead and secure expanded*  
Yes, we are now devoting considerable resources

*We continue to invest tremendous  
resources -- for our health and education  
unprecedented resources to domestic programs.  
and housing needs, but for our national security,*

And we can afford that investment. Every dollar

*And let's just kidding ourselves that  
spent on Vietnam has been more than matched by the annual  
we cannot afford those investments  
growth of our economy. those*

*slow*  
In 1967 our GNP grew about 43 billion dollars.

*This year we will gain another*  
They say we will have an additional 50 billion dollars or more.

or more this year; and we can have even more in subsequent

*Why, we had grown, between 1961  
years if we continue to plan effectively.  
and 1967, an amount equal to the  
combined gross national products of France  
and the United Kingdom together!*

*social security  
and extend  
educational aid  
to more children*

Naturally we deplore the cost of the war  
*The necessary costs of national security*  
But the war need not and ~~must not~~ distract us

from our urgent requirements here at home.

It must not serve as an excuse to do less than we can do today, or prevent us from doing as much as our resources will allow us to do in the future ... with Vietnam, or hopefully, without it.

But will we spend that ever-increasing wealth for the kind of program you and I have supported over the years?

When we have our extra 50 billion dollars next year, how will we spend it?

*And someday the week 5 to 6*  
When the shooting finally stops in Vietnam,  
*additional*  
how will we use the resources that are released? ~~I~~ might  
*Remember what happened*  
remind you that after the Korean War ~~the~~ when our economy  
*there were definite needs*  
was sluggish and the shortage of funds for domestic

*how*  
We can afford to ~~cover~~ *honor* our commitments here at home and our commitments abroad.

investment was far greater than it is today -- there  
*But was there an*  
was ~~no~~ automatic transfer of dollars to domestic programs. *? I should say not.*

My fellow Democrats, the issue of progress ~~vs.~~ *vs. again*  
retreat will be decided ~~in the future~~ *always been* as it has been decided  
in the past ~~decided~~

... not so much by the economic possibilities  
as by the political realities ,

... not so much by what we can do or what we ought to do,  
*should do*  
should do ~~are willing to do~~

... but by what we have the political strength  
and will to do.

The Democratic party is today -- <sup>as</sup> /it has always  
been -- the voice of hope and progress in American  
society.

*to continue and*  
If you want progress, re-elect Lyndon Johnson.

*to move ahead*  
If you want ~~progress~~, give him a workable majority in Congress.

\* \* \*

Now I want to talk with you ~~rather~~ briefly about one of the major issues of 1968 -- Vietnam itself, as a feature of American foreign policy.

Let me make it clear, to begin with, that those who disagree with our government's policy have a right to express their views. They have no right to break the law, but they have every right to criticize and oppose policy.

Secondly, I feel under no obligation to remain silent in deference to those who disagree with me.

My views on Southeast Asian policy have been publicly and consistently expressed in and out of the Senate for well over a decade:

-- The national interest of the United States in avoiding a third world war demands that we oppose aggression.

-- It is better to fight even a bitter and costly limited war than to be backed off into a future major war that could become a nuclear holocaust.

-- It would be hazardous, foolhardy and indecent to turn our backs on 10 free countries and 250 million free people in Southeast Asia.

John Kennedy believed that. Adlai Stevenson believed that. Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey believe it.

And I believe that the American commitment -- once given -- must be honored. I believe that the national security of the United States and the peace of the world are at stake when there is talk of that commitment being broken -- especially when the reasons for it are as strong as ever.

Finally, I believe that we have turned the tide in Asia by the courage and determination and sacrifice of our armed forces, and by the leadership and assistance which we have given to the nations of free Asia.

As for Vietnam itself, I believe that we are accomplishing our objectives. We are winning the struggle to assist the people of South Vietnam to preserve their independence at the same time we are bolstering the independence of all free Asian countries.

*Early*

---

Let me conclude with this comment: There are California Democrats today who do not agree with the Administration's fundamental policy in Vietnam. There are more who ~~have~~ <sup>is</sup> serious ~~disagreements~~ <sup>on</sup> about the tactics of our effort in Southeast Asia.

There is room for disagreement, discussion and debate in this party.



All that I ask of my friends who have various degrees of disagreement on Vietnam is to remember that the issue of Vietnam is not the only issue that we must face as a nation. Nor can it be allowed to obscure the other critical challenges before us today.

Either President Johnson or a Republican will be elected next November. There are not going to be any third-party candidates elected ~~this year~~. A third party, or a fourth party candidate could tip the scales against one of the major party candidates -- not for anything... but against. ~~That would be the only practical result of such candidacies.~~

*and*  
A Republican candidate could possibly be elected, ~~then~~  
*by our disunity, disarray and dissent we help him.*  
And the programs for which we have fought ~~and~~

~~had~~ in 17 successive national elections since Franklin Roosevelt's sweep of 1932 could fall before the Coalition of Retreat. ~~and~~ ~~disunity~~

You Californians should know what happens when a conservative executive takes over. You know what happens to programs for mental health. You know what happens to educational and job opportunity.

Worst of all, the unfinished business ahead -- the historic business of our party, the business of America -- could be postponed for years. It would be, again, the old story of "not now," "slow down," "take it easy," and "turn back."

But we are not going to allow that to happen. That is why you and I are here today to reaffirm the thrust and the direction of the Democratic Party in California, and to herald a great election victory in November.

John Kennedy said, "Let's get this country moving again."

And we did.

Lyndon Johnson said, "let us continue."

And we have.

Now recall the words written at Warm Springs,  
Georgia in 1945 -- at a time when this country was engaged  
in a fearful war, with combat deaths running in the hundreds  
of thousands. These are the last words -- and the testament--  
of a magnificent wartime leader, Franklin Roosevelt,

"Let us move forward, with a strong and active  
faith. "

# # #

Fresno

Version  
#2

<sup>Today</sup>  
Today I join you from two weeks in a vast and diverse continent---  
the continent of Africa.

And I return with one message in my mind and heart: This human family  
of ours---whether it dwells in America, in Asia, in Latin America, or in

the striving new nations of Africa---seeks but one thing. ~~Every~~

human being on this earth seeks to determine his own destiny in his own way---

free of coercion and tyranny. <sup>and want the search for that right and that freedom</sup>  
~~That is the story that is being written in~~  
this last third of the 20th century.

It is being written in the new nations. It is being written in the

~~streets of our American cities.~~  
<sup>cities and towns of America</sup>

being,  
It is, and will be, written in the Congress

and in the polling places of our country in the months ahead.

Today we have very much in our hands the final outcome of that story <sup>depends heavily on us.</sup>

For we, as the richest, <sup>the</sup> and strongest, <sup>the</sup> and most powerful nation on this planet,

can give the leadership...can reach out with our hands to bring self-determination

and the right to choose to a greater part of that human family. / Or we can

turn selfishly inward upon ourselves...<sup>try to</sup> forget others...and leave this

<sup>between</sup>  
country and the world divided rich and poor...healthy and sick...hopeful

203

and despairing...peaceful and seething...threatening and threatened.

Which way shall we turn?

That is the question that faces us today. That is the question that each of us in this room can help answer <sup>in this year of</sup> ~~our nation faces a time of~~ decision.

~~Just what do we believe?~~ <sup>Does America stand for or against, at home and in the world?</sup>

~~then list what we support and do not support etc.~~

— LBJ will go down in light —

End

are we willing to pay the price?  
the commitment.

~~What is the price?  
What is the commitment?  
What is the price?  
What is the commitment?~~

~~Segregation: we oppose it.~~

Discrimination: We oppose it.

Exploitation: We oppose it.

Social injustice: We oppose it.

[ Full ~~and equal~~ opportunity for every man, woman and child: We support it.

~~Individualism: We support it.~~

it.

~~Nationalism~~

Self-determination: We support it.

National development: We support it.

~~National independence: We support it.~~

National security: We support it.

~~Majority rule--one man, one vote: We support it.~~

Peace: We seek it.

~~That is what America believes, and that~~  
~~That is our Manifesto to Americans, That is America's~~

~~as do free men everywhere~~  
manifesto to all mankind.

What does that manifesto mean?

for instance,  
What do we mean by National development, at home and

~~Economic growth~~

-- ~~to achieve~~ <sup>to achieve</sup> Economic growth, ~~planning for the wherewithal to~~

~~build a better life~~

-- Education <sup>human power</sup> to free the vital ~~human resources~~ that

~~are~~ in every child.

Training <sup>so that they</sup> to let men support their families in dignity.

-- ~~Sanitation~~ Cities that are clean and safe.

-- Towns and rural communities ~~that offer~~

<sup>and opportunities</sup> the ~~best~~ where all the advantages of modern society are <sup>at hand</sup> ~~available~~.

~~Taking the best~~

-- Creative use of natural resources -- ~~man~~

<sup>recovery</sup> ~~recovering~~ our rivers, preserving our forests.

-- <sup>ing science</sup> Exploitation of science and technology for the

benefit of ~~the~~ man.

~~Population planning.~~

-- ~~Addressing poverty~~ <sup>world wide</sup> ~~Self help. International cooperation.~~

And that means assistance by the developed to the less developed

<sup>in countries</sup> at ~~low~~ levels which promise substantial and visible progress.

<sup>especially</sup> For America it means ~~managing~~ treating our unprecedented agricultural



abundance not as an embarrassment *but as an instrument for*  
growth around the world --for the growth of nations, and for the  
growth of children who will otherwise be permanently ~~incapacitated~~  
*broken*  
~~damaged~~ by the ravages of malnutrition.

And what about self-determination, those  
"certain inalienable rights to life, liberty and the ~~man~~  
pursuit of happiness ~~MMMMM...~~" *Again, it means that*  
*have and about*  
~~It means~~ independence from foreign domination--  
the reverberations of the shots fired at Concord and Lexington, at  
Bunkerhill and Yorktown that reverberate ~~around~~ *through* Asia and Africa  
today.

-- Governments freely elected--one man, one vote.  
~~The birth pangs and the growing pains~~  
of democracy that we in America knew so well.

*... and speaks with*  
~~It means~~ responsible dissent. ~~It means~~  
the courage to act even ~~when full consensus has not been~~  
*when all the opinions are in,*  
achieved.

-- It means civil rights and civil liberties  
for all men, regardless ~~man~~ of color or creed.  
-- It means the willingness to ~~stand up~~ *stand up* for

~~the freedom of~~ other nations when ~~that~~ freedom is threatened by

other ~~nations~~ when their freedom and ~~independence~~ is threatened.

In the words of President Johnson:

"The foreign policy of the United States is rooted in its life here at home. We will not permit human rights to be restricted in our own country,

and we will not support policies abroad which are based on the rule of minorities or the discredited notion that men are unequal before the law."

And what about national security? ~~Once again, it means about the same the world around.~~

For America and for every nation, it means the quest for peace, and ~~short of peace avoiding the nuclear holocaust that would envelop us all.~~

It means maintaining credibility as a nation whose word is inviolable.

It <sup>means</sup> fiscal and financial ~~integrity~~ integrity.

It means peaceful coexistence with all nations who will live in peace, and ~~patiently~~ <sup>resistance</sup> firm but patient ~~dealings~~ <sup>resistance</sup> with those who are ~~not yet convince~~ <sup>would actively challenge</sup> of the ultimate virtue of peace.

It means unremitting defense against crime and ~~violence~~ *intimidation*,

at home ~~so that~~ *to ensure freedom, so that* the fundamental right of all to

live free of fear and intimidation is ~~preserved~~.

~~Mean~~ Foreign and domestic policy are one and inseparable

in this shrinking world, ~~and~~ There is no longer any room for

"We" and "they" when it comes to hunger, poverty, illiteracy,

~~mean~~ tension *among* peoples and nations. *One* You can no longer succeed

at home and fail abroad, or vice versa.

*Because the nuclear age has made each disorder... each conflict...*

Now I think there are very few Americans who

would not agree with what I have just said. I know President Johnson

agrees with it, and I think this Administration ~~will~~ *each building frustration in this world a threat to others.*

~~Administration~~ long be remembered for its historic investments in

the development of human resources at home and abroad...for its

investment in world peace...for its steadfast resolve to achieve

greater and greater international understanding...for its determination

to lead in mankind's quest for a better, freer life.

*But there are those who deny that this is so... who counsel an inward policy — a New Isolationism. which would turn their backs on the challenges which still*

*But let's face it. This is an election year.*

*This year the people must choose which course they will* Responsibility has a price, and a high one--in dollars, *take.*

in determination, in painful setbacks.

Is this nation ready to pay the price?

*not just in dollars, — but, more important, in (costs)*

personal commitment?

invest as much  
[ Is it willing to ~~work as hard~~ on behalf of the  
uneducated Negro or Spanish-American or American Indian  
slum dweller ~~as it does for the~~ country club dues?  
~~or the unemployed young man in~~

or  
[ Is it willing to ~~reclaim lost lives~~ invest as  
much in schools . . . in hospital . . . in safer neighborhood  
as it does for the Newest Thing ~~in the Woman who has~~  
~~in Luxury Items~~ Everything?

[ ~~Is it~~ Does it prefer a second cat for those  
who have enough to a second chance for ~~the young~~  
~~people who~~ those who ~~need~~ <sup>lack</sup> a job of self-respect?

[ Does it prize ~~more highly~~ <sup>consider</sup> ~~a mass~~ <sup>massive</sup> consumption  
more important than massive-hunger?

I believe not.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510  
THE VICE PRESIDENT



~~personal commitment.~~

that is what our citizens want: *peace*

*But* There are some who say "Time for a ~~man~~ rest..."

"too far too fast..." *LET'S just take care of ourselves.*  
"responsibility, yes, but not just now."

There are some who think we can afford the luxury  
just a little *abroad*  
of irresponsibility ~~at home~~ while we press ahead at home. There were  
some who believe the reverse.

*But we can afford neither of those luxuries.*  
Well let's have it out.

In 1968--in the next ten months--this country ~~can~~ *must*

*from the road we have built* constructive policies  
decide whether to retreat ~~on a hasty retreat~~ toward the abuse or  
of the past 20 years in favor of temporary escapism.. Or to continue to  
move on up the ~~difficult~~ steep and difficult path toward a better world.  
bear its burdens even in the face of adversity. *our*

~~Unknown whether the Democratic~~ The Democratic party

has always been the voice of hope *— out of responsibility —* and progress in America, and

*not* it has ~~never~~ failed to sustain America's commitments and interests in *to national security...*  
*to national development... to self-determination, no matter what the*  
*word.*  
*nature of the opposition or of the obstacles.* And I do not

~~And I think we have a solemn duty~~  
continue... to Put Lyndon B. Johnson back in the White House...  
and to give him a new and decisive majority in Congress.

*expect it to*  
*turn*  
*away from*  
*those*  
*commitment now.*

Now let me hear from you.

*I believe we can, at will,*

*We can finish America's unfinished revolution.*

*We can persevere and play an active role in the*  
*world.* *keep*

*We shall* ~~maintain~~ *keep* our promises to those who ~~look~~ *put*  
their faith in our strength and purpose. (over)

~~I believe that~~ The Johnson - Humphrey Administration,  
and our Democratic Party, have kept their pledges.

Our platform promises are today  
laws and programs benefitting <sup>real</sup> ~~millions~~ of people.

~~And~~ we know the dimensions of the  
work that lies ahead. But we are undiminished.

The American author Thomas Wolfe  
wrote it:

(quote)

That is the promise which shines forth  
before millions of people in our country, and abroad.

With your help . . . and our work together,  
that is the promise we shall fulfill.

Can it be fulfilled?

With your commitment . . . with our work,  
it can and shall.

THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510





# Minnesota Historical Society

Copyright in this digital version belongs to the Minnesota Historical Society and its content may not be copied without the copyright holder's express written permission. Users may print, download, link to, or email content, however, for individual use.

To request permission for commercial or educational use, please contact the Minnesota Historical Society.



[www.mnhs.org](http://www.mnhs.org)